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GETTING THE STORY ACROSS: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
APPROACH TO EVALUATIVE STANCE IN VENEZUELAN
CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES

Martha Shiro

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Education

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A Eli...

gracias.

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Abstract

In this study I examined Venezuelan children's developing abilities to use evaluative language in fictional and personal narratives. Narrating involves the construction of a story-world consisting of a sequence of motivated events. Evaluative language motivates reported events by making reference to the characters' stance and its interpersonal nature contributes to getting the story's point across to an audience.

Research suggests that only at school-age do children incorporate into their narratives more complex evaluative devices (e.g. reference to characters' mental states, multiple perspectives and global evaluation, Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991). Studies on English speakers' narrative development across genres (e.g. scripts, anecdotes, and fictional tales) find developmental patterns that vary in the different forms of discourse (Hemphill, et al., 1994). Because appropriate use of evaluative talk is culturally determined, and central to competent story-telling, it is important to examine this ability in children speaking other languages and from varying social classes. A pilot study on Venezuelan preschoolers' Spanish narratives found that evaluative language varied considerably with age and social class (Shiro, 1995).

The questions addressed in this study are: 1. What types of evaluative devices do Venezuelan school-age children use in their personal and fictional narratives and how are they distributed within the narrative structure? 2. How

does use of evaluative language vary across age, social class and narrative genre?

The sample consists of 428 narratives produced by 107 Venezuelan school-age children who participated in 4 narrative tasks, which elicited personal and fictional stories. Findings suggest that there are social class and age related differences in the use of evaluative expressions in narratives. Older children tend to use more and different types of evaluative expressions than their younger peers. Furthermore, children follow different developmental paths in fictional and personal story-telling. Age and social class have a greater impact on the use of evaluation in fiction, suggesting that working class children are at a greater disadvantage when performing fictional narratives than when performing personal narratives. As oral narrative abilities are related to academic skills (Snow & Dickinson, 1990), these findings can shed light on oral language skills that support literacy development.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The narratives of the world are without number. In the first place the word 'narrative' covers an enormous variety of genres which are themselves divided up between different subjects as if any material was suitable for the composition of the narrative: the narrative may incorporate articulate language, spoken or written, pictures, still or moving; gestures and the ordered arrangement of all the ingredients: it is present in myth, legend, fable, short story, epic, history, tragedy, comedy, pantomime, painting... stained glass window, cinema, comic strips, journalism, conversation. In addition, under this almost infinite number of forms, the narrative is present at all times, in all places, in all societies; the history of narrative begins with the history of mankind; there does not exist, and never has existed, a people without narratives. (Barthes, 1977).

Narrative is a form of discourse which portrays human experience.

Children are surrounded by stories and at a very young age, they start telling their own stories. The aim of this study is to examine Venezuelan children's developing narrative abilities, focusing on their use of evaluative language in fictional and personal narratives. I select narratives as a discourse genre because I view language development as a process whereby children learn to understand and produce different types of text in different contexts. Children participate in interactions where they use language to communicate. As a result, they need to produce communicatively meaningful language, which requires abilities that extend beyond the production of grammatical sentences. Thus, the main interest of this study is how certain text-forming skills enable children "to say the *right* thing in the *right* place at the *right* time" (Martin, 1983, p.1, emphasis in the original). I have chosen narrative discourse as the

type of text in which to study how children develop these abilities, because of the widespread use of this genre in both oral and written interactions (Barthes, 1977). As an important part in the meaning making process, narratives have a special role in the construction of experience. While acquiring narrative abilities, not only do children learn the language skills needed to form appropriate narratives, but they also acquire cultural and cognitive skills for representing human experience. Narratives, then, are immersed in contextual and cultural values. Thus, I have taken into account children's social class in examining how cultural and contextual features affect narrative text production.

Story-telling represents a particular challenge to young children, whose earliest conversations refer to the highly contextualized "here and now". When they narrate, children move on to the more decontextualized, more remote "then and there" required in narrative construction (Sachs, 1982). Oral narratives, by definition, operate on two time lines: the *narrated* time, which is usually in the past, and the *narrating* time, the speaker/hearer's time. In written narratives, this difference becomes even more complex because the writer's time and the reader's time do not coincide. Thus, these parallel timelines engender *spatiotemporal displacement* (Chafe, 1994). The speaker's 'here and now', or the *narrating* time, is different from the narrated time and, sometimes, from the addressee's time.

In addition to temporal displacement, the construction of a story-world requires a certain degree of *displacement of self*. Chafe (1994) describes the

distance between the *representing consciousness* (i.e. the narrator's consciousness) and the *represented consciousness* (i.e. the consciousness of the characters in the story-world). The narrator adopts a certain perspective from which to tell the story but, at the same time, portrays the characters' viewpoints in the narrated world.

Thus, displacement of time and self are two dimensions of remoteness in narrative production, with which children are faced. The degrees of remoteness vary from one narrative to another. For example, a boy's account of how he got injured in the immediate past, where he is the protagonist, is less remote than an account of how a friend was punished in school. This type of vicarious personal narrative, where the narrator is a minor character and/or an observer is, in turn, less remote than the retelling of a fairy-tale, a fictional rendition where the child depicts the attitudes of imaginary characters. Younger children may feel more at ease when they tell less remote narratives.

Narrative embraces a range of genres from personal to fictional, vicarious or non-vicarious story-telling. Preece (1987) recorded 14 different types of naturally occurring narrative genres in 5 year-old English-speaking children and found that personal narratives were by far the most frequent, followed by vicarious narratives (personal stories where the protagonist is not the speaker), and fictional stories based on TV programs in third place. As personal narratives seem to be the most frequent non-fictional narratives, and stories based on audio-visual material the most frequent fictional narrative in

children's spontaneous speech production, these two narrative genres were elicited in the present study.

Chafe (1994, p.33) suggests that one basic difference between fictional and factual narratives is the degree of displacement of self. Accounts of personal experience are likely to be less remote than fictional stories because they are based on the narrator's past experience and the narrator is usually the protagonist. On the other hand, fictional stories are likely to be more remote, as they depict a hypothetical world where the imaginary characters' attitudes, emotions, beliefs are represented through the narrator's consciousness. This difference between fictional and personal narratives implies that evaluative stance will differ notably with the degree of displacement in these two narrative genres.

Evaluative language in narrative production is understood, for the purposes of this study and within the framework of discourse analysis, as linguistic expressions referring to emotions, attitudes, beliefs, and affect, i.e. non-factual, perspective-building elements contributing to the **expressive function of the story** (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972).

The expressive function in narrative is interpersonal in nature. It depicts relations between characters in the story and, simultaneously, it expresses the narrator's attitudes, offering clues to help the hearer interpret the story. Thus, it is mostly through the expressive elements that consciousness is represented in a narrative. In fact, Bruner (1986) suggests that the evaluative elements in the narrative engender the **landscape of consciousness**. The

expressive elements can be contrasted with factual, content-building elements, such as reports of events, which contribute to the referential function of the story. Both functions are equally important in story-telling. The referential function makes the narrative more informative. The expressive function makes it more successful, as its interpersonal nature gets the point of the story across to an audience by providing meaningful relationships between events. I have chosen to examine the expressive function of children's narratives because it contributes to the production of narratives perceived as communicatively successful.

There is little agreement in the literature on narrative development regarding the types of evaluation to be analyzed. The types of evaluative devices analyzed in narratives ranges from a few (Labov, 1972; Reilly, 1991) to 21 (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). I have chosen to focus on representation of feeling, thought and speech in narratives¹ because they reflect children's interpersonal skills, particularly how they adjust their speech to contextual constraints (i.e. hearer-speaker relations, genre requirements) by building a story perspective.

As events are motivated within the story, evaluative stance is expressed through references to the characters' motives and reactions. Events can engender or can be engendered by a character's emotions, intentions, beliefs, perceptions. Thus, the categories of **emotions, intentions,**

¹ Representation of feeling, thought and speech can belong to the narrator or to the characters in the story.

beliefs, perceptions reflect types of evaluation whereby reference is made to the characters' stance in the story-world.

Evaluative language may reflect the stance of a story-character², along with that of the hearer and/or speaker (Grimes, 1975, p.61). When evaluative language is used to refer to a character's internal state, it is possible to identify the character from whose perspective that stance is expressed (e.g. compare *Creía que ella estaba brava* "[He] thought that she was angry" with *Ella estaba brava* "She was angry"). **Representing the characters' thought and speech enables the narrator to build interconnected perspectives for multiple story-characters.**

The following two stories told by Juan, a 10 year-old, illustrate how evaluative language is used to describe multiple perspective in narratives:

082.IGN.128.M Juan³

este [...] bueno se trata de un señor que es este [...] es espía, es Arnold Schwarzenegger pero su esposa no sabe eso. Su esposa cree él es [...] es [...] trabaja [...] trabaja [...] que trabaja en computadoras entonces este [...] entonces la esposa descubre que él era [...] que él era espía y la esposa descubre que ella [...] ella también trabajaba con [...] con un señor que se llama Simons. entonces [...] entonces le [...] ellos dos estaban en [...] en la casa, ahí durmiendo y [...] y llegaron unos [...] unos señores que querían raptar a [...] a los dos para que no [...] para [...] porque el [...] Arnold Schwarzenegger sabía que [...] que los que los raptaron tenían una bo [...] unas bombas nucleares, así. entonces él [...] él este [...] lo llevan [...] lo llevan con su esposa. pero él logra espia [...] escapar. entonces este [...] él tenía una hija. entonces la [...] también raptan a la hija. entonces [...] pero la hija [...] entonces el señor tenía una cadena , que era como la llave para eh [...] activar las bombas. entonces la [...] la hija de él agarra la llave y se la lleva.y en [...] y se montan en [...] donde se construyen los edificios, que es algo amarrillo así, un andamio. ahá,

² Who can adopt different roles such as: agent, instrument, experiencer, patient, and mover (Bamberg, 1994).

³ This identification string contains information about the child. The first number (82) is the ID number. The group of letters that follows represents the school (IGN). The second number refers to the child's age in months (128 or 10 years 8 months) and the last letter refers to the child's gender (Male). The name that follows is a pseudonym. Each narrative excerpt will be identified with its corresponding label. Each example will consist of the original Spanish version followed by my translation into English.

bueno, entonces el [...] el señor que las va [...] que activa le dice que le de la llave pero ella no quiere. Entonces el papá llega en un avión [...] en un avión y ella se tira. [Well, it's about a man who is a spy, he is Arnold Schwartzenegger, but his wife doesn't know this [=that he is a spy]. His wife believes that he works with computers. Then, his wife discovers that he's a spy and she discovers that she too was working with someone called Simons. Then, they both were sleeping in the house, sleeping there, when some men came and wanted to kidnap both of them because Arnold Schwartzenegger knew that those who were kidnapping him had nuclear bombs, like this. Then, [they] take his wife, but he manages to escape. Then he had a daughter. Then [they] kidnap his daughter. But his daughter, then the man had a chain, which was like a key, for activating the bomb, then his daughter takes the key and she goes away with it. They go up on [...] where they build houses, something yellow like this, a scaffold. Yes, well, then, the man who is going to activate them [=the bombs] tells her to give him the key but she doesn't want to. Then her father arrives in an airplane and she jumps.]

In this narrative (a summary of the film True Lies), Juan introduces the protagonist, then shifts to the wife's perspective. Note how skillfully Juan gives us a double perspective. One is the protagonist's, which coincides with the narrator's. The other is the wife's viewpoint, whose false belief about her husband's occupation vanishes when she discovers the truth. In what follows the kidnappers' viewpoint is represented when Juan explains that the reason for kidnapping the spy is that the abductors were aware of the fact that the spy was in possession of some privileged information (that the kidnappers had nuclear bombs). The whole conflict would be missed if Juan had not portrayed the story-characters' inner states. This way of representing consciousness in fictional story-telling differs from personal narratives, where the interplay between narrator and story-characters is more tightly knit.

082.IGN.128.M Juan

bueno, una vez en casa de mi abuelo estábamos todos, y mi primo y yo, que yo tenía como cuatro años, mi primo tenía como ocho, subimos a [...] al cuarto de mi abuelo. Entonces mi abuelo tenía una pistola debajo de la cama y mi primo la agarró y [...] y disparó, pero se fue por la ventana el disparo y esa [...] estaba todo blanco y yo salí corriendo, corriendo pa' abajo y mi [...] y mi primo también. entonces mi primo decía que fui yo el que disparé. Entonces mi abuelo le quitó las balas y me la dio para que

yo trataría de disparar y no [...] y no tenía fuerzas. Entonces ahí sabía [...] supieron que fue mi primo.

[well, once in my grandfather's house, we were all, my cousin and I, when I was four and my cousin was eight, we went into my grandfather's bedroom. Then my grandfather had a pistol underneath the bed and my cousin took it and [he] fired, but the shot went through the window. [He] was all white and I left running, running down. My cousin did too. Then my cousin said that it was me who fired the shot. Then, grandfather took out the bullets and gave me the pistol to shoot. I wasn't strong enough. Then, they knew right away that it was my cousin.]

In personal narratives, the child takes the narrator's role and also a story-character's role. In the example above, Juan starts telling the story from the viewpoint of a narrator who is only an observer (although he is also one of the characters). Thus, at first, he only reports a series of (very dramatic) events. Then, evaluative language is used to explain how the cousin wanted to persuade the grandfather that Juan had fired the pistol, but the grandfather realized that the cousin was lying. As a narrator, Juan is in control; as a character, he is helpless. Juan portrays himself in the story as a very young child: he is four in the story-world, almost eleven at the moment of the narrative rendition.

Thus, evaluative language is the basis for perspective-building in a narrative and of fictionalization of self (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). The child is faced with the construction of a narrated world where the roles and voices of the Self-as-Speaker and the Self-as-Character are combined with the Other-as-Character and the Other-as-Listener (Young, 1991).

Evaluative language can occur anywhere in the narrative structure. Its function in the narrative depends on its location. When evaluation is clustered between complicating action and resolution, it signals the climax of the story (high point, Peterson & McCabe, 1983). This global type of evaluation

conveys the point of the story, justifying the story's presence in the interaction. When evaluation occurs elsewhere in the narrative, its function is more limited. For instance, evaluation in orientation (e.g. "Once upon a time there was a beautiful queen who was always sad"), may set the mood of the story by introducing a *queen* as a story-character and describing her inner state. Revealing where certain evaluative devices appear in the narrative enables us to understand why they are used, what functions they have within the story (Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991, p.699). Studies of English speakers suggest that a developmental shift in the use of evaluative devices occurs between the ages of 6 and 9 with a higher incidence of mental state verbs (e.g. "think", "imagine", Astington, 1990), and concentration of evaluative language at the high point (Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991). Revealing what types of evaluation Venezuelan children use and how evaluative language is related to narrative structure will deepen our understanding of how Spanish speakers become skillful story-tellers.

Thus, in this study renditions of fictional and personal narratives are compared in order to reveal how children use evaluative language in the context of different degrees of displacement from the "here and now". By comparing fictional (third person) and personal narratives (first person), the different uses of evaluative stance will be examined. The differences may consist in the types of evaluation used, in their incidence or distribution, and more particularly, in the degree of displacement reflected in use of evaluative language. A narrative which is more displaced from the immediate context

may require more evaluative language and this may represent a more complex cognitive task for the speaker. Therefore, examining how children's use of narrative evaluation is related to genre will enhance our understanding of how children develop complex narrative abilities and how they learn to contend with contextual constraints. Furthermore, as genre skills are related to reading and writing skills (Snow & Dickinson, 1990; Feagans, 1982; Freedman, 1987, Purcell-Gates, 1992), understanding how children acquire these genre distinctions can contribute to our understanding of literacy learning. Finally, by comparing the narratives of children from different communities, we can gain insight in ways in which underserved communities can be helped more effectively in the process of acquiring academic skills.

Most of the growing research in narrative development focuses on the referential function of story-telling. Very few studies have dealt with children's abilities to represent evaluative stance⁴ in narrative (Vipond & Hunt, 1984; Astington, 1990; Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991; Emery & Milhalevich⁵, 1992) and no research, thus far, has been conducted on Spanish-speaking children's use of evaluation. However, findings on English-speakers suggest that, before school-age, children make little use of evaluative devices that contribute to the overall coherence of the narrative (Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991), and only older elementary school children (fifth and sixth graders) express interpersonal relations such as how one character perceives another

⁴ Throughout the proposal terms such as: evaluative language, evaluative stance, evaluative device, evaluation, expressive function will be used as rough synonyms.

⁵ Emery and Milhalevich study expressions of evaluative stance in children's response to literature.

character's feelings, viewpoints or motives (Emery & Milhalevich, 1992, p.54). Thus, a narrator who tells a story where the characters' stances are clearly represented is a skillful story-teller (Hewitt & Duchan, 1995). Given that use of evaluative language is closely related to narrators' social understanding of the world (Blum-Kulka, 1993; Gutierrez-Ciellen, Peña & Quinn, 1995), Venezuelan children's narratives may differ from North-American children's in the overall incidence and types of evaluative devices used, as well as in the linguistic forms which embody evaluative language.

Research Questions

The questions addressed in this study are the following:

1a. What types of evaluative devices are used by Spanish-speaking Venezuelan school-age children for expressing evaluative stance in fictional and non-fictional narratives?

1b. How are these evaluative devices distributed within the narrative structure?

2. How does the expression of evaluative stance vary across age, social class and narrative genre?

Narratives express the speakers' organization of world experience, and therefore, they cannot be separated from cultural factors. The pilot study I carried out to validate analytic measures in Venezuelan preschoolers' oral production of personal narratives suggests that the socio-cultural differences are likely to appear in the interpersonal realm, specifically in the use of evaluative language, a measure which was found to be most sensitive to developmental shifts and social class differences (Shiro, 1995). Between ages 3 and 7, the proportion of evaluative language almost doubled in children's narratives. Findings suggested that types of evaluation also varied across age and social class, namely references to internal states were more frequent in high SES and older children's stories, whereas repetition appeared more frequently in low SES and younger children's stories.

However, the findings of this pilot study were preliminary, and they refer only to children's personal narratives. The present research extends beyond

the limits of the pilot study with an increased sample size, the inclusion of narrative genre as a predictor variable, and control for reading ability and oral proficiency, which are likely to be correlated with the outcome variable, narrative evaluation (Fivush, 1991b).

Thus, I compare the use of evaluative language in two narrative genres (personal and fictional stories), examining its variation across two age-groups (7 and 10 year-olds) in a sample of Venezuelan children. As representation of stance develops later than representation of events, I hypothesize that 10 year-olds will use more evaluative language in their narratives than 7 year-olds. Furthermore, as fictional narratives are more remote from the speaker's context than personal narratives, I expect to find that the proportion of evaluative talk in a narrative will vary across narrative genre, and that the types of evaluative devices will vary with degree of displacement. Specifically, I expect that fictional stories will contain more evaluative devices than personal narratives, and that third person evaluation will be more frequent than first person evaluation in fictional stories. Similarly, as children become more skillful in incorporating reference to characters' stance in their stories, I expect 10 year-olds to concentrate evaluative talk around the high point more than 7 year-olds.

This dissertation is organized around the major topics addressed in the research question. In this chapter, I have presented the major research questions on which the study is based. In Chapter 2, I explain the methods used to collect the data and ways in which it was analyzed. In Chapter 3, I

describe the children selected for the interviews and the types of stories they produced in the four narrative tasks in which they participated. I also include some background information about children's reading ability and vocabulary comprehension. In Chapter 4, I answer the first set of research questions concerning types of evaluative language used by Venezuelan school-age children. Subsequently, I examine the relationships between children's use of evaluative language and certain contextual factors such as children's age and social class. In Chapter 5, I view how evaluative language in children's narratives is affected by the narrative genre in which it occurs. In Chapter 6, narratives are presented as a mode of self-expression. Representation of self is related to use of evaluative language and to the child's age and SES. Finally, in Chapter 7, conclusions are drawn from the findings and the implications of the study are discussed.

CHAPTER TWO

Research Design

Research Setting

The data for this study were collected in three private and three public schools in Caracas, Venezuela. To capture the social variation of the Venezuelan population (fast increasing poverty and dwindling middle classes), the sample was selected from both ends of the social scale. A total of six schools were selected to reduce self-selection bias.

The private schools from which the subjects were recruited are considered among the best schools in Venezuela. They are located in affluent suburbs, and they serve a population of upper middle class children.

School Cervantes functions in a modern building in the eastern part of the city. It is privately owned and it has about 2,000 students from preschool to high school. It has an olympic-sized swimming pool, basketball and baseball fields, an indoor gym and other sport facilities. Teachers and students wear uniforms. The teachers in charge of the primary grades are organized in areas, each with a coordinator (e.g. language, math, social studies, thinking processes, etc.). In each area, there are regular meetings where teaching materials are produced and discussed in collaboration. Under the guidance of the language area, all children have regular visits to the library where reading and discussion of what has been read is continuously encouraged.

School Góngora, not far away, also in the eastern part of the city, is a city in itself. Preschool, primary school and high-school function in three different buildings separated by green areas and fences. The extensive sport facilities are in common, but playgrounds, auditorium and teachers' offices function within the respective areas. School Góngora is funded by the Jesuit order of the church. The principal is a Jesuit clergyman and the coordinator of the primary grades is a nun. Some of the primary school teachers are also nuns. Unlike in most private schools, the religious component in the curriculum is very strong. Discipline is enforced strictly, but gently.

School Unamuno is located in the southern suburbs of Caracas. Its location up in the mountains surrounding the valley gives it a privileged view of the city. It is privately owned like School Cervantes. It serves about 1,500 students between preschool, primary school and high school. Discipline is not very strict, and teaching is effective. Drop-out rates are low and most students get admitted to the universities.

These three schools are highly selective and competitive. Children's admission is based on entrance exams and interviews. As demand exceeds capacity, a large number of the students who are admitted are alumni's children. Tuition fees are very costly and a great variety of extracurricular activities are offered at additional cost. Classes start at 7 a.m. and end at 1 p.m., after which time a large number of children stay on for extracurricular activities.

The public schools, on the other hand, are in a neighborhood where most of the population lives at or below the poverty line¹. School Rulfo is situated in a slum which extends south of the 18-hole golf course belonging to the wealthiest neighborhood in Caracas. City dwellers are so accustomed to this kind of contrast that it ceases to draw anybody's attention. Out of the three public schools, School Rulfo has the best facilities because it is funded by the Franciscans. The staff, however, is secular. Religion is taught for an hour or two every day. Approximately 1,000 students attend preschool, primary and high school. Compared to the other two public schools, the students in School Rulfo are the most motivated and disciplined.

School Cortázar is situated in the eastern outskirts of the city. It is a small public school, serving about 500 students from K to 6th grade. It is entirely funded by the Venezuelan government. Although located in a middle class area of the city, the children come from the numerous neighboring slums. The school operates in what seems to have been an old Spanish colonial house. The classrooms are where the tiny bedrooms must have been. More make-shift rooms were added when classroom space was needed. The small playground is insufficient for all the children to take a break at the same time. As the classes take turns for the break, the noise levels at all times are very high.

School Gallegos has the worst conditions of all the schools in the sample, but, unfortunately, it represents the majority of public schools in the

¹ A recent survey found that 81% of the Venezuelan population is living below the poverty line, of which 41% live in critical poverty (Maza Zavala, 1997).

area.² It is situated in one of the city's numerous slums. It serves about 700 students from preschool to high school, most from the *ranchos* (shanties) in the area. The building is dark and dirty. There is no playground, no sport facilities, no library. The roof serves as an open-air gym. The atmosphere in this school is tense or indifferent. The impression one gets is that learning is not a priority. What seems important is to keep the children off the streets, engaged in any kind of activity, for a short period of time. The problem of abuse of children's rights in the education system is so widespread that there are a number of non-profit organizations engaged in programs promoting the defense of children's rights.³

Tuition is free in all public schools, but admission is limited because of insufficient resources. The children in public schools get a free meal every day, and this, sometimes, is reason enough to encourage parents to take their children to school. Whatever financial support is assigned by the government to a particular public school, the number of children living in the underserved area exceeds the actual number that the school can serve due to limits of classroom space, high teacher/student ratio, and scarcity of other facilities. Given that there are not sufficient buildings for schools to operate, two shifts

² The press in Caracas (*Nacional*, June 29th, 1997) discussed that not ONE of the high school graduates from 186 public schools in the city has ever been admitted to a university. The total number of public schools in the city could not be found but it does not exceed 250 schools. Thus, the great majority of public schools do not prepare students to be admitted in a university.

³ UNICEF and other international organizations support these programs. In one of these organizations I was told that the most frequent problem children confront is that they do not have birth certificates and, therefore, they cannot be registered in school. There are 2 reasons why children do not get their birth certificates. One is when the parents are illegal immigrants, and this explains why I encountered so few immigrant children in the public schools. The other is that the public hospitals charge (illegally) a certain amount (around \$50) to issue the paper

of courses are offered every day in all three public schools in this sample, each with a different staff of teachers, principals and administrators. This reduces the period a child spends in a public school to 4 hours (from 7-11 a.m., and from 2-6 p.m.).

required for the birth certificate. As a great number of parents cannot afford to pay this sum, they leave the hospital without the paper.

The Sample

The population from which this sample was drawn consists of Venezuelan primary-school children in first and fourth grade. I selected these two age groups because developmental research suggests that considerable changes in the use of evaluation and elaboration of narrative structure take place in this period (Berman & Slobin, 1994; Peterson & McCabe, 1983; Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991) and that schooling, especially growing exposure to written text, affects oral narrative skills (Westby, 1985). Children's emerging reading skills were expected to be qualitatively different in the two developmental spans. As the data collection was carried out in the second half of their school year, the first graders were expected to barely recognize their names and a few other words when exposed to written text. The fourth graders, on the other hand, were expected to be more familiar with written texts and to read (and comprehend) short texts, especially fictional stories of the kind they were required to produce orally in the interview. To control for differences in reading and oral language ability, which may be related to narrative competence, the children were tested for these two skills with two standardized tests (TVP, the Peabody Vocabulary Recognition Test, Dunn Padilla, Lugo & Dunn, 1986; and CLP, a reading comprehension test, Allende, Condemarín & Miliciç, 1982).

The sample consisted of 107 children (Table 1). In my pilot study (Shiro, 1995), age differences in use of evaluative language showed medium-size effects. To detect such medium effect-size with statistical power 0.80, using multiple regression, requires a sample size between 60 and 80, depending on the number of control variables in the model (Light, Singer & Willett, 1980, p.20). To ensure sufficient statistical power, 120 children were selected and interviewed for this study. As not all the interviews were successfully completed because of children's unexpected absence during the data collection period, the sample was reduced to 113 children who completed all the necessary steps for the collection of the data. The sample was further reduced to 107 due to the elimination of six children's missing values on one of the tasks.⁴

The sample consisted of 52 females and 61 males selected from three public schools and three private schools. The slightly higher number of males is due to the distribution of students in one of the (catholic) private schools (Góngora), which used to be all male. Although it has been co-ed for several years, it still tends to have a majority of boys in its classrooms.

It is interesting to point out that the children in private schools have a slightly more diverse ethnic background than the children in public schools. Often times they belong to first or second generation immigrant families.⁵

⁴ In the description of the sample, I will refer to 113 children, as it is interesting in itself to examine which prompts elicited a larger number of responses and which had more missing values.

⁵ These immigrants are mainly from European origin. However, the proportion of immigrants' children did not exceed 10% in any of the classrooms observed. A majority of these were from Spanish or Italian descent. Some children were from German, Croatian, Greek and Iranian ethnic backgrounds.

Although in the sample all children are monolingual, a number of high SES children come from bilingual homes, whereas low SES children in Venezuela are mostly monolingual.⁶

Table 1

Distribution of the Sample (n=113)

	low SES	high SES	TOTAL
first graders	27 children	29 children	56 children
fourth graders	27 children	30 children	57 children
TOTAL	54 children	59 children	113 children

The sample was composed by randomly selecting approximately 10 children from first and fourth grade in each of the three public and three private schools after excluding children with special needs, bilinguals or children older than the class average (see distribution by grade and SES in Table 1). The children in the sample are normally-developing Venezuelan-born Spanish speakers, of parents who are both native Spanish speakers. Information about the children's background includes parents' occupation and education level.

Public and private schools served as a "proxy" for SES differences. Parents' occupation, income, education, home (Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardif, 1995), differ considerably between the two SES groups included in this sample. Although within-group variation can be observed, there is no overlap between

⁶ This does not mean that no immigrants' children live in poverty. On the most part, the low SES immigrants come from neighboring Spanish-speaking countries (mostly from Colombia). Many immigrants from Latin-American countries come to Venezuela illegally. As a result, their

the two SES groups on any of these indicators of social class. Parents who can afford to send their children to exclusive private schools, like those in my sample, tend to be business-owners or well-paid professionals. They are likely to have a university degree and to work as architects, engineers, doctors, journalists, airline pilots. However, given the economic situation in Venezuela today, professional parents cannot always afford to send their children to these very expensive private schools. Those who can usually come from wealthy families and are shareholders in the companies where they work. They are likely to own the homes where they live, generally houses or apartments in exclusive neighborhoods. The household consists of the nuclear family (parents and children), domestic help (one or more maids) and sometimes, a grandparent.

Parents of the children in the three public schools in the sample tended to be factory workers, house-cleaners or made a living by selling newspapers, fruits or candies in the streets. Some of the fathers were unemployed, something the children often mentioned as a problem in the interview. Mothers who stayed home to look after the house were not seen as unemployed by the children, even though they did not contribute to the family income. I could not get precise information about parents' education from the school records, but based on the information the children gave in the interviews most parents had lower than high-school education level. All the low SES children in the sample lived in *barrios* (slums). As Caracas lies in a

children cannot attend public schools, where the child's notarized birth certificate is required for registration.

valley and extends to the surrounding mountains, some of the mountainsides are covered with small houses built overnight by their occupants on land which belongs to the government or is privately owned but was considered unsafe for building. These shanty houses (called *ranchos*) have brick or cardboard walls and tin roofs. There is no running water and the electricity comes from connecting a line to the nearest electric post. The people sharing one *rancho* are usually the children with their parents (not necessarily both), one or more of the grandparents (usually the mother's mother) and sometimes one or more of a parent's siblings and their children.⁷

The children were divided into two age groups, first graders and fourth graders, determined by their school placement. The average age of first graders was 7 years, 2 months (hereafter the notation 7;2 will be used, st.dev=5 months, minimum=6;5, maximum=7;11) and that of fourth graders is 10;1 (st.dev=5 months, minimum=9;1, maximum=10;9). Table 2 shows the mean ages by grade and social class:

⁷ The family structure in Venezuela is centered around the mother. The father plays a very limited role since his place in the family is only provisional, while his estrangement is usually final both in terms of personal contact and financial support. The father's involvement in child-rearing, even when the parents still form a couple, is almost nil.

Table 2**Children's Mean Age by Grade and Social Class**

	mean age	st. dev.	minimu m	maximu m	n
low SES 1st graders	6;11	4.23	6;5	7;6	24
low SES 4th graders	10;0	4.45	9;1	10;9	26
high SES 1st graders	6;10	4.09	6;6	8;2	28
high SES 4th graders	10;4	4.53	9;6	10;9	29

Procedures

After a period of observation, when rapport had been established, the selected children were individually interviewed by the researcher. Prior to the interview, the children's vocabulary comprehension was measured by TVIP Test de vocabulario en imágenes Peabody (Dunn, Padilla, Lugo & Dunn, 1986), a standardized test designed to test oral vocabulary comprehension. Reading abilities were measured by Prueba CLP Formas Paralelas (Alliende, Condemarín & Miliç, 1982). Subsequently, each child participated in four narrative tasks eliciting two narrative genres.

The Narrative Tasks

After an initial warming up conversation, where the children talked about their personal background, two tasks elicited personal narratives and two others elicited fictional stories. For each narrative genre, one task was elicited by modeling a narrative (the prompt is structured), whereas the other was elicited by a question (the prompt is open). As genre skills require internalization of contextual constraints, children must learn to respond

appropriately to different modes of elicitation (Hudson & Shapiro, 1991).

Therefore, two forms of elicitation for each genre gave a fuller picture of children's competence and also approximated children's narrative production in two different contexts: classroom situations (the structured task) and spontaneous conversations (the open-ended task).

The personal narratives were elicited with the following tasks:

1a. The interviewer modeled a short personal anecdote and asked the child if something similar had ever happened to her (adapted from Peterson and McCabe, 1983). As the finding of my pilot study (Shiro, 1995) suggested that not all prompts work equally well for all children, the decision was made to use three different anecdotes to elicit the children's personal narratives. The following three prompts were used:

a. *El otro día subí al Ávila y se me atravesó una culebra. Me asusté y salí corriendo. A tí te pasó algo parecido?* ("The other day I was hiking el Avila and I suddenly saw a snake. I got scared and started to run. Has anything similar happened to you?").

b. *Ayer en la cocina, estaba cortando el pan. El cuchillo estaba afilado y en vez de cortar el pan, me corté el dedo. Tuve que ir a la clínica para que me curen. Te pasó algo similar?* ("Last night, in the kitchen, I was cutting bread. The knife was very sharp and instead of the bread, I cut my finger. I had to go to the hospital to have it treated. Did anything similar happen to you?")

c. *Alguna vez te llevaron de emergencia al hospital?* ("Have you ever been taken to a hospital in emergency?").

When the child responded to more than one prompt, the best narrative was chosen for coding. Two criteria were used to select the best narrative for each child: length and coherence. Among the elicited narratives in this task, only the longest and/or the most coherent story was chosen. Out of the 290 narratives generated in this way, 110 were selected. This means that three children in the sample did not respond to any of the prompts.

1b. The child was asked to tell a story about a frightening experience (adapted from Labov, 1972). The question asked in the course of the interview was: *Te pasó algo alguna vez que te hayas asustado?* ("Has anything frightening ever happened to you?"). If the answer was yes, the prompt that followed was *Cuéntame* ("Tell me about it"). If the child said no, a few other attempts were made by the interviewer to elicit the narrative (e.g. *Estás seguro?* "Are you sure?" *Nunca te sentiste asustado?* "You never felt frightened?"). This task generated 109 narratives. The remaining four children did not respond to the prompt.

The fictional narratives were elicited as follows:

2a. The child was shown a wordless animated video (*Picnic*, Weston Woods, 1993) and asked to tell the story.⁸ The film was shown twice to ensure better recall and the children retold the story the same day of the second

⁸ It is worth mentioning that low SES children in Caracas have TV's in their homes and some also had VCRs. Thus, this activity was equally familiar to children of all SES. Based on the information children gave in the interviews, it may be the case that low SES children are likely

viewing. As expected, all 113 children produced a narrative in this task. To ensure that the child would be motivated to tell the story to the interviewer, when the film was shown, the interviewer was not present and thus, a basic principle of conversation (the principle of informativeness, Grice, 1975) was not violated in this task.

2b. The child was asked to tell the story of a favorite film, video or TV program. To elicit this type of narrative, first the child was asked if she liked to watch TV or go to the movies. Then, the child usually offered a list of her favorite programs or films. The interviewer then asked *Cuál de todos te gustaría contarme?* "Which one would you like to tell me about?". Children sometimes replied that they could not remember the whole story. The interviewer asked them to narrate the part they remembered. In this task, 112 children produced a narrative.

Thus, a total of 444 narratives elicited in these narrative tasks were coded and analyzed in this research project.

to spend more time watching TV than high SES children. This conclusion, however, should be confirmed by further research.

Table 3**Distribution of the Narratives (n=444)**

	Personal structured stories	Personal open-ended stories	Fictional structured stories	Fictional open-ended stories	TOTAL
High SES	29	29	29	29	116
1st graders					
Low SES	25	26	27	26	104
1st graders					
High SES	29	29	30	30	118
4th graders					
Low SES	27	25	27	27	106
4th graders					
TOTAL	110	109	113	112	444

In sum, as seen in Table 3, not all prompts were equally successful in eliciting narratives. All children responded to the scaffolded fictional task (recounting the animated video) and almost all responded to the open-ended fictional task (retelling their favorite film or TV program). The personal narratives were a little harder to elicit. In the scaffolded task (where every child was given three personal anecdotes as models) 110 children responded with at least one narrative, and in the open-ended task (narrating a frightening experience) 109 children responded to the prompt. The distribution also shows that the sample consists of a higher number of narratives produced by high SES children (234) than those produced by low SES (210). However, age did not make a difference in the number of narratives produced. These differences will be discussed further together with the findings.

The entire interview (warm-up session and four narrative tasks) was audiotaped and transcribed by myself and a research assistant in CHAT format (Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts, Sokolov & Snow, 1994).

This format allows for computer-assisted linguistic analyses with the help of CLAN (Computer Language Analysis, MacWhinney, 1994). The transcripts were divided into clauses (see Clauising Manual, Appendix A) and coded for narrative structure, evaluative devices and character stance (see Coding Manual, Appendix B). The use of evaluative devices was analyzed in all four narratives for each subject, paying particular attention to what linguistic forms were used in evaluative talk, the character whose perspective it referred to and the narrative component where it occurred. The frequency of the evaluative expressions was computed and combined in several outcome variables.

Measures for Narrative Evaluation

The outcome variables consist of the frequency of use of the following types of evaluative expressions in the four narrative tasks (adapted from Astington, 1993; Chafe, 1994; Tager-Flusberg & Sullivan, 1995, Daiute, 1993):

1. Emotion, expressing affect, emotion (e.g. *Se puso contenta*. "[She] was happy.").
2. Cognition, representing thought, beliefs (e.g. *Pensó que era un pajarito*. "[He] thought that it was a little bird.").
3. Perception, referring to anything that is perceived through the senses (e.g. *Vió al policía*. "[She] saw the policeman").

4. Physical state, referring to a character's internal state which is physical rather than emotional (e.g. *Estaba muy cansada*. "[She] was very tired").

5. Intention, referring to a character's intentions of carrying out some action (e.g. *Trató de escapar*. "[She] tried to escape.").

6. Relation, referring to an action which is interpreted as a relation between characters or a character and an object, rather than the action itself (e.g. *Encontraron al ratoncito*. "[They] found the rat.").

7. Reported Speech, referring to language representing speech:

7a: Direct, the character's words are recorded verbatim (e.g. *Le dijo: "Por aquí señor, por favor."* "[She] told him: "Here, sir, please"").

7b: Indirect, the character's words are indirectly reported (e.g. *Mi mamá le dijo que yo estaba ahí*. "My mother told him that I was there").

7c: Free, the lexical choices imply that speech is represented without explicitly reporting the words spoken (e.g. *Mi mamá me regañó*. "My mom nagged at me").

Two independent raters coded 20% of the narratives for the above described evaluative categories. Inter-rater reliability using Cohen's kappa was estimated at .86 corrected for chance agreement (see Appendix C for examples of coded transcripts of narratives produced in each task).

The evaluative categories are described in terms of the story-character whose stance they express (first person if it coincides with the narrator, third person if it refers to another character). Thus, the analysis yielded nine

evaluative categories of two kinds, first person and third person, in four narrative tasks (fictional open, fictional structured, personal open and personal structured). These 72 measures were combined in different ways for the analysis of their relationships with age and SES.

Table 4

The Variables.

VARIABLES	SCORED AS:
<u>OUTCOME VARIABLES:</u>	
EMOTION (D_EMO)	Frequency-per-clause
COGNITION (D_COG)	Frequency-per-clause
RELATION (D_REL)	Frequency-per-clause
PERCEPTION (D_PER)	Frequency-per-clause
PHYSICAL STATE (D_PHY)	Frequency-per-clause
INTENTION (D_INT)	Frequency-per-clause
REPORTED SPEECH:DIRECT (D_RPD)	Frequency-per-clause
REPORTED SPEECH:INDIRECT (D_RPI)	Frequency-per-clause
REPORTED SPEECH: FREE (D_RPF)	Frequency-per-clause
CHARACTER STANCE (D_EVA1, D_EVA3)	of evaluation belonging to 1st person or 3rd person perspective
OVERALL EVALUATION (D_EVA)	Sum of frequencies-per-clause
<u>PREDICTOR VARIABLES:</u>	
AGE	expressed in months
SES	0 for low SES. 1 for high SES.
<u>CONTROL VARIABLES:</u>	
READING ABILITY (STCLP)	Standardized CLP reading test score.
VERBAL ABILITY (STVIP)	Standardized TVIP vocabulary test score.

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CHAPTER THREE

The Children... the Stories

The Children

This study focuses on children's developing abilities to use evaluative language as part of their narrative competence. Thus, first graders' (7 year-olds) and fourth graders' (10 year-olds) fictional and personal narratives were analyzed to determine how their use of evaluative language varies with age, SES and narrative genre. The children's vocabulary recognition and reading comprehension were also tested to find out whether developmental shifts in the use of evaluative expression are associated with more general language abilities (Fivush, 1991a). Vocabulary comprehension was measured by the Spanish version of the Peabody Test (Test de vocabulario en imágenes Peabody, Dunn, Padilla, Lugo & Dunn, 1986) and reading comprehension was measured by a standardized reading test (Prueba CLP Formas paralelas (Allende, Condemarín & Miliç, 1982).

In this chapter, a general description will be supplied of the children selected for the sample. Information on the children's background will be provided, together with their performance on the reading and vocabulary tests and the stories they produced in the four narrative tasks.

Children's Age and Background

Children in the sample were selected according to age (more particularly their grade in school), socio-economic status (SES) and gender. In addition, each child was tested for reading and vocabulary recognition skills (Table 5).

Table 5

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of Independent Variables (n=113).

Variable	Mean	st dev	min	max
AGE (in months)	104.1	18.8	77	129
GENDER	.46	.5	0	1
SES	.53	.5	0	1
GRADE	1.51	.5	1	2
READING TEST*	49.49	9.93	25.3	67
VOCABULARY TEST*	116.09	17.49	67.0	145

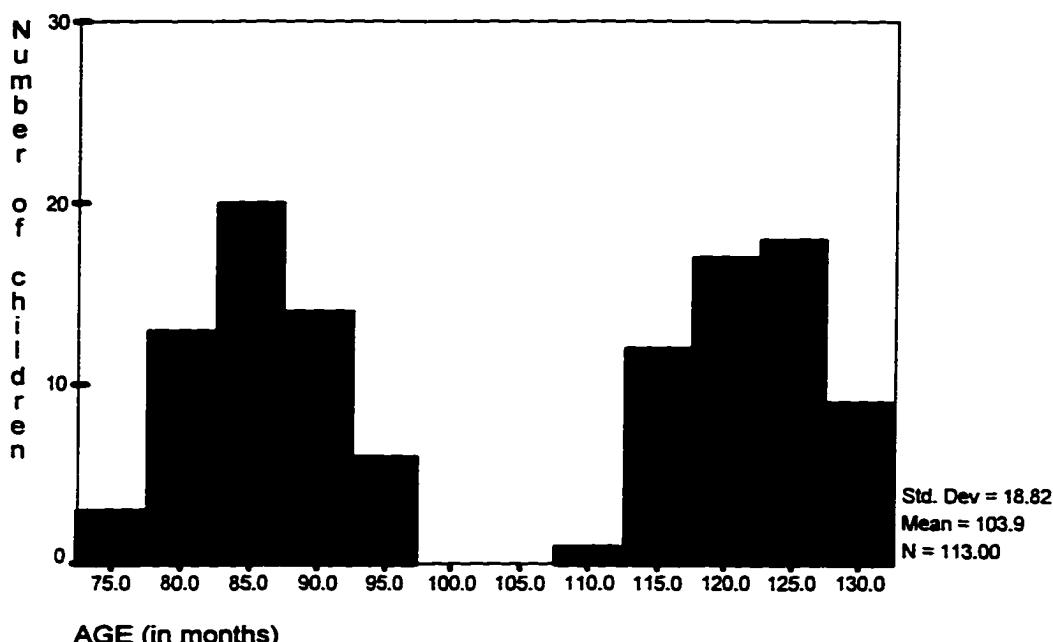
*Standardized scores

The children's mean age is 8;8 (standard deviation 1;7). As the children were selected from first graders (approximately 7 years old) and fourth graders (approximately 10 years old) in each school, age is a bimodal variable. The average age of first graders is 7;2 and that of fourth graders is 10;1. It would also be possible to use grade as a dummy predictor (1 for 1st graders, 2 for 4th graders) but I decided to use age, instead, in the taxonomy of regression models because a continuous variable carries more information than a dichotomous one. However, in the analysis I continuously checked whether grade is a better predictor than age. The sample is almost equally divided between first and fourth graders (56 first graders and 57 fourth

graders). As Figure 1 suggests there is a great deal of within-group variation in age within each grade, that would disappear if grade were the predictor variable.

Figure 1

Distribution of Children's Age (Measured in Months)(n=113).



The sample consists of 54 low SES and 59 high SES children. The children's SES was determined by the school they attended. Of the six schools visited for this research, three served a low SES population and three served a high SES population. The fact that there are slightly more high SES children in the sample is due to the difficult access to low SES children's schools, and also to the deletion of missing values from the data, which, with one exception, belonged to low SES children (a total of six children had missing values on at least one of the narrative tasks).

Although both SES groups in the sample had similar age ranges (see Table 2 for age distribution), low SES children had to be carefully selected to match these age ranges, because a large number of older children were attending first and fourth grade in the public schools.

Children's Vocabulary

The TVIP Test de vocabulario en imágenes Peabody (Dunn, Padilla, Lugo & Dunn, 1986) was administered to all children to asses their receptive vocabulary.¹ The test (Appendix D) requires the child to indicate one of four pictures that best represents the meaning of a spoken word. The items increase in difficulty from *barco* ("ship") to *deciduo* ("deciduous").² Vocabulary size is often used as a rough indicator of general oral proficiency (Dunn et al., 1986) and studies of English speakers suggest a high correlation with social class (Hart & Risley, 1995). The TVIP raw scores for the Venezuelan children were found to be highly correlated with children's age ($r_{TVIP,AGE} = .61^{***}$) and with SES ($r_{TVIP,SES} = .55^{***}$) implying, as expected, that older children as well as high SES children have a significantly larger receptive vocabulary than younger children or low SES children.

¹ This is the Spanish version (normed in Mexico and Puerto Rico) of a very similar test created in the US.

² Just as a point of interest, the word *deciduo* does not appear in any of the best known monolingual Spanish dictionaries (e.g. Diccionario de la lengua española, Madrid, 1992: Real Academia Española; Moliner, M. (1966) Diccionario de uso del español. Madrid: Gredos). I wonder if it is not a bad translation of the English word "deciduous". Although the presence of one questionable item does not invalidate the test, I would suggest its replacement with a more appropriate item that actually belongs to the Spanish lexicon.

The mean vocabulary standard score for the Venezuelan children was 116.1, or about one standard deviation above the population mean.³ The range was 78 points (minimum = 67, maximum = 145).

First and fourth graders showed essentially the same mean and variation in vocabulary scores (Table 6). Since these are standard scores (interpreted like IQ scores), no age effect would be expected. Raw scores for first graders, however, were about 20 points (or about one standard deviation) below raw scores for fourth graders.

Table 6

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of the Vocabulary Test Standardized Scores of 1st and 4th Graders (n=113).

	mean	st.dev.	minimum	maximum	n
1st graders	116.95	18.38	67	145	56
4th graders	115.26	16.68	72	145	57

Middle class children scored about 21 standard score points (more than a standard deviation) higher on the vocabulary recognition test than did lower class children (Table 7); a regression analysis showed that social class differences explained about 35% of the variation in vocabulary (main effect $F_{(1,105)} = 55.74$, $p < .0001$). Note that, though the social class effect was large, the lower class children included in this sample were still scoring at or above the population mean on average.

³ The population mean refers to the Mexican and Puerto-Rican population.

Table 7

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of the Vocabulary Test Standardized Scores of Low and High SES Children (n=107).

	Mean	s.d.	minimum	Maximum	n
Low SES	105.6	16.64	67	133	50
High SES	126.1	11.89	84	145	57

Comparison of the vocabulary test scores by grade and social class indicates that in both social classes the average scores of first graders and fourth graders are very similar (Table 8), given that the standardized scores show no age effect. However, the social class difference is evident. More than one standard deviation difference exists between low SES and high SES first graders' mean scores, and a similar difference can be found between low SES and high SES fourth graders' mean scores.

Table 8

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of the Vocabulary Test Standardized Scores of Low and High SES First and Fourth Graders (n=107).

	Mean	St.dev	Minimum	Maximum	N
Low SES 1st graders	106.5	18.17	67	133	24
Low SES 4th graders	104.9	15.02	72	130	26
High SES 1st graders	127.8	11.03	105	145	28
High SES 4th graders	124.7	12.67	84	145	29

Children's Reading Comprehension

A reading comprehension test, Prueba CLP Formas paralelas (Allende, et al., 1982), was administered to each child in the sample. I tested reading ability to detect whether better reading skills are associated with the use of evaluative skills in narratives. This standardized reading test, designed in Chile and normed in Venezuela, consists of two versions of the test for each grade level in primary school (a total of 9 levels). All first graders were given version A of the first level, and all fourth graders did version A of the fourth level (see Appendix E). Level 1 consists of matching words and sentences with corresponding pictures. The items increased in difficulty from matching a word (e.g. avión "aircraft") with its picture, to marking "true" or "false" the sentences describing a picture. Level 4 consists of four short texts followed by multiple choice comprehension questions. The texts increased in complexity in terms of reference continuity and topic familiarity (Allende et al., 1982). The comprehension questions also increased in complexity, starting with text-based questions and finishing with inferential questions.

As the scales in Level 1 and Level 4 scores were different, raw scores could not be used for comparative purposes. The standardized CLP scores, like the standardized TVIP scores, do not show age effects. The sample mean score was near the normed population mean (Table 9), but note that fourth graders scored slightly below first graders.

Table 9

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of the Reading Test Standardized Scores of 1st and 4th graders (n=107).

	mean	s.d.	minimum	maximum	n
1st graders	51.0	8.17	25.3	58.4	52
4th graders	48.9	11.03	28.7	67.0	55

Comparison of children's SES shows that middle class children scored, on average, 14 standardized score points (or more than one standard deviation) higher than working class children (Table 10). A regression analysis showed that SES differences explain 50% of the variation in reading comprehension (main effect $F_{(1,105)} = 105.64$, $p < .0001$).

Table 10

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of the Reading Test Standardized Scores of Low and High SES Children (n=107).

	mean	s.d.	minimum	maximum	n
Low SES	42.6	8.36	25.3	57.1	50
High SES	56.3	5.51	40.5	67.0	57

Furthermore, low SES fourth graders score considerably lower than high SES first graders on the reading comprehension test (Table 11). Note that the difference between high and low SES fourth graders is considerably larger than between high and low SES first graders, implying that social class differences in reading skills increase with grade (this finding is consistent with

studies on North-American children's reading achievement, Snow et al., 1991).

Table 11

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of the Reading Test Standardized Scores of Low and High SES 1st and 4th graders (n=107).

	Mean	st.dev.	min.	max.	n
Low SES 1st grade	45.4	9.04	25.3	57.1	24
High SES 1st grade	55.3	2.11	48.6	58.4	28
Low SES 4th grade	40.1	6.90	28.7	55.2	26
High SES 4th grade	56.7	7.49	40.5	67.0	29

Examination of the TVIP and CLP scores within social class indicates that in the low SES group, unlike the high SES group, there is a significant difference in the three public schools. Both the reading test ($r_{clp,school}=.38^{**}$) and the vocabulary test ($r_{vip,school}=.31^*$) are highly correlated with school in the low SES group. This association implies that children in school C  rtazar and Rulfo scored higher on both tests than school Gallegos. School Rulfo in particular, the Franciscan school, had the best results of all three public schools on both tests. There was no difference among the three high SES schools in test scores. Thus, it is possible to conclude that in the case of low SES children, school makes a difference. The evidence is not sufficient to prove whether the difference is due to better instruction in schools, or is related to self-selection in the sense that children who are likely to have better oral and reading skills have parents who, although living in poverty, select more carefully their children's schools.

The Stories

For the purposes of this study, children produced narratives in four different tasks. Two tasks elicited fictional stories and the remaining two elicited personal experience narratives. The fictional and the personal narratives were each elicited with two types of prompts. One type was open-ended, where the child could respond more freely, and the other more structured or scaffolded, where the child was given a topic (or range of topics) to elaborate on.

Fictional Narratives

The children produced fictional narratives in two tasks in which they responded to two types of prompts. In the scaffolded fictional task the children produced a story based on a wordless animated video (Picnic, Weston Woods, 1993). All 113 children in the sample produced a narrative in this task.

The film is about a family of rats who go on a ride in the country to have a picnic. On the way, the youngest rat, who was sitting on the outer edge of the truck with a teddy bear in his lap, fell off the truck. The strange noises in the woods scared the little rat, who hung on to his teddy bear. Then, he found a bush of raspberries and ate more than he could take. The rest of the family continued their trip, unaware of the little rat's absence, until they sat down to eat and the mother was serving a glass of milk to each one of her many

children. After she had given each rat a glass of milk, one glass was left with nobody to offer it to. She realized that one of her children was missing. Everybody started to look for the little rat, and the grandfather, who had driven the truck, remembered that part of the road was bumpy and the little rat might have fallen off the edge of the truck. They all packed their things and went back to that part of the road, where they started shouting the little rat's name. He was fast asleep in the bushes not far from there. The little rat was awoken by the cries and ran to embrace his family. In his rush, he left his teddy bear behind. As he was fondly welcomed by his family, he disappeared again to bring his teddy bear back. The family, once again reunited, went back to the picnic area and enjoyed their day out in the fields.

My summary of the plot shows how the children had to include evaluative expressions to relate the story. Expressions of cognition (realize, notice, remember), of emotion (scared, frightened, sad, happy), of relation (look for, find) were of particular importance to build the point of the story. In general, children enjoyed watching the film and willingly recounted the story at the interviewer's prompt. Furthermore, the fact that the interviewer was not present during the projection of the film made the task more spontaneous in the sense that the child was communicating "new" information in the interaction.

It is interesting to point out that not all the children referred to the characters as *rats* (*ratoncitos*). Some saw the animals in the film as rabbits (*conejitos*), others as people (*niños, la mamá, el papá, el abuelo*), some even

thought they were elephants or some other animals. This variation in the children's interpretation of the same referent in the film was surprising. What features in the drawings of the characters or in the child's previous experience determine the identification of the referent?

The open-ended fictional task was designed to give the children the possibility to choose the content of their narrative. The prompt required that the children retell a film or TV program of their preference. All the children understood this as an invitation to produce a fictional narrative. Nonetheless not all TV programs fit into this narrative genre. There are news programs, documentaries, musical shows, in addition to programs that would be categorized as fictional narratives. However, all children (except one who described a children's contest on TV) chose a program that would fit into the category of fictional narrative, indicating either a genre awareness (to the extent that they can assess the expectations of the interviewer), or a tendency to watch this genre and not the others (implying that this is the core genre associated with kid's programs on TV).

A total of 112 children responded to the open-ended prompt with a fictional narrative. However, a very common answer was *No me acuerdo* ("I can't remember"). Even if afterwards the child told a detailed story, this initial reaction implies that children at this age are concerned about memory limitations in the production of acceptable narratives. It seems, however, that they do not consider it equally difficult to remember other kinds of narratives. The role of memory was not an issue present in children's minds when

responding to prompts eliciting personal narratives, and only a few expressed problems recalling the film (*Picnic*) in the structured fictional task.

The most popular story among the children in the sample was based on the motion picture Jumanji, which generated 12 narratives. It is interesting to mention that 7 of these narratives were told by children of one private school. The reason may be that they all liked the film because they discussed it among themselves or because it was the most recent and publicized children's film at the time (see Nelson, 1986 for a discussion of shared social scripts).

The two topics that followed in popularity were TV programs: Power Rangers (10 stories), and Knights of the Zodiac (8 stories). The 18 children who chose to tell these two stories came from both public and private schools, and were mostly boys. As these narratives were based on TV series, the children did not usually relate one specific episode in the series. Thus, the resulting narratives did not follow a clear plotline. Instead, the children recounted an endless struggle between the *good* and *evil* characters. In this respect, these fictional narratives resembled *scripts* (i.e. what usually happens, Hudson & Shapiro, 1991; Nelson, 1986).

The other narratives belong to a long list which includes The Beauty and the Beast (4 stories: all girls), Pocahontas (3 stories: 2 girls and a boy) and other stories such as Lion King, Free Willy, Mortal Combat, Karate Kid, Congo, The Little Mermaid, The Prince and the Pauper, Jurassic Park, Batman, Tom and Jerry, and many others. Examination of the fictional stories

selected by the children suggests that certain stories were more typically chosen by girls (e.g. The Beauty and the Beast and Pocahontas) whereas others were more typically preferred by boys (e.g. Mortal Combat, Knights of the Zodiac). There did not seem to be social class differences in children's choice of topics in this narrative task. The only difference was the source of the movie that was recounted. Children from high SES backgrounds tended to narrate films watched in movie houses, cable TV or a recently acquired videotape. Children from low SES families were more likely to narrate TV programs watched on the four local channels.

Unlike in the previous task, in the open fictional task no pretense was necessary concerning the "newness" of the information communicated by the child. The interviewer was not familiar with the content of the stories told by the children. In fact, the topics chosen for this task revealed the types of stories in which school age children are interested. Further research should inquire into how children become interested in certain stories, and into how story content and/or form affect children's interest. Note that all the programs children chose to retell are foreign, most of them created in the United States. The Venezuelan fictional narrative programs which have large audiences (and take up many broadcasting hours) are the soap operas. However, only one child in the sample chose to summarize a soap-opera (*Pecado de Amor* "Sin of Love"). Why are these foreign productions so attractive for children and what cultural values do they convey? Is their popularity due to their content, to their marketing strategies or to the absence of equivalent local productions?

Personal Narratives

The personal narratives were produced in two tasks, similar to the tasks that elicited the fictional narratives. In the structured task, three brief personal anecdotes modeled by the interviewer prompted the child to produce narratives of personal experience (similar to the procedure followed by Peterson & McCabe, 1983). If the child responded to all three prompts, the best narrative was selected for the analysis. In this task, 110 children produced one or more personal narratives (the number of narratives per child in this task ranged from 0 to 6 for a total of 290). In terms of genre characteristics, all the narratives were based on personal experience. Although in the vast majority the main character was the child, in others, the main character was a parent, a sibling, sometimes a grandparent, a cousin or a friend. As we shall see, this difference in "whose story is being told" is translated into different ways of expressing point of view using evaluative language. The type of prompt may have had an effect in determining whether the child's story was vicarious (i.e. about a third person, not having the child as a protagonist) or not. In effect, if the child was able to recall a similar experience to the anecdote related by the interviewer, she would produce an autobiographical narrative. On the other hand, when the child was unable to remember anything similar that had happened to her, she may have brought back to her memory (or maybe even invented to please the interviewer) a similar anecdote that had happened to somebody else.

In the open-ended task, the prompt 'has anything frightening ever happened to you" elicited very similar stories to those produced in the structured task described above. A total of 109 narratives were produced in response to the open-ended prompt.

Interestingly, out of the 219 personal experience narratives produced in the open-ended and the structured task, only 12 anecdotes were vicarious. The topics were also similar in both tasks, suggesting that there is a limited range of *reportable* topics that are culturally accepted (Galindo, 1996). Most children talked about injuries, robbery, trips, among other things. Stories on injuries (or diseases) were the most common in children's narratives of personal experience. Miller and Sperry (1988) and Kemper (1984) also report that English speaking children's early narrative talk tends to have a negative content, physical harm being the most prevalent topic. Robbery, a closely related topic that many children brought up, has been for the past few years the most talked about topic in Caracas. It has been present in adult conversations and in newspapers because of the increasing violent crime rate in the city. No wonder, then, that children also talk about their experience with crime and assault. Finally, trips are also an important conversation topic in adult talk. Traveling abroad is valued as a rare privilege of a few who can afford it. Those who can travel enjoy talking about it. Thus, for the high SES children, a trip to Disney World is like a required "pilgrimage" without which they cannot become respectable (and respected) group members.

Some of the stories conveyed extremely traumatic experiences (particularly in the public school children, many of whom talked about physical abuse caused by parents). However, child abuse is not a topic which is being overtly discussed at any level in Venezuela. It is believed that it is a symptom of extreme poverty, but there is no research inquiring into the causes and manifestations of child abuse. The fact that some children are willing to openly talk about these painful experiences with a stranger (the interviewer) could enable social workers to gather necessary information for offering professional help to these families. Unfortunately, institutional funding for these types of project is insufficient to accomplish far-reaching changes.

The plausibility of children's accounts of personal experience varied a great deal. Some children mentioned strange things like crocodiles in a pool or encounters with monsters and ghosts. A child related a trip to the North Pole with his brother. Two children described having had a vision of the Virgin.

In sum, children's personal experience narratives covered a wide range of topics. The negative nature of the prompts (asking about a frightening experience) may have forced the children to select negative topics for their narratives. Similarly, the type of prompt may have triggered the high number of narratives about injuries and diseases. However, as suggested in other studies, it may be that physical harm and negative topics represent a prototype of "tellable" personal narratives. In the fictional tasks, the effect of the prompt was different. In the structured task, the topic and certain story elements were predetermined by the prompt, giving the child no choice to

select a topic. In the open-ended fictional task, the child had more options than in any of the other three tasks in the sense that the child had the freedom to choose the topic, the narrative viewpoint and the overall mood (funny, sad, frightening).

Unlike in the fictional narrative tasks, the topics in the personal narrative tasks seemed to vary with children's SES. For example, children in both social classes talked about robbery, but in the working class children's accounts, the narrator was the victim of violence and assault whereas in the middle class group, the narrator was an accidental observer of a violent episode. As the narratives children tell depend so closely on their life experience, the topics they chose to discuss reflected the distance between the two worlds which Venezuelan children inhabit. In contrast, the topics selected for the fictional task did not show such a close relationship with children's SES.

Furthermore, the description of the children in the sample and the stories they tell also illustrates that the same child is likely to produce stories with different characteristics in different tasks. Consequently, children adjust their language to the context and they use different abilities to satisfy the contextual requirements they learn to identify.

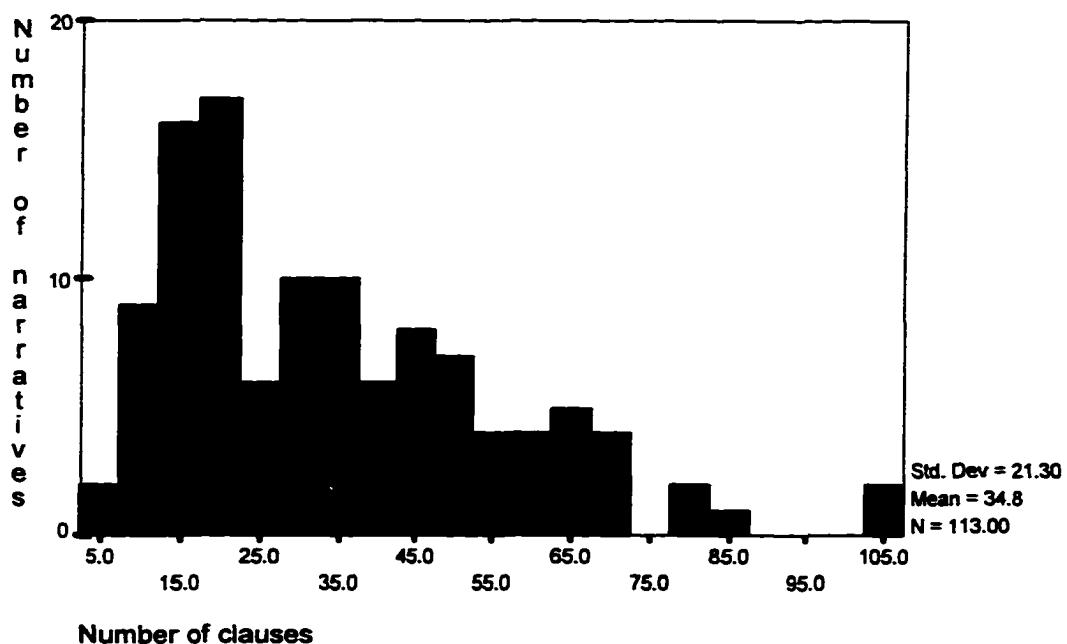
Narrative Length

Developmental studies suggest that the length of narratives increases with children's age (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) and that it varies with

narrative genre (Allen, Kertoy, Sherblom & Pettit, 1994). Although length is not a measure that can be taken by itself as an indicator of developing narrative competence, children who produce longer stories have the opportunity to display a larger variety of narrative skills. Furthermore, in oral interactions, children who can keep the floor to produce a longer narrative make use of skillful communicative strategies which enable them to keep the interlocutor's attention alive for the time required. Oral narratives, as a discourse genre, are likely to be produced in longer turns than other forms of discourse (e.g. instructions).

Figure 2

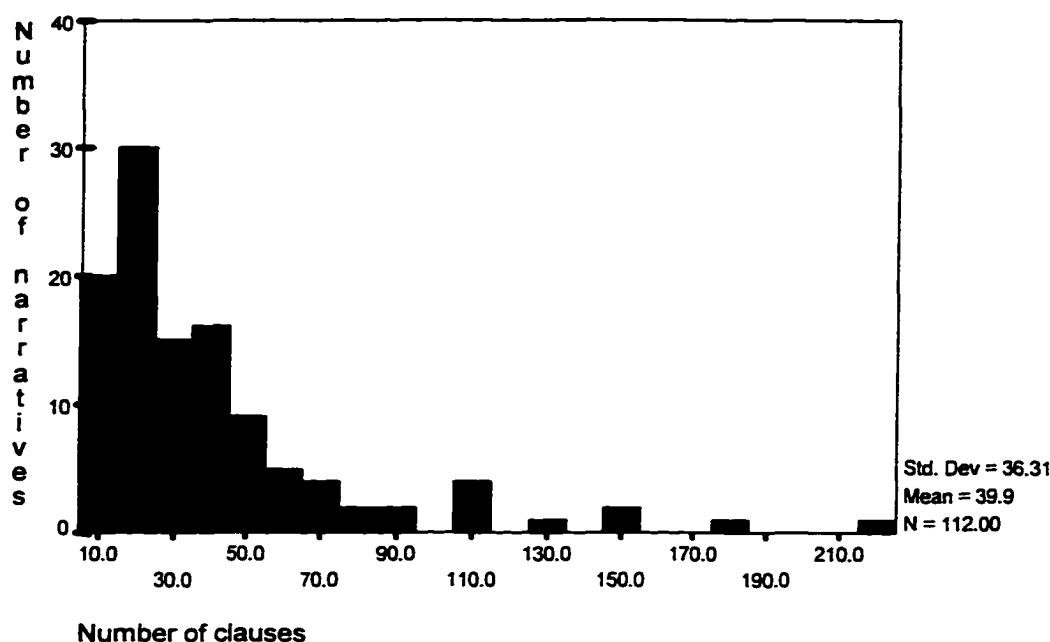
Length of the Recounting of *Picnic* in the Structured Fictional Task (n=113).



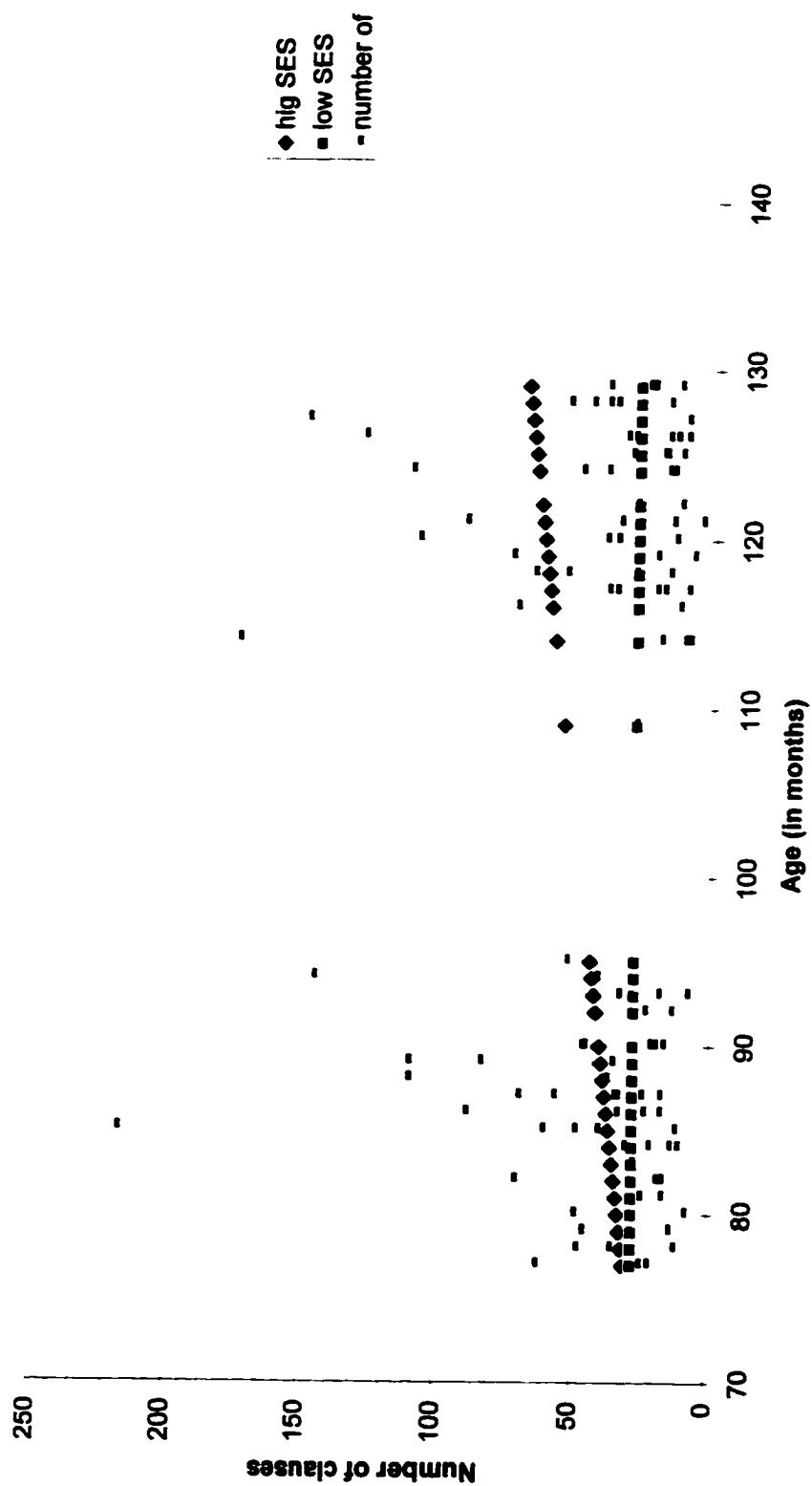
As shown in Figure 2, Venezuelan children varied greatly with respect to the length of their rendition of *Picnic*. Some children summarized the story

in five clauses, whereas others took much longer (up to 105 clauses). Regression analysis of narrative length on age and SES indicates that there is a strong relationship between the children's age, their SES, and the length of the narratives they produce ($F=15.71$, $p<.0000$). Older children produced longer narratives. Similarly, high SES children's narratives were significantly longer. Variation in age and SES explains 23% of the variation in narrative length.

The length of narrative renditions in the open-ended fictional task also show a great deal of variation. The number of clauses ranged from 8 to 215. As shown in Figure 3, the distribution is skewed towards the lower values with some extreme values at the high end.

Figure 3Length of Narratives in the Open Fictional Task (n=112).

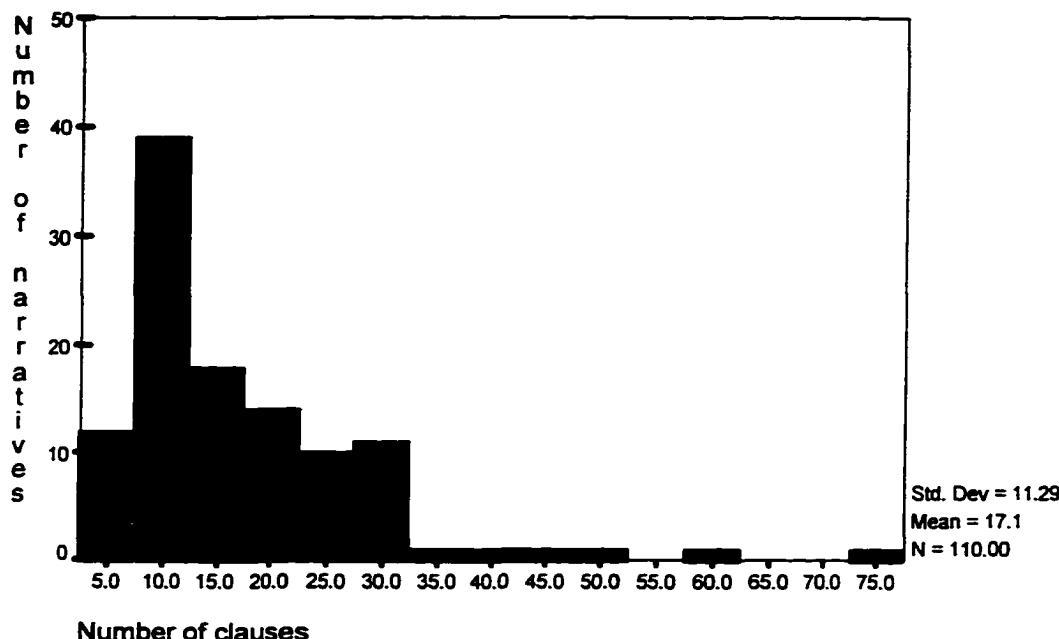
In this task length is also significantly related to children's age ($F=6.07$, $p<.02$) and SES ($F=11.18$, $p<.001$). When I examine the joint impact of age and SES on narrative length in this task, I find an interaction effect of age and SES ($F=6.95$, $p<.003$). As shown in Figure 4 older children produce significantly longer narratives than younger children but high SES children's narrative length shows more cross-age increases than their low SES peers. In this narrative task, 17% of the variation in length is explained by the variation of age, SES and interaction.

Figure 4**Fitted Interaction Effect of Age and SES on Narrative Length**

The length of the narratives produced in the structured personal experience task ranged from 3 to 73 clauses as shown in the figure below.

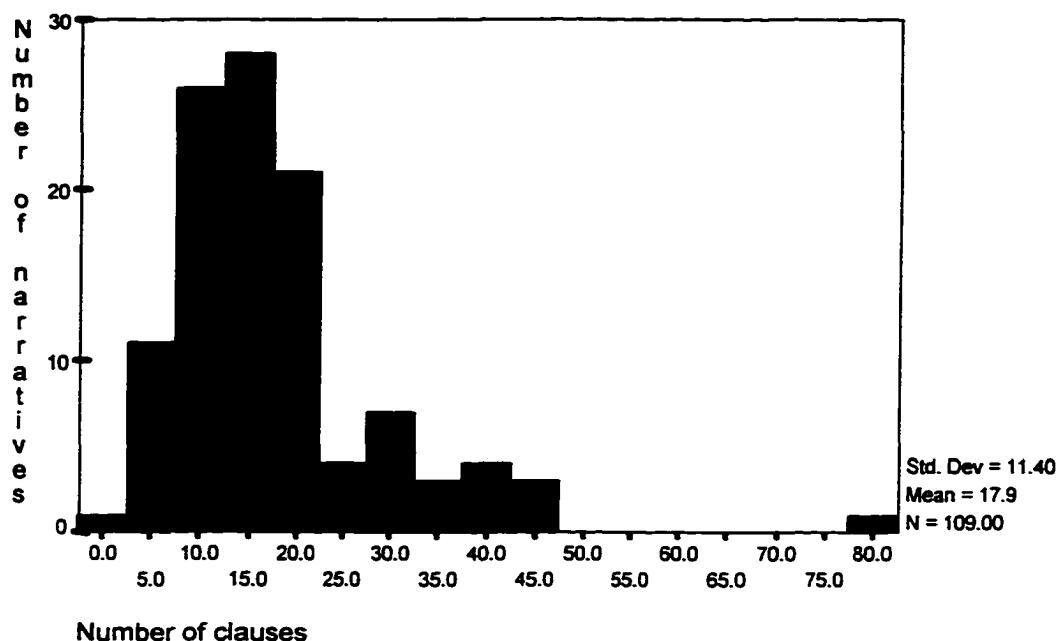
Figure 5

Length of Narratives in the Structured Personal Experience Task (n=110).



Results of regression analyses suggest that age and SES are not associated with narrative length in this task implying that older children and high SES children did not necessarily produce longer personal narratives.

The variation of the narratives' length in the open-ended task is shown in Figure 6 below. The narratives in this task ranged from 2 to 80 clauses in length but most narratives were between 10 and 20 clauses long. In fact, the narrative that has 80 clauses is an outlier.

Figure 6**Length of Narratives in the Open-ended Personal Experience Task (n=109).**

The results of regression analyses indicate that children's age has a small-size effect on narrative length ($F=3.84$, $p<.05$) suggesting that older children tend to produce longer personal narratives when they respond to the open-ended prompt. Only 4% of the variation in narrative length, however, is explained by the variation in children's age.

Table 12

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of Narrative Length in the Four Narrative Tasks

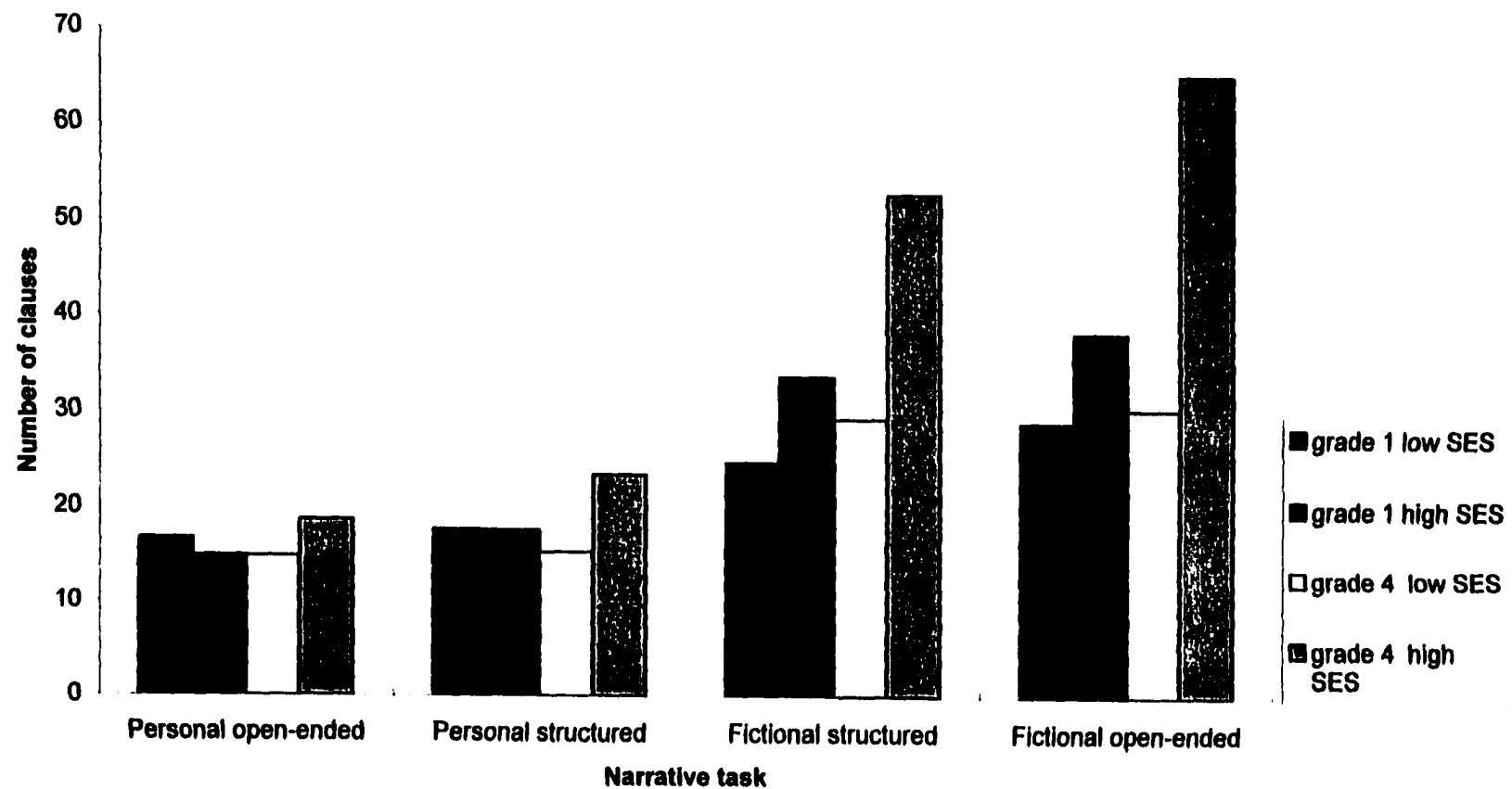
Narrative task	mean	st. dev	min	Max	n
Fictional open-ended	39.91	36.31	5	217	112
Fictional scaffolded	34.82	21.30	4	105	113
Personal open-ended	17.86	11.40	2	80	109
Personal scaffolded	16.08	10.01	3	60	110

A comparison of narrative length (Table 12) indicates that fictional stories are, on average, more than twice as long as personal narratives. Furthermore, narrative length varies with respect to age and SES. As mentioned earlier, older children and middle class children produce longer fictional stories than younger and working class children. With the open-ended prompt, high SES children increased their stories' length with age at a higher rate than low SES children. In personal narratives, older children produced longer narratives in response to the open-ended prompt. No effect of age or SES was found on the length of narratives produced in the structured task. Based on the analysis of narrative length, it is also possible to conclude, then, that fictional stories tend to be longer than personal narratives and that the prompts which elicit them can make a difference. Open ended prompts, on average, produce longer stories (see Figure 7). However, in fictional stories, SES differences are more remarkable in the open-ended task than in the scaffolded task. This finding suggests that scaffolding is particularly important to obtain better results with low SES children's fictional story-telling.

In sum, the children in the sample vary greatly in their reading and vocabulary recognition abilities. Children's social class has a great effect on reading achievement (Snow, Barnes, Chandler, Goodman & Hemphill, 1991). First graders in private schools have better reading skills than fourth graders in public schools, on average. Furthermore, certain public schools obtain better results on the reading test than others, implying that children can develop better reading skills if they select a suitable public school. The children in the sample are prolific story-tellers. On the whole, 444 narratives were produced by 113 children. These fictional and personal narratives covered a wide range of topics. Children's age and SES was found to have an effect on narrative length, particularly in the fictional task.

Figure 7

Comparison of Narrative Mean Length in the Four Tasks by Grade and



CHAPTER FOUR

Evaluation and Narrative Development

This is what I thought: for the most banal event to become an adventure, you must (and this is enough) begin to recount it...But you have to choose: live or tell... Nothing happens while you live... There are no beginnings... That's living. But everything changes when you tell about life; it's a change no one notices: the proof is that people talk about true stories. As if there could possibly be true stories; things happen one way and we tell about them in the opposite sense. You seem to start at the beginning: 'It was a fine autumn evening in 1922. I was a notary's clerk in Marommes.' And in reality you have started at the end. It was there, invisible and present, it is the one which gives to words the pomp and value of a beginning. 'I was out walking, I had left the town without realizing it, I was thinking about my money troubles.' This sentence, taken simply for what it is, means that the man was absorbed, morose, a hundred leagues from an adventure, exactly in the mood to let things happen without noticing them. But the end is there, transforming everything. For us the man is already the hero of the story. His moroseness, his money troubles are much more precious than ours, they are all gilded by the light of future passions. And the story goes on in the reverse: instants have stopped piling themselves in a lighthearted way one on top of the other, they are snapped up by the end of the story which draws them and each one of them in turn, draws out the preceding instant: 'It was night, the street was deserted.' The phrase is cast out negligently, it seems superfluous; but we do not let ourselves be caught and we put it aside; this is a piece of information whose value we shall subsequently appreciate. And we feel that the hero has lived all the details of this night like annunciations, promises, or even that he lived only those that were promises, blind and deaf to all that did not herald adventure. We forget that the future was not yet there; the man was walking in a night without forethought, a night which offered him a choice of dull rich prizes, and he did not make his choice.

I wanted the moments of my life to follow and order themselves like those of a life remembered. You might as well try and catch time by the tail. (J.P. Sartre, *La Nausée*)

Narratives are socially constructed ways of organizing experience. At a very early age the child learns to displace her language from the "here and now" to the more remote "there and then", necessary to talk about a past experience or a fantasy. In the child's socialization process narratives play a very important role. As consumers of narratives, children are exposed to personal and fictional story-telling, produced in adult-child or peer interactions. Some of the stories are repeated and are added to a family repertoire

(Norick, 1997). These narratives serve a number of purposes. The adult telling the story to the child models socially acceptable ways of talking about experience. Thus, the child learns what may be told together with ways of telling. Moreover, the child's memory is expanded by the parents' retelling of anecdotes of her past. Parents may recount episodes from the child's earlier life which the child does not actually recall. Narratives contribute in this form to the construction of the child's identity. Finally, exposure to narratives and scaffolding in joint narrative production help the child acquire the skills needed in producing her own narrative discourse. As the child learns to produce narrative discourse on her own, she is faced with two major requirements inherent to this genre: one is to organize the information in an acceptable way (building the referential components in narratives) and the other is to get the point of the story across (building the evaluative components).

The Organization of Narrative Discourse

The Referential Components

Narratives have been widely analyzed from the perspective of their rhetorical organization and there is consensus in the literature that narrative structure can be described in terms of a limited number of components. According to Labov (1972), the components of a narrative are: *abstract*, *orientation*, *complicating action*, *resolution*, *coda*¹. These structural components have a characteristic position within the narrative. The abstract, when present, appears at the beginning and the coda, at the end. The complicating actions usually precede the resolution and orientation precedes (though not necessarily) complicating actions and resolution. Although some researchers would include in orientation any relevant background information in the story (Labov, 1972), others would call orientation only the information given at the outset, assigning all other background information to evaluation (Menig-Peterson & McCabe, 1978).

Not all narratives contain the five components mentioned above, and, conversely, the presence of all five components does not assure a better quality in the narrative. However, some of these components are essential if a stretch of language is to be recognized as a narrative, whereas others are not. Complicating action, which consists of events organized along a temporal

¹ Other researchers like van Dijk (1980) and Longacre (1974, 1983) posit very similar structural components with different labels.

axis, forms, by definition, the narrative skeleton due to the fact that it tells us "what happened". Resolution, when present, can also be part of the narrative skeleton as it refers to "what happened" from the perspective of a character's reaction to the changes brought about by the complicating action. These two components form the **referential elements** of the narrative, as they make reference to events that belong to the outside or a "possible" world (Bruner, 1986). Orientation is another referential component, given that it informs the addressee about *who* the characters in the story are, *where* and *when* narrative events took place. Although orientation is descriptive, rather than narrative, in nature, its presence is necessary as it enables the hearer to understand background information relevant to the story. The amount of information that needs to be included in orientation depends on the knowledge shared by speaker and hearer. The abstract and coda are sometimes called "appendages" as they are optional in the narrative structure. Abstract consists of a brief opening summary, information that is expanded during the narration. The coda, on the other hand, is a closing remark that relates the narrative to the present, the 'here and now' of the interaction. Codas can consist of formulaic expressions, such as: "that's all", "that's it", "the end", among others.

Research in narrative development suggests that children's early narratives already contain some of these structural components. Peterson and McCabe (1983) have grouped narratives into categories on the basis of their structural organization. The canonical narrative structure is expected to

include a series of temporally sequenced events (the complicating action), a high point (evaluation organized appropriately to indicate the point of the story), sufficient orientation for the interlocutor to follow the story and a resolution. According to Peterson and McCabe (1983), children do not acquire this canonical pattern of narrative before the age of 6 or 7. The assumption is that children use other, simpler or less appropriate, narrative patterns across various developmental phases between ages 2 and 8 until they learn how to produce narratives following the adults' (canonical) structure. According to this study, the presence of a high point in the narrative indicates a developmental shift in the child's narrative competence.

The Evaluative Components

Alongside the referential elements of narratives, the evaluative elements play a very important role. It is through the evaluative components that the point of a story is conveyed. Usually, this is achieved by taking a perspective from which the story is told, by expressing characters' inner states, by motivating events. A sequence of events without evaluation merely forms a list, not a narrative (Schiffrin, 1994).²

When a child is faced with the task of narrating, she not only recounts events, but also chooses perspectives from which these events are told. As Engel (1995) so eloquently explains, children's stories can be vivid, creative

² However, even a list of events displays both referential and expressive functions, as it involves selection and sequencing, which are also evaluative in nature. White (1981) distinguishes between the list of (historical) events, which he labels *narrating*, and a fuller account, such as a historical text, labeled *narrativizing*.

and interesting without following the conventional rhetorical organization, because they have a distinct narrative voice. Thus, children often produce a special effect on the listener by deviating from the norm, similar to the effect produced by great novelists, who may also decide against the norms. The difference is that the novelists decide to breach certain norms in their careful search for a particular effect, whereas the children are unaware of the norms that they do not apply in their stories.

There is great variation in the literature with regards to what devices are used to create the expressive function. Findings indicate that children start using evaluation from a very early age (Eisenberg, 1985) but the number of evaluative devices increases with age, and the role of evaluation changes, becoming more global as the children's narratives mature (Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991). Reilly (1991) found that very young children use paralinguistic means to express affect (prosody, gesture, facial expressions) and as their narrative skills develop, the use of linguistic devices increases and the paralinguistic devices decrease sharply. As children's narratives become mature, there is a new increase in the paralinguistic devices used. This U-shaped development implies that children go through stages in which they concentrate on a new aspect that they are acquiring (e.g. linguistic devices to express evaluation) and then they reorganize their knowledge when they can successfully combine the paralinguistic features (used at an earlier stage) with the linguistic features (acquired more recently).

Miller and Sperry (1988), whose data consists of spontaneous narratives produced by 2 year-old children, make the point that evaluation may be a distinctive feature of narrative discourse. Their findings suggest that even very young children are capable of conveying attitudes in their accounts of past experience. They found that children's narratives contained five times more evaluation than other discourse types produced by the same children. Based on these findings, Miller and Sperry (1988) conclude that evaluation may be the most distinctive feature of narrative genres.

From a more cognitive perspective, Bruner (1986) makes the point that narratives have a dual landscape: the landscape of action and the landscape of consciousness. The landscape of action corresponds to what we labeled above (following Labov, 1972) as the referential aspect of the narratives: essentially the reference to the sequence of events. The landscape of consciousness corresponds to the expressive aspect of the narratives, basically evaluation. Astington (1990) explores the process whereby children come to understand the dual landscape of narratives. She suggests that the landscape of consciousness is rooted in children's theory of mind. A theory of mind implies a representation of reality where the individual can go beyond observable facts (Astington, 1993). For example, the experiment of false belief, widely used to study children's developing theory of mind, is constructed as follows. A child sees that an object is hidden in the presence of another person and that the object is moved to another place during that person's absence. The child has a theory of mind if she understands that the

person is going to look for the hidden object in the wrong place, based on how that person represents reality, which may differ from the child's own representation based on information that the other person does not possess. Thus, the child distinguishes between the consciousness of the self and of the other. Similarly, the different perspectives expressed in any story force the speaker to adopt the point of view of certain characters. Expressions like 'he seemed nervous', 'she thought it was a good idea' suggest that the point of view of the narrator and the character are not necessarily identical. Astington (1990) suggests that children do not have the ability to represent reality in this way before the age of 4. Other studies (Hill, Collis & Lewis, 1997) suggest that even older children show a limited use of certain cognitive verbs (e.g. *forget*). Thus, expressions used for narrative evaluation may have a late development.

According to Labov (1972), the expressive function is organized by evaluative elements which can be found in any of the structural components of the narrative, but evaluation is also a structural component in itself when it is concentrated between the complicating action and the resolution. In the Labovian analysis, any given (independent) narrative clause has either an expressive or a referential function. This sharp distinction implies that there is a one-to-one relationship between form and function. Each narrative element can be assigned only one function; it cannot be multifunctional. Thus a clause like "And the innocent by-stander was shot to death" would only have a referential function within the narrative because it moves the plot forward as it describes a narrative event. The questionable assumption on which this

dichotomy lies is that events are out there in the world, waiting to be narrated (and to be turned into the referential function of a narrative). Anything other than reference to “real” events will be part of the expressive component. However, the referential/expressive distinction is not so clear-cut. The position I take in this study is that this distinction can only be made for analytical purposes. Narrative clauses, as defined by Labov (1972) cannot be purely referential or expressive (Shiro, *in press*). Most narratologists and discourse analysts (as clearly exposed in Sartre’s passage above) argue that narrating involves more than simply reporting a series of events that occurred in the past. Any narrative implies a selection and an interpretation of actions before transforming them into narrative events. From this perspective, the expressive function is present in every narrative clause. Consider for example, a series of narrative clauses such as “He approached the door. He put his hand on the cold knob and slowly turned it. He slid the door open.” Is this reference to events purely *referential*? How would it compare to “He entered the room” as a reference to the same series of actions, or to the omission of this event altogether from the narrative performance? Are all three alternatives equally referential? Would they not be also expressive? Narrative evaluation is a complex multilayered and multifunctional aspect of narrative discourse. The function that Labov’s analysis emphasizes is structural, in the sense that evaluation becomes a component in the organization of the narrative text by building the high point of the story.

In this study, however, I focus on very specific kinds of evaluative expressions, namely, the ways in which children construct point of view by expressing emotions, beliefs, thought and speech. The reasons why I limit the analysis to these evaluative elements are twofold.

First, the main interest in this study is to understand how the child builds a perspective or point of view in the narrative, and the expressions of inner states and voices in the story force the narrator to adopt a specific stance and to shift it when necessary (Chatman, 1978). This interest is shared by research in children's developing *theory of mind* (Astington, 1993).

The second set of criteria for selecting this type of evaluation relates to the communicative purpose of narrative discourse. References to inner states such as feelings, thoughts, beliefs, and speech have a special kind of illocutionary force within the narrative. For example, when a feeling is expressed, if it is assigned to the speaker, the illocutionary force is that of an avowal (Mühlhäuser & Harré, 1990). The same feeling assigned to someone different from the speaker may constitute a report of an avowal, an interpretation of a situation or a request for confirmation (especially when the feeling is assigned to the addressee, e.g. "You are sad today"). As Wittgenstein (1953) noted, the indexicality of statements containing mental verbs is different from statements with other verb types. Moreover, the assumptions that underlie utterances like "I am sad today" are different from those that underlie "She is sad today" because if the former is an avowal (or

complaint), the latter may be a deduction, a speculation or a report of an avowal (c.f. "She said she was sad").

Given the differences in the communicative purpose of these utterances, narrative genres may differ in terms of how these types of utterances are combined. Similarly, Chafe (1994) suggests that there are two types of displacement in (narrative) discourse. One is *spatiotemporal displacement*, the possibility to talk about the non-immediate "there and then", rather than the immediate "here and now". The other is the *displacement of self*, pretending complete empathy with someone else's consciousness so that the world can be represented from a third person viewpoint. Ehrlich (1990) and Banfield (1973) call this language **represented speech and thought (RST)**. Studies in child development have shown that the ability to use this type of language is still developing at school age (Bamberg & Reilly, 1994) together with other text-forming skills (Martin, 1983).

The Social Context of Narratives

Undoubtedly, the expression of emotions, intentions, beliefs, thoughts and speech is not easy when children are constructing the narrative world. However, as Lucariello (1995, p.3)) explains, this ability is important in the child's socialization process:

A person is one who interprets reality through socially and culturally shared categories or frames. Individuals construct or establish reality in taking a stance toward it (Lucariello, 1995, p.3).

Thus, there is a close relationship between children's construction of reality and their construction of narrative worlds. On the one hand, the narrative world reflects children's view of reality and of themselves inserted in that reality. On the other hand, by constructing narratives, children internalize social relations. As a corollary, narratives can only be studied within the context of the social relations in which the narrator is immersed.

As views tend to be divided on this topic, I would like to elaborate on the reasons why I find the study of SES differences important in children's narratives. Some researchers would say that it is undeniable that social class differences exist and any study that points out those (quite predictable) differences only adds to the gap that already exists between social classes. This is the position adopted by those who criticize Bernstein's (1971) *elaborated and restricted codes*. Bernstein's (1971) argument was that language functions vary according to social groups. Lower and middle class families differ in how they use language in equivalent situations. There are

differences even in the communicative goals that language is seen to achieve, and as a result, some families verbalize more than others. Low SES families tend to use language to refer to the "here" and "now", whereas higher SES families use more "decontextualized" language (language not referring specifically to the immediate context, but to some remote context), a function of language that is compatible with the ways language is used in schools and for academic purposes (Dickinson, 1991; Snow & Dickinson, 1990). Critics (e.g. Hymes & Cazden, 1992) feel that by labeling low income speakers as users of a "restricted code", Bernstein was putting forward a "deficiency" model. Others believe (Cazden, personal communication) that it is useless to point out a list of differences between social classes. The better way to go about it is to deal with the consequences (e.g. rather than pointing out the differences between children, find approaches to dissipate the differences that prevent children from staying in school or having academic success).

Another group of scholars would argue that there may be some superficial differences among social classes, but the underlying constructs are the same (e.g. Labov, 1972 demonstrated that inner city children whose school performance was very poor could produce narratives with the same rhetorical structure and similar evaluative resources as their more successful peers from a higher SES, if the situation was appropriate).

The position I adopt in this paper is that the effect of social class should be taken into account when studying narrative development. I take this stance for three reasons:

1. Studies on how social classes differ in language use may help reduce the emotional factors which tend to distort our views of social differences. Only by studying the effect of social class on different aspects of the child's development can we fully understand the processes that lead to these differences. Otherwise, impressionistic conclusions (usually emotionally loaded) would either exaggerate or minimize existing differences.

2. Social differences may have implications that have to be accounted for, rather than ignored. Once the precise nature of a particular difference is detected, its implications can be assessed in terms of the consequences they may have in the children's future. Based on these considerations, policy decisions can be taken in order to prevent some of the major negative consequences from prevailing. My concern here is mainly with the education system and how some of these differences can be solved by schooling, by accepting alternative discourse forms as valid forms of communication and/or by using them as starting points to enable children to have access to the socially prestigious forms.

3. The scope of social differences should be determined. The effect of social class may vary dramatically from one culture to another, from one country to another. It also varies with political and economic factors which characterize each country. Thus, as my study of narratives is centered in Venezuela, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of social differences in that particular context and how they affect language development and narrative development.

The need to assess the effects of social class differences is especially important in the context of a country like Venezuela, where an ongoing economic crisis is affecting all sectors of public life. According to the most recent (unofficial) estimates, out of the 20 million inhabitants, 81% live below the poverty line (out of whom 41% live in extreme poverty).³ Venezuela is one of the world's largest oil exporters. The increasing gap between an affluent minority and the majority of the population who lives in poverty is the result of the uneven distribution of wealth, rather than lack of resources in the country. In the last few years the situation has become worse due to the uncontrollable economic crisis. Thus in 1990, the percentage of the population living in poverty was "only" 49% (of whom 22% lived in extreme poverty).⁴ The insurmountable gap between the rich and the poor leads to a division in the country. The majority of the population has very limited access to even the basic resources such as food, housing and services like health and education.⁵ These factors have a great impact on children's socialization process, of which narrative development is an important aspect.

³ As reported in Maza Zavala, 1997.

⁴ Taken from Ministerio de la Familia (1994) Estimaciones de pobreza al 30/06/94 Dirección de Información Social, División de Estadística, Caracas, Julio 1994.

⁵ Public health and education have been in crisis for several years now. The mass media also report dwindling food sales, suggesting that there is an ever increasing percentage of people who cannot afford even the most basic food requirements (*cesta básica*), the cost of which is higher than the minimum wage.

Evaluative Language in Narratives

Types of Evaluative Expressions.

The focus of the present study is to analyze children's developing perspective building ability in oral narratives. As mentioned above, narrating implies more than relating a sequence of events. The narrator should motivate events and organize them from a certain perspective. One way to achieve this is when the narrator includes information about the characters' inner states. Another is to report the characters' speech, which in itself serves as motivation for the characters' actions. It is almost impossible to find a spontaneously produced narrative with no evaluation. The following is a personal experience related by José, a first grader:

056.PE.89.M José

CHI: una vez me [...] me raspé las dos rodillas.

EXP: bueno, cuéntame cómo fue?

CHI: jugando basquet y hice [...] y venía y iba a agarrar la pelota y me raspé todo esto.

EXP: guau, y, qué pasó?

CHI: nada, me tuve que lavar.

EXP: no, no entiendo.

CHI: me tuve que lavar y todo para desinfectarme.

EXP: tú solo?

CHI: no, mi mamá me ayudó.

EXP: tu mamá te ayudó.

[Chi: once I bruised both my knees.

Inv: well, tell me what happened.

Chi: while I was playing basketball, I was just about to catch the ball but I bruised all this.

Inv: oh, and what happened?

Chi: nothing, I had to wash myself.

Inv: I don't understand.

Chi: I had to wash myself and all, to disinfect it.

Inv: by yourself?

Chi: Mom helped me.]

This account of a personal experience has only two evaluative devices. Both denote intention; the first *iba a agarrar la pelota* "I was about to catch the ball" is an unfulfilled intention, the second, *para desinfectarme* "to disinfect it" is the purpose of the action. This narrative does not come across as an interesting story and one of the main reasons is that it lacks the necessary evaluative support for the few actions mentioned by the child. It is noteworthy that the investigator's comment *No entiendo* ("I don't understand") elicits from the child a repetition of an already mentioned event followed by the second evaluative expression (*para desinfectarme*). It seems that José realized that one way of getting his point across is to motivate the events included in the narrative.

Thus, for the purposes of this study, I have chosen nine evaluative categories to measure the use of children's reference to subjective experience. These evaluative categories (cognition, emotion, perception, physical, intention, relational, reported speech: direct, indirect and free) refer to how the child represents speech and inner states such as feelings and thoughts (adapted from Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991; Daiute, 1993; Labov & Waletzky, 1967).

Table 13

Mean, Standard Deviation and Range of Evaluative Categories Composed for all Narrative Tasks (n=107).

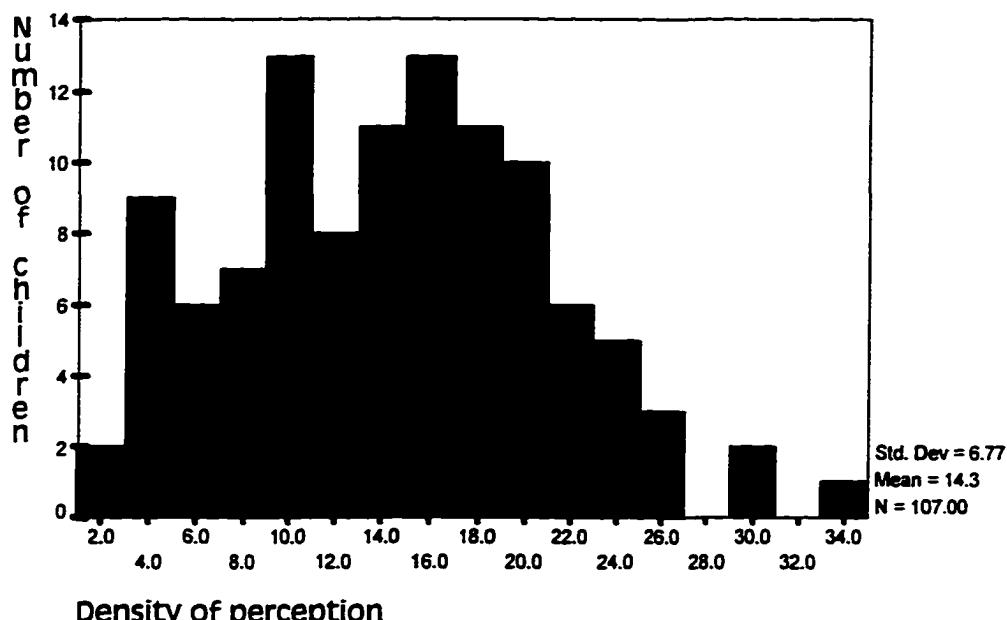
Variable	mean	st dev	minimum	maximum
Perception	14.5	7.09	1.61	34.74
Relation	10.2	5.19	.96	28.57
Reported Speech	9.0	6.38	.00	31.58
Intention	5.7	3.27	.00	17.31
Reported Sp. Direct	3.8	4.95	.00	26.73
Reported Sp. Free	3.7	2.96	.00	15.56
Cognition	3.7	2.34	.00	11.54
Emotion	3.5	2.74	.00	12.90
Reported Sp. Indirect	1.4	1.69	.00	7.88
Physical State	1.3	1.78	.00	12.40

The first research question addressed in this study involves the analysis of the types of evaluative expressions used by the children in narrative discourse. To answer this question, we examine the univariate analysis of each evaluative category combining the occurrences in the four narrative tasks (i.e. the sum of occurrences in the four tasks multiplied by 100 and divided by the number of clauses, hereafter **density** of the evaluative category, see Table 13) We find that, on average, the most frequently used evaluative category is reference to **perception** (D_PER). Venezuelan children, then, tend to use, on average, more expressions referring to senses (to hear, see, smell, e.g. "the children heard the drums") or modifiers expressing the narrator's view (visual or other, i.e. "the child found a very old box", where "very old" represents the narrator's perception of the box). This type of evaluation signals "who sees" in the story (or "who hears, smells, touches"), as opposed to "who speaks" (Ehrlich 1990, Genette, 1980).

Figure 8 indicates that the distribution of expressions of perception in the four narrative tasks is almost normal. All children used expressions of perception at least in one of the narrative tasks and in some narratives more than 30% of the clauses contained expressions of perception.

Figure 8

Distribution of Expressions of Perception in all four Narrative Tasks ($n=107$).



In the following example, Enrique's use of expressions of perception can be examined:

023.LE.85.M Enrique

ahá, que estaba por un murito que hay así larguito. Entonces yo de pequeño estaba por ahí, por ahí, por ahí. Ves hay un niñito que es grandecito. Ya es grande. Pero es [...] cuando yo era pequeño él era así. Como tiene tres años. Entonces un [...] él me empujó y yo me rompi por aquí. Entonces cuando crecí, ahorita cuando estoy en este tamaño no [...] no [...] este [...] eh [...] los dos siempre lo encontramos le sacamos la lengua.

[yeah, that [I] was near a wall which is like this, long. Then, when I was small, I was there, there, there. You see, there is a child who is already quite big. [He] is already quite big. But, when I was small he was like this. Like he is 3 years old. Then, he

[pushed me and I got hurt here. Then, when I grew up, now when I am this big, we both always run into him, we stick out our tongues at him.]

As we can appreciate in this excerpt, Enrique, a 7 year-old child uses primarily perception as an evaluative device. The use of adjectives (e.g. *languitito, grandecito*) gives us an idea of how the narrator perceives himself and the other child in the story. The presence of deictics (e.g. *así, por aquí*) adds to this visual impression that the child is constructing. I included in the category of perception occurrences of *así* "like this", which may not show sophisticated narrative skills, but it is still an evaluative strategy generally accompanied by some gesture.⁶ The overall visual effect of this passage is enhanced by the swift shifts between past and present tense in the narrative (e.g. *cuando yo era pequeño... como tiene tres años*). This finding is consistent with Clifford's (1983 in Young, 1991, p.222) analysis of the "primacy of the visual". Visual perception may give the impression of a lesser degree of subjectivity than auditory perception, for example. The presence of the perceiver reporting what is seen is felt less than the presence of the perceiver reporting what is heard (Young, 1991, p.222).⁷

Relation is the evaluative category that follows in frequency (D_REL). Though frequently used, expressions of relation are not used by all children (see Figure 9). In fact, more children use expressions of relation in the

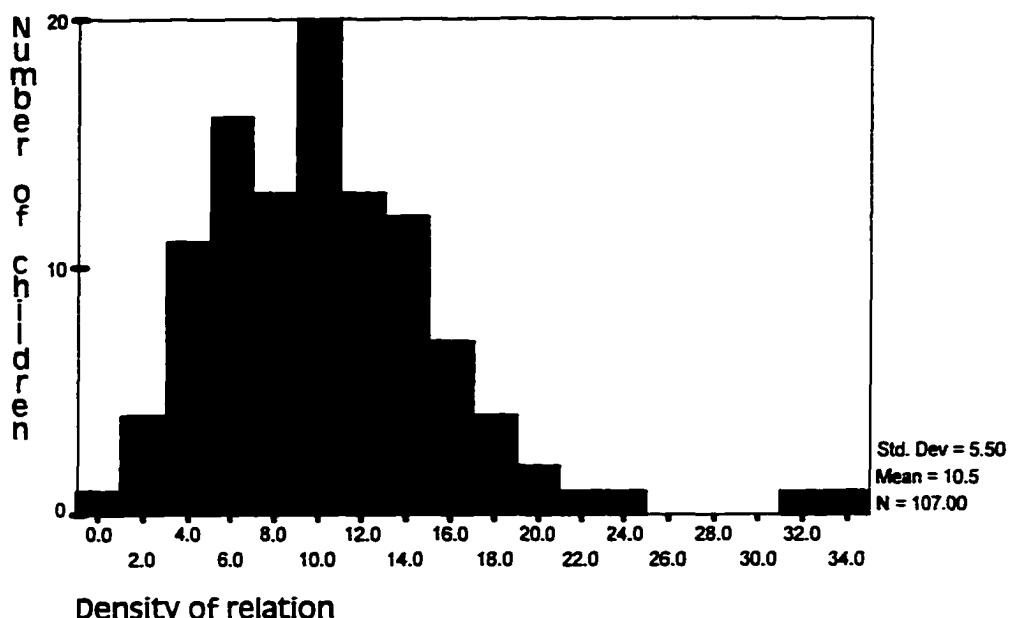
⁶ This type of evaluation fits Wolfson's (1982) description of *performed* (as opposed to non-performed) narratives, characterized by direct speech, asides, expressive noises, sound effects, motions and gestures. Romaine (1984) suggests that "there is nothing particularly skillful involved in performing a narrative per se as opposed to relating it". She indicates that narrators may use these features as simplifying devices to avoid some complex narrative strategies.

⁷ Chafe (1994) distinguishes between *represented consciousness*, i.e. what is perceived, and *representing consciousness*, i.e. the voice of the perceiver.

fictional than in the personal narratives. This category consists of a variety of expressions, referring to non-events (Labov, 1972, Grimes, 1975), or events which require a certain level of interpretation on the part of the narrator. For example, when the rat is found by its family in the silent film, the action seen on the screen can be interpreted as "finding" only by analysis of previous events. Similarly, when a child says *Se hicieron amigos* "[They] became friends", this also involves interpretation of the relation between characters or between a character and an object in the story.

Figure 9

Distribution of the Proportion of Expressions of Relation in all four Narrative Tasks (n=107).



The following extract illustrates uses of relation:

041.PE.87.F Claudia

que cuando mi mamá estaba subiendo el [...] yo me puse en un ascensor. Y estaba con mi primita. Entonces mi mamá me estaba buscando y [...] y entonces en [...] yo [...] yo no sabía cuál piso tocar y toqué la pra [...] el [...] el último piso que había un balcón ahí. Yo me asusté mucho. Y mi primito eh [...] bajó. Y [...] y [...] y yo me quedé solita. Entonces eh [...] esperé, en [...] y empecé a bajar a buscar a mi mamá y no la encontré nada. Y resulta que ya estaba [...] ya estaba yéndose mi mamá y si me deja ahí, la torta.

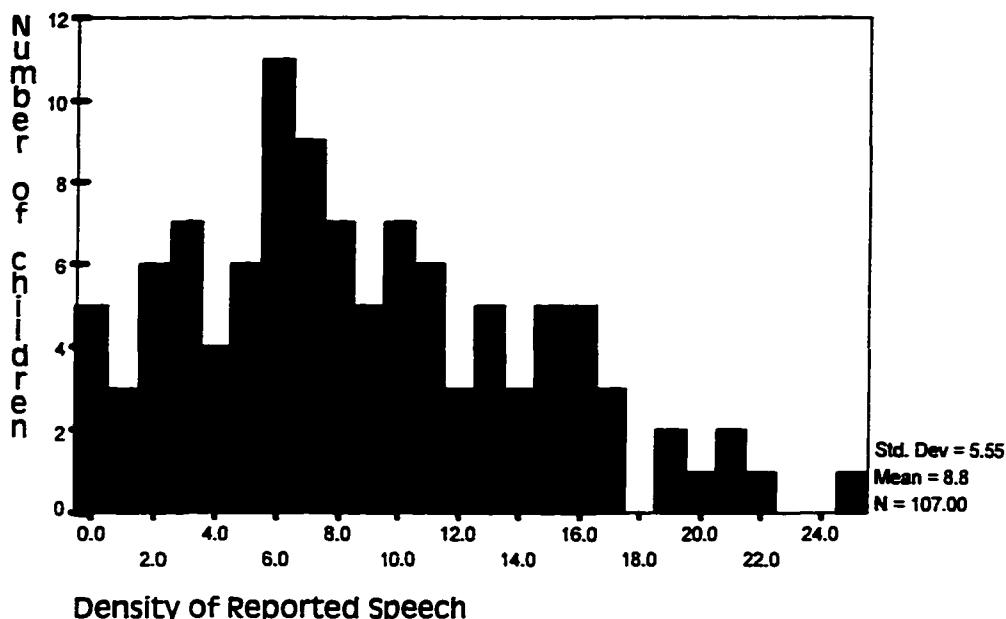
[that when mom was going up the [...] I got into the elevator. And I was with my little cousin. Then mom was looking for me and [...] and then in [...] I [...] I didn't know which floor to press and I pressed the [...] the last floor that there was a terrace there. I got very scared. And my little cousin [...] went down. And [...] and [...] and I was all alone. Then [...] [I] waited, in [...] and I started to go down to look for mom and [I] couldn't find her nothing. And it turns out that [she] was already [...] mom was already leaving and if [she] leaves me there, a disaster.]

The expressions of relations (e.g. *buscando*, *encontré*) seem less evaluative than the other categories this study focuses on. However, they express perspective as in "*mi mamá me estaba buscando*", where the point of

view is that of the mother as opposed to "empecé a bajar a buscar a mi mamá" where the child gives us her perspective on the events, as a narrator and, at the same time, the protagonist.

Language Representing Speech

Reported speech (D_RPS) is the next evaluative category in terms of frequency of occurrence. It measures how speech is represented in narratives. The distribution is slightly skewed toward the lower values, as shown in Figure 10 below.

Figure 10**Distribution of Reported Speech in all four Narrative Tasks (n=107).**

This evaluative category is a composite of three ways of reporting characters' speech. The most frequent is **direct reported speech (D_RPD)**, which refers to expressions used when the narrator quotes directly the words spoken by a character in the story. In this type of represented speech, the voice of the character is explicitly present in the narrative. When using direct quotes, the child uses a complex system of deixis, whereby the first person singular pronoun (or verb ending in Spanish) refers to the character being quoted and not to the child who is narrating. Similarly, the child can refer to himself/herself in the second person ("you") or a third person form ("he/she") when quoting a character addressing her as in the following example:

042.PE.124.M Manuel

bueno, anteriormente en [...] en un [...] cuando un tipo que robó el Cada [c], no [...] eso no hace mucho, imagínate, que me pasó por el lado. Era un tipo, no sé de donde pero vino de Alto Prado, ¿no? Y yo siempre voy a comprar el periódico a mi papá en bici, porque aquí está mi casa y bajo, bajo, bajo y al final está el Cada, ¿no? Entonces después estaban los dos vigilantes con las armas afuera y estaban diciendo y que <no, no pue [...], no salgas ahorita César, porque ellos [...] no salgas porque el que está allí es un ladrón> ["].

[well, before in [...] in a [...] when a guy robbed the supermarket [Cada], [...] not very long ago, imagine that he passed right by my side. [He] was a guy, [I] don't know where [he was] from but he came from Alto Prado, didn't he? And I always ride the bike to buy the paper for my Dad , 'cause here is my house and down, down, down there at the end is the supermarket [Cada], isn't it? Then afterwards, the two guards drew their weapons out and [they] were saying that <no, you can't [...] don't come out now, Cesar, 'cause they [...], don't come out 'cause the one who is there is a thief> ["].]

Note that reported speech is introduced by a **reporting verb** (*estaban diciendo*) followed by the **reported text**, which may consist of several utterances. In the example above “*es un ladrón*” is only one of the clauses from the reported text introduced by the same reporting verb (*estaban diciendo*). It is important to remember that in spoken language, unlike written forms, reported dialogues are signaled suprasegmentally by shifts in intonation, voice quality, in addition to the complex use of deixis mentioned above.

The next most frequent evaluative category is labeled **free reported speech** (D_RPF), where the expression implies speech but rather than reporting the content, it reports the performative element of the speech act (e.g. *estábamos hablando* “[we] were talking”, *nos cuenta una cosa* “[she] tells us something” in the example below).

107.SL.118.F Sara

sí, una vez [...] fue hace poquito que yo estaba aquí en el colegio que estaba con mis [...] Mariel y otra amiga porque la otra amiga no había venido y entonces estábamos hablando así de cosas, así de terror y Mariel dice <vamos a jugar a la ouija> ["] entonces empezamos a jugar a la ouija y una amiguita de nosotros nos cuenta una cosa que a su hermana le pasó jugando a la ouija.

[yes, once [...] just a short time ago I was here in school I was with my [...] Mariel and another friend because the other friend had not come and then [we] were talking like this about terrifying things, like this and Mariel says <let's play the ouija> ["] then [we] start playing ouija and a friend of ours tells us something that happened to her sister while playing ouija.]

The voice of the character whose speech is reported fades in this type of language, highlighting mostly the narrator's voice and thus, making free reported speech the least remote of the three types of reported speech. Even though the represented speech belongs to the character(s) who uttered it, reporting it in this way weakens the effect of those voices in the story. The category also includes onomatopoeic expressions as the sounds produced when the child imitates noises that accompany some of the action:

004.FR.86.M Ricardo

Entonces el papá, y todos se fueron en el carro y los [...] y el pequeño estaba sentado atrás con su peluche y el papá [...] el papá hizo así <po> ["] y entonces dio la vuelta así en aire <gua> ["] y se cayó <pun> ["] después estaba llorando.
[then the father, and all of them left in the car [...] and the small one was sitting with his teddy bear and the father [...] the father did like this <po> ["] and then [the small rat] turned in the air like this <gua> ["] and fell <pun> ["] afterward [he] was crying.

The use of onomatopoeic expressions is apparently more common in children's narratives than in adults'. This type of evaluation together with the use of gestures accompanied by deictics (particularly *así* -"like this") are two means of expressing subjectivity where the required lexical and grammatical resources are limited. Note that 2 out of the 3 onomatopoeic expressions in the example above follow the deictic *así*, which is generally accompanied by

gestures, suggesting that these expressions may be used when the child cannot find the appropriate lexical items (Romaine, 1984). Reilly (1991) also suggests that certain types of evaluation such as use of paralinguistic devices (e.g. intonation, pitch, gesture) appear more frequently when children do not master the equivalent linguistic expressions available in the language.

The third type, **indirect reported speech (D_RPI)** refers to expressions that relate indirectly the content of the character's utterance. The character's voice is explicitly felt in this type of reporting. This category is one of the least frequently used in the sample. Apparently, Venezuelan children prefer direct and free reported speech when representing language in their narratives.

In fact, the line that divides direct from indirect speech is not always clear-cut, in oral narratives in particular, where the difference is only signaled by intonation and some structural markers (e.g. use of deixis).⁸

058.RG.117.F Maribel
y entonces la flor le pregunta cómo se llama.

In the example above, for instance, it is a decision taken by the transcriber to signal *cómo se llama* as indirect speech. The same form could be coded as direct speech if careful analysis of the prosodic features and the relations of the utterance to the context lead to a different result (e.g. if the flower must address the interlocutor with the formal second person *Usted*, the direct speech hypothesis would be confirmed; on the other hand, if the flower

⁸ In written language, in addition to structural markers, punctuation also signals the difference between direct and indirect speech.

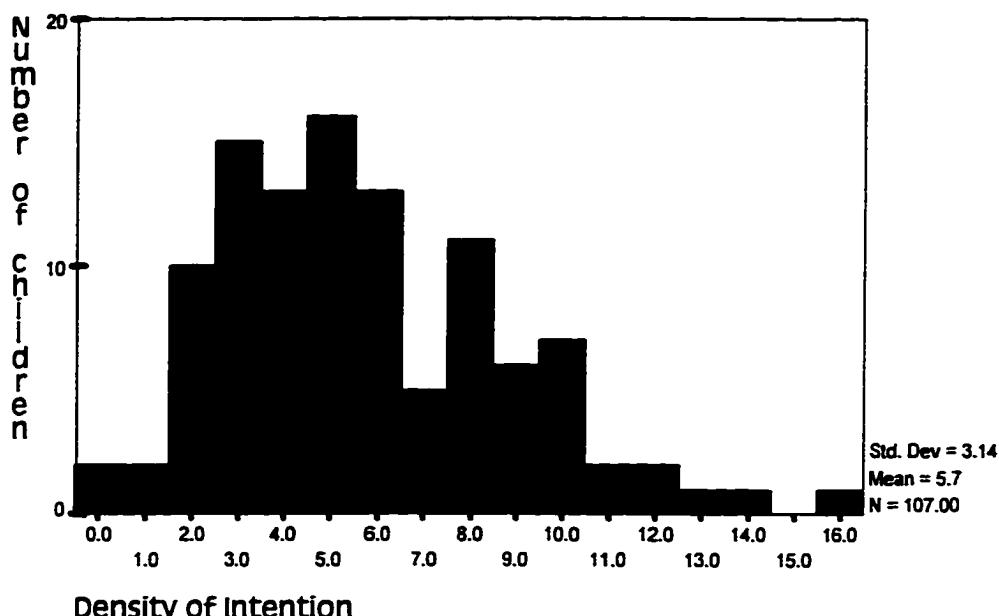
should address the interlocutor using the informal *tú*, the direct speech hypothesis should be rejected, as in the example above).

In sum, reported speech is frequently used in children's narratives. The most frequent form of reported speech is direct citation of text and it is more frequently used in personal narratives. The least frequent use is indirect reported speech.

Language Representing Thought and Feeling

Intention (D_INT) is an evaluative category which refers to expressions related to the characters' inner state (e.g. *Iba a escapar*. "[He] was going to escape"). It is the most frequently used of all evaluative expressions related to feeling and thought. Note, however, that the mean of this type of evaluation is much lower than perception, relation and reported speech (see Table 13, p.76). The distribution of expressions of intention in the four narrative tasks (Figure 11) is skewed towards the lower values, implying that the majority of the narratives contain only a few expressions of intentions. Furthermore, only half the children in the sample use expressions of intention in their personal narratives and two thirds, in fictional narratives.

Figure 11

Distribution of Expressions of Intention in all four Narrative Tasks (n=107).

Examples of this evaluative category can be found in the following extract:

058.RG.117.F Rosa

y él se volvió a devolver [...] a encontrar [...] a agarrar el muñequito y después vino él y se iba a comer el sandwich, pero como ya estaba lleno de todo el montón que se había comido de uvas no se lo comió y se quedó dormido.

[and he returned again [...] to find [...] to take the little doll and then he came and [he] was going to eat a sandwich, but, as [he] was full due to the amount of grapes that he had eaten, he didn't eat [the sandwich] and fell asleep.]

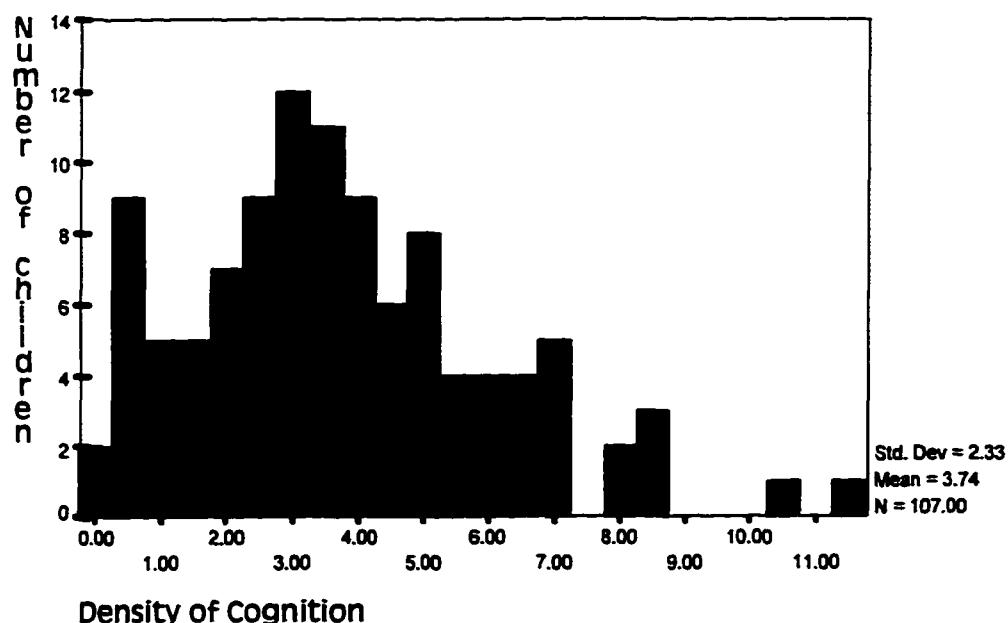
The first occurrence “él se volvió... a agarrar el muñequito” expresses the protagonist's intention to find his teddy bear, which is successfully accomplished. The second occurrence “se iba a comer el sandwich” makes reference to an aborted intention. The protagonist originally had the intention of eating the sandwich but realized that he was not hungry and decided

against it. As we can see, these are complex references to characters' thoughts.

Two other types of evaluation referring to inner state, cognition (D_COG) and emotion (D_EMO), occur even less frequently than intention. Cognition refers to the language of thinking and knowing. As its distribution suggests (Figure 12) children use only a few expressions of cognition in their narratives. Moreover, two thirds of the children in the sample do not use any reference to cognition in personal narratives. In fictional narratives, only one third of the children do not use expressions of cognition in their stories.

Figure 12

Distribution of Expressions of Cognition in all four Narrative Tasks (*n*=107).



The following extract illustrates how expressions of cognition are used in one of the narrative tasks.

078.IGN.92.F Luisa

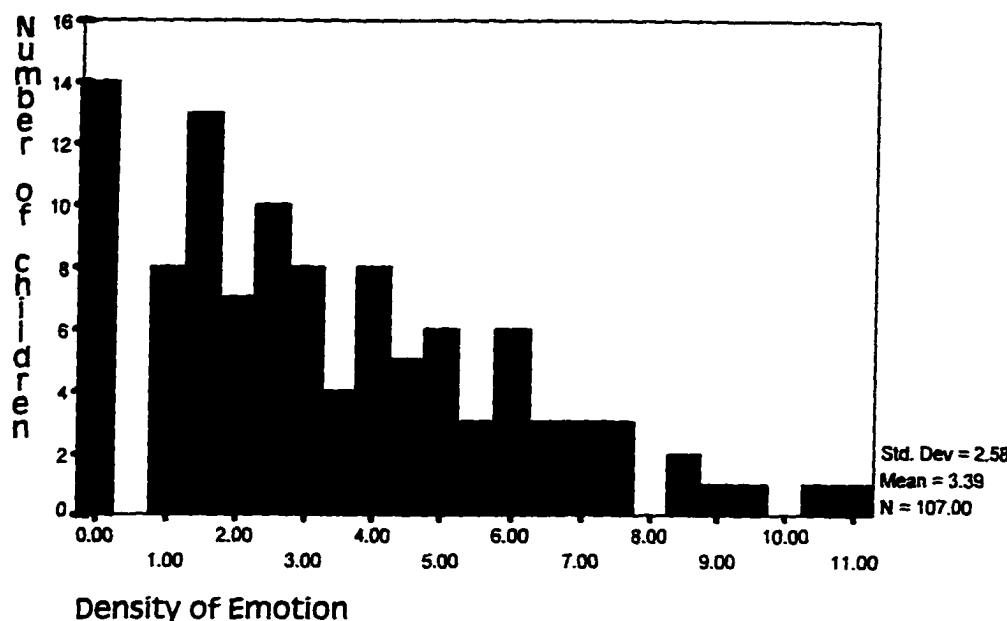
y después se dieron cuenta porque le estaban dando los vasos de leche y eran seis y nada más habían cinco y después fue [...] se [...] él [...] creo que fue el tío o el papá, no sé, que se acordó que él se cayó con [...] cuando iban yendo en la camioneta.

[and then [they] realized [that the mouse was missing] 'cause they were handing out the milk and [they] were six and there were only five and afterwards, [it] was [...], I think it was their uncle or their father, [I] don't know, who remembered that he fell when they were driving the van.]

Note how an expression of cognition like "se acordó" can introduce several clauses referring to the content of what was remembered ("que él se cayó cuando iba yendo en la camioneta" two clauses in this case). Thus, expressions of intention and cognition should be considered as two ways of expressing thought in narrative. Like expressions of speech, reference to thought can be given with more or less detail. When more detail is included, it resembles direct speech in the sense that it may involve almost verbatim reporting of the character's thoughts (Chafe, 1994).

Similarly, the distribution of expressions of emotion is negatively skewed (see Figure 13), indicating that most narratives contain just a few expressions of emotion.

Figure 13

Distribution of Expressions of Emotion in all four Narrative Tasks (n=107).

More children use expressions of emotion in fictional stories than in personal narratives. Two thirds of the children in the sample made some reference to emotion in their fictional narratives, as opposed to one third in their personal narratives. Expressions of emotion can refer to happiness, anger, sadness, disgust, fear, surprise, among others (Astington, 1993, p.32). Examples of expressions of emotion can be seen in the following passage from a child's recounting of Pocahontas:

008.FR.116.F Carla

y el papá de la muchacha era [...] era bravo y [...] y le tenía rabia a los blancos y entonces ella cuando fue a cruzar el río, vio al [...] a él se [...] al señor, entonces se asustó mucho.

[and the girl's father was [...] angry and [...] [he] was furious with the whites and then when she was going to cross the river, [she] saw [...] the man, then [she] got very scared.]

Note that the expression of emotion can establish complex cause-effect relationships in the narrative. In the example above, the girl's fear is triggered by the appearance of *el señor* who is presumably white. At the same time, the girl's fear is motivated by her strong-willed father's anger against whites.

Physical evaluation (D_PHY) is an evaluative category in which an internal state related to some physical conditions is expressed as illustrated in the following excerpt where the child makes reference to the fact that the protagonist was not hungry:

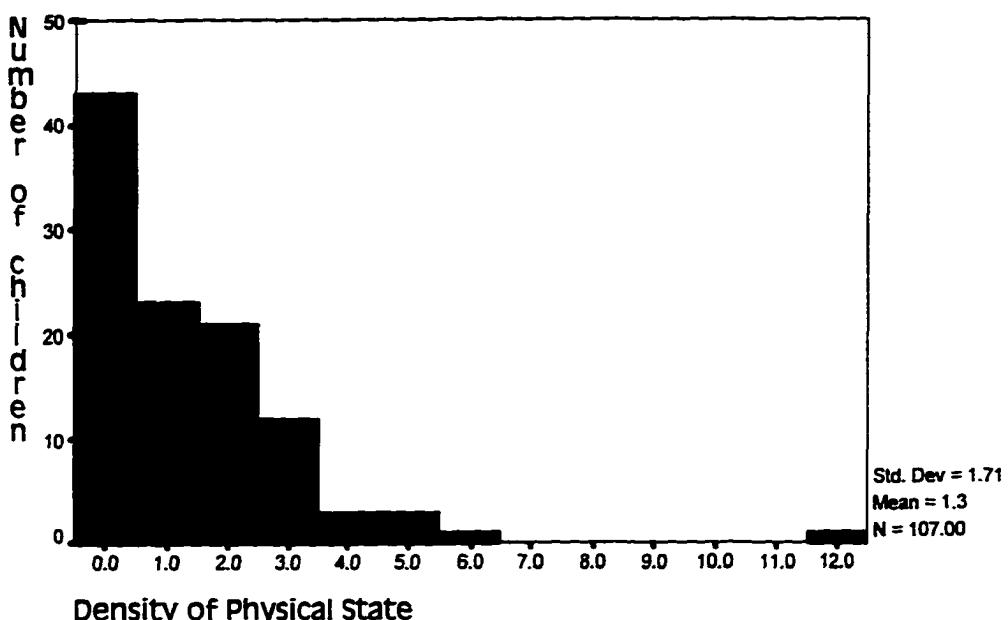
058.RG.117.F Petra

y fue cuando se estaba comiendo como unas uvas y se comió un montón y ya estaba lleno.
[and it was when [he] was eating some grapes and [he] ate a lot and [he] was already full"].

Expressions referring to physical states have the lowest frequency of occurrence of all evaluative categories as shown in Figure 14 below. Furthermore, only a few children include reference to physical states in their narratives (about 20% of the children in the sample refer to physical states in personal narratives and approximately 15%, in their fictional stories).

Figure 14

**Distribution of Expressions of Physical Evaluation in all four Narrative Tasks
(n=107).**



The lower frequency of expressions referring to intention, cognition, emotion, and physical state confirms the findings of studies on the child's theory of mind, which suggest that these concepts are of late acquisition, especially when referring to a person other than the speaker (Astington, 1993).

Evaluation and Narrative Development

The next research question inquires whether older children produce narratives with more evaluative expressions than younger children. Simultaneously, the question whether SES makes a difference in the use of evaluative language will be addressed. To answer these questions, first I examined the relationships of each evaluative category with age and SES. As the distributions of the seven evaluative categories are all skewed towards the lower values, many of which are 0, it was necessary to transform them. One way of eliminating the zero values without changing the overall distribution of the variable is by **startng** (Tukey, 1977), a transformation whereby a constant is added to each score (e.g. DS_COG = [raw score + 1/6]*100/number of clauses). Table 14 indicates the correlation coefficient between the transformed variables and predictors.

Table 14

Correlation Matrix of all Evaluative Categories with Age, SES, Vocabulary and Reading tests (n=107).

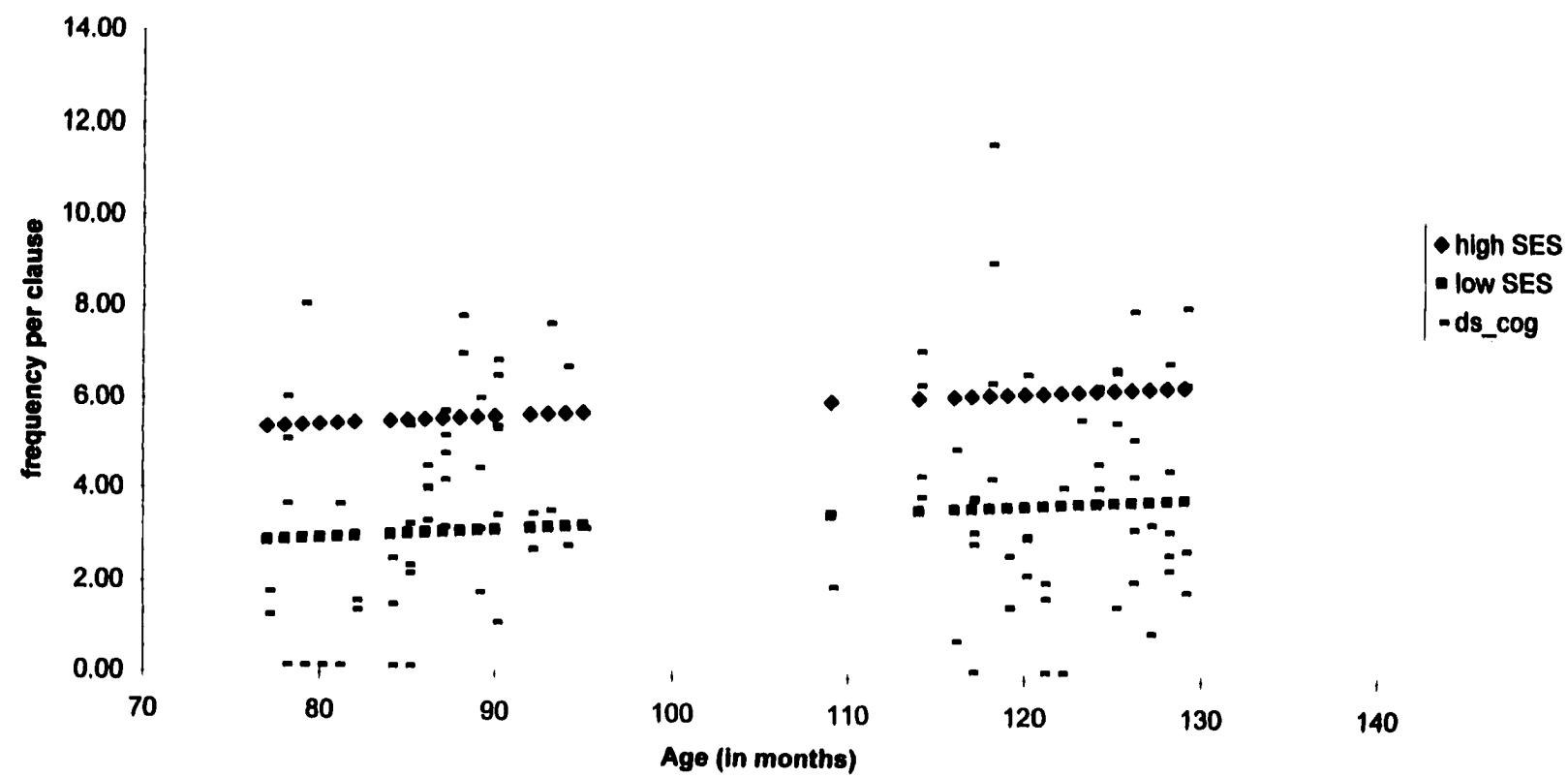
	cognition	intention	perception	relation	emotion	physical	rep. sp.	Age	SES	Vocab. Test	Reading Test
cognition	1.00	.13	.13	-.15	-.07	-.12	.14	.17*	.33***	.20*	.27**
intention		1.00	-.18*	.31***	-.03	-.07	.07	.004	.11	.13	.17*
perception			1.00	-.19*	.24*	.01	.12	.08	-.13	-.06	.03
relation				1.00	.05	.07	-.09	.14	-.08	.06	-.23*
emotion					1.00	.12	.06	.15	-.06	-.06	-.10
physical						1.00	.10	.11	-.05	.02	-.11
Report sp							1.00	-.03	.08	-.05	.14
Age								1.00	.12	-.003	.05
SES									1.00	.59***	.70***
vocab. test										1.00	.52***
read. test											1.00

* p<.1 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

The results in Table 14 show that only expressions of cognition are correlated with age and SES. Both coefficients are positive, indicating that children's expressions of cognition tend to increase with age and high SES children's narratives are likely to contain more expressions of cognition than low SES children's narratives. By the same token, cognition, intention and relation are also correlated with children's reading proficiencies, implying that children with better reading skills tend to use more of this kind of evaluative expressions. Only cognition is also correlated with oral vocabulary comprehension. None of the other evaluative categories seems to be related to age, SES, reading skills or vocabulary comprehension.

Figure 15

**Fitted Regression Lines of Density of Cognition in all Narrative Tasks on
Age and SES**



To assess the relative contributions of age, SES, and grade in school to amount of expression of cognition, I constructed five regression models as displayed in Table 15.

Table 15

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Expressions of Cognition (DS COG) on Age, SES, and Interaction (*n*=107).

	Intercept	AGE	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	1.8	.02 ⁻			$F(1,105)=2.73^-$ $p< .10$	.03
Model 2	3.0***		1.5***		$F(1,105)=12.39^{***}$ $p< .001$	.11
Model 3	1.49	.02	1.4**		$F(2,104)=7.13^{***}$ $p< .001$	.12
Model 4	2.4	.006	-.41	.02	$F(3,103)=4.94^{**}$ $p< .003$	.13
Model 5	2.91**	.05	.10	Grade*SES	$F(3,103)=5.49^{**}$ $p< .002$	.14

⁻p< .1 *p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

As the taxonomy of regression models in Table 15 suggests, Model 3 is the best fitting multiple regression model explaining the relationship between the use of cognitive expressions in narratives and children's age and SES ($F=7.13$, $p<.001$). Variation in children's age and social class explains 12% of the variation in the frequency of cognitive expression. The relationship is such that each year of difference in children's age is associated with .24 percentage points increase in the proportion of clauses containing expressions of cognition. This increase is very small and it only approaches statistical significance. However, there is an estimated 1.5 percentage points difference between low and high SES children's use of expressions of

cognition. This difference is statistically significant, and it implies that high SES children, on average, use more expressions of cognition than low SES children, as shown in Figure 15. The regression results also indicate that, even though the effect of age only approaches statistical significance, SES and age have a joint impact on the density of cognitive expressions in children's narratives.

As the taxonomy of regression models indicates (see Appendix E), the remaining evaluative categories (density of emotion, intention, perception, physical, relation and reported speech) do not seem to be associated with age or social class. Thus, older children do not systematically use these evaluative expressions more frequently in their narratives, and there is no pattern in the social class differences either. It may be the case that the frequency of occurrence of these categories depends on the narrative topic or other task-related factors rather than on children's SES or age.

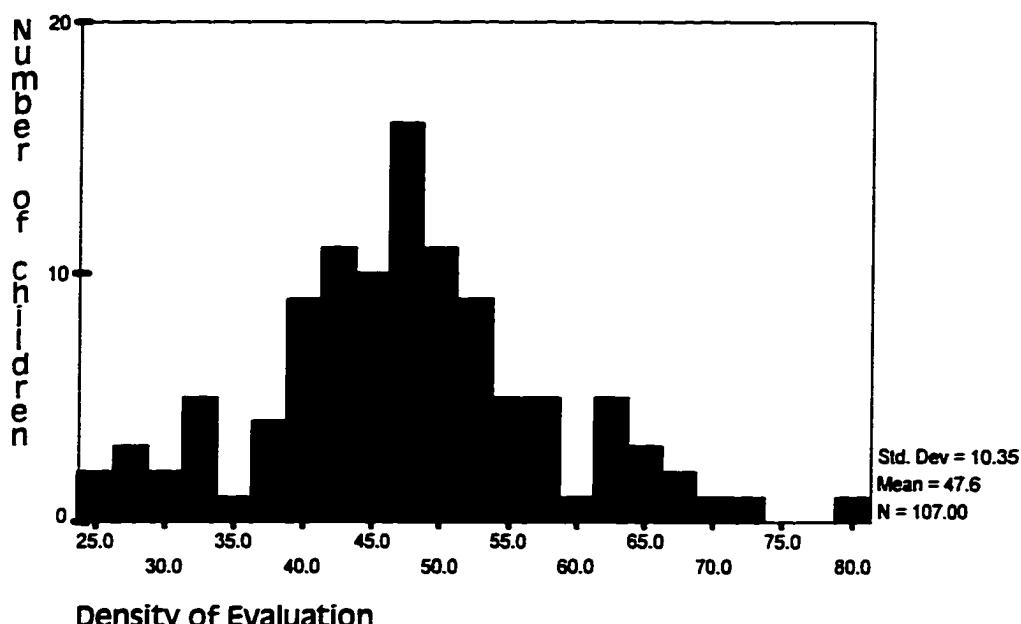
Density of Evaluation

To have an overall picture of how children's use of evaluative language is associated with age and social class, the composite variable, **density of evaluation**, (D_EVA), was created. Thus, density of evaluation was calculated by adding, for each child, all evaluative elements in the four narrative tasks, multiplying it by 100 and dividing it by the total number of clauses. So, each score of evaluation density reflects the percentage of clauses containing evaluation in the four narrative tasks combined for each child. As shown in

Figure 16, all children use some form of evaluation in all narrative tasks. For the majority of the narratives produced, 30 to 55% of all narrative clauses contained evaluative expressions. In the narratives of one child in particular 80% of his narrative clauses contained evaluation.

Figure 16

Distribution of Density of Evaluation in all Narrative Tasks (n=107).



I conducted correlation analyses to determine how children's ability to refer to feelings, thought and speech in narratives may be associated with age, SES, gender, vocabulary recognition, and reading comprehension. The results of this analysis also enable me to avoid collinearity problems in later multiple regression analysis. The results, shown in Table 16, suggest that density of evaluation does not seem to be associated with age or SES.

Although the correlation coefficient of evaluation frequency with age is positive implying a tendency for older children to increase the number of evaluative expressions in narratives, this coefficient does not reach statistical significance. This finding is consistent with Peterson and McCabe's studies (1983) where no relationship was found between children's age and frequency of evaluative expressions. However, the hypothesis of this study is that the presence of evaluative expressions contributes to more skillful story-telling. Further analysis is required to determine what are the appropriate uses of evaluative language.

Table 16

Correlation Matrix of Density of Evaluation in all Narratives with Predictor and Question Variables (n=107).

	Age	SES	Gender	Vocabulary Test	Reading Test	Density of Evaluation
Age	1.00	.11	-.03	-.007	.02	.11
SES		1.00	-.06	.59***	.70***	-.03
Gender			1.00	-.14	-.15	-.03
Vocabulary test				1.00	.52***	-.06
Reading test					1.00	-.02
Density of Evaluation						1.00

*p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Gender as a background variable does not seem to be systematically associated with evaluation and therefore, will not be included in a baseline regression model. Scores on the reading test and the vocabulary recognition test are not correlated with the frequency of evaluative elements in narratives, but are highly correlated with SES. Therefore, the test scores will not be included in the baseline regression model designed to avoid collinearity.

However, for all further analysis, the relationships between reading and vocabulary test scores and the use of evaluative language have been carefully examined. The very high correlation of the results of each of these tests with age and SES have been described elsewhere (see p.35ff). The children's SES does not seem to be significantly correlated with density of evaluation. Note, however, that the coefficient is negative implying a slight tendency for higher SES children to use fewer evaluative expressions.

To determine whether older children use more evaluative expressions than younger children and, at the same time, whether middle class SES children use more evaluation than working class children a taxonomy of regression models was built. Comparison of the average density of evaluation by grade and social class (Table 17) suggests that the average density of evaluation in low SES fourth graders' narratives is slightly lower than in first graders', whereas the average density of evaluation in high SES fourth graders' is higher than in first graders'.

Table 17

Mean and Standard Deviation of Density of Evaluation in low and high SES 1st and 4th Graders' Narratives (n = 107).

	Mean	st dev
Low SES 1st graders	49.41	15.25
Low SES 4th graders	48.18	12.12
High SES 1st graders	42.26	9.25
High SES 4th graders	53.10	12.26

As the taxonomy of regression models shown in Table 18 indicates the best fitting model is Model 4, implying that there is an interaction effect of age and SES on density of evaluation ($F_{3,103}=3.08, P<.03$). This is a surprising finding, given that no association was found between density of evaluation and age, on the one hand, and density of evaluation and SES, on the other.

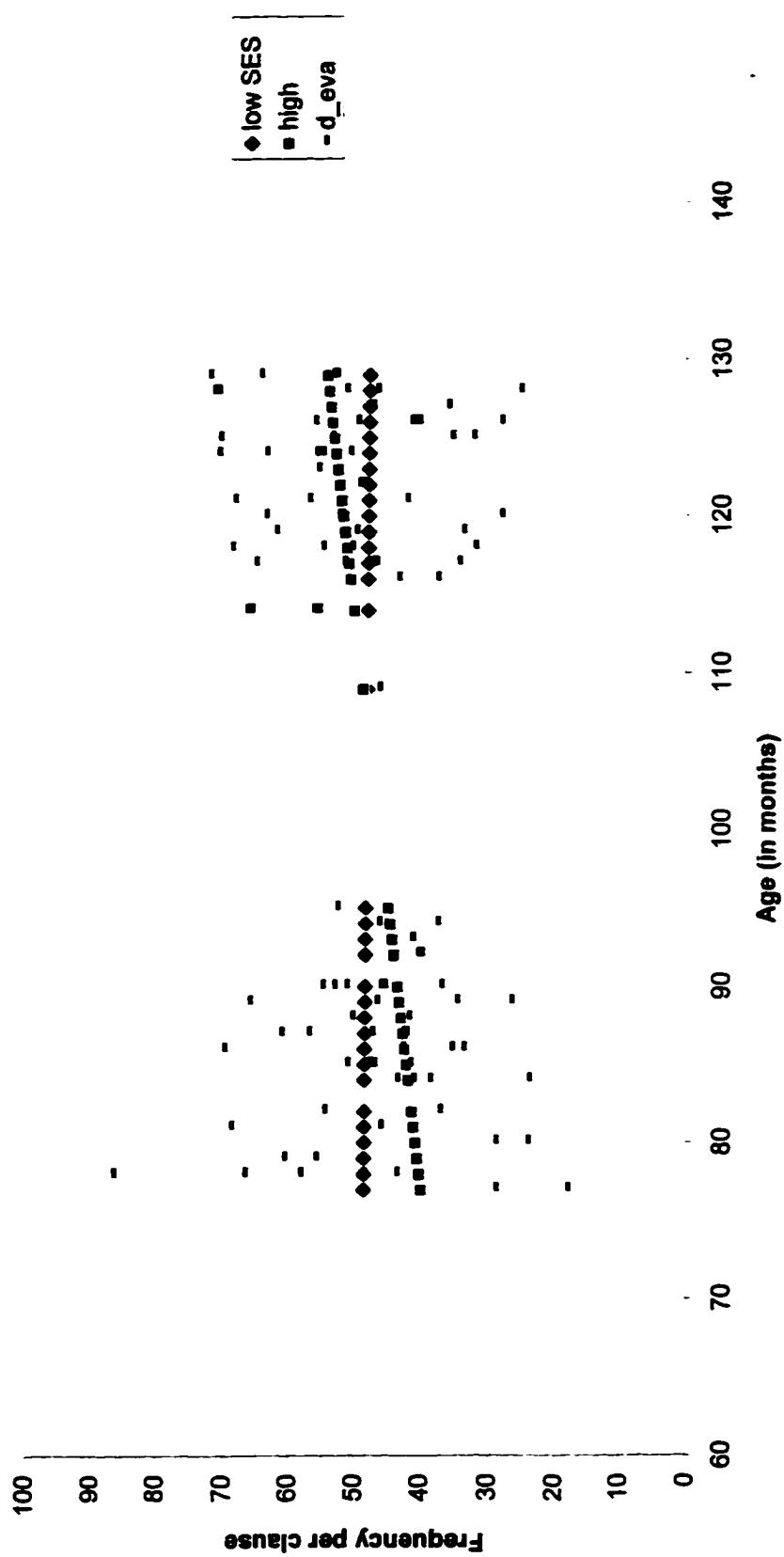
Table 18

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Overall Evaluation on Age, SES, and Interaction (n=107).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	41.05***	.06			$F_{(1,105)}=1.35$ $p<.24$	.01
Model 2	47.89***		-.62		$F_{(1,105)}=.09$ $p<.76$	.0009
Model 3	41.25***	.65	-.90		$F_{(2,104)}=.77$ $p<.47$	.015
Model 4	55.62***	-.09	-31.08**	.29**	$F_{(3,103)}=3.08*$ $p<.03$	.08
Model 5	50.63***	Grade	-19.21*	Grade*SES 12.07*	$F_{(3,103)}=3.80*$ $p<.01$	.10

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Figure 17
**Fitted Interaction Effect of Age and SES on the Density of Evaluation
Combined in all Narrative Tasks**



The results of the regression analyses suggest that the effect of age and SES on frequency of evaluation is not uniform. As shown in Figure 17, age differences in the density of evaluation occur mainly in the high SES group, with older children producing more evaluation than younger children. In the low SES group, density of evaluation is the same or slightly lower in older children's narratives. The evidence also suggests that, on average, low SES first graders use more evaluative expressions than high SES first graders. However, low SES fourth graders use, on average, fewer evaluative expressions than their high SES peers. These findings confirm the results of my pilot study (Shiro, 1995) where age and SES were found to make a difference in Venezuelan children's use of evaluation in personal narratives.

Based on this evidence, it is possible to conclude that in the early school years, Venezuelan children from upper middle class background increase the frequency of evaluative expressions with age. Although low SES children do not evaluate less, on average, no age-related increase was detected. Consequently, narrative development depends on contextual factors. This finding confirms the major assumption of this study, namely that the conclusions related to the development of one SES group cannot be automatically extrapolated to another. Statements referring to the narrative ability of Latin-American children in general or even more specifically to Venezuelan children should be carefully qualified or avoided.

Distribution of Evaluation in the Narrative Structure

Frequency of occurrence does not seem to be the only factor that varies with age. Often times it is not the frequency of evaluative language that makes a story more effective, but the way in which evaluative language is distributed in the narrative. In the Labovian analysis, concentration of evaluation at the high point (Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991, Peterson & McCabe, 1983) makes a narrative more adult-like, more mature. The following figures show how the percentage of evaluative expressions increases at the high point with age. It is important to point out that low SES children seem to increase the concentration of evaluative expressions at the high point more than high SES children, suggesting that they may experience a notable developmental shift in the structural function of evaluation at this age. However, as Figures 18, 19, 20 and 21 indicate, there is a larger concentration of evaluative expressions within the complicating action and resolution than at the high point. Thus, even though these results show that concentration of evaluation at the high point increases with age, all children's narratives contain more evaluative expressions in complicating action and resolution than at the high point. Further research is needed to determine whether in Venezuelan adults' narratives the high point contains most of the evaluative expressions representing thought, emotion and speech.

Figure 18

Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Structure of Low SES 1st

Graders' Narratives

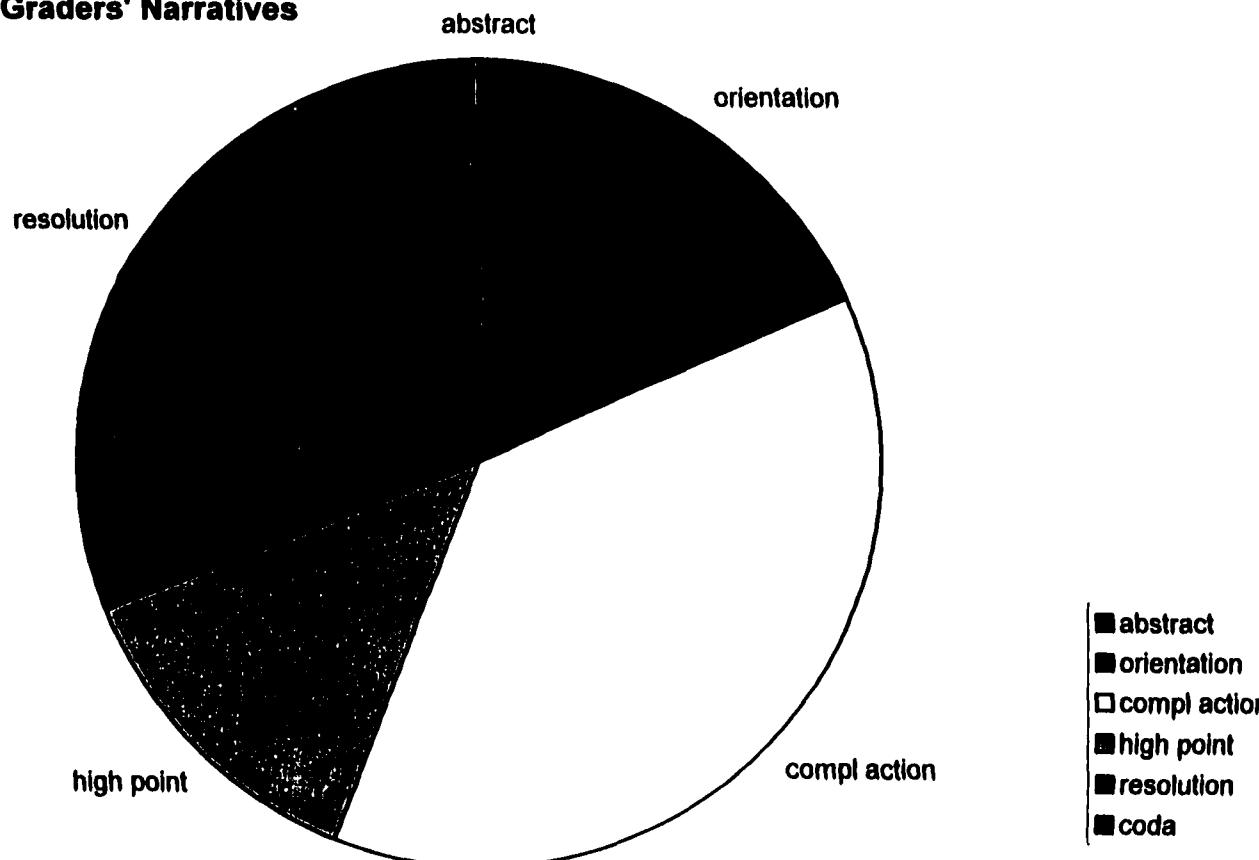


Figure 19

Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Structure of High SES 1st

Graders' Narratives

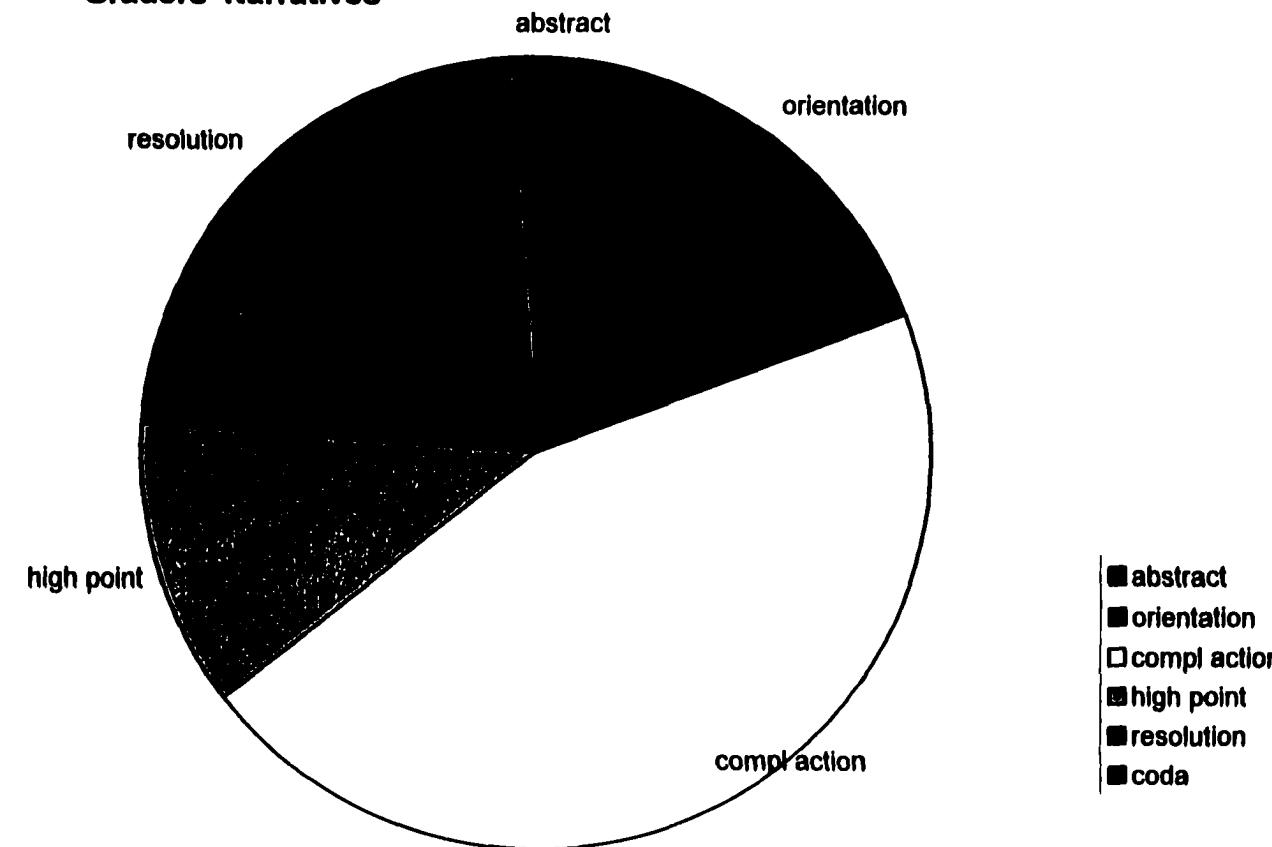


Figure 20

Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Structure of Low SES 4th

Graders' Narratives

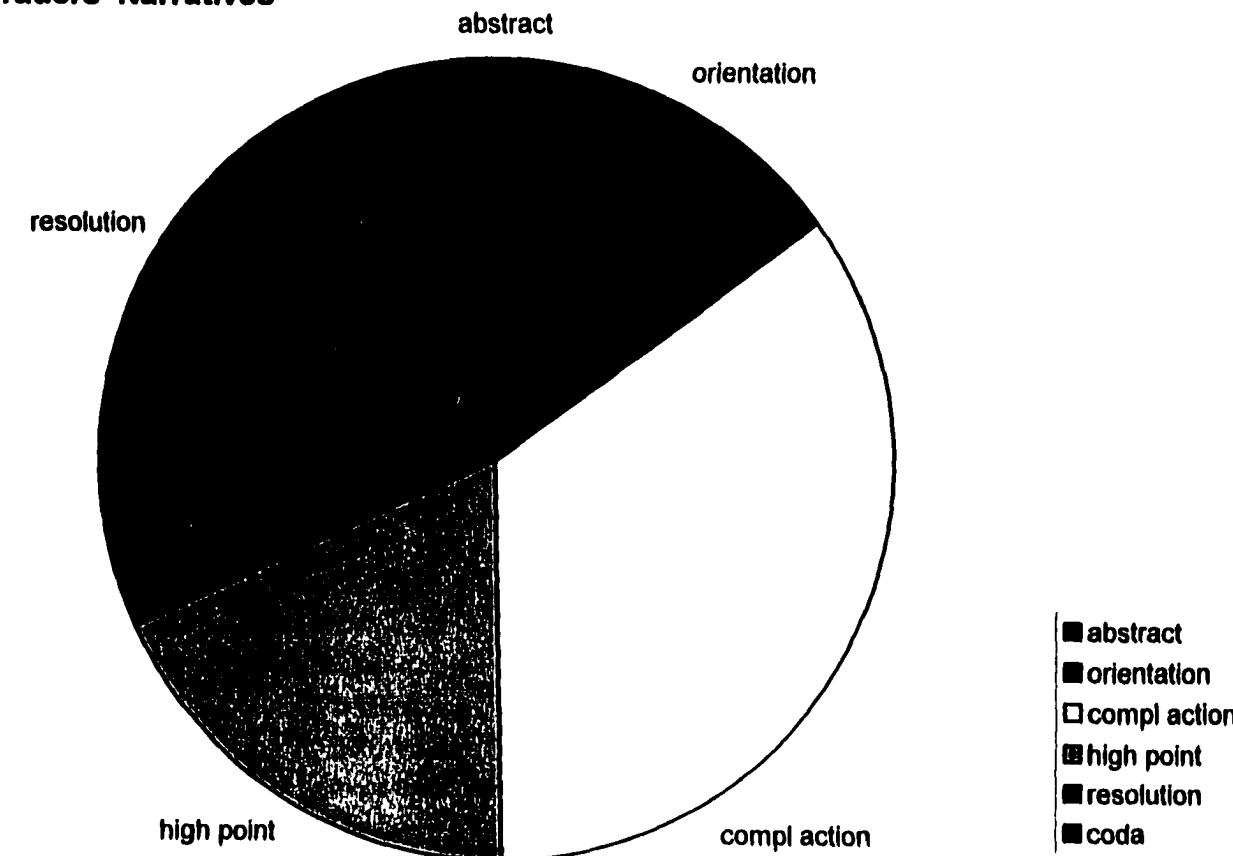
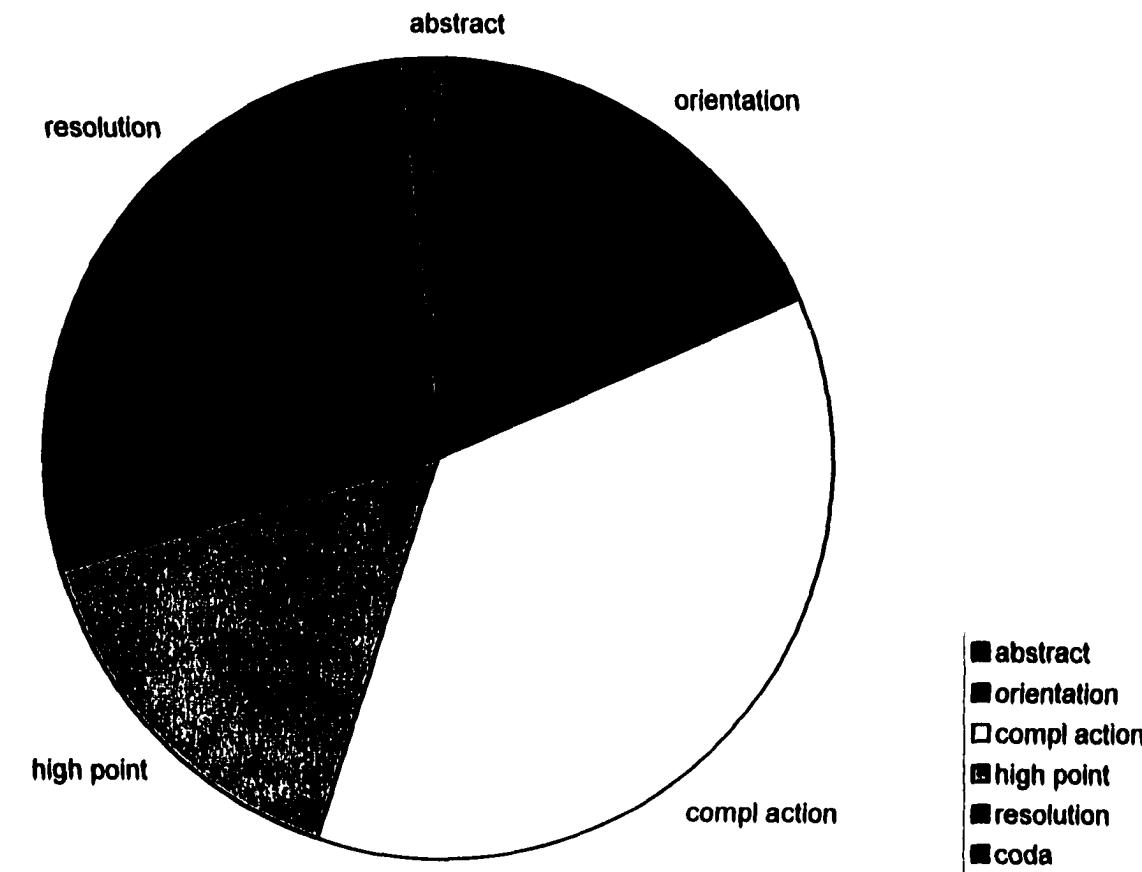


Figure 21

Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Structure of High SES 4th

Graders' Narratives



Diversity of evaluation types

Finally, I analyzed whether diversity of the evaluation types present in a narrative is related to the child's age and SES. In this analysis, the number of different evaluative categories a child uses in a narrative (types), rather than the number of evaluative expressions (tokens), was taken into account as an indicator of "maturity" in narrative skills. Comparison of means and standard deviation by grade and social class indicates that fourth graders in both social classes tend to use more types of evaluation than first graders, but low SES fourth graders are likely to use fewer evaluation types than high SES first graders.

Table 19

Mean and Standard Deviations of Number of Evaluation Types used in Low and High SES 1st and 4th Graders' Narratives (n = 107).

		mean	st dev
Low SES	1st graders	5.04	0.91
Low SES	4th graders	5.31	0.79
High SES	1st graders	5.36	0.73
High SES	4th graders	5.76	0.51

A taxonomy of regression models was built to determine the relationship between the number of evaluative types used and the children's age and social class. Results of regression analyses (Table 20) show that older children produce narratives which contain significantly more types of evaluation than younger children's narratives. Furthermore, there is a strong association between diversity of evaluation and SES. Thus, upper middle

class children tend to use considerably more types of evaluative categories than working class children.

Table 20

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Diversity of Evaluative Categories on Age, SES, and Interaction (*n*=107).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	5.96***	.01*			F(1,105)=4.0* p< .05	.04
Model 2	6.96***		.99***		F(1,105)=14.29*** p< .0003	.12
Model 3	5.76***	.01*	.94***		F(2,104)=8.7*** p< .0003	.14
Model 4	5.97***	.01	.53	.004	F(3,103)=5.77*** p< .001	.14
Model 5	2.91**	Grade	.44	Grade*SES	F(3,103)=5.58** p< .0014	.14

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Finally, as shown in Table 20 (Model 3), there is a joint impact of age and SES on the number of evaluative categories ($F=8.7$, $p<.0003$) implying that older high SES children are likely to use more diverse types of evaluation than younger low SES children.

To sum up, we found that perception is the most frequently used evaluative category and reference to physical state is the least common. Among these, only evaluative expressions referring to cognition seem to be associated with children's age and social class. Thus, older high SES children produce narratives which contain significantly more expressions of cognition than their younger, low SES peers. No single effect of children's age and SES respectively was found on density of evaluation, a composite of the frequency

of all evaluative categories in the four narrative tasks. However, an interaction effect of age and SES on density of evaluative expressions suggests that working class first graders produce more evaluative expressions than middle class first graders. Moreover, this tendency changes with age. Thus, the frequency of evaluative expressions increases with age in the high SES group so that middle class fourth graders produce narratives with more evaluative expressions than working class fourth graders. The results also indicate that the concentration of evaluative expressions at the high point in fourth graders' narratives is higher than that of first graders' in both SES groups. Similarly, not only do older high SES children use more evaluative expressions in narratives but they also use more diverse categories than their low SES peers.

Finally, these results firmly suggest that narrative competence is multidimensional and as such, a multiplicity of factors, textual and contextual, should be taken into account to give an accurate picture of its development. In this part of the study, I selected children's age and SES as the contextual factors that determine use of evaluative expressions in oral narratives. Textual factors such as types of evaluation and their relation to perspective building and narrative structure have also been taken into account. However, this analysis is not exhaustive, as the effect of narrative genre on the use of evaluation has not been considered. This will be the focus of the next section.

CHAPTER FIVE

Genre and Evaluation in Narrative Development

In effect, genres are socially invented linguistic spaces that encourage different forms of human exchange, varying in the roles they suggest for speaker and listener, the amount of revelation they permit or forbid, and the way they open up or limit the range and intensity of emotion and/or intimacy carried by the act of narrating. (Wolf, et al. 1994, p.291).

The second set of research questions that guides my analysis refers to how genre differences affect use of evaluative expressions in children's oral narratives. The assumption on which these questions rest is that the function of evaluative language varies with narrative genre. Speakers use different discourse genres when they interact either in oral or written form. For instance, they can produce descriptions, narratives or argumentation within a conversation. Genre determines how a (written or oral) text is organized, which topic is appropriate, what lexical and grammatical choices are acceptable. Moreover, the situational context limits the type of discourse that can be used. Thus, genre characteristics reflect ways in which a text is appropriate within the situational context where it is produced and examination of genre-specific features enables us to reveal how speakers adjust their speech to contextual constraints.

Early in life, children can already distinguish and produce different discourse genres. For example, they participate in conversations, they can produce simple forms of description, narration, argumentation, among others.

Certainly, some forms of discourse appear earlier than others in children's competence. For example, certain forms of narratives appear early in childhood, whereas others are acquired much later in life, if ever (e.g. writing short stories). What characteristic features does the child acquire with each discourse genre?

While developing narrative competence, children need to acquire the ability to use evaluative expressions appropriately within each narrative genre. We have seen that the evaluative elements carry the point of the story and consequently, they have an important role in narrative production. Describing the use of evaluative language in narrative discourse in general gives a limited picture of how children develop abilities to express narrative point of view. Findings suggest that evaluations, such as portrayal of self and others, or expressing subjective experience, are related to particular forms of discourse (Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra & Mintz, 1990). Thus, it is necessary to understand how narrative genre determines the use of evaluative expressions in order to fully comprehend how children learn to produce different forms of narrative discourse.

Narrative as a Discourse Genre

Although present in the literature since Aristotle, the concept of genre is not easy to define. It has been approached in several disciplines like literature, folklore, and cinema, with varied results. Particularly, the fields of language teaching (English as a Second Language, ESL, especially the area of English for Specific Purposes, ESP) and the teaching of writing (in first and second language) have dealt with the problem of genre from the learner's perspective. Swales (1990), whose focus is ESP, describes genre as follows:

Genres themselves are classes of communicative events which typically possess features of stability, name recognition and so on. Genre-type communicative events (and perhaps others) consist of texts themselves (spoken, written, or a combination) plus encoding and decoding procedures as moderated by genre-related aspects of text-role and text-environment' (Swales, 1990, p.9).

Swales argues that genres are properties of discourse communities in the sense that they do not belong to individuals but to larger groups of speakers. The criteria by which he defines genre are the following (Swales, 1990, p.45):

1. A genre is a class of communicative events. It represents the ability to generalize across experiences. Some genres are more frequent than others. Those that are rare must be noteworthy to form a genre (e.g. Presidential Press Conferences).
2. The principal criterial feature that turns a collection of communicative events into a genre is some shared set of communicative purposes. Some

purposes are easier to identify than others (e.g. recipes) and sometimes a genre is better characterized by a series of purposes. The case of poetry is special because its only purpose seems to be the verbal pleasure it gives to the reader.

3. *Exemplars or instances of genres vary in their prototypicality.* Based on Rosch's (1975) semantic categorization, Swales suggests that there is a certain probability assigned to every member in a genre category. Just as robins are more prototypical members of the *bird* category than ostriches, some properties of texts are more prototypical of a genre than others. Certainly, communicative purpose constitutes for Swales the most privileged property of genre.

4. *The rationale behind a genre establishes constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their content, positioning and form.* By comparing "good news" letters with "bad news" letters, Swales illustrates how genre determines text structure, lexical and syntactic choices.

5. *A discourse community's nomenclature for genres is an important source of insight.* Swales suggests that more expert members of a discourse community are more familiar with the specific properties of a genre and are the ones who usually give a name to the genre. The nomenclature may be used in other contexts by members of other discourse communities, so it is important to relate the specific label to its use before categorizing it as a genre.

Interestingly, Swales concludes from this thorough description that conversation and "ordinary" narrative should be considered "pre-genre" rather than genres, because their communicative purpose cannot be clearly specified. By "pre-genre" he means that they form a larger category than genre and that multiple genres can originate from these two forms of communication. This conclusion, though, seems contradictory with his own arguments, expressed in criterion 2, that communicative purposes can be multiple and that some texts, like poetry can be characterized as not having communicative purposes. In my view, however, it is very problematic to regard spontaneously produced text (including poetry) as lacking communicative purpose. It seems that Swales adopts a restricted sense of "communicative purpose", given that he uses this notion in a similar way to Austin's (1962) initial approach to "performatives". Austin starts his argument by describing performatives as words that carry out some "extralinguistic" action (e.g. "I do" in a wedding ceremony). However, Austin concludes that there is an illocutionary force behind (constative) statements, which seem more "informative" than "performative" like "It is raining" or "Venezuela has 20 million inhabitants". One possible communicative purpose may be expressed as "I inform you that...". However, depending on the relevant context, these statements can acquire other communicative purposes as exemplified in the following exchange:

Speaker A: Let's go for a walk.

Speaker B: It's raining.

In this context “it’s raining” carries the illocutionary force of rejecting an invitation. Thus, any use of language carries some communicative purpose, as meaning arises from speakers’ intention to communicate (Grice, 1957).

Nonetheless, narratives do form a complex category, where multiple narrative genres can be found with manifold communicative purposes (Heath, 1986, Hicks, 1988). But so do other genres like research articles, or classroom lectures, all of which are given “genre” status by Swales. What is important to retain from Swales’ discussion is that genre analysis should focus on conventions that arise from communicative events in speech communities, which constrain topic selection, rhetorical organization, lexical and syntactic choices of text production and play an important role in text comprehension (it appears to be the case that recognition of genre is necessary for text comprehension and more exposure to texts of a certain genre facilitates recognition of genre).

Bakhtin (1986) posits the idea of genre as a “stable form” that shapes all utterances. He makes the point that each time an utterance is produced, that utterance forms part of generic speech:

“We speak in definite speech genres, that is, all our utterances have definite and relatively stable typical forms of construction of the whole.” (Bakhtin, 1986, p.78, emphasis in the original)

In Bakhtin’s view, speakers may use multiple genres without being aware of their existence or of the fact that they are using them. He distinguishes between primary and secondary genres, defining primary genres

as typically oral, everyday "simple" communication, as opposed to secondary genres, which are mostly written, "more complex and comparatively highly developed and organized cultural communication" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.62). Bakhtin's distinction between primary and secondary genres raises the interesting question of how these two types of genre are related to each other. Narratives can belong both to primary and secondary genres as they cover a whole range of communication types: from everyday oral narratives to culturally valued artistic pieces of literature. Thus, by studying narrative development, it is possible to reveal the links between primary and secondary genres.

In a very interesting article, Virtanen (1992) imposes a certain order on the different approaches to text typology. She argues that typologies can be based on three types of criteria:

1. text-external criteria, whereby situational features are taken into account to classify texts.
2. text-internal criteria, whereby textual features are used for categorization.
3. functional criteria, which would be a combination of textual and situational features by which the communicative purpose of the text is determined.

Typologies are rarely based on just one kind of criterion. However, the decision for labeling a text in a certain way depends on the criteria used. In the case of narratives, which arise as a basic type of text in Virtanen's

analysis, the presence of temporal juncture (a text internal feature) is necessary for a text to be recognized as a narrative. In other text types (e.g. argumentative discourse), no explicit textual marker needs to be present as long as the function of the text (as persuasion is in the case of argumentative discourse) is made clear. Thus, a narrative text may be produced to persuade the audience and therefore, be used as argumentative discourse (a "secondary" or "indirect" use of the text, Virtanen, 1992). Interestingly, Virtanen points out that no other text type (descriptive, argumentative, instructive, or expository) can serve a narrative function, although narratives can serve other discourse functions at a secondary level (e.g. argumentation). Should narratives, then, be considered a basic type of text?

Several researchers in narrative development have posed themselves this question and the debate has not yet been settled. Some scholars believe that narrative is a primary form of discourse that engenders other discourse forms. Bruner (1990) claims that there is some "human readiness to organize experience into narrative form" (p.45), endowing narrative genres with a fundamental role in meaning making. Others (Beals & Snow, 1994) argue that narrative is not the most frequent type of discourse that children engage in during the preschool years.

The debate in the field of developmental research focuses on the question of which route narrative development takes. Do narrative genres develop in a certain sequence and if they do, which genre is the first to develop? Although findings are not conclusive, some researchers

(Nelson, 1986, Eisenberg, 1985) argue that first the child has a general representation of events whose verbal rendition is a script, a form of narrative about ongoing events or events that take place more than once (e.g birthday parties, going to the doctor). Later, the child develops abilities to talk about one-time past events based on script knowledge in the form of narratives of personal experience.

On the other hand, Miller and Sperry (1991) believe that the abilities to talk about past events develop first, as they serve a primordial communicative function in the child's interaction with others. The view adopted by Hudson and Shapiro (1991) is that although the child relies on different skills for the production of scripts and personal narratives, both genres "emerge in their incipient forms at approximately the same time, but may develop at different rates in the preschool years" (p.99).

Regardless of which side we take, the conclusion that can be drawn from this debate is that different narrative genres develop at different rates and take different routes (Allen et al., 1994). Therefore, when narrative development is discussed, among the multiple factors that affect narrative competence, genre should also be taken into account.

So far, there have been two approaches to the study of genre in narrative development. One defines genre in terms of sources of knowledge in which the narrative has its origins. This criterion is a combination of text-external and text-internal criteria in Virtanen's terms because it is based on how experience is organized in discourse form. From this perspective, three

narrative genres have been described (Hudson & Shapiro, 1991; Allen et al., 1994; Hemphill, L., Feldman, H., Camp, L., Griffin, T., Miranda, A. & Wolf, D., 1994): scripts, personal accounts and stories. As Hudson and Shapiro compare scripts to personal narratives, they point out that in scripts the foregrounded information is what usually happens, whereas in personal narratives, the foregrounded information is what happened once and thus, it constitutes a deviation from what usually happens. Moreover, stories are characterized by a more complex episodic structure, where characters' internal states and motivations are important. As a result children seem to take longer to develop skills for fictional story-telling. However, Hudson and Shapiro (1991) admit that narrative skills are affected by task-related and other contextual factors. It may be the case that in certain social groups, where bedtime story-telling is a frequent activity, children can produce stories at an earlier age.

The second approach distinguishes between narrative genres from the viewpoint of the interaction in which the narratives are performed (text-external criteria are more prevalent in this classification). Thus, the narrative genres proposed are eventcasts, accounts, recounts and stories (Hicks, 1988; Heath, 1986). Heath (1986) posits these as four universal types of narrative, but she admits that their distribution and frequency vary greatly from one culture to another. She defines *recounts* as the verbalization of past experience, usually shared with the interlocutor and elicited by him/her. *Eventcasts* are "verbal replays or explanations of activity scenes that are

either in the current attention of those participating in the eventcast or being planned for the future" (p.88). Eventcasts are generally elicited, not volunteered, by an authority figure (e.g a parent, a teacher) Accounts, the preferred narrative form, are narrative productions of past experiences that the narrator chooses (voluntarily) to share with an audience. Finally, stories differ from the other three narrative genres because they are not taken as real by the audience. They are based on the narrator's imagination.

Although genre is a very complex notion and its boundaries are difficult to detect¹, research in this area suggests that genre studies reveal the relationship between text and context, namely, how text is related to external factors and is determined by them. This notion of "genre" can be applied to the study of narrative development in order to reveal the different paths taken by emerging narrative discourse in child language. In this study, I compare two narrative genres: accounts of past experiences and recounts of fiction based on films (TV or movies). Bruner (1986) suggests that the narrative speech act has the following felicity conditions (i.e. conditions that ensure the success of the interaction, Austin, 1962):

1. [some indication that] a story is to be recounted.
2. that it is true or fictional.
3. that it fits some [narrative] genre - a sad story, a moral fable, a comeuppance tale, a particular scandal, a happening in one's life.

¹ And thus, it is not such a stable form as Bakhtin (1986) and Swales (1990) seem to suggest.

4. a condition of style: that the form of the discourse in which the story is actualized leaves open the "performance of meaning" in Iser's sense (Bruner, 1986, p.25).

Following Iser (1978), Bruner explains what he means by condition 4. It involves those features of the text that guide the reader in the process of making sense out of the text (constructing a virtual text). The three textual features that help in this process are: triggering of presuppositions, subjectivization and multiple perspectives. The first refers to the implicit information carried by the text, the second refers to the role of the narrator and the third to the characters' point of view expressed in the story. It is these last two textual features that constitute the focus of our analysis.

Personal Experience Narratives

The most frequent narrative production that children spontaneously engage in is autobiographical (Preece, 1987). They narrate past experiences to their peers or to adults. Two narrative tasks in this study emulate this type of narrative. One, where the narrative is elicited by an open-ended question ("Tell me about something frightening that happened to you"), is less scaffolded than the other (elicited by a brief narrative modeled by the interviewer). In the two tasks, 113 children produced 396 personal narratives, out of which 229 were selected for analysis (110 in the scaffolded task and 109 in the open-ended task).

The children covered a wide range of topics: frightening encounters with criminals or wild animals, suffering diseases, injuries or minor accidents. We have seen that injuries are by far the most frequent topic (about 50% of the personal narratives produced by the children in this sample). Also a very common topic in the sample was the child as a victim or an observer of an assault or a robbery (about 10% of the personal narratives). The selection of topics (for a more detailed discussion see p.41ff) reflects what types of experiences become memorable, and therefore tellable, for the child (although limited in range by the prompt which elicited these narratives). A thematic analysis can also contribute to our understanding of what are the most salient features of the child's reality and how these are related to social issues. It can also shed light on what is reportable within a cultural context and how reportability may vary from one interlocutor to another.

In personal narratives, the roles of speaker, narrator and protagonist are closely related. Events tend to be recounted from a single perspective (a first person perspective), giving the narrative a sense of immediacy (Engel, 1995). If a personal narrative is told from a third person perspective, it is labeled as a vicarious narrative.

Fictional Narratives

Fictional narratives are not as frequently produced by children in peer interactions as personal narratives. According to Preece (1987), fictional stories based on TV programs are the most frequently produced of all fictional narratives, exceeded only by accounts of the child's personal or vicarious experience. Although children are not likely to engage in the telling of a fictional story very often, they are exposed to them with increasing frequency as they spend long hours every day in front of a TV set. Moreover, there is a natural link between stories and children, especially in contexts where story-telling is a regular activity. Thus, story-telling is most likely to be performed in adult-child interactions.² It is also a common classroom activity, where children are expected to narrate at the teacher's request and it is frequently used in the teaching of reading and writing skills.

It is important to point out that fictional narratives are understood in this study as the retelling of a story based on imagined events. The child's rendition of the fictional narrative can be based on a written, oral or some

² Monologic story-telling is documented in fantasy talk (Engel, 1995) or pretend play (Wolf, D., Moreton, J. and Camp, L., 1994).

other (audio)visual source such as a film or a comic strip. This study does not focus on the child's ability to invent a fictional story, nor does it focus on pretend play, where the child attributes imagined characteristics to real objects. Personal narratives, on the other hand, are defined (following Labov, 1972) as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred". Viewed in this way, personal and fictional stories are linked to some real life referent. In the personal experience narrative, the child makes reference to an autobiographical episode. In the fictional story-telling, the child narrates a film that has been seen by a large audience. In both cases the relationship between the narrative and the referent is mediated by the child's interpretation. In both cases, however, the child feels the obligation to render a "faithful" representation of the referent in the sense that she will not risk being questioned about how "truthful" her narratives are. The difference, then, between fictional and personal narratives is not the extent to which the child reports "real" events but the degree of displacement between the child's world and the narrated world (Chafe, 1994).

The child's concern for her narrative's validity surfaced most frequently in the open fictional task. A large number of children's first reaction to the prompt was that they were unable to summarize their favorite film because they could not recall its content with precision. Thus, children seem to be more conscious of their performance in fictional story-telling than in accounts of personal experience.

The assumptions on which fictional narratives are based differ from those underlying personal narratives. Whereas personal narratives are related to the child's own experience, fictional narratives are supposed to be remote, by virtue of the very fact that they are not based on real events. As experience is organized differently in these two narrative genres, their communicative purposes also vary. Personal narratives may serve the purpose of making sense of one's own experience, of sharing it with someone, of illustrating some general statement, of entertaining an audience. Fictional stories may have similar communicative purposes but in an indirect way. Fictional narratives, where the narrated world, by definition, does not follow events in the 'real' world, give more freedom to the addressee to find the relationship between the narrated world and the 'real' world. Real life accounts, as Sartre so convincingly argues, also have a mediated relationship with reality; the narrated world cannot be an exact copy of the "real" world. However, the audience accepts it as a reflection of reality, similar to Searle's direct speech acts (1969), where the presence of the performative verb makes the illocutionary force of an utterance explicit (compare the direct speech act "I promise I'll be there at 8", which can only be understood as a promise, with "I'll be there at 8", the illocutionary force of which can range from a promise to a threat or a plan for the future, among others). In fictional stories, like in indirect speech acts, the addressee has more freedom to interpret the communicative purpose.

Moreover, the boundary between fictional and personal narratives is not always clear-cut. Fictional stories are sometimes embedded in personal narratives, most particularly in oral interactions, as in the following example:

085.IGN.129.F Maria

*EXP: *y cuál es la que recuerdes así que te gustó más últimamente?*

*CHI: *yo vi que mi mamá me dijo <no, tú te vas a aburrir con esa película. Esa película es muy [...] muy larga y muy [...] muy profunda para ti> ["]*. Pero que yo la vi en el cine y me gustó bastante.

*EXP: *cuál es?*

*CHI: *Il Postino, con Massimo [...].*

*EXP: *me la cuentas?*

[Exp: *and which [film] do you remember, one that you have enjoyed lately?*

Chi: *I saw that Mom said "no, you are going to be bored by this film. This film is too long and complicated for you" But I saw it at the movies and I liked it a lot.*

Exp: *Which one?*

Chi: *Il Postino, with Massimo [...].*

Exp: *Would you like to tell me the story?]*

Subsequently, the child narrates the film and succeeds in proving that the film was not too complicated for her to understand. In this way, the fictional story *Il Postino* is embedded in a personal narrative. The personal narrative, in which the child makes the point that she had outdone her mother's expectations, is hierarchically at a higher level than the fictional narrative. Nonetheless, it is the fictional narrative that is elicited by the prompt in this task. This embedding of one narrative within the other may result in added difficulty for the child to organize her discourse. The possibility to combine narrative genres is a reflection of the multilayered nature of discourse. In this study, cases of embedding were analyzed by only coding the narrative that corresponded to the prompt. Thus, as in the example above the prompt requested a fictional story, only the child's recount of *Il Postino* was coded for further analysis. Further research is required to determine to what extent embedding one narrative into another affects textual organization.

and increases the difficulty for the child to successfully convey the point of the story.

The child, while acquiring the ability to produce fictional and personal stories as narrative genres, needs to develop those skills that will enable her to produce the appropriate language whereby narrated worlds are created according to the requirements of each genre. Research in children's developing ability to distinguish reality from fiction (Applebee, 1978; O'Reilly Landry, Hope & Gardner, 1982) suggests that there is a remarkable developmental shift around the age of 9, when children become more sensitive to violations of social and psychological reality in a narrative text, in addition to other issues related to plausibility (O'Reilly Landry et al., 1982, p.40).

In this study, two fictional narratives were elicited in two narrative tasks. Again, one of the tasks was open-ended because the prompt which elicited the narrative was "Tell me about your favorite TV program or movie". The other, more scaffolded, task consisted of showing the children a wordless video (Picnic, Weston Woods, 1993). In these two tasks, 113 children produced 225 fictional stories.

In the fictional narrative tasks, the child needed to convert into words stories expressed in images. The story was retrieved from the child's memory. In the structured task, as the projection of the film took place right before the interview, it is safe to assume that the narrative was retrieved from short-term memory. In addition, it is very likely that the children told the story for the first

time, given that *Picnic* has not been distributed commercially and therefore, the children in the sample could not have seen it elsewhere. In the open-ended fictional task, the child needed to bring back images and dialogues from their long-term memory to refer to a film seen some time before. Although it does not seem very likely, there could be cases when a child had already narrated the same film to a different audience. In contrast, in the personal narrative tasks, children relied on long-term memory as they recalled episodes from their earlier lives. In the case of personal stories, the likelihood that the child's rendition of the narrative was not the first increases greatly. Certain experiences become part of the family's repertoire and may be told several times. Norrick (1997) points out the importance of retelling familiar stories for the fostering of group rapport, ratification of group membership and expression of group values. Thus, retold stories are a valuable source for examining acceptable ways of representing the self and others in narrative form.

The topic in the scaffolded fictional task was held constant as children recounted the same film. In the open-ended task children chose any of a variety of films or TV series that were very popular at the time of the interview (see pp.44-45). In children's renditions of fictional stories, the narrator and the protagonist have distinct voices. The child as an outside narrator usually depicts multiple characters' perspectives. School-age children tend to tell fictional stories from the overall perspective of an omniscient narrator.

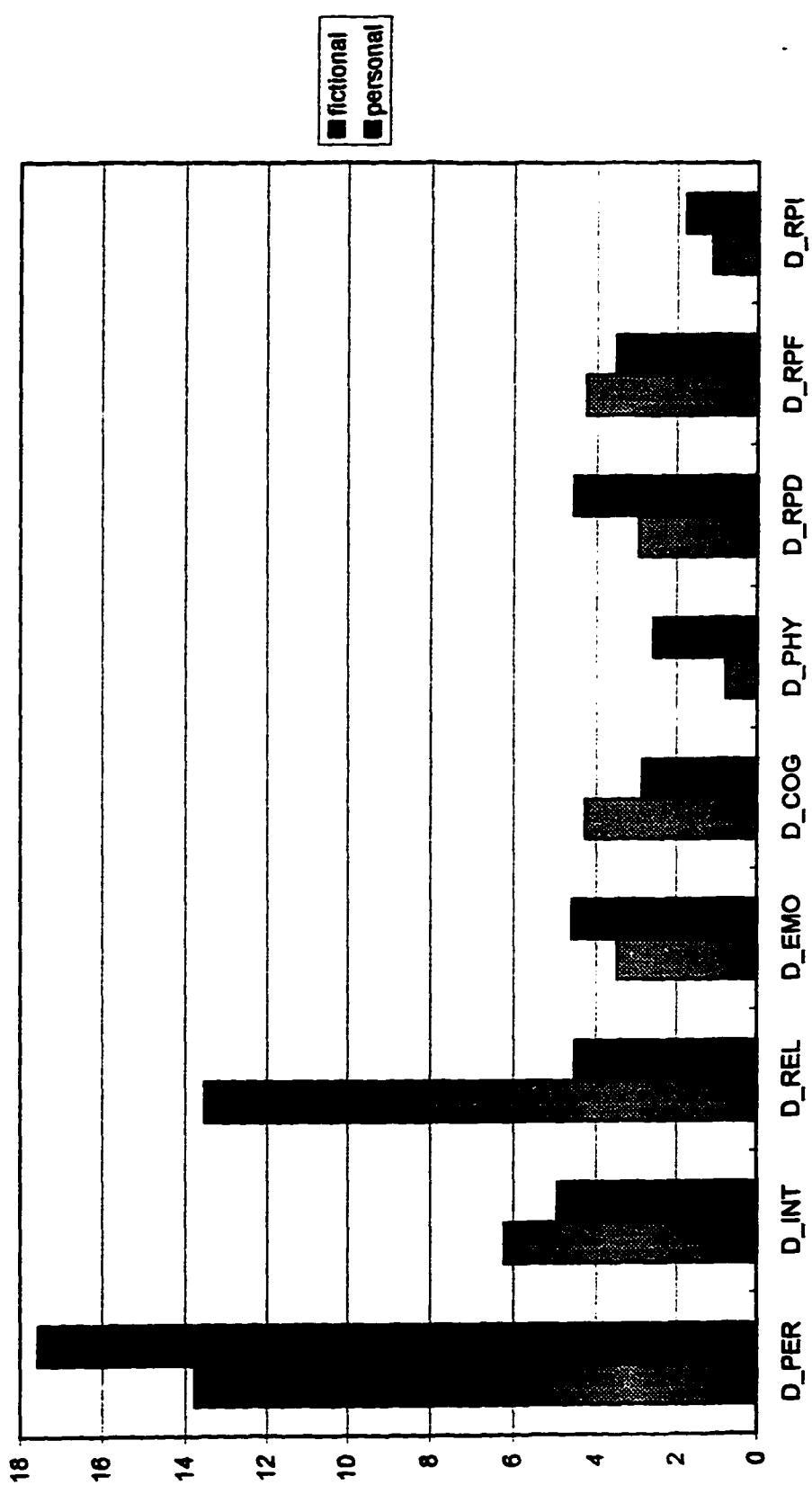
Evaluation and Narrative Genre

Given the differences between fictional and personal narrative with respect to communicative purpose, topics and modes of production or comprehension described above, the question that arises is whether the developing abilities for narrative production follow similar paths in fictional and personal story-telling. To address this research question of how genre affects evaluative language in Venezuelan children's narrative production, first I examined the frequency of evaluative expressions in fictional and personal narratives. The density of each evaluative category was calculated for both narrative genres by multiplying the number of occurrences by 100 and dividing by the number of clauses (e.g. D_PERF, D_PERP). Then a composite variable was created for each narrative genre (D_EVAF, D_EVAP) by summing all the occurrences of evaluative expressions in each genre, multiplying them by 100 and dividing by the number of clauses. Density of fictional evaluation and density of personal evaluation represent the percentage of clauses that contain evaluative expressions in each narrative genre.

Examination of the types of evaluative categories used in fictional and personal narratives (see Figure 22) suggest that the most frequent evaluative device in both genres is perception. Interestingly, the ranking of evaluative categories by frequency is very similar in both genres, with the exception of expressions of relation, which ranks higher in fictional than in personal

narratives. Note that references to inner states and speech (i.e. cognition, emotion, reported speech) are remarkably less frequent than expressions referring to perception and relation in both narrative genres.

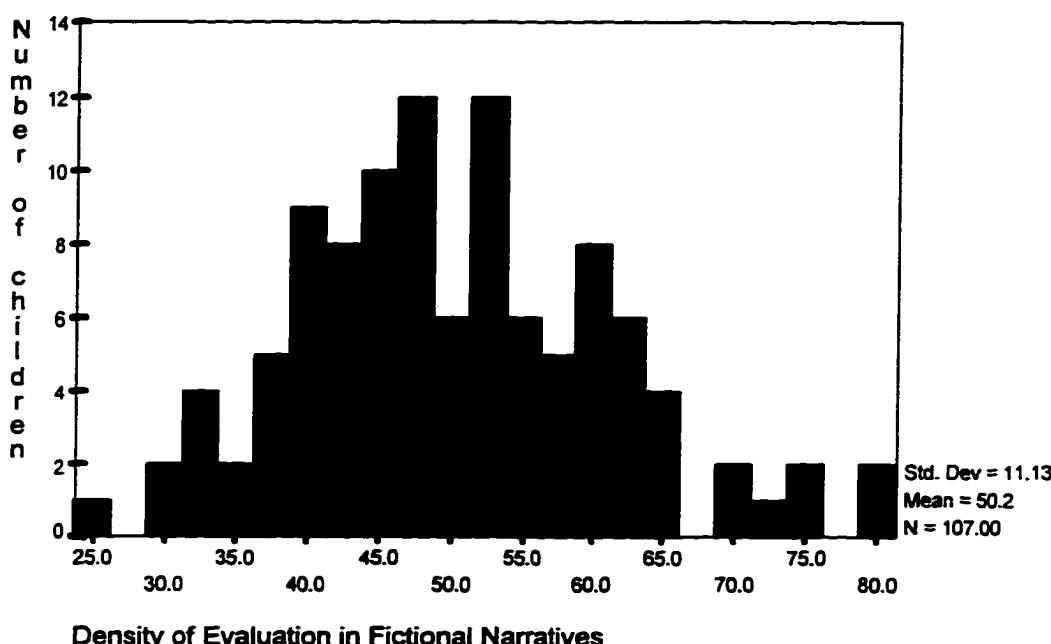
Figure 22
Comparison of Evaluative Categories in Fictional and Personal Narratives



The distribution of density of evaluation in fictional stories is almost normal (Figure 23). The children in the sample included evaluative expressions from 25% to 81% of the clauses in their narratives. The majority of the children in the sample used evaluative expressions in between 40 and 60% of the clauses in fictional narratives.

Figure 23

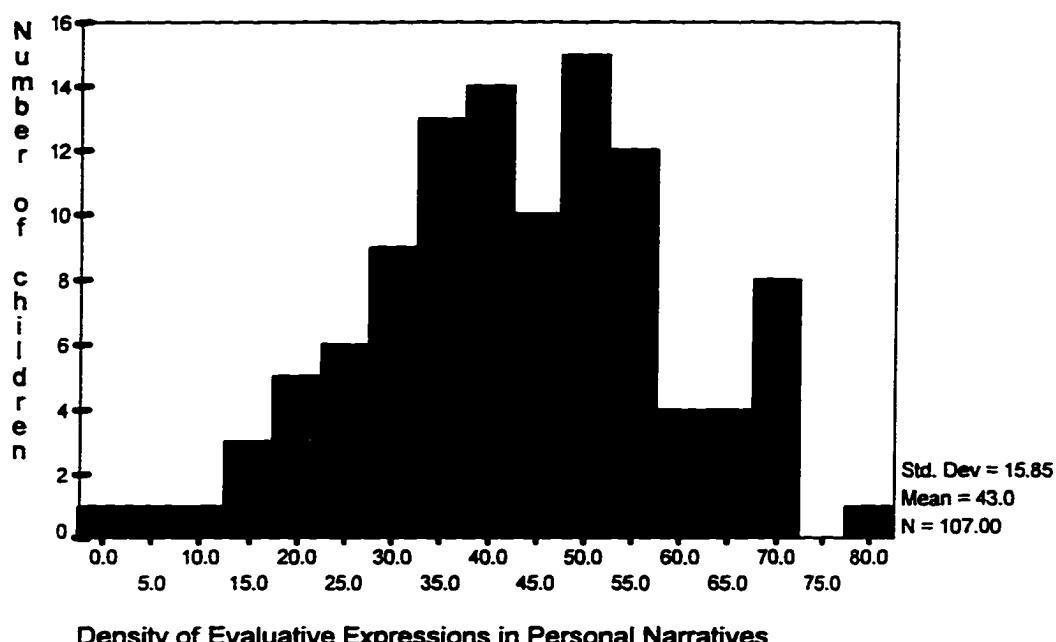
Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Two Fictional Narrative Tasks (n=107).



In comparison, the density of evaluation in personal narratives has a distribution which is more skewed towards higher values (Figure 24). The mean density of evaluation in personal narratives is slightly lower than that of fictional narratives, the standard deviation is larger and the range is very similar (from 0% to 80% evaluative devices). Most children evaluated between 30% and 55% of the clauses in personal narratives.

Figure 24

**Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in Two Personal Narrative Tasks
(n=107).**



The measures above are expressed in frequency of evaluative expressions per number of narrative clauses. As the renditions of fictional narratives were considerably longer than those of personal narratives (discussion on p.50ff), the raw number of evaluative devices found in fictional stories is considerably higher than in accounts of personal experience.

The questions I set out to address in what follows are related to the ways in which the use of evaluative language contributes to narrative development. More specifically, my focus will be on whether older children increase the frequency of evaluative expressions equally in fictional and personal narratives. I will also determine whether both SES groups use similar

skills in fictional and personal story-telling. In order to answer these questions, I will examine the relationships of evaluative density in fictional and personal stories with children's age and SES as well as with their reading and oral proficiencies.

Table 21

Correlation Matrix of Density of Evaluation in Fictional and Personal Narratives with Age, SES, Vocabulary and Reading Test Scores (n=107).

	Evaluation in Fiction	Evaluation in Personal Narratives	Age	SES	Vocab test	Reading test
Evaluation in Fiction	1.00	.23*	.25**	-.16*	-.21*	-.15
Evaluation in Pers. Narr.		1.00	-.09	.07	.06	.14
AGE			1.00	.11	-.007	.02
SES				1.00	.59***	.70***
vocab. test					1.00	.52***
reading test						1.00

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Examination of the correlation coefficients (Table 21) informs me that only density of evaluation in fictional narratives is correlated with age, SES and oral proficiency. Note, however, that no such association is found between density of personal evaluation, age and SES.

The fact that density of fictional evaluation is positively correlated with age implies that older children use more evaluative expressions in fictional narratives. In contrast, the relationship between density of fictional evaluation and SES is negative, signaling that lower SES children tend to use more

evaluative expressions in fictional narratives than higher SES children. Similarly, children who score lower on the vocabulary test tend to use more evaluative expressions in fictional narratives. A possible interpretation for this relationship is that certain evaluative devices (i.e. onomatopoeic forms, deictics that accompany gestures "like this") serve an evaluative function and at the same time compensate for the child's lack of the appropriate word (Romaine, 1984). High frequency in this type of evaluation only indicates that the child has limited linguistic resources to support certain narrative strategies. Thus, frequency of evaluative expressions taps a number of different language production skills. Higher frequency in certain evaluative expressions may indicate skillful story-telling and language proficiency, whereas high frequency in some other expressions may indicate repetition due to lack of adequate linguistic resources.

Furthermore, there is an association between density of fictional and of personal evaluation suggesting that children who use more evaluative expressions in fictional narratives, tend to use more evaluation in their personal narratives.

Evaluation in Fictional Narratives

A taxonomy of regression models was built to examine the relationship of evaluative expressions in fictional narratives with children's age and SES. The multiple regression analyses confirm that there is an association of density of evaluation in fictional narratives with children's age and SES.

Table 22

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Evaluation in Fictional Stories on Age, SES, and Interaction (*n*=107).

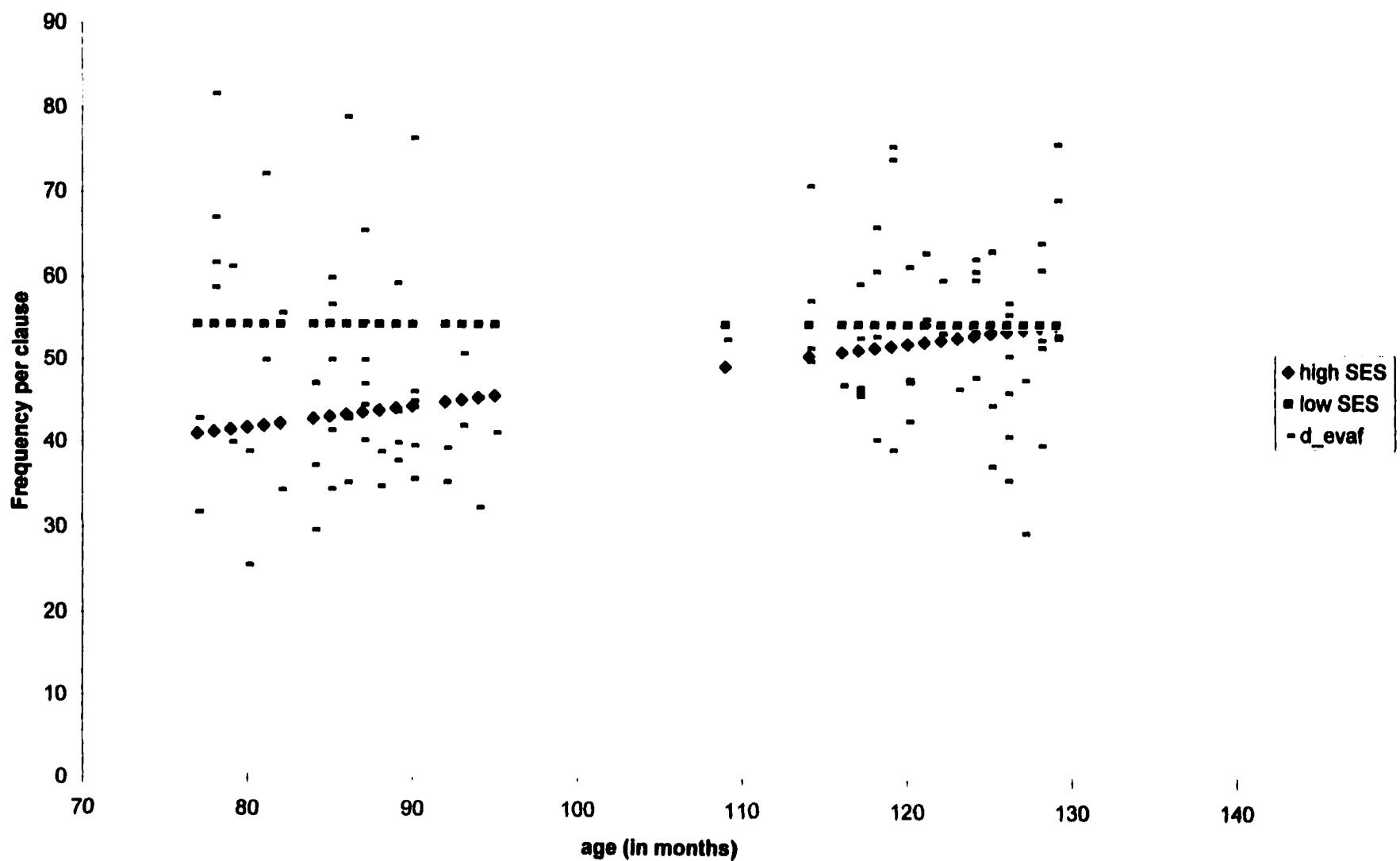
	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	34.93***	.15**			F(1,105)=6.87** p<.01	.06
Model 2	52.15***		-3.59*		F(1,105)=2.82* p<.09	.03
Model 3	35.85***	.16**	-4.27*		F(2,104)=5.65** p< .005	.10
Model 4	50.09***	.02	-32.24**	.27*	F(3,103)=5.99*** p< .0008	.15
Model 5	50.41***	Grade	-19.23**	Grade*SES 10.14*	F(3,103)=5.7*** p< .001	.14

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

As indicated in Table 22 (where Model 4 is found to be the best-fitting model), an interaction effect of age and SES on fictional evaluation was detected, implying that high SES children experienced a developmental shift in their use of evaluative expressions in fictional stories, whereas, even though low SES children's use of evaluative expressions starts out higher than middle class children's, it does not show an increase in older children's narratives (Figure 25). Variation in age, SES and interaction explains 15% of the variation in evaluative expressions in fictional narratives.

The findings discussed above suggest that the frequency of evaluative devices increases with age mostly in high SES children's fictional narratives. Does the frequency of all evaluative categories increase equally or are some evaluative devices more responsible for this developmental shift than others?

FITTED INTERACTION EFFECT OF AGE & SES ON DENSITY OF EVALUATION IN FICTIONAL NARRATIVES



Further analysis related to the frequency of the nine evaluative categories shows that only the frequency of expressions referring to cognition in fictional narratives is associated with age and SES, implying that older children use, on average, more expressions of cognition in their fictional narratives and, at the same time, high SES children are likely to use more expressions of cognition in fictional stories than their low SES peers (Table 23). The variation in age and SES explains 11% of the variation in the density of cognitive expressions in fictional narratives.

Table 23

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Cognition in Fictional Stories on Age, SES, and Interaction (n=107).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	-.18	.04*			$F(1,105)=6.04^*$ $p<.02$	.05
Model 2	3.37***		1.77**		$F(1,105)=8.75^{**}$ $p<.004$	.08
Model 3	.10	.03*	1.63**		$F(2,104)=6.55^{**}$ $p<.002$	.11
Model 4	.77	.03	.31	.01	$F(3,103)=4.39^{**}$ $p<.006$	.11
Model 5	1.53*	.95	1.06	Grade*SES .57	$F(3,103)=5.16^{**}$ $p<.002$	.13

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Expressions of cognition, then, may enhance a narrative because they reveal the characters' or the narrator's thoughts.

037.PE.123.F Alicia

bueno, entonces él está triste porque él perdió su familia. Y ellos se habían ido sin que se dieran cuenta. Entonces se esconde. Este [...] está [...] está muy miedoso porque él no sabe dónde está. De repente huele algo y son unas flores. Entonces empieza a comer. Entonces la familia se encuentra en el picnic. Está haciendo todo

y los [...] los hermanitos empiezan a jugar y la mamá prepara todo. Entonces cuando están repartiendo la leche se [...] se da cuenta de que falta un vaso. Entonces dice <quién [...] quién es éste> ["]? Entonces empieza a mirar y era él. Entonces este [...] el abuelo de repente este [...] se recordó que cuando [...] cuando estaba manejando este [...] se [...] el [...] con una piedra se cae. Entonces todos [...] recogieron todo y se fueron [...] y se fueron a buscarn.

[well, then, he [=the little rat] is sad because he lost his family. And they had left without noticing [that he got lost]. Then, [he] hides. [He] is very scared because he doesn't know where he is. Suddenly [he] smells something and finds some flowers. Then [he] starts to eat [them]. Then [=in the meantime] his family are having a picnic. [She=the mother] is preparing everything and the brothers start playing and the mother is preparing everything. Then, when [she] is handing out the milk, [she] realizes that a glass is missing.³ Then [she] says <who is this> ["]? Then [she] starts checking and it's him. Then the grandfather suddenly remembers that when [he] was driving [he=the little rat] fell off with [=when the car hit] a stone. Then, they picked up everything and went looking for him].

In this excerpt of Alicia's rendition of *Picnic*, we find that she uses expressions of cognition such as *se da cuenta*, *se recordó*, *él no sabe* ("[he] realizes", "[he] remembers", "[he] does not know") in order to describe the characters' thoughts and doubts. This reference to the characters' inner states adds to the coherence of the story and contributes greatly to the construction of the story-world.

It is probable that the topic of the wordless picture *Picnic* requires more expressions of cognition and due to this characteristic we find more in children's fictional stories than in their personal narratives. However, given that the task was the same for all the children, it is interesting that older and high SES children tended to use more cognitive expressions than their younger and low SES peers, a difference that may suggest that expressions

³ Notice that the child says the contrary of what she means. It is not the glass that is missing, a little rat is missing. As a matter of fact, the mother poured one glass more than the number of little rats playing at the picnic. I gave this text to several individuals who were unfamiliar with the story and they all understood what the child meant by *falta un vaso* implying that this distortion does not hinder the coherence of the passage (there may be other problems with this text's coherence, i.e. referential clarity, which are beyond the scope of this study).

of cognition show developmental shifts in school age children that other evaluative expressions do not show in this age range.

The findings also suggest that low SES first graders use more evaluative expressions than their high SES peers. Does this mean that they start out with better evaluative skills than high SES children? Let us examine the following example:

062.RG.78.M Douglas

*CHI: la de Pitufo, Pitufos. este [...] él hace travesuras. Va pa' una iglesia y pelea con un gigante. Una vez, vino y agarró, pa' ve, una broma de esa así que [...] que tiene un redondito así. Ah, no, un machete lo agarró y [...] y le quitó un dedo grande. y entonces, pa' ve, el gigante le dio una patada ahí, voló por [...] se [...] salió de la iglesia y [...] entró otra vez [c] y entonces el gigante le dijo <vas a seguir entrando a una iglesia > ["]? <if you keep coming in, I'll kick you again> ["] y entonces le dio otra patada más duro y lo botó. entonces no se rindió. y [...] y [...] y como [...] y el gigante se [...] bajó pa' [...] bajó pa' allá afuera. Y bajó [...] se bajó y [...] y vino y agarró al Pitufo por la mano le echó sal y [...] y Pitufo hizo <achú > ["]. y [...] y le [...] y el gigante le dijo < salud > ["]. <gracias, pero [...] pero yo me voy porque me vas a dar una patada más duro> ["] y [...] y [...] y [...] y dijo el gigante <gracias porque [...] porque me recordaste, no te voy a dar una patada más duro te doy una cachetada más duro [c] pa' que te vayas> ["] le dio la cachetada. y [...] y llegó a otra iglesia [y [...] y [...] y rezó. y entonces se fue y [...] y le [...] y le dijo al padre <gracias padre, pero me voy pa' mi casa> ["]. y [...] y la mamá lo estaba esperando, lo estaba esperando. <mamá, mamá, sirveme la comida, que me voy rápido> ["]. le sirvió la comida y se fue y [...] y se fue pa' la escuela. <maestra, maestra, me te este [...] hágame la tarea rápido, que me voy pa' [...] pa' [...] a comer otra vez > ["] entonces como la mamá no estaba, el papá estaba ahí, pero como la mamá no le dejó [...] que [...] que no le hiciera comida. Entonces se fue pa' el colegio otra vez, que tenía Educación Física y se fue y se lo [...] y le dijo al profesor <profesor, apúrate a [...] a hacer la educación física porque me voy pa' [...] pa' [...] pa' ver, pa'l cine a ver una película > ["]. ahá, y entonces le dijo este [...] <señor, señor, apúrese que [...] que quiero ir pa' la casa a comer [...] a comer cotufa> ["]. y entonces co [...] como la mamá no estaba, le dejó cotufa y se fue otra vez pa' el colegio. entonces termina cuando [...] cuando él se pone gordo y [...] y fue pa' [...] pa' la iglesia del gigante y [...] y sopló un soplón grande. y le salió toda la comida [c] que tenía en la barriga y [...] y ganó Pitufo. Así termina.

[that of Pitufo (Smurf), Pitufo. He [...] he is naughty. [he] goes to a church and fights with a giant. Once, [he] grabbed, let's see, a thing like this that [...] that has something round like this. Oh, no, a machete, [he] grabbed it and [...] and [he] cut his [= the giant's] thumb. and then, let's see, the giant kicked him there [he] flew [...] and [he] flew out of the church [...] [he] went in again and then the giant told him <are you going to go into the church > ["]? <if you get in again, I'll kick you even harder> ["]. and then [he] kicked him harder and threw him out. Then [he] gave up. and [...] and [...] and as [...] and the giant [...] went down to [...] went outside. And [he] bent [...]

[he] bent over [...] and he grabbed him by his hand and sprinkled salt on him and [...] and Pitufo goes <achú> ["]. and [...] and [...] and the giant said <gesundheit> ["]. <thanks, but [...] but I'm leaving because you are going to kick me hard> ["] and [...] and [...] and [...] and said the giant <thanks for [...] for reminding me, [I]`m not going to kick you hard, [I]`m going to slap you hard, so that you leave> ["] [he] slapped him. and [...] and [he] got into another church and [...] and [...] and [he] prayed. and then he left and [...] and [...] and [he] told the father [priest] <thank you, Father, but I'm going home> ["]. and [...] and his mother was waiting for him, [she] was waiting for him. <mummy, mummy, give me some food, 'cause I'm leaving right away> ["]. [she] gave him food and [he] left and [...] and [he] left for school. <miss, miss, [...] give me my homework quick, 'cause I'm going to [...] to [...] to eat again> ["] then, as his mother was not home, his father was there, but as his mother didn't let him cook, [he] went back to school, he had gym and he left and [...] and he told the teacher <sir, hurry up [...] let's have the class because I'm going to [...] to [...] let's see, to the movies to watch a film> ["]. Yeah, and then [he] told him [...] <sir, sir, hurry up 'cause [...] 'cause [I] want to go home to eat [...] to eat popcorn> ["]. and then [...] as his mother wasn't home, [she] had left him the popcorn and [he] left for school again. then, it ends when [...] when he gets fat and [...] and he left for [...] to go to the giant's church and [...] and he blew a big blow. and all the food came out [the food] that he had in his tummy and [...] and Pitufo won. That's the end.]

In this narrative, 89% of the clauses contain evaluative language.

Douglas, a 7 year-old child, also evaluates a great deal in the other narrative tasks (50% in both the structured fictional and the open ended personal narrative and 75% in the structured personal narrative). The presence of these evaluative elements renders the narrative very vivid and lively. However, the listener may get confused in the rapid shifts of perspective (especially the dialogue between the giant and Pitufo, where turn-taking is not always explicitly signaled). The aggressive feelings of the protagonists towards each other are clearly present. The action, however, does not come across very clearly. The listener cannot get a clear picture of the plot.

008.FR.116.F Katy

era una muchacha, una muchacha india .y estaba con muchacho, un catirito .pero él era de los blancos y el papá de la muchacha era [...] era bravo .y [...] y le tenía rabia a los blancos . y entonces ella cuando fue a cruzar el río , vio al [...] a el se [...] al señor . entonces se asustó mucho . y se metió pa' el árbol . corrió pa' el árbol . entonces se quedó allá con un ali [...] un animalito . que ella tenía, y era muy chistoso . entonces cuando el rey estaba ahí hablando con la [...] con la hija , entonces vino él y se montó en la corona y <chin> ["] se le cayó encima, en la

cabeza .entonces cuando [...] cuando le cayó ellos se empezaron a reir .y había un indio , que ella [...] que él estaba enamorado de ella . y cuando él [...] él estaba peleando con el blanco .entonces el blanco le [...] el amigo del blanco le [...] él no sabía des [...] disparar . entonces él con una escopeta le me [...] le [...] echó el tiro a [?] .y se cayó al agua .entonces Pocahontas salió corriendo a buscálo . y se puso a llorar . y cuando ya [...] eh [...] ella se [...] se había enamorado del blanco . había una [...] un árbol grande . que estaba una señora . y [...] y ella decía que era la abuela . entonces eh [...] y al Perrito [...] un Perrito que había del hombre blanco malo . entonces él estaba persiguiendo al animalito de Pocahontas . y entonces ella alzó el tallo . y lo tumbó y después cuando ella se paró , el papá le dio un collar que era de la mamá muerta .entonces le dio un collar . y siempre ella lo te (...) lo cargaba . y ella [...] y la mujer hizo un viento . y le traían rosas y [...] y flores . y cuando este [...] el blanco se iba . que ya estaba [...] o sea, tenía rasguños por los indios , entonces él se iba a ir .entonces el papá [...] el papá de Pocahontas le dijo que [...] que lo iba a matar .entonces ella se le atravesó .y cuando ellos se fueron en un [...] como en un barco . se fueron .y ella llorando .y cuando ya estaba lejísimo , ella [...] ella lloró y lloró siempre .entonces ella se fue en un bichito de esos que le dan a eso .y se fue con el animalito . entonces él se cayó de cabeza pa' el río .y [...] y ella se echó a reir . y [...].

*EXP: cómo termina?

*CHI: que él se fue .y le llevaron rosas . así con el viento caían rosas y flores y hojista de esas verdes . caía eso alrededor de ella .y ella se puso contenta . después cuando él volvió ellos se casaron y fueron felices .

[there was a girl, an Indian girl. and she was with a boy, a blond boy. but he was white and the girl's father was angry, [he] was [...] was furious. and [...] and [he] was furious with the whites. and then she, when [she] was going to cross the river, [she] saw [...] the man . then, [she] got very scared and she hid in the tree. [she] ran to the tree. then [she] stayed there with [...] a little animal/pet that she had and which was very funny. then, when the king was talking to [...] to his daughter, then he [=the pet] came and put the crown on his head and <chin> [""] it fell over his head. then when [...] when it fell, they all started laughing. and there was an Indian, and she [...] and he was in love with her. and when he [...] he was fighting with the white man, then the white man [...] the white man's friend [...] he didn't know how to [...] shoot. then he shot at him [?] with a rifle. and [he] fell into the water. then Pocahontas ran looking for him. and [she] started to cry. and when [...] eh [...] she [...] had fallen in love with the white man. there was a [...] big tree that was a woman. and [...] and she was saying that [she] was their grandmother. then eh [...] and the dog [...] a dog that was the bad white man's. then he [=the dog] was chasing Pocahontas' pet . and she raised her stem [...] and pushed him down. and then, when she stopped, her father gave her a necklace that had belonged to her deceased mother. then [he] gave her the necklace and she was always wearing it. and she [...] and the woman caused the wind to blow and it was bringing her roses and [...] and flowers. and when [...] the white man was about to leave as he was [...] that is, [he] had some scratches that the Indians caused him, then he was about to leave. then, her father [...] Pocahontas' father told him that [...] that [he] was going to kill him .then she stood between them. and when they left in a [...] like a ship. [they] left and she [was] crying. and when [they] were already very far away, she [...] she cried and cried always. then [she] left on a thing like this that they did like this. and [she] left with her pet. then he fell on his head into the river and [...] and she burst out in laughter and [...].

*EXP: how does it end?

*CHI: that he left and [they] took him roses. the wind was blowing roses like this, and flowers and green leaves. all this was falling around her. and she was very happy. afterwards when he came back, they got married and [they] were very happy.]

This narrative (produced by a 10 year-old girl, Katy) is also highly evaluated. About 50% of the clauses contain evaluative expressions. Although the density of evaluation is lower than Douglas', the story comes across more clearly. It seems to me that two factors are responsible for the difference:

a. The evaluative devices cannot occur by themselves, just as referential elements alone are also insufficient. It is the combination of evaluative and referential functions that make a good story.

b. Not all kinds of evaluative expressions are equally effective. To illustrate this let's take two examples from the stories above. A conflict between father and daughter is expressed as follows in Katy's story:

entonces el papá [...] el papá de Pocahontas le dijo que [...] que lo iba a matar.
entonces ella se le atravesó.
[then her father [...] Pocahontas' father told him that [...] [he] was going to kill him.
then she stood between them.

Note the use of indirect reported speech introduced by *le dijo* "[he] told her". Similarly, Douglas uses reported speech to describe the conflict between the giant and Pitufos:

entonces el gigante le dijo <vas a seguir entrando a una iglesia> [""]? <if you go into a church, I'll kick you even harder> [""]. y entonces le dio otra patada más duro y lo botó.
[then the giant said < [you] are going to go into a church> [""]? < if [you] go into a church, [I]'ll kick you even harder> [""]. and then [he] kicked him harder and threw him out.

In Douglas' excerpt the use of reported speech does not help the interlocutor assign a certain hierarchy to the events. The giant cautions Pitufo

and then punishes him. We don't know why the giant forbids Pitufo to go into the church, or what Pitufo's intentions are. In Katy's story, however, we see how the father's intention (to kill Pocahontas' friend) provokes a reaction in the daughter (she stops him). Cause-effect relations are clear, the characters' motives and how that affects their actions is also clear.

The point these two examples illustrate is that frequency of evaluative expressions does not ensure, by itself, the quality of the narrative. The relations between evaluative and referential elements create the overall coherence of the story.

Evaluation in Personal Narratives

We have seen that high SES fourth graders are likely to use more evaluative expressions in their fictional narratives than high SES first graders. Does this relationship hold in the production of personal narratives? A taxonomy of regression models was built to determine how density of evaluation in personal narratives is related to children's age and SES.

Table 24

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Evaluation in Personal Narratives on Age, SES, and Interaction (n=107).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	51.15***	-.08			F(1,105)=.91 p<.34	.01
Model 2	41.72***		2.35		F(1,105)= .58 p<.45	.01
Model 3	56.37***	-.09	2.72		F(2,104)= .84 p<.43	.02
Model 4	66.74***	-.25*	-29.02 ⁻	.30 ⁻	F(3,103)= 1.74 p<.16	.05
Model 5	61.07***	Grade -9.52	-22.27	Grade*SES 15.02	F(3,103)= .65 p<.59	.02

*p<.1 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

As the results in Table 24 suggest, there is no effect of age and SES on the percentage of evaluative expressions in personal narratives. These results are similar to Peterson and McCabe's (1983), who found no developmental pattern in the frequency of evaluative expressions used by children between the ages of 4 and 9 while narrating accounts of personal experience. However, this does not imply, as we have seen, that there is no such relationship in narrative development.

Figure 26

**Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Structure of First Graders'
Fictional Narratives**

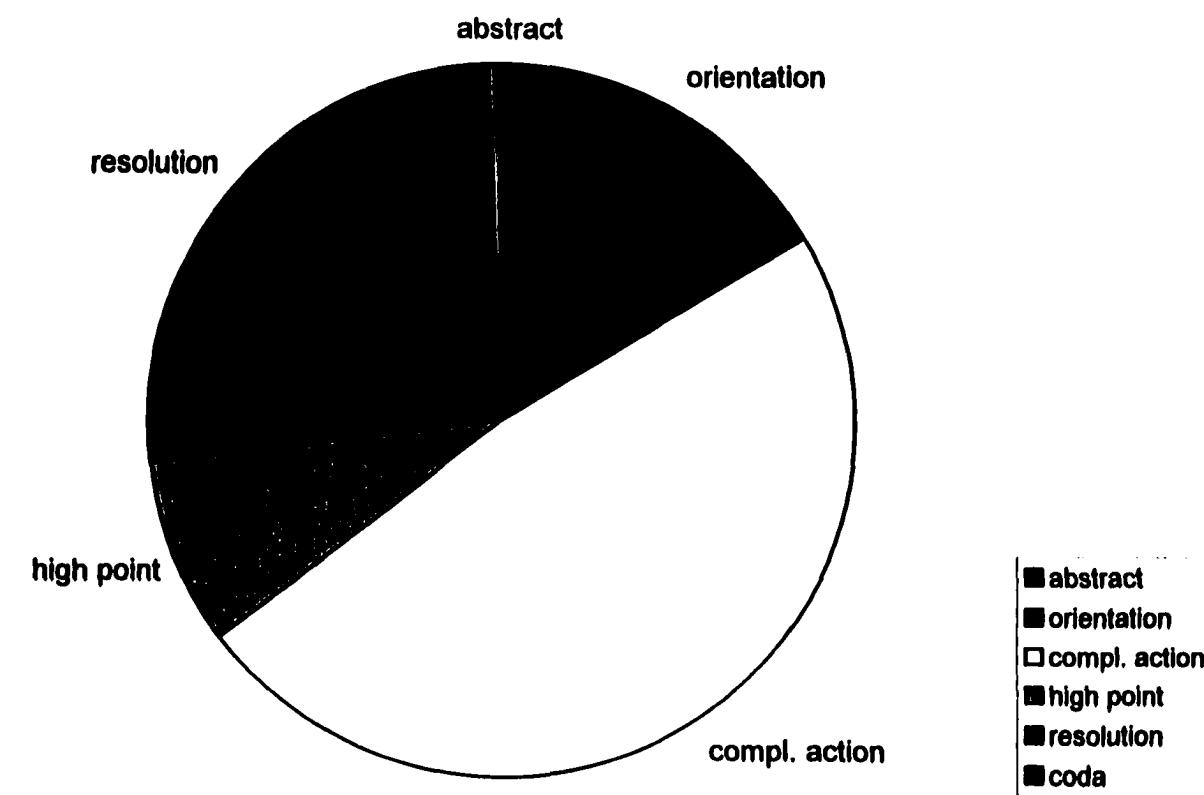


Figure 27

Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Structure of First

Graders' Personal Narratives

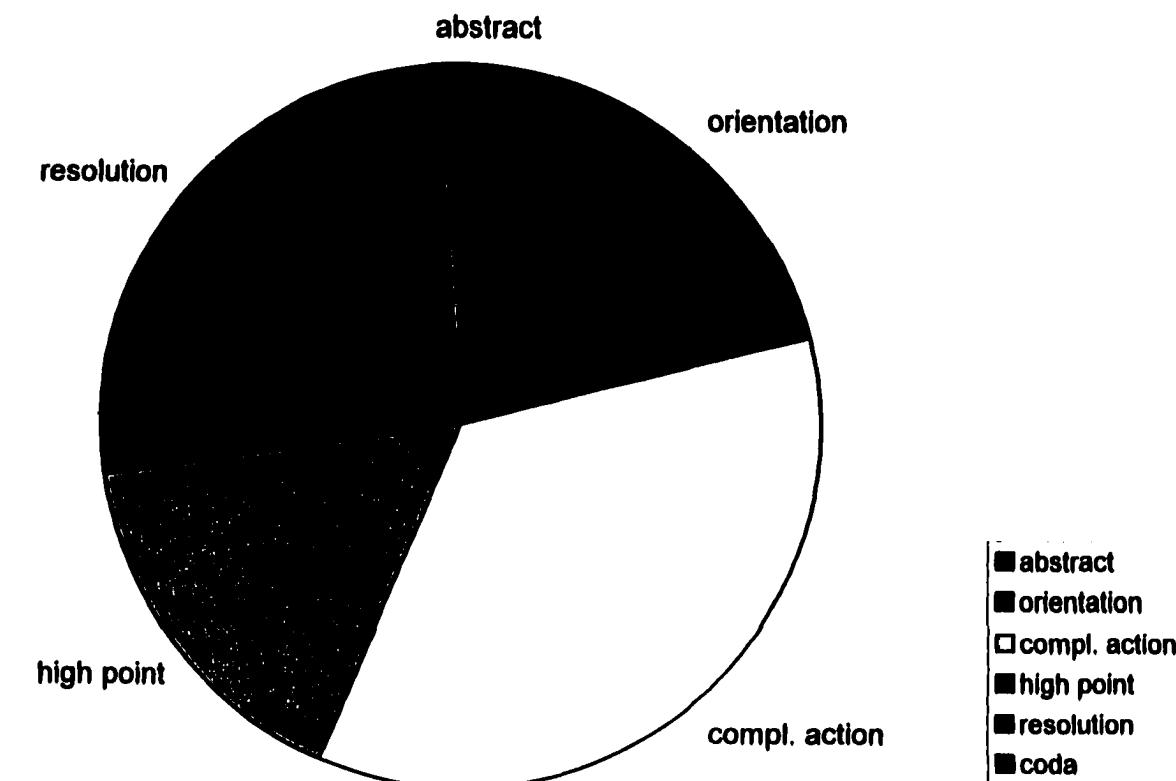


Figure 28

**Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Structure of Fourth Graders'
Fictional Narratives**

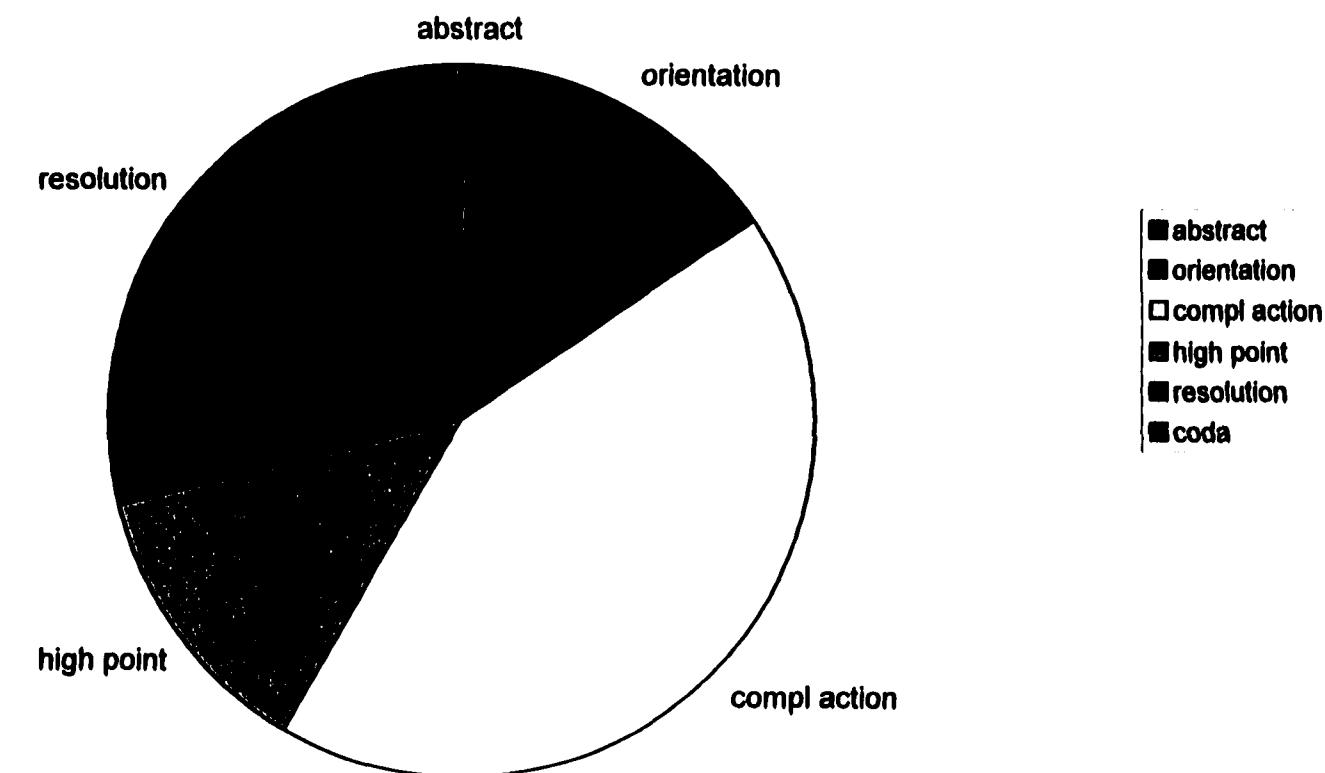
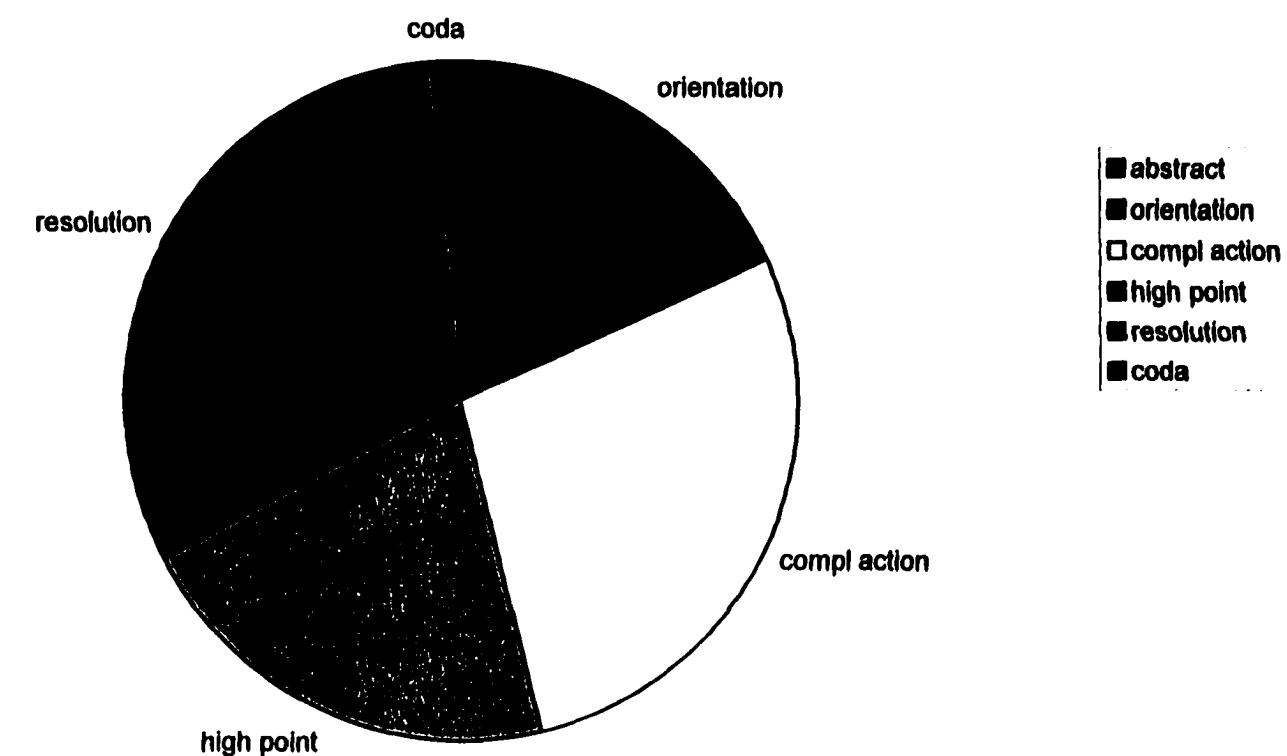


Figure 29

**Distribution of Evaluative Expressions in the Structure of Fourth Graders'
Personal Narratives**



Distribution of Evaluation and Narrative Genre

As we have seen in the analysis of evaluative language in all narrative tasks, the frequency of occurrence is an important feature in describing the development of narrative abilities, but not always sufficient. The function of the evaluative expressions, whether it has a limited scope or it affects the narrative as a whole, are other factors which can contribute to the understanding of how the child develops narrative competence. Studies suggest that the concentration of evaluative expressions at the high point is an indicator of mature narrative skills (Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991; Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Do children have similar tendencies with respect to the use of evaluative expressions at the high point of personal and fictional stories? In Figures 26, 27, 28 and 29 it is possible to compare the occurrences of evaluative expressions at the high point. The figures indicate that Venezuelan school-age children concentrate their evaluative devices at the high point in personal narratives more than in fictional narratives. Furthermore, there is a tendency in both narrative genres for older children to include higher proportions of evaluative language than younger children.

Diversity of Evaluative Types in Fictional and Personal Narratives

As the findings discussed above suggest that frequency of evaluative expressions is not always associated with skillful story-telling, it may be the case that other aspects related to the use of evaluative expressions are

equally relevant. Thus, I examined whether the diversity of evaluative categories used in a narrative was associated with developing narrative skills. For this purpose, I built a taxonomy of regression models to detect the relationships between number of evaluative types with children's age and social class in both fictional and personal narratives. It may very well be that an indicator of skillful story-telling is the use of a wider range of evaluative categories and that in certain narrative genres more diverse evaluative types were required than in others.

Table 25

A Taxonomy of Regression Models Showing the Effect of Age, SES, and Interaction on the Number of Evaluative Categories in Fictional Stories (n=107).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Intercept Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	3.92***	.03**			F _(1,105) =11.04*** p<.001	.10
Model 2	6.12***		1.02***		F _(1,105) =11.93*** p<.0008	.10
Model 3	3.72***	.02**	.92**		F _(2,104) =11.17*** p<.000	.18
Model 4	4.75***	.01	-1.10	.02	F _(3,103) =8.04*** p<.0001	.19
Model 5	5.65***	.31	-.41	.95	F _(3,103) =8.02*** p<.0001	.19

As Table 25 indicates, older children produce fictional narratives which contain more diverse evaluative devices than younger children's, and at the same time high SES children also use more diverse evaluative categories

than low SES children. Variation in age and SES explains 19% of the variation in the diversity of evaluative categories used in fictional narratives.

050.PE.124.M JOSE LUIS

*CHI: la de [...] una que se llama [...] la del Hombre Lobo que es un hombre que vive así por una montaña. Entonces de repente atropella a un lobo. Entonces cuando él se baja, el lobo sigue vivo. Entonces el lobo lo muerde en la mano y él así como que si tranquilo. Y entonces lucha por los lobos y luego [...] entonces luego va el doctor. Entonces le pregunta <mira, qué es esto> ["]? <no, una mordida de lobo, tranquilo> ["]. Entonces le empieza a comentar que su hermana se volvió loca, otro desapareció. Entonces el lobo va con un viejo. [?] le estaban saliendo pelos por acá. Entonces cuando llegaba la noche le [...] se convertía extraño y eso y entonces escuchaba mejor y veía mejor. Entonces le pregunta a un viejito que estaba allá entonces le pregunta el señor y que <no sé qué me está pasando. Tengo mejor vista> ["] Entonces y que <tengo una mordida de lobo> ["]. Entonces él le dice que no, que el lobo se le está metiendo en el cuerpo de él. Entonces se está volviendo lobo porque de repente se iba a volver lobo. Entonces le da un amuleto para que se vuelva normal. Entonces de repente él deja el amuleto y se le olvida y se le pierde. Entonces por las noches él va así. Entonces él va corriendo. A veces se come las personas, va pa' los zoológicos caminando y que luego al final, con [...] la esposa se dio cuenta. Entonces lo engaña con un abrigo de piel y lo coloca ahí. Entonces luego cuando el hombre va así, entonces ve el abrigo de piel, cree que es un animal. Y cuando lo va a atacar, estaba ahí un pocotón de agujas. Entonces ahí <cla> ["] se clava y se muere.

[one that's called Werewolf, who is a man that lives like this on a mountain. Then, suddenly, [he] runs over a wolf. Then, when he gets out [of the car], the wolf is still alive. Then, the wolf bites his hand and he, like this, doesn't get upset [stays calm]. And then [he] fights for the wolves and afterwards [he] goes to see a doctor. Then [he] asks <look, what's this> ["]? <no problem [=don't worry] a wolf bite> ["]. Then, [he] starts talking about his sister who turned mad, someone else who disappeared. Then Werewolf goes to see an old man. His hair was growing here [=all over his body]. Then, at night [he] turned strange and then [he] heard better and saw better. Then [he] asks the old man who was there <I don't know what's happening to me. I have better eyesight> ["]. Then he says <[I] have a wolf bite> ["]. Then he tells him that the wolf is getting into his body. Then [he] is turning into a wolf because suddenly [he] was going to become a wolf. Then [he= the old man] gives him a talisman to help him turn back to normal. Then, suddenly, he drops the talisman and [he] leaves it behind and loses it. Then, at night he goes like this. Then, he is running. Sometimes [he] eats people, goes to the zoo and finally, his wife realizes [=what's happening]. Then, [she] deceives him with a fur coat and places it there. Then, when the man goes like this, then he sees the fur coat, he thinks it's an animal. And when he is about to attack [the animal] , [it] was there full of needles. Then, <cla> ["] [he] pinches himself and [he] dies].

An example of eight different evaluative categories is underlined in the text above illustrating that José made use of most evaluative categories in this summary. In Douglas's narrative (see p 144), on the other hand, we find a

pattern of repetition both in terms of words (*vino y agarró, así, dar una patada, más duro*) and evaluative devices (mainly direct reported speech and perception). It becomes evident that José's evaluative strategy is more successful than Douglas's.

Multiple regression analyses on the number of evaluative devices used in personal narratives do not suggest similar relationships with age and SES (see Appendix G for regression results), confirming once more that personal and fictional narratives take different developmental paths.

In brief, the comparison of evaluative language in two narrative genres suggests that there are major differences in the ways children develop genre-specific narrative skills. Based on the evidence it is possible to conclude that certain developmental shifts in this age range occur only in fictional storytelling and mainly in middle-class children's narratives. Thus, there is an age-related increase in middle class children's density of fictional evaluation, but no equivalent increase was found in working class children's fictional narratives. Furthermore, no developmental pattern in either social class was found in density of personal evaluation. Examination of where evaluative devices occur in the narrative structure suggests that children from both social classes increase the proportion of evaluative language used at the high point, but a larger age-related increase takes place in personal narratives than in fictional stories. Finally, the variety of evaluative categories used in fictional narratives increases with age in both social groups. However, middle class fourth graders are likely to use more diverse evaluative categories than

working class fourth graders in fictional stories. No variation related to age or social class was found in the number of evaluative types used in personal narratives. These findings lead to the conclusion that the same child can use different skills in the production of different narrative genres. Therefore, narrative competence cannot be accounted for without considering context-related genre requirements.

To summarize, evaluation in fictional and personal narratives takes different developmental paths. As far as frequency of use is concerned, developmental shifts are found in fictional narratives, but not in personal narratives, implying that children between 7 and 11 are still developing aspects related to the fictional narrative genre that they have already mastered in the personal narrative genre. Finally, in fictional narratives, children's SES has an impact on their story-telling skills.

CHAPTER SIX

Representation of Self and Other in Narratives

Narrative discourse serves as a fundamental means for the expression of subjectivity. Most studies on narrative emphasize the dual characteristic of this genre. Labov (1972) maintains that narratives have two basic functions (the referential and the expressive); Bruner (1986) describes a dual narrative landscape (the landscape of action and the landscape of consciousness). By expressing subjectivity, narratives contribute greatly to the construction and representation of a sense of self (Polkinghorne, 1988). Children go through phases in the process of self-construction through narratives (Engel, 1995). In the early phases, narratives are co-constructed by a parent and the child (Snow, 1990). The child gradually increases her participation in the narrative production by taking longer turns and taking the initiative more often. In this process, the child acquires the ability to portray self and other in discourse form (Astington, 1990; Lucarrielo, 1990). As a result, the child can construct multiple perspectives in a story.

Undoubtedly, in the process of story-telling, it is the child as a narrator who filters all expressions of evaluation within the narrative. However, when the child says "The rat felt lost in the woods", she is clearly indicating that two distinct perspectives are at play; one is the narrator telling the story and the other is the character whose fear is being reported. Thus, evaluative

language, which serves to express subjectivity, can be attributed to a first person (who is either a character in the story, and/or a narrator), or to a third person (generally a character in the story). Note that evaluation in narratives can only be grouped in first and third person perspective if comments to the addressee are excluded from the narrative text. I excluded these forms of address because they do not belong to the story-world that the child is representing. However, these comments may play an important evaluative role in the narrative at a discourse level. Here again, we come across the multifunctional aspect of evaluative expressions in narrative discourse. Discussion of this aspect, however, is beyond the scope of the present study, which focuses on children's representation of thought, emotion and speech as evaluative devices in narratives. Therefore, evaluative expressions addressed to the interlocutor (i.e. *imagineate*, *ves*, *sabes*, "imagine", "[you] see", "you know") are excluded from this analysis.

The study of perspective taking in narrative has been approached in a number of disciplines. In the sociolinguistic area, Goffman's notion of *frame* (Goffman, 1974) and *footing* (Goffman, 1981) correspond to ways in which the speaker constructs a self in discourse and changes perspectives, contrasting continuously the constructed self with the constructed other (Kinjo, 1996). Thus, *footing* is defined as "participants' alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self" (Goffman, 1981, p.128).

Literary theory, whose focus has mostly been the study of narrative discourse, has dealt extensively with the problem of perspective, point of view

or subjectivity, long before language studies showed interest in the topic. Genette (1986) distinguishes between *mood*, the character whose point of view is expressed at any point in the story, and *voice*, the narrator who is telling the story. Similarly, Chatman (1978) makes the distinction between *point of view* and *narrative voice*.

Point of view may be assigned to a character who is not the narrator: then the separate narrating voice may or may not make itself heard - *Mary, poor dear, saw Jack fall down the hill* versus *Mary saw Jack fall down the hill* (Chatman, 1978, p.154).

Certainly, the combinations of point of view and narrative voice are less numerous in children's stories than in literary narrative discourse. Genette (1986, p.186) reports the following typology proposed by Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren in 1943:

Table 26

A typology of narrative focus

	Internal analysis of events	Outside observation of events
Narrator as a character in the story	1. Main character tells the story	2. Minor character tells main character's story
Narrator not a character in the story	4. Omniscient author tells the story	3. Author tells the story as observer

In Table 26, the columns represent a change in mood (or point of view), and the rows reflect a change in (narrative) voice. The multilayered concepts of *speaker/narrator*, and *voice/mood* become especially important when trying to understand whose voices are present in a narrative. When a child is constructing a narrative world, she is the speaker at all times, but she performs different roles and voices. Thus, the child may or may not take the

role of a protagonist while narrating a personal experience. It is also necessary to weave together into the story the multiple voices that express the subjective experiences of one or several characters, in order to make the story meaningful. Generally, children tend to use the prototypical combination of mood and voice for their stories. Thus, in most personal narratives the narrator is also the protagonist (option 1), and in fictional stories the narrator takes on an omniscient role (option 4).¹

¹ We shall see, however, the difficulties the child faces with these choices.

First Person and Third Person Evaluation

First person and third person evaluation are defined in terms of the agents to whom the evaluative assessment is attributed. Thus, in "I think he heard the phone" the expression of cognition in the first clause is attributed to the speaker (i.e. first person evaluation), and the expression of perception in the second clause is attributed to someone else (i.e. third person evaluation). A narrative where first person evaluation predominates is told from the narrator's perspective. In contrast, a narrative where third person evaluation is abundant, voices different from the narrator's take the lead.

First person evaluation may be singular or plural. When singular, it refers to the individual narrator/character. When plural, the evaluative expression is attributed to a group which should include the speaker/narrator. Third person evaluation may also be singular or plural, but neither include the speaker/narrator. Mühlhäuser and Harré (1990) explain that pronouns in discourse have primarily two functions: deictic and anaphorical. Although most studies focus on the anaphorical function (i.e. reference to some antecedent in discourse), Mühlhäuser and Harré stress that the deictic function of pronouns is more prevalent. Within the deictic function, pronouns are indexical, that is they point to an extralinguistic referent. Mühlhäuser and Harré suggest that first person pronouns are doubly indexical:

1. / serves as an index for location. It situates the speaker in time and space.

2. / indicates who takes moral responsibility for the speech act being performed.

In narrative discourse, this double indexicality can be theoretically separated as in the distinction between narrator and author that is found in many novels (i.e. the narrator's "I" does not necessarily coincide with the writer's "/"). This distinction also serves to explain the reported "/" in utterances like "I'll take you home, he said", where "I" is, in fact, a third person "he". A more complex example for who takes moral responsibility for an utterance is when an epistemic verb introduces a statement (e.g. "I think it will be finished soon"). Here, the speaker's commitment to the statement is qualified and his/her moral responsibility for "it will be finished soon" is limited. More detachment on the speaker's part is possible if the utterance states "He thinks it will be finished soon", given that the speaker explicitly leaves the moral responsibility for the statement to someone else and allows him or herself the freedom to disagree. These distinctions can be grouped on a continuum of displacement, in Chafe's terms (1994), between spatiotemporal displacement and displacement of the self in representation of consciousness. According to Chafe's analysis, in spatiotemporal displacement *represented* consciousness (i.e. the story-world) is displaced from the *representing* consciousness (i.e. the narrator's world) because the former is remote in space and time, whereas the latter operates in the speaker's immediate context. Displacement of self adds another dimension of remoteness, as the *representing* consciousness

(i.e. the story-world perspective) and the represented consciousness (i.e. the narrator's stance) belong to different persons.

A major difficulty, then, that the child faces in a narrative performance is the issue of displacement of self, namely, whether the narrative voice is attributed to a narrator or a character in the story, or whether certain attitudes are assigned to a character different from the self. To examine how narrative evaluation varies in terms of the entity to which it is assigned, I have divided all evaluative expressions in those which refer to the first person (the child, when it appears in singular, or the child included in a group, when it is plural), and those which refer to a third person, singular or plural (incorporating the 'voices' of other characters to that of the narrator). Thus, I have two variables, density of first person and third person evaluation for each evaluative category (i.e. D_PER1, D_PER3), to determine whose voice(s) is/are present in the evaluative expressions. Each measure is calculated by multiplying the number of occurrences by 100 and dividing by the number of clauses in the narratives. Thus, these measures express the percentages of evaluative clauses in the four narrative tasks combined. The overall tendency of whose voice predominates in the narrative is reflected in the composite variables (D_EVA1, D_EVA3), which measure the percentage in the four narratives of all evaluative devices in first person and in third person respectively.

Examination of evaluative expressions attributed to the self (first person) or to others (third person) enables us to observe how children shift perspectives in their narrative performance.

Table 27

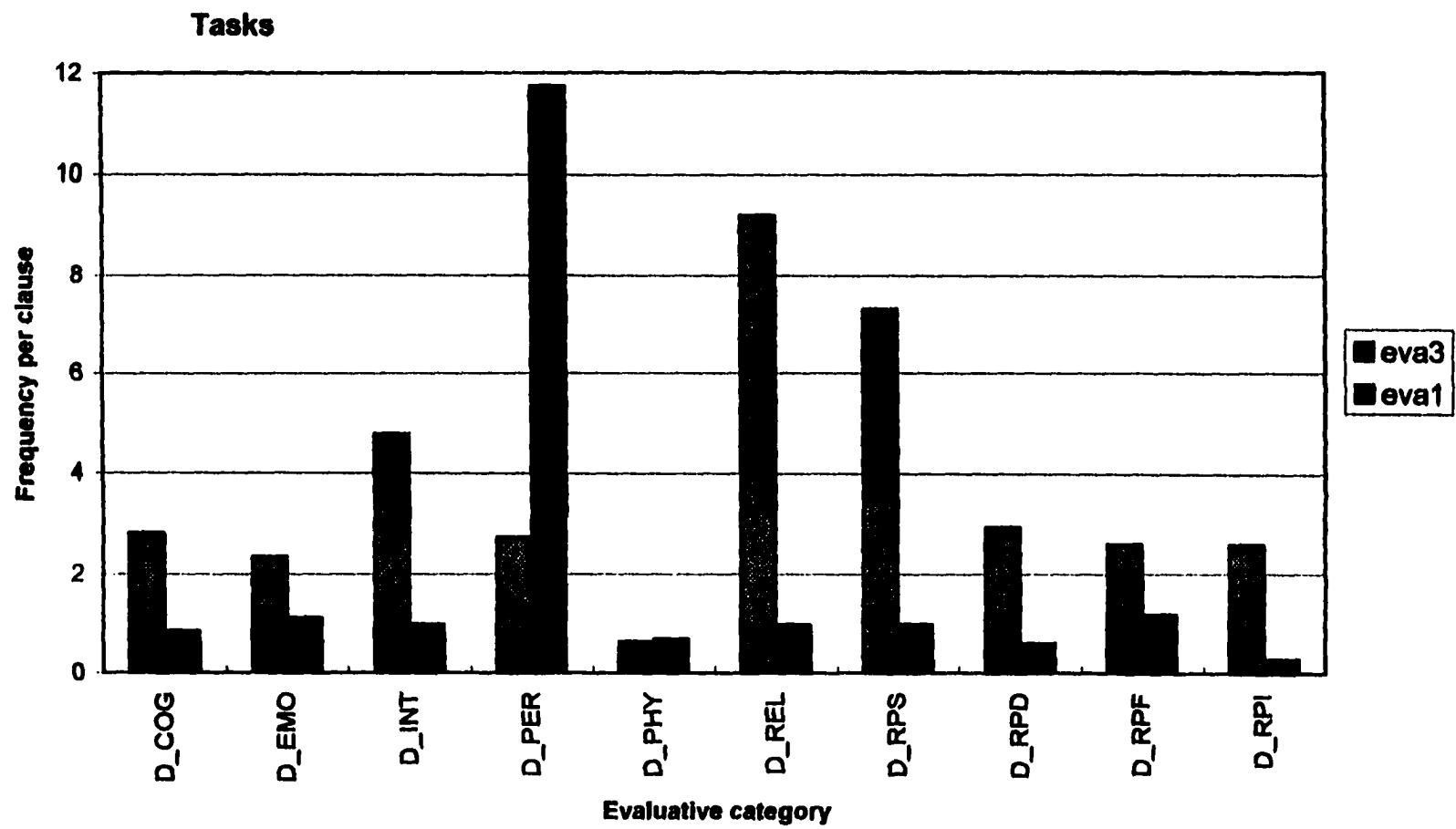
Mean, Standard Deviation and Range for Density of First and Third Person Evaluation (*n*=107).

Variable	Mean		s.d.		minimum		maximum	
	1st	3rd	1st	3rd	1pr	3rd	1pr	3rd
stance								
Overall evaluation	17.75	27.82	7.43	7.91	1.85	5.08	41.05	46.40
Perception	11.74	2.73	6.99	2.28	0	0	34.74	10.08
Rep. Speech	.79	2.27	2.20	6.31	0	0	16.0	29.03
Relation	.97	9.18	1.36	5.12	0	0	6.93	28.57
Emotion	1.11	2.35	1.27	2.11	0	0	6.45	9.76
Intention	0.98	4.76	1.66	2.66	0	0	10.77	13.86
Free Rep. Sp.	1.18	2.59	1.89	1.95	0	0	11.11	9.52
Cognition	0.84	2.82	1.20	1.87	0	0	7.69	6.90
Direct Rep. Sp.	0.61	3.05	1.47	4.49	0	0	10.45	26.73
Physical	0.68	0.63	1.54	0.91	0	0	12.04	4.76
Indirect Rep. Sp.	0.28	2.59	1.89	2.71	0	0	3.15	15.15

As shown in Figure 30 and Table 27, by far the highest ranking evaluative category is first person perception (D_PER1), indicating that children express their own perception, more frequently than that of others, in narratives. However, all the other evaluative categories are more frequent in third person than in first person. As a whole, third person evaluation is more frequent than first person evaluation (compare the overall mean of third person evaluation, D_EVA3 = 27.82 to the overall mean of first person evaluation, D_EVA1 = 17.75; a two-tailed T-test, $t=-7.67, p<.000$), implying that children's narratives are not essentially self centered. We shall examine however, how this distinction of first person and third person evaluation plays out in different narrative genres.

Figure 30

Comparison between First and Third Person Evaluation in all Narrative



Narrative Voice and Narrative Development

To determine whether older children increase equally first person and third person evaluation in narratives, and whether social class makes a difference in their choices in terms of narrative voice, we examine the correlations between these variables.

Table 28

Correlation Matrix of Density of 1st Person Evaluation and Density of 3rd Person Evaluation with Age, SES, Reading and Vocabulary Test Scores (n=107).

	1st pr Evaluation	3rd pr Evaluation	Age	SES	Vocabulary test	Reading test
1st pr Evaluation	1.00	-.23*	.07	-.19*	-.16*	-.06
3rd pr Evaluation		1.00	.23*	.23*	.12	.03
Age			1.00	.11	-.01	.02
SES				1.00	.59***	.70***
Vocabulary test					1.00	.52***
Reading test						1.00

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

The correlation coefficients (Table 28) show that there is a positive association between third person evaluation and both predictor variables, age and SES. First person evaluation, on the other hand, is negatively associated with SES but not with age. Again, the scores on the reading test do not appear to be associated with the frequency of first and third person evaluative expressions. The vocabulary test scores are negatively associated with first

person evaluation, implying that children who do better on the vocabulary test use fewer first person evaluative expressions in narratives.

A taxonomy of regression models was built to determine whether the frequency of first person and third person evaluation varies with age and SES. Tables 29 and 30 show that a moderate interaction effect between age and SES on the percentage of first person evaluation was found and a joint impact of age and SES on third person evaluation. These effects barely reach significance levels ($p < .10$).

The results in Table 29 and 30 suggest that the developmental paths of first and third person evaluation are different.² On the one hand, the frequency of first person evaluation tends to decrease slightly in older low SES children, but it increases slightly in older high SES children in first person evaluation (see Model 4, Table 29 and Figure 31).

² As this analysis has two dependent variables, density of first and third person evaluation, which could be examined simultaneously in relation to the question variables, age and SES, I conducted a LISREL (covariance structure) analysis which enables me to do multiple outcome analysis by taking first and third person evaluation as simultaneous outcomes. As the LISREL analysis confirms the results of the multiple regression and correlation analyses described above, I will report the results of the latter for simplicity's sake.

Table 29

**A Taxonomy of Regression Models of First Person Evaluation on Age, SES,
and Interaction (*n*=107).**

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	14.40***	.03			$F_{(1,105)}=0.52$ $p < .47$	.004
M2	18.80***		-2.84*		$F_{(1,105)}=4.02^*$ $p < .05$	.04
M3	15.04***	.04	-3.0*		$F_{(2,104)}=2.48^*$ $p < .09$	.05
M4	21.49***	-.03	-15.67*	.12*	$F_{(3,103)}=2.54^*$ $p < .06$	.07
M5	22.83***		Grade	Grade*SES	$F_{(3,103)}=2.44^*$ $p < .07$	.06
			-1.44	-9.85*		
				4.65*		

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Table 30

**A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Third Person Evaluation on Age, SES,
and Interaction (*n*=107).**

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	16.05***	.09*			$F_{(1,105)}=5.85^*$ $p < .02$	.05
Model 2	24.24***		3.63*		$F_{(1,105)}=5.85^*$ $p < .02$	.05
Model 3	15.35***	.09*	3.26*		$F_{(2,104)}=5.44^{**}$ $p < .006$	.09
Model 4	21.46***	-.03	-8.72	.12	$F_{(3,103)}=4.38^{**}$ $p < .006$	.11
Model 5	22.54***		Grade 1.13	Grade*SES -3.79	$F_{(3,103)}=5.28^{**}$ $p < .002$	.13
				4.91*		

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Figure 31

Fitted Interaction Effect of First Person Evaluation (D_EVA1) on Age and

SES

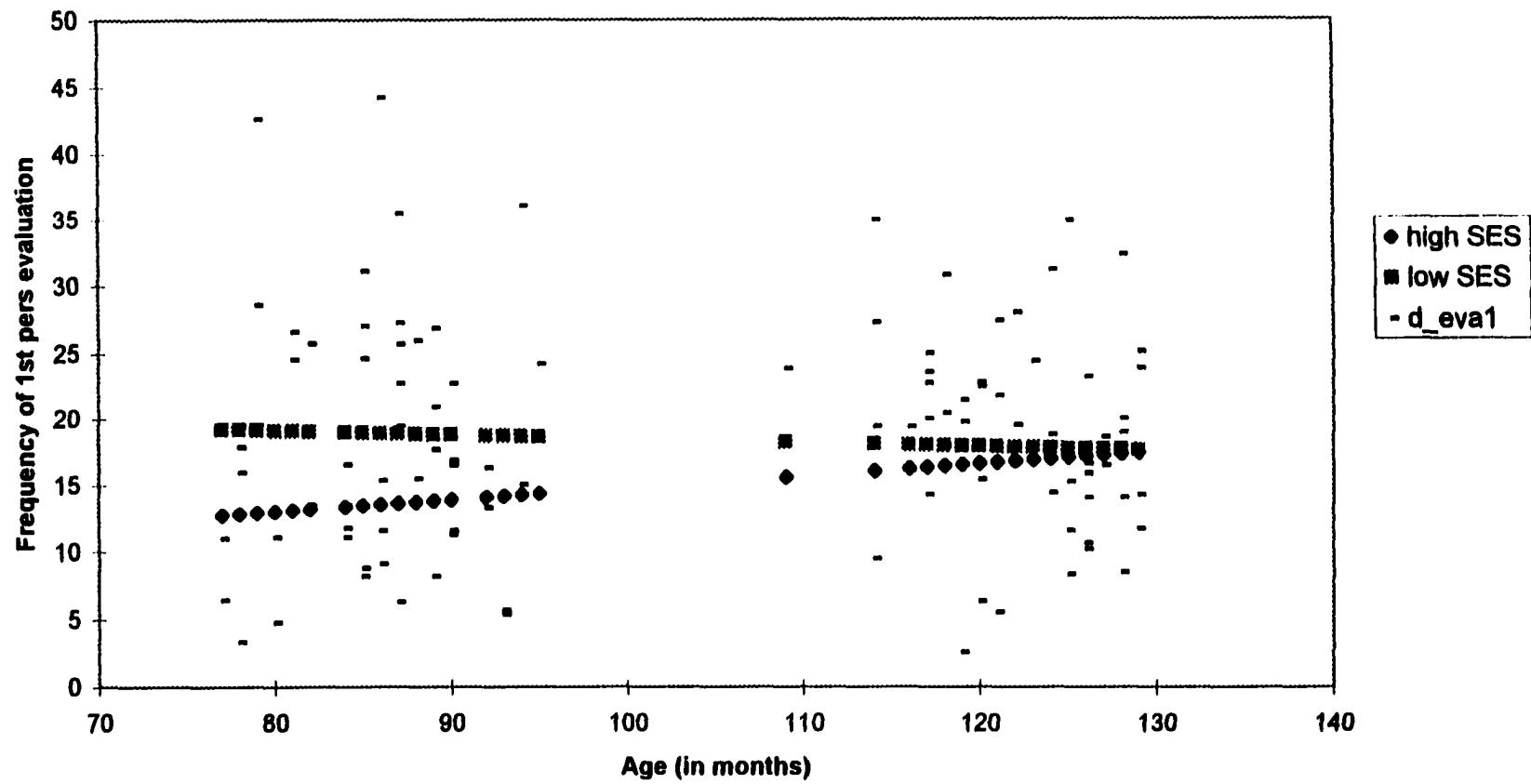
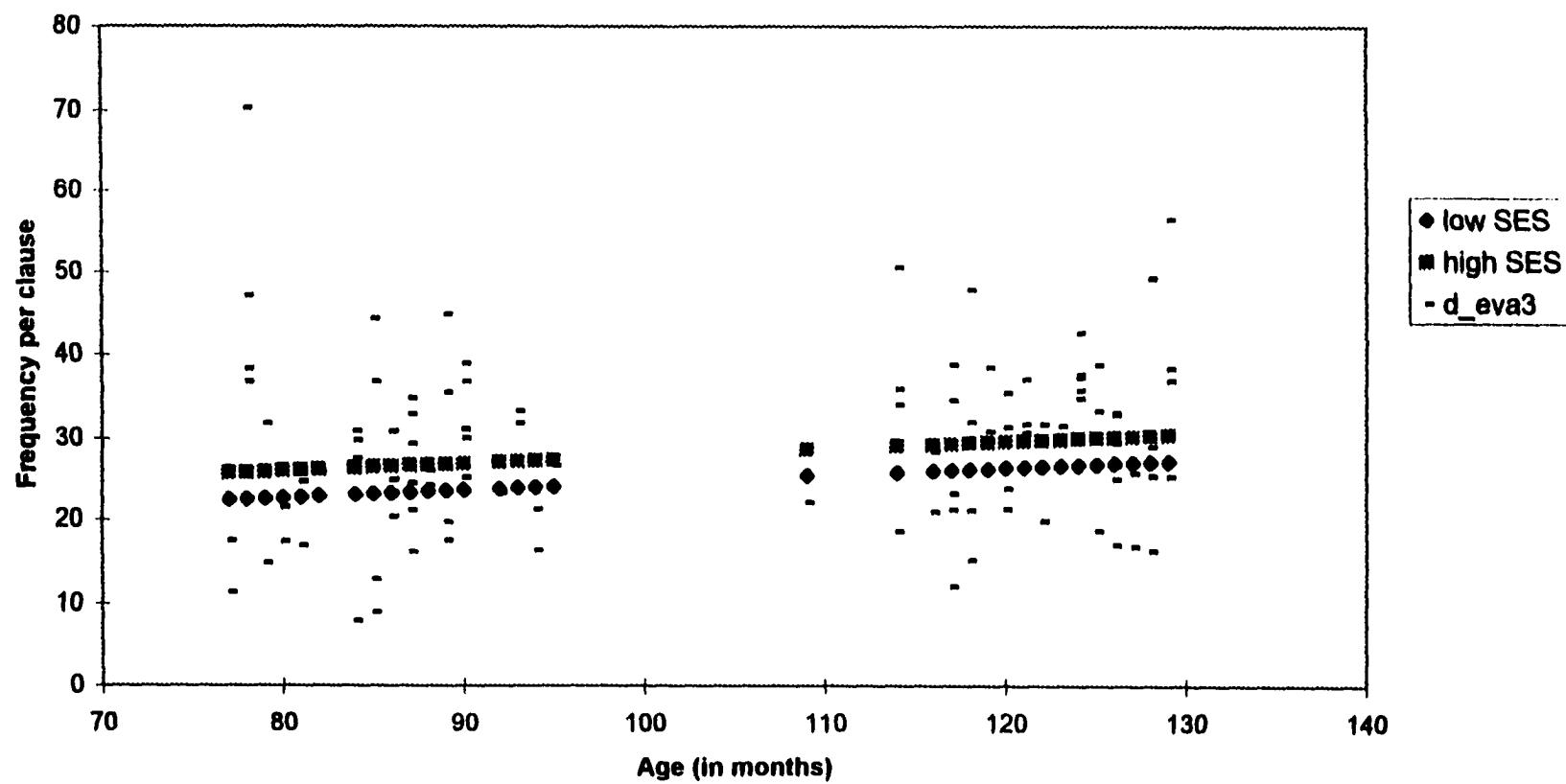


Figure 32

Fitted Regression Lines of Third Person Evaluation (D_EVA3) on Age and

SES



On the other hand, older children tend to use, on average, more third person evaluative expressions than younger children (a year difference in age is associated with 1.1 percentage points increase in third person evaluation as shown in Model 3, Table 30). The effect of SES also suggests a tendency for middle class children to use more third person evaluative expressions than low SES children (Model 3, Table 30 and Figure 32). Variation in age and SES explain 7% of the variation in the density of first person evaluation, and 9% of the variation in the density of third person evaluation.

The analysis of correlations also showed (Table 28) that there is a statistically significant negative association between the two types of evaluation (density of first person and third person evaluation). The relationship is such that children who use third person evaluation in their narratives more frequently tend to use fewer expressions of first person evaluation.³

The delicate weaving of first person and third person perspective can be seen in the following extract of a 7 year-old's narrative:

010.FR.85.M Alexis

mi mamá me contó un día que cuando yo estaba aprendiendo a caminar , que [...] en mi [...] mi tío dejó una taza de café, dejó que la sacaran de la cocina, y yo me la [...] y yo la agarré.

[my mom told me one day that when I was learning to walk, that [...] my uncle left a cup of coffee, [he] let them take it out from the kitchen, and I [...] took it.

In just a few utterances the child refers to a personal experience he had heard from his mother, an incident where he got burnt as a result of his uncle's carelessness. In this narrative three perspectives are intertwined. First,

the responsibility of the narrative's truth lies with the mother, who told the story in the first place. Second, the protagonist is the speaker who becomes the victim of the uncle's carelessness. Third, the motivating factor is the uncle who is to be blamed for the accident. The relationships between these kinds of evaluative expressions confirm the hypothesis that the use of first and third person evaluation is not an individual preference that children use at random. Although the effects are small, the developmental trends of first and third person evaluation are different. Whereas first person evaluation decreases with age in working class children's narratives and increases slightly in middle class children's, third person evaluation increases slightly in both SES groups.

Thus, the main conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis above is that there is a systematic pattern that children follow to express perspective in narratives. Children's development and SES affect the ways they use evaluative expressions in narratives. Older high SES children use more evaluative expressions in their narratives. They also concentrate more evaluative expressions at the high point and, in general, tend to use a larger number of different evaluative categories than younger kids. However, first person and third person evaluation follow different developmental paths. Although third person evaluation increases with age in both SES groups, high SES children make more use, on average, of third person evaluation in their narratives than low SES children. On the other hand, first person evaluation has a tendency to decrease with age in low SES children (and is used more

³ The multiple outcome LISREL analysis confirms this simultaneous relationship between the outcome variables (first person and third person evaluation) and the predictors (age and SES).

frequently, on average, by low SES children than by high SES children), whereas it increases with age in high SES children's narratives. The implications of these conclusions are that there is a certain pattern in how children use evaluative expressions in oral narratives. In order to gain a better understanding of this pattern, it is necessary to determine to what extent genre affects the use of first and third person evaluative language.

See Appendix H for the results.

Narrative Voice and Narrative Genre

The comparison between fictional and personal narratives suggested that it is not sufficient to analyze overall narrative evaluation to understand children's developing story-telling abilities. Given that in narrative production speakers must adopt a perspective from which they represent the self and others, examination of the agent to whom the evaluation is attributed may give us a different picture on how narrative skills develop. As we have seen, a major distinction exists between evaluation attributed to the narrator and evaluation attributed to a character in the narrative. Therefore, I compared use of first person and third person evaluation in fictional and personal narratives. One can hypothesize that, in fictional narratives, third person evaluation is more frequent than in personal narratives given the required displacement of self that characterizes fiction (Chafe, 1994; Ehrlich, 1990;. Hyon & Sulzby, 1992; Scollon & Scollon, 1981).

Table 31

Correlation Matrix of First and Third Person Evaluation in Fictional and Personal Narratives with Age, SES, Vocabulary and Reading Test Scores (n=107).

	1st pr eval in fiction	3rd pr eval in fiction	1st or eval in pers. narr	3rd pr eval in pers. narr	Age	SES	Vocabulary test	Reading test
1st pr eval in fiction	1.00	-.30**	.18*	-.03	.07	-.20*	-.20*	-.01
3rd pr eval in fiction		1.00	.07	.09	.28**	.06	-.02	-.12
1st pr eval in pers narr			1.00	-.06	.13	.06	.04	.04
3pr eval in pers narr				1.00	-.17*	.15	.11	.12
Age					1.00	.11	-.007	.02
SES						1.00	.59***	.70***
Vocabulary Test							1.00	.52***
Reading Test								1.00

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Analysis of the correlations indicates that older children are likely to use more third person evaluative expressions in fictional stories and fewer third person evaluative devices in personal narratives, clearly following the constraints of the genre. In the same vein, high SES children are likely to use fewer first person evaluative expressions in fictional narratives. Unsurprisingly, children who score lower on the oral proficiency test are likely to produce more first person evaluative language in fictional narratives, violating thus genre expectations. Children who use third person evaluation more frequently in fictional stories are likely to include fewer first person evaluative expressions in the same narrative genre. However, more frequent usage of first person evaluation in fictional stories is associated with more frequent usage of first person evaluation in personal narratives.

Guided by the examination of correlations, I built a taxonomy of regression models to determine whether older children use fewer first person evaluation in fictional narratives than younger children, and whether children follow a similar tendency in both social classes.

Table 32

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of First Person Evaluation in Fictional Stories on Age, SES, and Interaction (*n*=107).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
M1	9.25*	.03			$F_{(1,105)}=0.45$ $p < .50$	.004
M2	14.22***		-3.48*		$F_{(1,105)}=4.51^*$ $p < .04$	.04
M3	10.03*	.04	-3.65*		$F_{(2,104)}=2.69^*$ $p < .07$	.05
M4	19.43**	-.05	-22.1*	.18*	$F_{(3,103)}=3.23^*$ $p < .02$	.09
M5	18.37***	Grade -2.76	-14.77**	Grade*SES 7.50*	$F_{(3,103)}=3.57^*$ $p < .02$	.09

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

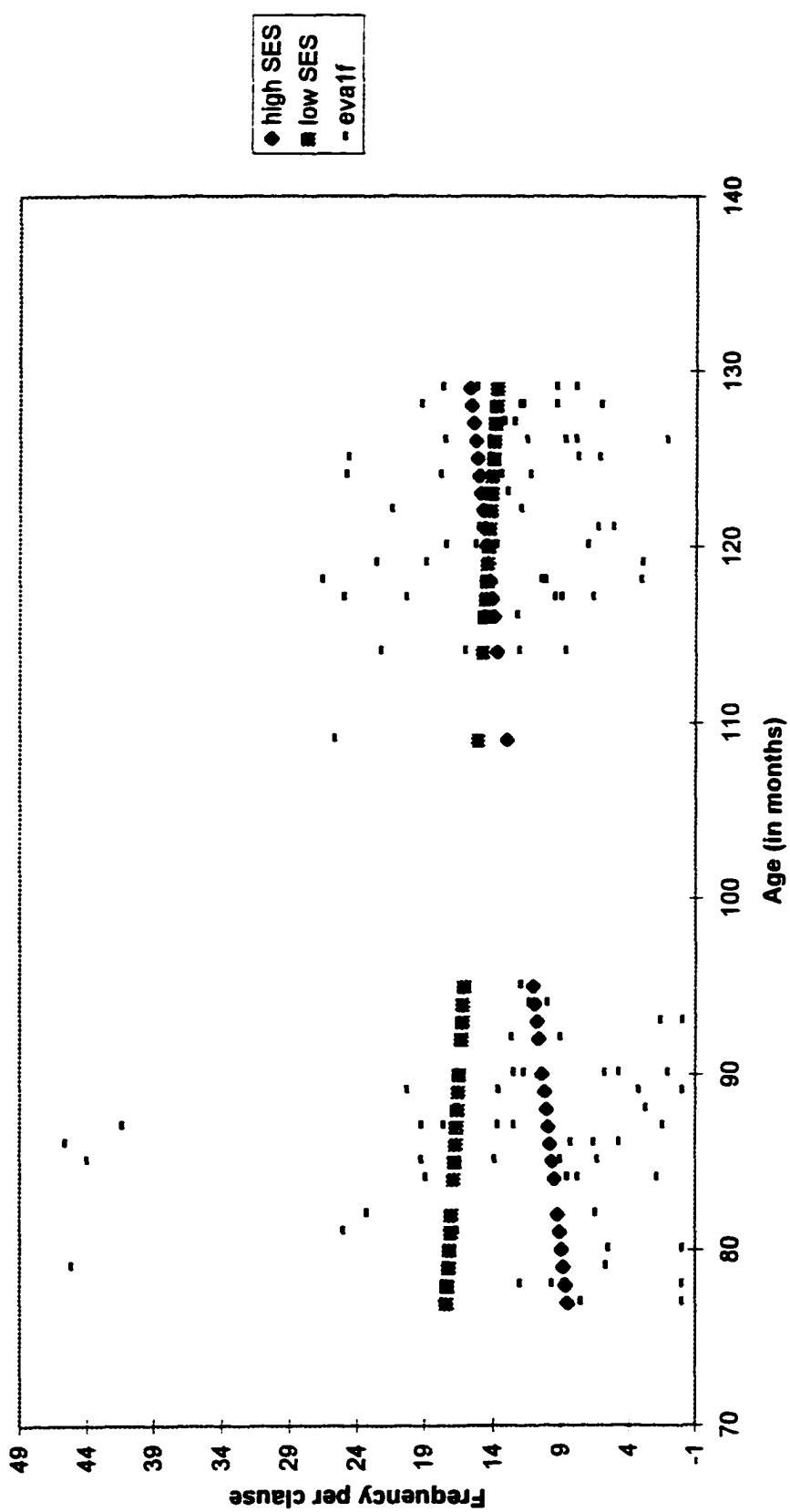
Table 33

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Third Person Evaluation in Fictional Stories on Age, SES, and Interaction (*n*=107).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
M1	18.48***	.15**			$F_{(1,105)}=8.92^{**}$ $p < .003$	.08
M2	33.02***		1.20		$F_{(1,105)}=.40$ $p < .53$	.004
M3	18.35***	.14**	.59		$F_{(2,104)}=4.47^{**}$ $p < .01$	.08
M4	20.62**	.12*	-3.86	.04	$F_{(3,103)}=3.02^*$ $p < .03$	.08
M4	24.34***	Grade 5.78*	- .19	Grade*SES .89	$F_{(3,103)}=4.15^*$ $p < .008$	.11

* p< .1 * p< .05 ** p< .01 *** p< .001

Figure 33
**Fitted Interaction Effect of Age and SES on First Person Evaluation in
Fictional Stories (D_EVA1F)**



The results of regression analyses inform us that different "voices" appear in fictional narratives. As Table 32 and 33 indicate, there is an interaction effect of age and SES on first person evaluation ($F_{(3,103)}=3.23$, $p<.02$) and a joint effect of age and SES on third person evaluation ($F_{(2,104)}=4.47$, $p<.01$) in fictional stories. Frequency of first person evaluation in fictional stories decreases with age in low SES children (following genre requirements), but increases in high SES children's narratives (see Figure 33). These results suggest that low SES children between the ages of 6 and 10 are developing genre skills to be able to produce narratives that fit genre requirements more closely as they decrease the use of first person evaluations. High SES children are developing a different type of narrative skill, which implies imposing a (first person) narrative voice by making the narrator's viewpoint more explicit in fictional stories. The following excerpt illustrates how the narrator's voice is expressed in fictional stories:

098.SL.118.M Chris

bueno, que dos [...] dos chamos enterraron en [...] en mil qué, en 1869 un juego que [...] que era de terror. era [...] Entonces este [...] en 1969 ya, un chamo lo encontró. y lo empezó a jugar. Entonces [...] entonces si [...] como sacó cinco. sacó un cinco en los dados. y él estaba jugando con una amiga. sacó un cinco. y entonces el juego le dijo que [...] este [...] se me [...] tenía que meterse en el juego. y cuando sacaban un cinco y un ocho volvía a poder salir. entonces pasaron veintiseis años, creo yo, no sé. este [...] un chamo sacó este [...] un cinco. entonces apareció un león y apareció él, pero después. y entonces [...] bueno, y entonces como la [...] la chama que estaba jugando con él. ya la edad, ya tenía como cuarenta treinta y pico de años. este [...] tenía que seguir jugando. porque si no lo te [...] si seguía jugando le podía suceder algo. entonces los chamitos [...] dos [...] una chamita y un chamito que fueron los que sacaron el cinco también tenían que seguir jugando hasta que terminaran el juego. hasta que lo terminaron. y volvieron a retroceder veintiséis años, creo. y volvié [...] volvió a dar resul [...] volvieron a subir hasta 1969, hasta 1996. si, pero salían monstruos, eh [...] rinocerontes, elefantes, bueno muchas cosas.

[well, that two kids , in one thousand something, in 1869, buried a terrifying game. Then, in 1969, a kid found it and started to play. Then, then, as he threw 5, the dice said 5 and he was playing with a friend. He threw 5. And then the game told him that he had to get into the game. And when they threw 5 and 8, he could come

out again. Then, 26 years went by, I think, I don't know. A kid threw 5, then a lion appeared and he appeared, but after that, then, as the girl who was playing with him was already forty, thirty something years old, he had to play on because otherwise something [wrong] could happen. Then, the little boy and the little girl who had thrown 5 had to go on playing too till the game would be over. Till the game was over and they went back 26 years, I believe, they were again in 1969, till 1969. Yeah, but lots of monsters were coming out, rhinoceros, elephants, well, lots of things]

This is a passage of a 10 year-old's summary of Jumanji. Chris starts out by qualifying the game *un juego de terror* "a terrifying game", where he expresses his opinion of the game. Other traces of Chris' "voice" in this passage are:

- a. the use of epistemic modality: *creo, no sé, tenía como treinta y pico años* ("[I] believe" "[I] don't know", "[she] was about thirty something").
- b. the use of verbs like *apareció* "appeared", *salían* "came out", where clearly the visual perspective of the narrator is expressed. When the child describes that a lion appeared or that the monsters were coming out, he is clearly taking his own visual focus (the proof can be found in the sequence *apareció el león y apareció él*, "the lion appeared and he [=the protagonist] appeared" where the narrator's perspective on the lion's appearance may coincide with the characters' perspective, but it cannot be the same with the narrator's perspective on the protagonist's appearance in *apareció él*).

These first person evaluative devices are intertwined with third person evaluation (e.g. the indirect reported speech *el juego le dijo que tenía que meterse* "the game told him that [he] had to get in [the game]", where the game is personified and tells the boy what to do).

In sum, the results of multiple regression analysis suggest that third person evaluation in fictional stories increases with age, following genre

requirements, for both SES groups. However, first person evaluation decreases with age in low SES groups (also following genre requirements) but it increases in high SES children's narratives where a different narrative skill seems to be developing. These findings reinforce the idea that frequency of evaluative expression alone cannot explain accurately children's developing narrative skills. In this case, the function of evaluative expressions was found to make a difference in narrative development.

This analysis should be repeated for personal narratives to determine whether narrative genre affects the development of evaluative skills.

Table 34

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of First Person Evaluation in Personal Narratives on Age, SES, and Interaction (n=107).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
M1	26.13*	.07			$F_{(1,105)}=.36$ $p < .55$	.003
M2	27.27***		1.47		$F_{(1,105)}=.36$ $p < .55$	.003
M3	18.71**	.08	1.11		$F_{(2,104)}=0.99$ $p < .38$	.02
M4	16.51*	.11	5.44	-.04	$F_{(3,103)}=0.69$ $p < .56$	.02
M5	22.88***	Grade 2.93	2.94	Grade*SES -.99	$F_{(3,103)}=.45$ $p < .72$	.01

* $p < .1$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Figure 34

**Fitted Interaction Effect of Age and SES on Third Person Evaluation in
Personal Narratives (D_EVA3P)**

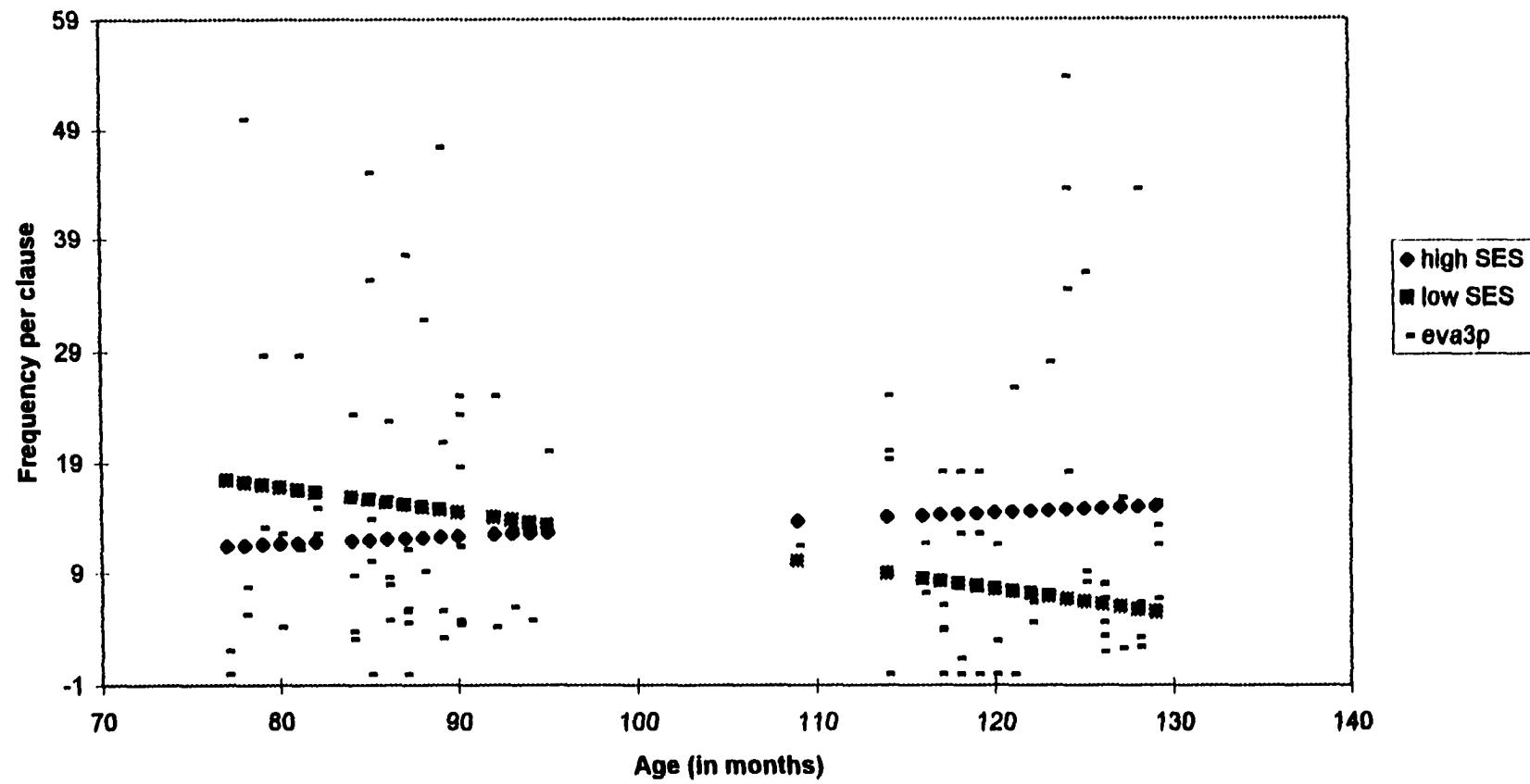


Table 35

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Third Person Evaluation in Personal Narratives on Age, SES, and Interaction ($n=107$).

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
M1	19.49**	-.06			$F_{(1,105)}=.94$ $p<.34$	.009
M2	9.88***		2.28		$F_{(1,105)}=2.38$ $p<.13$	.02
M3	17.63***	-.08*	2.60*		$F_{(2,104)}=3.1^*$ $p<.05$	.06
M4	28.43***	-.18**	-18.60*	.20**	$F_{(3,103)}=4.57^{**}$ $p<.005$	.12
M5	26.23***	Grade -7.78***	-11.67**	Grade*SES 9.29***	$F_{(3,103)}=5.99^{***}$ $p<.0008$	.15

* $p<.1$ * $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

In personal narratives the results suggest that the situation is the inverse (Table 34 and 35). No main ($F_{(2,104)}= 0.99$, $p<.38$) or interaction effect ($F_{(3,103)}= 0.69$, $p<.56$) is found in first person evaluation, but there is an interaction effect of age and SES on the density of third person evaluation ($F_{(3,103)}=4.57$, $p<.005$). These findings suggest that there are few developmental or SES differences in the use of first person evaluative expressions in personal narratives in this age range. In third person evaluative usage, however, there is an interaction between age and SES such that the frequency of third person evaluative expressions tends to decrease sharply in low SES children in both age groups, but it increases slightly in high SES children's narratives (see Figure 34). The interpretation is similar to the tendency found in first person evaluation in fictional narratives. It seems to be the case that low SES children in the early school years are adjusting their

use of evaluative expressions to the requirements of prototypical personal narratives (first person narratives), whereas high SES children tend to introduce new perspectives in their accounts of personal experience. This ability, as we have seen, is also positively associated with reading skills.⁴

In addition to the tendencies detected in the multiple regression analysis, a negative correlation is found between first person and third person evaluative language in fictional stories, implying that children who use more first person evaluation tend to use less third person evaluation in fictional narratives. At the same time, more frequent use of third person evaluation in personal narratives is associated with more frequent use of first person evaluation in the same narrative genre.

Let us compare how children's presentation of self is expressed in the following examples:

082.IGN.128.M Juan

bueno, una vez en casa de mi abuelo estábamos todos [c], y mi primo y yo, que yo tenía como cuatro años [c], mi primo tenía como ocho [c], subimos a [...] al cuarto de mi abuelo. Entonces mi abuelo tenía una pistola debajo de la cama y mi primo la agarró y [...] y disparó, pero se fue por la ventana el disparo y esa [...] estaba todo blanco y yo salí corriendo, corriendo pa' abajo y mi [...] y mi primo también [c]. entonces mi primo decía [c] que fui yo el que disparé. Entonces mi abuelo le quitó las balas y me la dio para que yo tratara de disparar y no [...] y no tenía fuerzas. Entonces ahí sabía [...] supieron que fue mi primo.[well, once in my grandfather's house, we were all, my cousin and I, when I was four and my cousin was eight, we went into my grandfather's bedroom. Then my grandfather had a pistol underneath the bed and my cousin took it and and [he] fired, but the shot went through the window. [He] was all white and I left running, running down. My cousin did too. Then my cousin said that it was me who fired the shot. Then, grandfather took out the

⁴ To obtain a more global idea of the use of evaluative language, I conducted again a covariance structure analysis to see the impact age and SES have simultaneously on the four outcomes: first and third person evaluation in fictional storytelling, and first and third person evaluation in personal narratives. The results indicate similar tendencies in the relationships between predictors and outcomes as in the multiple regression analysis. The covariance structure analysis, however, enables me to look at the four outcomes simultaneously (density of first person and third person evaluation in fictional stories, and density of first and third person evaluation in personal episodes).

bullets and gave me the pistol to shoot. I wasn't strong enough. Then, they knew right away that it was my cousin.]

In the autobiographical episode above, Juan chooses not to adopt a first person singular perspective, although he appears as a protagonist (or co-protagonist) in the incident (see discussion of this episode on p.8). However, he places his cousin (*mi primo*) in the active protagonist's role. Thus, the story starts out with an orientation, where the place (*casa de mi abuelo*), the characters and their age are described from a first person plural perspective. But when he gets to the complicating action, *mi primo* becomes the agent and subject in all the clauses. This third person perspective of a personal experience allows the child to present himself in a non-active role, which makes him a helpless observer and almost a victim. This position is reinforced by the child's account of the resolution, where the grandfather exposed the cousin's lie by demonstrating that Juan was not strong enough to pull the trigger.

Juan's anecdote contrasts with Douglas' where the prevalent perspective is that of the narrator/speaker:

062.RG.78.M Douglas

ah, no, un día yo me perdí en [...] en una playa no, yo [...] yo solo me perdí mi mamá me decía <ahí está Maikel>["] y yo lo vi y cuando yo pasé, a mí se me olvidó el camino y pasé por una broma, y un señor estaba hablando así, y [...] y yo [...] y yo [...] y yo le pregunté su nombre y [...] y así me vinieron a buscar.
[oh, no, one day I got lost at the beach. I alone got lost. Mom was telling me <there is Michael> ["] and I saw him and when I passed by, I lost my way and I passed by a thing, and a man talking like this, and I asked him his name and that's how they came to fetch me.]

In this episode, Douglas appears as an active agent. Using mostly first person evaluation, he narrates how he got lost. As a result, he alone carries

the blame for what happened. In fact, the evaluative device attributed to the mother (direct reported speech) clears her of any responsibility (because she had given Douglas a point of reference to find his way).

Several important conclusions can be drawn from this comparison. First, in both fictional and personal narratives presentation of self is an important issue. However, there are certain genre-specific characteristics that children learn to follow. One of these is the prototypicality of third person evaluation in fictional stories. In personal narratives, first person evaluation is likely to be combined with third person evaluation. Second, developmental shifts vary with respect to SES. It seems that children master first the more prototypical genre skills (like the use of third person evaluation in fictional stories), and then, learn other skills which at first glance may revert the genre specific skills but, in fact, if combined appropriately, contribute to a more skillful story-telling.

Conclusions

In this study, I focus on children's developing ability to use evaluative language in oral narratives. Although the narratives analyzed for this purpose were elicited in interviews, they emulate the most frequent genres that children are likely to engage in: accounts of personal experience and retelling of films (Preece, 1987). Comparing these two narrative genres produced each in two narrative tasks enabled me to reveal variations in the development of narrative skills. As genre distinctions reflect ways in which discourse is determined by context and at the same time, ways in which genre determines textual characteristics, examination of evaluative expressions in two narrative genres reveals children's developing text production abilities by detecting differences in genre-specific skills.

In the study of narrative development, researchers attempt to describe the processes that lead to "mature" story-telling. The focus of this study is to reveal ways in which developing narrative skills are determined by contextual factors. In the first place, there is no single "mature" story-telling target that children are approaching most probably because adult narrative abilities vary within and across speech communities. The same child also displays different abilities when talking about an autobiographical experience or when summarizing a film. Secondly, socio-cultural factors determine the value assigned to certain forms of narratives. Consequently, children in a speech community learn when it is appropriate to tell a story, which stories are

'reportable', what kinds of stories can be told, and what are the acceptable organization patterns. The findings of this study confirm that one child can display different abilities when producing different narrative genres. Moreover, children belonging to different speech communities do not follow the same path when developing narrative abilities.

All children in this study participated actively in the interviews and produced a number of narratives. The topics they related revealed a whole new world for the interviewer. Most children felt that they could share an interesting anecdote or story. When some of the children realized that stories were the major focus of the interview, they spontaneously narrated more. Thus, oral narrative discourse seems to be a form of interaction with which children feel at ease. However, children were more comfortable when relating accounts of personal experience. Within fictional narratives, children enjoyed listing their favorite TV programs or films, but were not always willing to recount them implying that they viewed fictional story-telling as a complicated task. However, once embarked upon the activity, children produced considerably longer fictional stories than personal narratives.

The findings in this study suggest that children of different social classes display varying abilities in narrative production. The greater differences between social classes were found in fictional story-telling, suggesting that genre skills develop at different rates.

A major finding of this study is that a multidimensional approach to narrative production enables us to gain a better understanding of narrative

development. Furthermore, the focus on evaluative language sheds light on narrative strategies which contribute to skillful story-telling and therefore, help explain differences between more or less successful stories.

The major factors whose impact on narrative evaluation was examined in this study are age, social class, and narrative genre. The conclusions can be grouped in three parts. The first refers to evaluative abilities in narratives in general relating age and SES to children's evaluative abilities. The second refers to the impact of genre on the use of evaluative language, accounting for the different paths taken by developing narrative abilities in fictional and personal narratives. The third part refers to the evaluative language used to represent the self and others and its relations with story-telling skills and social class.

Evaluative abilities and narrative development

Evaluation has an important function in narrative discourse. It has a structural function as it carries the point of the story. In addition, perspective building in a narrative is achieved by means of evaluative expressions. The coherence of a narrative text also depends on the appropriate use of evaluative language, as it motivates the events in the story. Research in English speakers' narrative competence suggests that the frequency of evaluative devices does not necessarily increase with children's age (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). The findings of the present study indicate, however, that increase in the frequency of evaluative devices in narratives is related to the narrative genre and the narrator's social class. Children of different social classes follow different developmental paths in how they use evaluative expressions in narratives. Thus, high SES children's evaluative expressions increased with age, but low SES children who at a younger age evaluated more than their middle class peers did not show any age-related increase in density of evaluation. This finding suggests that frequency of evaluative expressions is a better indicator of developmental shifts in children from middle class backgrounds than in children from working class families. However, frequency of evaluative language in general may not be sufficient to account for developing narrative abilities. Findings also suggest that in both social classes, fourth graders use a wider range of evaluative devices than first graders, implying that development does not only occur in the frequency

of evaluative expressions, but also in the kinds of evaluative categories used. In working class children's narratives, development can mainly be detected with respect to the diversity of evaluative categories used. If narrative development is displayed on different dimensions, the question that should be addressed is which developmental dimension enables the child to produce more skillful stories. Do children's narratives sound more 'mature' when evaluation is more frequent or when different types of evaluation are used throughout the narrative rendition? This is a major methodological problem, since the tendency in quantitative research is to equate higher frequency with better quality. Although this question has not been addressed directly in this study¹, a secondary outcome of this research is that in the case of frequency of evaluative devices, more does not always mean better. There are certain evaluative categories which signal skillful story-telling, whereas the presence of others does not necessarily produce a better narrative. Further research is required to determine the criteria according to which evaluative devices could be ranked in order of effectiveness. The analyses in this study only suggest that expressions of cognition form a privileged category at this age range because its frequency increases significantly with age and social class. On the other hand, the frequency in expressions of perception (particularly first person perception) is negatively correlated with vocabulary skills and therefore, may imply less successful narrative skills.

Analyzing the function of evaluative language within narrative discourse can also contribute to our understanding of how children acquire mature story-

¹ As it was discussed in the pilot study (Shiro, 1995).

telling abilities. Thus, examination of where in the narrative structure the evaluative devices occur reveals that, in addition to frequency, the function of evaluative expressions (i.e. why they are used in the narrative) may be relevant to describe narrative competence. In the rhetorical organization of narrative discourse, the high point is the component where evaluation plays a structural role because it affects the narrative as a whole by motivating the whole story. The findings indicate that older children in both social classes are likely to increase the proportion of evaluation used at the narrative high point. However, high point is not the narrative component where most of the evaluative expressions occur. Further research should inquire into the distribution of evaluative language in adults' narratives in order to reveal how evaluative language is distributed in similar tasks in adults.

Narrative Development and Genre

The findings of this study suggest that fictional narrative abilities develop later than abilities related to personal experience. More specifically, representation of emotion, thought and speech, expressions that narrators use to get their stories across more effectively by combining several perspectives in their stories, can be found more frequently in fictional narratives than in personal narratives. A developmental shift in the use of evaluative devices was detected in school age children's fictional narratives, particularly in middle class children, but no such development was found in personal narratives of children within the same age range. Based on the evidence, it is possible to conclude that the same child displays different tendencies when relating a personal anecdote or when recounting a film. Furthermore, middle class children show a tendency to increase evaluative expressions in fictional narratives with age, whereas working class children do not display a similar tendency. Older children in both social classes also tend to use more types of evaluative categories than younger children in fictional stories, but high SES children's evaluative devices are likely to be more diverse than low SES children's. No age or SES related increase in the number of evaluative types has been found in personal narratives.

These findings suggest that there is a larger gap between social classes in fictional story-telling than in renditions of personal experience. Children in both social classes are exposed to fictional narratives, especially

in the form of motion pictures, but children from working class families may not be expected to summarize what they had seen. The conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that story-telling abilities do not transfer automatically from one narrative genre to another. The same child may use different strategies in a rendition of fictional narrative and in an account of personal experience.

Representation of Self and Narrative Development

Within the multidimensional nature of narrative development, this study focused on a number of factors that contribute to story-telling skills. The main assumption is that any of these factors taken separately may distort our understanding of how children develop narrative abilities. In this section, conclusions are drawn on the results of several factors combined, which adds new light to the previous conclusions which were based on fewer contextual factors. Thus, examination of how the self and others are represented in narrative discourse, how these representations are affected by narrative genre, children's age and social class yields some interesting results concerning children's narrative competence.

The findings in this study suggest that children use a certain pattern in the ways they use first and third person evaluation in narratives. Overall, expressions of perception are the most frequently used evaluative device in both narrative genres and first person perception is by far the most frequent type. However, third person evaluation is more prevalent, in general, than first person evaluation, indicating that children's narratives are not predominantly self-centered. A major finding of this study is that the use of evaluative language, particularly the way the child uses it to represent herself and others, varies greatly from personal to fictional narratives. As expected, uses of third person evaluation increases with age and SES in fictional narratives. However, first person evaluation also increases in frequency in middle class

fourth graders' fictional stories, indicating that different narrative skills are developing in the two social groups. Working class school-age children are following genre requirements when they use third person evaluation in fictional narratives and first person evaluation in personal narratives. Furthermore, no age-related increase could be detected in overall frequency of evaluation in fictional narratives because third person evaluation increased while first person evaluation decreased and therefore, the effect could not be detected when evaluative perspective was not taken into account.

Middle class children, on the other hand, were found to increase first person evaluation in fictional stories and third person evaluation in personal stories. Thus, they are following different genre requirements when they are experimenting with a combination of voices in fictional and personal narratives.

Implications and Limitations

The findings of this study have methodological and educational implications. The methodological implications refer mainly to the combination of factors whose effect should be examined in narrative development. The findings of this study can contribute to cross-cultural research in narrative development and language development in general. A fundamental conclusion is that Venezuelan children's narratives do not form a homogeneous cultural unit. The variety found in narrative performance among Venezuelan children should warn cross-cultural researchers not to oversimplify when contrasting narratives or language production in children from different nationalities. Similarly, the finding that the same child displays different abilities when the task changes indicates that conclusions about children's performance should be drawn on a greater variety of tasks.

In the classroom, the contexts in which children are required to display language abilities should also be carefully examined to ensure that they are appropriate for the child's competence. For some children, these contexts may be very familiar, whereas for others, they may be completely new. Therefore, those children for whom the situation is unfamiliar should be offered guidance in developing the required skill. Children's differing competences should be taken into account in the teaching/learning process.

This study has used cross-sectional data. Further research should examine a similar set of research questions in longitudinal data to confirm the

findings of this study. Moreover, adult narratives produced with the same elicitation method should be analyzed in order to determine if the different tendencies found in children's narrative production resemble adult performance.

Appendix A

Clausing Manual

Clause boundaries in the transcripts are marked by [c]. A CLAUSE is defined as a unit that contains a unified predicate, a predicate that expresses a single situation (activity, event, state). Predicates include finite and nonfinite verbs, as well as predicate adjectives (taken from Berman & Slobin, 1994).

Example of clauses with a single verb:

a. FINITE CLAUSES

Generally, clauses contain one verb. When the verb is marked for tense, person, and number it is finite, as in:

El león miró al pájaro [c] y le dijo [c]: Sígueme [c].

The lion looked at the bird [c] and said [c]: Follow me.

b. NON-FINITE CLAUSES

Verbs not marked for tense, person and number (e.g. infinitive, present and past participle) form non-finite clauses, as in:

La llamó [c] para contarle un cuento [c].

"[He] called her [c] to tell her a story [c]."

Example of clauses with two verbs:

When two verbs express one action or state, they form one clause:

El niño empezó a llorar [c].

The child started to cry [c].

Example of verbless clauses:

Although most clauses contain a verb, some verbless expressions are clauses. This is the case of exclamations, such as:

Qué bien [c]!

How nice [c]!

It is also the case of ellipsis used to avoid repetition, where the verb is implied but not explicitly expressed:

*INV: *Dónde fueron los ratoncitos?*

*CHI: *Al campo [c].*

*INV: "Where did the mice go [c]?"

*CHI: "To the countryside."

Although in the following example there is no morphological verb, the expression *y que* should be considered the reporting verb:

Y ella y que: "Vete y no vuelvas".

"And she goes: "Leave and don't come back".

Example of embedded clauses:

In some cases, the boundary of the clause does not coincide with the symbol [c], as in:

Mi mamá, que ya estaba brava [c], insultó al chofer [c].

"My mom, who was already angry [c], insulted the driver [c]."

Note that here the main clause (*Mi mamá insultó al chofer*) is interrupted by the relative clause (*que ya estaba brava*) but the clause marking appears only at the end of each clause.

The CLAUSE will be the main unit of analysis. When some of the categories are expressed in smaller units (i.e. EMOTION as in: *y entonces ella está triste* "and then she is sad"), the whole clause will be coded (in this case for the evaluative category of emotion).

Other evaluative categories can be expressed in units larger than the clause. For example, REPORTED SPEECH consists of at least two clauses: a reporting clause and a reported clause as in :

Le volvió a decir [c] que se volteé [c]

"He told him again [c] to turn round [c]"

%eva: \$RPS:IND . \$0

The first clause is the reporting clause and the second is the reported clause. In this case only one of the clauses (the reporting clause) will be coded for reported speech. The clauses that have no coding for evaluative categories will be assigned a "dummy" code \$0 to ensure that each code is matched with its corresponding clause.

In the case of narrative structure, although the components that are coded for usually contain several utterances, each clause within each utterance will be assigned the code for the structural component to make sure, again, that matching with evaluative codes will be possible.

Appendix B**Coding Manual**

The CLAUSE is the unit of analysis (see Clusing Manual, Appendix A). All codes are applied to a single clause. The coding of the transcript will have five levels, coding for line of talk (%ltk), narrative structure (%nas), evaluative category (%eva), displacement (%cha) and complexity of evaluation (%chs). First, each clause will be coded for line of talk distinguishing between narrative and non-narrative talk. Only narrative talk will be coded further. Second, each clause in the narrative talk will be coded for narrative structure, signaling the component to which the evaluative device belongs (abstract, complicating action, high point, resolution, and coda). Third, clauses containing evaluative language will be coded for evaluative categories (emotion, cognition, perception, intention, relation, physical state and reported speech). In the fourth tier, coding will indicate displacement by detecting the character whose evaluative stance is expressed (1st or 3rd person and name of character). Finally, a fifth tier will indicate the complexity of evaluation by signalling simple or multiple perspectives.

1. LINES OF TALK:

%ltk:

Coded only for the child's tiers:

\$NAR When the clause belongs to the narrative. The coding will start where the narrative starts in the transcript

\$NNAR When the clause refers to the task or something else outside the story-world. Only those non-narrative clauses will be coded which are interspersed with the narrative utterances in the sequence that forms the story. Non-narrative clauses that precede the opening of the narrative or follow its ending will NOT be coded.

2. NARRATIVE STRUCTURE:

%nas

only coded for the child's tier:

\$ABS: A narrative opening that contains a summarized reference to the topic of the narrative

\$ORI: Code clauses that depict other than the events in the plot. It must be followed by one of the following 3 codes:

:OPE if it's marked as the opening remark of a narrative (with formulaic expressions ("Once upon a time") or with indefinite reference: ("Once a boy had a dog that..."))

:FAC if it refers to FACTS in the outside or story world (not necessarily true: "Dumbo had wings")

:AFF if it refers to expressive or affective features ("Dumbo had huge, powerful wings").

\$CA Complicating Action refers to clauses containing reference to events, expressed mainly in the independent clause with an action verb (generally in the past simple form, Labov & Waletzky, 1967).

\$HP High point refers to the climax of the story. Mostly evaluative clauses that express the peak element of the plot.

\$RES Code as Resolution clauses similar to CA but occurring towards the end of the story and preceded generally by evaluative remarks in the High Point. In terms of content it represents events expressed as the character's reactions to the (perceived) problem in the story.

\$COD Coda consists of formulaic expressions signalling the end of the story ("That's all"). It is also an expression that relates the story-world to the present ("And I have never done it again").

3. EVALUATION:

%eva

only clauses containing evaluative language will be coded. However, to be able to use COMBO, utterances containing several clauses, where some clauses are evaluative and others are not, the non-evaluative clauses will carry the dummy \$0 code.

\$EMO Internal State referring to emotions ("He liked the play", "The frog was sad").

\$COG Cognitive expressions referring to mental activities ("He thought", "I decided", etc). Note that these clauses may be followed by a subordinate nominal clause stating what was seen, decided, etc. Only the main clause will be coded for evaluation. The subordinate clause is coded only if it contains another instance of evaluation, e.g.:

*CHI: *Pensó [c] que el león estaba asustado [c].*

[He thought [c] that the lion was scared [c].]

%eva: \$COG . \$EMO

\$PHY Referring to physical states or possibilites which clearly reflect some state that the narrator can only access by interpretation ("They were tired", "He could fall", "I was sleepy").

\$REL Expressions referring to an action interpreted as relational between two participants will be included in this category. They usually refer to an action such as "help", "find", "search", where the lexical choice is determined by an action the interpretation of the action in a specific way.

El policía ayudó a la señora [c].

The policeman helped the lady [c].

\$INT Intention referring to expression of a character's willingness to carry out some action. Just as with **\$COG**, this code may encompass more than one verb but often the two verbs will form a single clause (e.g. *Trató de atrapar la rana* [c] "He tried to catch the frog"). It can also occur in the form of a non-finite clause: *Bajó del cerro para atrapar la rana* "He ran down the hill to get the frog"). In this case, the non-finite subordinate clause is coded for this evaluation type. Futures and futures in the past belong to this category ("Van a salir", "iban a salir").

\$PER Perception, expressions referring to whatever is perceived through the senses ("She saw the dog"). Again, if the main clause is followed by a subordinate clause expressing what was perceived (e.g. "She saw that the dog was running"), only the main clause is coded.

\$RPS Reported Speech which quotes what a character is saying. It can be

:**DIR Direct:** when the character's words are recorded verbatim (e.g. *Le dijo: "Por aquí señor, por favor"* "[She] told him: "Here, sir, please")

:**IND Indirect:** when the character's words are indirectly reported (e.g. *mi mamá le dijo que yo estuve ahí* "My mother told him that I was there").

:**FRE Free:** when there is no pretense to record the exact words of the speaker, but only the underlying intention (speech act) (e.g. *Le aconsejó que se cuidara* "[She} advised him to be careful").

Reported speech characteristically consists of a reporting clause (e.g. "He said:") and a reported clause that contains what was said (e.g. "leave me alone"). Only the reporting clause will be coded for reported speech. The reported clause will be coded only if it contains some other type of evaluation. Following the reporting clause a number will appear indicating the number of reported clauses (e.g. \$RPS:IND3) except when there is only one reported clause.

4. Displacement

%cha

it follows every %eva tier and it indicates the character whose vantage point is represented in the evaluation coded in the preceding tier. For each clause that contains evaluation, the character will be specified. Within an utterance containing evaluative clauses, if a clause is not evaluative, it will be coded with the dummy \$0. For instance:

*CHI: *Había una vez una reina [c]que estaba muy triste [c].*

Once upon a time [c] there was a queen who was very sad [c].

%eva: \$0 . \$EMO

%cha: \$0 . \$3PR:REI

5. Complexity

%chs

is a score indicating if the global perspective expressed in the clauses forming the utterance corresponds to one or more characters. A score of 1 (\$ONE) indicates that it is the perspective of a single character (e.g. *Se asustó* "[She] got scared"), a score of 2 indicates a relational perspective (e.g. *Apreciaba su amistad* "[He} cherished their friendship"), a score of 3 indicates a multiple perspective (e.g. *Ella dudaba de su intención de hacer las paces* "She doubted that he was going to make peace with her").

APPENDIX C

Examples of coded narratives

1. Fictional open-ended task:

@Begin
 @Participants: CHI Juan Child EXP Martha Investigator
 @Birth of CHI: 5-NOV-85
 @Coding: CHAT
 @Coder: Martha Shiro
 @Filename: juan.ign
 @Sex of CHI: MALE
 @Age of CHI: 10;8
 @Date: 20-JUNE-96
 @ID: 082.IGN.128.M=CHI
 @Language: Spanish
 @Location: Caracas, Venezuela
 @Activities: Juan y Martha están sentados en el salón de audiovisuales del Colegio Góngora
 @bg
 @fis:op
 *EXP: mira, Juan y a ti te gusta ver televisión?
 *CHI: sí.
 *EXP: sí, qué te gusta ver?
 *CHI: este [...] comiquitas como Rem y Stimpy, eh [...] Dog, este [...].
 *EXP: películas te gusta ver?
 *CHI: películas.
 *EXP: qué tipo?
 *CHI: este [...] como [...] una [...] como chiste [...] películas así cómicas.
 *EXP: cómicas, qué viste últimamente?
 *CHI: eh [...] una que es con Arnold Swarseneger, que es cómica, que es True Lies.
 *EXP: cómo se llama, True Lies?
 *CHI: Mentiras Verdaderas.
 *EXP: mhm, en tu casa se habla inglés?
 *CHI: sí.
 *EXP: sí, por qué?
 *CHI: ah, bueno, porque mi mamá vivió un año en Washington.
 *EXP: mhm, habla bien inglés.
 *EXP: y tu papá?
 *CHI: no, mi papá es de aquí.

- *EXP: mhmm, pero tu mamá nació acá también, no?
 *CHI: sí.
 *EXP: y tu papá también, en Caracas los dos?
 *CHI: mhmm.
 *EXP: y tú también?
 *CHI: mhmm, y todos mis hermanos.
 *EXP: mm, y tu mamá habla contigo en inglés?
 *CHI: bueno, para, que si cuando tengo exámenes de inglés,
 me hablan inglés.
 *EXP: para [...] para practicar.
 *CHI: mhmm.
 *EXP: pero no [...] no es que hablen todos los días el
 inglés.
 *CHI: no.
 *EXP: pero tú hablas bien inglés entonces.
 *CHI: sí.
 *EXP: está bien, cuéntame la película, quieres?
 *CHI: este [...] bueno se trata de un señor [c] que es
 este [...] es espía, es Arnold Schwartzeneger [c].
 %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:OPE . \$ORI:FAC
 *CHI: pero su esposa no sabe eso [c].
 %Itk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:FAC
 %eva: \$COG
 %cha: \$3PR:ESP
 %chs: \$ONE
 *CHI: su esposa cree [c] él es [...] es [...] trabaja
 [...] trabaja [...] que trabaja en computadoras
 [c].
 %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:FAC . \$ORI:FAC
 %eva: \$COG . \$0
 %cha: \$3PR:ESP . \$0
 %chs: \$ONE . \$0
 *CHI: entonces este [...] entonces la esposa descubre [c]
 que él era [...] que él era espía [c].
 %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$CA . \$CA
 %eva: \$COG . \$0
 %cha: \$3PR:ESP . \$0
 %chs: \$ONE . \$0
 *CHI: y la esposa descubre [c] que ella [...] ella también
 trabajaba con [...] con un señor [c] que se llama
 Simons [c].
 %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR

%nas: \$CA . \$CA . \$CA
 %eva: \$COG . \$O . \$O
 %cha: \$3PR:ESP . \$O . \$O
 %chs: \$ONE . \$O . \$O
 *CHI: entonces [...] entonces le [...] ellos dos estaban en [...] en la casa, ahí durmiendo [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:FAC
 *CHI: y [...] y llegaron unos [...] unos señores [c] que querían [c] raptar a [...] a los dos [c] para que no [...] para [...] porque el [...] Arnold Swarseneger sabía [c] que [...] que los que los raptaron tenían una bo [...] unas bombas nucleares, así [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$CA . \$CA . \$CA . \$CA . \$CA
 %eva: \$O . \$INT . \$REL . \$COG . \$PER
 %cha: \$O . \$3PR:RAPS . \$3PR:RAPS . \$3PR:ARN . \$1PR:JUAN
 %chs: \$O . \$ONE . \$ONE . \$ONE . \$ONE
 *CHI: entonces él [...] él este [...] lo llevan [...] lo llevan con su esposa [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$CA
 *CHI: pero él logra espia [...] escapar [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$CA
 *CHI: entonces este [...] él tenía una hija [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:FAC
 *CHI: entonces la [...] también raptan a la hija [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$CA
 %eva: \$REL
 %cha: \$3PR:RAPS
 %chs: \$ONE
 *CHI: entonces [...] pero la hija [...] entonces el señor tenía una cadena [c], que era como la llave para eh [...] activar las bombas [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:FAC . \$ORI:FAC
 %eva: \$O . \$PER
 %cha: \$O . \$1PR:JUAN
 %chs: \$O . \$ONE
 *CHI: entonces la [...] la hija de él agarra la llave [c] y se la lleva [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$CA . \$CA

- *CHI: y en [...] y se montan en [...] [c] donde se construye los edificios [c], que es algo amarillo así [c].
- %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
- %nas: \$CA . \$CA . \$CA
- %eva: \$O . \$O . \$PER
- %cha: \$O . \$O . \$1PR:JUAN
- %chs: \$O . \$O . \$ONE
- *EXP: andamios.
- *CHI: ahá, bueno, entonces el [...] el señor que las va [...] que activa [c] le dice [c] que le dé la llave [c].
- %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
- %nas: \$CA . \$CA . \$CA
- %eva: \$O . \$RPS:IND . \$O
- %cha: \$O . \$3PR:RAP . \$O
- %chs: \$O . \$ONE . \$O
- *CHI: pero ella no quiere [c].
- %Itk: \$NAR
- %nas: \$CA
- %eva: \$INT
- %cha: \$3PR:HIJA
- %chs: \$ONE
- *CHI: entonces el papá llega en un avión [...] en un avión [c] y ella se tira [c].
- %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR
- %nas: \$RES . \$RES
- *CHI: ella se tira en el avión [c].
- %Itk: \$NAR
- %nas: \$HP
- *CHI: es así [c].
- %Itk: \$NAR
- %nas: \$RES
- %eva: \$PER
- %cha: \$1PR:JUAN
- %chs: \$ONE
- *CHI: y el señor [...].
- *EXP: ah, entonces no es andamio, es una grúa, que se monta en una grúa, no?
- *CHI: mhmm, algo así [c].
- %Itk: \$NNAR
- *EXP: mhmm, y entonces se van en avión?
- *CHI: ahá, y el señor también se tira del avión [c], pero cayó en [...] en una [...] en un misil cayó [c], se le enganchó [c].
- %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR

%nas: \$RES . \$RES . \$RES
*CHI: entonces el señor disparó el misil [c].
%ltk: \$NAR
%nas: \$RES
*CHI: y salió con el misil [c].
%ltk: \$NAR
%nas: \$RES
*EXP: todo eso es chistoso entonces?
*CHI: mhm, sí.
*EXP: es en broma, está bien.
@eg

2. Fictional structured task:

@Begin
 @Participants: CHI Juan Child EXP Martha Investigator
 @Birth of CHI: 5-NOV-85
 @Coding: CHAT
 @Coder: Martha Shiro
 @Filename: juan.ign
 @Sex of CHI: MALE
 @Age of CHI: 10;8
 @Date: 20-JUNE-96
 @ID: 082.IGN.128.M=CHI
 @Language: Spanish
 @Location: Caracas, Venezuela
 @Activities: Juan y Martha están sentados en el salón de audiovisuales del Colegio Góngora

@bg
 @fis:str
 *EXP: y la película que acabas de ver, te gustó?
 *CHI: sí.
 *EXP: cuéntamela como si yo no la conociera.
 *CHI: eh [...] es una película que actúa Arnold Swarseneger.
 *EXP: no, no.
 *CHI: ah, ésta?
 *EXP: cuál [...] cuál acabas de ver que [...] que me ibas a contar?
 *CHI: la de Arnold Schwartzeneger.
 *EXP: cuál?
 *CHI: la True-Lies.
 *EXP: ah, la que me acabas de contar no es True-Lies?
 *CHI: sí.
 *EXP: mhm.
 *CHI: bueno, eso se llamaba [...].
 *EXP: pero [...] entonces ya va, eh [...] la película que me contaste, terminó así como me [...] me contaste?
 *CHI: sí.
 *EXP: okey.
 *CHI: el señor se murió.
 *CHI: este [...] esta película se llama Picnic [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:OPE
 *EXP: mhm.
 *CHI: son unos [...] una familia [c] que se va de [...] de paseo [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR

%nas:	\$ORI:FAC . \$ORI:FAC
*CHI:	este [...] arreglan todas las [...] este [...] llevan una cesta con comida [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$ORI:FAC
%eva:	\$REL
%cha:	\$3PR:FAM
%chs:	\$ONE
*CHI:	este [...] y se montan en el carro [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$CA
*CHI:	y van [...] y van en el camino [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$CA
*CHI:	entonces ya llegando el [...] en una subida que era así toda [...] eh [...] con rocas [c], el carro saltaba [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$CA . \$CA
%eva:	\$PER . \$O
%cha:	\$1PR:JUAN . \$O
%chs:	\$ONE . \$O
*CHI:	entonces en una de ésa la niñita se cayó [c], se cayó [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$CA . \$CA
*CHI:	y se quedó triste [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$ORI:AFF
%eva:	\$EMO
%cha:	\$3PR:RAT
%chs:	\$ONE
*CHI:	entonces [...] y ella [...] el carro siguió [c] y no sabían [c] que ella se había [...] había caído [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$HP . \$HP . \$HP
%eva:	\$O . \$COG . \$O
%cha:	\$O . \$3PR:RATS . \$O
%chs:	\$O . \$ONE . \$O
*CHI:	entonces llegaron al [...] al cam [...] al bosque ahí pa' [...] para el picnic [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$CA
*CHI:	entonces la niñita estaba perdida en una mata de cerezas, algo así [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR

%nas:	\$HP
%eva:	\$REL \$PER
%cha:	\$3PR:RAT \$1PR:JUAN
%chs:	\$TWO
*CHI:	empezó a comer, a comer [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$CA
*CHI:	y quedó ful [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$CA
%eva:	\$PHY
%cha:	\$3PR:RAT
%chs:	\$ONE
*CHI:	entonces el papá cuando estaba sirviendo los vasos de [...] de leche [c], este [...] había contado justo todos [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$CA . \$CA
%eva:	\$0 . \$COG
%cha:	\$0 . \$3PR:PAPA
%chs:	\$0 . \$ONE
*CHI:	y faltaba [...] y cuando iba a dar el último vaso [c], que era el de la niñita [c], no estaba [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$HP . \$HP . \$HP
%eva:	\$INT \$PER . \$0 . \$0
%cha:	\$3PR:PAPA \$1PR:JUAN . \$0 . \$0
%chs:	\$TWO . \$0 . \$0
*CHI:	entonces empezaron a buscarla [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$RES
%eva:	\$REL
%cha:	\$3PR:RATS
%chs:	\$ONE
*CHI:	y el abuelo, creo [c] que era, que se acordó [c] que [...] que se acordó [c] lo que pasó [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$RES . \$RES . \$RES . \$RES
%eva:	\$COG . \$COG . \$COG . \$0
%cha:	\$1PR:JUAN . \$3PR:ABU . \$3PR:ABU . \$0
%chs:	\$ONE . \$ONE . \$ONE . \$0
*CHI:	que ella se cayó del [...] del carro [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$RES
*CHI:	entonces se fueron [...] se fueron en el carro [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR

%nas:	\$RES
*CHI:	en el carro se fueron [c] donde ella se cayó [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$RES . \$RES
*CHI:	y la encontraron [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$RES
%eva:	\$REL
%cha:	\$3PR:RATS
%chs:	\$ONE
*CHI:	entonces la ni [...] lle [...] se fueron [c] [...] la encontraron [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$RES
%eva:	\$REL
%cha:	\$3PR:RATS
%chs:	\$ONE
*CHI:	y ella se le olvidó el muñeco [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR
%nas:	\$RES
%eva:	\$COG
%cha:	\$3PR:RAT
%chs:	\$ONE
*CHI:	pero después lo fue [c] a buscar otra vez [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$RES . \$RES
%eva:	\$O . \$REL \$INT
%cha:	\$O . \$3PR:RAT
%chs:	\$O . \$ONE
*CHI:	y [...] y después se fueron otra vez al bosque [c] a comer [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$RES . \$RES
%eva:	\$O . \$INT
%cha:	\$O . \$3PR:RATS
%chs:	\$O . \$ONE
*CHI:	y como la niñita ya [...] y la niñita como ya había comido [c], como ya había comido [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$RES . \$RES
*CHI:	no se comió el [...] el sandwich [c] y se quedó dormida [c].
%ltk:	\$NAR . \$NAR
%nas:	\$RES . \$RES
*EXP:	está bien, y qué parte que más te gustó del [...] de lo que viste?

- *CHI: cuando [...] el niñito estaba montado en la rueda,
en el caucho.
- *CHI: iba como un malabarista.
- *CHI: y su hermano se [...] se agarró de [...] de un palo
[...] de un [...] una rama.
- *CHI: y lo agarró para [...] y lo agarró mientras él iba
en malabarista así.
- *CHI: y se cayeron los dos al agua.
- *EXP: está bien.
- @eg

3. Personal open-ended task:

@Begin
 @Participants: CHI Juan Child EXP Martha Investigator
 @Birth of CHI: 5-NOV-85
 @Coding: CHAT
 @Coder: Martha Shiro
 @Filename: juan.ign
 @Sex of CHI: MALE
 @Age of CHI: 10;8
 @Date: 20-JUNE-96
 @ID: 082.IGN.128.M=CHI
 @Language: Spanish
 @Location: Caracas, Venezuela
 @Activities: Juan y Martha están sentados en el salón de audiovisuales del Colegio Góngora

@bg
 @pn:op
 *EXP: y dime, Juan, tú [...] a ti te gusta jugar?
 *CHI: sí.
 *EXP: sí, a qué sueles jugar?
 *CHI: eh [...] fútbol, eh [...] volibol, eh [...] nintendo.
 *EXP: está bien.
 *EXP: y tú me puedes contar algo que te pasó, que te haya mientras eras más chiquito o ahora que te dio un susto?
 *CHI: bueno, una vez en casa de mi abuelo estábamos todos [c], y mi primo y yo, que yo tenía como cuatro años [c], mi primo tenía como ocho [c], subimos a [...] al cuarto de mi abuelo [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:OPE . \$ORI:FAC . \$ORI:FAC . \$CA
 %eva: \$0 . \$PER . \$PER . \$0
 %cha: \$0 . \$1PR:JUAN . \$1PR:JUAN . \$0
 %chs: \$0 . \$ONE . \$ONE . \$0
 *CHI: entonces mi abuelo tenía una pistola debajo de la cama [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:FAC
 *CHI: y mi primo la agarró [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$CA
 *CHI: y [...] y disparó [c], pero se fue por la ventana el disparo [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$HP . \$HP
 *CHI: y esa [...] estaba todo blanco [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR

%nas: \$HP
 %eva: \$PER
 %cha: \$1PR:JUAN
 %chs: \$ONE
 *CHI: y yo salí corriendo, corriendo pa' abajo [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$RES
 *CHI: y mi [...] y mi primo también [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$RES
 *CHI: entonces mi primo decía [c] que fui yo el que disparé [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$RES . \$RES
 %eva: \$RPS:IND . \$0
 %cha: \$3PR:PRI . \$0
 %chs: \$ONE . \$0
 *CHI: entonces mi abuelo le quitó las balas [c] y me la dio [c] para que yo tratara de disparar [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$RES . \$RES . \$RES
 %eva: \$0 . \$0 . \$INT
 %cha: \$0 . \$0 . \$1PR
 %chs: \$0 . \$0 . \$ONE
 *CHI: y no [...] y no tenía fuerzas [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$RES
 %eva: \$PHY
 %cha: \$1PR:JUAN
 %chs: \$ONE
 *CHI: entonces ahí sabía [...] supieron [c] que fue mi primo [c].
 %ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$RES . \$RES
 %eva: \$COG . \$0
 %cha: \$3PR:ELLOS . \$0
 %chs: \$ONE . \$0
 *EXP: qué cosa, por qué estaba todo blanco?
 *CHI: por [...] cuando [...] cuando dispararon eh [...] salió el hu [...] salió humo, pues .
 *EXP: ah, salió tanto humo.
 *CHI: yo salí blanco.
 @eg

4. Personal structured task:

@Begin
 @Participants: CHI Juan Child EXP Martha Investigator
 @Birth of CHI: 5-NOV-85
 @Coding: CHAT
 @Coder: Martha Shiro
 @Filename: juan.ign
 @Sex of CHI: MALE
 @Age of CHI: 10;8
 @Date: 20-JUNE-96
 @ID: 082.IGN.128.M=CHI
 @Language: Spanish
 @Location: Caracas, Venezuela
 @Activities: Juan y Martha están sentados en el salón de audiovisuales del Colegio Góngora

@bg
 @pn:str2
 *EXP: y también estaba en la cocina de mi casa el otro día.
 *EXP: y con un cuchillo muy afilado estaba cortando el pan.
 *EXP: y en vez de cortar el pan, me corté la mano.
 *EXP: me tuvieron que coser puntos y todo lo demás.
 *EXP: y a ti te pasó algo así?
 *CHI: mm, una vez estábamos [...] íbamos a [...] estábamos en el carro [c].
 %Itk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$ORI:OPE
 *CHI: entonces el [...] el [...] en la puerta del carro yo puse la mano así, el dedo así [c].
 %Itk: \$NAR
 %nas: \$CA
 %eva: \$PER
 %cha: \$1PR:JUAN
 %chs: \$ONE
 *CHI: entonces mi hermanita cerró la puerta [c] y me pisó [...] me pisó todo el dedo [c].
 %Itk: \$NAR . \$NAR
 %nas: \$HP . \$HP
 *EXP: y entonces?
 *CHI: entonces mi abuelo que [...] que tiene [...] que [...] que tiene curitas y todo eso [c], me puso un palito de esos como de helados [c] para que [...] pa' que se me quede inmó [...] inmovilizado el dedo [c].

%ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR . \$NAR
%nas: \$RES . \$RES . \$RES
%eva: \$PER . \$PER . \$INT
%cha: \$1PR:JUAN . \$1PR:JUAN . \$3PR:ABU
%chs: \$ONE . \$ONE . \$ONE
*CHI: y me lo amarró con un teipe [c].
%ltk: \$NAR
%nas: \$RES
*CHI: y después cuando se me curó [c] me lo quitaron [c].
%ltk: \$NAR . \$NAR
%nas: \$RES . \$RES
*CHI: y lo podía mover [c].
%ltk: \$NAR
%nas: \$RES
*EXP: está bien, y tu abuelo cómo sabía hacer eso?
*CHI: no sé.
*EXP: él no es médico, no?
*CHI: no.
*EXP: experiencia de la vida.
*CHI: mhm.
@eg

APPENDIX D

The Vocabulary Recognition Test

The following is the list of words that the children were asked to match with their corresponding pictures. Taken from Dunn, L., Padilla, E., Lugo, D. & Dunn, L. (1986). Test de vocabulario en imágenes Peabody. Circle Pines, MN: American Guidance Service.

3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
1 barco (2) _____ ○	2 lámpara (4) _____ □	3 vaca (1) _____ △	4 vela (2) _____ Ω	5 trompeta (1) _____ ♥	6 rodilla (4) _____ ☆	7 jaula (1) _____ ◊	8 ambulancia ... (1) _____ ○	9 leer (4) _____ □	10 flecha (2) _____ △	11 cuello (3) _____ Ω	12 mueble (3) _____ ↗	13 abeja (3) _____ ☆	14 hora (3) _____ ◊	15 medir (2) _____ ○	16 ballena (2) _____ □	17 roto (1) _____ △	18 acariciar (1) _____ Σ	19 accidente (2) _____ ♥	20 canguro (2) _____ ☆	21 codo (4) _____ ◊	22 río (3) _____ ○	23 águila (2) _____ □	24 romper (4) _____ △	25 pintor (3) _____ Ω	26 vacío (3) _____ ♥	27 pelar (3) _____ ☆	28 uniforme (4) _____ ◊	29 tronco (2) _____ ○	30 líquido (4) _____ □	31 grupo (3) _____ △	32 músico (2) _____ Ω	33 ceremonia (4) _____ ♥	34 culebra (4) _____ ☆	35 bebida (1) _____ ◊	36 médico (4) _____ ○	37 aislamiento (1) _____ □	38 mecánico (2) _____ △	39 premiar (3) _____ Ω	40 dentista (3) _____ ♥	41 hombro (3) _____ ☆	42 sobre (2) _____ ◊	43 joyas (1) _____ ↗	44 humano (2) _____ ↗	45 artista (1) _____ ↗	46 recoger (4) _____ Ω	47 construcción .. (2) _____ ♥	48 dirigir (2) _____ ☆	49 arbusto (1) _____ ◊	50 bosque (3) _____ ○	51 agricultura (4) _____ □	52 raíz (2) _____ △	53 nutrilivo (3) _____ Ω	54 par (3) _____ ♥	55 secretaria (4) _____ ☆	56 iluminación ... (4) _____ ◊	57 carrete (1) _____ ○	58 transparente .. (3) _____ □	59 cosechar (1) _____ △	60 discusión (1) _____ Ω	61 cooperación .. (4) _____ ♥	62 barandal (1) _____ ☆	63 sorprendido ... (4) _____ ◊	64 gotejar (2) _____ ○	65 embudo (3) _____ □	66 tallo (3) _____ △	67 isla (1) _____ Ω	68 ángulo (2) _____ ♥	69 desilusión (4) _____ ☆	70 carpintero (2) _____ ◊	71 archivar (3) _____ ○	72 mercantil (1) _____ □	73 cuarteto (4) _____ △	74 marco (1) _____ Ω	75 binocular (3) _____ ♥	76 judicial (2) _____ ☆	77 roer (3) _____ ◊	78 morsa (2) _____ ○	79 confiar (3) _____ □	80 terno (4) _____ △	81 contemplar ... (2) _____ Ω	82 ave (3) _____ ↗	83 portátil (2) _____ ☆	84 clasificar (1) _____ ◊	85 carroña (3) _____ ○	86 brújula (2) _____ □	87 esférico (2) _____ ↗	88 felino (2) _____ ↗	89 paralelo (4) _____ ↗	90 amarillo .. (1) _____ ↗	91 árido (4) _____ ◊	92 frágil (3) _____ ○	93 instruir (4) _____ □	94 arqueólogo ... (4) _____ △	95 consumir (4) _____ Ω	96 incandescente .. (4) _____ ♥	97 arrogante (2) _____ ☆	98 utensilio (2) _____ ◊	99 ira (3) _____ ○	100 cítrico (3) _____ □	101 lubricar (1) _____ △	102 eslabón (4) _____ Ω	103 morada..... (1) _____ ♥	104 anfibio (1) _____ ☆	105 prodigo (1) _____ ◊	106 jubilosa (2) _____ ○	107 aparición (2) _____ □	108 ascender (3) _____ △	109 fragmento .. (3) _____ Ω	110 perpendicular .. (3) _____ ♥	111 atuendo (4) _____ ☆	112 córnea (2) _____ ◊	113 paralelogramo .. (1) _____ ○	114 copioso (2) _____ □	115 inducir (3) _____ △	116 alónito .. (3) _____ Ω	117 transeúnte .. (2) _____ ♥	118 emisión (3) _____ ☆	119 obelisco (1) _____ ◊	120 ciénaga (3) _____ ○	121 ambulante .. (2) _____ □	122 cóncavo (3) _____ △	123 incisivo (1) _____ Ω	124 elipse (4) _____ ♥	125 deciduo (4) _____ ☆																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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APPENDIX E

The Reading Comprehension Tests

Prueba CLP Formas Paralelas

Felipe Allende • Mabel Condemarín • Neva Milicic

1er Nivel A
para la aplicación de la
Prueba de Comprensión
Lectora de Complejidad
Lingüística Progresiva.

*Lic. Alida Caso de Faro.
Psicóloga*



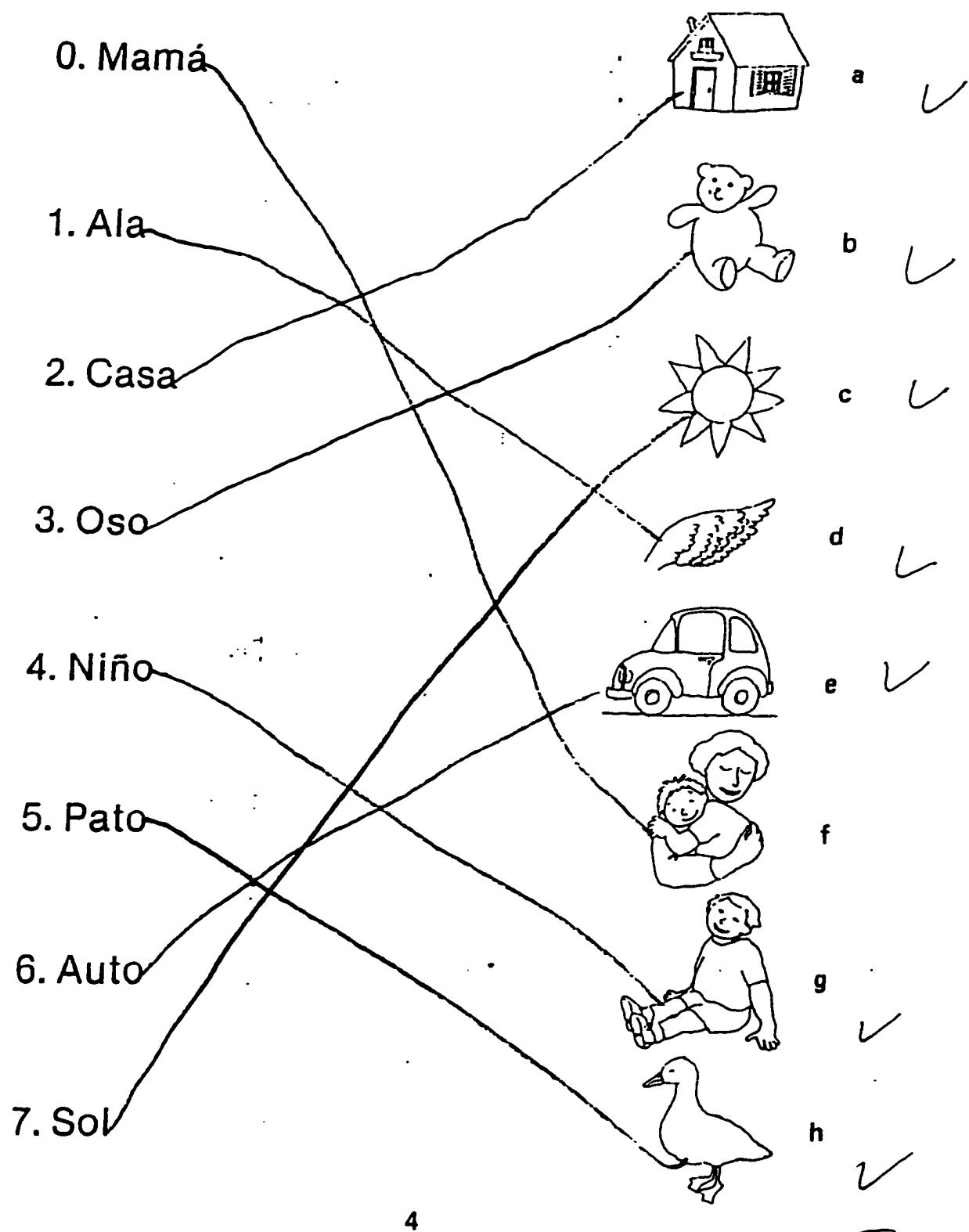
IDENTIFICACION DEL ALUMNO

Nombre:	Flevio Palotini	
Sexo: Masculino	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Femenino
Fecha de Nacimiento:		
Edad:	8	años _____ meses.
Fecha Examen:	18-06-96	
Examinador:	M S	

APLICACION INDIVIDUAL		APLICACION COLECTIVA	
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SUB-TEST	NOMBRE	HORA			PUNTAJE				Percen-til
		Pág.	Inicio	Térn.	Bruto	Z	T		
I - A - (1)	Mamá	4			7				
I - A - (2)	Rayo mira...	5			7				
I - A - (3)	Caminan...	6			7				
I - A - (4)	Hay tres ovillos...	7			5				

PUNTAJE TOTAL:	26	TIEMPO TOTAL:	
----------------	----	---------------	--

Subtest I - A - (1)
"Mamá"

0. Rayo mira un pescado.

a



1. Rayo está en la casucha.

b



2. Este es el hueso de Rayo.

c



3. El collar de Rayo es chico.

d



4. Rayo tiene una pelota.

e



5. Rayo arranca de otro perro.

f



6. Rayo está debajo de un árbol.

g



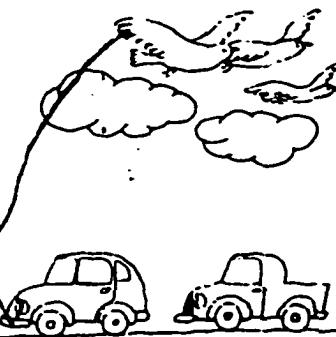
7. El pajarito come
en el plato de Rayo.

h



Subtest I - A - (3)
"Caminan..."

0. Caminan con ruedas.



a ✓

1. Están volando muy alto.



b

2. Caminan muy apurados.



c ✓

3. Todos saltan juntos.



d ✓

4. Rema muy feliz.



e ✓

5. Está barriendo
con cuidado.



f ✓

6. Cose con mucho afán.



g ✓

7. Escriben con empeño.



h ✓



- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 0. Hay tres ovillos en el canasto. | SI | <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO | |
| 1. Luisa está cosiendo a máquina. | SI | <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO | ✓ |
| 2. Pascual está jugando con lana. | SI | NO | ✓ |
| 3. Luisa está tejiendo. | SI | <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO | ✓ |
| 4. Luisa está llorando. | SI | NO | ✓ |
| 5. Luisa tiene trenzas. | SI | <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO | X |
| 6. Pascual está cazando ratones. | SI | <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO | ✓ |
| 7. Luisa está de manga corta. | SI | <input checked="" type="radio"/> NO | X |

Prueba CLP Formas Paralelas

Felipe Allende • Mabel Condemarín • Neva Milicic

4º Nivel A
para la aplicación de la
Prueba de Comprensión
Lectora de Complejidad
Lingüística Progresiva.

Lic. Alida Cano de Faroh



IDENTIFICACION DEL ALUMNO

Nombre:	<u>Ricardo Echeverría</u>	
Sexo:	Masculino	Femenino
Fecha de Nacimiento:	<u>13 Diciembre 1985</u>	
Edad:	<u>10</u>	años <u>6</u> meses.
Fecha Examen:	<u>14/6/96</u>	
Examinador:	<u>Edith</u>	

APLICACION INDIVIDUAL		APLICACION COLECTIVA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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SUB-TEST	NOMBRE	HORA			PUNTAJE			
		Pág.	Inicio	Térn.	Bruto	Z	T	Percentil
IV - A - (1)	El pinito descontento	4			3			
IV - A - (2)	Un viajero espacial	6			5			
IV - A - (3)	La ballena y el vigía (1 ^a . parte)	9			3			
IV - A - (4)	La ballena y el vigía (2 ^a . parte)	11			4			

PUNTAJE TOTAL: <u>15</u>	TIEMPO TOTAL: _____
--------------------------	---------------------

Había una vez un pequeño pino.
Vivía siempre descontento.
No me gustan las púas que tengo —dijo un día.
Me gustaría tener hojas blanditas como el boldo.
En ese momento, vio que una cabra se estaba comiendo las hojas de un boldo.
Me gustaría tener hojas, pero de vidrio —dijo—. Serían duras y brillantes y no me las comerían las cabras.
Entonces empezó a soplar un viento muy fuerte.
Mejor me quedo con mis púas —pensó el pinito.
Ni las cabras me las comen, ni el viento me las puede quebrar.

Encierra en un círculo la letra que corresponde. Observa el ejemplo:

0. El pinito quería transformarse en:

- a) Una persona humana.
- b) Un objeto de vidrio.
- c) Una mata de boldo.
- d) Un árbol distinto.

1. El pinito está descontento porque:

- a) Lo asustaban las cabras.
- b) El viento lo hacía sufrir.
- c) No le gustaban sus púas.
- d) Las cabras le comían las hojas.

2. Al pinito terminaron por no gustarle las hojas de boldo porque:

- a) Eran demasiado blandas.
- b) El viento se las podía llevar.
- c) Las cabras se alimentaban con ellas.
- d) No eran como sus púas.

3. El pinito se dio cuenta que no era bueno para él tener hojas de vidrio porque:

- a) Eran duras y brillantes.
- b) Se podían quebrar con el viento.
- c) Nadie se las podía comer.
- d) No eran como sus púas.

4. El que se porta como si fuera una persona humana es el:

- a) boldo.
- b) vidrio.
- c) viento.
- d) pino.

Subtest IV - A - (2)
"Un viajero espacial"

Cuando sea grande, me iré a vivir a una estrella —dijo un día Rodrigo.

—Te morirías —le respondió su hermano Pablo—. En las estrellas hay gases sumamente calientes que se mueven, explotan y echan llamas. Nadie puede vivir en una estrella.

—Bah —replicó Rodrigo—. Yo creía que las estrellas eran como la Tierra: con agua, con árboles, con cerros, con aire.

—No es así, Rodrigo. Las estrellas son como nuestro Sol. Son soles: tienen luz propia, producen calor, iluminan a otros astros; son como una enorme fogata. —¿Todavía quieres irte a una estrella?

—No, porque moriría quemado. Pero yo siempre he sabido que a lo mejor, algún día, el hombre podrá viajar hasta las estrellas.

—Sí, pero no para vivir en las estrellas. En el espacio, además de las estrellas, hay otros cuerpos como los planetas. Los planetas son astros que giran alrededor de las estrellas que los iluminan. La mayoría de los planetas están formados por materias sólidas y cuentan con una atmósfera, es decir, tienen algo parecido al aire. A lo mejor, en alguno de los planetas el hombre podría vivir.

—Entonces, me gustaría irme a ese planeta cuando lo descubran —dijo Rodrigo.

Encierra en un círculo la letra que corresponde.

1. De acuerdo con la lectura, la siguiente era la opinión de uno de los hermanos:

- a) Rodrigo creía que no se podía vivir en las estrellas.
- b) Pablo creía que se podía vivir en las estrellas.
- c) Rodrigo creía que las estrellas eran como la Tierra.
- d) Pablo pensaba que las estrellas tenían árboles y cerros.

2. De acuerdo a lo que dice Pablo, las estrellas son cuerpos espaciales.

- a) Perfectamente habitables.
- b) Habitables con dificultad.
- c) Casi inhabitables.
- d) Totalmente inhabitables.

3. Pablo dice que los gases que hay en las estrellas se caracterizan por ser:

- a) Enormemente calientes.
- b) Más calientes que el Sol.
- c) Lo más caliente que hay.
- d) Tan calientes como el Sol.

4. Según Pablo, las estrellas les proporcionan a otros astros:

- a) Atmósfera.
- b) Luz.
- c) Gases.
- d) Calor

5. Los planetas se diferencian de las estrellas porque:

- (a) No hay gases en su superficie.
- (b) No tienen luz propia.
- (c) Giran por el espacio.
- (d) En todos hay vida.

6. Un planeta es un cuerpo que:

- (a) Cuenta con seres vivientes.
- (b) Es igual a nuestro sol.
- (c) Gira alrededor de una estrella.
- (d) Tiene una atmósfera de aire.

7. Como resultado de la conversación con su hermano, Rodrigo decidió que cuando fuera grande se iría a vivir a:

- (a) Una estrella muy especial.
- (b) Un planeta cualquiera.
- (c) Un planeta no habitado.
- (d) Un planeta habitable.

Subtest IV - A - (3)
"La ballena y el vigía"
(1^a. parte)

Hace muchos años, un grupo de hombres partió a cazar ballenas a los mares del Sur.

Iban en un pequeño barco ballenero movido por velas.

Después de muchos días de viaje, llegaron a una parte donde había muchas ballenas. Allí echaron anclas.

Un hombre se subió a un mástil del barco para ver si aparecían ballenas. Era el vigía.

Cuatro hombres de la tripulación se embarcaron en un pequeño bote y fueron bajados al mar. Otros marineros se quedaron en la cubierta del barco.

En el bote iba un encargado del timón, el timonel; dos hombres estaban a cargo de los remos. El último era el arponero, encargado de manejar el arpón con el que querían capturar a las ballenas.

Apenas el bote se había alejado unos metros, el vigía vio una ballena por la parte delantera del barco.

—¡Ballena a la vista! —gritó—. ¡Ballena a proa!

Pero nadie lo oyó. Se había olvidado de usar un megáfono, que es una corneta estrecha por un lado y ancha por el otro. El lado estrecho se pone junto a la boca. Con el megáfono, la voz se hace más sonora y se puede dirigir hacia donde uno quiera.

Los del bote no oyeron el grito del vigía, y la ballena escapó sin que la vieran.

Poco después, la misma ballena apareció por la parte trasera del barco.

—¡Ballena a la vista! —gritó otra vez el vigía.

—¡Ballena a popa!

Gracias al megáfono, los hombres del bote oyeron la voz del vigía. El timonel dirigió el bote hacia la popa; los remeros movieron los remos con todas sus fuerzas y el arponero se preparó para lanzar su arpón. Pero la simpática ballena, cuyo oído era excelente, también había escuchado el grito y ¡Plaf! se escondió debajo del agua donde nadie podía capturarlala.

(En el cuadro en un círculo la letra que corresponde! Observa el ejemplo:

Ejemplo: vmas lejemplo:

10. La primera vez que estuvo el vigía en la ballena, él bote estaba:

- a) Regado al barco.
- b) Bastante cerca del barco.
- c) Muy alejado del barco.

11. La ballena del relato tenía:

- a) Mal oído.
- b) Buen oído.
- c) Muy buen oído .

2. Los hechos que se cuentan en "La Ballena y el Vigía" pasaron:

- a) Hace pocos días.
- b) Únos pocos años atrás.
- c) Hace mucho tiempo atrás.

3. El viaje realizado por los tripulantes del barco ballenero fue:

- a) Largo.
- b) Corto.
- c) Muy corto.

Subtest IV - A - (4)
"La ballena y el vigía"
(2a. parte)

Si es necesario, vuelve a leer cuidadosamente "La Ballena y el Vigía".

Escribe después de cada palabra de la izquierda una "A" cuando la palabra corresponde a instrumentos usados por el personal del barco. Una "B" si la palabra corresponde al oficio de una persona de la tripulación y una "C" si corresponde a una parte del barco. Observa el ejemplo.

"A" = Instrumentos usados por la tripulación.

"B" = Miembros de la tripulación.

"C" = Partes del barco o del bote.

- | | | |
|-------------|---|-----|
| 0. Ancia | A | ... |
| 1. Arpón | A | ✓ |
| 2. Arponero | B | ✓ |
| 3. Megáfono | A | ✓ |
| 4. Popa | C | ✓ |

4

APPENDIX F

Associations of Frequency of Evaluative Categories with Children's Age and SES

Table 1F

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Emotion (DS_EMO) on Age, SES and Interaction

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	1.29	.02			$F_{(1,105)}=2.55$ $p < .11$	.02
Model 2	3.80***		-.33		$F_{(1,105)}=.33$ $p < .54$	.004
Model 3	1.38	.02*	-.43		$F_{(2,104)}=1.60$ $p < .21$	.03
Model 4	2.72	.01	-3.07	.03	$F_{(3,103)}=1.33$ $p < .27$	.04
Model 5	3.55**	Grade 1.17	-2.09	Grade*SES 1.17	$F_{(3,103)}=1.28$ $p < .28$	.04

Table 2F

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Relation (DS_REL) on Age, SES and Interaction

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	6.42*	.04			$F_{(1,105)}=2.01$ $p < .16$	.02
Model 2	10.82***		-.85		$F_{(1,105)}=.71$ $p < .40$	.007
Model 3	6.64*	.04	-.103		$F_{(2,104)}=1.53$ $p < .22$	.03
Model 4	4.72	.06	2.73	-.04	$F_{(3,103)}=1.16$ $p < .33$	.03
Model 5	1.59***	Grade .40	.41	Grade*SES -.26	$F_{(3,103)}=2.77*$ $p < .05$	.07

Table 3F

**A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Reported Speech (DS_RPS)
on Age, SES and Interaction**

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	9.99**	-.01			F(1,105)=.10 p<..75	.0009
Model 2	8.42***		1.02		F(1,105)=.77 p<..38	.007
Model 3	9.76**	-.01	1.08		F(2,104)=.47 p<..63	.009
Model 4	13.81**	-.05	-6.88	-.08	F(3,103)=.81 p<.50	.03
Model 5	12.42***	Grade -2.63*	-4.76	Grade*SES 3.82	F(3,103)=1.25 p<..30	.04

Table 4F

**A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Intention (DS_INT)
on Age, SES and Interaction**

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	5.83**	.000			F(1,105)=.002 p<..97	.000
Model 2	5.51***		.74		F(1,105)=1.37 p<..24	.02
Model 3	5.67**	-.002	.75		F(2,104)=.68 p<..51	.02
Model 4	3.49	.02	5.03	.02	F(3,103)=.94 p<..42	.03
Model 5	4.80**	Grade .47	1.86	Grade*SES -.74	F(3,103)=.57 p<..64	.07

Table 5F

A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Density of Perception (DS_PER)
on Age, SES and Interaction

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
M1	2.06***	.005			F(1,105)=2.15 p< .15	.02
M2	2.55***		-.04		F(1,105)=.12 p< .73	.001
M3	2.07***	.005	-.06		F(2,104)=1.20 p< .30	.02
M4	2.76***	-.002	-1.40*	-.013	F(3,103)=1.9 p< .14	.06
M5	2.68***	Grade -.08	-.76*	Grade*SES .47	F(3,103)=2.03* p< .10	.06

APPENDIX G

Associations of Diversity of Evaluative Types with Children's Age and SES

Table 1G

**A Taxonomy of Regression Models of Diversity of Evaluative Types in
Personal Narratives on Age, SES and Interaction**

	Intercept	Age	SES	Interaction Age*SES	F(df) p value	R ²
Model 1	4.63***	.005			F(1,105)=.29 p< .59	.003
Model 2	4.82***		.62		F(1,105)=2.54 p< .11	.03
Model 3	4.50***	.003	.61		F(2,104)=1.68 p< .19	.03
Model 4	5.52***	-.01	-1.40	.02	F(3,103)=1.48 p< .22	.04
Model 5	5.45***	Grade -.72	-2.23	Grade*SES 1.5	F(3,103)=1.16 p< .31	.04

Appendix H

**Analysis of Covariance Structure (LISREL) of the Relationship between
First and Third Person Evaluation, Age and Social Class**

HGSE ALPHA/VMS DEC 3000-600s

HUGSE1::SHIROMA

JOB 100

EVAL

Owner UIC: [SHIROMA]
Account: STUDENT

Priority: 100
Submit queue: SYSS\$LASER
Submitted: 11-SEP-1997 14:34
Printer queue: SYSS\$LASER
Printer device: HUGSE8
Started: 11-SEP-1997 14:34

DATE: 9/21/97
TIME: 14:34:11

DEC/AMP L I S R E L 8.12

Table 2. Measures with big content

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The following lines were read from file KVAL.LSR:

Analysis of density of evaluation and transformed data

Raw Data from File PNUEVA.SAV

Relationships:

Options: as ga

SCHOLASTIC 103

Analyses of specificity of evaluation and transformed data

COVARIANCE MATRIX TO BE ANALYZED

	D_EVAL	D_EVAJ	AGE	SES
D_EVAL	163.73			
D_EVAJ	-35.70	114.47		
AGE	-6.49	27.89	354.43	
SES	-1.41	0.98	1.16	0.25

ME110

R. EVAN R. EVAN AGF 123

Analysis of density of evaluation and transformed data
Number of Iterations = 8

LISREL ESTIMATES (MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD)

D_EVAL = $22.69 + 0.00018 \cdot AGE - 5.64 \cdot SES$. Errorvar. = 155.76, Ry = 0.049
 (6.90) (0.066) (2.46) (21.60)
 3.29 0.0028 -2.29 7.21

D_EVAL3 = $16.89 + 0.056 \cdot AGE + 3.44 \cdot SES$. Errorvar. = 107.49, Ry = 0.061
 (5.73) (0.054) (2.05) (14.51)
 2.94 1.76 1.68 7.21

COVARIANCE MATRIX OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	AGE	SES
AGE	354.43 (49.15) 7.21	
SES	1.16 (0.93) .26	0.25 (0.03) .26

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AGE	SES
104.25	0.54
(1.83)	(0.05)
56.67	10.95

GOODNESS OF FIT STATISTICS

CHI-SQUARE WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM = 5.94 (P = 0.0151)
ESTIMATED NON-CENTRALITY PARAMETER (NCP) = 4.94
40 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVAL FOR NCP = 3.65 - 5.15

MINIMUM FIT FUNCTION VALUE = -0.057
 POPULATION DISCREPANCY FUNCTION VALUE (F_0) = -0.047
 90 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVAL FOR F_0 = (-0.0593 ; C.16)
 ROOT MEAN SQUARE ERROR OF APPROXIMATION (RMSEA) = .22
 90 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVAL FOR RMSEA = (-0.077 ; C.40)

EXPECTED CROSS-VALIDATION INDEX (ECVI) = 0.31
 90 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVAL FOR ECVI = (0.23 ; 0.38)
 ECVI FOR SATURATED MODEL = 0.19
 ECVI FOR INDEPENDENCE MODEL = 0.61

CHI-SQUARE FOR INDEPENDENCE MODEL WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM = 473.49
 INDEPENDENCE AIC = 481.49
 MODEL AIC = 31.94
 SAMPLING AIC = 20.00
 INDEPENDENCE CAIC = 496.18
 MODEL CAIC = 79.69

SATURATED CAIC = 56.73
 ROOT MEAN SQUARE RESIDUAL (RMR) = 9.35
 STANDARDIZED RMR = 0.070
 GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (GFI) = 0.97
 ADJUSTED GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (AGFI) = 0.73
 PARSIMONY GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (PGFI) = 0.697
 NORMED FIT INDEX (NFI) = 0.99
 NON-NORMED FIT INDEX (NNFI) = 0.94
 PARSIMONY NORMED FIT INDEX (PNFI) = 0.16
 COMPARATIVE FIT INDEX (CFI) = 0.99
 INCREMENTAL FIT INDEX (IFI) = 0.99
 RELATIVE FIT INDEX (RFI) = 0.92
 CRITICAL N (CN) = 119.42

Analysis of density of evaluation and transformed data

FITTED COVARIANCE MATRIX

	D_EVAL1	D_EVAL3	AGE	SES
D_EVAL1	163.73			
D_EVAL3	-5.49	114.47		
AGE	-6.49	37.89	354.43	
SES	-1.41	0.98	1.16	0.25

FITTED MEANS

	D_EVAL1	D_EVAL3	AGE	SES
D_EVAL1	19.68			
D_EVAL3	28.71			
AGE		104.25		0.54
SES				

FITTED RESIDUALS

	D_EVAL1	D_EVAL3	AGE	SES
D_EVAL1	--			
D_EVAL3	-30.20	0.00		
AGE	--	--	--	
SES	--	0.00	--	0.00

FITTED RESIDUALS FOR MEANS

	D_EVAL1	D_EVAL3	AGE	SES
D_EVAL1	--			
D_EVAL3	--			
AGE				
SES				0.00

SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR FITTED RESIDUALS

SMALLEST FITTED RESIDUAL = -30.20
 MEDIAN FITTED RESIDUAL = 0.00
 LARGEST FITTED RESIDUAL = 0.00

STEMLEAF PLOT
 - 3|0
 - 2|1
 - 1|1
 - 0|0000000000

STANDARDIZED RESIDUALS

	D_EVAL1	D_EVAL3	AGE	SES
D_EVAL1	--			
D_EVAL3	--			
AGE				
SES				0.00

SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR STANDARDIZED RESIDUALS

SMALLEST STANDARDIZED RESIDUAL = -2.38
 MEDIAN STANDARDIZED RESIDUAL = 0.00
 LARGEST STANDARDIZED RESIDUAL = 0.00

STEMLEAF PLOT
 - 2|4
 - 1|1
 - 1|1
 - 0|1
 - 0|0000000000

Analysis of density of evaluation and transformed data
STANDARDIZED SOLUTION

GAMMA

	AGE	SES
D_EVAL1	0.00	-0.22
D_EVAL3	0.17	0.16

CORRELATION MATRIX OF Y AND X

	D_EVAL1	D_EVAL3	AGE	SES
D_EVAL1	1.00			
D_EVAL3	-0.04	1.00		
AGE	-0.03	0.19	1.00	
SES	-0.22	0.18	0.12	1.00

PSI

	D_EVAL1	D_EVAL3
D_EVAL1	0.95	0.94
D_EVAL3		

REGRESSION MATRIX Y ON X (STANDARDIZED)

	AGE	SES
D_EVAL1	0.00	-0.22
D_EVAL3	0.17	0.16

THE PROBLEM USED 4504 BYTES (= 1.6% OF AVAILABLE WORKSPACE)

TIME USED: 1.0 SECONDS

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