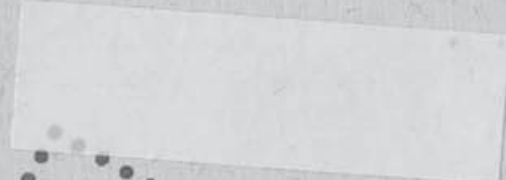


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CONTENTS

From the Editor2

1994 Newell Prize-Winning Paper

“‘Once Upon a Time’ to ‘Happily Ever After’: The
Development of Children’s Narrative Skill”

Tara Friel 3

CFS Lifetime Achievement Award

“Presentation Remarks”

Simon Bronner 53

Notes and Announcements 55

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FROM THE EDITOR . . .

It is the week after Thanksgiving, and some of you may be wondering about the fall issue of the *Children's Folklore Review* which is usually in your hands by this time. It was a very busy summer and early fall for me and, more important, for my Assistant Editor, Laurie Evans, as we were finishing the camera-ready copy for my *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*. That done, and at the publisher, we can now wrap up this issue.

The main part of this issue is taken up by the 1994 Newell Prize-Winning paper. "Once Upon a Time' to 'Happily Ever After': The Development of Children's Narrative Skill," was written by Tara Friel, a student in the School of Clinical Speech and Language Studies, Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. Longer than the average Newell paper, and more graphically-complicated as well, this took Laurie some time to set up in camera-ready form; but it is here, and we decided to run all of it in one issue rather than splitting in into two parts for this fall and next spring's publications. I think you will agree that Ms. Friel's paper is an outstanding addition to the already-impressive list of papers which have won the Newell Prize.

We have also included, in this issue, Simon Bronner's remarks at the AFS business meeting. At that meeting, Brian Sutton-Smith was presented with the Lifetime Achievement Award by the Children's Folklore Section, and Simon was chosen to do the honors for the Section. Brian was not only a founding member of the CFS, as Simon mentions, but he was also very encouraging to me regarding the *Children's Folklore Newsletter* and this journal, which grew from that newsletter—and I would like to thank Brian for that support.

As we move into the eighteenth year of publication, I would urge you all to think about publishing your articles in *CFR* and to tell your friends in children's traditional studies that *CFR* is listed in the MLA bibliographies. And just as important, tell people and libraries, especially libraries, to subscribe.

C.W. Sullivan III

“Once Upon a Time” to “Happily Ever After”: The Development of Children’s Narrative Skill

Tara Friel

INTRODUCTION

The study of children’s narratives is of great interest and importance in order to investigate and appreciate the wealth of communication skills that continue to evolve and develop long after the basic structures of the language have been mastered. “Wait until you hear what happened!” is an often heard “excuse” to launch into the telling of a story among adults. The ability to retell events, conversations, jokes etc. in an interesting and amusing way is a much valued skill. The development of children’s narrative skills has long been of interest to many researchers, as stories are an important part of everyday lives of children both at home and in school. Indeed, during the school-age years particularly, increasing demands are made on children to tell of stories or experiences in a coherent and cohesive manner. This project aims to focus on the development of these narrative skills as children begin to acquire the basic performances required by the adult culture.

For thousands of years the art of the storyteller has been cultivated in every rank of society (Thompson). Storytelling itself has been viewed in many different ways from being “an art, a craft, a common skill, as a universal and general capability” to the “creation of dramatic narrative derived from remembered core clichés and shaped into a plot during performance” (Pellowski 15). Both Dell Hymes and Robert Graves describe storytelling as a communicative event, a unique social event which is appropriate to certain forms of communication. Georges postulates that the storyteller is in fact an encoder who uses linguistic, paralinguistic and kinetic devices in order to formulate, encode and transmit the message of the story. The storyteller or narrator may even serve the important function of the bearer and transmitter of tradition in the storytelling community of which they are part (Pellowski).

In this present study interest in the storytelling event is confined to the traditional fairytale or folktale, that story which is handed down from adult to child from generation to generation. These tales are only one of the many kinds of story material available to us, as narratives may also come in verse, as ballads and epics, and in prose as novels, dramas and short stories (Thompson). Such traditional tales often form part of a large body of tales, myths and legends which constitute the folklore of a community. The folklore of different cultures and

communities around the world has long been a focus of interest to psychologists, folklorists, anthropologists and linguists. Each field has brought its own particular interpretation to the study of folklore. Some of these contributions will be addressed in the following sections.

THE STUDY OF FOLKLORE

According to Dundes (*The Study of Folklore*) folklore has been described in terms of "origin, form, transmission and function" (1). However there has been no widespread agreement among folklorists as to what exactly folklore is. It is the means of folklore transmission that has been the main criterion for its definition. Folklore is thus defined as being (or being in) oral tradition. This definition of folklore according to Dundes does not banish from it those elements which may, at some time, have been transmitted by writing or print. Thus a folktale or legend which has never been in oral tradition is not considered folklore. So we see that the oral story need not always have been oral. According to Thompson however, once the story habituates itself to being passed on by word of mouth it "undergoes the same treatment as all other tales at the command of the raconteur" (5). The story becomes one to tell a listener and not something to read. Eventually this tale may be included as part of the folklore of a community.

Dundes (*Study*) thus defines folklore in such a way as "even the lay person may understand" (3). The term "folk" refers to a group of people who share at least one common factor, for example, occupation, language or religion. What is important is that the group will have some traditions of its own. "Lore" then, is defined as the raw materials of folklore including myths, legends, superstitions, beliefs and folktales.

It was during the middle and later part of the nineteenth century that the discipline of folklore, as it has developed in the twentieth century, began to appear. This increasing awareness was thought to be due to the currents of nationalism and romanticism that was sweeping the world. Interest in the common man extended to traditions in speech and manners which were believed to be dying out (Dundes *Study*).

Early studies of folklore concentrated for the most part on the origins and functions of folklore. It was not until later that interest began to emerge in the question of whether there was an internal structure or formal organisation of folktales and whether these structures were shared cross-culturally. Many different types of analysis have been used in the search for underlying story structure. One such analysis of which Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* has been deemed as the "exemplar par excellence" is the search for

common themes (Dundes "Introduction"). In his study of Russian folktales Propp proposed functions as the minimal unit of the folktale. "The functions of a folktale's dramatis personae must be considered as its basic components and we must first of all extract them as such" (Propp 124). Propp identified a small number of functions that characters serve in folktales. These functions are viewed by Propp as constant, stable elements present in every folktale independent of story or the character who fulfills them. Some of the functions identified by Propp include Villainy, Struggle and Victory.

Sutton-Smith has identified a similarity between children's fantasy narratives and traditional folktales with respect to major elements. Sutton-Smith proposes that while children's stories may be less well structured than fairytales, myths and legends, they do share basic plot structures and also the same general concerns with fate, fate overwhelming, and fate nullified. Botvin as cited in Sutton-Smith has adapted Propp's analysis of Russian folktales for use with children's stories and has identified primary plot units such as complication (due to lack or villainy), development (in the form of counteractions) and resolution (such as rescue, lack liquidated or villainy overcome). According to Peterson and McCabe the thematic approach has been mostly rejected as too general. It should also be noted that some children's folktales, for example, "Goldilocks and the Three Bears," "includes so few of the typical folktale elements identified by Propp that a standard morphological analysis of the tale would be meaningless" (Elms 257).

A more specific unit for narrative analysis was called for. Investigators began to focus on the proposition or clause and their relationships in order to characterise higher-order structure (Peterson and McCabe). One such major work is that of Labov and Waletzky. Labov defines a narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of events to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (359-360). A minimal narrative is defined as a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered i.e. a change in this order results in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation (Labov). Labov also suggests that narratives build up to a high point, suspend the action while this high point is evaluated and subsequently resolve this point. In Labov's study of narratives of personal experience, each narrative was divided into clauses and each clause categorised as one of six elements.

These elements were identified by Labov as forming the skeleton of well-formed narratives and are as follows:

1. Abstract
2. Orientation
3. Complicating Action

4. Evaluation
5. Result or Resolution
6. Coda

Two functions of narratives are also emphasised by Labov: reference (the listeners are told what happened), and evaluation (the speaker reveals their attitude towards the events). Another type of analysis has focused on stories being composed of a number of episodes. Stein and Glenn adopt such an approach in their analysis of story comprehension in school-children. Here, the story is begun by providing setting information with the remainder of the story structure described by an episode system. According to Stein and Glenn an episode is defined as "the primary higher order unit of a story and consists of an entire behavioural sequence. It includes the external and/or internal events which influence a character, the character's internal response (goals, cognitions, plans) to these events, the character's response to his goals, and the consequence resulting from his overt responses" (62). This sequence is composed of a causal chain of events beginning with an initiating event and ending with a resolution.

According to Dundes (*Study*), due to its great persistence with respect to form, the studies of the form of folklore that have been undertaken are some of the most successful analyses ever made. In folklore "content may vary, but form is relatively stable" (Dundes, *Study* 127). It was the work of Axel Olrick that first attempted to delineate some of the principle laws governing the composition of folk narrative. These laws were termed "epic laws."

THE EPIC LAWS OF FOLK NARRATIVE

Olrick was the first to coin the phrase "epic laws of folk narrative." He believed these laws to be superorganic, that is, outside the control of man. The folk narrator tells his tales by unconsciously obeying these epic laws. Olrick was not the only one to advocate these superorganic laws, as is demonstrated by Walter Anderson's "law of self correction." In many oral repetitions of a story by various persons to difficult listeners, a form or particular version is reached so that no further change is appropriate. The story attains its classic form (Bettleheim). The narratives essentially correct themselves and so retain their stability and form "safe from the possible ravages of errors or inadvertent changes introduced by poor raconteurs with faulty memories" (Dundes, *Study* 130). The laws governing the composition of folk narrative, according to Olrick are:

1. The Law of Opening and Closing

According to Olrik the Sage does not begin with sudden action or terminate abruptly. Narratives are said to move from an initial calm to excitement, and following the climax of the story, from excitement to calm once again. Olrik states that the constant reappearance of the element of terminal calm "shows it is based not just on the manifestation of the inclination of an individual narrator, but on the formal constraint of an epic law" (132).

2. The Law of Repetition

Repetition is needed not only to build tension or as a means of emphasis but also in order to fill out the body of the narrative. According to Olrik every time a striking scene occurs in a narrative and if continuity permits, the scene will be repeated. Without repetition, the Sage cannot attain its fullest form.

3. The Law of Three

Repetition in the Sage is almost always associated with the number three. Three is also the maximum number of both men and objects that occur in traditional narrative. According to Olrik, this is perhaps the main feature that distinguishes folk narrative from modern literature and from reality. "Such a ruthlessly rigid structuring of life stands apart from all else" (133).

4. The Law of Two to a Scene

As three was the maximum number of men and objects found in traditional narrative, the number two serves to limit the characters which may appear at any one time. A third character present in a scene may only do so as a mute onlooker, as the interaction of three or more characters is not permitted in folk narrative.

5. The Law of Contrast

According to Olrik, the Sage is always polarised with basic opposition being a major rule of epic composition. This law centres around the protagonist of the Sage and moves out to the other individuals, determining their actions and characteristics through opposition to those of the protagonist. For example, the great King is followed by a weak and short reigning successor, while the good hero opposes an evil and cunning villain.

6. The Law of Twins

Whenever two people appear in the same role both are depicted as having similar characteristics. The law however can also refer to real twins as in a sibling pair or simply two people appearing together in the same role. The law

may extend even further than twins. Beings of subordinate rank may also appear in duplicate for example the two ugly sisters of Cinderella.

7. The Importance of Initial and Final Position

According to Olrik whenever a series of persons or things occurs, then the principal one will come first. In final position, however, will be the person for whom the particular narrative arouses sympathy.

8. The Law of the Single Strand

Unlike modern literature which interweaves the various threads of the plot, folk narrative is seen as single-stranded. Any background information or depth necessary is given in the form of dialogue. Folk narrative is seen to follow a progressive series of events with its composition relying on strict adherence to number and other "requirements of symmetry" (Olrick 134).

9. The Law of Patterning

Patterning in the Sage is strictly adhered to. Two people and situations of the same sort are as similar as possible. Three days in succession a youth goes to an unfamiliar field and kills a giant in the same manner.

10. The Use of Tableaux Scenes

According to Olrik, the Sage rises to peaks in the form of one or more major tableaux scenes. During these scenes, the actors draw near to each other. These situations are based more on fantasy than reality.

11. The Logic of the Sage

Olrik's Logic of the Sage states that the themes presented must exert an influence upon the plot, an influence that is in proportion to the extent and weight in the narrative. However, this logic does not extend to that of the natural world. The "logic" of the Sage incorporates exaggerated feats of strength and magical abilities. Thus plausibility is rarely measured in terms of external reality.

12. The Unity of the Plot

This is seen as standard for the Sage by Olrick. Epic unity is such that each narrative unit works within the whole so as to create an event, the possibility of which is never lost sight of. There is also an ideal epic unity in that several narrative elements may be grouped together so as to best illustrate the relationships of the characters.

The final and greatest law of folk narrative according to Olrik is the Concentration on a Leading Character. It is the fate of these characters that form

the progression of events which constitutes the narrative. In general however, it is the protagonist and the plot which are seen to belong together. In the case of two heroes being recognised, one is always the formal protagonist and forms the principal character of the age.

Folklore is thus seen to be regulated to a far greater degree than we would think. As Anderson's "law of self correction" suggests, folktales are the product of generations of recalling and retelling and as such, should approximate ideal structure.

As this project is concerned with the structure or schemata of children's narratives, it may be beneficial to address the issue of how these structures are construed. Many investigators have attempted to address the question of a psychological reality of structure and how this might affect story retell and comprehension.

STORYTELLING AND RECALL

Mandler gives the following quote from "Alice in Wonderland" by Lewis Carroll (1865). "Where shall I begin?" asked the white rabbit. 'Begin at the beginning,' the King said gravely, 'and go on till you come to the end, then stop.'

As has already been shown, traditional folklore such as fairytales, folktales and fables, as well as children's own self-generated stories derived from them, not only have beginnings and endings, but a series of specific structures in between (Mandler). Much research has been focused on the structure of these stories and also on how the representation of that structure may affect processing. Mandler and Johnson speculated that story schemas reflect the structure of human memory. It was thought that in order for stories to survive in oral tradition they must be highly memorable in the first place or become so through repeated tellings. According to Mandler, repeated exposure to such stories enables generalisations about their structures to be formed. Listeners are thus enabled to engage in top down processing whereby comprehension can be guided and partially controlled by expectations of what is to come.

According to Menyuk, by the time that the child is three to four years of age, there is evidence that knowledge of the internal representation of events enhances conversational participation. These are known as scripts. It has been found that four year olds are better able to engage in sustained dialogue when talking about familiar sequences of events. If the sequence of events is not familiar, children of this age become egocentric in their conversation. Menyuk also reports that overall structure of the sequence of events has an effect on recall and, as such, ability to maintain conversational interaction about the script.

Mandler states that, as with the internal representation of scripts, knowledge of the topics covered in stories and also knowledge of the structure of stories leads to better recall. Having knowledge of story schematas is important for carrying out such tasks as story recall and story-telling. Research suggests that there is evidence supporting the psychological reality of episodic structure (Peterson and McCabe). Such evidence includes highly similar patterns of recall across cultures and also research indicating young children are dependent on a story following a normal episodic sequence for both comprehension and recall. However, no conclusive evidence has been offered to resolve the debate and we can but speculate as to a psychological reality of structure.

As we have seen, development in the knowledge of story schema aids both storytelling and also recall of stories. But what exactly is the relationship between child development and increase in narrative skill?

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND NARRATIVE SKILL

According to Bernstein and Tiegerman, as children begin to understand the organisation of events and learn to conceptualise the event as well as the sequence, "they then start to linguistically code elements within the experience or schema" (126). Bernstein and Tiegerman also report Duchan as noting that schema descriptions, "require knowledge of how common events ordinarily take place, the ability to use language to convey the essentials of the events schema and linguistic strategies for taking into account the speaker's and listener's perspectives on the event" (126).

During the school-age years, children begin to refine their conversational abilities and are better able to plan, organise and sequence ideas into coherent narratives. According to Stein and Glenn competent storytellers structure their information in such a way as to guarantee full understanding of the story. As children develop, they become more sensitive to what their listeners need to know. Kernan reports that young children (5-7 yrs) devote most of their narratives to the narrative section proper and are "less concerned with preparing the audience for what will follow, through the use of abstracts or introducers" (102).

These narratives are seen to differ from those of older children (9-10 yrs) on many levels. Younger children's use of background information differs both qualitatively and quantitatively from that of the older children. They supply names, places and dates but do not elaborate on character motivation or circumstance. The narratives of the younger children are, as a result more difficult to interpret and seemingly lacking a point (Kernan).

As regards the older children, any orientation information supplied is more likely to make actions occurring later in the narrative more understandable to the listener. With regard to the expressive elaboration of events, younger children imply attitudes to events through description of the events themselves, while the older children appear to realise that the interpretation and appreciation of the narrative events will depend, at least in part, upon knowledge external to the narrative events themselves. These findings appear to correlate with the developmental differences in the abilities of younger and older children in formulating narratives as given by Bernstein and Tiegerman. They give the following characteristics as typical of the narratives of older children:

1. Greater detail in the setting information.
2. More complex episode structure.
3. More concern with motivations, thoughts and feelings.
4. Less extraneous detail in general, greater details in the internal response unit.
5. Greater information regarding changes in time and place.
6. Fewer unresolved problems.
7. Greater adherence to a story grammar model.

The type of story told and fate of its characters also appear to be related to child development, although in this case to psychosocial development.

In a study by Abrams and Sutton-Smith it was discovered that children's stories appear to follow a progression through a series of stages that seem to parallel general child development when elements of children's narratives were subcategorised into beginning (introduction, preparation, complication), middle (development), and ending (resolution). It was discovered that very young children told stories that were mainly beginnings and endings while the older children included many more elements. The Maranda technique is a system borrowed from Maranda and Maranda which postulates four levels of development of story plots. It is this method that Abrams and Sutton-Smith use in their study of the development of the trickster character in children's narratives. A plot is assigned to one of four levels:

1. No response to conflict or threat.
2. The protagonist attempts to mediate the conflict but fails.
3. The protagonist successfully nullifies the threat.
4. The initial situation is permanently transformed, with a resulting personal gain or status elevation.

The use of the trickster character in children's narratives is seen to parallel these four stages. There is a progression from Stage 1—the protagonist is overwhelmed with fear before a threatening monster (ages four to five) to Stage 2—the protagonist tries to run away or throw something at the monster (ages six to seven). Stage 3—the monster is confronted and overcome temporarily by kicking it out the window or some other action (ages eight to nine) and Stage 4—the character permanently nullifies the threat and ends up stronger than at the beginning of the story (Abrams and Sutton-Smith). These stages may also be seen as a development of the child's narrative skills toward the adult folk tradition of the hero-tale.

The Maranda level one type of narrative, told at five years of age, can be seen as a stage of physical clumsiness—the main character repeatedly falls or fails to perform an action. Such a narrative can be seen to reflect the child's feeling of impotence among a school of older children and adults. Stage two Maranda level is the stage of moronic self defeat. Although the character is still clumsy, there is an attempt to do something about the situation. Told at six years, these narratives chronicle the child's struggle for self control.

At seven to eight years, the stage of the unsuccessful trickster emerges detailing the use of trickery by the protagonist. This is a higher Maranda level two narrative. Stage three, that of the unsuccessful trickster occurs between nine and eleven years of age. Maranda level four is a more peer-orientated trickster tale in which elements of violation of taboo, superpower and individualism combine with a successful ending for the hero.

So while the trickster tales of the younger children are seen to be a struggle for independence from parental authority, the older child uses the stories as an exploration of forbidden behaviours. The stage of successful trickery occurs at a time in middle childhood when the child is expected to have shifted from dependence on parental authority to "autonomous interaction with peers and from the egocentric, magical thinking of the pre-operational period to the reversible logic of concrete operations" (Abrams and Sutton-Smith 42).

It is clear that language and mastery of narrative techniques continues to develop well after the child has mastered the complete sentence (4-6 years according to Crystal, Fletcher and Garmen). Pragmatic and discourse skills develop during the school-age years. However, as Peterson and McCabe put it, the children's narratives are now not only concerned with making sense, but in being appreciated and considered amusing and well done. There is a greater emphasis placed on performance. Bauman views performance as "a mode of communication, a way of speaking, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative skills, highlighting the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond the referential content" (3).

As competence in story-telling progresses, the dynamic aspects of language come into play as do each child's particular style of language usage to get his message across. Children's early storytelling is seen to incorporate "speech play." According to Garvey as greater competence is achieved in language, speech and social interaction, we would expect to see this mastery exhibited "in playful deployment of these newly acquired abilities" (27). Language provides many resources for play at various levels of its structure (i.e. phonology, grammar and semantics) and also in its pragmatic and functional aspects. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett believes that the analysis of children's speech play could benefit from the notion of this play "as a means of enculturation, of games as buffered models of power within which the child can acquire some of the basic performances required by the adult culture" (74).

As children first hear language as a sounding phenomenon and can imitate its intonation before understanding its meaning, it follows that much of children's early narratives incorporate prosody and paralinguistic features (Sutton-Smith). It is these features that are heightened by adults when telling children stories. Bettelheim gives the example of the huffing and puffing of the wolf in "The Three Little Pigs" and says "children are enraptured when the huffing and puffing of the wolf at the pig's door is acted out for them" (41). The playful exploration of language means that children's stories include many repeated sounds which are rhyme-like, as well as alliteration, assonance and consonance. Children may use rhythmic sounds of alliterated fricatives in order to draw attention to a dramatic climax in the story (Sutton-Smith). As was noted earlier, the younger the child, the more likely it will be that the understanding and appreciation of the narrative by the audience will be based on the narrative events themselves. Expressive devices are thus more likely to be prosody and paralinguistic devices.

The older the child, the more likely it is that appreciation of the narrative is assured through the use of more linguistic devices (Kernan).

The following project, it is hoped, will add to the theory that already exists on the subject of children's narratives and the influence that age and gender may have on the development of narrative skill. This project, however, differs from previous research and analysis of children's narratives, as the narratives collected were not of personal experience, but of fairytales selected for telling by the children themselves. The questions which will be investigated are as follows:

1. The effects that age and gender may have both qualitatively and quantitatively on the development of narrative skill.
2. The type of storytelling devices used by children in their narratives.
3. The interest value of a story and how this may affect the way in which a story is told.

METHODOLOGY SECTION

Subjects

Fifteen children, chosen from a primary school in a town in North County Dublin, participated in this study. The children ranged in age from four to six years inclusively. There were five children in each of the yearly age ranges, with mean age ranges of four years three months, five years one month and six years respectively. The children were from predominantly middle class backgrounds and judged to be of "normal" ability and intelligence by their teachers. The experimenter attempted, as much as possible, to achieve an even spread of male and female participants across the age groups. In the four year age group, there are two male and three female participants; in the five year age group, there are two male and three female participants; and in the six year age group there are three male and two female participants.

Procedure

The narratives were collected over a period of three days, between 9:30 and 12:30 each morning in a local primary school. The participants in this sample were taken from babies class and high infants class.

The experimenter was introduced to each class as a whole, usually during "news-time" each morning. The class teacher then asked for volunteers to go and "have a chat" or "talk" to the experimenter. Reluctance on the part of the children was met with an assurance that they would not be "tested" and the "fun" aspect of the situation was emphasised. Each volunteer was then taken individually to another room in the building. Rapport was established through discussion with each child as to their favourite toys, hobbies, television programmes, etc. When the child was judged to be comfortable, i.e., readily and freely talking, the topic of story telling was raised.

A question of the form "Do you have a favourite fairy story?" was asked followed by a more specific request "Will you tell that story to me now?" Once the child had suggested a story for telling, they were encouraged to tell the story "from beginning to end." No probes for more specific information were used so as not to "impose" a structure on the children's narratives. Following Peterson & McCabe's procedure, the children's narratives were maintained by non-specific prompts such as "yes" or "what happened then?" No requests for further information were used when the children appeared satisfied that they had "completed" their story. The children were assured as to interest in their narratives through reactions such as "oh no!" "wow!" or repetition of the

child's last utterance. Such reassurances and non-specific prompts were considered necessary so as to reinforce the child's own interest in telling their story and in ensuring, as much as possible, that each child was "doing their best." Each session was tape-recorded, with the tape recorder placed as inconspicuously as possible, to minimise the self consciousness of the child. The narratives were then transcribed at the end of each visit to the school.

RESULTS SECTION

Introduction

This project sought to investigate the following questions:

- (a) What the effects of age and gender may have qualitatively and quantitatively on children's story narratives.
- (b) What story telling devices are used in the narratives of these children.
- (c) How the interest value of a story may affect the way in which the story is told.

Fifteen narratives were collected for the purposes of this project, one narrative from each child. It is important to note that these narratives are composed of the telling of either "Goldilocks and the Three Bears" or "The Three Little Pigs." Each child chose one or other of these stories to narrate when asked to tell a story from beginning to end.

Many children selected one or other of these stories immediately when probed for a story. However, other children initially selected more "sophisticated" fairy stories such as "Cinderella," "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," or "Hansel & Gretel" as stories they knew, but then decided they could not tell, as they "didn't have the book with them." Other children in the sample knew these stories as they "have the video of it at home," but were not confident to attempt a telling of these stories, as much as they would have liked to. Of those children who did initially attempt to tell one of these fairy stories, such as "Beauty & the Beast," all abandoned their efforts after the first few lines with comments such as "I don't know the rest," "Oh, I've forgotten," or "I need to have the book with me." The children, after these initial failed attempts or false starts, then selected either "Goldilocks and the Three Bears" or "The Three Little Pigs" to tell and proceeded to do so, confidently. These stories were not suggested to the children by the experimenter, but were arrived at by the children themselves.

The question of why these stories were selected for telling by the children is an interesting one and will be dealt with further in the discussion section of this project. It is important to note that for the purposes of evaluating the presence of story telling devices, some stories provide more opportunities for the use of sound play than others. This is certainly the case with the story of the "Three Little Pigs;" where one of the most striking and engaging elements of the story is the huffing and puffing of the wolf. Indeed it has even been suggested that "The Three Little Pigs" is in fact a story about "the power of speech and the trauma of language learning" (Berman 421). Again, this shall be discussed further in the discussion section.

The remainder of this section will be subdivided as follows :

1. Description of the analysis used.
2. Description of the results obtained.
3. Summary of the results.

Description Of The Analyses

For the purposes of this project a high point analysis was used as developed by Peterson & McCabe. This approach relies heavily on Labov's linguistic analysis of narratives. Peterson & McCabe adapt Labov's analysis by scoring orientation and evaluation embedded in event clauses and call this analysis "high point analysis"—because of the central importance of ascertaining the emotional climax or the high points of each child's narrative. According to Labov, narratives are "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (359).

Following Labov's analysis of the personal narratives, each narrative was broken into sentence or clause units. Within each narrative clause, the main or independent clause was scored according to one of the six elements which constitute a well formed narrative, as defined by Labov. These are:

1. Abstracts
2. Orientation
3. Complicating Action
4. Evaluation
5. Result or resolution
6. Coda

The nature and function of each of these components of the narrative is given below.

An **abstract** may be defined as a summary or encapsulation of the whole narrative, which is found at the outset of the narrative. The abstract may not only state what the narrative is about, but also why it was told (Labov). Keenan defines the abstract simply as "clauses at the beginning of the narrative that summarise the entire story or the results of the story" (93).

Orientation clauses set the stage for the narrative events to follow. These clauses serve to identify in some way the time, place, persons and their activity or situation (Labov). According to Peterson & McCabe orientation clauses "set the stage for the narrated events" (33). In Labov's original analysis, orientation clauses were "free" clauses which could be inserted at any point in a sequence of clauses without sacrificing coherence. Peterson & McCabe however report the bulk of orientation clauses occurring at the beginning of the narrative. The nine types of orientative remarks are as follows: participants, time, location, general conditions, ongoing events, tangential information, general cases, imminent events and objects or features of the environment.

The **complicating action** is defined by Peterson & McCabe as "temporally restricted narrative clauses which refer to chronologically-ordered events" (31). The complicating action is a series of events which lead up to, and include, the high point of the narrative. This is seen to be the only essential component of the narrative and is one of the two units which comprise Labov's definition of a minimal narrative, the other being evaluation.

Evaluation perhaps the most important component of the narrative. It is the means by which the narrator indicates the point of the narrative, why it was told, what the narrative was getting at, or what to think about a person, place or event (Peterson & McCabe). According to Labov, every good narrator is anxious to ward off the question "so what?" and it is through evaluation that he conveys the reportability of the narrative. Evaluation need not only be concentrated in the evaluation section, but throughout the narrative, such that every narrative comment can be potentially evaluative. Evaluative devices may be external to the narrative, whereby the course of the

narrative is interrupted and the point stated, or embedded in the narrative through the use of phonological or lexical devices (Peterson & McCabe).

Resolution of the narrative is that a portion of the sequence of chronologically-ordered events which follows the evaluative high point (Peterson & McCabe 31). The resolution thus provides the conclusion or resolution to the actions of the high point in some way.

The **coda** is used as a method of signaling the end of the narrative. It is used to "close the sequence of complicating actions and indicate that none of the events that followed were important to the narrative" (Labov 365-366). Peterson & McCabe describe how codas may be succinct as in, "that's the end," or more skillful in that they bridge the gap between the events of the narrative and the present, for example, "I often see that man to this day." Along with abstracts, codas are seen as one of the "superfluous niceties of narration" (Peterson & McCabe 33). According to Labov these appendages are not necessary to the structure of the complete narrative.

Following the classification of the narrative clauses into one of Labov's five major categories, the question of how these clauses were organised into an overall structure was addressed. Peterson & McCabe consider these two "timelines" in narrative analysis: the timeline of the actual experience or story (how the events were ordered) and also the timeline of the of the narrative as a whole (how these events were recapitulated).

Labov & Waletzky defined "the classic pattern" as the proto-typical narrative structure. Such a pattern is seen to contain most of the elements constituting a well-formed narrative, as defined by Labov. In the classic pattern, events leading up to high points are retold in an ordered sequence, the high point is evaluatively dwelled on, and then resolved. The occurrence of an orientation section at the beginning or a coda at the end does not alter this basic pattern (Peterson & McCabe).

The classic narrative pattern is illustrated in the following narratives produced by some of the children in this sample.

The Three Little Pigs
Produced by Jack (4 yrs)

Once upon a time there was three little pigs and their mother said to them one day, em, "you're too big to live in this house,

Orientation

you have to go and make your house . . . you have to go and make your house in the woods."

One little pig was going to build with sticks and the other one with eh . . . straw and the other one with bricks.

Once upon a time, the other one, the first little pig, built his house all on his own. He took for only one day. And then there was a wolf there, and he was there and he was walking along and he saw the three. . . , the first little pig's house.

And the first little pig was out and he saw the big bad wolf, and he run and shut the door.

"Little pig, let me in."

"No, no, by the hair of my chinny chin chin, I will not let you in."

"Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house in." So he huffs and he puffs and he blows his house down, and he ate up the first little pig.

Then the second little pig builds his house for all in one day and he saw the big bad wolf, and he was sitting there and he banged his door.

Then the big bad wolf said, "Let me in."

"No, no by my chinny chin chin, I'll not let you in."

"Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house in." So he huffed and he puffed and he blowed his house down. And then he, he ate up the second little pig.

Then he went to the last little pig, building his house with some bricks. And he was there, and he, he saw the big bad wolf and he run into his house and closed his door. Then, the third little pig was a magic little pig.

The big bad wolf knocked on the door, "Little pig, let me in."

"No, no by the hair of my chinny chin chin, I'll not let you in."

"Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down."

So he huffed and he puffed and he huffed and he puffed, but he couldn't blow the house down.

Then the wolf was trying to be his friend. "Little pig, will you be ready for six o'clock to go to Farmer Brown's field?"

He went at six o'clock and the big bad wolf knocked on his door and he said, "Let's go to Farmer Brown's field to pick some mushrooms."

"I already got some," said the little pig.

And then he was, he was very mad. The pig, he knowed he was gonna be his friend.

And then, the last but is, the wolf was gonna climb down his chimney and then he rushed to get a full pot of water, a hot pot on the fire. And it was very hot, hot and he fell into it,

Complicating
Action

Resolution

and that's the end of the story.

Coda

As can be seen, Jack's narrative form is the "prototypical" or "classical" narrative structure incorporating Labov's elements of the well-formed narrative. It should be noted that evaluative devices are incorporated throughout the narrative and will be discussed later.

Grainne (4 yrs) also demonstrates the classic pattern in her narrative of *Goldilocks & The Three Bears*.

Once upon a time there were three bears. They lived in a cottage and their porridge was too hot and they went for a walk. Then Goldilock's mammy said, "Just go out in the back garden and don't go out the front garden."
And then she went there to the front garden, and she went for a walk to the bears' house.

Orientation

And she knocked on the door and there was nobody there and she knocked again and there was no answer and the door was open and she went in.

Complicating
Action

She saw three bowls of porridge and she said, "that's too hot." And she tried the mammy's porridge and she said, "that's too, that's too soft."

And she tried the baby bear's porridge and she said, "That's, that's just right."

Goldilocks went inside and then she went in the Daddy's chair and sat down and she said, "that's too hard," and she went on the Mammy bear's chair and sat down and she said, "that's too soft," and she went in the, in the baby bear's chair and she said, "this is just right," and she broke it all up.

And then the three bears came home and then he said, "who's been eating my porridge?" Daddy bear said, and Mammy said, "who's been eating my porridge?" and the baby bear said, "who's been eating my porridge all up"?

And they went into the, eh, sitting room, and then: "who's been sitting in my chair?" and the Mammy bear said, "who's been sitting in my chair?" and the baby bear said, "who's been, who's sat on my chair and broke it all up?"

Then they went upstairs and then they looked in Daddy's bed and they, then he said, "who's been sleeping in my bed," and the Mammy bear said, "who's been sleeping in my bed?" and the baby bear said, "who's been, who's asleep in my bed?" and then Goldilocks woke up,

and she run downstairs and then she, she opened the door and ran home.

Resolution

Again, we see Grainne has achieved the classic pattern. The narrative is well-formed with a series of complicating events leading up to the high point of the narrative, followed by a resolution of these events. Evaluation is again, spread throughout the narrative, and will be dealt with later.

Christopher (6 yrs) tells the story of *The Three Little Pigs*, in another well-formed narrative.

Once upon a time, there was a mammy pig and three little pigs and they lived in a small house. One day the mammy said, "you have to go out and build a house of your own," and so they did.

Orientation

And then the first little pig went out and he met a man who was carrying a load of straw and the pig said, "please, can I have some straw to build my house?" and so the man did and the pig set off and he, then when he found a nice spot, I think he builded his house there.

Complicating
Action

Well, then the next pig set out, then he, then the pig met a man carrying a load of sticks, and he said, "please man, can I have some sticks to build a house?" and he did and he set off and builded his house somewhere.

And then came the other pig and he met a man carrying a load of bricks and he said, "please man, can I have some bricks to build my house?" and he did and he builded his house.

And then the wolf came along and he tore the first little pig's house into bits, and then he came to the other one and he knocked it down and then he came to the clever one's but he tried to blow that down but he couldn't.

He puffed and puffed and puffed and puffed but he couldn't blow the house down.

And then, he had a plan.

He got a ladder and climbed up the side of the house and jumped down the chimney.

And the pigs had a plan. They got a pot and scalded him.

Resolution

And that was the end of him.

Coda

Christopher provides an orientation clause and complicating actions leading to the high point of the narrative. The action is suspended as we are told of how

the wolf had a plan and resolution occurs as the three little pigs overcome the villain. Christopher provides us with a succinct coda to terminate his narrative. Continuity is maintained throughout the narrative with Christopher's use of "then" and "and then." Evaluative devices are found throughout the narrative.

Goldilocks & The Three Bears
Produced by Rachel (6 yrs)

Once upon a time there was three bears and they lived in a cottage far away in the woods.

Orientation

One day there was this little girl who was out for a walk, called Goldilocks, and she saw the cottage and the three bears were out walking, and she went into the cottage and she saw porridge sitting on the table.

She tried the Daddy bear's and it was too hot, Mammy bear's too salty and then she tried the Baby bear's and it was just fine and she ate it all up.

Complicating
Action

And then she thought she could go for a sit down. First she tried the Daddy bear's chair, it was too hard. Mammy bear's chair was too soft and Baby bear's chair was just fine. But when she sat down, she fell and broke Baby bear's chair.

Then she was so sleepy, she decided to go up and rest on a bed, so she did. And then she tried Daddy's bed, too hard, and Mammy's bed was too high and Baby's bed was just fine, so she got into it and fell asleep. And when the bears came home, they saw that everything—they saw that someone was in their house.

And Daddy bear said, "someone has been eating my porridge," Mammy bear said, "someone has been eating my porridge too," and Baby bear said, "someone has been eating my porridge too."

And then they went over to their chairs and Daddy bear said, "someone has been sitting on my chair!"

Then Mammy bear said, "someone has been sitting on mine too," "and someone has been sitting on mine too," said baby bear, "and they broke it all up."

So then they went upstairs. Daddy bear said, "someone has been sleeping in my bed," Mammy bear said, "someone has been sleeping in my bed too," and Baby bear said, "someone is sleeping in my bed."

And then they woke Goldilocks up and chased her out of the house and she ran to her, she ran to her mum and closed the door.

Resolution

The Three Little Pigs

Produced by David (6 yrs)

Once upon a time there were three little pigs and their Mammy said, "you're too big to live in this house any more. Go and build your own house but you have to be careful of the big bad wolf or he will try to eat you."

Orientation

Then the first little pig built his house out of sticks and the second little pig built his house out of straw and the third little pig built his house out of bricks.

Complicating
Action

One day the big bad wolf was passing- by and he saw, he saw the first little pig's house and he huffed and puffed and blew his house down.

Then the first little pig ran to the other one's house and then the big bad wolf came and he blew his house down too.

He was very bad. And then the wolf came to the third little pig's house but that was really strong 'cause it was made of bricks.

So he huffed and puffed and puffed but he couldn't blow the house down.

He tried and tried but he couldn't blow it down.

The wolf was getting madder and madder and madder and then he climbed up to the roof and jumped down the chimney,

Evaluation

but the little pig got a big pot of water and the big bad wolf fell into it and he was cooked.

Resolution

The Three Little Pigs
Produced by Peter (6 yrs)

Once upon a time there was three pigs and the mother said, "go out and build a house, you're too old to live in this house."

Orientation

Then the first little pig built his house of straw, and then he ran into his house, and then the wolf came and then he said, "knock, knock," he said.

Complicating
Action

And then the pig said, "who is it," and then he said, "it's the wolf." I think he said that.

Then he said, "little pig, little pig, let me in."

"No, no," said the pig, "not by the hair of my chinny chin chin."

"Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down."

Then he blew the house down.

The second little pig set off and he builded the house of sticks. Then the wolf came near and he said, "knock, knock," and the pig said, "who's that?" "It's me."

Then the wolf said, "Let me in."

"No, no, not by the hair of my chinny chin chin," said the pig. Then the wolf said, "I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down." Then he blowed the house down.

Then the pig ran to his other brother's house and that was made of stone and the two pigs ran into the house, and then the wolf came along and said, "knock, knock," and the other pig said, "who's that?" and the wolf said, "let me in."

"No, no by the hair of my chinny chin chin."

Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down.

And he huffed and he puffed and he couldn't blow the house down. He tried to blow the house down again but he was too sweat and he couldn't blow it down.

Evaluation

Then the pig started to laugh and then the little mouse got a pot of hot water and he fell into it and eh, the mouse put a stone on his head.

Resolution

That's the three little pigs in my book.

Coda

Finally Fiona (6 yrs), also illustrates the classic pattern with her narration of *Goldilocks & The Three Bears*.

Once upon a time there was three bears. There was a mammy bear, a daddy bear and a baby bear and they lived in a cottage in the woods. And one day their porridge was, their porridge was too hot so they decided to go for a walk.

Orientation

And then Goldilocks came and she knocked on the door and there was no answer, so she went inside.

She saw three bowls of porridge on the table and she took some of daddy bear's porridge and it was too hot and she took some of mammy bear's porridge and it was too lumpy and then she took baby bear's and it was just right and she ate it all up. Then Goldilocks wanted, she thought she would sit down, and she tried daddy bear's chair, it was too high, and mammy bear's chair was too soft and baby bear's chair was just right.

Complicating
Action

And then Goldilocks was too big and she broke baby bear's chair into bits.

Then Goldilocks thought she would go for a sleep and she

went upstairs, and she tried daddy's bed, too hard, and then mammy bear's bed was too soft and baby bear's chair, em, bed was just right and she got in and soon she was fast asleep. And then, the three bears came back from their walk and daddy bear said, "who's been eating my porridge?" and then mammy bear said, "who's been eating my porridge?" and baby bear said, "who's been eating my porridge and it's all gone."

Then the bears went into the sitting room.

"Who's been sitting on my chair?" said daddy bear, "and who's been sitting on mine too" said mammy bear, and then baby bear came in crying and he said, "who's been sitting on my chair and broken it all in bits?"

And then they went upstairs and, "who's been sleeping in my bed?" said daddy bear, "and who's been sleeping in my bed?" said mammy bear. Someone's been sleeping in my bed said baby bear, "and the naughty girl is still there!"

Evaluation

And the bears were very angry and they woke Goldilocks up

Resolution

And she jumped up and then she ran to, ran to her mummy.

All of these examples conform to Labov's definition of the "classic pattern" as a series of events leading to a high point which is evaluatively dwelled on, and then resolved. Peterson & McCabe developed several patterns of organisation in studying the structure of narratives produced by children. A second basic pattern that emerged, Peterson & McCabe labeled the "ending-at-the-high-point" pattern.

Ending-At-The-High-Point-Pattern

In this pattern, the narrative provides a series of successive complicating actions until the high point is reached. "The high point is dwelled on in the same manner as in the classic pattern, but then the narrative is terminated" (Peterson & McCabe 42).

Peterson & McCabe give an example of how this structure may be used deliberately in ghost stories in order to create a surprise ending. However, it is viewed in the case of children's narratives as a developmental approximation of the classic pattern, where the child simply ends too soon, or forgets to resolve the high point action (Peterson & McCabe).

This pattern may be seen in the narrative produced by Adam (5 yrs), *The*

Three Little Pigs.

Once upon a time there were three little pigs. One wanted a straw house, then the second pig made a stick house, then the big one made a brick house.

And the big bad wolf blowed down the straw house, and they went running into the stick house. And he said, "I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow the house down," and he blowed it down and the pigs were both running over to the other house, the brick house.

And the wolf tried to blow it down and he couldn't and he nearly blew himself down.

The house was very strong with cement.

Adam takes us up to the high point of the narrative, the wolf's struggle to blow down the house, through a series of well ordered events. However, the events of the high point action are not resolved and the narrative is terminated with, "the house was strong with cement."

Another example of the end-at-the-high-point pattern comes from Hillary (4 yrs), *Goldilocks & The Three Bears*.

Once upon a time there lived three bears. There was a great big bear, a middle sized bear and a small little bear.

Once they all decided for going to go for a walk and when they were going for their walk, a little girl came and her name was Goldilocks.

She saw this house and wondered if anyone lived in it, so she went in. She knocked on the door and no answer, so she pushed the door open and she went in.

She found three bowls. A big sized bowl, a middle sized bowl and a small little bowl and, eh, she had a spoon of the great big bowl, and then then the middle sized bowl, em, then she ate it all up. And then she was tired, so she went up on the big daddy bear's chair, that was too hard.

She went on the middle sized chair and that was too bouncy and she went on the small little chair and that was just right. But then she got heavier and the bottom fell out.

And then she went upstairs and found three beds. A great, big bed, a middle sized bed and a small little bed. So, she tried the big bed and that was too hard, she tried the middle sized bed and that was too soft. She tried the baby's bed and that was just right and soon she fell asleep. And then the bears came home from their walk. There was great daddy bear, middle sized

Orientation

Complicating
Action

Evaluation

Orientation

Complicating
Action

mummy bear and baby bear.

Daddy bear said, "who's been eating my porridge?" Mummy bear said, "who's been eating my porridge?" and baby bear said, "Who's been eating my porridge and they ate it all up?" They looked around the room and said, daddy bear said, "who's been sitting in my chair?" and mother bear said, "who's been sitting on my chair?" and baby bear said, "who's been sitting on my chair and they broke the bottom out of it?" And then they went upstairs.

Daddy bear said, "who's been eating my porridge?" I mean, "Who's been sleeping on my bed?" "and who's been sleeping on my bed?" said mummy, "and who's been sleeping on my bed?" said little bear, "and there she is!"

Evaluation

So the baby bear woke Goldilocks up with his voice.

This example from Hillary of the end-at-the-high-point pattern is certainly one of the best. Hillary leads up to the high point of the narrative with a series of well-formed ordered events. Action is then suspended at the high point as "Baby bear woke Goldilocks up with his voice," however, no resolution of the events of the high point action is provided. It is almost as if Hillary "forgot" to end her story. This story may be seen as a very close approximation of the classic pattern as illustrated by Jack (4 yrs).

Sharon (5 yrs) provides a somewhat shorter "end-at-the-high-point" narrative, *The Three Little Pigs*.

Complicating
Action

The first little pig decided to build his house from hay and the second little pig decided to build his house of, from sticks and the third little pig, he wanted to build a strong, strong house for to be safe, and he builded his house from bricks. One day the big bad wolf was walking by the stick house and huffed and puffed and he blew it down in one go. Then he saw the house made of hay and he blew that down too, and then he came to the brick house and he huffed and puffed,

Evaluation

and huffed and puffed and he couldn't blow it down and then he tried again and he was out of breath.

It should be noted that although Sharon does not provide an orientation clause, this does not affect the basic classic pattern, according to Labov. Again we see a build up to the high point of the narrative, the efforts of the wolf to blow down the house, which is dwelled on, and then terminated. Sharon appears to "end the narrative too soon." However, it is possible to see the classic pattern beginning

to emerge.

Nicholas (4 yrs) illustrates the end-at-the-high-point pattern also with his story of *Goldilocks & The Three Bears*.

Complicating
Action

One day the three bears were out walking and a little girl called Goldilocks came along and she, she knocked on the door and she knocked again but there was nobody there and she went in. And then she was hungry and she saw the porridge on the table. First she tried the daddy bear's and it was too hot and then she tried the mammy's and it was too cold and then she tried the baby bear's and it was just right an she ate it all up. Then she sat down on Daddy's chair and it was too hard, and she sat down on mummy's and it was too bouncy and then she sat on baby bear's and it was, and it broke all up.

And then Goldilocks went upstairs and she saw the beds. She tried daddy bear's, it was too high and mammy's, mammy bear's was too, eh, soft and baby bear's was just right.

Then the three bears came back from their walk. Daddy bear said, "Who's been eating my porridge?" and "who's been eating my porridge too?" said mammy bear and baby bear said, "who's been eating my porridge and it's all gone?"

Then they went, they saw the chairs. "Who's been eating, who's been sitting on my chair?" said daddy bear and mammy bear said, "who's been sitting on mine too?" and baby bear said, "who's been sitting on my chair and, and it's all broke up?" And then they went upstairs, up to the bedroom, and daddy bear said, "who's been sleeping in my bed" and mammy bear said, "who's been sleeping in my bed?" and baby bear looked, and he looked again,

Evaluation

and he, and he said, "there's someone sleeping in my bed."

Again, it should be noted that absence of an orientation clause does not affect the basic structure of the classic pattern. Nicholas demonstrates an approximation of the classic pattern. He builds up to the evaluative high point and dwells on this, before ending the narrative.

It is thus the ending-at-the-high-point pattern that is seen as the developmental approximation of the classic pattern (Peterson & McCabe).

Peterson & McCabe found several primitive patterns in their study of children's narratives. One of these patterns is labeled the *leap-frogging pattern*. The child "leap-frogs" from one event to another, leaving out major events. Thus, the original events of the narrative are difficult to reconstruct.

The narrative produced by Joanne (4 yrs), *Goldilocks & The Three Bears*,

is a leap-frogging pattern.

Orientation

Once upon a time there were three bears.
They walked out (1)

and then Goldilocks come and ate their porridge (2)
and then Goldilocks went into the baby bear's bed (3).
Then Goldilocks jumped out of the bed (4)
and then, then she ran out to the door (5)
and then she found her mummy (6).

Complicating Action
Evaluation
(throughout narrative)

As can be seen, Joanne "leap-frogs" from one event to another, as demonstrated by the numbering of each event. The events are temporally-ordered with each introduced by "then" or "and then." It is clear however that Joanne has omitted a major event. The bears do not return and as such Goldilocks' rapid departure appears unmotivated. Without prior knowledge of this story, the reconstruction of events that actually occurred in this narrative would prove difficult.

Another primitive pattern identified by Peterson & McCabe is the chronological pattern. This pattern is simply a description of successive events which are temporally rather than structurally integrated. The narrative does not appear to be structured around a high point. This pattern may be seen in Aidan's (5 yrs) narrative of *The Three Little Pigs*.

And the big bad wolf came and blew down the straw house
(1) and then the stick house (2)
and then he couldn't blow down the brick house (3).
And he got up on the roof, went down the chimney (4)
and there was a big pot at the end of it (5).

Complicating
Action

He fell into the pot (6)
and then the first little pig got a lid and put on top (7)
and threw him outside (8).

Resolution

Aidan's narrative simply recapitulates the series of events which took place, as numbered in the narrative. Each event is separated from the one before by the use of "then" or "and then." As can be seen from the narrative, very little elaboration occurs between each event. As with the classic pattern, Aidan's narrative does not appear to dwell on a high point. There are however some evaluative devices spread throughout the narrative which will be addressed later.

Bronagh (5 yrs) also demonstrates a chronological pattern in her narrative,

The Three Little Pigs.

Once upon a time there were three little pigs.

Orientation

The first little pig builded his house out of sticks (1)
and the second little pig builded it out of hay (2)
and the third little pig builded it out of bricks (3)
and then the wolf came along (4)
and he blew down the, em, the house made of sticks (5)
and then, he made the, and then the wolf came in and blowed
the house down of hay (6)
and then he couldn't blow down the house of things (7).
Then he tried to get down the chimney (8)

Complicating
Action

and then he fell into the pot (9).

Resolution

Again we see that Bronagh simply recapitulates the series of events that occurred without elaboration. Each consecutive event is introduced using "then" or "and then" emphasising the unitary nature of each. The experience is not integrated. The narrative does not build up to an evaluative high point, as in the classic pattern. Evaluative devices, are used during the narrative and will be dealt with later.

Finally, Alison (5 yrs) demonstrates a chronological pattern. This narrative is less complete than the other narratives in this section yet still displays the chronological nature of the events.

Goldilocks & The Three Bears

She made the porridge (1)
and the porridge was too hot so they went for a walk (2).
When they came back, Goldilocks came in (3).
Then she took some of the porridge (4)
and she took a bite out of daddy bear's but it was too hot (5)
and then mammy bear's one was too lumpy (6)

Complicating
Action

and baby bear's was nice so she ate it up, all up.

Evaluation
(throughout narrative)

Alison's narrative is not structured around a high point but is simply a series of events that occurred. The remaining categories of primitive narrative structure were not identified in the narratives in this sample but are summarised briefly

below:

Impoverished Pattern: This pattern either consists of so few sentences that they contain no recognisable or analysable pattern, or consists only of two events which are recapitulated over and over.

Disorientated Pattern: This narrative cannot be understood due to confusion on the part of the child, or misuse of language.

Miscellaneous: Any narrative which cannot be classified as one of the above (Peterson & McCabe).

Narratives, however, are not only concerned with "making sense," but also with "being appreciated, being amusing, being considered well done and so on" (Kernan 100). As Labov puts it, every good narrator is concerned with warding off the question—"so what?" According to Labov it is the function of the evaluation section to ward off such questions.

Originally, Labov and Waletzky limited the evaluation of the narrative to an evaluation "section." However, Labov modifies this scheme to defining evaluation as a focus of waves, penetrating the narrative. Evaluation may thus occur at any point in the narrative and this is certainly the case with the narratives in this sample.

The narratives were analysed for the twenty one types of evaluation as isolated by Peterson & McCabe. The following types of evaluation were noted:

Stress—used to intensify the importance of things through a marked emphasis in voice (Peterson & McCabe 1983). For example: "(the wolf) tore the first little pigs house *into bits*" Christopher (6 yrs).

Elongation—also used for the purpose of emphasis by "drawing out" particular words. For example: "So she ate it *Aall* up" Alison (5 yrs).

Repetition—again, used for emphasis. For example: "So he huffed and he puffed, and he huffed and he puffed, and he huffed and he puffed but he couldn't, he couldn't blow the house down" Jack (4 yrs).

Compulsion Words—used to evaluate what went on (Peterson & McCabe). For example: "You *have* to go and build a house of your own" Christopher (6 yrs).

Gratuitous Terms—stress or intensify what they modify (Peterson &

McCabe). For example: "He was *very* bad" David (6 yrs).

Words-Per-Se—some adjectives, adverbs and verbs can, in themselves, be evaluative. For example, "Someone's been sleeping in my bed, and the naughty girl is still there" Fiona (6 yrs).

Intentions or Desires—also purposes and hopes. For example: "He wanted to build a strong, strong house for to be safe" Sharon (5 yrs).

Hypotheses or Inferences—this category also includes guesses and predictions. For example: "He knowed he was gonna be his friend" Jack (4 yrs).

Casual Explanations—according to Peterson & McCabe, casual explanations are those clauses introduced by "so" and "because" which underline the necessity of the sequence of events they connect. These words do not constitute casual explanations if they are used simply as conjunctions. For example: "She made the porridge and the porridge was too hot so they went for a walk" Alison (5 yrs).

Subjective Judgment—here the narrator uses his own judgment to evaluate the events. For example: "and then he tried again and he was out of breath" Sharon (5 yrs).

Descriptions of Internal Emotional States—These may be of the narrators themselves or other participants in the narrative (Peterson & McCabe). For example: "and then he was, he was very mad" Jack (4 yrs).

Other evaluation types isolated by Peterson & McCabe which were not identified in the children's narratives are as follows:

Facts Per Se—a fact per se can be evaluative according to Peterson & McCabe "because of widely held cultural assumptions" (224). Examples given include, "I caught the biggest fish."

Tangential Information—Information which is pertinent to the narrative and also frequently evaluative of the events in the narrative. Peterson & McCabe give the following example: "She gave me ten dollars for going in there, ten dollars is a lot of money when you're little."

Objective Judgments—The narrator uses other people to evaluate the events of the narrative (Peterson & McCabe). An example of such an evaluation would

be: "My dad didn't like the castle I made."

Negatives and Fantasy—According to Peterson & McCabe when fantasy and exaggeration comprises the bulk of a narrative, it should not be considered evaluative.

Attention Getters—used to focus listener's attentions on important pieces of information. For example: "listen," or "guess what?" (Peterson & McCabe).

Similes & Metaphors—are a form of evaluation according to Peterson & McCabe. Familiar similes and metaphors are not scored as evaluative as their conventional usage has diminished the evaluative impact. For example: "It went flying off."

Onomatopoeia—such as, "it went pow!"

Exclamation and Laughs—such as, "oh no!"

Results of the High Point—These are actions which, though not identical to the high point action, are related to it. Examples given include: "The ball hit my arm, my wrist was bent back" (Peterson & McCabe).

In Summary, the narratives in this sample were analysed using a high point analysis.

1. Each narrative was broken down into its narrative elements. These elements were defined by Labov as the components of a well formed narrative.
2. Each narrative was classified according to the structural patterns developed by Peterson & McCabe.
3. The types of evaluation present in each narrative were identified.

Description of Results

The following tables are the results of the analysis of one narrative from each child in this sample. The story told by each child is as follows:

Nicholas—*Goldilocks & The Three Bears*

Joanne—*Goldilocks & The Three Bears*

Grainne—*Goldilocks & The Three Bears*

Jack—*The Three Little Pigs*

Table 2 Narrative Elements Present in Each Narrative

Mean Age

5 yrs

Gender	F	F	M	M	F
Name	Bronagh	Alison	Aidan	Adam	Sharon
Abstract	—	—	—	—	—
Orientation	4	—	—	4	—
Complicating Action	4	4	4	4	4
Evaluation	—	4	4	4	4
Resolution	4	—	4	—	—
Coda	—	—	—	—	—

Table 3 Narrative Elements Present in Each Narrative

Mean Age

6 yrs

Gender	M	M	F	M	F
Name	Peter	Chris	Rachel	David	Fiona
Abstract	—	—	—	—	—
Orientation	4	4	4	4	4
Complicating Action	4	4	4	4	4
Evaluation	4	4	4	4	4
Resolution	4	4	4	4	4
Coda	4	4	4	—	—

Overall Narrative Structure

All of the children's narratives were analysed for overall structure of the narrative. Each narrative was classified as belonging to one of the patterns described by Peterson & McCabe. Results for each age group sampled are

Table 6 Classification of Narratives According to Overall Structure

Mean Age

6 yrs

Gender	M	M	F	M	F
Name	Peter	Chris	Rachel	David	Fiona
Pattern Type					
Classic	4	4	4	4	4
End-at-the-high-point					
Leap-Frog					
Chronological					
Impoverished					
Disorientated					
Miscellaneous					

The most notable result here is the absence of any primitive patterns from the narratives of the six year olds. The classic pattern is the only pattern used by this age group in the sample.

Evaluative Devices

The narratives produced by each age group were analysed for specific storytelling or evaluative devices. Watson pointed out that the evaluation function of narratives actually include notable narrative techniques of a wide diversity. It is these techniques that are utilised by the children in order to deem their narratives reportable. The evaluative devices identified in each narrative, were classified according to the twenty one types of evaluation as reported in Peterson & McCabe. The type and number of devices utilised by each age group is given below.

Table 8 Types of Evaluative Devices resernt in the Narratives

Mean Age	5 yrs				
Name	Bronagh	Alison	Aidan	Adam	Sharon
Onomatopoeia					
Stressors	4	4	4	4	
Elongators					4
Exclamations & Laughs					
Repetitions		4			4
Compulsion Words					
Similes & Metaphors					
Gratuitous Terms		4	4	4	
Attention Getters					
Words-Per-Se					
Exaggeration & Fantasy					
Negatives					
Intentions/Desires					4
Hypotheses or Inferences					
Results of Hi-Pt. Action					
Casual Explanations	4	4			
Objective Judgements					
Subjective Judgements				4	4
Internal Emotional States					
Facts Per Se					
Tangential Information					

Stressors and Gratuitous terms are again heavily in evidence with the five year old group. However, it is also notable that there is a greater variety and spread of evaluative devices beginning to emerge. Devices such as casual explanations, intentions and desires and subjective judgments can be identified.

Table 9 Types of Evaluative Devices Present in the Narratives

Mean Age	6 yrs				
Name	Peter	Chris	Rachel	David	Fiona
Onomatopoeia					
Stressors	4	4	4	4	4
Elongators		4	4		4
Exclamations & Laughs		4			
Repetitions	4	4		4	
Compulsion Words		4			
Similes & Metaphor					
Gratuitous Terms			4	4	
Attention Getters					
Words-Per-Se	4				
Exaggeration & Fantasy					
Negatives					
Intentions/Desires					4
Hypotheses or Inferences					
Results of Hi-Pt. Action					
Casual Explanations					
Objective Judgements					
Subjective Judgements	4				
Internal Emotional States			4		4
Facts Per Se					

Tangential Information

The evaluative devices of stress, repetitions and elongators are heavily in use with the six year age group. Objective judgment and also concern with internal emotional states of the characters is also in evidence. A range of evaluative devices are in use, with more use of subjective judgment and also concern with internal emotional states of characters.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The following results were obtained from the analyses used:

1. With age, a development appears to occur with regard to pattern in the narratives. By the age of six years the classic pattern is the most prevalent form in use. Prior to this, the four year old age group jump from one event to another, leaving out major parts of the plot, or build up to the high point

- of the narrative and "forget" to resolve these high point actions. The emergence of the classic pattern is in evidence however. At five years, events are recaptured in chronological order with little elaboration of details, or again, the series of events culminate in the high point which goes unresolved. By six years of age, the classic pattern is firmly in evidence.
2. Elements present in the narratives appear to undergo development also. With age, the "superfluous niceties" of narration are more in evidence. There appears to be more concern with orienting the listener, resolving high point actions and also in providing explicit endings to the narratives, in the form of codas. By six years, these appendages to the narrative proper are more firmly established.
 3. The most popular evaluative devices, across all age groups appear to be stressors, elongators, repetitions and gratuitous terms. However, with age, a richer variety of evaluative devices begins to emerge. The use of subjective judgments and concern with intentions, desires and internal emotion states emerges.

Sex Differences

It is important to note that, in general, no significant sex differences emerged through the analysis of the narratives in this sample. In each particular age group, both boys and girls appear to be doing similar things with their narratives at the same stages. No particular gender is achieving the "classic pattern" of narration before the other. One sex difference that appeared to emerge was in the types of evaluation used by boys and girls. While both genders utilised the devices of verbal stress, elongation and repetition, boys appeared to put more emphasis on intentions and desires, hypotheses and inferences and on the internal emotional states of characters.

In general, no major gender differences emerged across the analyses.

Discussion

This project sought to investigate the following questions:

1. What are the effects of age and gender on the development of children's narrative skill?
2. What are the explicit storytelling devices used by children in their narratives?
3. What effect, if any, would the interest value of a story for the child, have on its telling?

This discussion will be approached under the following subsections:

- (a) The reasons why the children may have told the particular stories they did will be investigated.
- (b) The developments evidenced in narrative skill in relation to age will be discussed.
- (c) The type of evaluative devices used by the children will be discussed in relation to both the story told by the child and also the interest value of that story for the child.
- (d) The implications for speech and language therapy will be addressed.

The Choice of Story

When the children who participated in this sample were asked to tell a story that they knew from beginning to end, an interesting pattern emerged. All children eventually volunteered one of two stories: *Goldilocks & The Three Bears* or *The Three Little Pigs*. Despite some of the children's attempts to narrate other fairy stories, it was to these two that all children returned. So why was it these two particular stories that all children appeared to be most confident and comfortable in telling?

On closer inspection, it appears that both these stories have a built-in formula that may appeal to children. The "epic laws of folk narrative" as proposed by Olrik, regulate the composition of oral literature to give a stability of form, which is in evidence in both of these fairytales. Both tales use "the law of repetition" in order to provide emphasis and also to fill out the body of the narrative. One striking scene is repeated over and over, perhaps with slight alterations. Goldilocks performs the same ritual with three different objects, trying each in turn for suitability. The wolf in *The Three Little Pigs* attempts to overcome each pig with the exact same dialogue and destroys each house in the same way.

Sutton-Smith suggests that the appeal of this patterning may be related to early language, where the stories produced by young children appear to have their own "internal grammar," which is central to how their stories are put together. It can be compared to the two-word stage of a child's language development when one word is used as a "pivot" for others, e.g., "Daddy go," "Mummy go," etc. The language or "theme" the child chooses is used to describe the same actions of a central character in a variety of situations. This may be demonstrated in a story from Bill given in Sutton-Smith.

The monkeys
they went up sky

they fall down
choo choo train in the sky
the train fall down in the sky
I fell down in the sky in the water
I got on my boat and my legs hurt
Daddy fall down in the sky (6).

Both stories also conform to the "Law of Three." Each scene is repeated three times, while three is also the number of bears and pigs that appear in the stories. These stories would obviously be much easier for the children to tell, as each contains a section which may be repeated over and over. The pressure to find the language with which to tell more "complex" stories, such as "Cinderella," is removed.

It may also be, that these two stories, "Goldilocks & The Three Bears" and "The Three Little Pigs" are most often *heard* by children, rather than read from a book. The appeal of these stories for the parent searching for a short simple bedtime story is obvious. This may explain some of the reasons given by the children for not telling, for example, "Cinderella," such as: "I haven't got the book with me" or "I only have the video of it at home." Both tales are remarkably oral centered tales in themselves. They seem to lend themselves readily to being "performed" rather than simply "read." It may even be possible that the children in this sample recognised this quality in selecting a story to tell.

The Development of Narrative Skill

The development of narrative skill in children was studied using a high point analysis. According to Peterson & McCabe, a high point analysis is beneficial in that "not only does this analysis sensitively describe personal, emotional information, it also monitors the child's niceties of presentation and his or her orientation of listeners" (61).

Elements of the Narratives

Using this analysis, a development with age in the number of elements present in the narratives, was noted. Three categories of elements contributed to the age effect—resolutions, codas and to a lesser extent, orientations.

The use of resolutions and codas were the most significant contributors to the age effect. By the age of six years all children were providing resolution to the high point actions of the story. Prior to this, the younger age groups in general, do not appear to be providing endings to their stories, although resolutions are in evidence in the four year age group. The use of codas also changes with age. By six years of age, the children are more aware of providing a formalised ending to their narratives, signaling that nothing else happened

relevant to the storyline. The codas provided by the oldest children in this sample are succinct, e.g., "that was the end of him" Christopher (6 yrs).

A slightly more sophisticated coda is provided by Peter (6 yrs) in that he ties up the events of the narrative by bringing the listener back to the present, "that's the three little pigs in my book." Overall it appears that as children grow older there is an increasing tendency to resolve the high point actions and terminate the narrative succinctly. As Labov points out, this may be due to the child's increased awareness of warding off such questions as, "so what?" or, "what happened then?" The narratives are more carefully organised around their high point actions and this greater organisation is reflected by the increasing sophistication of their endings (Peterson & McCabe).

The use of the orientation clause also undergoes some development, although its "increase" in use is not as obvious as that of the resolution and coda. This may be explained by the fact that nearly all fairytales have the fixed method of orienting the listener through the use of, "once upon a time, there was. . .," one which is familiar to children of all ages. Once the child has provided an orientation, it is not relevant whether they subsequently expand the orientation for a further six or seven lines, they have still highlighted it at the beginning (Peterson & McCabe). In this sample, the use of orientation is firmly established by six years.

A qualitative difference in the type of orientation given by each age group was noted, however. Of those who did not provide an orientation, it was noted that the younger age groups, four and five years, in general oriented their listeners by providing the names of the characters in the story. Little additional background information as to location or preceding events was given. This may be seen in the orientation provided by Joanne (4 yrs). "Once upon a time, there were three bears." By the age of six years, however, orientations produced by the children appear to contain more background information, with increased orientation towards location of events, as well as events leading up to the complicating actions, such as interdictions addressed to the main characters. An example is provided by Christopher (6 yrs): "Once upon a time, there was a mammy pig and three little pigs, and they lived in a small house. One day the mammy said, 'you have to go out and build a house of your own,' and so they did."

Peterson & McCabe note that younger children in fact take the time to orient their listeners as often as do the older children, relative to how long they talk. Thus, the succinct orientations provided by the younger age groups may be explained by the fact that the majority of these narratives are in themselves short and succinct. The fact that the majority of the children in this sample provided some sort of orientation, suggests that, in general, children are aware

of the needs of the listener for contextual information in order to make sense of their narratives.

The increase in the use of resolutions and codas in the older children's narratives parallels the increasing incidence of the classic pattern, so that by six years of age this is the most common pattern in use. It is the four patterns—leap-frogging, chronological, end-at-the-high-point and the classic, that summarise the changes occurring in narrative structure in the four to six year old children in this sample.

The elements present in the narratives are seen to closely parallel the overall structural patterns that emerge, which would be expected. The younger children in the sample, in general, organise their narratives around the central high point event, but then omit the resolving actions, resulting in an end-at-the-high-point structural pattern. One of the youngest children in this study omitted major events in her narrative. The chronological pattern, demonstrated particularly by the five year olds, was simple recapitulation of events that happened, and as such an orientation to background information or resolution of the events was often not provided. The younger age groups in this sample were more likely to truncate their narratives while the older children tended to continue on and resolve their narratives, formally ending them by use of a coda.

The comparison of the results of this discussion with other research into children's narratives may be hampered by the fact that the narratives produced by the children in this sample were of fairystories, as opposed to the personal narratives studied by Labov, Kernan and Peterson & McCabe. These stories will obviously differ from the stories in this sample in both content and form. Nevertheless, these fictional tales do share similarities with the factual narratives of previous research.

The research conducted by Labov and colleagues differs from this research, in that Labov collected a larger body of narratives from both children and adults. Labov's age groups differed, their youngest age group being pre-adolescent ten to twelve years, followed by adolescents and finally adults. The children's narratives of this sample were analysed according to Labov's system for both referential and evaluative information. All of these narratives could also be described according to the six elements outlined by Labov: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda.

However, the main comparison with this project is the work of Peterson & McCabe who based their high point analysis on the work of Labov, and also developed the structural patterns used to classify higher order structure of narratives. Peterson & McCabe collected personal narratives from ninety six children aged between three and a half to nine and a half years of age. An impressive total of 1,124 narratives were produced. The age ranges of Peterson & McCabe's sample obviously correlates better with the age ranges present in this project, than those of Labov's work. Many of the results obtained by

Peterson & McCabe parallel this work, despite the fact that only fifteen narratives were analysed in this sample.

In their analysis of the elements present in the narratives, Peterson & McCabe, found an increase in the use of resolutions from the younger to the older age groups and also an increase in the amount of orientation provided by the older age groups. Although no real changes in the overall incidence of orientation was discovered by Peterson & McCabe, they found significant changes in the way the older group oriented their listeners to the events of the narrative. Orientation increasingly included concern with conditions, general cases and ongoing events as well as with participants and time, found in the younger group's orientations. This would seem to correlate with the results of this project, whereby the older children included information about location as well as conditions and interdictions addressed to the main characters.

In the analysis of the structural patterns of the narratives in their sample, Peterson & McCabe identified a development towards the classic pattern, which by six years was the most common structure used. Prior to this, leap-frogging and end-at-the-high-point pattern (identified as a developmental approximation of the classic pattern by Peterson & McCabe) were most common.

This parallels the results of this study which identified movement towards the classic structure, also in evidence by six years of age. The end-at-the-high-point pattern and leap-frogging pattern are most common prior to this stage. This work, however, also identified the chronological pattern as a structure used, particularly by the five year age group.

Kernan analysed a small sample of narratives, eighteen in total, six each from seven to eight year olds, ten to eleven year olds and thirteen to fourteen year olds. All the narratives were collected from girls. Although the youngest age group is older than this study's oldest group, Kernan made some interesting finds, which are reflected in this work. In his analysis of the kinds of orientation used by his subjects, Kernan noted that the youngest age group tended to introduce the main character by name only. This would parallel the youngest children in this study who, in general, also introduced the main characters by name only. The older children in Kernan's sample were more concerned with fitting their narratives into more background information such as circumstance, location, mood, etc. These findings are similar to the results of this study. As Peterson & McCabe point out, children tend to get better at answering the contextual questions of who, what, when, where, and how between three and a half to nine and a half years of age. Kernan also found an increased tendency with age to include all elements of a well-formed narrative, as did this study.

Thus, in general, it appears that there is an increasing tendency with age

for children's narratives to become more complete and coherent with a greater appreciation of the needs of the listener.

Evaluative Devices

The evaluative devices used by the children in their narratives, were analysed according to the categories of evaluation defined by Peterson & McCabe. This is an important point to note, as these categories differ from those proposed by Labov.

According to Peterson & McCabe many of Labov's categories are more concerned with linguistic form or syntax than theirs, which are more semantically defined. This is due to a lack of instances in their narratives of the complex syntactic constructions that Labov found with his older age group.

Labov divides his evaluative devices into four categories: intensifiers, comparators, extensives and explanations. The categories proposed by Peterson & McCabe such as onomatopoeia, stress, elongation, etc. are similar to some of the categories of Labov. Categories such as foregrounding, rituals, futures and modals have been deleted and Peterson & McCabe have included categories such as intentions and desires, objective and subjective judgments, tangential information and exaggeration and fantasy (Peterson & McCabe).

Before discussing the types of evaluative devices used by the children in this sample, it is important to note that some stories provide greater opportunities for sound play than others. This is certainly the case with *Goldilocks & The Three Bears*, but most especially with *The Three Little Pigs*. As was stated earlier, it has even been suggested that this story is about the power of speech and chronicles the child's struggle in mastering his language (Berman). Both stories lend themselves to the use of stress, repetition, elongation of sounds and also the use of different voices to signal a change in character. Results must therefore be viewed with this in mind.

The most popular evaluative devices across all age groups in this study were stressors, elongators, repetitions and gratuitous terms.

No age changes in the overall use of evaluation was noted. However, with increase in age, a richer variety of evaluations appeared to emerge. The categories of evaluation that were seldom used include words per se, facts per se, exaggeration and fantasy, and similes and metaphor. These results in general parallel those of Peterson & McCabe. They also identified negative statements, compulsion words and casual explanations as being heavily used in their narratives, but were not noted in this study. Peterson & McCabe also identified stressors as being used twice as much by the middle age group (six and seven year olds) than either the youngest or oldest group. In general, Peterson & McCabe found younger children use more repetitions, fewer results of high point action, less tangential information and fewer evaluative facts per se.

Because of the fact that the most significant way in which the children in this study differed from one another was in age, the discussion of this project has focused on the development of narrative skill with age. No major gender differences emerged in the way the children structured their narrative across the age ranges. With regard to the evaluative devices used by each gender, it was noted that boys appear to use more subjective judgments and also to be more concerned with internal emotional states and intentions or desires. Peterson & McCabe also discovered boys to be more "verbally graphic" in descriptions of events, using elongation of words and gratuitous terms.

These gender differences may perhaps be explained by the story which was most popular with the boys and that which was most popular with the girls. Interestingly, out of the seven boys who participated in the study, six told the story of *The Three Little Pigs*. Of the eight girls in the sample, six told *Goldilocks & The Three Bears*.

The element of trickery, cunning and deception in the form of the wolf, is a major component of *The Three Little Pigs*. The wolf demonstrates use of pretence and trickery, violation of taboo and lack of regard for others. These characteristics may also be found in *Goldilocks*, but to a much lesser degree. *Goldilocks* does not appear to wantonly or purposely invade and disrupt the home of the three bears. It is her curiosity and innocence that leads her to violate taboo by entering a private place and to display a lack of regard for the feelings of others i.e., the three bears. The characteristics of the trickster, as given by Abrams and Sutton-Smith, are much more apparent in the wolf than in *Goldilocks*.

The wolf presents a cunning display of innocent charm in politely requesting admission to each pig's house. When he is denied his request, the wolf no longer restrains himself but destroys the little pig's house and eats him. In some of the versions given by the children, the wolf also adopts the pretence of being friendly and invites the pigs to join him "to pick some mushrooms." It may be that the attraction of the *Three Little Pigs* for the boys was this explicit display of cunning and deception, while the girls were attracted by the more subtle antics of *Goldilocks*.

Certainly, the boys in this sample were more prone to placing their own judgments on the antics of the wolf, as well as making inferences as to the intentions of the wolf or the three little pigs. Adam (5 yrs) tells us how the wolf attempts to destroy the brick house, "and he tried to blow it down, and he couldn't, and he nearly blew himself down."

Jack (4 yrs) tells how the pig was not deceived by the wolf's cunning, as firstly, "he was a magic little pig," and secondly, "he knowed he was gonna be his friend."

Christopher (6 yrs) is delighted by the pig's plan which overcomes the wolf's plan to destroy them, "and then he had a plan. He got a ladder and

climbed up the side of the house and jumped down the chimney. And the pigs had a plan. They got a pot and scalded him" (laughs).

The tendency of the boys in this sample to use more subjective judgment, and be concerned with intentions, internal emotional states, etc., may thus be explained by the interest the particular story held for them, rather than any significant gender difference in the use of evaluative devices (i.e., the greater the child's interest in the story, the more heavily it will be evaluated).

As boys, in general, are rougher and more robust in their play than girls, this may explain in some way the attraction of the wild and destructive wolf. The girls on the other hand may have been more attracted by the less destructive antics of Goldilocks.

Implications for Speech and Language Theory

As can be seen from this study, stories are a very important part of the everyday life of the child and can be a more important source of information about language. Children are exposed to stories both in the home and at school. According to Stewart and Page children who are unable to understand stories, may have difficulty in reading and comprehending story-based material, telling or writing stories, or recounting events that may have happened.

As has been demonstrated in this project, stories can be described by a set of rules defining their internal structure. These rules, which it has been proposed, also describe the individual's representation of story structure, are referred to as story grammar. Knowledge of story grammar has been shown to aid comprehension and memory of story text, in addition to helping organise incoming information (Stewart & Page).

Stewart & Page also state that some children in the language-learning disabled population experience difficulty using story grammar for comprehending and producing narratives. As most children appear to develop story grammar naturally through repeated experience with stories and story-like events; the implications are that language-learning disabled children need to be provided with opportunities to listen to well-formed stories. The fairystories, which were analysed in this study, are an example of such well-formed stories. As discussed earlier, these stories are seen to constitute "ideal structure" due to the epic laws underlying their composition (*Dundes Study*). Instruction in such ideal story structure, would provide children with the knowledge and skills to facilitate their understanding and generation of stories.

From comparing the data collected in this study with that of Kernan it appears that children achieve narrative skills faster in the telling of fairystories than in narratives of personal experience. Fairystories may thus be seen to serve as a model for the structuring of personal narrative. The repetitive and predictable storylines of fairystories may also serve as a basis for work on

increasing prediction skills through a greater understanding of cause-effect relationships.

From previous research and also from the results of this study, it appears that the classic pattern of narrative structure is achieved by the age of about six years, and sometimes before. The "niceties" of narration are emerging. Older children in the language-learning disabled population may retain the characteristics of the youngest children in this sample and as such need training in the identification of story-grammar components and their relationships (Stewart & Page). Knowledge of story grammar is basic for the acquisition of skills such as prediction and making inferences.

The use of story retell is a technique used in the clinical setting to identify children's story grammar skills. From the discussion of this study it is noted that the interest value and also familiarity of the story for the child has implications for its successful telling. This finding echoes those of Stein, who found that failure to use story grammar may reflect lack of familiarity with the topic of the story.

Children, therefore, learn about the structure of stories through exposure to stories. However, as Stewart & Page point out, some children have difficulty in acquiring these structures. These children need to be identified in order that techniques for facilitating story structure acquisition may be initiated with them.

Limitations of This Study

The limitations of this project have primarily been time. The collection of more than one narrative from each child would have perhaps been more representative of the narrative skills present in each group. Ideally also, the telling of a variety of fairystories may have revealed more fully the types of evaluative devices favoured by the children. The stories told in this sample, as has been pointed out, are more biased towards the use of sound play than others; elongation of sounds, use of voices, stress, etc. Constraints of time have also meant that the narratives sampled were only analysed at a superficial level. The *presence* of certain devices and structures was investigated rather than any in-depth study of how often they occurred in the narrative as a whole. During analysis, it was often difficult to separate the elements of the narratives from one another, for example, where does orientation end and the complicating actions begin? As Labov says, it is possible for all free orientation clauses to occur at the beginning of the narrative, but orientation may also be placed at points throughout the narrative. In this study however, it was taken that orientation occurred only at the beginning of the narrative. While this project only speculates as to the reasons why the children chose to tell the stories they

did, it may have been beneficial to question the children on why they told that particular story.

Future research might delve deeper into a comparison of the production of fictional stories, i.e., fairystories, and personal or real narratives from children. The question also of whether some fairystories are acquired in their classic form before others would be of interest.

It is thus clear that the area of children's narratives may be studied from a variety of viewpoints and a number of patterns obtained. But it is the wonderful creativity and style of each individual child in his or her storytelling, as evidenced in the narratives in this study, that must not be overlooked.

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CFS Lifetime Achievement Award Presented to Brian Sutton-Smith

The Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society presented Brian Sutton-Smith its highest honor, the Lifetime Achievement Award, at the Society's business meeting in Lafayette, Louisiana, 14 October 1995. Brian accepted the award medal and was given a rousing ovation. The following is a transcript of the presentation made by Simon Bronner on behalf of the Section.

It is my privilege to announce that the Children's Folklore Section presents its Lifetime Achievement Award to Brian Sutton-Smith. As teacher, scholar, organizer, critic, and cheerleader, he has been a towering presence in children's folklore, indeed in the study of culture generally. You should know his prominent bookshelf of works, including *Child's Play* (1971, with R.E. Herron), *The Study of Games* (1971, with Elliott Avedon), *Folk Games of Children* (1972), *A Children's Game Anthology* (1976), *Play and Learning* (1979), *A History of Children's Play* (1981), *The Folkstories of Children* (1981), *Masks of Play* (1984, with Diana Kelly-Bryne), *Toys as Culture* (1986), *Play and Intervention* (1994, with Joop Hallendorn, Rimmert van der Kooij), and most recently, *Children's Folklore: A Source Book* (1995, with Jay Mechling, Thomas W. Johnson, and Felicia McMahon). This is a small portion of his scholarship and his contribution to the study of childhood. I found, for example, that authors in *Children's Folklore* listed 57 separate articles and books of his worthy of extensive citation and discussion. This led bibliographic compiler Thomas Johnson to comment that Brian Sutton-Smith is "certainly the most prolific (and probably the best) researcher on children's lore today" (362).

In his writing and editing, his teaching and organizational work, Sutton-Smith has been groundbreaking in considerations of the social psychology of childhood, especially play and learning; social constructions of gender; and developmental and cross-cultural approaches to art and play. He has an international scope ranging from his native New Zealand to his adopted home of the United States and beyond. In fact, he has an exciting and sweeping work forthcoming produced by UNESCO on play across cultures. His bookshelf grows tremendously if you consider the number of students and colleagues he has influenced. He taught at the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University, and Bowling Green State University. He was a

Lifetime Achievement Award

founder of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society and a guiding light for the Association for the Anthropological Study of Play.

He has had an emotional impact on the field as someone intensely devoted to understanding childhood as part of the task of studying culture. In meetings, in letters, in conversations, he is always someone interested in what you are. He listens and glows, then cascades with incisive ideas, and eggs you to climb further up the mountain of scholarly pursuit. He counts a world full of colleagues and friends, and children who owe our concern for them to him.

So to Brian Sutton-Smith I proudly present this hand-cast medal designed by internationally-known artist Armand Szainer. It carries the symbols of children's play and the social and materials worlds of children. With this medal, the Society honors and recognizes your lifetime achievement.

Notes and Announcements

The **Children's Folklore Section** of the American Folklore Society annually offers the W.W. Newell Prize (which includes a cash award) for the best undergraduate or graduate student essay on a topic in children's folklore. Students must submit their own papers, and published papers are eligible. Instructors are asked to encourage students with eligible papers to enter the competition.

Papers must be typed, double-spaced, and on white paper. On the first page include the author's name, academic address, home address, and telephone numbers. Deadline for each year's competition is March 1st.

Submit papers or write for additional information: Margaret Read MacDonald, 11507 NE 104th Street, Kirkland, WA 98033.