

Storytelling with cultural tools: Children's engagement with features of oral traditions in First Nations cultural education programs

By

James William Allen

B. A. Wilfrid Laurier University, 2006

M. Sc. University of Victoria, 2009

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the department of Psychology

© James William Allen, 2013

University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This dissertation may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Storytelling with cultural tools: Children's engagement with features of oral traditions in First Nations cultural education programs

By

James William Allen

B. A. Wilfrid Laurier University, 2006

M. Sc. University of Victoria, 2009

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Christopher Lalonde (Department of Psychology)

Supervisor

Dr. Ulrich Müller (Department of Psychology)

Departmental Member

Dr. Anne Marshall (Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)

Outside Member

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Christopher Lalonde (Department of Psychology)
Supervisor

Dr. Ulrich Müller (Department of Psychology)
Departmental Member

Dr. Anne Marshall (Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)
Outside Member

Abstract

This dissertation presents a comparative case-study of how two groups of culturally diverse elementary school students engage with particular forms of narrative practice shared by cultural educators through First Nations cultural education programs. The project develops the argument that different cultures afford different symbolic resources useful in “structuring” and “organizing” experience for individuals and that one important way in which these “possible worlds” are shared in a community is through storytelling. To develop this argument the project was structured around two main research questions: 1) what are the forms and functions of narrative practices that children experience during the First Nations cultural education programs? And 2) how do children “echo” and “transform” these narrative practices through their participation in the narrative activities organized around the programs? Participants in the project were two First Nations cultural educators conducting cultural education programs in public schools who participated as research partners, as well as 16 students from a grade 1 classroom (Class A) who participated in the first educator’s program and 15 students from a grade 4 classroom (Class B) who participated in the second educator’s program. Data for this project came from a multiple sources and analysis focused especially on stories told from the cultural educators during their programs as well as retellings of these stories from students in the

two classrooms. Additional data was included from interviews and discussions with the cultural educators and student participants, field notes on the cultural education programs, and the classroom communities, as well as discussions with classroom teachers. This additional data was integrated into the project at various points to support interpretations. An ethnopoetic or verse analysis (Hymes, 1981, 1996, 2003) of stories told by the cultural educators revealed recurring patterns in the stories that both educators employed for particular rhetorical effects. In addition, these patterns revealed a number of “cultural features” of the storytelling performances that the educators used to emphasize specific points, to make parts of the stories especially memorable for the audience and to share lessons with the audience. Verse analyses of students’ story-retellings revealed a number of ways in which these students echoed and transformed these cultural features and made use of them to share the meaning or lesson of the stories. Finally, comparative analyses of story-retellings from the differently aged students in the two classrooms through a number of analytical frameworks showed that the retellings from grade 4 students were more complex in a number of ways, but also that students in both classrooms skillfully employed these different forms of narrative resources. The results reported in this study suggest that students were making use of the space provided in the cultural education programs to explore particular forms of narrative practice shared by the cultural educators and that they were making use of these narrative resources in meaningful ways.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee:	ii
Abstract	iii
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
Dedication	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Researcher Orientation.....	4
Chapter 2: Literature Review	6
Culture, Cultural Communities and Cultural Practices.....	7
Narrative as an Avenue for “Meaning Making”	14
Narrative Skills and Perspective Taking.....	17
Developing Complexity in Children’s Narrative Skills.....	20
Narrative Skills within Cultural Communities	23
Narrative Skills and Cultural Knowledge	26
Chapter 3: Methodology and Analytical Framework	35
Procedure	37
Participants:.....	37
Steps in Building the Research Partnership	38
Ethnographic Portraits of the Classroom Communities.....	39
Class A	40
The Cultural Education Program	41
Data Collection Procedures.....	43
Class B	46
The Cultural Education Program	47
Data Collection Procedures.....	49
Analytical Framework	50
Some Examples of Verse Analysis	54
Chapter 4: Verse Analysis for Class A	61
Analysis of Story Retellings for Class A	80

Example 1: Participant 5.....	85
Example 2: Participant 3.....	90
Example 3: Participant 12.....	95
Example 4: Participant 6.....	98
Example 5: Participant 7.....	101
Example 6: Participant 11.....	104
Chapter 5: Verse Analysis for Class B.....	110
The Second Cultural Educator’s Storytelling.....	110
Analysis of Story Retellings from Class B.....	128
Example 1: Participant 5.....	133
Example 2: Participant 6.....	138
Example 3: Participant 4.....	142
Example 4: Participant 11.....	148
Example 5: Participant 14.....	156
Example 6: Participant 15.....	162
Chapter 6: Comparative Analysis.....	168
Comparing the Classrooms with High-point Analysis.....	169
Comparing the Classrooms through the Narrative Coherence Coding Scheme (NaCCS).....	177
Comparing the Classrooms through Verse Analysis.....	180
Chapter 7: Conclusions.....	185
Theoretical Considerations.....	185
Reflections on the Research Partnership.....	188
Future Directions.....	190
References.....	193
Appendix A: Guides for the interview with the cultural educator, students’ retellings and student interviews.....	204
Appendix B: Parental consent form and student consent form.....	206
Appendix C: Stories and story profiles for stories discussed and not produced in the text.....	210
Appendix D: Comparison of two tellings of Dzunuk’wa from the second cultural educator.....	227
Appendix E: Directions of for the Narrative Coherence Coding Scheme.....	232

List of Tables

Table 1: <i>Story profile of “The story about the Wolves” from the first cultural educator.....</i>	67
Table 2: <i>Presence of cultural features in retellings from Class A.....</i>	82
Table 3: <i>Rhetorical structure of the Dzunu<u>k</u>’wa story at levels of act, scene and stanza.....</i>	117
Table 4: <i>Length and groupings of lines in retellings from Class B.....</i>	130
Table 5: <i>Categories and sub-categories of expressive elaboration.....</i>	171
Table 6: <i>Rating scale for the complexity of verse patterning.....</i>	182

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1:</i> Percentage of students incorporating cultural features by type in Class A.....	84
<i>Figure 2:</i> Percentage of students incorporating cultural features by type in Class B.....	132
<i>Figure 3:</i> Percentage of students including the different elements at least once in each classroom.....	176

Acknowledgements

Thank you first of all to my research partners in this project. To Leslie McGarry: Gilakas'la. Your openness in sharing Kwakwaka'wakw culture throughout the project and your belief in both me and in the project has been invaluable. My life is richer because of our work together and I hope I can be a “witness” to the good work you and others at the Friendship Center are doing by speaking of what I have learned through this project. If the work documented in this dissertation can be of use in supporting programs like the “Box of Treasures” program I will feel it is validated.

To Alex Clark: HÍSWŪKE SIEM, I have learned much from the histories and stories you shared with me throughout our work together. Your passion for your work was compelling and it clearly conveyed the responsibility you feel for sharing your knowledge of First Nations cultures in a good way. Thank you for your openness throughout our work together and your belief in the project. It is my hope that the results of this project can be of use to others as base upon which this good work can be continued and that these results will be shared in ways that supportive of future cultural integration programs.

Secondly, thank you to my supervisory committee. Chris Lalonde, you have been a continual support to me throughout our work together. You have encouraged me to ask “big questions” in my work, and you have guided me in developing feasible projects out of these questions. I am continually inspired by the meaningful questions you ask in exploring human development and your focus on the relevance of the work for communities and individuals. Ulrich Müller, you have always inspired my theoretical curiosity and my appreciation for theory and history in the field of developmental psychology. Your commentary on my work has challenged me to think in new and deeper ways. Anne Marshall, throughout this project you have continually reminded me to focus on how this work could benefit community partners and how to share results in ways so these benefits can be realized. The project is stronger because of our work together.

Thank you to the students, teachers and principals who participated in this project and made it possible. Thank you also to all my friends and family who have supported me throughout my graduate training, particularly my Mother and Father whose presence I have always felt.

Finally, thank you to my wife Ashley. You are my continual inspiration and my unending, unconditional support. It is for you and our life together that I strive to do meaningful work and to make our lives richer as we explore new stories and perspectives together.

Dedication

For Sophia

You are Thakwala

I will always look forward to our journeys through the worlds you create in your stories

Chapter 1: Introduction

A major goal in developmental psychology involves studying the processes by which young people come to think, behave and function effectively within experiential and cultural worlds. An important step in this task is trying to understand the different “possible worlds” into which people are born and how individuals, with particular “endowments,” “inheritances” or “constraints” (both biological and social or cultural) come to function or live successfully within these worlds (Bruner, 1990). As such, when describing various skills, competencies, developmental tasks, milestones or behaviours, researchers must consider the contexts in which these developments find meaning. In working from a socio-cultural or contextual perspective then, the researcher’s task involves understanding the processes by which particular mental skills, competences or ways of functioning change through time, and become more complex (that is, develop) in particular environments (or contexts) in which they hold particular social meanings.

The main argument developed in this dissertation is that *different cultures afford different symbolic resources useful in “structuring” and “organizing” experience for individuals and that one important way in which these “possible worlds” are shared in a community is through storytelling*. Further, examining the *narrative practices* in different cultural communities, and how young people come to participate in these practices, is one way to describe the different forms of “cultural tools” or “resources” children come into contact with and subsequently use to understand and make sense of their personal experiences. The data presented in this dissertation are meant to illustrate one way in which children are acting and developing “through” a culture as they engage with particular forms of symbolic activity.

This argument is developed through a comparative case-study of how two groups of elementary school children are participating in culturally-based forms of narrative practice during First Nations cultural education programs provided in public schools in Victoria B.C. These cultural education programs are organized through the Aboriginal Nation's Education Division (ANED) of the Greater Victoria School District (GVSD) in response to an enhancement agreement signed by school boards in the Victoria area and local Aboriginal communities. In addition to a number of other components, this agreement attempts to "increase awareness and understanding of Aboriginal history, traditions and culture" (ANED Information Brochure, 2009) in the school curriculum. Evidence regarding the ways in which children in public schools come to participate in the forms of cultural practices shared through the cultural education programs, forms of practice which are likely new or different for many of these children, has both theoretical and practical relevance. Theoretically, this evidence is useful in terms of developing ways of examining development within and through cultures, particularly in terms of how children attempt to participate in cultural practices. Practically, this work could illustrate aspects of children's learning through their participation in some of the ANED programs.

For this project, children's experiences with two different cultural educators working with ANED were examined in order to explore the different ways storytelling was used in the cultural education programs. Through a comparative case-study approach, and drawing from theory and methodology of previous research focused on narrative practices and culturally-situated approaches to narrative (Hymes, 2003; Miller, et al., 2012), this project traced the ways that children in two culturally diverse elementary school classrooms engaged with particular forms of narrative skills introduced in the cultural education program. The data for this project came from three main sources: 1) observations and audio recordings of program activities, 2) interviews with cultural educators, from which the different ways that storytelling is incorporated

into the programs and the meanings surrounding this way of using stories were explored, and 3) subsequent narrative activities with the student participants. The narrative activities consisted of children's retellings of stories they heard, brief interviews about the stories and children's own creative narrative compositions relating to their experiences in the program. For reasons that will become clear in the various analyses, the focus in this project was largely on children's story retellings as the main data, or texts, from children and evidence is brought in from the interviews with children and cultural educators to support various points throughout the project. Ethnographic information in the form of observations and fields notes were also collected from each of classroom and from the cultural educators. This information is worked into the analyses at various points for the purpose of presenting each classroom as a distinct "cultural community" (Rogoff, 2003) where particular forms of practice are being introduced and explored.

This project addressed two research questions formulated in relation to the main argument in this dissertation:

- 1) What are the forms and functions of narrative practices that children experience during the First Nations cultural education programs?
- 2) How do children "echo" and "transform" these narrative practices through their participation in the narrative activities organized around the programs?

To explore these questions this dissertation is organized as a comparative case study, with separate analysis chapters for each classroom followed by a comparative analysis chapter. It begins with a short section entitled "Researcher Orientation" that develops an interpretive lens to frame the project and build the project rationale. Following this, Chapter 2 situates the research questions within current and enduring discussions in developmental psychology through a literature review. Chapter 3 then describes the methodological and analytical choices in this

dissertation. This chapter is focused, first, on providing brief ethnographic portraits of the two classrooms for the purpose of conceptualizing these classrooms as “cultural communities,” and second, on describing the data collection procedures and the main analytical framework used in the following chapters. Chapter 4 then begins the analysis by focusing on Class A, and Chapter 5 is a separate case study of Class B. Following these individual case studies, Chapter 6 describes a comparative analysis of the classrooms. This chapter is focused in two main directions. First, the classrooms are compared through the use of some other common analytical frameworks from developmental psychology focused on children’s narratives. Then, the classrooms are compared through the particular analytical framework chosen in this study. This approach is an attempt to both integrate results from the main analyses in this study with research making use of these other frameworks and to compare these other approaches with the evidence about particular forms of narrative skill revealed through this project. Chapter 7 then concludes the dissertation with a summary of the main findings in relation to the research questions and with a discussion of some future directions and the potential relevance of these findings for the research partners as well as for the field of developmental psychology.

*Researcher Orientation*¹

As the primary researcher in this project, I construe my role as one focused on first, documenting children’s experiences in the cultural education programs, and then on interpreting the evidence collected through this process. As an interpreter, it is important that I briefly describe the particular “lens” I approach this data with at the outset in order to help build the validity of my interpretations. To support my interpretations, I draw on data from many sources,

¹ The section on researcher orientation is written in the first person. This is an intentional choice on the part of the main researcher as this section discusses an interpretive lens taken by the researcher as well as personal reflections and beliefs regarding the relevance of this work. First person perspective was deemed more appropriate to express this than the third person perspective taken in the bulk of this project.

and I build validity through “triangulation” and detailed analyses as opposed to experimental control. Also, in working with the cultural educators as research partners, my intent was to draw on their expertise to both develop activities for children relevant to their programs and to build validity for my interpretations in various analyses through resonances, or similarity of interpretations, that were explored in the sharing of initial results.

This study explores aspects of “cultural practices” from Indigenous communities in Canada by working with the cultural educators as *research partners*. In order to conduct this work in ways that are respectful of these traditions and in ways that are informed by ethical research principles for work with Indigenous communities (Tri-council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans, 2010), it is necessary for me to situate myself in relation to these cultural traditions. To my knowledge I do not have any Indigenous ancestry, and as such various “Indigenous methodologies” suggested as potentially useful for work with Indigenous populations (Kovach, 2009) were not deemed appropriate. Rather, through working with the cultural educators I use an interpretive lens based out of my place as a Non-Indigenous person who is interested in exploring the knowledges and practices of Indigenous communities in Canada as potential avenues of development for children. I use this lens to explore how children in culturally or ethnically diverse public school classroom come to “participate” in particular forms of narrative practice and in making claims about the “cultural relevance” of particular forms of practice, I support my interpretations with the voices of both Indigenous scholars and the cultural educators themselves.

I am also committed to exploring ways in which the research partners can experience practical benefits from their participation. Throughout this project the educators have raised the potential usefulness of this work, and it is my intent that results will be shared in ways

appropriate for the research partners so that they see some practical benefit from their participation. As I outline further in the literature review, evidence of how children come to participate in particular forms of valued cultural practices could be particularly relevant and useful for First Nations communities and organizations in Canada. There is an abundance of research exploring the benefits of participation in a culture for children and young people, especially among First Nations populations in Canada (Kirmayer & Valaskakis, 2009) and as such, exploring aspects of cultural “participation” regarding First Nations cultural practices seems an especially relevant concern. In this project, my aim is to document this process in a particular cultural community, one consisting of young students of various cultural backgrounds who are learning about First Nations perspectives and experiences through a First Nations cultural education program. It is my hope that the results of this inquiry will be of use to the research partners in supporting their programs, and others like them, and in providing evidence of some ways that these programs are influencing students’ lives.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The literature review in this project is focused on examining background literature to set up the main argument and the research questions. First, the terms “culture” and “cultural communities” will be conceptualized for the purpose of this project. This will be followed by a review of research supporting the claim that narrative is an important symbolic avenue for personal meaning-making, and in turn, also for widening children’s experience with other minds and perspectives, including shared cultural knowledge and meaning systems in their communities. Then, some research describing children’s narrative development and suggesting that children’s developing narrative skills gradually afford the functions listed above will be

reviewed. The literature review will then briefly describe some research providing evidence of different ways that narratives are used by different cultural communities, focusing especially on particular forms and functions of narrative or storytelling traditions among two distinct Indigenous communities. Finally, this chapter will end with a brief discussion of the particular usefulness of the analytical framework chosen in this project in terms of addressing the research questions, which will be compared to other approaches to analyzing children's narratives.

Culture, Cultural Communities and Cultural Practices

The first step in developing the argument of this dissertation involves defining the terms “culture” and “cultural communities” for the purpose of this project. Researchers have found it incredibly difficult to formulate workable definitions of culture, especially ones that cross disciplines (Shweder, 1991). In addition, the definition of culture adopted for a given project needs to be relevant to the particular communities and individuals participating in the project. In this case, the focal population involves public elementary school children participating in First Nations cultural education programs and the cultural educators. To address this particular population the definition of culture formulated here conceptualizes children as actors within culture, or users of cultural tools (Bruner, 1990; Cole, 1996; Vygotsky, 1978), in order to examine their *participation* in a specific community (Rogoff, 2003), where particular forms of practice are being introduced. For this reason, the description of culture draws heavily from Vygotskian inspired perspectives that conceptualize culture as a “medium” through which people act, as well as perspectives that stress the historically-based nature of cultures and cultural practices and the developmental competencies that participation in culture affords individuals, particularly as this relates to the experience of First Nations communities in Canada.

One area of research that has influenced the definition of culture employed in this project is a body of work by Chandler, Lalonde, and a number of their colleagues focused on relations between participation in a thriving and continuous culture and aspects of well-being, particularly identity development, among First Nations young people (Chandler, Lalonde, Sokol & Hallett, 2003). These authors have argued that a sense of continuity of one's culture, what they call "cultural continuity" is important to an adolescent's developing identity. In particular, they have found relationships between various "markers" of cultural continuity and suicide rates in First Nations communities in BC. These results suggest that when communities make strides to own their cultural past and support the continuation of their culture into the future — through "self-determination" efforts such as making progress on land claims, taking control of police, fire and education services, the building of a cultural center and language revitalization programs — the youth in these communities are less burdened by problems associated with suicide.

There are a number of ways in which Chandler and Lalonde's (2009) work is relevant to the definition of culture adopted here. First, this work highlights both the challenges and successes many First Nations communities in Canada have experienced in their attempts to maintain, revitalize and participate in their cultures through successive and continued experiences of marginalization and colonization (see Kirmayer & Valaskakis, 2009, for further discussions of how these sorts of historical influences have influenced a number of aspects of mental health). For many First Nations communities and individuals cultures are only able to be experienced as "continuous" because of substantial community effort against the forces of marginalization; and thus "participation" in culture among young people seems an especially relevant concern. Programs like the cultural education sessions explored in this project are, in many ways, steps taken by First Nations people in order to right this historical wrong by

highlighting how their communities are revitalizing, maintaining and sharing their cultures, and providing opportunities for both Indigenous and Non-Indigenous people to participate in historically-based and dynamic cultural practices. In this project the focus is placed on how a classroom of largely Non-Indigenous students experience and participate in forms of cultural practices shared by educators through a First Nations cultural education program.

Secondly, Chandler and Lalonde (2009) note that the “markers” of cultural continuity they describe, though a fruitful first step, need to be better delineated and contextualized within the lives of First Nations young people and particular communities. They suggest that researchers should begin to ask questions about what cultural continuity means to *particular* individuals and *particular* communities, and should take steps to try and examine these meanings. This dissertation attempts to move forward as part of this larger project by examining the different ways in which two groups of culturally diverse young student participants engage with “features,” “resources” or “practices” of cultures that are being shared within their classroom communities (also themselves “cultures” with particular practices and shared meanings). As the cultural education sessions take place in public schools composed of primarily non-Aboriginal students, many of the students likely do not have much experience with the particular forms of practice being shared by the educator, and as such, this study is focused on examining how students *begin* to engage, or make use of, these forms of practice as they participate in the cultural education program. This process of coming to participate in particular forms of practice is conceptualized here as a process of development (Rogoff, 2003).

In order to examine how children participate in forms of cultural practices and act through cultural resources, the definition of culture adopted here is based on work from various scholars who are conceptualizing ways of examining cultural *participation*. Many of these

authors describe how a culture “mediates” the ways in which humans interact with the world around them (Cole, 1996; Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978). These scholars present this picture in opposition to views of culture that separate biological (e.g., genetics) and cultural (contextual) factors (e.g., ethnicity) as independent variables having separate effects on a particular developmental outcome. Instead, they stress that human beings are “biologically cultural” such that both biological and cultural inheritances interact in complex ways throughout the process of human psychological development (Cole, 1996; Rogoff, 2003; Tomasello, 1999). In other words, culture and biology do not have *separate* influences or effects that can be partialled out to develop a more clear measure of either one. In this view, both cultural and biological “inheritances” simultaneously influence psychological functioning throughout the life-course. The researcher’s job then, is not to measure the extent of the influence of either of these factors, but is instead to chart the complex and interactive ways in which biological and cultural inheritances are intertwined in meaningful human action, thinking and behavior.

In addition, as mediators of human action in the world, cultural inheritances are thought to accumulate through developmental and historical time as individuals participate in routinely encountered cultural practices. Rogoff (2003), for example, suggests that we can conceive of development in terms of an individual’s changing participation in the cultural practices of the communities in which they are a member. In a similar way, Saxe (2012) describes development as shifts in the form/function relationships for people participating in cultural practices. Shifts in form/function relationships describe changes in the forms of a practice as this practice takes on new functions as well as changes in the functions of a practice afforded by changes in form. For example, among the Oksapmin people in New Guinea, Saxe observed changes in a traditional body counting system, effective in Oksapmin people’s traditional life, as these people engaged

with a money economy in the operation of trade stores. The point Saxe is making is not that this new form of mathematical thinking is a better, or a more advanced form that is generalizable across communities, but that as communities of people engage in new activities, there are changes in both the *forms* and *functions* of cultural practices within a community.

There is one more feature of the context in which the cultural education programs are conducted that is relevant to defining the terms cultural practices and cultural communities. This feature is that the forms of practice being introduced to these classrooms are likely new or different in some ways from the forms that students are used to in this context. That is, through these programs students are learning about a different form of a cultural practice and this has some implications for how development through cultural practices is conceptualized. Specifically, much of the work reviewed in this chapter focuses on how children come to participate in routine practices within their communities, in this project however, a new form of practice is being introduced in a context where routine forms of similar practices are common (storytelling is common in educational settings). What is of interest in this project is how children begin to engage with a particular way of telling stories through their participation in the cultural education programs and thus in a *new* form of narrative practice.

There is research related to the socio-cultural perspectives outlined above that is focused on describing the process of learning a new cultural practice. Mistry and Wu (2010) have recently outlined a conceptual framework for the processes of navigating and negotiating multiple cultural worlds that they suggest is relevant to understanding how immigrant children both maintain “traditional” cultural practices and engage in the new cultural practices of mainstream institutions. They describe historical data relating to two waves of East Indian immigration to the United States and propose that immigrants in the communities likely

experienced the processes of navigation and negotiation differently based on the different historical contexts in which they arrived. Specifically, they report that the first group (arriving post 1965) consisted of highly educated individuals who settled in communities with low ethnic diversity and they describe how these demographic characteristics may have led to highly salient minority experiences for children, but also to the development of community associations and religious centers to maintain cultural practices, values and beliefs. In contrast, the second group (arriving in the 1980's and 1990's) were demographically different in that these individuals were often less educated family members who were sponsored for immigration and who settled in gateway communities or ethnic enclaves where strong subcultures were easily maintained. Children, in these communities, may then have had an early awareness of ethnic identity due to the diversity of these communities, but a later experience of minority status that occurred when they left the geographically defined neighbourhoods to enter mainstream institutions.

According to Mistry and Wu (2010), the different experiences of children in these communities led to different strategies of negotiating and navigating cultural worlds, that is, to different ways of participating in “traditional” and “mainstream” cultural practices. Mistry and Wu's model suggests that when analyzing participation in a cultural practice it is important to take into consideration the historical context in which these practices are introduced to individuals and how this context influences the ways in which individuals are able to and choose to participate in forms of a practice.

The classrooms in this project are conceptualized as particular cultural communities with routine practices related to telling and writing stories. The cultural educator then comes into these classrooms and introduces a particular form of narrative practice that is potentially different in some ways from the forms children are familiar with. There is an abundance of

evidence (some of which will be reviewed below) that children from different cultural communities come to school with experiences of different forms of narrative practice and that these forms of practice can be misinterpreted by teachers (Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1991). In addition, there is evidence that, in participating in school contexts, some children who experience these kinds of mismatches begin to construct narratives more in line with common forms within the classroom (Page, 2008). From a socio-cultural perspective all children engage with new forms of cultural practices as they become members of different cultural communities in different cultural institutions (e.g., schools). The point of this project is thus to examine whether particular forms of narrative practice are being introduced to children by the cultural educators in these classrooms and then subsequently how children begin to make use of these forms for particular purposes or functions.

The definition of a culture that is endorsed in this project draws from the research reviewed above and describes a culture as *a medium of human life and functioning that is observable in the forms of symbols, tools, artifacts, ways of thinking and practices that are shared to some extent by a group of individuals (a community) and are based on a history of the way in which people in a community have interacted with each other and with the environment.* Culture, in this conceptualization, is both transmitted to the next generation as a “community” of individuals engage in everyday activities together and is transformed by individuals through this engagement in activity. When the terms culture, cultural communities and cultural practices are employed in this project the intent is to document the changing ways in which the students in each classroom community act “through” cultural resources, that is, how they engage and participate in the particular forms of narrative practices the educator is introducing through the

cultural education program, and how they echo and transform these practices in meaningful and complex ways.

Narrative as an Avenue for “Meaning Making”

The next step in setting up the argument in this dissertation will be to review some research suggesting that narrative is one important symbolic resource available to children, within a culture, that is useful in making sense of personal experiences. This argument stems from the foundational work of Bruner (1986, 1990) describing the role of narrative in human life and the influential work of Nelson (1989) discussing the importance of a young child’s “crib monologues” in solving problems in her world. This section will also review work by Paley (1990) that attempts to describe how children are making use of stories in her preschool classroom and work by Miller et al. (1993) describing how the first author’s 2-year-old son makes use of a particular story. This section will thus make the case that narrative is a key symbolic avenue or resource through which children make “sense” or “meaning” of their experiences in the world.

In his early work conceptualizing the role of narrative in human life, Bruner (1986) popularized the concept of “narrative thought” by contrasting it with another form of thinking he called “paradigmatic thought.” Bruner suggests that these two forms of thought differ in that paradigmatic thought strives to “convince another of truth,” while narrative thought strives to convince a listener of “lifelikeness” (p. 11). The goal of telling a story is, according to Bruner, to “endow experience with meaning,” (p. 12) and to render the “real” world “newly strange” (p. 24). It is more important in storytelling to convey and structure the events in question in a way that is personally meaningful to listeners as opposed to structuring the discussion in way that leads to a *necessary* truth, as in paradigmatic thought. It is this portrayal of the right amount of

strangeness and familiarity, so that a story becomes *personally meaningful* that according to Bruner, makes stories interesting and well received.

This distinction between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought leads directly to what Bruner (1986, 1990) and other authors (McAdams, 2001, 2006; McKeough & Generaux, 2003) describe as a main function of narrative in human life, the role of narrative in meaning making. According to these authors, one important way humans use narratives is to make personal meaning or sense of the exceptional actions of a character by elaborating on the intentions or reasons behind those actions. Specifically, Bruner (1990) states that stories, “seem to be designed to give the exceptional behaviour meaning in a manner that implicates both an intentional state in the protagonist...and some canonical element in the culture” (p. 49). These authors are thus suggesting that by elaborating on a series of “exceptional” actions with information about the “origins” and “consequences” of the actions, narratives serve as a cultural tool for individuals to make meaning of their own and others’ experiences in the world.

In some other influential work Nelson (1989, 2003, 2007) explores the experiential possibilities that narrative affords in a child’s life. Her work conceptualizes narrative “understanding” as a symbolic resource that becomes available to children at a certain point in their life-course (usually around 2 years of age), based on both biological and cognitive developments and limitations as well as environmental experiences (Nelson, 2007). Nelson’s (1989) early work with narrative focused on the analysis of “crib monologues” from a 2-year old child she calls Emily (a pseudonym). Crib monologues are the small stories that some children have been observed to tell to themselves before they go to sleep. In this influential research project, Emily’s crib monologues were recorded when her parents had left the room and were

subsequently analyzed for their role in Emily's cognitive and linguistic development by a number of researchers.

A major argument which comes out of Nelson's (1989) work is that narrative understanding allows the child to interact with the world in a new and different way, due to the structuring and organizing possibilities afforded by the narrative form. Nelson describes these crib monologues (or small narratives) as serving the purpose of allowing a child to begin to make sense of problems, trouble and experiences in his or her world. Specifically, she states that Emily's self talk "appears to serve the function of representing and making sense of her experiences" and helps to "clarify what may originally have been problematic or troublesome" (p. 20). For Nelson, narrative provides a specific "form" that aids children in organizing and reflecting on experience, and thus acts as a symbolic resource useful in guiding future behaviour.

Many authors have built on the work of Nelson and Bruner to discuss a number of ways in which narrative is made use of in a process of meaning making. For example, Paley (1981, 1990) has written widely on the role of narrative in children's lives. As a teacher/researcher she has engaged in classroom ethnographies of her own classroom in order to understand the ways in which children learn through storytelling and imaginative play. In one of her books, Paley (1990) focuses on describing how one boy expands his story from one focused on fixing the broken blades of a helicopter to include the symbols of other children in the class. Through detailed descriptions of experiences in the classroom, Paley shows how this boy is beginning to engage with other children's stories, through "copying another child's structure" (p. 110) and "borrowing new ideas" (p. 112). In this way, Paley suggests that he is entering the classroom culture and exploring his own and other students' ideas and symbols, ideas and symbols that have personal meaning, through collaborative storytelling with his classmates.

In another study, Miller et al. (1993) track the changing ways in which one boy made use of the story of Peter Rabbit. These authors examine “systematic changes” in the child’s retellings of Peter Rabbit and “advance the interpretation that a chief function of the retellings was to resolve the disturbances posed by the written story, disturbances that were personally meaningful to the 2-year-old narrator” (p. 88). The data for the Miller et al. (1993) study consisted of 5 retellings of the story of Peter Rabbit from a 2-year old boy and they analyze changes across the retellings to display how the character of Peter Rabbit becomes “personalized” by the child. Specifically, they describe how all five retellings focus on the character of Peter Rabbit and they point to an increase in the number of other characters included across the retellings, such that the final retelling includes all the characters in the original story. In addition, the authors suggest that the plots of the 5 retellings successively pose and resolve 4 different troubles, or conflicts, and that it is not until the fifth retelling that the 4 different troubles are all successfully resolved. As with the work by Paley (1990) and Nelson (1989), this study provides evidence of how children are able to make use of the affordances of narrative to address, or make sense of problems or troublesome issues within their world of experience.

Narrative Skills and Perspective Taking

Other researchers have hypothesized that narrative, due to a role in personal meaning-making, may be related to children’s perspective taking skills. This work is often based around the idea that narrative, as an organizing resource, plays a key role in how memories become autobiographical in childhood. For example, Nelson and Fivush (2004) include narrative skills as a component of a dynamic, socio-cultural model of the development of autobiographical memory in early childhood. They propose that telling stories about personal experiences with others allows a child to more fully explain their experiences, to tie these experiences to specific

contexts (for example, this happened in the morning with my father), to reflect on their own perspective on the experience (that they remember the experience in a specific way) and what the experience might mean to them (for example, that made me upset). In this way, Nelson and Fivush suggest that presenting the experience as a coherent story brings a specific form of organization to the experience — one focused especially on personal evaluation and meaning-making — and to how this experience becomes represented within a child’s autobiographical memory.

In a recent paper, Nelson (2009) makes use of this model to discuss how narratives may play a role in extending children’s understanding of perspective. She proposes that “by engaging in the common social practices of narrative interpretation the child gains experience reasoning about mental states” (p. 70). To develop this hypothesis she describes how storytelling by children and stories for children progressively move through three levels of perspective-taking, from first-person to third-person perspective. Nelson focuses on how there is often a lack of a “landscape of consciousness” (see Bruner, 1986) in both young children’s narrative productions and the stories to which young children are exposed. As children get older, she suggests that continuing experience with more complex stories about other people draws them into contact with other minds that are less “knowable” and more “unexpected” and “unfamiliar,” which supports their experience with the third person perspective.

There have been a number of empirical studies into the relationship between narrative skills and aspects of perspective taking that support this hypothesis. For example, Welsh-Ross (1997) found that children’s performance on a theory of mind (ToM) task was positively related to their provision of “memory information” or new information about an event in response to their mothers’ elaborative questions. She interprets these results as suggesting that “children may

be better able to enter into a ‘meeting of the minds’ in conversation as they develop the ability to reason about the representations of others” (p. 626). Some recent research by Mar and Oatley (2008) on relations between exposure to fictional narrative and empathy also lends support to the idea. These authors suggest that through the simulation of social experience, fictional narrative affords individuals opportunities to “transport” themselves into an “imaginary world” (p. 174), and experience the thoughts and emotions of fictional characters (p. 175). In a recent study, Mar et al. (2006) compared social skills of individuals who self-reported a high exposure to narrative fiction with those who reported a larger degree of exposure to non-fiction. They report more positive correlations between exposure to fictional narrative and a performance based measure of social ability when compared with exposure to non-fiction, and that this relationship held when exposure to non-fiction was partialled out.

In similar work, other authors have described relations between frequency of picture book reading and performance on a false-belief tasks (Adrian, Clement & Vallenuva, 2005) as well as relations between mother’s expertise in choosing books and children’s scores on measures of empathy and social adjustment (Aram & Aviran, 2009). Nicolopoulou and Richner (2007) have examined the understanding of “personhood” present in children’s narratives at various ages. In analyzing stories composed by pre-school children (aged 3 to 5) for the highest level of character portrayal they included these authors report that as children got older, the mean proportion of their stories that included more advanced levels of character representation also increased. In another study, Trionfi and Reese (2009) examined the narratives of people with or without imaginary companions. They found that though children with imaginary companions did not differ from those without imaginary companions in their overall language skills or in their story comprehension skills, they did produce richer narratives in both the story retellings and

past event narratives. These authors suggest their findings might be explained through more experiences of telling stories to others about their playmate on the part of those children with imaginary companions.

Developing Complexity in Children's Narrative Skills

To further the argument above some research on the development of narrative skills among children suggests that particular developments gradually afford these functions. Most of the research on children's developing narrative skills has been conducted with middle-class North American children of European ancestry. There is evidence, however, that the ways in which storytelling is undertaken (the form of practice) differs in a number of ways between cultural communities. The following review provides evidence of some particular forms of narrative skills documented in research with middle-class North American children in order to highlight how developing complexity in narrative skills may afford particular functions. Research on different forms of narrative practice in other cultural communities will be reviewed in the following section.

To begin, some early, but important, evidence for the development of narrative skills in children comes from Applebee's (1978) work on the development of child's concept of a story. The children who produced the data for this study were middle-class American children asked to tell stories in school, and though it was conducted almost 30 years ago, this work is still relevant in drawing out some important ways in which increasing complexity can be displayed in children's storytelling. Applebee proposed a series of hierarchical and age-related stages that he documents in narrative productions of a sample of 2 to 5 year olds. These stages focus on developments in two basic processes: 1) centering, and 2) chaining. As the organization of these two basic processes becomes more complex, Applebee suggests children move through six

stages in their narrative productions: 1) heaps, 2) sequences, 3) primitive narratives, 4) unfocused chains, 5) focused chains and 6) narratives.

The narratives of Applebee's first stage, *heaps*, are based mainly on a child's immediate perception or free associations and do not include links between elements to form a true story. In contrast, during the final stage, labeled *narratives*, "each incident not only develops out of the previous one, but at the same time elaborates a new aspect of the theme or situation" (p. 65). These stories thus have a "consistent forward movement," and often lead to a climax at the end and in some cases begin to have a theme or a moral that can be abstracted from the story. Applebee's work thus places emphasis on developing complexity in how events in stories are tied together and in how these events are made relevant to overarching themes. In commenting on the relevance of a story to a particular theme, these children were beginning to share their personal "perspective" on the story and what it means to them.

Other work on children's developing narrative skills has examined children's growing understanding of *narrative structure* or what it is that *good* stories, according to a given cultural community, should contain. Peterson and McCabe (1983) conducted an influential study which used Labov's (1972) high-point analysis to examine the personal stories of working-class American children between the ages of 3 ½ to 9 ½. This form of analysis involves analyzing narratives for six components that Labov suggests compose a well formed story: 1) an abstract (brief summary of the narrative as a whole), 2) orientation (provides context); 3) complicating actions (chronologically ordered events prior to a climax), 4) evaluation (information about what the narrative means to the narrator), 5) a resolution (events after the climax), and 6) a coda (a formalized ending, returning to the present). Peterson and McCabe then examined how close children's narratives came to this pattern and whether the extent of approximation differed by

age. They found that the youngest children were occasionally able to produce high-point or “classic” narratives, but it was not until 6 years of age that this became the dominant pattern employed by children. This work suggests that these very young children had some basic understanding of a western form of a “good story,” however this understanding is greatly broadened throughout the preschool and early elementary school years.

In a more developmental analysis of aspects of narrative structure in children’s storytelling, Peterson (1990) traced developments in 2-year old children’s provision of orienting information in their stories about past experiences over a period of 18 months. She suggests orienting information embeds narratives in a context of *who* the participants were, *where* the event took place and *when* the event took place and thus makes the story more meaningful. She reports that the children in her study were initially able to provide some basic orienting information, but that there was a clear developmental improvement in the complexity of this information. Specifically, both children’s provision of time orientation (*when*) and orientations to place (*where*) displayed increasing frequency with age, whereas children were found to be relatively poor at providing *who* information at all time points.

In another study, Fivush, Haden and Adam (1995) examined preschooler’s narratives of personally experienced events at 40, 46, 58 and 70 months of age. As with the rest of the work reported above the preschoolers in this study were American children from white middle-class families. They report that children at all ages were able to produce reasonably coherent accounts of their personal experiences; however, as with other work, they also found a marked increase in children’s abilities with age. This was particularly true regarding children’s use of complex referentials and in their use of simple temporal markers, both of which suggest their narratives are becoming more *temporally* complex with age. In addition, they report that the use of

evaluations and descriptives, which highlight the child's perspective on the experience, also increased with age. All of these studies provide clear evidence of some of the ways in which narrative skills are developing across early childhood for children in these cultural communities, particularly in terms of the provision of orienting, evaluative and temporal information. These aspects make stories more coherent and understandable to others in the cultural communities of these children and in terms of evaluations, may also begin to mark the child's own perspective on the events reported—an important part of the functions under discussion here.

Narrative Skills within Cultural Communities

The literature reviewed thus far suggests that narratives are an important symbolic means through which children are able to make sense of personal experiences, and that narrative interactions provide a venue through which children begin to explore other perspectives. In addition, research with Euro-American middle-class children has illustrated some of the ways in which their narrative skills are developing that may afford these particular functions. This section of the literature review will now briefly survey research that describes some of the ways that children in other cultural communities learn to tell stories. In this research there is also work that extends the hypothesis of how narrative widens children's understanding of perspective to include experiences with particular forms of cultural knowledge and values. This section is meant to make the case that the development of narrative skills among children occurs through their participation in particular forms of narrative practice, and secondly, that these different forms of narrative practice incorporate different social worlds. As such, different narrative practices may provide different forms of symbolic resources that children then, through participating in these practices, come to be able to use to make sense of their experiences.

In one body of work Miller and a number of colleagues have taken personal narratives (stories of past experiences) as their focal point and have examined the *narrative practices* in varying cultural communities (Miller, Fung & Koven, 2007). They suggest that through participation in narrative practices “children not only acquire cognitive skills, such as the ability to tell stories to themselves and other people, but they also develop selves and identities, affective stances, forms of moral agency and ways of being.” (p. 598). Doors are thus opened for a researcher to examine the both the forms of narrative routinely encountered by individuals and the ways in which these forms of narrative practice function within the lives of participants.

In one example of this research on narrative practices, Miller, Cho and Bracy (2005) compare the personal narrative practices of a community of working-class and middle-class families in the United States. First of all, the authors report that personal storytelling both by children and around children is ubiquitous in both of the observed communities, though the frequency was higher overall in the working class communities. Also, in both communities they report that children become competent narrators, yet they found that the patterns and forms of competency differed drastically. For example, they suggest that the working-class families placed an especially high value on artful personal storytelling, as shown in a number of features including the high frequency, stylistic complexity, egalitarian access and audience response to personal storytelling in these communities. This is compared to a lower frequency of storytelling overall (though storytelling was still a common practice), more emotional explanations (emotional state terms) than dramatic language (verbs) in explanations of negative experiences and more softening of conflicts in joint narrations for middle-class storytellers.

A classic study in sociolinguistics by Heath (1983) provides additional evidence of the different ways that different cultural communities engage in storytelling. The cultural communities in her extensive ethnographic study were two closely situated communities in the

Carolinas; an African American working class community that was given the pseudonym of Trackton and a Caucasian working class community that was given the pseudonym of Roadville. In this study, Heath set out to document the different ways that young people in these communities learn to use language. She argues that these ways of using language, “were dependent on the ways in which each community structured their families, defined the roles that community members could assume, and played out their concepts of childhood that guided child socialization” (p. 11). In documenting these different “ways with words” she attempts to show how young people in these communities learn particular ways of speaking, based on both the resources in their communities (toys, books etc.) and on the ways in which adults in the community use language.

In Trackton, Heath (1983) suggests that the ways in which young children learn to talk is a process whereby children are “immersed in a constant, complex stream of multiparty communication” and in which, “the child comes to define himself as a speaker” (p. 146). She reports very little talk *to* the child from parents in this community along with little specific language instruction and training. In terms of storytelling, Heath states that in Trackton, “the best stories are ‘junk’ and anyone who can ‘talk junk’ is a good storyteller,” and that “talkin’ junk includes laying on highly exaggerated compliments and making wildly exaggerated comparisons” (p. 166). Children in this community are perceived as quite capable of telling stories, or talking “junk,” but in order to do this well and be recognized as a good storyteller, they must be highly creative in their stories about personal experiences, as it is only these highly creative stories that hold the audience’s interest.

In Roadville, Heath (1983) describes stark differences in the ways in which stories are told. She states that parents in this community put much more emphasis on *teaching* language to their children by talking *to* them. This can be seen in the “questions” and “statements” that are

“repeating and incorporating” the child’s “word” (p. 122). In addition, she states that parents in Roadville focus on teaching children the *right* ways to speak. She reports that in Roadville storytelling is largely an adult activity, and as such, the stories told by adults, often about mistakes and transgressions, reinforce group values, norms and membership through the moral messages they contain. For this reason, it is important that stories stick close to the truth so they are believable to the audience. Children, in this community, are not allowed to tell stories at home unless invited by an adult. When they are asked to tell stories, “they are expected to tell non-fictional stories which ‘stick to the truth.’” (p. 158). Storytelling for children then, reinforces the value Roadville parents place on teaching children the “proper” ways to use language.

Narrative Skills and Cultural Knowledge

In addition to providing evidence of different forms of narrative skills, some authors are suggesting that narratives have a role to play in coming to understand the *shared* knowledge and perspectives of people in a given cultural community. Nelson (2007), for example, posits that it is in the sharing of meanings in a “community of minds” where children are granted access to the “sources and resources” of “cultural knowledge” (p. 221). Further, she proposes that through interactive processes such as the sharing of personal narratives, storybook reading and other forms of discussion children absorb the knowledge of their culture and then, importantly, reconstruct that knowledge as their own. Stories not only encourage an understanding of different perspectives, but also serve as a venue through which children explore shared cultural knowledge, both individually and socially, in their attempts to recreate it as their own.

A recent monograph by Miller et al., (2012) provides evidence for a role of narrative in providing children experiences with cultural knowledge and perspectives. These authors describe their extensive ethnographic research comparing common narrative practices among Taiwanese

families in Taipei and European American families in Chicago. They hypothesized that different socialization goals in these two cultural communities would be related to differences in how storytelling is used within the family, and they provide evidence for this hypothesis by analyzing how stories are used in these families on multiple levels including the interpretive frameworks and participant roles they present to children. The authors report that Taiwanese families were more likely to employ a didactic framework (focused on teaching lessons) in their use of personal narratives and that children in these families often took on roles as bystanders and listeners where they focused on understanding how the lessons were related to their behavior. In contrast, the American families were more likely to employ a child affirming framework in their use of stories, focused on describing the unique characteristics of their child, and children in these families were more likely to take on a co-narrator role by contributing to the stories. This research thus suggests that through particular forms of narrative practices, these two communities were transmitting distinct ideas to their children about how to live and act as a member of a particular cultural community.

Another source of evidence for the role of narrative in exploring cultural knowledge and perspectives comes from Lee et al.'s (2004) work on "cultural modelling" through narrative with African American students. The authors describe "cultural modelling" as a process that focuses on building connections between academic tasks and everyday practices, and they examine the success of using African American students' everyday narrative practices as a scaffold for literacy development. To examine this question, Lee et al. developed a set of supports, or a "cultural data set," and presented this to students (aged 10 and 11 years). After being presented with the cultural data sets, students were given writing instruction and then asked to develop their own oral and written narratives. Lee et al. analyzed the students' narratives for the presence

of features of an African American Rhetorical Tradition (AART) and they report that all the narratives from students participating in the cultural modelling program showed evidence of these features. In this way, Lee et al.'s work provides evidence of how children make use of the imaginative possibilities that narrative activities afford to interact with, explore and make use of familiar cultural knowledge and scripts from their own experience.

Other work, broadly related to narrative identity development provides additional evidence of how narrative affords opportunities to interact with cultural perspectives. In one study, Bamberg (2004) presents evidence of how a group of adolescent boys, in narrative conversations, begin to negotiate their position in regards to the overarching "cultural narratives" to which they are repeatedly exposed. The conversation he analyzes is about a girl and her relationships with boys the participants know and he suggests that a number of features of the discourse serve to elevate the boys as a group of adolescent males (an "us") with a shared moral understanding and shared behaviours that are different from both females as well as people of other ages (children and adults). In addition, he suggests that the boys' positions both draw from and reinforce a traditional and derogatory cultural narrative of male behavior.

In other work, Spera and Lightfoot (2010) examined discussions during an art therapy session with a group of young mothers in terms of how these women are interacting with cultural narratives around the meanings of motherhood that are prevalent in American media and society. They suggest that in the collaborative discussions, the young women were dealing with some of their uncertainties about young motherhood by creating "counter stories" that challenged the "salient stories" that are common in more stereotypical cultural narratives about young mothers. In another study, Daiute (2010) examined the narrative compositions from a sample of youth residing in various countries involved in the wars in the former Yugoslavia. She proposes that

these narrative activities served as a “cultural tool” allowing young people to manage relationships between themselves and their society. Youth in this study were presented with opportunities to narrate about conflicts from three diverse perspectives and, according to Daiute, these different narrative activities allowed the young people to vary their “stance” while narrating and thus provided opportunities for examining how the youth are interacting with dominant cultural narratives. Together, these studies provide evidence for how young people use narrative as a particular symbolic resource to negotiate their way through various cultural meanings, knowledge and stories that they come across within their daily lives.

Further evidence of different forms of narrative practices in widely ranging cultural communities and the forms of cultural knowledge to which these practices may provide access comes from the large corpus of work, largely from anthropologists, folklorists and Indigenous scholars, documenting aspects of Indigenous people’s storytelling traditions. This final section briefly reviews two studies from this large body of literature to describe some particular forms of narrative practices that vary quite a bit from those forms common among North American children of European ancestry. This brief review also builds the rationale for examining the ways in which storytelling is incorporated into the First Nations cultural education programs and the meanings that cultural educators associate with their particular way of using stories.

Basso (1984), in some extensive ethnographic work with the Apache community of Cibecue in Arizona provides evidence of the particular ways in which oral stories are told and used by this community. In Basso’s description, this work was done for the purpose of making coherent sense of statements by Apache people about storytelling that seem confusing for western anthropologists. An example of such a statement is included below:

“I think of a mountain called ‘white rocks lie above in compact cluster’ as if it were my maternal grandmother. I recall stories of how it once was at that mountain. The stories told to me were like arrows. Elsewhere, hearing the mountain’s name, I see it. It’s name is like a picture. Stories go to work on you like arrows. Stories make you live right. Stories make you replace yourself” (Mr. Benson Lewis, age 64, 1979, as cited by Basso, 1984, p. 21).

To Basso (a Western anthropologist) this statement is difficult to interpret. In Western (European/North American) cultures, people often do not describe stories as “arrows” or make specific ties from place names to clear visions of that place like “hearing the mountain’s name, I see it.” Basso is thus inquiring into how these statements make sense for an Apache person; that is, into the meanings of stories and place names for individuals in this Apache community.

Throughout the paper, Basso (1984) provides evidence concerning the form or structure of Apache stories and the way in which stories are told, and he interprets this evidence to suggest that, “oral narratives have the power to establish enduring bonds between individuals and features of the natural landscape, and that as a direct consequence of such bonds, persons who have acted improperly will be moved to reflect critically on their misconduct and resolve to improve it. (p. 22-23). One important characteristic of Apache storytelling Basso describes involves place names. According to Basso, place names in Apache often take the form of sentences and depict the physical attributes of the places they represent. One specific example of this (translated into English) is the place name “water flows downward on a series of flat rocks” and another “water flows inward underneath a cottonwood tree.” According to Basso, descriptive names like this are related to statements from Apache people that, “its name is like a

picture” or, “that place looks just like its name.” This then, is a particular feature of Apache language that affords a function that is not the same in other cultural communities.

In addition to the function afforded by place names, Basso (1984) discusses how “historical tales” are used in combination with the highly descriptive Apache place names to lead Apache people to make statements that “stories go to work on you like arrows” and “stories make you live right.” Basso describes how each of the places referred to by these highly descriptive names have historical tales associated with them. He then suggests that stories are likened to arrows in this community because historical tales are told in relation to a social offence by a particular individual, at whom the telling of the story is directed. This individual is thought to be “shot” (p. 43) by the story. In shooting people with a story, Basso states that Apache people believe in the “power of oral narrative...to promote beneficial changes in people’s attitudes towards their responsibilities as members of a moral community” (p. 41). And further, he makes this power more explicit by describing how Apache people are “stalked” by stories. That is, because historical tales are opened and closed with descriptive place names, the places themselves can serve as reminders about the story. These reminders then help an individual not to act in ways that go against Apache moral principles in the future.

One final study displaying evidence of variation in forms of storytelling common in a different Indigenous community comes from Page’s (2008) work examining the narrative styles of Maori and Pakeha (European ancestry) children in New Zealand. In this study, Page first examined the retellings of a Maori creation myth from 32 children of either Maori or Pakeha ancestry who were aged 7 years or 10 years. In addition, a sub-sample of 6 children (3 Maori and 3 Pakeha) from the older age group was followed-up in a longitudinal analysis of changes in their narrative style over the course of the year. Here, Page focuses on comparing “the

sequencing of narrative components” and “the relative use of evaluation devices,” in the narratives from Maori 10-year-old boys and Pakeha 10-year old girls, where “the most marked contrast was found” (p. 161).

Page (2008) describes “a strong trend where the Pakeha girls created versions of the myth that contained many hallmarks of PE [Pakeha English] storytelling” (p. 163). These hallmarks included a high degree of lexical detail, explicit descriptions of both reported speech and character motivation, as well as a high degree of evaluative devices. In contrast, she describes an omission of story episodes and the lack of a clearly signalled result or ending in the narratives from Maori boys that seem to align the Maori boys’ narratives “with features of conversational ME” (p.168). Her longitudinal analysis of changes in the students’ narratives also found clear changes in the style of the Maori boys’ narratives to match the more westernised style being promoted by the teacher. Conversely, the Pakeha girls’ narrative style showed much more stability, and a clearer correspondence to the teacher’s style.

Together, the work reviewed above provides evidence of how children from different cultural backgrounds come into contact with different narrative resources or different forms of narrative skills within their cultural communities. In relation to the overall questions being explored in this project, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the First Nations cultural educators may be making use of particular forms of narrative resources in the storytelling activities of their program that, in turn, may open up particular ways of making meaning of experience to the children.

The following chapter will outline the data collection procedures and analytic framework used in this project. These methodological choices were made for the purpose of examining how

children are exploring particular forms of narrative skills through these cultural education programs and, in this process, interacting with the cultural knowledge and perspectives incorporated in these forms of narrative practice. In pursuit of these goals an analytical framework described as “ethnopoetic analysis” or “verse analysis” of spoken narrative (Hymes, 1981, 1996, 2003) has been employed. This framework will be fully described in the following chapter, but since it is a framework that has rarely been applied to children’s oral narratives by developmental psychologists it is important to first detail the rationale for this choice. In this project, Hymes’ (1981, 2003) ethnopoetic approach was chosen based on its potential to reveal particular forms of narrative skills especially relevant to the oral traditions the educators were presenting to the children. Although many of the analytical frameworks described above were developed for the analysis of spoken narrative (Labov, 1972; Peterson & McCabe, 1983), the forms of narrative skills emphasized in these approaches are not often discussed in relation to traditions of oral storytelling. It is argued here that the verse analysis developed by Hymes (1981) is especially well suited for revealing narrative skills related to the oral traditions of particular cultural communities and how these resources are used by the cultural educators for particular purposes.

For Hymes (1981, 2003), verse analysis involves examining spoken narrative as a form of “measured verse.” In particular, Hymes suggests that spoken narratives contain recurring patterns in terms of the ways in which lines are grouped together. These patterns then reveal a structure in narratives such that lines are grouped together into verses, verses are grouped together into stanzas, and stanzas are grouped together into scenes (much more will be said about this form of analysis and how Hymes supports his arguments in the following chapter). For Hymes though, what is important about these patterns is not just their presence but also how

these patterns are employed within a speech community. In quoting Burke (1925), Hymes (1996) suggests these patterns can build an “arousal and satisfaction of expectation” among an audience through repeated storytelling experiences (p. 167). In this way, Hymes’ approach places particular emphasis on how storytellers accomplish “rhetorical” effects for their audience by conforming with and, at times, varying culturally familiar patterns.

Much more will be said about what form these “cultural patterns” take according to Hymes’ (1981, 2003) approach, as well as how these patterns build expectations, in the following chapters. Here, however, it seems appropriate to discuss a few ways in which this approach places particular emphasis on “oral” narrative resources. First, both Labovian inspired approaches (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) as well as Hymes’ (1981) ethnopoetic approach discuss the relevance of narrative structure for an audience, but they do so in different ways. Peterson and McCabe (1983) discuss how certain categories of narrative clauses make stories coherent and understandable for an audience. In particular, they discuss how “orientation” makes a narrative comprehensible by providing “the setting or context of a narrative” and they describe “evaluation” as statements that tell the audience “what to think about a person, place, thing, event, or the entire experience” (p. 32). In contrast, Hymes’ (1981, 2003) approach focuses more on the building of “expectations” in an audience, where cultural patterns “emphasize” particular points of importance. This is what Hymes (1981) calls a “co-variation” of form and meaning, where the form of a story performance is important to expressing the meaning of a story to an audience (p. 185). Both approaches focus on how the point of story is shared with an audience, Hymes’ approach, however, places more emphasis on how narrators employ patterning based around repeated tellings within a speech community to express this meaning and to build convincing patterns of expectation.

Second, many of the analytical approaches described above focus on how narrative structure is useful in “sense-making” or “meaning-making.” For example, narratives have been described as a symbolic resource useful in building an understanding of routines (Nelson, 1989) and troublesome experiences (Miller et al., 1993; Paley, 1990) and storytelling with others has been suggested to provide children with experiences of particular interpretive frameworks and participant roles (Miller et al., 2012), imaginative possibilities (Lee et al., 2004), as well as others’ perspectives and cultural knowledge (Nelson, 2007). For many of these authors aspects of narrative structure provide a particular “form” that affords the function they discuss.

In verse analyses, Hymes (1981, 2003) is also concerned with how form is related to function, particularly in terms of how the form of a narrative performance relates meaning to an audience. Hymes’ approach, however, is distinct in terms of how his analysis of form relates to recurring patterning that, he suggests, has developed through repeated tellings within a speech community. In focusing on how these patterns build “expectations” for an audience, Hymes places his emphasis on revealing “oral” narrative resources. He focuses on how narrators employ particular narrative resources for rhetorical effects with particular audiences. This approach thus seems especially well suited for exploring the particular forms of narrative practice introduced to children by cultural educators who are sharing aspects of oral traditions, and also for examining how children engage with these particular forms of narrative skills.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Analytical Framework

This project employed a comparative case-study design that involved the collection of multiple forms of data to examine how students in two public school classrooms were *interacting* with cultural forms of narrative practice that they encountered in First Nations cultural education

programs. In outlining case study designs, Gerring (2007) describes a case as “a spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time.” (p. 19). For the purpose of this project, a case was considered a specific classroom participating in a First Nations cultural education program. The project was designed to document and compare children’s experiences of the programs and narratives children create around the programs in two different public school classrooms, a grade 1 class (Class A) and a grade 4 class (Class B). These two classrooms were chosen in order to incorporate differently aged students as participants for the purpose of exploring differences that potentially relate to developments in children’s narrative skills. This sort of cross-sectional approach is clearly not as strong as a longitudinal approach in terms of describing development. However, through the incorporation of ethnographic material relating to the classroom experiences of these two groups of differently aged children, it is argued that examining these children’s *participation* in particular forms of narrative practice provides evidence that can be interpreted as relevant to development.

Methodological and analytical choices drew from two main frameworks. The first framework conceptualizes ways of analyzing narrative practices in cultural communities (Heath, 1983; Miller, Koven & Fung, 2007) and it was useful in formulating the main research questions outlined in the introduction, specifically in terms of a focus on the “forms” and “functions” of narrative practices. The second framework focuses on culturally situated approaches to narrative, particularly from the perspective of “ethnopoetics” (Gee, 1989; Hymes, 1981, 1996, & 2003). This framework organizes the two case studies of each classroom and it was deemed useful in terms of potential to reveal organizational structure in both traditional oral narratives from Indigenous communities in North America and in narratives from children (Hymes, 1996).

In describing ways of analyzing children's experiences Greene and Hill (2005) suggest employing a "multiplicity" of methods, or gathering data from a number of sources that allow opportunities for "triangulation." This study made use of recorded interviews, creative methods (recorded narrative compositions, recorded story-retellings) and observations (recordings of cultural education sessions, classroom observations) to collect data relating to the main research questions. Validity of interpretations is built through convergence of findings across these various sources of data throughout the project.

Procedure

Participants:

Participants in this study were both cultural educators and elementary school students. First, two First Nations cultural educators were involved as research partners. These educators work with the Greater Victoria School District (District 61) and the Aboriginal Nations Education Division (ANED) to incorporate aspects of Canadian Aboriginal cultures into the public school curriculum. The first educator traces her ancestry to the Kwak'wakawakw people of Tsax'is (a traditional territory encompassing Fort Rupert on Vancouver Island). She conceives of her role with cultural education program as similar to her role with the Native Friendship Center in Victoria where she focuses on sharing First Nations cultures with diverse communities living in Victoria. The second educator is employed by ANED to conduct his cultural education program in a number of elementary schools in the Victoria area. He also works in high school, but with the high schools his program is focused more on First Nations art. He reported some Aboriginal ancestry in his family and traced this to Anishinaabe communities in Northern Michigan. In the interview he discussed how he came to his knowledge of local First Nations cultures through working with local First Nations Elders and through living in the Coast Salish

community of Tsawout that encompasses parts of Saanich on Vancouver Island. Throughout his program he discusses how the knowledge and stories he is sharing are not his own, but were given to him by the Elders for the purpose of sharing with others.

The second group of participants comprised elementary students participating in a cultural education program with one of the two educators. Student participants consisted of 16 students from a grade 1 classroom (Class A) who participated in a cultural education program with the first cultural educator as well as 15 students from a grade 4 classroom (Class B) who worked with the second cultural educator. The grade one students were largely 6 or 7 years of age and the grade 4 students were largely 9 or 10 years of age as is common in grade 1 and grade 4 classrooms in British Columbia, but specific ages were not reported by the children. The children were also not asked to report any information on ethnicity, but the classrooms and schools seemed to reflect the diversity of the Victoria area. In Class A, the teacher did mention that two of her students (both of whom were participants) received special services at the school because of their Aboriginal ancestry. In Class B, the teacher mentioned she also had some Aboriginal students in the class, but did not identify them to the researcher. In both Class A and Class B no students self-identified as Aboriginal, though a few students expressed some familiarity with Aboriginal cultures in their interviews and this is noted when discussing particular examples. The classrooms were from separate schools in the Victoria area and recruitment was done collaboratively with the cultural educators based on convenience within their schedules and interest on the part of classroom teachers and school principals.

Steps in Building the Research Partnership

The initial step in developing the research partnerships for this project involved contacting the director of ANED and discussing ideas for a research project focused on the use of

storytelling in the Curriculum and Cultural Integration programs offered through this organization. The director suggested that the researcher should contact three of her staff members working in Victoria schools. Two of these three staff members are the cultural educators who participated in the study. The researcher subsequently met with both educators, explained his interest in doing research involving their programs as well as the research questions, and shadowed the educators' programs to develop ideas for data collection. Through this process both educators provided input on the design of the study in terms of how to organize activities with students and what form these activities would take. The activities were then organized collaboratively between the researcher and the educators in order to fit into the cultural education programs. The intent of this process was to engage with community partners early in the project in order to enable their input into project design, an important ethical principle in research with community partners, and in particular with Indigenous communities (Tri-council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans, 2010).

Ethnographic Portraits of the Classroom Communities

Before going into details about the analytical framework employed in this project, a brief ethnographic portrait of each classroom will be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of the particular education program each class received and then a discussion of data collection procedures. Further ethnographic information will be woven into the analysis when relevant. The purpose of these portraits are to present each classroom as a historically situated cultural community where particular beliefs and practices, shared to some extent by the school, the teachers and other students in the classroom, shape children's educational experiences (Rogoff, 2003). To develop these portraits, information was drawn from a number of sources including: 1) school wide beliefs and values as expressed on the school website, 2) teacher reports regarding

the incorporation of Aboriginal culture into children's educational experiences, and 3) visibility of aspects of local Aboriginal cultures in the school.

Class A

Participants in Class A were grade 1 students who participated in a three-part First Nations cultural education session with the first cultural educator. This class was housed in a large public K-5 elementary school in Victoria. The school houses approximately 500 students and offers both French Immersion and English language education. The class participating in this study was a French Immersion classroom. School values focus on the promotion of individuality and creativity in students mixed with an emphasis on encouraging respect, fairness and acceptance among students (School website²). The school's website also suggests interest in both local and global issues through participation in various fundraising initiatives. Cultural activities involving different local communities are also advertised on the school website, which suggests a strong interest in cultural diversity. In terms of the presence and visibility of local Aboriginal cultures in the school, there are specific programs for Aboriginal students accessible on the website and newsletters acknowledge local Aboriginal communities. In addition, local Aboriginal artwork is present within the school and main office. The cultural education program students in this class received was well known by staff and teachers, and the cultural educator mentioned that she works with several classrooms of different grade levels at this school on a regular basis.

Information about how students in this particular classroom have engaged with aspects of local Aboriginal cultural practices before participating in the cultural education program was gleaned from discussions with the classroom teacher. These discussions were not recorded and

² In this citation the school itself is not named so as to maintain anonymity, this practice is continued for Class B

the information reported below comes from field notes the researcher prepared directly after discussions with the classroom teacher. During these discussions the teacher spoke about how she had been working with the cultural educator and this particular program for many years. When asked about why she liked this program the teacher mentioned that the educator had a particular “way” with the students that she felt was especially engaging and interesting. She also discussed how having a First Nations educator run the program brought unique firsthand knowledge and experiences to children as they listened and looked at artifacts and engaged in cultural activities. In discussing other ways in which children in her classroom have been exposed to First Nations culture, the teacher mentioned how students had previously been visited earlier in the year by another First Nations cultural educator for drumming and storytelling, and how she had begun making use of “Raven Tales” (Kientz, Curwen, James & Thornton, 2004), an animated television program that is based around retellings of traditional First Nations stories, in her classroom.

The Cultural Education Program

Students in Class A participated in a three-part cultural education program with the First cultural educator. The information about this program presented below comes from both a recorded one hour semi-structured interview with the cultural educator (*Appendix A*) and from field notes on the cultural education program and discussions with the educator prepared directly after the program. In the first session of this cultural education program the educator introduced the students to the First Nations communities that live on Vancouver Island. She began by introducing herself in Kwak’wala, the language of the Kwak’wakawakw people to whom she traces her ancestry. The educator discussed this as an attempt to catch student’s interest, and she also noted that it is a respectful way of opening the session according to Kwak’wakawakw

custom. She then moved into a discussion of aspects of First Nations culture and ways of life on Vancouver Island, tailoring it to topics the students were discussing in class. In this case the discussion was tailored to focus on people's relationship with animals. Following this discussion, the educator engaged in the main storytelling component of the program. In this particular session the educator told four traditional stories that were mixed in with a number of stories of personal experience. After telling the stories the educator ended the session with a traditional closing in Kwak'wala.

The second session took place two days later for this class and consisted of a guided visit to the First Peoples exhibit at the Royal B.C. Museum with the cultural educator. This portion of the program was developed by the educator based on a program she was originally asked to host, but found to be problematic in terms of how it presented First Nations cultures. She then restructured the program to focus more on her personal experiences with artifacts and pieces that were similar to those housed in the museum. In the educator's words, this switch in focus was from descriptions like "this is a Big House" to "what happened in these places." She stated that this change helps to "make the mask come to life" and it is an attempt on her part to relay information about First Nations culture in a way that "makes it engaging, makes it interesting, and makes it relevant." Throughout the museum tour the educator introduced artifacts in terms of how they were used by First Nations people, and she provided "teachings" about the objects through personal stories and discussion of cultural protocol. In addition to telling personal stories during the museum tour the educator also told shortened versions of legends associated with characters represented on the masks and the "spirit poles" students were looking at.

The third session took place the following week. For this session the educator returned to conduct a cultural activity with the class. In this case, the activity involved making "potlatch

pouches,” which the educator described as small bags that were given to participants at potlatches in Kwak’wakawkw tradition for the purpose of holding special item of value. In introducing this activity, the educator told personal stories involving sewing with grandparents and attending potlatches. These stories often emphasized difficulties she had in participating and, in her words, were meant to let students know that “it’s OK to make mistakes.” She then led the class in showing students how to make the potlatch pouches. Following this activity, she gathered students together in a circle to begin a storytelling activity she had organized with the researcher previously in order to prompt students’ creative storytelling.

Data Collection Procedures

From this class 16 students participated in the study. Of these students, 13 provided story-retellings, 12 students provided the first version of a creative story, 8 provided a second version of a creative story, and 12 provided a third version of a creative story. In order to participate, each student had to have previously brought a consent form to class that was signed by their parents (see *Appendix B*). Additionally, before speaking with individual students, the researcher asked whether or not the student wanted to participate even though their parents had signed the form. The different number of participants for each activity with the class stems from the verbal assent procedures (*Appendix B*). At each point of data collection students were asked whether they would like to share their stories with the researcher, those students who did not contribute a particular version chose not to participate during the data collection at that point

The descriptions of procedures below focus largely on story-retellings and interviews with students as this is the data focused on in the analysis. Information about other narrative activities is provided briefly below, but since this information was not part of the analysis elicitation scripts for these other activities are not reproduced in *Appendix A*. Story-retellings

were elicited from students either in small groups or individually in a quiet place that was either within or next to their classroom and were audio recorded by the researcher with a digital recorder. In order to obtain the retelling, the researcher first had a short discussion with the students about the stories that was focused on determining the student's favorite story they had heard. After this brief discussion, each student was asked whether they would like to retell the story to the researcher. The time taken to completing the story retellings and brief interview ranged from 5 to 10 minutes for students in this class. The script used to elicit story retellings is presented in *Appendix A*. Specific instructions varied somewhat based on the direction of the conversation but always involved the researcher asking if the students "remembered the story" and if they could "tell" the story back in their "own words." If students seemed stuck at certain points in their retelling, the researcher prompted them with statements meant to promote their elaboration without discussing specific details, for example, "what happened next?" or "what happened in the middle of the story?" This technique in prompting was similar to that recommended by McCabe and Bliss (2003) for obtaining personal narratives from children.

After their retellings, students engaged in a short semi-structured interview with the researcher that was also recorded. This interview was based around a series of questions developed in order to understand how participants comprehended the stories from the educator. The interview schedule is presented in *Appendix A*. These questions were developed based out of literature on children's skills in story comprehension (Applebee, 1987) as well as children's narrative production (Sutton-Smith, 1981; McCabe and Bliss, 2003). The focus was on examining what children understood about the characters of the story, the plot of the story, as well as the overarching themes and the lessons for both story characters and the audience. In addition, three questions were asked to gauge the participant's familiarity with First Nations

storytelling traditions. Participants' interview responses were probed for more information when necessary with open-ended comments such as "can you tell me more about that?" All interviews and story retellings (for both Class A and Class B) were transcribed by the main researcher or one of two research assistants. Transcripts from research assistants were checked by the main researcher for completeness.

Observations and activities with this class related to the project were conducted over a two month period near the end of the school year. The researcher visited this class seven times in total over the two month period. The first visit was an introductory visit where the researcher visited the classroom without the educator in order to introduce himself to the children. The next three visits took place as part of the cultural education program and the final three visits were for the purpose of conducting additional interviews and narrative activities with students. The first of these visits occurred on a separate day during the two weeks of the cultural education session, the next visit occurred the week following the cultural education session and the final visit occurred 4 weeks later and was focused around activities children had completed in class related to the cultural education program. All these additional visits involved conducting further interviews and narrative activities with participants.

At each classroom visit the researcher listened to the program, took field notes and then conducted narrative activities with students after the educator left. Field notes focused on a number of aspects of the classroom experience including descriptions of the classroom environment, especially in terms of evidence of engagement with local Aboriginal cultures; discussions with teachers about ways they incorporate Aboriginal content into the curriculum; and on how students were engaging with the program, especially in terms of the questions they were asking. These field notes were prepared directly after the cultural education programs.

In addition to the retellings described above the narrative activities for Class A consisted of creative storytelling with the students. Creative stories were elicited in two main ways with Class A and were audio recorded and transcribed. First, students' creative storytelling was prompted with an activity the educator had made use of before that was deemed potentially useful for this project through discussions between the educator and the researcher. For this activity the educator ended the session by gathering the students together in a circle and prompting creative storytelling about characters she presented as First Nations puppets. After the storytelling in a circle students were asked if they would like to tell their story to the researcher. The other two versions of creative stories gathered with this class were based on drawings the students had completed in class after the cultural education program. These stories were elicited on subsequent visits from the researcher where students were asked if they would like to tell the researcher the story they had drawn.

Class B

Participants in Class B were grade 4 students who participated in a three-part cultural education program with the second cultural educator. This class was housed in a small public K-5 elementary school that is described as a "school of choice" for the Victoria community (school website). As a school of choice this school does not have a catchment area like many other schools in Victoria, instead parents register their children to enable them to attend. The school is described as a "traditional" school due to a greater emphasis on four main areas including: 1) the traditional values of citizenship, responsibility and respect, 2) student uniforms, 3) active parent involvement and 4) a high degree of educational structure (school website). Guiding principles at the school focus on providing a structured environment for children, reinforcing high standards of achievement, clearly communicating behavioral expectations and expecting parental

involvement to build educational experiences for children, all of which are believed to help children reach their full potential (school website).

There is less focus on global issues expressed on the school website when compared with the first school, but newsletters discuss numerous fundraising initiatives, often for the benefit of local community organizations that seem to fit with the emphasis on promoting “citizenship.” In addition, the website mentions numerous field trips and speakers that children experience and that may expose children to issues of cultural diversity, especially regarding local Aboriginal cultures. The school has an Aboriginal Assistant on staff, and when the researcher was conducting the study the whole school was preparing for a traditional feast organized by the Aboriginal Assistant and local communities. The cultural educator was well known to many of the staff at this school and most of the classrooms in the school were able to experience his three-part cultural education program.

The Cultural Education Program

The second cultural educator was a staff member of ANED who provides art lessons and storytelling for public school classrooms. He reports some Anishinaabe ancestry within his family, but through the interview he described how he learned about local First Nations cultures through his time spent living in the community of Tsawout and through working with Elders in this community and participating in archeological excavations. The semi-structured interview with this educator followed the same schedule included in *Appendix A* and was also approximately one hour long. The second educator’s program consisted of visiting the classroom for an oral presentation about the life-ways and cultures of the three First Nations communities on Vancouver Island (the Coast Salish, Nuuchaltnan & Kwakwaka’wakw peoples) that was followed by an art activity. Through the interview the educator stated that he originally

developed his program as one focused on Aboriginal art, but at one point when he was conducting this program he began with an extensive introduction about local Aboriginal communities that involved the telling of traditional stories he had learned from local First Nations Elders. He reported that he found this approach to be particularly effective in engaging and focusing the class and he has since modified his program to include two components: 1) Oral presentations about local First Nations cultures through traditional storytelling and 2) Participation in an art activity involving First Nations designs.

Each of the three sessions of the second educator's program was structured in a similar way, with an oral presentation followed by an art activity. The oral presentations consisted of a discussion where the educator provided cultural information to students about First Nations communities on Vancouver Island that included the discussion of historical experiences, historical figures and cultural practices. After this, a traditional story was told to the class that was one of many stories the educator had been taught from the First Nations Elders he had lived and worked with. These traditional stories were substantially longer than those from the first cultural educator and, as such, each session contained only one traditional story in addition to the other components. In an interview, the educator reported learning these stories in a number of ways, each of which seemed consistent with the oral tradition of the community. On some occasions stories were learned as they were told around a fire on camping trips or at potlatches. On other occasions the stories were taught to the educator, that is, an Elder first told him the story and he was then asked to tell it back to the Elder a number of times so that he was able to share this story with others in the "right" or "proper" way. He reported that he has been given permission to share these stories by the Elders through his program and before telling a story to a class he reminded the class that these are not his stories, but stories given to him by the Elders.

Data Collection Procedures

Observations and data collection with this classroom took place over four weeks at the end of the school year. The researcher had previously been visiting the school to work with other classrooms for a month before he began work with this particular class, and as such both the students and the teacher had seen the researcher at the school and the teacher had met with him a number of times prior to the classroom visits in order to decide on how to integrate the project into her students' curriculum. Through organization with the classroom teacher the researcher was able to visit with this classroom on four separate occasions, three times with the cultural educator and once more to collect additional data with students. All 15 participating students in this class provided story retellings. These retellings were elicited in a similar way to Class A, with the exception that students in this class retold the stories in groups of two with the researcher in order to allow as many students as possible the opportunity to participate in the allotted time. As with Class A, the story retelling activity was conducted in either a quiet place in the classroom or directly outside the classroom. Interviews were also conducted in the same way as they were with Class A and following the guide in *Appendix A*. These interviews and retellings were transcribed by either the main researcher or one of two research assistants and the length of the story retellings and interviews with students in this class were similar but slightly longer.

Students in this class had recently completed a lesson on "legends" as a particular story genre and the classroom teacher reminded her students of this experience when introducing the cultural educator. The recent focus on this subject matter was readily apparent in the classroom with charts focused on the characteristics of legends and in the teacher's discussion of different genres of stories, both before and after the cultural education sessions. In addition, to prepare

students for the creative storytelling activity with the researcher, the teacher developed an introduction to this activity with the researcher that focused on reviewing some of the characteristics of legends that they had discussed and whether the stories from the educator were similar or different.

This creative storytelling activity was conducted after the second cultural education session. The classroom teacher introduced the activity by discussing what was similar and different about the stories the cultural educator had told them and the legends they had previously discussed in class. In this discussion, the focus was largely on how both types of stories are not written down and have been told for many years. She then asked the students to try and create their own story that was in some ways like the stories they had heard from the educator. Specific instructions for this activity were developed with the researcher and focused on the characteristics drawn out in the discussion. Students were given time to work on their stories in class and on subsequent visits the researcher asked students if they would like to tell him their story and have it recorded. Through student interviews it was also apparent that the class had discussed a local First Nations story (written as a book that was read to the class by the teacher) as an example of a legend shortly before the educator's visit. This class had thus had substantial experience with thinking about various forms or genres of stories and common characteristics that make these genres distinct from one another.

Analytical Framework

The analytic framework chosen for the main analyses in this project comes from the study of "ethnopoetics." This approach focuses on conducting "verse" analyses of spoken narrative (Hymes, 1981, 1996, 2003). The ethnopoetic approach is part of the discipline of linguistic anthropology and it is largely associated authors such as Hymes (1981; 1996, 2003),

Tedlock (1977) and Gee (1989). The purpose of venturing into this field of study for this project stems from the potential of this approach to shed light on aspects of children's narrative skills not often discussed in developmental psychology, and its ability to characterize cultural features of children's narration. In outlining the ethnopoetic approach, Bloommaert (2006) suggests that, "ethnopoetic analyses...attempt to unearth culturally embedded ways of speaking" (p. 259). This form of analysis thus holds promise for examining both the "cultural features" of stories children hear and how children interact with these features through their own storytelling.

Hymes (1981; 1996; 2003) describes how the main thrust of ethnopoetic analysis involves presenting spoken narratives as "measured verse"— a term he uses to describe culturally organized patterns of narrative structure expressed in "groups of lines" (Hymes, 1996, p. 166). The term "measured" is an explicit attempt to differentiate his approach to narrative from formal definitions of poetry emphasizing meter, while also recognizing what he considers to be "poetic" structure in spoken narrative. For Hymes (2003), metrical approaches focus on examining patterns within lines in poetry, whereas the "measured" approach focuses instead on patterns emerging among groups of lines (Hymes, 2003, p. 96). These patterns among groups of lines, according to Hymes, mean that narratives should also be considered poetic. He suggests that in narratives, patterned groupings of lines "bespeak a thoroughgoing rhetorical art that organizes the story and shapes its meaning" (Hymes, 1996, p.166).

Hymes (1996) outlines five principles of an ethnopoetic approach. First, he suggests that "performed oral narratives are organized in terms of lines, and groups of lines (not in terms of sentences or paragraphs)" (p. 166). Based on this principle, the first step in verse analysis involves organizing narratives on paper in a way that marks different groupings of lines. This way of presenting narratives contrasts with the typical presentation as paragraphs, and according

Hymes, it enables one to see patterns among groups of lines that he believes both organize the narrative and influence its intended meaning.

Second, Hymes (1996) proposes that relations between lines and groups of lines are organized “through the general principle of poetic organization called equivalence” (p. 166). He borrows this term from Jakobson (1960) and for Hymes (1996) equivalence serves to mark relations between groups of lines; such that equivalent features mark recurring units that organize a narrative. He suggests that equivalence may be marked by any feature of language in the narrative including features such as “stress, tonal accent, syllable, initial consonant (alliteration)” as well as “rhyme, tone group or intonation contour, initial particles, recurrent syntactic pattern, consistency of contrast of grammatical features such as tense or aspect” (p. 166). In this way, verse analysis focuses on displaying these patterns, marked through equivalence, in order to better understand the artistry and organization within a spoken narrative performance.

Third, Hymes (1996) suggests that groups of lines “commonly constitute sets and do so in a few pattern numbers” (p.166). He proposes two main groupings of pattern numbers that he finds in different cultural traditions. In some “speech communities” he commonly finds sets of two and four, whereas in others, he commonly finds sets of three and five. Further, he suggests that in particular communities one set may be the “unmarked pattern” and the other may “mark emphasis and intensification” (p.167). In more recent work, Hymes (2003) extends this principle by presenting numerous cases where narrators skillfully make use of patterns around particular numbers and also vary them for particular effects. Hymes (1996) suggests that these recurring patterns around particular numbers contribute, rhetorically, to what Burke (1925) describes as an “arousal and satisfaction of expectation” (p. 167) among listeners. In other words, Hymes (1996)

proposes that through experience with these patterns again and again, an audience in a given community comes to expect a certain form of a story, organized around pattern numbers, and when a story is told that conforms to these expectations or varies them in ways that are both interesting and recognizable, then that audience is likely to appreciate the performance and find the story to be well told.

The fourth principle Hymes (1996) discusses is that oral narratives are not a “fixed length” but rather, performances differ from one another in response to context and intention. He suggests that the patterning in a particular text is an “emergent configuration” (p. 167) that can change depending on who the story is told to and the reason it is being told. Finally, he notes that “variations and transformations in narrative appear to involve a small number of dimensions,” which he in turn relates to “the first six components of an ethnographic study of speaking” (p. 167). Without going too far into Hymes’ detailed work on the “ethnography of speaking,” verse analysis will be used in this dissertation largely in relation to the first three principles Hymes (1996) discusses. That is, the verse analyses in the present study focus on examining patterns emerging in groupings of lines in narratives told by both First Nations cultural educators and by children through their participation in the cultural education program. These patterns, in terms of recurrent ways in which lines are grouped together into units, are used to develop a set of “cultural features” examined in both stories told by the educators and children’s narrations.

In summary then, Hymes’ ethnopoetic approach is focused on discovering structural patterns of organization in narratives, patterns that mark groups of lines within a narrative (organized as verses, stanzas, scenes, and acts), and patterns which he finds are both organized around culturally important pattern numbers (3 and 5, or 2 and 4) and, at times, varied for particular effects (1981; 1996; 2003). For Hymes, discovering these patterns of organization

allows for a greater appreciation of the verbal artistry in a given narrative performance and provides insight into the culturally situated nature of narrative performances within a given speech community. For the purposes of this study then, it seems reasonable to predict that the patterns of organization Hymes discusses may be present in the storytelling performances of cultural educators and in the stories children produce through activities in related to the program. Tracing the ways in which children echo, transform and modify ethnopoetic patterns of organization in their narratives thus provides insight into how these children are engaging with particular, culturally important, forms of narrative practice through their participation in the cultural education programs. In addition, this analysis could reveal particular dimensions of narrative skills among children that often go unrecognized by less culturally situated approaches to child narrative.

Some Examples of Verse Analysis

In order to provide more clarity to Hymes' ethnopoetic approach two examples of ethnopoetic (verse) analysis that he provides in his work are discussed below; one from a child narrator and one from a Native American storyteller. Presenting these examples reveals the usefulness of this approach in describing culturally important organizational structures in narrative and in analyzing narratives from children. The first example comes from a chapter relating the ethnopoetic approach to other prominent approaches in sociolinguistics, specifically that of Labov (1972). The narrative presented below was told by an African American child and it is an account of a popular television program he had watched. Hymes (1996) suggests the ethnopoetic approach "shows the story to have a considerable degree of structure" (p. 169) and when he compares his analysis to Labov's (1972) analysis, which reveals little "evaluation,"

Hymes (1996) argues that a verse analysis “helps one recognize that evaluation is actually present” (p. 168). The story as transcribed in Hymes (1996, p. 69-70) is presented below:

The kid –Napoleon got shot	1
and he had to go on a mission.	2
And so this kid, he went with Solo	3
So they went.	4
And this guy – they went through this window,	5
and they caught him.	6
And then he beat up them other people	7
And then they went	8
and then he said	9
that this old lady was his mother	10
and then he – and at the end he say	11
that he was the guy’s friend.	12

In Labov’s (1972) analysis, this short narrative has very little “evaluation” and very little “orientation” (see discussions of evaluation and orientation in Peterson and McCabe’s (1983) work reviewed previously). In contrast, Hymes (1996), through analysing recurring “parallelism” within the story, argues that it does in fact contain evaluation. He suggests that in this narrative “parallelism” in groups of lines marks the story to have two main parts (stanzas). The first stanza is marked by parallelism in the first three verses, beginning with “this kid,” “this kid,” and “this guy.” Each verse is analyzed as two lines long, and the parallelism marks these three verses as a distinct unit, the first stanza. Hymes suggests this follows a common pattern of recurring groups of three and five elements in narratives that he finds in a number of English speaking communities. The second stanza is differentiated from the first with three verses beginning with “and then he,” again each two lines long. Hymes then presents his verse analysis as a “story profile” and suggests that this text is “a model of symmetry” and as such it clearly displays a “formal competence” in terms of narrative organization (p. 170). His analysis as a “profile” is presented below:

Stanza	Verse	Line
--------	-------	------

A	a	1, 2
	b	3, 4
	c	5, 6
B	a	7, 8
	b	9, 10
	c	11, 12

In addition to this evidence of organization, Hymes (1996) makes use of the verse analysis to point to evidence of evaluation in the narrative. He suggests that evaluation is provided in the concluding section of the story, particularly verses (b) and (c), of stanza B. These verses focus on the surprise identity of the character, specifically “that this old lady was his mother,” and “that he was the guy’s friend.” In Hymes’ analysis, this surprise identity is the point the child is trying to get across in the story, it is the answer to “So what?” or the reason the story is interesting. It is not usually the case, or expected, that a person who is beating up “them others” would end up being a “friend” in a story, and in this way, the story is interesting, surprising, and according to Hymes, evaluated.

Further, Hymes (1996) suggests that the narrator employs common ethnopoetic patterns of organization within his speech community that “emphasize” the evaluated lines. First, he suggests that the three part patterning in the stanzas sets up an expectation that the third verse of a given stanza will contain important information about an “outcome.”³ In the first stanza this outcome is that an individual is “caught,” and in the second the outcome is the identity of a character. Parallelism marking this stanza and verse structure set up this expectation, and the

³ Hymes (1981, 1996, 2003) reports that three part patterns of “onset, ongoing, outcome” are prevalent among speech communities where 3 and 5 are important pattern numbers. He describes it in Chinookan narrative as a patterns of “Gayúya, gayuyá:, gayuyám,” or ‘he went, he kept on going, he got there’” (2003, p. 106). This pattern can also be expressed over 5 verses such that the middle verse is both the outcome of the first three and the onset of the second three in what Hymes (2003) calls an “interlocking” pattern (p. 38). This three part pattern will become important in the analyses below and will be described in more detail as appropriate.

expectation emphasizes the final verse, in this case an evaluation. Through this analysis then, Hymes suggests that patterns of organization reveal evaluation in this story. These patterns set up expectations leading listeners to believe that the surprise identity is important.

The first example was included for two reasons: First, to bring more clarity to the framework of verse analysis, and second, to display the usefulness of this framework in analyzing narratives from children. The next example comes from some of Hymes' ethnopoetic work with Native American storytellers and it is included to make the case that verse analysis may be useful in revealing culturally important patterns of narrative organization related to particular rhetorical effects. This example comes from some early work by Hymes (1981) in which he presents a number of versions of the same text in order to make the case that Native American oral narratives are best analyzed as "verse." In this chapter he presents three different analyses of the same text in order to show the reader how he came to appreciate these forms of patterning in the story. Throughout this book, Hymes uses a similar technique of analysis and re-analysis and he states that verse analyses are rarely final as often new components may be recognized in further work with a text. He argues that validity is built by recognizing patterns on various levels and how these patterns work together in the "organization of the whole" (p. 320). The final analysis of this text as transcribed in Hymes (1981, p.188-189) is presented below:

Stanza	Verse	Line	Text
A	a	1	Along time ago
		2	maybe 50 years ago
		3	it attacked them
b		4	They were staying on the Clackamas River
		5	one fellow climbed a pine tree
		6	then she saw them
c		7	He pulled his arrows out,
		8	he shot her maybe three or four times:
		9	nothing to her

		10	she bled through her mouth
B	d	11	This thing looked like a coyote on the head
		12	short ears
		13	teeth like a wild hog's tusks,
		14	long white front claws;
		15	long hind legs
		16	short front legs
C	e	17	He tried to do everything to her
		18	then he got afraid
		19	only two arrows left
	f	20	Then he took one
		21	he lit I don't know what,
		22	he put it on this arrow,
		23	then he shot the (arrow)
		24	then it started to burn
	g	25	Again he did the same with one (arrow)
		26	then this (thing) went down into the canyon,
		27	there it burned
D	h	28	This thing is what they call At'unaqua
		29	then it really started to burn
		30	then a lot of white men ran up
		31	they put it out;
		32	the state of Oregon put out a lot of money
E	i	33	There's nothing of that sort to be seen on our side of the mountains.
		34	Only on the other side could things of that sort be seen
		35	A long time ago
		36	maybe as much as fifty or sixty years ago,
		37	this thing was seen

In his final analysis, Hymes (1981) suggests this text has five main parts, represented as stanzas (A, B, C, D, E). Within these stanzas there are organized groups of lines he labels verses (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i). Verses then contain a certain number of lines represented by numbers. As this is a short text, the largest level of organization Hymes finds is grouping of verses into stanzas. In analyses of longer narratives, he also marks organization of stanzas into scenes, scenes into acts, and in especially long narratives acts into parts (p. 192).

The story is a translation of a Wasco (a dialect of Chinookan) text told to Hymes by a prominent Wasco elder at Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon in 1956. He presents this example to show how verse analysis focuses on understanding “form-meaning co-variation”, or

what he states is “a co-variation between an underlying narrative analysis of experience, as it were, and various overt linguistic markers and occurrences” (p. 185). In the final analysis he finds evidence of a recurring three-part pattern of “onset, ongoing, outcome” that, as noted in the footnote above, is common to Chinookan texts, and which he suggests serves to organize the story. He describes this pattern at each level in the story (stanza, verse and line).

First, Hymes (1981) suggests that the five stanzas in this narrative show “two intersecting three part sequences” or the “interlocking” pattern noted above (p. 190). The first stanza (A) begins an action of a danger (onset), the second stanza (B) goes into detail about this danger (ongoing) and the third stanza (C) resolves this danger by shooting “it” with arrows (outcome). In addition, however, (C) also starts a new sequence initiated by the burning (onset), which links to (D) and (E) as descriptions of a series of outcomes, first for the character in (C), then for the “state of Oregon” in (D), then for people on “our side of the mountain” in (E). The last three lines of (E) also function as the final outcome, the epilogue, and here there is a parallel to the first lines of stanza (A) that brings the story “full circle” (p. 190).

Hymes (1981) also describes similar three part patterns within stanzas. For example stanza (A) consists of 3 verses (a, b, and c) where (a) frames the initial action in time (onset), (b) focuses the action in a specific place (ongoing), and (c) describes an initial outcome of “it” being shot. Further, he finds similar three part patterns within verses themselves. Specifically, verse (a) begins with a general temporal frame (1), then a specific temporal frame (2), then an outcome (3) and similar patterns repeat in verses (b) and (c). Hymes subsequently describes these types of three part and five part patterns throughout the story at each level. For Hymes then, presenting this story as a form of measured verse allows one to recognize subtle, and often implicit, patterns of organization in the story, patterns that he argues both form and conform to “expectations” of narrative organization for Wasco listeners and for this reason are “rhetorical.”

In later work, Hymes (1996) describes how organization related to culturally important pattern numbers “give experience a shape, a satisfying shape which is convincing” (p.136). Further, he speculates that because traditional stories and myths were often told to children in many of the Native American communities he worked with the patterns he finds in these stories may have a particular function. Specifically, he suggested that because of these patterns children, in listening to the stories, may be “inducted into a world which is ordered...where experience again and again in the form of a story...has recurrent, regular, often multi-leveled form” (p. 137). In this way, Hymes’ (1996) work on narrative in Native American communities begins to sound much like the proposals of Bruner (1990) and Nelson (1989) that narrative provides structure that allows young children to make sense of new and strange experiences within their lives. What Hymes (1996) draws out with his work, is that these patterns of organization, especially prominent in oral narratives, also consist of groupings of lines organized around culturally important pattern numbers. Further, he illustrates that these patterns function (rhetorically) in terms of arousal and satisfaction of expectation and as such he suggests they bespeak a sophisticated form of verbal artistry on the part of the storytellers.

In the present research, the various analyses drew on many components of Hymes ethnopoetic work in order to identify cultural features in the storyteller’s performances and how children interact with these features. The analyses making use of this framework are based on two main hypotheses. First, because cultural educators are making use of traditional oral storytelling within their programs, it is predicted that verse analyses of the educators’ stories will reveal culturally important patterning in groupings of lines that are related to particular rhetorical effects. Second, if cultural features such as these are discovered in stories told by educators, it is predicted that when children engage in retellings of stories they heard through the programs the narratives they create will display evidence of their interaction with these cultural patterns.

Through the analyses reported below, it will be argued that the presence of cultural features in children’s narratives reveals forms of narrative skill not often described in analyses of children’s narrative. Further, the evidence presented below will suggest that while exploring these narrative resources in creating their own narrative compositions children skillfully employ these resources to set up “expectations” and points of “emphasis.” The presence of these patterns in the original stories may also aid children in remembering the stories and provide some organization as children navigate the experiences and content represented within the narrative worlds the stories create. It will not be argued here that these forms of narrative skills are wholly distinct from narrative skills children encounter elsewhere, but rather, the evidence suggests that the specific focus of these programs on oral storytelling traditions provides space for children to explore these ways of telling stories, or these particular “oral” narrative resources. In this exploration of particular forms of narrative skill, there is evidence relevant to development as children try out different ways of becoming a storyteller in the space the programs provide.

Chapter 4: Verse Analysis for Class A

Students in Class A heard four traditional stories that the first cultural educator called “legends” in the introductory session of her cultural education program.⁴ They also heard a number of stories of personal history throughout the program and heard two other shortened versions of “legends” during the museum tour. Stories were not given a specific title during the telling, but often began as this one does with “And this story is about the wolves.” Word-for-word transcriptions were made of all three cultural education sessions by either the main researcher or one of two research assistants. The introductions described above were taken as

⁴ In interviews and personal communications the cultural educator described these stories as legends and that is how they are described throughout this project.

titles in the transcriptions in order to differentiate the stories. The analyses in this section will focus largely on the four legends told in the introductory session and the two legends told during the museum tour. The reason for this focus is that when asked to retell the stories, all 13 students who contributed retellings chose one of these six stories. This focus does not preclude the idea that cultural features are present in stories of personal experience, but it seems most relevant for the analytic goals of this study. Subsequently, when the analysis moves to children's narratives the focus will be on story retellings; for the purpose of examining how children interact with cultural features of the stories they heard. Throughout this section evidence from interviews with educators and children will also be presented in the form of quotes from students and the cultural educators to support interpretations.

In order to develop ideas about cultural features of the stories children heard from the first cultural educator, one full story is presented (with the educator's permission) below. This story was described as a "legend" by the educator, and through interviews she noted that she learned this story from her Grandmother, a Kwakwaka'wakw person who grew up in Tsax'is, a traditional Kwakwaka'wakw territory that encompasses Fort Rupert, British Columbia. The educator learned this story in English, though she reports her Grandmother also knew the stories in Kwak'wala. Interestingly, the educator also spoke about how the stories "sound different" in Kwak'wala than they do in English, and this point becomes important later in the analysis. The educator told the story to children in English and in a form suitable or "edited" for grade 1 students⁵.

The presentation of the story as a form of measured verse constitutes the first step of a "verse analysis" according to Hymes (1981, 1996). Decisions on the grouping together of lines,

⁵ In the interview the educator mentioned how traditional stories often contain details that could be frightening or deemed inappropriate for children in school contexts by parents or teachers and these details were not included in the stories she told.

verses, stanzas and scenes in this verse analysis were made by closely following the procedures recommended by Hymes (1981). To produce the final version presented below the following steps were taken. First, a word-for-word transcription of the story was organized into verses. Following this, lines were identified based on their grouping into verses. Stanzas were then identified based on a grouping together of verses and scenes were identified based on a grouping together of stanzas. Hymes suggests that the final version of a verse analysis is an “emergent configuration” (p. 198), and as such, a given analysis may not be the only valid version. Indeed, Hymes often presents re-analyses of oral narratives when new details emerge. He states that “it is the patterning of the whole that gives some confidence in the result” (1981, p. 177). The analyses in this project focus on determining recurring patterning at various levels in the narratives, and at times decisions at lower levels (e.g., stanzas, verses, lines) were reorganized due to patterns at higher levels. The main principle organizing this analysis was that the retellings should show evidence of “internal consistencies” at the various levels (Hymes, 1981) for the verse analysis to be successful and it is the recurring nature of these patterns as well as their role organizing and expressing “meaning” that build a convincing case for the validity of an analysis. Below the steps taken in the verse analysis are described in detail:

- 1) Verses were identified based on recurring patterns in the use of “initial particles.” In describing the process of verse analysis, Hymes (1981) suggests that, “it is the verse that is directly and consistently marked by a single, definable set of linguistic features, namely sentence-initial particles” (p. 151). Identifying verses then leads to both lower levels organization (lines) and higher levels organization (stanzas, scenes, acts).
- 2) Lines were identified based on their grouping together into verses. Hymes (1981) suggests that identification of lines may not always be as clear as verses, but that there is

still often, “a considerable basis for recognition” (p.175). This basis can involve the presence of one verb or action represented in each line, repetition and parallelism between lines within a verse, and sequential patterns of lines within a verse (e.g., he turned his eyes; he looked; he dried his tears), (p. 176).

- 3) Stanzas were then identified based on emerging hypotheses related to pattern numbers and by the marking of a group of verses as a unit based on internal consistencies. Hymes (1981) states that “stanzas have verbal repetition and parallelism of content, internally and externally — that is, among verses within stanzas, and among stanzas that go together within a scene” (p. 165). In following this approach, verses were grouped together based on several forms of marking including: repetitions and parallelism; internal consistencies involving inclusion of a particular action sequence or complete conversational unit within stanzas; as well as temporal and character changes between stanzas.
- 4) The same strategy employed with stanzas was followed again at the level of scenes. Specifically, scenes were grouped together based on emerging hypotheses regarding pattern numbers as well as internal consistencies within a group of stanzas. In discussing the marking of scenes, Hymes (1981) draws particular attention to changes in time references, or a “temporal disjunction” (p. 170), changes in content regarding the “relations between participants,” as well as the “internal unity of the scenes, and their unity as wholes vis-a-vis each other, on various grounds.” Scenes were thus identified based on both internal consistencies within a group of stanzas and marking based on changes in the types of “content” described above.

Following the story, a table presents a story profile like the example from Hymes (1996). This story profile marks the grouping together of lines, verses, stanzas and scenes proposed through the verse analysis as well as proposed “cultural features” of the storytelling performance which will be explained in more detail below. Subsequent stories from this cultural educator important in examining students’ retellings are presented in *Appendix C*, both analyzed as verse and as story profiles. Portions of some stories will also be presented in the text to display particular patterns. Similar conventions to those of Hymes (1981, 1996, 2003) are employed in the presentation of this story: Capital letters (A) mark scenes, lowercase letters (a) mark stanzas and numbers (1) mark verses. Indents help mark groupings of lines within a stanza in the text and in the story profile groups of lines in a verse are enclosed in brackets, for example (1-2) for a two line verse. Breaks or interruptions in the story are right justified and student contributions are labeled (S). Specific characters in the story profile mark cultural features which will be discussed more fully after the story.

Story 1: “The story about the Wolves”

(Title) And this story is about the Wolves...

Scene Stanza Verse Line

A	(a)	(1)	Now a long time ago all of the animals had a special job they had to do, this was their way of helping the creator.
		(2)	And it was the job of the Wolves to make sure that...the ocean came up on the beach, and went away from the beach.
		(3)	We call this the tide,
		(4)	When the tide comes in it brings the sea water to all the Shell animals that live on the beach, so they could feed their families. and then the water goes away.
		(5)	This was the job of the Wolves.
	(b)	(6)	Now...this is my Wolf...isn't he nice, he's very soft (whispered) (S: It's cool)
		(7)	Mhmm...well it was his job to make sure that the water came up, up on to the beach

- and away from the beach.
- (8) But do you know what?
 When the water goes away from the beach the sand becomes very hard packed,
 and it's lots of fun to run up and down on the beach when the sand is like that.
- (c) (9) It just so happens that Wolves love to play with their pups on the beach.
 They like to run up and down the beach,
 and roll in the surf
 and have lots of fun.
- (10) So the Wolves were doing this one day,
 running up and down the beach,
 rolling around with their puppies,
 having a great time with their families.
- (11) But they were forgetting their responsibility.
 It was their job to bring that water up,
 and then to let it go,
 and bring it up and let it go.
- B (d) (12) Days and days went by
 and the Wolves were having so much fun they were not paying attention to their responsibility.
- (13) So all the Shell animals got together,
 (14) And they came to the Wolves and said:
 "We need you to bring the water back up on the beach,
 our families are going hungry,
 and that...ocean water brings that, food to our families"
- (15) And the Wolves said
 "Oh yeah, yeah,
 we'll do that later, we'll do it later,
 right now we are busy playing with our pups"
- (16) And again they ignored their responsibility.
- (e) (17) The Shell animals were getting worried
 because their families were getting really, really hungry,
- (18) So again they approached the Wolves and said:
 "we really need you to bring that water up on the beach,
 our families are going hungry"
- (19) And again (emphasized) the Wolves pushed them aside and said:
 "we'll do that later."
- (f) (20) Well now it was getting very very, um, difficult for the shell animals,
 they were very very hungry.
- (21) So they went directly to the Creator...
- (22) And they spoke to the Creator and said,
 explained their situation:
 "the Wolves are not bringing the water up on the beach and
 our families are starving,
 we really need you to talk to the Wolves."

- (g) (23) So the Creator came down and he spoke to the Wolves:
 “I understand that you are not following through with your responsibility”
 (24) And the Wolves said:
 “well we are playing on the beach with our pups,”
 (25) And the Creator said:
 “That’s...that’s very nice, you should spend time with your children,
 but you also have responsibilities,
 and you really need to respect that animals that live on the shore.”
 (26) And the Wolves again said:
 “well we are going to just play a little bit longer...with our pups”
 (27) This they said to the Creator,
 (h) (28) He was not happy,
 so he said to them:
 “If you are not going to respect...the shell animals that live on the beach,
 you (emphasized) are going to know what it’s like to need water”
 (29) And he waved his hand,
 and separated the Wolves into two groups,
 (30) And he waved his hand again,
 and half...of the Wolves...were changed into Killer Whales.

S: That’s what the Wolves were changed into?

- C (i) (31) Mhmm...half of them, yep...
 So now they knew what it was like to need water,
 because half of them had to live in water.
 (32) And that’s why Wolves howl at the moon,
 because when the moon is full, it lights up the ocean,
 (33) And that’s when they can see their brothers and sisters that now live in the ocean.
 So they howl at the moon because they miss their brothers that are now in the ocean.
 (34) And that’s why, every once in a while, Whales will come very close into shore,
 and they will have a big spray of water from the blow hole.
 (35) And that’s their way of saying hello,
 and how much they miss their brothers that live on the land.

Table 1: *Story profile of “The story about the Wolves” from the first cultural educator*

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
A	a,	1*, 2*, 3, 4, 5^	(1-2)(3-4)(5)(6-8)(9)

	b, c,	6, 7 [^] , 8, 9 [*] , 10 [*] , 11 ^{*^}	(10)(11-13)(14-16) (17-20)(21-24)(25-28)
B	d, e, f, g, h	12 ^{*^} , 13, (14! [^] , 15! [^]), 16 [^] 17 [*] , (18! [^] , 19! [^]) 20 [*] , 21, 22! [^] (23! [^] , 24!), (25! [^] , 26! [^]), 27 [^] 27!, 28 [*] , 29 [*]	(29-30)(31)(32-35) (36-39)(40) (41-42)(43-45)(46-47) (48-49)(50)(51-54) (55-56)(57-58)(59-62) (62-64)(65) (66-69)(70-71)(72-73)
C	i ⁺	30, 31 [*] , 32 [*] , 33 [*] , 34 [*]	(74-76)(77-78) (79-80)(81-82)(83-84)

Note: the characters included with the verses and stanzas mark “cultural features” of this narrative performance, these features are discussed more fully below. ! marks a verse of speech * marks a 2/4 pattern within a verse, ^ marks a recurring statement, (x) marks verses of speech organized as a dialogic pair, + marks a concluding epilogue.

This analysis of the “The story about the Wolves” suggests there are three major parts to the story (scenes A, B & C). The first scene is three stanzas long (a, b, c), the second is five (d, e, f, g, h), and the third scene is one (i). In addition, each stanza is made up of either three or five verses (a [5 verses], b [3 verses], c [3 verses], d [5 verses], e [3 verses], f [3 verses], g [5 verses], h [3 verses], i [5 verses]). From this analysis a clear pattern of recurrent groupings of 3’s and 5’s is evident at various levels.

Comparison of this analysis with previous ethnopoetic work with Kwakwaka’wakw material is interesting in many ways. The little ethnopoetic work available with traditional material from the Kwakwaka’wakw people suggests that the most prominent “pattern number” in Kwakwaka’wakw texts is four (Hymes, 1994; Berman, 1992). Through discussions recorded through field notes the educator provided evidence supportive of the cultural relevance of the number four. She discussed the importance of the number four in Kwakwaka’wakw traditions relating to the four directions and the four seasons. In this story; however, the most prominent patterning revolves around the numbers three and five. This patterning is more similar to common patterns in narratives in the English language (Hymes, 1996; 2003), though the

educator did also mention three as a number that held some cultural importance in her experience.

One way of explaining this difference in grouping around a particular number could involve the context of the telling. The educator specifically mentioned how stories often “sound different” in Kwak’wala and this prominent patterning around a different “number” than that in previously analyzed Kwak’wala texts may be best explained by this difference in the language of the telling. In support of this interpretation, Hymes (2003) suggests that, “some cases of unexpected use of a pattern may be attributable to acculturation” and he describes examples where traditional “even-numbered patterning” (2/4 patterning) is less common among storytellers influenced by the English language (p. 54). As further analysis will show, there also seem to be some 2/4 patterns in this story, though they seem to have a lesser role in establishing the structure than the 3/5 patterns. Whatever the origins of patterning around a particular number, the following analysis will show that grouping lines into sequences of three and five organizes this story at various levels and through this organization it will be argued that the narrator accomplishes particular “rhetorical” effects by *emphasizing* parts of the story to the audience.

In addition to the overall structure, there are a number of other ways that the numbers three and five recur in this story. First of all, there are three major characters in the story (the Wolves, the Shells, and the Creator). Hymes (1996) suggests that pattern numbers often organize the number of characters within a narrative (p. 131). Secondly, the Wolves are “asked” three times to bring the water up onto the beach, twice by the Shells and once by the Creator, and they state they will “do it later” three times in response. Hymes finds that recurring actions organized by pattern numbers are quite common in Native American storytelling (p. 131), and in this case the recurring action has something of a tension—it leads from petitions to the Wolves by the

Shells to petitions to the Wolves by the Creator. Further, the word “responsibility” appears a total of five times in the story and there are also three overall outcomes mentioned in the last stanza (wolves learn what it’s like to need water, wolves howl at the moon because they can see the whales, whales spray water to say “Hello” to the wolves). According to Hymes (1981), verse analysis proceeds by accumulating evidence from a number of components in a narrative to make a convincing case for the validity of a particular interpretation (p. 178). In Hymes’ work this often involved re-analysis of the same story when new details emerge, and as such, a particular verse analysis should not be taken as final, or as the only valid interpretation. In the case of the story analyzed above, the numerous ways in which three and five part patterns are used to organize the narrative enhance the validity of this particular analysis.

In addition to organization based around pattern numbers, there are features having to do with the “rhythmic” and “repetitive” patterns in this story that are suggested as “cultural features” that the educator makes use of in her storytelling performance. In this project the term cultural features, describes *particular features of story structure and organization that are argued to be based on the oral storytelling tradition in which the educator learned the stories*. Initial ideas about cultural features were developed through consulting literature about Indigenous storytelling traditions from both anthropologists (Basso, 1984; Kroeber, 1998, 2004; Hymes, 1981, 1996, 2003; Thompson & Egesdal, 2008) as well as indigenous scholars (Archibald, 2008; Atleo, 2004, Cajete, 1994). Though Hymes (2003) suggests that ethnopoetic patterns are often implicit, initial ideas about cultural features were discussed with the educator in order to develop their validity. This conversation was recorded through field notes taken during the discussion with the educator and directly after the discussion. The conversation was structured first with a discussion of the concept of pattern numbers in stories and then with a

discussion of potential cultural features of the storytelling performance. To begin the discussion word-for-word transcriptions of some examples of student's retellings were read by the educator and discussed. Following this the researcher presented the verse analysis of these same stories and the stories from the educator. Resonances in the form of similar understandings relating to the proposed cultural features on the part of the researcher and the educator were recorded in field notes.

In conversation with this educator, ideas about patterning around particular numbers were surprising to her, but displayed some resonance with a concept of sacred numbers. Also, ideas around how patterns in the story set up "expectations" resonated with the educator's discussion of how children come to anticipate various parts of the stories in hearing them again and again. The educator discussed how in her experience the particular ways the stories are told, especially through the animation of the storyteller, seem to help children "pay attention" and that often children who are engaged during a telling continually ask "what happens next." It is proposed here that patterns described below are part of what makes these stories so engaging to children, and that these patterns may begin to build expectations and anticipations among children regarding the story plot and also make the story and its meaning especially memorable.

In "The story about the Wolves," one particular feature that seems relevant as a "cultural feature" involves the use of speech in the story. The story itself is very speech heavy, and it is argued here that the ways in which speech is used in this story, in concert with structural organization based around pattern numbers, places particular emphasis on these verses of speech. This emphasis then begins to highlight the lesson of the story to the audience. Speech from characters is a device that is heavily used in the traditional stories from Indigenous peoples in North America, and Hymes (1981) reports on examples where it is in these instances of quoted

speech where major actions and lessons occur, often in the form of important pronouncements by characters. In work with Salish traditional stories, Thompson and Egesdal (2008) state that, “Characters lines have greater relevancy than narration lines in the “performance” of a narrative. The reader should look to characters lines to carry the story...Essential elements of plot are carried by quoted speech” (p. xxvi). Thus, the way in which verses of speech relate to structuring around pattern numbers in order to “carry” elements of “plot” in this example seems reasonably described as a “cultural feature.”

The story has a total of 35 verses, 10 of which contain quoted speech. The first four verses of speech take place between the Shells and the Wolves: first, the Shells ask the Wolves to bring the water up on the beach (V14) and then the Wolves say they will “do it later” (V15). Following this the Shells petition the Wolves again (V18), and again, the Wolves say they will do it later (V19). These two exchanges are followed by a fifth verse of speech where the Shells tell the Creator about the Wolves, which seems to tie these instances together as a set of five (V22). Specifically, there are two exchanges between the Shells and the Wolves that lead to the “outcome” of the Shells speaking to the Creator in verse (22). This last verse of speech also occurs as the final verse of the third stanza in scene (B), and in this way, it seems relevant as an “outcome” in an interlocking pattern tying together the stanzas in this scene. Specifically, the Shells first petition the Wolves in stanza (d) (an “onset”), then petition them again in stanza (e) (an “ongoing”), which leads them to approach the Creator in stanza (f) (an “outcome). Stanza (f) also begins a subsequent three part action pattern carried out in the scene. Specifically, the Creator is asked to intervene in stanza (f) (an “onset”), carries this out in stanza (g) (an “ongoing”), and due to the Wolves not listening, in stanza (h), the Creator transforms them (an

“outcome”). Verse (22) in stanza (f) thus seems relevant to an “outcome” of one arc of action as well as an “onset” of another.

The verses of speech in this first set also seem relevant to recurring three part patterns of “onset, ongoing, outcome” (Hymes, 1981), within their respective stanzas. For example, verse (14) is the third verse in a five verse stanza (d), and it also seems appropriate in an interlocking pattern. Specifically, verse (12) begins the stanza by discussing the wolves’ responsibility (onset) and verse (13) continues this as the Wolves and Shell animals come together (ongoing). Verse (14) then seems reasonably interpreted as the “outcome” of this coming together in the Shells petition to the Wolves. Similarly, verse (15) is the Wolves’ response to the Shells (a subsequent “ongoing” stemming from the petition) and verse (16) is another statement about the Wolves’ responsibility (outcome). In conforming to these rhetorical patterns verses of speech “carry” important aspects of plot in this story, and at many point seem to provide emphasis on these actions when these verses are organized as outcomes on various levels (see verse 19 and 22 particularly, both relevant as outcomes within stanzas, and for verse (22) within the scene and as the fifth verse of speech). Verses that do not contain speech are largely focused on orienting the audience to the Wolves’ job, on commentary about their behavior (this feature is discussed in more detail below) and on descriptions of final outcomes in the concluding stanza. Verses of speech, in contrast, describe and emphasize recurring patterns where the Shells make requests to the Wolves and the Wolves ignore these requests, a pattern that has important implications for the lesson of the story.

Another pattern in this story that is suggested as a “cultural feature,” also seems to play a role in emphasizing the *lesson* that the Wolves behavior points to. This feature involves a use of recurring statements within the story. Recurring statements seem relevant in two main ways in

this story: 1) as explicit warnings by the narrator, and 2) by emphasizing misbehaviour in verses of speech. First, some stanzas are ended with verses that are parallel to other verses in the stanza, and these verses seem to be warnings by the narrator about the wolves' behaviour. As recurring warning statements, these verses function in emphasizing the lesson or theme of the story to the audience and arguably, due to a recurring rhythmic structure, they do so in a way that is especially memorable. Hymes (2003) describes a similar pattern where repetitive words or statements emphasize a "theme" and he finds this to be common in Native American oral narrative. He states that, "Again and again, a theme is not stated, but shown by its place in a pattern" (p. 374) and in this story, it is suggested that the patterned or rhythmic organization of these recurring statements is one way in which the theme is highlighted.

In "The story about the Wolves" a pattern where the final verse of a stanza contains a statement that repeats the main action or "point" of the stanza as a warning occurs in the last verse of three five verse stanzas and one three verse stanza (a, c, d, & g). In stanza (a), verse (5) repeats "this was the job of the Wolves" a phrase that is parallel to verse (1) in that stanza that describes the Wolves' job. In another example, verse (11) contains the first instance of the word "responsibility" that recurs throughout the story. Verse (16) then repeats "And they forgot their responsibility" which is parallel to "they were not paying attention to their responsibility" in verse (12) of that stanza as well as the previous verse described above. Finally, verse (27) is a restatement of the Wolves' speech to the Creator, "this they said to the Creator," and it follows up four verses of actual speech in stanza (g). Second, some verses of speech also contain recurring statements (see verses 14, 15, 18, 19, 22 & 26) and these recurring statements may function in a similar way by highlighting the lesson. These verses are not explicit warnings by the narrator, but in making use of recurring statements it seems reasonable to suggest these

verses are emphasizing the Wolves' misbehaviour, which leads directly to the lesson that the behaviour is meant to teach.

In summary, from the analysis of this story it is argued that the use of quoted speech to carry the plot of the story, and the use of repetitive statements to emphasize and provide warnings about the Wolves' misbehaviour set up patterns that create "expectations" in listeners, especially if they were to hear this story numerous times. These patterns thus work together to highlight the "lesson" of this story to listeners in a way that is interesting, engaging and possibly memorable. One could speculate that later, memory of the story would be aided by these rhythmic patterns, which in turn, may remind listeners of this lesson. This resonates with Basso's (1984) suggestion that in one Indigenous storytelling tradition "places" remind Apache people of lessons contained in stories about those places. Of course this point in relation to memory is purely speculation at this point, but subsequent analyses of student retellings seem to provide some additional evidence in this direction. Due to this evidence it is argued that organization around three and five part rhetorical patterns, the use of quoted speech to carry action, as well as the use of recurring statements to highlight the theme are "cultural features" of this particular narrative performance.

The first few cultural features discussed were oriented around the prominent 3/5 patterning in the "The Story about the Wolves," there were also; however, cultural features more related to 2/4 patterns in this educator's stories. The first of these patterns involves a doubling of action *within* in a verse, such that actions fall into a pattern of "this, then that" (Hymes, 1996). This sort of "doubling" was first described by Hymes as prevalent among communities patterning groups of lines around two and four. As previously discussed, Hymes (1994) reports prevalent 2/4 patterning in narratives recorded in Kwak'wala and, in the examples from this

educator it is argued that, at times, 2/4 patterning coexists with more prominent 3/5 patterning. Further, these 2/4 patterns seem to function in a similar way, specifically in terms of developing a rhythmic structure in the story.

An example of a doubling pattern within a verse in a different story from this educator is presented below. This excerpt is from scene (B) of a story titled “Eagle and Snail.” The full profile and text of this story is presented in *Appendix C*.

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
B	(a)	(13)	Well there was one eagle sitting in his favourite tree...um,
		(14)	When he heard a tap at the bottom of the tree, and he looked down, it was the chief, from the local village.
		(15)	Now this chief was very kind to this eagle, And every time he went fishing, he always left a salmon at the base of the tree for this eagle.
	(b)	(16)	So the eagle flew down and he spoke to the chief: “Good morning chief”
		(17)	“Good morning eagle...I was wondering if I could ask you a favor,”
		(18)	And the chief said, or the eagle said: “What’s the favor?”
		(19)	And the chief said: “I’m expecting some very special guests, and...I need to know, well in advance, as soon as possible, when they’re coming, so that I can make sure that my drummers on the beach, are on the beach welcoming them in a good way, and that we’ve prepared enough food for them in the village.”
		(20)	And the eagle said: “Well...I’ll do the best I can”
		(21)	And the chief said: “That’s all I can ask, is that you do the best you can.”
		(c)	(22)
	(23)	He was up there wondering how he was going to help the chief with this special, special request when, he, he couldn’t see out there, he couldn’t see out in the water, What was he going to do?	

He really wanted to help this chief because the chief
had been so kind to him.

- (24) And he was just thinking about it...
when he saw... a little snail... (laughs) creeping along the bottom of
the ground.

Through this analysis a pattern of doubling, or “this, then that” can be seen in verse (14), verse (15), verse (22) and verse (24) in this excerpt. For example, in verse (14), the Eagle first hears a tap, then, looks down to see the Chief. Similarly, verse (15) first mentions that the Chief was kind to the Eagle, then, this is followed by a description of his action of placing Salmon at the bottom of the tree. In the same way that the more prominent three part patterns do, these two part patterns may be developing “rhythm” that helps children follow along with the actions in the story or “pay attention” in the words of the educator. In addition to the doubling of actions there are other 2/4 patterns present in this excerpt. First in verse (23), the doubling of action seems extended to a four part pattern where first the Eagle is wondering, then, he cannot see across the water, then, his wondering is stated as a question, then, it is reported he wants to help the Chief. A four part speech from the Chief also occurs in verse (19) when he discusses the favor. There is also evidence in this excerpt of the grouping together of two turns of speech in a “dialogic pair.” This often involves one character talking and another responding, and when examined at the level of stanzas these dialogues often fit into 3/5 patterns. This grouping can be seen most prominently in stanza (b) where the stanza consists of six verses and these verses seem to be paired together as dialogic exchanges leading to a total of three pairs of verses within the stanza.

Finally, there is one more cultural feature that appears relevant to the organization of this educator’s stories and this feature involves the way in which many of the stories end with something much like an “epilogue.” Specifically, the last few verses, or the last stanza, of many of the stories contain content that seems to bring the story out of the mythological past and into

the present day. In “The story of the Wolves” this happens in the final stanza where “So now” marks a temporal change and four “and that’s” statements in the last four verses describe and explain common behaviors of animals in the present day. The story “The gathering of the animals” ends with a stanza explaining how First Nations villages often have “origin stories” describing their relationships with animals, which brings the theme of relationships with animals into the present day. The story “Eagle and Snail” ends with two verses explaining Eagle and Snail behaviour:

So that’s why Eagles have sharp, sharp eyesight
 Because they actually have the Snail’s eyes
 And that’s why Snails move so slowly,
 Along our gardens
 Because they actually have the Eagle’s eyes

These two verses clearly explain behaviour of animals today. The final story in the introductory session, “The story of the Sun in the Sky,” ends with a stanza describing the movement of the Sun across the sky, and the pride of the young boy (who is now the Sun) in fulfilling this role properly. Rhetorical patterns at various levels within the stories point to these verses and stanzas as the culminating “outcomes” of various arcs of action within the story.

The use of epilogues to explain present day behaviour is a common feature of many Native American oral traditions (Hymes, 1981; Kroeber, 2004). Hymes (1981) describes examples of Native American stories ending with a number of conclusions: 1) a summary that concludes the action, 2) an epilogue describing the outcome “for the world,” and 3) a finish which concludes a particular performance (p. 324). Further, Kroeber (2004) notes how stories in Native American communities “are structured to facilitate practical audience imaginative activity” (p. 26). In these examples epilogues — for example tying a transformation with an important moral lesson to commonly observed behaviours of orcas and wolves — may both

facilitate audience engagement with the lesson and help listeners remember this lesson in the future. For example, when seeing a wolf howl at the moon, one may be reminded of the story that explains this behavior. In remembering this story one may also remember the lesson and, thus, the story maintains its relevance. Both Indigenous scholars and anthropologists studying oral traditions continually note that for Indigenous people, stories help individuals deal with practical issues of everyday life (Archibald, 2008; Atleo, 2004; Kroeber, 1998; 2004). It is suggested here that the way in which stories and their lessons are associated with present day behavior through an epilogue may be part of the way in which these stories are tied into everyday concerns.

The hypothesis explored through analysis of story-retellings by students predicts that students will “echo” aspects of these cultural features — echoing which will be visible in patterns of organization within their retellings. It is argued that this “interaction” with cultural features on the part of the students is part of a developmental process whereby children are trying out and making use of particular forms of “symbolic resources” being presented in their classroom community through their attempts to “participate” in the role of the storyteller. Across the two classroom communities, where children vary in their age, several examples will be explored where students skillfully make use of “cultural features” for varying effects including: remembering the stories more fully, emphasizing particular aspects of the stories, exploring their “voice” as a storyteller and passing on the “lesson” of the story to a listener. In interpretation of these data, it is argued that in the cultural education programs the educators are providing a “space” for children to access and explore the particular forms of narrative skills they bring to the classroom by sharing First Nations oral traditions.

Analysis of Story Retellings for Class A

In Class A, 13 students contributed retellings for this analysis. Analysis of students' retellings began with the question of whether the retellings could be reasonably analyzed in terms of "verse" structure. The verse analyses of students' retellings followed the same 4-part procedure that is described before the final analysis of the first story from the cultural educator. The evidence reported below suggests that verse analysis revealed substantial organization in student's retellings. In what follows, the discussion will focus on the extent to which "cultural features" that arose through the analysis of the original stories are "echoed" or "transformed" by students in their retellings. Through this analysis it will be argued that sophisticated structuring was often present in students' story retellings and that this structuring was influenced by the rhythms and patterns in groupings of lines and verses within the original stories.

First, an examination of each retelling for the presence of each of the cultural features that were discussed in the cultural educator's stories is summarized in *Table 2*. These features include: grouping of lines, verses and stanzas around particular pattern numbers (3/5 and 2/4); recurring statements that reference the theme; use of verses of speech to carry main actions of the plot; dialogic patterns in speech marking particular units; and the inclusion of an epilogue. Following this summary, a detailed verse analysis for six retellings in Class A is presented in order to illustrate the different ways students in this classroom community are skillfully "echoing" and "transforming" some of these cultural features. These particular retellings were chosen based on impressive skill or coherence of organization in some cases, and the use of particular cultural features in others. In addition, discussions of certain examples will also focus on how children employ "cultural features" for specific rhetorical effects or functions —

functions that are often suggested to be similar to the ways in which the cultural educator was making use of the stories.

Table 2: *Presence of cultural features in retellings from Class A*

Participant #	3/5 part patterns	2/4 part patterns	# of stanzas	# of verses (by stanza)	# of lines	Recurring statements	# of speech verses	Dialogic pairs	An epilogue
1	Yes	No	4	8 (1)(3)(1)(3)	14	Yes	0	No	No
2	Yes	No	4	14 (3)(3)(5)(3)	19	No	2	Yes	Yes
3*	Yes	No	5	21 (3)(5)(3)(5)(5)	51	Yes	3	Yes	Yes
4	Yes	No	4	14(5)(3)(3)(3)	35	Yes	3	No	Yes
5*	Yes	No	4	13 (5)(3)(5)	35	Yes	6	Yes	No
6*	Yes	Yes	3	9 (3)(3)(3)	14	No	0	No	Maybe
7*	Yes	Yes	6	20 (3)(3)(3)(3)(3)(5)	39	Yes	11	Yes	No
8	Yes	No	A: (2) B: (1)	A: 6 (3)(3) B: 3	A: (11) B: (10)	No	A: (2) B: (3)	A: (No) B: (Yes)	No
9	Yes	No	2	6 (5)(1)	15	Yes	0	No	No
10	Yes	No	A: (2) B: (1)	A: 6 (3)(3) B: 1	A: (11) B: (3)	No	0	No	No
11*	Yes	Yes	5	21 (5)(6)(5)(5)	40	Yes	2	No	Yes
12*	Yes	No	2	10 (5)(5)	16	Yes	0	No	No
13	Yes	Yes	3	10 (3)(3)(4)	20	Yes	3	Yes	No

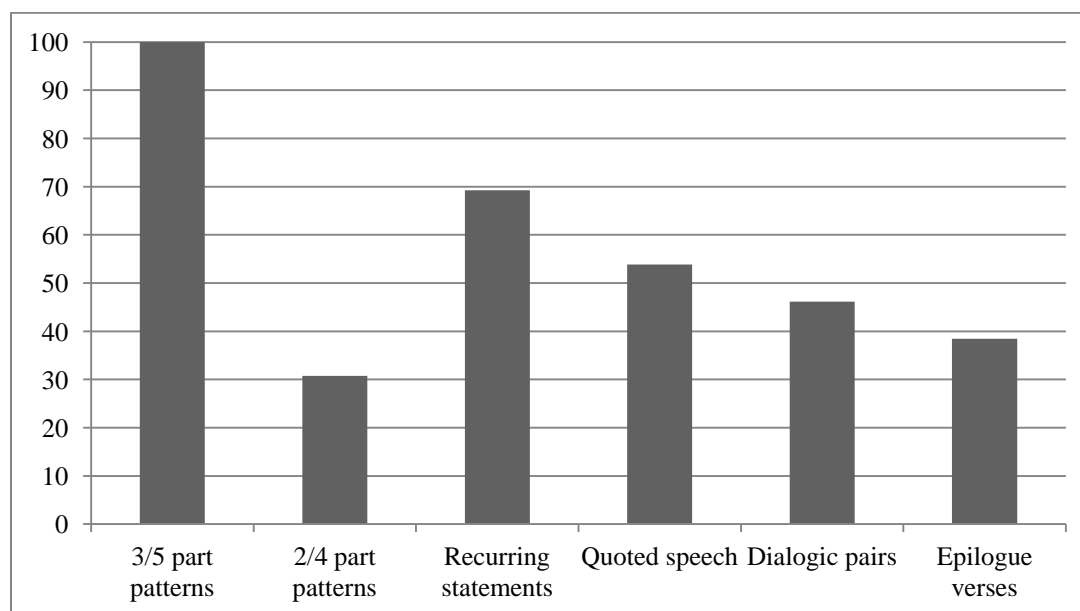
Note: *marks retellings that will be analyzed in more detail below

Examination of the results presented in *Table 2* is revealing in several ways. First, the table displays evidence of how the verse analysis of children's retellings revealed a considerable degree of structure. Each of the 13 retellings could easily be examined for recurring patterns among groups of lines that provided some level of organization in the narrative. This even seemed true in some very short retellings (two will be examined in detail) where there still seemed to be organizing patterns among groups of lines. This, in and of itself, is an important result, as it is evidence of particular dimensions of narrative skills that these young students (most of them 6 years of age) employ that often go unrecognized in research on children's narratives. Most of the retellings could easily be analyzed as containing verses (grouping lines together) and stanzas (grouping verses together). On a few occasions scenes were also identified. In these groupings of lines, verses and stanzas a degree of coherence is apparent in these students' narratives in terms of their organization and in terms of how attention is drawn to specific points.

The second result evident in *Table 2* is that the majority of students in this class made use of 3/5 patterns to organize their narratives. There were a few examples where 2/4 sequences also play a role in establishing some rhythms in the retellings, but 3/5 patterning was far more prominent. This should not be surprising as Hymes (1996; 2003) reports that 3/5 patterning is prominent in English language narratives. Also, 3/5 patterning was the most prominent form of organization around pattern numbers in the original stories told by the educator. What is more interesting, and where the analysis will focus, is the question of whether these 3/5 patterns make visible examples of how students are engaging with the cultural features described in the original stories.

Examination of the table above provides many examples of how particular cultural features are present in children's retellings. There were four specific cultural features coded in children's narratives over and above the presence of groups of lines relating to pattern numbers. These were: 1) the use of recurring statements relating to the theme, 2) the use of verses of speech to move forward actions relevant to the plot (as the number of verses containing speech), 3) the presence of dialogic speech pairs, and 4) the inclusion of epilogues discussing present day outcomes. *Figure 1* presents a graph displaying the degree to which these cultural features were present in children's retellings.

Figure 1: Percentage of students incorporating cultural features by type in Class A



As *Figure 1* displays, all the students in this class integrated 3/5 patterns, whereas only four students (31%) integrated 2/4 patterns. Nine students (69%) made use of recurring statements to establish patterns or rhythm in their retellings and to emphasize a theme. This was the most identifiable cultural feature in the retellings from students in this class and examples will display how this feature is skillfully employed by many of the students. In addition, seven

students (54%) made use of speech in their retellings to move the plot forward and the degree to which it was used varied from retellings with two verses of speech to one with 11 verses of speech. In terms of dialogic pairs, six students (46%) included this feature in their retelling in a way that helped mark particular units (e.g., stanzas). Finally, four students (31%) clearly included epilogues in their retellings, while one student was coded as “maybe” in this category, which will be explained in more detail below.

Example 1: Participant 5

In what follows, six examples are presented that illustrate the variance within this class in terms of how “cultural features” of the original stories are echoed and transformed in students’ retellings. Further, in addition to illustrating how students engage with these narrative resources, interpretations are provided about the effects that making use of these cultural features may have for listeners. The first retelling is from Participant 5, and it is presented as a verse analysis below. Contributions by the researcher are labelled (R), the participant’s contributions are labelled (P), and those by other students are labelled (S).

Stanza Verse Text

- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|-------|
| a | (1) | P: Mmm, ok...um...the Wolves like, hmm...
their job was to push the waves up and down | R: Ok |
| | (2) | P: Because they were having too much fun playing with their, um, cubs.
They, they didn’t really have time to do it,
but, that’s sort of not how the story works,
but...they don’t really have time. | |
| | (3) | Um...they...they forgot to do their job, | |
| | (4) | So...the Starfish or the Clam shells went up to them and said:
“Please can...we’re getting really hungry, um,
can we please, can you please push the tide up,
so we can, have some food.” | |
| | (5) | And then they said:
“Um, later,
we’re having too much fun playing with our cubs” | |

- b (6) And then they said, um,
one hour later (emphasized) they said, um:
“Please we’re getting really hungry,
please can you just, um, push the tide up,”
- (7) And they said:
“No, maybe later”
- (8) And then they forgot to do their job.
- c (9) And then, they went, um, tell their Creator,
and said, um...blah, blah, blah, blah,
um...they said, um:
“the Wolves aren’t, um, giving us some food,
can you please go talk to them?”
- (10) And then they said,
and then the Creator said.
I forget that part, hahaha.
And then...hmm...mind please do not go kookoo,
because I am talking to someone...(R: laughs)...
um, mind really
(R: So I’m just looking for what happened after that,
so they were talking, talking to the Creator after on the beach and...?)
- (11) They said, and then the Wolves said:
“Maybe later”
- (12) And then, hmm...they said,
I think, then...the Creator just,
a wave of his hand,
- (13) And then half of the Wolves were separated.
One half was turned into Orcas,
and one half was still plain old Wolves.

Verse analysis of this story reveals an impressive degree of organization and structuring in the retelling based around recurring patterns within groupings of lines. This particular example was chosen because of the interesting way in which rhythmic patterns organize the story. It is argued here that the rhythmic organization in this example is aided by cultural features present in the original story that this student makes use of as resources in organizing her retelling. Analysis of this example focuses on cultural features involving the use of verses of speech to carry the plot and the use of recurring statements that are argued to function in a similar way to the original, that is, to repeatedly emphasize the lesson of the story.

The analysis suggests the story has three main parts (stanzas). The stanzas themselves include either three or five verses and it is argued that, in a way somewhat similar to the original story, this organization sets up rhythmic three and five part patterns that play an important role in marking points of *emphasis* in this retelling. First of all, within each of the three stanzas a pattern of “onset, ongoing, outcome” is relevant (Hymes, 1981). In stanza (a) this pattern occurs when, first, the Wolves’ job is explained (onset), then, the detail is added that the Wolves were playing with their cubs (ongoing), then, a statement emphasizing the Wolves’ misbehaviour is added that seems like the outcome of this set. Stanza (a) then continues with two verses which seem to fit into an interlocking pattern with verse (3). These verses describe the Shell’s first petition to the wolves (since they forgot their job) and a subsequent outcome of the Wolves’ response. There is also some organization that seems relevant to this three part pattern between the stanzas, but — possibly due to memory issues on the part of this student — it is not as clear.

Three and five part patterns then continue within subsequent stanzas. Stanza (b) is marked as separate from stanza (a) with the phrase “one hour later” signifying the passage of time. This stanza repeats the dialogue between the Wolves and the Shells a second time leading to another outcome, a recurring statement of how the Wolves “forgot to do their job.” Stanza (c) begins by introducing a new character as the Shells speak to the Creator about the Wolves. In this way, the third stanza is marked by a change in the characters included in the action. This is followed with the third petition to the Wolves, this time by the Creator (verse 10), and then a third “maybe later” by the Wolves (verse 11) and two concluding actions (verse 12 & 13). The five verses in stanza (c) also fit together as an interlocking pattern, where verse (11) both completes one action, with the Wolves’ response to the Creator, and initiates another, where two steps (verse 12 & verse 13) lead to the Creator’s transformation of Wolves into Orcas. In this

way, five and three part patterns throughout the story suggest particular verses as “outcomes” and as further analysis will show, the use of cultural features within these patterns serves to skillfully mark these outcomes as points of emphasis and evaluation.

This retelling is a clear example of how patterns involving verses of speech and the use of recurring statements set up rhythms that emphasize specific points. Further, this marking of emphasis reveals what the student takes to be the main “theme” or “lesson” in the story. As in the original, speech features prominently in this retelling accounting for six out of the 13 verses. Verses that do not contain speech are heavily skewed to both the beginning and the ending of this retelling, and they consist largely of orientating information describing the Wolves’ job and the transformative action of the Creator. In this way, most of the “work” in plot development in this retelling is done by verses of speech (Thompson & Egesdal, 2008). In addition, many of these instances of speech are themselves recurring statements (for example verses 4 and 6) that give the retelling a clear rhythmic structure. Some verses of speech are also clear examples of echoing from the original story (verses 5, 7 and 11 especially) where the Wolves repeat approximations of “We’ll do it later” (Verse 15 in the original story). It is apparent that the student was engaging with the rhythmic nature of this speech in the original and is using it to organize her retelling.

This example also involves the use of recurring statements both in speech and as warning statements — and it is suggested that both of these types of recurring statements emphasize the lesson of the story. For example, a recurring warning statement occurs in the third verse in the first stanza and the final verse of the second stanzas with the phrase “they forgot to do their job” (verse 3 & verse 8). This is very similar to the recurring use of phrases like “they were forgetting their responsibility” in the original story, and as such, is clear evidence of how this student is

echoing this particular cultural feature. As in the original, these recurring statements occur at points in stanzas where they are relevant as outcomes. In this way, the student sets up a rhythmic structure in the retelling that closely echoes the original, and as such, repeatedly comments the wolves' irresponsibility. It is argued here that this repetition is a form of evaluation that draws the listener's attention to this particular element of the plot. In drawing attention to the wolves' irresponsibility, the student is telling the researcher what the story is "about," — and in doing so, is answering the "so what?" question. The engagement with cultural features by this student is evidence sophisticated narrative skills: This student skillfully "echoes" rhythmic and repetitive structures in the original story in order to provide an individual evaluation of what the story is about in her retelling.

In further support of this interpretation, various statements from this participant in the interview after her retelling suggest that she was interpreting the story as focused on the wolves forgetting to do their job. When asked if the characters in the story learned anything, she responded "Yes, they learned to do their job...their special job." When asked what the story was about she responds, "It's about...trying to do your best" and when asked if she learned anything from the story she responded, "I learned...um, to do it right away, because sometimes I just doddle around." This point about doing a job "right away" was emphasized by the cultural educator when discussing the lesson after this story; and it seems to be a point that this student has found personally meaningful. Both the interview data and use of recurring statements in the retelling confirm that for this student the story was about how the Wolves continuously "forgot" to do their job, and because of this, were turned into Orcas by the Creator. Based on the above evidence, it is argued that this student is "using" the story in a similar way to the cultural

educator. One “rhetorical effect” of this retelling involves emphasizing the lesson of the story to the audience, so they know the consequence of behaving as the wolves did.

Example 2: Participant 3

The second example demonstrates how for some students patterned structures of the original story may help them remember specific parts of the story and to stay on track in their retellings. The following example was the longest in this class and contained a fair amount of stuttering and recasting in its delivery. Here, it is argued that echoing recurring patterned elements from the original story helped this student push through the stuttering to produce a well organized and very complete retelling. The example is presented below:

Stanza Verse Text

- a (1) P: Hmm...I think what happened was, well, um, there, um, well...um, the water comes, the water in the ocean comes in and and out,
like the tide,
(2) And it, and it was the Foxes, and the,
and the Wolf’s job to make sure that happened.
(3) So...its, like, they’re too busy playing with their cubs
(R: Oh ok).
- b (4) So, so, so...then the Shellfish came up,
and said, and, and said, that they should do it...that they should do it...that, one,
that time.
And the Shellfish said that they should just do it, one, that they should do
it, just for a coup...for a little bit later, and how, cause,
And they said that cause their families were getting hungry,
(5) And then they played for...
And then they still got distracted,
from doing their job but,
from playing.
(6) And then they said...
And then they said.
- c. (7) And then the Shellfish came up to them again,
cause their families were getting really REALLY (emphasized) hungry.
So...so...and they were worried about their families,

- (8) So, so they came up to them and said, said
 “Hey, we need you to bring the tide in now,
 our families are getting really REALLY (emphasized) hungry”
- (9) said, and, and they said:
 “Oh, just a bit more,
 we need to play with our cubs.”
- d (10) And then they went,
 and then ALL (emphasized) of the Shellfish went to the lead,
 went to, to, to the Creator,
- (11) And they said, and they talked about it with the Creator, about what was going on,
 and telling them that their, that they, that their families were getting really,
 really hungry.
 And, and so, and, and, and that the Wolves were playing with their
 cubs
 not bringing the water in, and out...
- (12) And so what they did,
 so what he did is the leader went down and spoke with them.
- (13) And then, and then what he did, is he,
 and then they wanted a bit more time with them,
- (14) And they said, and he said
 “Well, it’s good to spend time with your cubs, but..uh, but we need you,
 but, but we need you to actual, but we need you to go, and,
 and to make the water come in and out.”
- e (15) And then what he did was he split them into two (emphasized) groups.
- (16) And then, and then both,
 and then he turned half of them into Killer Whales.
 (S: didn’t he make Sharks?)
 No not Sharks.
- (17) And they, and then, and then...what happ, and then they,
 and then that’s why Wolves always howl at the MOON (emphasized),
- (18) And, and then, and that’s cause Orcas always come up close to the shore,
 cause, cause when the moon shines it lights up the ocean,
 and that’s, and they miss...their, their brothers and sisters that are
 in the ocean,
 so, they howl at the moon,
 cause they can see them,
- (19) And their, and that’s why some Orcas come up really close to the shore,
 and then the water sprays out of their blow hole
 to say hello to, to all their friends that are now on land.

This lengthy example shows that this student had a very detailed memory of the story. In the interview he expressed that he liked the story very much and before the retelling he said, “And, and I also, and if you want, and if you want to know what it means, I can, I know what it means” suggesting that he felt he knew the story and its lesson well. This retelling is included to demonstrate how for this particular student, rhythmic organization around pattern numbers is helping him stay on track in his attempt to retell a story he feels he knows particularly well. This retelling includes a fair amount of recasting where words, points and lines are repeated directly after one another. This type of recasting can make children’s narratives seem off topic and confused. In this example, however, the verse analysis displays a fair amount of organization within the retelling despite this recasting.

The story itself consists of five main stanzas. Stanza (a) consists of three verses and focuses on introducing the wolves and their job. Stanza (b) contains three verses and consists of the shells first request to the wolves and their response. Stanza (c) is three verses long, and it is the most structured. It consists of the shells second request to the wolves and the wolves’ response. Stanza (d) is five verses long and focuses on the Creator’s request to the wolves, their response and the Creator’s pronouncement. The retelling then ends with a final stanza (e) that begins with the Creators transformation of the wolves and ends with a descriptive discussion of the effect of this transformation. Three and five part patterns are clear throughout this retelling. These patterns, along with changes in intonation (verbal stressing of particular words) seem to emphasize the Wolves’ *continual* misbehaviour and irresponsibility. This is most clear in stanza (c) where verbal stressing emphasizes a recurring pattern of interaction between the shells and the wolves, “the shellfish came up to them again, cause their families were getting, really

REALLY hungry” (verse 7). Interestingly, this particular stanza is the most speech heavy and seems to most clearly echo the dialogic pattern in the original.

Stanzas (b) and (d) contain the most recasting and stuttering, but in both, the student eventually returns to the plot of the story. With some flexibility to allow for recasting, 3/5 patterns still seem to occur in the organization of these stanzas. In stanza (b) recasting comes up in all three verses, and the stanza ends with a verse including the recasting “they said” without the actual quotation. This recasting may be an attempt on the part of the student to remember the details of the story “right,” or it could reflect difficulties in speech production, but it clearly leads to some confusion in the retelling at this point. Stanza (d) contains recasting in verse (10) and verse (12), and this time the confusion seems cleared up with the final verse in the stanza, the longest example of quoted speech in the retelling. This speech completes the five part pattern within the stanza as the Creator’s final pronouncement about the behavior of the wolves (the outcome of this unit).

Despite this recasting in the two stanzas, there is also organization, and it is argued here that this organization allows the student to remember and produce all of the major plot actions in the story even though he finds its delivery difficult. This complete production may be aided by three part patterns of “onset, ongoing, outcome” that are present in some, but not all, of the stanzas in this retelling. For example, though stanza (b) is full of confusion, it does seem to conform to this pattern. It begins with the shells asking the wolves (onset), this is followed by a discussion of how the wolves are busy (ongoing) and then by a repetition of “they said” where the actual speech is not reported (outcome). Stanza (e) does not follow this pattern; instead it echoes the epilogue in the original in three verses, and as such, seems like a final outcome making the story relevant in the present day. Stanza (a) and (c) can both be interpreted as

reflecting “onset, ongoing and outcome” patterns, where the outcome in both cases places emphasis on the wolves’ misbehaviour (once as a statement, and once through their speech). Stanza (d) is an example of the interlocking pattern where verse (12) ends one action and begins another. This organization also seems marked by an initial particle of “and so,” which sets verse (12) apart from two other patterns of “and then, and they.”

In summary, this example shows evidence of clear 3/5 patterns that may help this student organize the story even though at times he seems off track. There are a number of examples where cultural features are “echoed,” specifically in terms of dialogic speech patterns in stanza (c), recurring statements at the end of stanzas (a) and (b), and three epilogue-like verses in stanza (e). What is most highlighted in this example though is not this echoing, but instead, how this student makes use of a recurring action pattern of shells asking wolves and wolves acting irresponsibly to help him stay on track. It is this repetitive pattern of action that the student seems concerned about getting “right” in the retelling, which he does so well in stanza (c), and it is argued here that this pattern makes the retelling seem coherent despite the many mistakes in its production.

Analysis of this retelling shows how 3/5 patterns allow this student to organize his detailed memory of the actions of the story and to tell the story back showing that he knows “what it means.” An interaction with another student about the animals the wolves were turned into (verse 18) is further evidence that this student was concerned with getting the story right.⁶ When asked about the lesson in the story he stated that the wolves learned “it’s important to do

⁶ This interaction is further elaborated in the interview where the two boys have a discussion about whether it was Sharks or Whales that the Wolves were transformed into. In this discussion Participant 5 first tells the other boy that he didn’t like the interruption. The other boy then explains that he was not actually saying what Participant 5 thought he was saying. This leads Participant 5 to apologize. The fact that this discussion continued after the retelling constitutes further evidence of how concerned Participant 5 was with “telling the story right.”

your job...right away,” which seems in line with repetitive statements that wolves are too busy playing. When he was asked about his favorite part of the story he again focuses on how the wolves were “learning a lesson...about doing their jobs right away.” Analysis of this retelling provides evidence that the focus on oral traditions in this cultural education program is providing a space for this student to explore the importance of repetitive patterns in organizing narrative. He is clearly focused on the “telling the story right” and the repetitive patterns within the story help keep him on track. This patterning, despite a few missteps, thus seems relevant as a resource that helps him to produce a detailed, lengthy and coherent retelling of the story.

Example 3: Participant 12

The next example is a shorter retelling that is representative of the shorter retellings from this class. This example is a retelling of “Eagle and Snail,” and it is presented to explore how a short retelling can still display substantial organizational structuring. In comparison to the two examples presented above, however, there seems to be less echoing of cultural features in this retelling. The student seems more concerned with detailing the main actions in the story in a succinct form, and doing so in a way that emphasizes a particular point of interest. This example is presented as a demonstration of how a lengthy oral narrative is modified in a retelling to fit this student’s ideas of how to explain the gist, or important details, of a story. The retelling is presented below:

Stanza Verse Text

- | | |
|---|--|
| a | (1) Um, well um, the Bald Eagle, um,
needed some extra eyes |
| | (2) And he took the Snail’s eyes, |
| | (3) And um, they traded eyes. |
| | (4) And, they uh, and then the Eagle,
um, got some fish. |

- (5) And then, and then they had, like,
a big feast and stuff
R: Ok, um...do um, do you remember anything more about that story?
Do you remember how it began?
- b (6) P: Um, well...let's, well um, he was sitting in his tall tree,
and he um...he was in his favorite tree,
(7) And he um...and he saw the Master,
(8) And the Master said that people are coming,
to the...to the city,
(9) And then um, he traded the Snail's eyes
(10) And he, and then the Snail, um,...
got a brand new shell

The analysis suggests this retelling contains two main parts (stanzas) that are separated by probing from the researcher to see if the student remembered any more information. These two parts are clearly organized as two five-part action sequences. Stanza (a) contains parallelism in the first three verses in that they all discuss the Bald Eagle's attainment of "eyes." A three part pattern situates verse (3) "And then they traded eyes" in the center as an interlocking outcome of verses (1) and (2) and the onset of verses (4) and (5). This structure points to the trading of the eyes as the most important action in the stanza for this student. Specifically, it emphasizes the trading of the eyes as the action that leads to the feast; this seems to be what enables the Eagle to catch the fish. In the interview, this student states that he finds this particular action "funny" and he elaborates on what it would be like to see an Eagle with the eyes of a Snail. When compared with the lack of detail in other aspects of the retelling, a point explored further below, this repetition of "eyes" is particularly striking.

In many ways, stanza (a) could be taken as a complete retelling. It ends with a "great big feast" which is the outcome of the Eagle's catching of fish after trading eyes with the Snail. It is a shortened version, but it seems to be brought to a conclusion. The listener is aware of what happened in the story, and can grasp what the student sees as important, but it is unclear why the

actions took place. In addition, there is very little discussion of who is involved in the story in this first stanza. Two characters are mentioned (Eagle and Snail), but one is left wondering whether the “they” is meant to include only these two or others, as a “feasts” often do. The characteristics lacking in this retelling seem somewhat like what Peterson & McCabe (1983) have called “orientation” that they find develops gradually among children in their personal narration. From analysis of this first stanza, this student seems to display some organizational skill in how he emphasizes important actions in a story, but seems to worry less about orienting listeners to the larger context of the actions.

Stanza (b) only appears after a prompt by the researcher and in many ways repeats some of the main actions discussed in stanza (a). It begins by elaborating on the situation of the Eagle in three verses (6, 7, 8) and this time adds the additional character of “the Master.” This elaboration provides some information about why the Eagle wants the Snail’s eyes, but still many details are left out. Verse (9) then again repeats the switching of the eyes and verse (10) concludes with adding some additional information that the Eagle gave the Snail a new shell in return. When taken with stanza (a), this second stanza seems to function largely in terms of providing additional information that was missed in the original summary, and the repetition again seems to place focus on the trading of the eyes as the most important action in the story. It leads to the feast in stanza (a) and in stanza (b) it is followed by the making of a shell for the Snail, the other “outcome” of the story.

In the interview after his retelling, this student expressed some difficulty in remembering the details of the story, which the short retelling attests to. Despite this, he had a clear understanding of the lesson, specifically saying, “Um...well I only, I learned just one thing. That, that Bald Eagle didn’t snatch or anything.” This statement suggests that the student understood

the story was “about” not “snatching” eyes but instead “trading” eyes, which in the end leads the Eagle to make a shell for the Snail. This lesson of not just taking things we want but asking first was explicitly emphasized by the storyteller and student’s repetitive focus on the “trading” of eyes suggests that he was pointing to a similar lesson in his retelling.

Even though the analysis reveals some organization among groups of lines in this short summary of the story, this organization does not seem to reveal an “echoing” of cultural features as clearly as the previous two. Patterning in terms of five part sequences does seem present and there are some repetitive phrases with the term “eyes”; however, the way in which quoted speech marks important events (there is no quoted speech in the retelling at all) and the ways in which recurring statements are rhythmically employed to emphasize the theme in the story does not seem as evident. This student seemed to grasp the meaning of this story and displayed some skill in summarizing the story and pointing out what was important to him in this summary, but narrative resources contained in cultural features seemed to play less of a role in the process. Despite this, verse analysis of this retelling is still useful in pointing out some organization in this student’s retelling that may often be unrecognized, especially in such a short narrative.

Example 4: Participant 6

The fourth example is also a short retelling; however, in this case the original story was also short. This example is a retelling of the story of the Dzunuḱ’wa or the “wild woman of the forest.” Students in this class heard this story during the museum tour in relation to masks the educator was discussing. Unfortunately, there were issues in the audio recording of the museum tour with this particular class. A recording of this story as it was told during a museum tour was made for another class, and this recording is the one analyzed in *Appendix C*. This version in *Appendix C* is similar enough to the one told for this class to serve as evidence of its short length

when compared to the other stories.⁷ This example is included to provide further evidence of how verse analysis is useful in revealing patterns of organization even in short narratives, and in addition, as evidence in support of an interpretation that this student is using the retelling to explore a particular function common in the storytelling tradition that the educator presents. The retelling is presented below:

Stanza Verse Text

- | | |
|---|---|
| a | (1) Um...she gets to villages,
(2) And steals children
and puts them in baskets
(3) And takes them home,
to a cave and eat them. |
| b | (4) But...usually, when you...see her,
she, she's like,
well, is yawning and yawning,
(5) And uh, just wait until she falls asleep
(6) Then hop out the basket and go home. |
| c | (7) And...if you ever know that <u>K</u> ulus is walking around looking at you,
(8) Stay under your Grandma or Grandpa,
or Mom or Dad.
(9) So...so you don't get stolen by <u>K</u> ulus |

Though this is a very short retelling (it is one of the shortest in terms of word count at 84 words), it still contains clear patterning among groups of lines. This analysis suggests that the story consists of three main stanzas, each of which is three verses long, and as such, the students' retelling displays clear skill in terms of how he organizes the actions of the story in three part patterns. The three stanzas are particularly well marked by initial particles followed by pauses (e.g., But..., And...) that introduce new sections (verse 4 & verse 7), and the content of each stanza is clearly distinct. In stanza (a) for example the focus is on Kulus (Dzunuk'wa) and describing the typical behavior of this character. Stanza (b) then switches to a discussion of how

⁷ The short length of this story is the main point of relevance here and thus a similar telling at a subsequent museum tour should suffice as evidence supporting this point.

children can out smart Kulus and stanza (c) ends off the retelling with a warning for children so they don't get caught. The student gets the name of the character confused as Kulus, in Kwakwaka'wakw tradition, is the name of a supernatural sea bird that is a younger relation of the Thunderbird (U'mista Cultural Society, 2003). Kulus was mentioned on the museum tour and also in the TV series Raven Tales, which this class had watched (field notes) and the student may have picked up this name from either of those sources.

Despite this confusion over the character's name, this short retelling contains much of the Dzunuk'wa story as it is told during the museum tour. The student mentions what Dzunuk'wa does (steals children), how to escape (sneak out of her basket, because of her sleepiness), and that children should be worried about the Dzunuk'wa. Since the original story was told when students are looking at the Dzunuk'wa mask, it contains descriptions of characteristics of the mask, characteristics that in turn could help children recognize Dzunuk'wa. These characteristics include: "pursed lips," vocalizations "Ugg, Ugg," and discussions of sleepy eyes (see *Appendix C*). In stanza (b), especially in verse (4), Participant 6 echoes this focus on physical characteristics.

When taken as a whole the story seems to be largely told as a warning to other kids, first of who Dzunuk'wa is, then of how you get away from Dzunuk'wa, then of how you avoid her. Based on this evidence, it is proposed that the student is also exploring a function of this story as it is told by the educator (its use a warning to children). The student seems to clearly understand that this story is a warning, and the rhythmic three-part structure emphasizes this warning to his audience. As with the other short retelling in example 4, this retelling does not contain evidence of cultural features involving recurring statements or the use of quoted speech, but the original story did not make use of these strategies either. Instead, the original focused on describing a

character in detail as a warning to children and evidence has been presented that suggests this student may be structuring his retelling to “make use” of the story in a similar way.

This retelling also includes verses that have been included in the discussion of epilogues (though only under “maybe” because their use in this way is less clear). These verses are the last 3 verses of the retelling (stanza c). These verses were coded as somewhat like an epilogue because they seem to bring the story into present day imagination by warning other children to be on the lookout for Dzunuk’wa, “And...if you ever know that Kulus (Dzunuk’wa) is walking around looking at you.” The entire retelling seems focused as a warning, but these verses may most strongly bring the warning into the imagination of listeners by personalizing it with statements like “if *you* ever.” In addition, the rhythmic three part patterns in this retelling along with this personalization of the warning may serve to make the point of the story especially memorable for listeners.

Example 5: Participant 7

The next example is another longer retelling and it is included to provide further evidence of how students interact with cultural features of the original story in unique ways. This example is similar in many ways to example 1, as the student seems interested in features involving quoted speech and recurring statements, but this example also provides evidence of how some students “transform” patterns from the original story in their retellings. The example, a retelling of the “The story about the Wolves,” is presented below:

Scene Stanza Verse Line

(A)	(a)	(1)	P: Um, the Wolf’s had a job,
		(2)	And the job was to...
			get the water,
			make sure the water to, that comes in and out.

- (3) And...and the Wolves also liked to play with their pups,
- (b) (4) And one day they were playing with their pups,
- (5) And the water animals said:
 “Can you please get...”
 and for a few days...then...the water pups were...
 the water, the Sea Creatures were saying:
 “Can you please...please get us some water”
- (6) And then, they said
 “Maybe, a lit..a little later”
- (c) (7) But...and then...but then the Wolf’s said
 “Maybe a little bit...”
- (8) Can...and the Sea Creatures said,
 “can we, you haven’t given us water”
- (9) And the Wolf’s said
 “Maybe a little bit later...
 play with our cubs”
- (d) (10) And then they played for a few more days
- (11) And then the Sea Creatures came back, back, and they said...
 “Now can we have our water,”
- (12) But the Wolves said:
 “maybe a little bit later,
 we are playing with our cubs”
- (e) (13) And, and then the Sea Creature came,
 came looking for again,
- (14) And they said
 “Now can we please have some water”
- (15) And the Wolves said, and um
 “Maybe at the end of the day”
- (B) (f) (16) So then they...and then the Sea creatures was going to find the Chief,
 and the Chief,
 and they told the Chief the story,
- (17) And...and then the Chief went to the wolves and said:
 “‘You should give them’ ...um...the Sea Creatures....
 your...some water.”
- (18) And, but, and the Wolves said
 “Maybe a little bit later”
- (19) But the, and the Chief was mad,
- (20) So he turned half of the...the Wolves into Orca Whales.

This example displays a number of similarities to the first example in terms of how cultural features of the story are echoed. It is a longer retelling and one of the few retellings organized in terms of scenes. The break in the scenes is marked by a change of characters with the introduction of the Chief. This leads to a structure where there are five stanzas within the first scene and where the second scene, functioning largely as a conclusion, is one stanza with five verses. A recurring three part pattern of an introductory line, a request from the Water animals and a response from the Wolves begins in stanza (b) and is continued throughout the retelling, where at the end it fits into an interlocking pattern in stanza (f). This is a very rhythmic pattern, and as with example 2, it may help this participant get back on track in her storytelling at times (see especially verse 5).

Cultural features relating to the use of speech and recurring statements are echoed throughout the retelling, and as with the first example, there is evidence suggesting that this student makes use of these narrative resources to emphasize specific points of interest. Eleven of the 20 verses in this retelling contain speech, and the retelling is one of the most speech heavy in this class. Clearly then, speech carries much of the plot in this retelling. Further, in this example, verses of speech also contain recurring statements that relate to and emphasize the theme of the story. In this case, the statements are not present as separate warnings as in the retelling from participant 5, but they are clearly present in the character's speech. Specifically, the phrase "maybe a little bit later" is repeated a total of six times in this retelling; four times this phrase is included as the ending of a stanza and once it plays a role in an interlocking patterns (stanza f). In this way the repetitive three part patterns place these verses of speech as the outcome of a number of stanzas in the retelling. In addition, clear parallelism in the wording of this phrase serves to further emphasize its importance in the story and may make it especially memorable.

Interestingly, the Wolves fail to respond to the Sea Creatures request five times in this retelling. This is an extension of the three times they are asked to bring the water up in the original and this could serve to further emphasize the Wolves' misbehaviour, at least for this student. This elaboration of a three part pattern to a five part pattern is thus an example of the "transformation" of a cultural feature as the three part pattern seems to be "varied" by the narrator for a particular effect (Hymes, 2003), in this case to provide additional emphasis on an important point. Evidence from the interview with Participant 7 confirms this interpretation. The participant stated that in the story the Wolves learned, "to give the Sea Creatures the water," and that she learned to do "what they say right away." This focus on doing tasks right away (a similar focus to participant 3 and 5) seems in line with her elaboration of plot in terms of how the Wolves *repeatedly* said they would do it "later." In addition, the place of this action as an outcome of three part patterns on a number of occasions shows how the student clearly recognized the importance of the wolves' misbehaviour to the plot of the story. This analysis thus reveals considerable skill on the part of this participant in terms of how she organizes repetitive patterns that emphasize the wolves' misbehaviour in her retelling, and there is also evidence suggesting that this student is transforming a pattern to provide additional emphasis.

Example 6: Participant 11

One final example will illustrate most of the ways students are engaging with cultural features of the educator's narrative practice in this classroom. This final example was chosen to illustrate how some students in this class were *exploring* the use of various cultural features in their retellings without producing a narrative that is as skillfully organized as some of the examples previously discussed. In the following example it is argued that this student, through prompting by the researcher, *begins* to explore some ways of elaborating and organizing her

R: Mhmm

- (14) They, and the Land Animals,
 where their food came from the ocean,
 um, they went and talked to the Wolves
- (15) And they said,
 “Now we’ll do it later,”
- (16) And then they forgot,
- d (17) And then the Clam animals went and talked to the Creator,
 Jesus

R: Mhmm

- ...God,
- (18) And then, um. Hmm, what happens next.
 Oh, and then they turned into Orcas.
 He separated one half and then the other half.
- (19) That’s why, Wolves and Ware-wolves, um, howl at the moon.
- (20) And Whales, and like all the other animals,
 like some whales,
 and like, Orcas,
 have a blow hole and know how to spray,
 that means “I miss you,”
- (21) And when they howl at the moon
 that means “I miss you.”

The analysis suggests this participant’s retelling contains four main stanzas. Stanza (a) contains five verses, stanza (b) contains six verses that seem to be organized as three pairs, stanza (c) contains five verses and stanza (d) contains five verses. From this outline it is clear that 3/5 patterns organize most of the stanzas in this story. Stanza (b) is slightly different in that it contains six verses, but these verses seem best taken as three pairs of verses due to the way in which they are broken up by researcher comments. Stanza (b) is interrupted twice by the researcher asking for elaboration and after the interruptions the participant responds with two verses elaborating more of the story, and as such, the two verses between interruptions seem to fit together.

In terms of plot movement this retelling is quite fragmented, but in some interesting ways it seems to be a mix of two stories the educator told. The first stanza, much like in example 3, can be taken as a summary of the story about the wolves. The five part structure of this stanza

leads to the final outcome of the wolves knowing what it was like to need water and through an interlocking pattern it places emphasis on the wolves' job (verse 3) and its relation to this outcome. After the student has completed this summary the researcher probes her for more information. In response to this probe the student begins, not with the start of the "The story about the Wolves," but instead with a retelling of the "The gathering of the animals." This story was told before the "Story about the wolves" during the cultural education session and is the first story in *Appendix C*. Stanza (b) then retells the gathering of the animals in three two part sequences separated by probes from the researcher. As the researcher probes with questions the student's descriptions of actions in the story become more elaborate in verses (8) and (9), at which point the student echoes a verse speech from the original (verse 9). Verse (10) and (11) then finish this story and start the next.

Stanzas (c) and (d) then continue "The story about the wolves," and in these stanzas there is evidence the student further explores some of the "cultural features" she began to recruit in stanza (b). First of all, the use of speech returns in verse (15), detailing the Wolves' response to a request from the Land Animals. At this point the speech brings attention to the Wolves' irresponsibility regarding their job and it clearly echoes their response in the original story. Secondly, the phrase "they forgot" is repeated twice in this stanza (verse 13 & 16). With these repetitions the student seems to be beginning to echo the use of recurring statements relating to the theme, the cultural feature employed so well by Participant 5 and Participant 7. With verse (16) the recurring statement is also placed at the end of the stanza, as an important outcome, in a similar way to the original story. Stanza (d) then begins with the "Clam animals" approaching the Creator (who is equated with Jesus by the student, possibly as an attempt to familiarize the story) in verse (17). This is quickly followed by the Creator's response of turning the Wolves

into Orcas in the next verse. Verse (18) then starts as the first of three outcomes that clearly echo the epilogue of the original story. Verses (19 & 20) conclude the retelling by delineating the meaning of orca (verse 19) and wolf (verse 20) behaviour in the present day with parallel statements of “that means I miss you.”

The echoing of cultural features in this example only appears after substantial probing by the researcher. Further, though cultural features such as verses of speech and recurring statements relating the theme are present, they do not seem to contribute to a rhythmic structure in the retelling as much as they do in some other examples that have been reviewed. The most skillful echoing of a cultural feature in this example involves the clear epilogue in the last three verses of the final stanza. This epilogue echoes the original in both form and content. As with the original, the epilogue comes at the end of the narrative (the last three verses) and they are marked with explanatory particles (that’s why [V18]; that means [V19]; that means [V20]). In terms of content the verses describes how the transformation of the wolves to orcas in the story can explain present day behaviors of wolves and orcas, and in this way, these verses seem to make the lesson of the story (the behavior leading to the transformation) both relevant in the present time and memorable.

Finally, this example also brings up a new characteristic about oral traditions that the student seems interested in. It is the clearest example in this class where the student seems interested in interconnections between the stories. During her interview Participant 7 also seemed to be exploring interconnections between stories. She discussed how her grandfather was teaching her a number of different stories, many of which had lessons, and she uses this experience as a way to introduce a number of her own stories about animals when she is asked to tell a creative story. For Participant 11, however, two stories that could be taken as separate

make their way into one retelling. Both “The gathering of the animals” and “The story of the wolves” focus on animals helping one another, with special gifts, or by doing a special job, and that could be a similar theme the student is picking up, leading her to see them as connected. This interpretation is supported by comments the participant made in her interview about characters in both the gathering of the animals story and the story about the wolves learning “responsibility.”

Interconnectedness among stories is an important feature of oral traditions. For example, Kroeber (1998) suggests that for many Native American communities, “Oral narratives are built of ‘modular’ units, or particular episodes that can be combined in different ways or told as independent stories” (p. 82). In addition, there are many examples where Native American storytellers end their story performances with phrases that can be translated into something like, “Now I only know so far,” – made famous as Hymes’ (2003) book title – which point to the ongoing and continuous nature of oral narrative. The way in which these two stories are integrated into one retelling by this student suggests she is particularly interested in the connections between the stories she heard from the educator and that she is exploring this particular “feature” of the oral tradition in her story retelling.

The verse analysis of stories told by the cultural educator and students’ retellings of these stories was conducted to explore two main research questions. First, verse analysis was proposed as a framework that would be useful in revealing dimensions of the educator’s storytelling that could be described as “cultural features” due to their role in the storytelling tradition the cultural educator was presenting. Second, students retellings were examined (as verse) in terms of how these cultural features might be echoed and transformed by students for particular rhetorical effects. Based on the evidence presented above, verse analysis was effective in both revealing

cultural features of the educator's storytelling and how students interact with these features in their retellings. This analysis has thus provided some evidence of how this cultural education program is providing a space for children to explore forms of narrative skills that are emphasized in the oral storytelling tradition the educator is sharing. Examination of retellings in a subsequent classroom will focus especially on how this engagement with cultural features may differ for older children with more experience with both verbal and written narrative.

Chapter 5: Verse Analysis for Class B

The analysis for Class B is organized in a similar way to that of Class A. First, a verse analysis of the stories from the cultural educator is presented to develop a set of "cultural features." Following this students' retellings are examined to explore how children echo and transform these cultural features. Some cultural features explored with this class are similar to those explored with Class A, whereas others are especially prominent in the stories from this cultural educator.

The Second Cultural Educator's Storytelling

This section begins with an analysis of the first story told to this class by the cultural educator. This story was chosen as the focus for several reasons. First, it was the story that most of the students in this class chose to retell (11 out of 15 students). Second, it contains some clear examples of cultural features that are evident in this educator's storytelling. Third, there are two recordings available for this story, which allows for the examination of consistency in the use of cultural features in a subsequent telling (see *Appendix D*), and fourth, it was the best recording

available for this class.⁸ The first story the educator told to Class B was the story of the Dzunuk'wa, from the Kwakwaka'wakw people of Tsax'is (Fort Rupert). The educator reports that he learned this story from friends of his who are members of a prominent family in this community. After he had learned this story, he reports he was given permission to share it through his program and he has given his permission this story to be shared for analytical purposes in this project. Below, a section of the story analyzed as verse is presented to draw attention to various cultural features. The same 4 step procedure that was used for the verse analyses of the first educator's stories and retellings from students in Class A was employed to perform this analysis. So as to save space only a section of this story is presented. The full transcription of this story and the story profile are available in *Appendix C*.

Act II

Scene D

Stanza Verse Line

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| k | (41) | Well our story starts out,
early one morning |
| | (42) | The little guy walks out of his Big House,
and he's looking around,
and he sees the three boys heading up into the forest, |
| | (43) | And he runs after them like he always did:
"Hey guys, where you going?" |
| l | (44) | And of course, they did what they always do:
"Hey funny face" |
| | (45) | And one of the boys said:
"Hey man, we're going in the deep forest and having a real adventure" |
| | (46) | Oh, the little guys eyeballs got as big, as round as saucers:
"Guy's guy's, No no no, |

⁸ Two of three recordings of stories for this class did not work well because of technical problems with the recording device. In order to discuss the four examples where students in this class retold a different story, an earlier telling of that story by this educator to a different class that was better recorded will be examined. As a comparative analysis of a subsequent telling of "Dzunuk'wa" will show, this educator maintained much of the verse structure of the stories when he told them to different classroom audiences (see *Appendix D*). Making use of a different telling of a story when discussing a few examples is not ideal, but due to the abundant similarities in subsequent tellings from this educator and the excellent data from students in this classroom, it seems justifiable.

- you guys' know the Elders told us never to go into the deep forest"
- (47) And they started to laugh:
 "Ha ha, yeah, you really are stupid kid,
 of course they don't want to say 'go have an adventure'"
- (48) "No, guy's, guy's, you know that's where Dzunuk'wa lives"
- (49) Now they really started to laugh:
 "Ha ha, Dzunuk'wa Shmunuk'wa,
 kid you are a dummy,
 of course there's no such thing as Dzunuk'wa"
- m (50) And then they reached down to get a stick.
 When they straightened up, he was gone.
- (51) "Oh, did you guys see him go?"
- (52) "No, man can that little kid move, come on let's go"
- (53) And so the three boys started up into the forest.
- E
n (54) Now the little guy was watching them, from his point of safety.
 (55) And he thought to himself:
 They're going to get in trouble,
 I know they're going to get in trouble,
 They really are.
 I know...I'll go into stealth mode and follow them,
 If they get in trouble maybe I can help them.
- (56) And so he did,
 he slipped into stealth mode and started to follow the boys.
- o (57) Well they went through the ordinary, everyday forest.
 (58) And then they went through what we call the second growth,
 where the trees are about um, two meters, a meter through.
- (59) Then they came to the old growth forest,
 where the trees are as big around as this ROOM (emphasized).
 and if all of us put our hands together,
 we couldn't get around the base of some of those trees.
- (60) And because they're so huge,
 and they reach so high up in the sky,
 their leaves, needles and branches stop the sun from shining
 through onto the forest floor.
 So the only thing that grows down there, is moss and ferns.
- (61) And because the sun doesn't shine down there,
 it's damp, it's clammy, it's cold, it's...spooky.
- p (62) Now the three boys,
 they walk into this forest and their eyes are popping right out of their head:
- (63) "Wow, look at this place, man oh man,
 look at that tree over there it's touching the sky,
 that one over there's got a cloud stuck in it,
 Ooo ooo, look at that branch over there, a hanging down,
 it looks just like an octopus.
 No wonder the Elders didn't want us to come here,
 What and adventure, yay"

- (64) They made their way deeper into that forest,
until they came to this big old spruce tree.
- (65) Now spruce are incredible,
they have roots that start way up there,
and they come down like this,
and they're solid walls of wood,
there was like room where you could hide your
family for the winter.
- (66) And they go:
"Wow, look at that, we could put our whole family in there for the winter
Look at that root there,
Comes out its all brown and twisted and gnarled,
It looks just like Grandpa's knee"
- q (67) Now the little guy, he comes into the forest,
(68) And he looks into it and goes:
"Wow...this is not a good place to be,
I don't like the feeling of being in here,
we shouldn't be here,
this is spooky,
it's cold and wet and damp,
I don't like it in here,
I bet you I bet you this is where Dzunuk'wa lives,
Ahh ha, this was not a good place for us,
but wow is it ever a neat place"
- r (69) Now, those three boys,
they make their way around that tree,
they're not paying any attention,
they're giggling and laughing and looking at things,
(70) And that's when it happens (claps) WHAM,
one, two, three, Dzunuk'wa grabs them,
throws them in the basket and puts down the lid.
(71) "Huh" the little guy sees that happen:
"Oh I'll get a stick and whack her,
that wouldn't do any good,
ah rock, I'll smack her,
no that's, a rocks not going to be good,
I know, I'll go get help"
- F
s (72) So he turned around and it's fast as his little legs could go.
(73) Phew through the forest,
through the trees,
through the bushes,
back into the village.
(74) But when he gets to the village,
there's nobody there.
Not even a dog comes out to see him:
(75) "Ah man, we were supposed to go dig clams today,

- Oh now we are really in big trouble,
 what am I going to do,
 what am I going to do,
 wait, I got an idea”
- (76) He ran into his Dad’s house,
 and there hanging on the wall by Dad’s sleeping platform was Dad’s
 knife.
- t (77) Now knives in those days were not made from iron, bronze, copper, steel,
 they were made from a very special rock,
 a rock that had to be brought back by canoe,
 all the way from Oregon,
 from three volcanoes in Oregon.
 And it’s a volcanic glass called Obsidian.
- (78) And they would break big chunks of this,
 and pack it in,
 and people would trade for it.
- (79) Well once you got this big chunk you got to smack it off,
 and take of pieces,
 and then you’ve got to use a deer antler,
 and you got to chip it and flake it,
 and make it into a sharp tool.
- u (80) So...hard to find...hard to make,
 and...it’s made of glass.
- (81) If you drop a glass knife on the ground, what’s going to happen?
 (K: XXXX unintelligable)
 Yeah...tinkle, tinkle, a whole bunch of little knives not worth anything.
- (82) So his Dad had said to him
 “Don’t you ever play with my knife”
- (83) But he thought,
Ohh, we’re dead anyway.
- (84) So he grabbed his Daddy’s knife,
 and back he went through the forest as fast as he could go.
 Till up ahead he spots this Giant Woman...
 slowly making her way through the forest.
- v (85) Now all she’s thinking about is:
*Hmm hmm hmm, I’m going to go home and have...
 huh huh, barbequed boy for breakfast,
 Ohh maybe I’ll have boiled boy for brunch,
 Ohh Ohh boy drumsticks for lunch,
 Ohh nummers.*
- (86) Now the little guy slipped into super duper stealth mode,
 and he started to follow.
- (87) Closer, closer, closer, closer, closer,
 until he’s almost touching the Woman,
 he’s right there behind her like that.
 He matches his step with her.
- w (88) He then reaches up, cuts the basket,

- it's right over his head,
and with the knife he starts to cut the bottom of the basket.
- (89) And as it opens,
the first little kid stuck his head out,
he helps the first kid out,
the second kid,
the third kid.
- (90) The four of them sit there huddled on the forest floor.

In this example, a number of cultural features stand out that are both similar and different from those in the in the stories from the first cultural educator. First, patterns of three and five play a large role in organizing this story. The story of Dzunuk'wa is story is of Kwakwaka'wakw origin, and as mentioned in the previous chapter, some work with traditional stories in Kwak'wala suggests that two and four are the most important pattern numbers (Hymes, 2003; Berman, 1992). There is; however, some evidence that four part patterns may have existed originally in this story. For example, there are four boys as main characters, the three boys taunt the youngest boy twice about entering the forest and at times pairs of verses and lines seem significant in organizing the story (see stanza q in the excerpt). As with the stories from the first cultural educator, the hypothesis that patterns in oral stories change with translation (Hymes, 2003) may account for the prominent organizational patterns around number more typical in English language narratives in this story. Further evidence for this interpretation comes from an interview with the educator where he spoke about the cultural relevance of the number four to Kwakwaka'wakw culture and also confirmed that he learned the story himself in English. The educator also reports that in developing his educational program he often "embellished" and "expounded" on the original stories to make them relevant to the school audiences, and in this process the 3/5 patterns common in English may have become the most prominent.

As shown in the story profile in *Appendix C*, the analysis of this story suggests it consists of three main parts (acts) and these acts each consist of three scenes. Based on this analysis then;

three is an important and recurring pattern number at the level of act and scene. Most of the scenes include either three or five stanzas. There is one exception to this in scene (A), which consists of two stanzas. Each stanza in the story then consists of either three or five verses with a few exceptions. In most cases these exceptions within stanzas involve pairs of verses (usually involving dialogue) that are organized at higher levels into five or three parts. For example, in Act (II), stanza (q) consists of two verses, and in this case separating stanza (q) in this way is most relevant to the rhetorical patterning in the scene (see *Table 3* below). With a few exceptions then, 3/5 patterning is abundant in organizing this story at various levels.

Further, in this story there is evidence of rhetorical structure at various levels that is often similar to the “onset, ongoing, outcome” sequence common in 3/5 patterns (Hymes, 1981; 1996; 2003). In describing this pattern Hymes (2003) states that, “in so far as such relations establish an expectation of outcome, a sense of rightness as outcome of what comes second or third, they are persuasive, and it can be appropriate to speak of them as rhetorical” (p. 248). More specifically, as a “rhetorical” pattern, Hymes proposes that recurring 3/5 patterns play a role in “arousing and satisfying expectation” in listeners such that the final component of the sequence is reliably expected as an outcome. Tracing these patterns at various levels in the story develops the validity of the verse analysis and reveals the thoroughly patterned structure of the story. *Table 3* presents an analysis of the plot content at the level of act, scene and stanza in this story that displays this rhetorical structure. In order to save space these three part patterns will not be described in detail, but the descriptions of plot content covered by each act, scene and stanza should make them apparent.

Table 3: *Rhetorical structure of the Dzunuk'wa story at levels of act, scene and stanza*

Act	Scene	Stanza
I- Description of characters and relationships (*)	A- Description of Dzunuk'wa (*)	a- Dzunuk'wa eats kids (*) b- How to recognize Dzunuk'wa (*)
	B- Introduces the youngest boy, the three boys and the Elders (^)	c- The three boys and the youngest boy (*) d- Youngest boy wants to befriend the three boys (^) e- Youngest boy visits Elders about the three boys (+) f- Elders acknowledge youngest boy (*) g- Elders discuss the problem (^) h- Elders decide on solution (+) i- Solution doesn't work, youngest boy has idea (^) j- Youngest boy learns to be sneaky (+) k- Youngest boy goes to play with three boys (*) l- The boys discuss going into the forest (^) m- Youngest boy disappears, three boys enter the forest (+) n- Youngest boy watches, worries (*) o- Three boys enter the deep forest (^) p- Three boys react to the deep forest (+) q- Youngest boy reacts to the deep forest (^) r- Dzunuk'wa catches the three boys (+) s- Youngest boy returns to village (*) t- Description of the special knife (^) u- Youngest boy decides to steal the knife and returns to rescue the three boys (+) v- Youngest boy sneaks up behind Dzunuk'wa (^) w- Youngest boy rescues the three boys (+) x- The boys return to village (*) y- Youngest boy's father sees the special knife (^) z- Three boys tell of his heroics and are found out (+) aa- The boys are punished (*) bb- Three boys question youngest boy (^) cc- All four boys become friends (+) ab- Three boys become great hunters (+) ac- Youngest boy becomes Chief (+) ad- Youngest boys family are still hereditary Chiefs (+)
II- Description of the journey into the forest, the capture by Dzunuk'wa and the rescue (^)	C- Youngest boy learns from the Elders (+) D- Three boys decide to go to the deep forest (*)	
III- Description of the return, the characters' punishment and their changed relationships (+)	E- Three boys go into forest and get captured by Dzunuk'wa (^)	
	F- Youngest boy returns to village, steals the special knife and saves them (+) G- Boys return to the village, special knife is spotted, three boys tell of youngest boys heroics (*) H- Three boys are punished, youngest boy is punished, all four boys become friends (^) I- Describes the outcomes for the three boys and the youngest boy including their relevance to the present day (+)	

Note: *marks a section interpreted as “Onset,” ^Marks a section interpreted as “Ongoing,” +Marks a section interpreted as “Outcome”

In addition to revealing how 3/5 patterns organize a rhetorical structure in story plot, verse analysis of this excerpt reveals a number of techniques that seem relevant as “cultural features.” The first cultural feature that is evident in the second cultural educator’s storytelling involves the use of speech. This feature displays some similarities to use of speech in the stories with Class A, but it is argued here that this educator makes use of speech in some different ways. As the analysis for Class A made clear, many authors have described how verses of speech (as well as inner speech) function to carry important aspects of plot and theme in many Native American storytelling traditions (Thompson & Egesdal, 2008). In the excerpt above, it is argued that both speech and thought (inner speech) are heavily relied upon not just to move the plot forward, but also to *evaluate* important actions in this story by describing aspects of the characters inner states. These inner state descriptions include sensory impressions, feelings of excitement and decision making, and they often serve to *characterize* the individual responsible for them. This characterization of actors through speech then may play a role in highlighting the lesson of this story to the audience

Seventeen out of the 62 verses in act II (excerpt above) contain speech and three of these verses consist of thoughts expressed as inner speech. Verses of speech first appear in stanza (k) where verse (43) is a question from the youngest boy to the other three. Stanza (l) then consists of six verses of speech as the boys discuss the idea of going into the deep forest and stanza (m) contains two verses of speech where the three boys are surprised by the youngest boy’s sneakiness. In this way speech accounts for 9 of the 13 verses of scene (D) playing a large role in the plot development of this scene. It is argued here, however, that speech in this scene plays a more important role in characterizing the actors. The speech of the youngest boy (verses 43, 46, 48) consists of a question and two warnings directed towards the three other boys. In this way,

the youngest boy's speech begins to present him as a character who is both curious about what the other three are up to, but also concerned with listening to the Elder's advice. The speech from the three boys (verses 44, 45, 47, 49, 51 & 52) consist of four taunts to the youngest boy and two expressions of surprise. These verses of speech, conversely, present the three boys as unfriendly (though taunting) and somewhat naive (through surprise).

From this speech then, a picture is emerging of the main characters; the three boys are behaving irresponsibly as well as treating the other boy poorly, and in contrast, the youngest boy is emerging as one who is careful to listen to what he is told by the Elders. These characterizations also continue throughout the excerpt with one exception, where the youngest boy decides to behave irresponsibly and ignore the warning of his father (verse 85). This behavior then leads to consequences for the youngest boy in the final act, though his consequences are not as severe as the three other boys, who consistently ignore warnings. The emphasis on characterizing these boys differently in terms of their respect for the warnings of others through verses of speech highlights a lesson in the story, specifically, the importance of listening to Elders. Further, this lesson has resonance with what some Indigenous authors describe as a "reverence" for speech in traditional life (Archibald, 2008), as well as the importance of learning how to listen (Archibald, 2008). Finally, the importance of listening was also noted as culturally relevant by both cultural educators participating in this project through their interviews. By characterizing the boys differently in terms of how they "listen," verses of speech seem to be playing a rhetorical role by building expectations in the audience about the eventual consequences of these characters.

Verses of speech, especially when inner speech, also seem to play a role in marking important decisions on the part of the characters. For example, verse (55) is a five part sequence

of inner speech by the youngest boy. The speech describes the youngest boy's decision to follow the others into the forest, a decision he makes only after describing his worries that they will get in "trouble" three times. The representation of a major decision by a character in inner speech also occurs twice in Act I, first when the youngest boy decides to speak to the Elders and second when he decides to watch the boys and learn how to play with them (verses 16 & 36, see *Appendix C*). In this way, many of the youngest boy's decisions are marked by inner speech, and these decisions, responsible (listening to elders, helping the three boys) and irresponsible (disobeying his father) both lead to consequences in the final act (see *Appendix C*).

There is one more example of speech in this Act that is especially relevant to a role of characterization. This is the verse of inner speech from Dzunuk'wa in verse (85) and it displays how a character's way of speaking may make them recognizable *across* stories. That is, this speech by Dzunuk'wa is argued here to characterize her not just in this story, but across stories within an oral tradition. This is most evident in the *memorable* way in which this speech is presented. The verse is an extended five part sequence describing the plans Dzunuk'wa has for the three boys. The language is somewhat humorous and foolish (Ohh nummers), contains alliteration (barbequed boy for breakfast), and is very measured (five lines, three meals, three "b" words). All of these features could make the Dzunuk'wa character especially memorable and in a similar way to the Dzunuk'wa retelling from Participant 6 in Class A, this could serve to warn the audience to keep a lookout for characters who act in this way in the future.

In support of this interpretation, Hymes (1981) notes that the way in which characters are voiced in the Native American oral narrative often leads to a "stereotypic characterization" that becomes recognizable in a culturally shared narrative tradition. He quotes Sapir (1909) discussing the voice of the Grizzly Bear in Taklema oral narratives, who notes that, "Each

syllable...is pronounced heavily and by itself. It is evidently desired to convey an idea of the lumbering ungainliness of the Grizzly Bears” (as quoted in Hymes, 1981, p. 69). Thompson and Egesdal (2008) also comment on this feature in Salish oral narrative calling it “stylistic ways of talking” and noting several examples (p. xxvi). It is proposed here that this educator envoices the Dzunuk’wa in the particular way he does in order to develop a “stereotypic characterization” of this creature. The voice of Dzunuk’wa, and the use of humour in its presentation, functions in drawing attention to the Dzunuk’wa, and warning listeners to watch for voices like this in the future. Indeed, the storyteller himself makes reference to something similar to this stereotypic characterization when discussing how to recognize Dzunuk’wa in the introductory scene (see stanza [b] in *Appendix C*). In this way, emphasis on particular vocalizations by actors, in order to characterize these actors both within and across stories and also to mark important decision making, seem reasonably described as a cultural features of this educator’s storytelling.

The next cultural feature that seems evident in the Dzunuk’wa story involves verses that exit the temporal world of the narrative and focus on description. This feature is similar to what Hymes (2003) describes as devices of elaboration in oral narratives, where the plot of the story is stopped for an elaboration within the “frame.” Specifically, in describing these devices of elaboration he states “An expected number of verses in a stanza, of stanzas in a scene may be maintained, but weight and expressive effect take the center of the stage” (p. 110). The elaborative strategies this educator employs seem most similar to Hymes’ descriptions of itemization (a step by step description of what must be done in a given action), catalog (descriptive lists, e.g., kinds of food), and a lyrical moment (a break of the succession of time in the narrative to emphasize a specific point). Sometimes these elaborative sections are quite

extended in the educator's stories, and as such, they may serve a purpose of allowing the listener to better envision the "world" presented within the narrative.

The presence of this cultural feature is strengthened by statements from both the educator and Indigenous authors who discuss storytelling. Specifically, in an interview the educator stated that he strives to tell his stories in ways that allow listeners to "paint a picture" in their head and become "part of" the story. This motivation also resonates with statements from Indigenous storytellers that good stories enable listeners to visualize the action (Archibald, 2008, p. 21). Importantly, though these descriptive segments leave the narrative, they still fit into measured relations with other groups of lines, that is, they maintain the "frame" of the story (Hymes, 2003, p. 110). By maintaining the frame, these sections contribute to the "rhythm" of the story and the "expectations" being built in the audience, and in this way, the feature allows the storyteller to make expressive choices that seem "memorable." In addition, these descriptive segments are also present in the story in subsequent telling (See *Appendix D*). Finally, initial particles, most often "Now," mark these breaks and place them clearly within the 3/5 patterns of the story as a whole.

The first example of the feature described here as "descriptive elaboration" comes in verses (60) and (61) of stanza (o). These verses, both beginning with "and because..," are descriptive add-ons to verse (59) where the boys enter the deep forest. The description itself focuses on the immense size of the trees and in this way develops a clear picture for the listener of what it would look like in the deep forest. This description, affording something like a vicarious visual experience, also seems relevant in explaining the excitement and fear the boys express upon entering the forest and it may make the characters more relatable for the children in the audience.

Another example of this technique occurs in verse (65) where “Now...” initiates a five part description of a cedar root in one verse and one more descriptive segment takes up the entire stanza (t). Stanza (t), however, functions somewhat differently; it focuses on explaining an item of cultural importance to an unfamiliar audience, specifically, the way in which a special knife is made. Building up vicarious experience through these forms of descriptive elaboration may be especially important for this particular audience of classroom students. The experience of venturing into the deep forest is likely to be less familiar to these students than it might have been to an audience in a First Nations community, and thus the description may help students better identify with the feelings of the characters and make the lesson of the story personally meaningful. Hymes (2003) notes that in Native American storytelling, “Tellings to outsiders, especially in English, may be more elaborate, because they make explicit motives and details a Native audience would be expected to know” (p. 372). Based on this evidence, descriptive elaboration, for the purpose of both visualization and explaining unfamiliar cultural practices, seems reasonably described as a cultural feature.

The use of recurring statements to emphasize a theme, an important cultural feature in the first educator’s storytelling, was present in some stories, but not to the extent to which it appeared in “The story about the Wolves.” What seemed more prominent in the second educator’s stories were recurring patterns of action. There are a number of occasions in the second educator’s stories where characters act in the same way consistently, or they move through a successive series of similar actions. These repetitive patterns of action are common in various forms in the story of Dzunuk’wa (most clearly in two tauntings by the three boys [stanza l], the journey through three forests [stanza o] and the rhythmic language of the youngest boy sneaking up on Dzunuk’wa [verse 87]), but in the second story the educator told to this class, the

rhetorical effect this feature is much more clear. Below one scene of the story “Raven loses his beak” is presented in order to display this pattern; the profile of this story is presented in *Appendix C*⁹ to display the extent of the repetitive action patterns and other cultural features.

Scene Stanza Verse Line

G	u	(75)	And so he got his carving tool, and his big chunk of cedar, and he started to carve,
		(76)	And he carved, and he carved a really beautiful butterfly, right down to the beaded eyes, and the antennas.
		(77)	Then he got out his paints, and he painted it all kinds of beautiful butterfly colours
		(78)	“Ahh, that’s great, see if my power’s ok here, I’m going to bring it alive”
	v	(79)	And so he went: “Butterfly, butterfly, come alive”...
		(80)	Nothing, not even a twitch.
		(81)	“No, no no come on butterfly, butterfly, come alive”...
		(82)	Uh uh (as in no).
		(83)	Third time “Oh come on, Butterfly, butterfly, come alive”
		(84)	Not even a wiggle “Ohhh”
		(85)	But the fourth time, the magical, mythical fourth time “Butterfly, butterfly, please, please, please, come alive”
		(86)	All of a sudden, Butterfly flapped its wings. His eyes stared to twinkle, his antenna’s started to wiggle,
w		(87)	“Yes” said Raven “Great, great...wait a minute, wait a minute I’ve got a problem here, I don’t know how to speak Butterfly... I know I’ll change him into a human, now that I’ve got him alive, and I can talk to him like, human to human,

⁹ As mentioned previously this transcript comes from a subsequent recording of this story when told to a different grade 4 class. In *Appendix D* it will be shown that much of the verse structure of this educators stories are same in subsequent tellings to different classroom audiences. As such, making use of a subsequent recording to display a particular pattern seems warranted.

- that'll work"
- (88) So...he used his magical powers again:
 'Butterfly, Butterfly, change into human'...
- (89) Butterfly flapped his wings,
 twinkled his eyes and wiggled his antennas.
- (90) "No no no no, Butterfly, Butterfly, become a human"
- (91) Flapped his wings, wiggled his antenna's
- (92) "No come on, Butterfly, Butterfly"
- (93) Third time
 "Come on Butterfly, Butterfly, change into human"
- (94) Uh uh (as in no), twinkle, twinkle
 uh uh, nothing happened.
- (95) "Oh no" said Raven, "Last time"
 The fourth, the mag, the mythical, magical four.
 "Butterfly, Butterfly, change into human"
- (96) And in the flash of an eye,
 Butterfly became Butterfly man,
 A beautiful, handsome young man,
 With big abalone earrings.

The first thing of to notice in this scene is that, in some interesting ways, there seems to be a mix $2/4$ patterns and $3/5$ part patterns. When the story is examined as a whole (see *Appendix C*), $3/5$ patterns are more prominent overall. The story is organized into three parts (acts I, II & III), each act contains three or five scenes and each scene contains three or five stanzas. It is at the level of verse and line where $2/4$ patterns occasionally appear, as in stanza (u and v) and verse (79 and 89) in this excerpt. From this one scene then an interweaving of the patterns is evident, at least at the level of verses.

Recognizing the $2/4$ patterns in the excerpt above draws attention to a particular way repetitive action patterns are used in this educator's storytelling. At the beginning of the story the educator mentions it is of Coast Salish origin, and in available ethnopoetic work with Coast Salish stories from the Vancouver Island region, $2/4$ patterns seem the most prominent (Hymes, 1990; Thompson & Egesdal, 2008). In addition, the educator himself noted the importance of the number four to Coast Salish culture in an interview. In the excerpt above the educator

incorporates 2/4 patterns to describe *culturally important actions*. Specifically, Raven first carves, then paints, he uses his magic twice (first to bring butterfly to life, then to turn him into a human), and on both occasions he speaks four times before his magic works (in stanza [v] this involves four pairs of verses and in stanza [w] this involves five). At this point there is also a clear reference to the number four as the “mythical, magical number four” (verses 75 & 85). There are also additional two and four part action sequences in the story that are not in the excerpt (Raven twice steals from the fisherman, at each village the Chief gives food then information) and at one point three part action sequences seem relevant to culturally important actions (Raven and butterfly visit three villages).

In the same way that the repetitive statements in the first cultural educator’s storytelling provided emphasis on the theme of the story and made it memorable, repetitive actions in these stories, especially when referring to culturally important actions, could be performing a similar rhetorical function. First, repetitive actions may emphasize the importance of proper preparation before an action, a value endorsed by some Indigenous communities in Canada (Atleo, 2004). In this story, it is not until the fourth time that Raven’s magic works and it is not until the third village, when his hunger is too much to bear, that he finds his beak. In this way, Raven — a trickster character — is portrayed as becoming more and more upset and more and more hungry as the action is repeated.

Second, Raven’s repetitive behavior may serve as a warning to the audience. Much of the writing about Trickster characters in Native American oral traditions contains discussion of how these characters can, surprisingly, be both cultural creators and serve as warnings about improper behavior (Kroeber, 1998). Raven’s repetitive actions in this story may be one way in which lessons about proper and improper behavior are shared. Raven must act properly to achieve

results, but acting in this proper way adds to his frustration and hunger. Through the repetitive actions of a trickster character various lessons may be brought up in the mind of listeners as they think about the foolish ways he is acting, especially when disregarding culturally important preparations. Including the descriptions of repetitive behavior within the story, especially when referring to culturally important actions, thus seems reasonably described as another cultural feature.

The final cultural feature discussed in the first educator's stories involved the use of epilogues to bring the story and its lesson into the present day. Epilogues were also present in the stories from the second educator and they are marked in the story profiles in *Appendix C*. In the story of *Dzunuk'wa* the epilogue seems similar in its focus on bringing the story into the present day. The analysis suggests that the epilogue consists of the entire last stanza (five verses long) which describes how the youngest boy's family are still hereditary Chiefs of the village. This ending is maintained, though slightly varied, across telling (see *Appendix D*) and in a similar way to the epilogues by the first cultural educator, the epilogue of the *Dzunuk'wa* story makes the story both realistic (in that the story is about a real family) and memorable (when one thinks of the village they may also think of this story and its lesson).

The story "Raven loses his beak" also contains an epilogue, but the role of this epilogue seems slightly different. It is presented below for comparison.

Stanza Verse Line

- (217) And as he's flying away, he's going:
 "I'm never going to ever and ever gonna help anybody out again,
 in my whole life"
 (218) Well, we know that Raven's going to get into more trouble though.
 (219) And so ends my story.
 (220) HÍSWKE SIEM,

(221) Thank you for listening to my story.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Hymes (1981) describes a pattern of three different endings that he finds in many of the Chinookan texts he worked with. This pattern consists of: 1) a summary that concludes the action of the story, 2) an epilogue that describes the outcome for the world and 3) a finish that concludes the performance. In “Raven loses his beak” verse (217) is consistent with a summary; it is the ending of the story itself as Raven flies away with his beak, still frustrated. Verse (218) then functions like an epilogue in describing the outcome for the world, but in a slightly different way. It focuses on describing typical features of a recurring character in an oral tradition. Specifically, instead of pointing to consequences the audience can observe, like Whale and Wolf behavior, or a particular village, this story ends by describing how Raven will act in a similar way yet again. From classrooms observations it was apparent that this particular audience has heard stories about Raven from the educator before and in reminding the students of Raven’s role in this tradition through this “epilogue,” the educator seems to be emphasizing the pedagogical role of trickster characters. The final three verses then seem relevant as the formal close to the telling, or what Hymes calls the finish that closes the performance itself.

Analysis of Story Retellings from Class B

Analysis of children’s retellings in Class B proceeded in the same way as it did for Class A. First, each retelling was analyzed as verse to explore whether recurrent patterns in groupings of lines revealed any evidence of organizational structure in students retellings. This involved the same four step procedure described for Class A. Following this, each retelling was examined to determine whether verse analysis revealed any engagement with cultural features of the second educator’s storytelling. This analysis begins at the classroom level with an analysis of the

frequency in which students in this class engaged with cultural features of the educator's storytelling. The frequency analysis is followed by a detailed analysis of six examples from this classroom displaying the various ways children engaged with these narrative resources.

For Class B, the verse analysis revealed abundant patterning in grouping of lines in students' retellings. Fifteen students produced retellings from this classroom and all of the retellings could easily be analyzed as a form of measured verse and in some cases recurring patterning among groups of lines was particularly pronounced and consistent. *Table 4* presents information about the length and prominent patterns in groupings of lines for retellings from students from Class B. Two main points are clear from this table. First, these retellings are substantially longer than those from students in Class A. Second, 3/5 patterns are clearly the most prominent in organizing the retellings, yet many students also incorporated 2/4 patterning. Two and four part patterning was especially common among students who re-told the story "Raven loses his beak," (participants 11, 12, 13 & 14) and as with the original, some students interweaved 2/4 patterns with 3/5 patterns in some interesting ways in their retelling of this story.

The analysis then proceeded to determine whether students in this class were exploring the types of cultural features described in the educator's stories. For Class B, many cultural features were similar to those from the educator in Class A, and some of these features were extended in particular ways. Specifically, a number of new codes extended how verses of speech were used. First, verses of inner speech often marked important points of decision on the part of main characters. In addition, verses of speech also served to characterize the main actors of the stories in ways that were related to the lesson the story was meant to teach. Verses of speech were often also clearly measured internally, as in the speech from Dzunuk'wa, or the youngest boy, which contributed to the rhythm of the story.

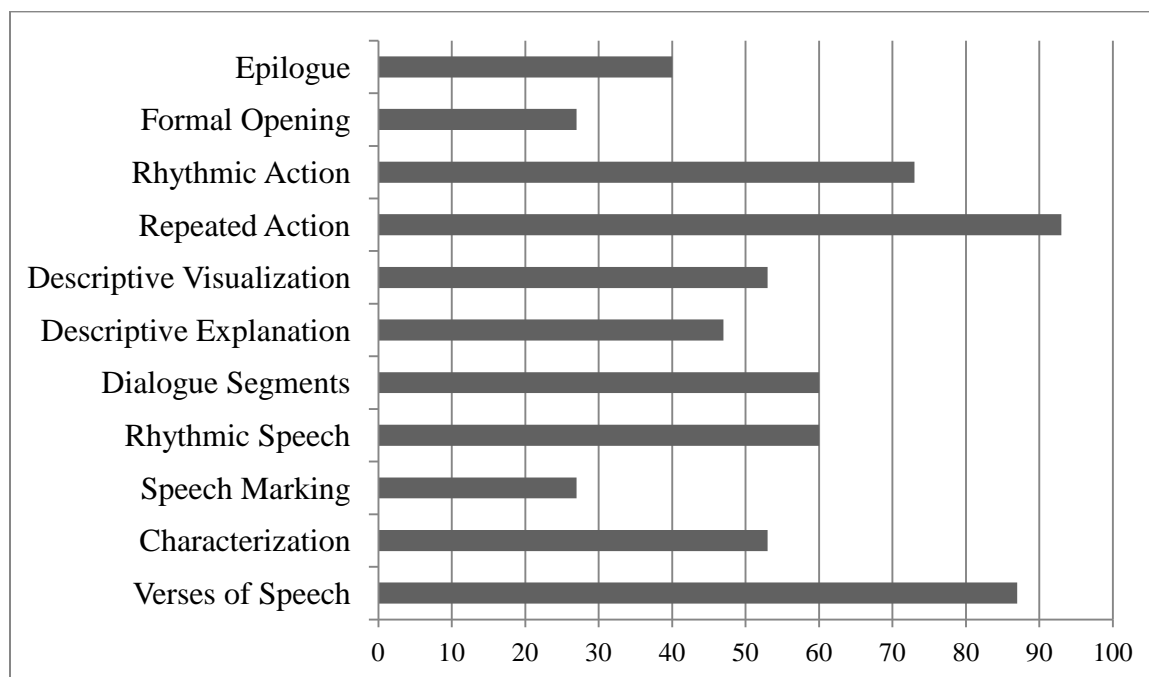
Table 4: *Length and groupings of lines in retellings from Class B*

Participant #	3/5 patterns	2/4 patterns	# of Scenes	# of stanzas (separated by scene)	# of verses (separated by stanza)	# of lines
1	Yes	Yes	1	5	16 (3, 5, 3, 2, 3)	29
2	Yes	No	2	7 (5, 2)	31 (3, 5, 5, 3, 5, 5, 5)	57
3	Yes	No	3	11 (3, 5, 3)	43 (3, 5, 3, 3, 3, 5, 3, 3, 5, 5, 5)	70
4*	Yes	Yes	2	7 (3, 4)	29 (4, 4, 5, 5, 3, 3, 5)	68
5*	Yes	Yes	2	8 (5, 3)	30 (3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 5, 5, 3)	56
6*	Yes	Yes	2	8 (3, 5)	34 (3, 5, 3, 5, 5, 3, 5, 5)	46
7	Yes	Yes	5	20 (5, 3, 5, 4, 3)	84 (3, 5, 5, 3, 5, 5, 5, 3, 5, 3, 3, 5, 1, 5, 5, 5, 3, 5, 5, 5)	203
8	Yes	No	3	15 (5, 5, 5)	65 (5, 3, 5, 5, 3, 5, 4, 5, 5, 3, 5, 5, 3, 5, 3)	170
9	Yes	Yes	3	9 (3, 3, 3)	41 (3, 5, 5, 3, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5)	79
10	Yes	Yes	2	7 (3, 4)	28 (3, 5, 5, 3, 3, 5, 3)	50
11*	Yes	Yes	6	23 (5, 5, 3, 3, 3, 3)	86 (5, 5, 3, 3, 5, 3, 3, 3, 5, 3, 5, 3, 5, 3, 5, 5, 3, 5, 5, 3, 5, 3)	167
12	Yes	Yes	2	8 (5, 3)	36 (3, 3, 5, 5, 7, 3, 5, 5)	72
13	Yes	Yes	4	12 (3, 3, 3, 3)	42 (3, 3, 5, 5, 3, 4, 5, 3, 6, 9, 3, 5)	86
14*	Yes	Yes	5	20 (4, 5, 3, 3, 5)	90 (5, 4, 5, 4, 4, 2, 4, 2, 4, 7, 7, 3, 7, 9, 9, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5)	149
15*	Yes	No	3	11 (5, 3, 3)	48 (5, 3, 5, 8, 3, 5, 5, 5, 3, 3, 3)	88

Note: * marks retellings that will be analyzed as examples

In order to incorporate the different ways in which speech was used by this educator into the analysis of students' retellings the two codes that involved speech in Class A (# of verses, dialogic pairs) were extended to five codes with Class B. These codes were: 1) number of verses that include speech, 2) the use of speech for characterization (is the speech developing a character distinguishable from others), 3) dialogue segments, 4) Speech (inner speech) marking importance (is speech or inner speech used to mark important decisions by the characters), and 5) Rhythmic language in speech (are verses of speech clearly measured internally). *Figure 2* presents the percentage of students in Class B who incorporated cultural features involving speech as well as the other cultural features described below in their retellings.

Figure 2: Percentage of students incorporating cultural features by type in Class B



A number of cultural features were also proposed that did not involve speech in the second educator's stories. With Class A, two features were focused on: 1) the patterned use of recurring statements to emphasize the theme and 2) the use of epilogues to bring the story into

the present. The use of recurring statements was less common in the stories from the second educator, but repetition was present in descriptions of repeated actions by a character (travelling through three forests, speaking four times to bring butterfly to life), often involving culturally important actions. To explore this feature in students' retellings two more codes were created: 1) Description of repeated action (did the story contain a description of a repeated action like the original) and 2) Rhythmic language in describing the repeated action (was there a clear rhythm in the language of this description). The code for epilogues was maintained for this classroom and another code was added for a formal opening that occasionally occurred. Finally, two more codes were developed to examine forms of descriptive elaboration in children's retellings: 1) descriptive elaboration for the purpose of visualization, and 2) descriptive elaboration for the purpose of explaining unfamiliar cultural phenomenon. The percentage of students in Class B who incorporated the above features in their retellings is also presented in *Figure 2*.

Figure 2 presents evidence that many of the cultural features of the second educator's storytelling were echoed and transformed by students in their retellings. Almost all students (13 out of 15) in Class B incorporated verses of speech into their retellings in one way or another and the extent to which speech was involved varied greatly (1/31 to 54/98 verses). Many students also set up segments of dialogue in their retellings (9 out of 15) that both fit into recurrent organizational patterns among groups of lines and appeared again and again in the retellings as an organizational technique. Eight students (53%) also seemed to use verses of speech to characterize the actors in ways that seemed relevant to the lesson they took away from the story (established through interviews) and nine students (60%) emphasized important verses of speech by incorporating rhythmic patterns in the language of these verses. Only four students (27%) made use of speech or inner speech to mark important decisions by the characters. As with Class

A then, the way speech was used in the stories seemed to be a cultural feature that many students in Class B were both interested in and were exploring.

Students in Class B also seemed interested in exploring cultural features that did not involve speech. Almost all the students incorporated descriptions of repeated actions (14 out of 15) and 11 students emphasized these descriptions with rhythmic language. Many students also echoed the breaks for descriptive elaboration. These descriptive elaborations were almost equally employed for the purpose of encouraging visualization (8 out of 15 students) or for explaining unfamiliar cultural phenomena (7 out of 15 students). Finally, epilogues appeared in slightly less than half of the students retellings (6 out of 15) and formal openings were not very common (4 out of 15 retellings). In summary, this frequency analysis suggests a number of ways in which students in this grade 4 class were interacting with and exploring cultural features of the second educator's storytelling, many of these ways are displayed through the examples below.

Example 1: Participant 5

The first example presented is a retelling of the story of Dzunuḱ'wa. This example is both representative of a number of retellings from this class and it is one which illustrates how individual students interacted with cultural features of the educator's storytelling in unique ways. First, it is representative of many of the retellings from students in this class in terms of its length. This story is 30 verses long and in this way it is similar in length to 11 of the 15 retellings (range 25 to 50 verses). Finally, this example reveals particular ways in which this participant engaged with cultural features that seemed the most interesting to him. The example is presented below:

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line	
A	a	(1)	Ok, so, there was, the story of...there were these, I think it was...was it five or four boys. I think it was four boys.	
		(2)	And there was one, They were all bigger boys,	
		(3)	And then there was one other small kid. And they would never want to play with the little kid.	
	b	(4)	And so, the little kid, went to the Elders, Of the, village or something.	
		(5)	And um, he asked for advice.	
		(6)	And, back in those times, I think, you had to wait, for like the Elders, of a village, or something, in a, Big House or something, uh...to actually speak to you.	
		(7)	And...so he was there a while,	
	c	(8)	And...they...mumbled around with each other. and they...were trying to figure out a solution.	
		(9)	And they all, they said, the only thing that was going to happen was really... um...that they will like you.	
		(10)	And so he left there,	
		(11)	And he...uh, tried to. He tried to sneak up on them,	
		(12)	And then after a while he got very good at it.	
	B	d	(13)	And...yeah, he was so good at sneaking up on things...ur, them, that he could, sneak up on a deer, and pull a hair out of its tail.
(15)			And um, there's this...and one day he saw the boys...playing,	
e		(16)	And they told him they were going into the deep forest that the elders, told them not to go into.	
		(17)	And they did,	
		(18)	And they went through parts of the forest where there is small trees, on the edge of the forest,	
f			(19)	And then they got to medium sized,
			(20)	And then large. The size of a, ur, classroom.
		(21)	And um...then uh, it was very dark in that place, and cold, damp, all that kind of stuff.	
		(22)	And the little guy, uh, followed them, into, that place.	
		(23)	And then the, what's her name, uh...some child eating lady...the crazy women. Um, she took them in her basket, the four, the three boys...	

- g (24) And then the little boy saw that,
and he ran back to the village,
(25) But no one was there...
(26) So he took his father's knife.
(26) And he ran back and cut a hole in the crazy wild women's basket,
where the kids were.
(27) And they came out,
and went back to the village,
- h (28) And every, everybody was there,
cause they went I think, digging for clams.
(29) And then, um, they got a little bit of trouble,
the three boys did,
(30) and the little one, um, uhhh (rising intonation)
kinda didn't get grounded, and yeah.

The first thing to notice about this example is that it is very balanced in terms of 3/5 patterns. It is representative of both the prominent 3/5 patterning in the retellings from students in this classroom and the consistency of these patterns on various levels for a number of students. Many of the stanzas are very clearly distinguished as separate through initial particles (stanza [a], with "Ok, so;" stanza [b], with "And so;" scene [B], with "and one day"). There are also clear changes of focus in stanzas and in the two scenes (for example, scene [B], changes to focus on the trip through the forest and its consequences). In addition, clear rhetorical structure seems present at the levels of stanzas and verses. For example, stanza (a) introduces the story by describing the main characters (the four boys) and the problem in their relationship (the three boys won't play with the youngest boy). Stanza (b) then continues this action by describing how the youngest boy went to the Elders about this problem, and stanza (c) concludes this action by describing the boy's solution to this problem; he becomes sneaky so he could follow the boys. The five stanzas of scene (B) also seem consistent with an interlocking pattern where stanzas (d, e and f) describe the trip through the forest and stanzas (f, g and h) describe the capture by Dzunik'wa and the consequences for the three boys.

Three part rhetorical structuring is consistent at the level of verse. For example, the verses of stanza (g) are clearly related as two interlocking three part patterns. Verse (24) opens the stanza with a change of perspective (it is now the youngest boy's response to the capture) and verse (25) complicates this action by describing how no-one is left at the village. Verse (26) then seems reasonable as an outcome of this action; it describes the boy's decision to take the knife. At the same time; however, verse (26) introduces the other action in the stanza (the boy returns to the forest with the knife). Verse (27) continues this action as the boy runs back to the others and verse (28) completes it (they escape and return to the village). Within each stanza this familiar three part pattern leading to an outcome seems to occur.

In addition to the prominent organization and rhetorical structuring in this retelling, there is evidence of how Participant 5 is interacting with some of the cultural features of the educator's storytelling. This student seems particularly interested in the feature of descriptive elaboration. In detailing this cultural feature two different ways in which the educator incorporated descriptive elaboration were discussed: 1) to promote visualization and 2) to describe unfamiliar cultural practices. There is evidence in the retelling that Participant 5 makes use of descriptive elaboration for both of these purposes. Specifically, the first example of descriptive elaboration comes in verse (6) and it is a (somewhat tentative) description of the cultural practice of waiting for the Elders to speak to you. In breaking into a descriptive segment, while maintaining the consistent patterning within the stanza, this student seems to be both exploring an unfamiliar way of behaving (the verse incorporates "I think" and "or something" – it is not something he seems sure about) and recognizing the importance of this passage to the story.

The student also echoes the descriptive passages that develop a visual picture of both the boy sneaking up on a deer (verse 13) and the deep forest (verses 18, 19, 20 & 21). The amount of

detail in these verses is truncated, but their presence is clear. Further, comments from this student during the interview make his interest in this cultural feature even more plausible. When he was asked what he liked about the story he responded by saying “It’s amazing that trees are as big as like, a hallway, seriously,” which seems to focus on this detailed description and he comments specifically on descriptions of cultural practices, saying “No one knows that you have to, actually wait for them. So he tells us that happens.” Interestingly, when he compared his retelling to another student in the class he said, “I didn’t uh, I don’t tend to go into as much detail when I am talking,” which seems somewhat contrary to the focus on detail in his retelling. However, this too could be a result of his desire to include a high degree of detail — he may simply feel like he could do a better job of this.

Other cultural features also appear in this retelling, but they do not seem as strongly emphasized. There is a description of repeated action in stanza (e), describing the three forests, and this language seems to have some rhythmic qualities (small trees, medium sized, and then large), but as other examples will show, these rhythmic qualities are much more pronounced and important to developing a memorable passages in retellings from other students in this class. There are no verses of speech present in the retelling and that seems to be a feature that is of little consequence to this student. The story also does not contain an epilogue, nor does it have a formal opening. This student chose, instead, to tell the Dzunuk’wa story in a way that was very consistent in its incorporation of three part rhetorical structure and that incorporated a feature of the educator’s storytelling that he found to be especially intriguing, that is, the use of descriptive elaboration to explain unfamiliar cultural practices and to develop a clear visual picture of the boys’ experience on their adventure.

Example 2: Participant 6

This second retelling is quite similar to the first one. It is also a retelling of the Dzunuk'wa story and it was told by a student who had heard the retelling from Participant 5. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, students in this class produced retellings in groups of two with the researcher and Participant 6 produced her retelling in a group with Participant 5, where hers was the second retelling. The analysis below will show that the retelling from Participant 6 displays many similarities with the retelling from Participant 5 in terms of its organization and rhetorical patterning, and it seems likely that she was influenced by her classmate's retelling. As *Table 4* shows, however, this was not always the case among pairs of students. In fact, before she told her version of the story she said "That was practically, the same thing I was going to say," which expresses her thoughts about the similarity of her version to the version from Participant 5. Despite this influence, there are many differences in the retellings, especially in terms of the kinds of cultural features that are most clearly explored by the students. The retelling is presented below; (S) marks interruptions from Participant 5, (R) marks contributions by the researcher and pseudonyms are used in place of the student's names.

Scene Stanza Verse Line

A	(a)	(1)	Ok, ok, so, there's these four boys... three of them are always mean to the little...guy,
		(2)	And, he always tried to play with them,
		(3)	And they keep throwing stones and sticks at him.
	(b)	(4)	So one day he went to the Elder in the, Big House.
		(5)	And he sat there for a while until the Elders actually spoke to him.
		(6)	And they, and they kind of talked to each other.
		(7)	And the Elders said to him, um "We don't really have a solution for it, but, try and someday they'll, like you"
		(8)	And so he, got out and followed, followed what the Elders tooo ^l dd(extended while thinking) him.
	(c)	(9)	So then he got this idea...

Analysis of this retelling suggests it consists of two scenes; the first scene consists of three stanzas and the second five. This organization is clearly marked by the particle of “one day” which begins stanza (d) and signals a temporal change. Stanzas are also clearly marked by initial particles (So, and then, so then) or by internal consistencies in the completion of an action. Throughout, the stanzas consist of either three or five verses. At this point the organization is almost identical to that of the retelling from Participant 5. There are some differences in the amount of verses included in stanzas, but the two clearly marked scenes and the number of stanzas in each scene are identical. In addition, the rhetorical structure seems similar. For Participant 6, stanza (a) introduces the characters and the problem, stanza (b) describes the discussion with the Elders and stanza (c) focuses on the youngest boy learning to be sneaky (his response to the problem). In terms of scene (B), stanza (d) then begins the journey into the forest, stanza (e) describes this journey and stanza (f) contains the capture by Dzunuḵ’wa (what the journey leads to). Stanza (g) then describes how the youngest boy takes the knife and returns to the deep forest, and stanza (h) describes how he saves the boys, they return to the village and are punished. When compared the retelling from Participant 5 differences only emerge in the final two stanzas, where Participant 6 includes more discussion of the process of taking the knife (lengthening stanza g) and incorporates the rescue and return into stanza (h).

Despite the abundant similarities in the organization of these retellings, there are also some differences that reflect different levels of interest in particular cultural features on the part of these students. The analysis of the retelling from Participant 5 suggested he was particularly interested in the cultural feature of descriptive elaboration. Participant 6, however, seems much more interested in the use of speech in her retelling, particularly in terms of how inner speech

can be used to mark important decisions and how speech can characterize the different actors in the story in distinct ways.

There are six verses containing speech in this retelling. The first verse of speech (verse 7) consists of the elders telling the youngest boy the results of their discussion (that he should keep trying). The next verse of speech (verse 9) then comes from the youngest boy and it is a verse of inner speech describing his decision to become sneaky. Verse (9) is relevant in marking an important point of decision related to the plot action and it clearly echoes the original. The next two verses of speech (verses 13 and 14) come as a dialogue between youngest boy and the other three, and these verses play a role in characterizing these different actors, again echoing the original. Verse (13) is a statement addressed to the youngest boy by one of the other three, and in using words like “adventure” and “deep forest” it expresses the excitement of these characters surrounding the danger of their journey. This excitement is then followed by a warning from the youngest boy (verse 14) telling them that the deep forest is where the “wild lady” lives, a worried tone that seems emphasized by a pause before the phrase “wild lady.”

Though the verses of speech are much less complex than the original, they maintain some of these distinguishing qualities in the language. Verse (21) continues to emphasize the excitement of the three boys in their responses of “Awesome” and “Yeah” on entering the deep forest, and the short speech of “Oh no” uttered by the youngest boy continues to emphasize his, different, worried reaction. As in the original, the retelling from Participant 6 ends with different consequences for the youngest boy and the three boys and these consequences (the three boys “got in trouble” and the youngest boy “sort of got in trouble”) seem clearly related to the different ways they act in their circumstances, a point that is emphasized by the different ways in which they speak.

Other cultural features make appearances in this retelling, but they are not as integrated as cultural features involving speech. As with Participant 5, there is a description of repeated action (the three forests) that has some rhythmic qualities (normal, middle, big deep one) but this is not a cultural feature that recurs. There is no epilogue in the retelling nor is there a formal opening, but the student does remember the epilogue later in the interview and tells it then. One reason that it was not in the story may have to do with the influence from Participant 5, who did not include one. When compared to Participant 5, descriptive elaboration though seems limited in this retelling. When it does appear (verse 21, “the trees were so big”) it is accompanied by speech in the same verse.

Participant 6 stated she likes the educator’s stories “because they really seem real when you tell them,” and when asked what this particular story was about she said “Listen to your parents, or something bad will happen.” Both of these statements seem clearly in line with how she integrated speech into the story to characterize actors (make them real) and to emphasize a lesson about listening. In summary, Participant 6 was able to retell the Dzunuk’wa story in a way that was both skillfully organized (possibly in part influenced by the retelling from Participant 5) and that integrated cultural features involving the use of speech to characterize actors and mark important decisions in sophisticated ways. Her story focuses on contrasting the three excitable and mean boys with a worried and cautious younger boy, and in the end it is the youngest boy who only “sort of” gets in trouble, as he is the one who listened to his Elders, most of the time.

Example 3: Participant 4

The next example comes from Participant 4 and it is another retelling of the story of Dzunuk’wa. This example was chosen for several reasons. First of all, it displays a fair amount of organizational structure despite a confusing delivery at times. Secondly it displays variability

in the ways in which speech can be integrated. As will be seen, this is quite different from the use of speech by Participant 6. Finally, through the interview, there is evidence that this participant is relatively familiar with First Nations storytelling when compared to other students in the classroom. Specifically, when the researcher asked if he had heard First Nations stories before the participant mentioned that they were often told at his old school when he lived in Northern British Columbia. As such, this particular student may have more familiarity with some of the cultural features described in the analysis of the educator's stories. The retelling from participant 4 is presented below:

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
A	a	(1)	Ok...um...well the story is about these three little boys,
		(2)	And um...there was these...the other...two boys didn't like, didn't like the little one, and the, the younger one, and two of the other ones,
		(3)	But...they...they didn't want to play with him.
		(4)	And so they threw sticks, and...stones and called him names.
	b	(5)	And then...um...after that said he wanted to go tell the elders.
		(6)	And then um, he, one of the elders said um: "Well I'll make them be friends with you"
		(7)	And the other elder said: "No that won't work"
		(8)	So then, the other (emphasized) elder said: "That he...he will become friends with you...in... they will become friends with you in...sooner or later"
	c	(9)	And...and then, after that, when he came out, they came back... they were going into the forest.
		(10)	And then after that he decided, after they went heading into the forest.
		(11)	Well as they were heading into the forest the, they, um, said...like, like the little one said that "You're not allowed to go into the forest"
		(12)	And he said "Yeah"

- B d (13) But they went anyways.
 (14) And...then, and then they went,
 (15) And then he went to go and get his father's knife,
 (16) And the father, and father saw him getting it,
 and said:
 "You're not allowed to touch my knife"
- e (17) Um, and then, um, he went to go get it again,
 (18) and then, when his father wasn't looking, he went and...the...the,
 (19) Before this, he was going to get the knife.
 The, the...the lady, cause I forget her name,
 um...snatched them up and put them in the basket.
- f (19) But then when he went to go get the knife...um, his father said:
 "No"
 (20) And then he came back, and...hmm...cut the basket.
 (21) And the lady was thinking...
 well as they took them,
 they said:
 "Let...I'm wondering what I should have for lunch...
 and breakfast and all that"
- g (22) And then...um...and then when he had the um...like...it's kind of hard,
 don't really remember but...
 R: Try your best, as much as you can, just remember as much as you can
 P: Yeah
 R: Ok
 P: And um, he was yeah.
 And then after that then, he was like,
 and he cut the basket open.
- (23) And then, he got them...
 he got the two other boys,
 out of the basket,
 um...and home,
- (24) But the three um, parents,
 the three parents were upset with them,
 um because they didn't collect the clam shells...um,
 or, or XXXX(too quiet to hear).
- h (25) And um...then what happened, was that,
 the...after, yeah after they didn't collect it,
 um, they were going to be grounded.
 (26) And then um...oh yeah and then I think that they went...with no dinner I
 think,
 I think maybe.
 (27) Um...and then uh...the...other little younger boy was grounded for a week.
 (28) But then the father was saying:
 "Well you did help them...but you did save them, and..."
 But he was still grounded.
 Um, so he, the father didn't really know what to do,
 (29) And then af, yeah and then after that...(retelling ends)

This retelling captures much of the Dzunuk'wa story in two concise parts. The first part introduces the characters and initiates the journey into the forest in three stanzas. In the first two stanzas 2/4 patterns seem the most prominent as each stanza contains four verses, then in stanza (c) five part patterning appears. Since scene (A) consists of three stanzas and scene (B) contains five stanzas, 3/5 patterns are the most prominent overall. This student seems to be largely employing the typical 3/5 patterning in English, but at times, possibly because of difficulty remembering the story (see the delivery of verse [2], where verse [3] seems like a clarification); he doesn't always establish a clear pattern.

Despite the occasional 2/4 pattern within stanzas, a three part rhetorical structure is clear within scene (A) and though there is some confusion of plot movement in scene (B), rhetorical structure seems present. For example, the retelling begins with stanza (a) introducing the characters and the problem, stanza (b) continues with the youngest boy asking the Elders what he should do and stanza (c) concludes this section as the three boys continue to enter the forest despite the youngest boy's warnings. Scene (B) then describes the trip into the forest and the return to the village in five stanzas, though at times the temporal flow of these stanzas is confusing. The first three stanzas (d, e and f) have a fair amount of repetition and recasting within them which interrupts the progress in plot action. These stanzas speak of Dzunuk'wa capturing the three boys and the youngest boy getting the knife, though the order in which this happens is confused. Stanza (g) then begins with a false start in one verse followed by three verses where the pattern is re-established. This stanza describes the trip home and introduces the parent's response to the journey, and in this way it seems relevant as a point of "ongoing" leading to the final consequences for the boys. Stanza (h) then concludes the retelling by

tentatively (see the “I think maybe” in verse [26]) describing two different outcomes resulting from the journey, specifically the different punishments the boys receive on their return.

The main purpose of including this example stems from the different and complex way in which verses of speech are integrated. In example 2, speech was employed largely for the purpose of characterizing actors in the story and marking important points of decision. In this example, speech is also used for marking important actions, but this occurs in a slightly different way. Further, this different way of using speech is clearly related to the lesson this student takes away from the story.

There are nine verses of speech in this retelling. The first three (6, 7 & 8) consist of voices of the Elders when they are discussing what the youngest boy should do about his problem. The next two verses of speech (11 & 12) then come as a warning by the youngest boy to the three other boys about entering the forest. Speech occurs again in verse (16) with a warning from the youngest boy’s father about touching the knife and verse (20) repeats this warning with a simple repetition of “No.” Verse (22) then introduces the voice of Dzunuk’wa who is wondering what she should have for lunch and dinner. This verse is a slight change, but a clear echoing of the original without some of the rhythmic language. The final verse of speech comes again from the father in verse (29) where he questions how he should punish his son. As with the speech from Dzunuk’wa this speech from the boy’s father retains some of the wording from the speech in the original, but leaves out much of the content and rhythm in the language.

The first thing to note about verses of speech in this story is that they all come from characters who have some form of authority, or reason to be listened to. First the Elders speak three times then the youngest boy speaks (at this point reiterating a warning from the Elders).

This is followed by speech from the youngest boy's father, Dzunuk'wa and the youngest boy's father again. This is quite different from how both the educator and Participant 6 use speech from the three boys to present them as excitable and as distinct from the youngest boy in terms of the way they act. For Participant 4, speech is largely integrated as a series of warnings or pronouncements. The speech of Dzunuk'wa, for example, could be interpreted as a warning about this character and how to recognize her, and when the father speaks it is first with a warning and then with a pronouncement of punishment. Speech in this story is less about characterizing the actors as distinct individuals and more about emphasizing a lesson of "listening" to Elders (or voices of authority) when they speak.

As previously described, this lesson about the importance of "listening" is one that some Indigenous scholars have discussed in relation to traditional oral narrative (Archibald, 2008), and, in this case, it is also the lesson the student expressed learning through the interview. Specifically, when he was asked what the story was about, he said "I think the point of the story was...listen to your parents." This lesson is being emphasized in his retelling by the way speech is integrated in the form of warnings by characters of authority or warnings against frightening characters. Speech is also located at points of organization in many of the stanzas that are related to outcomes. For example verse (11), the warning from the youngest boy, comes as the third verse in stanza (c) and verse (16) and verse (22) come as the final verses of their respective stanzas (d & f). In many cases, this organization as outcomes through these three part patterns could be another form of emphasis.

As noted above, this particular student discussed some familiarity with First Nations storytelling in the interview. Specifically, when he was asked if he had heard First Nations stories before he said, "Yeah, before I came here I used to hear a lot of them," and he continued

this thought after another question saying “At, my old school...we...used to basically...tell a lot of First Nations stories, cause there used to be a lot of people...from the tribes.” These two statements suggest that this student has heard many stories from First Nations communities, and as such, having a First Nations storyteller come in to talk to the class may be a relatively familiar experience for him. This experience could have influenced the skillful way in which he focuses characters speech on important pronouncements and warnings in his retelling. This is speculation at this point or course, as there is no way of knowing what the participants experience would have been like. However, the way in which the lesson this participant takes from the story (the importance of listening) fits with values espoused by Indigenous scholars and the way in which speech is used to emphasize this lesson makes the possibility intriguing.

Example 4: Participant 11

The next example is a retelling of the story “Raven loses his beak.” It is the first of two examples of this story that will be presented. This example is one of the longer retellings from this classroom, but the story of “Raven loses his beak” was also longer than the Dzunuk’wa story. The Raven story also integrates 2/4 patterns (particularly when they are culturally important) with the more pronounced 3/5 patterns in complex ways and the examination of this retelling will display some interesting ways in which this student incorporates both patterns. Further, the Raven story involves a large amount of speech, which often is organized into dialogues, and in the following example, this student is especially skillful in her use of dialogue to help organize her retelling. Finally, this student seems particularly interested in how a recurring character like Raven may behave in consistent ways across stories, and she alludes to this recurring behavior in her retelling. The retelling is presented below:

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line	
A	a	(1)	Um...Well it's a story about Raven	
				(R: Ok, ok).
		(2)	And Raven always goes over to the village in the morning, when they're baiting, the fisherman are baiting their hooks	(R: Ok).
		(3)	And he thinks he's being helpful when he snatches the bait off the ground that they eat.	
		(4)	But...they all think he's being a nuisance	(R: Oh ok).
		(5)	Um and...but, they think it's not too much of a big deal cause it's just small bait.	
	b	(6)	But one day he goes over, when they're going, baiting their hooks to go catch halibut.	
		(7)	And um...so the bait's really big so they have...it's harder to get so. and the fisherman drops a piece.	
		(8)	So Raven comes and eats it and he tells him to go away, cause he's making a nuisance	(R: Yeah ok, ok) ...
		(9)	Um. but Raven says he's being helpful,	
		(10)	But, they all think he's being a nuisance,	
	c	(11)	And um...so they go out in their canoes and Raven's sitting there watching.	
		(12)	And...Raven thinks um that, he should go in the water and... get the bait from hooks.	
		(13)	So he swims, he uses his powers and swims into the water.	
		(14)	And goes to the first hook, And he...bites it off,	
		(15)	And the guy pulls it up, And he tells everyone that something's eating our bait.	
	d	(16)	And um...then he goes to the second person, who was a big strong person, and...he eats the bait of, the people who are moving it up and down,	
		(17)	And he's um, like following. Then...um, he bites it,	
		(18)	And...um, the person starts pulling it up, really hard, and...XXXX,	
		(19)	But Raven puts his feet on the bottom of the boat,	
		(20)	And um...like they're fighting in the boat to get it up. And the guy chopped Raven's beak, top of the beak.	
	e	(21)	And um...and, Raven, um like swims to the bottom with...like covering his nose.	
		(22)	And um...then the guy pulls it up, and he's like, looking at it,	

- (23) And then he throws it back in the water.
And um...and Raven finds it,
- (24) But there's a big, um, group of fish, or um...I know what it is but...
(S: They're like fish)
- Yeah
(S: Or XXXX)
- A big group of fish,
- (25) And they um, come, and like, before Raven can get the beak,
they take it, um, the village.
- B f (26) So Raven goes back on the beach,
And he goes to his home,
And he starts...thinking what he should carve.
- (27) But then he thinks he should carve a butterfly.
He gets the butterfly,
and he tries three times,
- (28) And then the fourth time,
the butterfly comes with his wishing.
- (29) And um...and then he tries three times,
- (30) And then the fourth time the butterfly,
comes to life, for him to turn into a man I think...yeah.
- g (31) And then they...and he's talking to him,
(32) And then he turns back into,
um a butterfly,
- (33) And they fly over to the village,
of the people,
- h (34) And...um, then they turn...the butterfly turns back into a man,
And he goes over,
- (35) And he asks, um the Chief is asking like,
"do you want um, XXXX (a type of food?),
do you want deer."
- (36) And he's like
"No Thank you."
- (37) And um, then...uh, he asks for information,
And he tells about the...the beak
- (38) And...he tells him uh...they threw it back into the water
And the Shark people got it.
- C i (39) So um...Raven, no the butterfly guy comes back and he says...
(40) And Raven's like
"Did you get any food,"
- (41) And he's like
"No."
- (42) Um, but the butterfly guy says
"I got good and bad news,"
- (43) And he said uh,
"Good news is I know where the beak is,
and bad news is um, the Shark people have it."
- j (44) So um, they turned back into...their animals,

- and they flew over to the village.
- (45) And...then the butterfly again turned into a man,
and they went over to the village,
- (46) And the Chief was greeting him,
and asking him for food.
- (47) But he asked if they had anything sweeter,
- (48) They said they had, um like berry cake with honey.
- k (49) And um...then...um, he got some
and he asked for information,
- (50) And they said um...he told them that he,
that they found it in the ocean,
- (51) Then the Chief bit it and it...
put three teeth out of his mouth.
- D l (52) And then they um...then he goes back and um...
Raven asks
“Did you get any food?”
And he asks for information.
- (53) Um and he had the berry cake,
and Raven’s like
“XXXX”
- (54) And um...he tells him the information,
that, oh I forgot to say this,
they threw it back on the beach,
um and...and the Seagull people got it,
- m (55) And...and then they, uh, Raven says
“Let’s go to the beach,”
- (56) But um, but XXXX getting too dark,
- (57) So um they shelter and,
they’re eating the berry cake out, around the fire,
and they fall asleep.
- n (58) Raven wakes up, like early,
- (59) And he’s walking back and forth on the beach,
waiting for the butterfly,
- (60) And the butterfly tells him it’s too early to fly.
- (61) Then...he waits over there,
- (62) And...then they start flying over to the...um Seagull village,
and he’s getting greeted, um...by the Chiefs,
- E o (63) Um Raven comes over with the butterfly man,
but he puts on his cloak...
- (64) The chief’s like,
“Do you want breakfast,
we have smoked Salmon,
deer”
- (65) And butterfly’s like
“No,”
- (66) And Raven’s like, just nods yeah.
- (67) So he gives him, a lot of um...Salmon,

- then a lot of smoked deer,
 then he gobbles it all up.
- p (68) And then...um, when butterfly man is talking...to the Chief,
 Raven sneaks into the big house,
 and he sees, it's really dark,
- (69) But then his eyes adjust to the darkness,
 and he sees the...his beak on the table,
 And the, he's like looking for it, and stuff...
- (70) And...um then, someone wakes up and he starts making a fire,
 And he's like helping,
 and looking like, he's an Elder.
- q (71) And then um...the Raven (Man?) goes out to get sticks,
 and like wood for the fire,
- (72) And so, and Raven picks up the stick and returns to his sweeping,
- (73) And when the guy's putting, um, wood on the fire,
 Raven drops the stick in the fire and a bunch of smoke comes up,
- (74) And...so they had to open the smoke hole,
 And um...so like, so there was a bunch of light.
- (75) And Rav, so Raven grabbed his beak and flew out.

The first thing to notice in this retelling is that 3/5 patterns are prominent at all levels: scene, stanza and verse. As previously noted, the original story of “Raven loses his beak” contains 2/4 patterns that are interweaved with more prominent 3/5 patterns in order to maintain some four part patterns at points of cultural importance. This retelling also incorporates 2/4 patterns at points of cultural importance, but does so in a way that maintains 3/5 patterns of organization consistently at all levels. In other words, there is less interweaving of 2/4 patterns that affects the organization of stanzas and scenes, but still culturally important 2/4 patterns are integrated. This point is most clear in terms of how Participant 11 discusses Raven’s transformation of a carving to Butterfly and then Butterfly into a human. In her description of Raven’s transformative action, the culturally important four part pattern exists, but she incorporates this pattern much differently than the educator. In the original story, the four part pattern involved Raven speaking four times, whereas here two verses (27/28 & 29/30) note that Raven speaks. In the retelling these verses maintain the four part pattern by mentioning the

“fourth try”, but they lack the memorable rhythm created by the four repetitions of “Butterfly, butterfly...” through Raven’s quoted speech.

Overall, the story seems to be organized into five main scenes and the relations between these scenes have some evidence of rhetorical structuring. Scenes are marked in a number of ways including: temporal changes (B, C), changes of location (B, D, E), and changes of major characters taking part in the action (B, D, E). The first scene involves three stanzas which can be taken as an introduction to the character of Raven and his foolish behavior (stealing bait from the fisherman). Scene (B) then describes where Raven’s foolish behavior leads. It describes his second attempt at stealing bait, the loss of his beak and his response to carve a butterfly. The next three scenes then describe Raven’s search for his beak at three different villages (the Fish, the Sharks and the Seagulls) culminating in his escape from the Seagull village with his beak. The rhetorical pattern of these scenes does not seem to conform to the interlocking pattern of two three part sequences, instead it seems to conform to another pattern mentioned by Hymes (2003) where two introductory scenes lead to a series of three outcomes, in this case the outcomes each involve a trip to a new village in search of the beak.

At the level of stanzas, recognizable three part patterns also occur. This is especially true in the repetitive ways in which visits to villages are structured. Scene (C) provides a good example of this. It begins with stanza (g) which describes the trip to the village of the fish people in three concise verses. Stanza (h) then contains a discussion between butterfly and the Fish Chief where he is offered food and then asks for information. The scene then concludes with stanza (i) which consists of a discussion between Raven and Butterfly about what Butterfly has learned from the Fish people. A very similar pattern then recurs in stanzas (j, k and l) of scene (D), where this scene the pattern is extended with two more stanzas describing a rest for the

night. The stanzas themselves also contain recurring patterns of dialogue. Specifically, stanzas (h and o) both contain a pattern where in three verses the Chief of the village asks Butterfly if he wants any food and Butterfly declines the food. In the two final verses of these stanzas this pattern continues either with Butterfly asking for information (h) or with Raven accepting the food (o). A recurring pattern of dialogue also occurs in stanzas (i and l).

In addition, this student seems interested in how verses of speech can be used for characterization. Specifically, Participant 11 shows particularly strong interest in the character of Raven. First, at many points in the story verses of speech serve to characterize Raven as gluttonous and impatient. Most of the verses that contain speech from Raven involve him asking for food or exclaiming his enjoyment of the food he is eating (verses 40, 52 & 53). The only other time he speaks it is an expression of his impatience (verse 55). Further, Raven's characterization as one who is foolish, always hungry and impatient is also expressed through his actions and through the use of repetitive statements in this story. For example, the word "nuisance" is repeated three times within the first scene to describe Raven's behavior (verse, 4, 8 & 10), and the language used in verse (67) where when offered food he "gobbles it all up" seems to highlight his consistent hunger. Also, Raven's impatience is nicely highlighted in stanzas (m and n), where he complains about Butterfly's plea to wait until morning, and then until the sun comes up, to leave for the Seagull people's village. In each of these examples, Raven consistently acts in ways that seem characteristic to his nature as a trickster figure (Abrams, & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Kroeber, 1998).

Finally, this student seems interested in how a recurring character like Raven can be characterized in ways that are consistent with other stories. Many of the students in Class B had heard stories from this educator in previous grades and they were familiar with the recurring

character of Raven. This particular student expressed this familiarity with statements from the interview suggesting she had heard First Nations stories in other places, specifically from a friend and from books. In her retelling, there are also some statements that can be interpreted as focusing on Raven as a *recurring* character within an oral tradition. The strongest evidence for this interpretation occurs in stanza (a). This entire opening stanza seems focused on describing typical, foolish, behavior that is characteristic of Raven. The stanza opens with “This is a story about Raven,” an opening that does not focus on orienting the audience to a specific time or place, but rather seems to function in bringing a familiar character up in the audience’s mind. The rest of stanza (a) then continues in the present tense, and in doing so describes Raven as character with a typical routine of action (he typically behaves foolishly like this). Specifically, Raven “always” goes to the village in the morning, and he “thinks” he’s being helpful to the fisherman, but he is really being a “nuisance.” After opening with this introduction, stanza (b) then situates Raven in a specific time and place where his foolish actions are repeated and two repetitions of the word “nuisance” emphasize this foolishness.

The actions and speech that characterize Raven in ways consistent with other stories could have a rhetorical function. Specifically, the audience, after being introduced to this recurring character, may recognize Raven’s foolish, trickster-like behavior as consistent with his nature, and in recognizing this, may also be expecting a lesson to be taught through the story. This interpretation is strengthened from statements Participant 11 makes in the interview. When asked what she liked about the story she responded, “Well, Raven learns that he shouldn’t be stealing from people” and when asked what she thought the story was about she said “I think it’s a story where you get to learn lessons in the story.” Both of these statements suggest she sees

this story as one about a recurring character that she knows (Raven, referred to again in the present tense), who often behaves in ways that can teach the audience a lesson.

Example 5: Participant 14

The next example is another long retelling of “Raven loses his beak.” This example is included for the purpose of a comparison to example 4, since it displays several different ways in which these two students engaged with cultural features of the original story. In general the retellings are structured quite similarly. Both retellings consist of five scenes and in both retellings these scenes are divided into seventeen stanzas. For Participant 11, the five scenes contain (3, 3, 3, 5 and 3) verses respectively where as for Participant 14 these scenes are organized slightly differently (3, 5, 3, 3, and 3). Differences in organization also appear at the level of verse, where Participant 14 seems to engage with 2/4 patterns in some interesting and more complex ways. The following example also stands out for an especially consistent use of rhetorical patterns that give it a high degree of balance. Finally, verses of speech play a large role in this retelling and this student seems particularly skillful in terms of how she makes use of dialogues to help organize the story and how she incorporates rhythmic language into verses of speech and recurring action patterns. The retelling is presented below:

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
A	a	(1)	Ok, I’m gonna tell the story about Raven who lost, that lost his beak.
		(2)	So like, uh...it kinda tells him. Well he likes the bait, that the fisherman’s, that the fisherman’s use to fish.
		(3)	And um...he um, he always ate them,
		(4)	And he thought he was being helpful,
		(5)	But the fisherman thought he was being a nuisance.
	b	(6)	So um, one day...he went...cause he saw them fishing.
		(7)	He was like, “Mmm, so hungry,”

- (8) He, he dove under the water.
And he, he ate one of the bait.
- (9) And then...it just came out with no bait.
- (10) And the fisherman was like,
“What is under there?
Hey guy’s there’s something under here”
- c (11) And then he went to another fisherman,
That was really strong,
- (12) And he ate, he felt Raven um,
Tugging on the rope,
- (13) He was like “Ring” (sound effect)
And it got stuck to his um, top of the beak.
And, he was stuck and he was, pull, getting pulled up,
- (14) And then he got stuck under the boat.
Well he didn’t get stuck,
he pulled himself under the boat.
He was trying to, yank down,
But the guy was fish,
going up...and then down.
- (15) And then, finally he yanked off Raven’s beak. (R: Yeah ok)...
- B d (16) And then Raven went home.
He carved a butterfly, um,
- (17) And he said,
“Butterfly, butterfly, come alive.”
And it didn’t work.
- (19) “Butterfly, butterfly, come alive”
And it didn’t work again,
- (20) “Butterfly, butterfly, come alive”
and it didn’t work again.
- e (21) But the fourth time...
the magical four (said with some laughter) came,
- (22) he said
“Butterfly, butterfly, come alive”
and it came alive.
- f (23) And then...he’s like:
“Oh I can’t talk butterfly.”
- (24) “Butterfly, butterfly, turn, transfer to human.”
It didn’t work.
- (25) “Butterfly, butterfly, transfer to human.”
It didn’t work again.
- (26) “Butterfly, butterfly, change, transfer to human”
- g (27) And the fourth, magical four, worked again (laughter from another
student).
- (28) “Butterfly, butterfly, transfer to human”
and it transferred to a human.
- h (29) And then, he asked the butterfly, if he could help him get the beak...

- And, because the heron people took it.
- (30) And he said:
 “Sure, I’ll take ya”
- (31) And so they changed back to their animal form,
 And they went to the heron.
- (32) And um, the Butterfly man went in,
 Because Raven didn’t want to get laughed at.
- C i (33) And so, he walked into the village,
 (34) And the chief said:
 “Hey there’s a young man, come in, come in”
- (35) And he’s like:
 “Do you want some smoked salmon”
- (36) “No thanks”
- (37) “Deer meat”
- (38) “No thanks.”
- (39) “Okkk”
- j (40) “I want some information”
 (41) “What type of information”
 (42) “Um, like I want to know, have you seen anything black, pointy and
 shiny?”
 (43) “Yeah...we, we didn’t keep it though, we threw it back into the lake”
 (44) “Back into the lake, who took it”
 (45) “The Shark people”
 (46) “Oh, thanks bye”
- k (47) So, and then he told Raven the bad news and the good news.
 (48) The good news was,
 he knew where the beak was,
 the bad news was,
 the shark people had it.
- (49) So then, they went, back into their animal forms,
 And went over to the Shark people...
- D l (50) And then, they turned back into their human forms,
 (51) And butterfly man went back in, again.
 because Raven didn’t want to get laughed at.
- (52) And um, the chief, um, offered him, smoked Salmon,
 deer meat.
- (53) And he said
 “No thanks”
- (54) Um, like...what, what was it called, the berry cakes.
- (55) And he said
 “Sure”
- (56) And then he had some berry cakes.
- m (57) He said:
 “I want some information”
 (58) “What kind of information”
 (59) “About a black, black, something that’s shiny, and it’s pointy, and it’s
 black”

- (60) “Oh, that thing, it got stuck in my jaw, it took about...five men to take it out”
- (61) “Where did you throw it”
- (62) “The beach”
- (63) “The beach...who has it now?”
- (64) “The Seagull people”
- (65) “Oh, thanks, bye, thanks for the...um berry cakes”
- n (66) “Raven” and then he went to Raven.
- (67) “Um, did you get any food”
- (68) “Yeah...berry cakes”
- (69) “Ohhh, didn’t, did you get any smoked salmon”
- (70) “No”
- (71) “Deer meat”
- (72) “No. I don’t eat that stuff Raven” (sighs)
- (73) So he was like
 “Ok” (other student starts laughing)
 “Ok, ok, I’ll have some berry cakes” (said while laughing)
- E o (74) Um, and um so (calming down from laughing)
 So um, they went to the Seagull people,
- (75) And they went into the Sea...they turned back into their um, human form,
 Butterfly man went in again.
 Well not Butterfly man...and Raven man,
 whatever, what you want to call, Raven.
- (76) Um, and um, um, um, um, they offered him food.
- (77) And butterfly man was like “No thanks,”
- (78) and Raven was like “Mhmm” (said in an excited voice)
- (R: laughs)
- And then he swallowed it in whole.
- (79) And then he said “Deer meat?”
- (80) And he said “Mhmm” (said in the same excited voice)
 And then he swallowed it whole.
- p (81) And then:
 “Do you have any, do you have um, um, um, um, um, um,
 what was it...oh yeah, do you,
 have you seen a black shiny, pointy black thing?”
- (82) “Uh, yeah, I also tried to bit into it,
 but (says like a shrug) never did,
 cause it hurt too much...yeah”
 And the, Oh yeah:
 “No, and then I just put it into casing”
- (83) “Ohh, could I help you sweep around that fire thing,
 and...yeah...Do do do (singing)”
 He brushed, he brushed.
- (84) And then he, threw it in the, fire,
- (85) And then it made it really smoky,
- q (86) So he, he said:
 “Someone open the smoke holes”

- (87) So someone opened the smoke holes, with the stick, and um,
 (88) And then he went,
 and the light was shining on his beak...
 And he went:
 “Ooo,”
 (89) And then he shoved it one
 and he flew away.
 (90) THE END (said with emphasis)

This retelling is very similar in structure to the retelling from Participant 11, even though these two students did not tell their stories together. Within this similar structure, however, there are a number of ways in which these retellings differ from one another. First of all, the retelling from Participant 14 provides evidence of much more engagement with 2/4 patterns. Participant 14 does make use of 3/5 patterns overall, but she seems much more interested in exploring the rhetorical possibilities of four part patterns when she discusses the culturally important actions.

Evidence for this interpretation can be seen quite clearly in scene (B). This scene contains five stanzas (d, e, f, g, h) but each of these stanzas contains either two or four verses (d [4 verses], e [2 verses], f [4 verses], g [2 verses], & h [4 verses]). The scene involves the culturally important four part pattern where Raven carves a butterfly and speaks it to life four times, after which he speaks four times again to turn the butterfly into a human. The language used in this section of the story by this student is very rhythmic and memorable in ways that clearly echo the original story. Specifically, the quoted speech of “Butterfly, Butterfly,...” is repeated four times both when Raven speaks the carving to life and changes Butterfly to a human and “the magical four” is twice mentioned in the verse before the last command. One effect of incorporating these 2/4 patterns may be to place emphasis on scene (B) through a change in rhythm. The emphasis from this change in rhythm highlights this participant’s interest in a culturally important action in the story, and this interest is further highlighted by laughter from the storyteller and another student who is listening to the story about the “magical” number four.

Throughout the rest of the retelling 3/5 patterns seem the most prominent, but in comparison to some of the other participants in this class, Participant 14 (like Participant 11) is especially skillful in terms of how she sets up a recurring action patterns and also consistent rhetorical patterns on many levels. The best evidence for this comes from scenes (C, D & E) where Participant 14 sets up a recurring action pattern in terms of how Butterfly and Raven visit the various villages. Scene (C), for example, begins as Butterfly meets the Chief of the village who then offers him food (i). After declining food, Butterfly asks the Chief for information and learns of the new whereabouts of Raven's beak (j). The scene then concludes with Butterfly returning to Raven and telling him the news (k). This same pattern of meeting the Chief and being offered food (l), asking for information (m) and returning to Raven to tell him the news (n) occurs again in scene (D). In scene (E) a slightly different three part pattern concludes with Raven's escape.

The retelling from Participant 14 also displays evidence of some engagement with the other cultural features. First, verses of speech are relied upon to carry much of the retelling (53/90 verses), and often these verses of speech are organized as dialogues which mark stanzas and play a role in developing recurring action patterns within them. For example, stanza (i) consists of an opening verse (32) followed by two questions by the chief of the village (33 and 34). Butterfly then responds (verse 35), the Chief offers another food (Verse 36), Butterfly responds again (verse 37) and the Chief closes the conversation with "Okkk" (verse 38). When taking into account the pairing strategy; this stanza can be taken as 5 turns (32, 33, 34/35, 36/37, 38). Three and five part dialogic stanzas also occur in stanzas (l, m, n and p) and stanza (j) seems follow this pattern as well, though an additional verse is present.

There is little engagement with the feature of descriptive elaboration, though verse (14) with a correction of “well” that extends the verse does seem to build up a picture of Raven becoming stuck. Instead, it is the recurring dialogues that this participant uses to build audience engagement. Characterization of Raven also occurs largely through his speech, which by developing a repeated action pattern emphasizes his constant desire for food. The first stanza seems like somewhat of an exception in terms of the use of verses of speech; it seems to be focused on characterizing Raven through his foolish behavior. This stanza has some similarities to the first stanza from Participant 11, but the description seems more confined to this story with a formal opening explicitly mentioning the title, not a recurring character. The story does not contain an epilogue, but does end with a formal close of “THE END,” which strengthens the interpretation that this student seems most concerned with the world represented in the story. In summary, Participant 14 displays impressive skill in how she rhythmically organizes her retelling to share a story of Raven’s adventure to get his beak back. Her integration of 2/4 patterns and her use of speech and conversation both echo and transform patterns from the original. Finally, in echoing the rhythmic language in the discussion of culturally important actions she repeats memorable passages that may enable an audience to remember the story and its lesson in the future.

Example 6: Participant 15

The final example is another retelling of the Dzunuk’wa story. This retelling comes from Participant 15 and it was told several days after she had heard the story. Participant 15 was interviewed after the educators last session with the classroom (2 weeks after hearing the Dzunuk’wa story) and was given the choice to tell any of the stories she had heard. She stated that Dzunuk’wa was her favorite and, as will be shown below, she retells this story in a way that

reveals evidence of how she has transformed this story and made use of particular cultural features to emphasize changing dynamics in the relationship between the four boys. In addition, the way in which she incorporates a formal opening and makes use of both speech and rhythmic language in the retelling provides evidence of how she is developing her own voice as a storyteller through her particular choices. The retelling is presented below:

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
A	a	(1)	So a long time ago, there lived Dzunuk'wa, in the deep, deep forest.
		(2)	And...in the, in the, there was a village.
		(3)	And...there was four boys.
		(4)	Three of them were playing a bunch of games, and the fourth boy was wanting to join,
		(5)	But he was really different so the boys kept calling him "funny face" and...laughing at him,
	b	(6)	And so...he tried to figure out how to play those games.
		(7)	And he also learned how to be really sneaky,
		(8)	And...watched them, and do whatever they were doing.
	c	(9)	And so, one day, he...went to go ask if he could play the games with the boys
		(10)	And they still said "No"
		(11)	And instead they went to go into the forest, and go for an adventure.
		(12)	And so, the boy is like: "No no, you shouldn't do that, that's where Dzunuk'wa lives. and the Elders told you not to go there."
		(13)	So the boys kept on going into the forest for an adventure.
B	d	(14)	And so, the fourth boy, he ran over to the Elder,
		(15)	And went to go ask them...what he should do.
		(16)	And so...and so, he went to go ask the Elders,
		(17)	And...they said: "Well, you'll be..."
	(18)	For them to..the Elders to talk to you, you'll kind of have to like sit down, and then they'll come up to you.	
	e	(19)	And so, the Elder's said: 'Whatcha doing here'

- (20) And so, the boys like:
 “Well I need help,
 cause all four of the boys in the village have gone out to the
 forest
 and they’re going to go for an adventure.”
- (21) And so, the boy, asks what he should do.
- f (22) And so, the Elder...told him...
 to go like help your friend,
 and be all sneaky and everything,
- (23) So he went and followed the boys, the boys,
 into the forest,
 and ran really fast.
- (24) And then he saw Dzunuk’wa...
 right in front of the boys.
- C g (25) And then the boys,
 didn’t see Dzunuk’wa,
- (26) So they’re like:
 “Wow, look at those trees, they’re like touching the sky”
- (27) And:
 “Look at this log, it’s so coool”
 (another student in the background laughs)
- (28) And then...really quickly Dzunuk’wa picked up the boys,
 the three boys and put them in her basket.
- (29) And so, Dzunuk’wa said:
 “Oooo I’m going to have kids for breakfast, and lunch, and for
 dinner”
- h (30) And so (S: Oh yummy)...the boy ran back to his village,
 And...he tried to find everyone.
- (31) They went out for clam digging.
 And he knew he’d get in so much trouble if he wasn’t there for
 clam digging.
- (32) So he went and he started to panic,
- (33) And then he remembered this big knife that his Dad had in his house.
- (34) And so he ran into the house,
 took that knife,
 and back into the forest,
 and was right behind Dzunuk’wa.
- i (35) And so...he was so, he got closer and closer and closer to Dzunuk’wa,
 (36) And then...he used that knife to cut a hole in her basket,
 (37) And cut the boys out of the basket.
- (38) And he told them to go run home,
 with the boys,
 and go back to the village.
- (39) So they all ran home.
- j (40) And when they got there, the rest of the village was there,
 (41) And that boy’s Dad was all like angry at him,
 (42) And he was like:

- “You got to take, take care of your sister,
and clean up everywhere,
and help out”
- k (43) And then when the other three boys’ Dads came,
they were all like the same thing,
like go help your little sister,
and clean up the house and everything.
- (44) And so, and then the boys kind of stood up for the one other boy,
- (45) And they’re like:
“Well...well they saved our lives so we shouldn’t be punishing
him”
- (46) And so, the other boy got punished for a week.
And the other boys got punished for two weeks.
- (48) And then the...

This story contains three main parts (scenes A, B & C). Scenes are clearly marked by the conclusion of a sequence of action, and often by a change in perspective. For example, scene (B) begins by starting a new action in the youngest boy’s visit to the Elders. Though the perspective is still the youngest boy’s there is now a new focus in the scene; he is visiting the Elders instead of playing with the other three boys. Scene (C) then begins with a change in perspective. In verse (25) it is now the three boys that are the focus and stanza (g) describes their experience of the deep forest by including the voices of the three boys and the voice of Dzunuk’wa. Each scene also consists of three or five stanzas (A [3 stanzas], B [3 stanzas], C [5 stanzas]), and all stanzas consist of three or five verses.

Balanced rhetorical structuring appears at all levels in this retelling. For example, scene (C) seems relevant as the outcome, it is where the youngest boy’s wish to play with the others (scene A) and his preparation (scene B) has lead. Within this scene familiar three part patterns also occur. Specifically, stanza (g) describes the capture, stanza (h) continues this action by describing the youngest boy’s response of taking the knife and stanza (i) concludes this action with the rescue. The final two stanzas then describe two punishments, one from the father of the three boys (stanza j), and one in relation to the youngest boy (stanza k). Three part patterns are

also abundant within stanzas. For example, in stanza (e) the Elders inquire about the boy's presence (19), the boy responds (20) and then the boy asks for advice (21). Stanza (f) begins with the Elder's advice (22), and then the boy carries out this advice (23) which leads to him discovering Dzunuk'wa (24). In five verse stanzas interlocking patterns occur. For example, in stanza (i), the youngest boy chases Dzunuk'wa (35), uses the knife (36) and cuts out the other three (verse 37). After they are cut out the youngest boy gives advice (38) and they all run home (39). At all levels then this retelling is skillfully organized to incorporate 3/5 rhetorical patterns that allow an audience to follow along and understand points of importance.

The retelling from Participant 15 also involves some transformations in plot movement. One way of explaining this could be that the transformations are reflective of the time that has elapsed since the participant heard the story. These transformations, however, also fit clearly with this participant's own interpretation of the story and its lesson. The main transformation of plot movement occurs in stanza (c). This stanza ends the first scene and it describes the discussion between the three boys and the youngest boy about entering the forest. Specifically, it includes descriptions of the youngest boy asking the others if he could play with them, the three boys declining this request and the youngest boy warning them about a trip through the forest. When taken together with stanzas (a and b), the entire opening scene places a clear focus on the relationship between the three boys and the youngest boy. They are the only characters mentioned at this point and clear distinctions are made between them (the youngest boy wants to play, becomes sneaky and provides a warning, whereas the three boys make fun of him, tell him he cannot play and ignore him). The transformation in plot involves moving the discussion about going into the forest before the youngest boy asks the Elders for advice. This transformation in

plot allows Participant 15 to maintain the focus on the four boys within the first stanza, a focus that points to the relationship between these characters as the main problem in the story.

This participant also seems drawn to a few particular cultural features that she seems to use to emphasize a lesson about the relationship between the boys. The first cultural feature that makes an appearance in this example involves the use of speech. Verses of speech are not very common in this retelling (9 out of 47 verses), but when they do occur, they seem integral to marking behaviors that are important to the theme or lesson. At times speech involves pronouncements by people of authority (much like Participant 4), but at other points it seems to focus more on characterization (much like Participant 6) and in this way, the use of speech echoes both of these functions from the original story.

For example, the four speeches by characters other than the boys all seem relevant as important pronouncements involving either acknowledgement of good behavior (verses 17, 19), warnings about characters (verse 29), or a pronouncement of punishment (verse 42). Four verses of speech by either the three boys or the youngest boy, serve as examples of how speech can be used to characterize actors as responsible (verses 12 and 20) or as excitable and somewhat irresponsible (verses 26 and 27). The final verse of speech (verse 45) then consists of the three boys telling the youngest boy's father about his heroics. This verse comes at a place of importance in the final stanza (the third verse in a five verse stanza) and it seems to conclude what Participant 15 takes to be main problem in the story, that of the relationship between the boys. Now, after his heroic behavior, the three boys have learned a lesson and are standing up for the youngest boy instead of teasing him. Statements made by the participant during her interview support this interpretation. When asked if the characters learned anything, Participant 15 pointed to two lessons, "to never, like tease the boys and to listen to the Elders" and when describing

what others can learn from the story she said “Maybe not to like tease anyone, just cause...they’re different.” These interpretations of the meaning of the story seem in line with her interest in the use of speech in the story and her framing of the main problem as one involving the relationship between the boys.

Finally, this participant also seems somewhat interested other cultural features. There is one verse of descriptive elaboration in verse (18) and it is a description of the unfamiliar cultural practice of waiting for the Elders to speak with you. There is also rhythmic language throughout, in both speech and descriptions of repeated actions, but in many cases this rhythmic language is shortened (see verses 29 and 42) and major sections of repeated action are bypassed (for example the three forests). There is no epilogue, but there is a formal opening which seems to echo common openings for children’s fairy tales that this student may be echoing from the “legends” she had been learning about in a classroom unit before the educator arrived (field notes). In summary, many features of this retelling suggest Participant 15 was quite skillful in how she interacted with cultural features of the original story. Specifically, her use of a formal opening along with the abundant three part rhetorical patterns, transformations of plot movement and the use of speech to characterize and mark important actions displays the unique narrative “voice” of this participant as she interacts with the narrative resources in a story told to her by the educator.

Chapter 6: Comparative Analysis

The previous two chapters of this dissertation were written as studies of how students in two differently aged classrooms interacted with particular forms of narrative practices introduced by one of two First Nations cultural educators through a cultural education program. In order to provide space for a detailed analysis of each of these classrooms as “cultural communities” the

analyses of these classrooms were presented as separate chapters. This chapter will now compare the classrooms.

The comparative analysis reported below followed two main steps. First, results from the verse analyses of children's storytelling in these two classrooms were integrated with previous work on children's narrative development using two other analytical frameworks common in developmental psychology. One argument developed in the previous two chapters was that the verse analysis revealed particular forms of narrative skills related to the oral traditions the educator was presenting—forms which are rarely discussed in research on children's narratives. In order to further develop this argument, retellings by children in the two classrooms were also examined in terms of some other commonly used forms of analysis for children's narratives. Secondly, the two classrooms were compared in terms of both the complexity in which children made use of the particular cultural features and differences between the types of cultural features explored in each classroom.

Comparing the Classrooms with High-point Analysis

One common framework for the analysis of children's spoken narrative is high-point analysis (Labov, 1972; Peterson & McCabe, 1983), a framework reviewed in chapter 2. To recap, high-point analysis focuses on analyzing the structure of spoken narratives in terms of different "functions" served by particular narrative clauses. Peterson and McCabe (1983) base high-point analysis on Labov's (1972) influential description of narrative, which suggests that narrative clauses have two main functions: 1) referential functions (description of the events or actions) and 2) evaluative functions (communicating the importance of the actions). High point analysis involves first classifying narrative clauses in terms of their function and then examining the degree to which different types of clauses are organized around a high point. This leads to

what Paterson and McCabe (1983) call the “classic” pattern of narrative organization that involves six main components: 1) Appendages, 2) Orientation, 3) Complicating Actions, 4) Evaluation, 5) Resolution and 6) Coda. They report that when the children they worked with, who they acknowledge were members of a particular cultural community, were 6 years old most of their narratives conformed to this classic pattern.

Since Peterson and McCabe’s (1983) work many authors have made extensive use of high-point analysis to explore children’s narrative skills (e.g., Fivush, Haden, & Adam, 1995; Haden, Haine, & Fivush, 1997; Newcombe, & Reese, 2004; Peterson, & McCabe, 1994; & Ukrainetz et al., 2005). For this reason, it is relevant to compare the classrooms through this framework in order to explore whether the verse analysis reveals any distinct forms of narrative skills. Children’s retellings from both classrooms were thus compared in terms of the extent of expressive elaboration they included following the procedures of Ukrainetz et al. (2005). This particular adaptation of high-point analysis was chosen for several reasons. First of all, it was used in the analysis of fictional narratives not personal experience narratives. Since in this study children were retelling traditional oral narratives the focus on fictional storytelling seemed the most appropriate. Second, Peterson & McCabe’s (1983) original work was conducted with children younger than those in this study, and since they report that the majority of six year olds in their sample told stories following the “classic” pattern, an analysis that focuses on “expressive elaboration” that goes “beyond information transmission” seemed more suitable for the grade 1 and grade 4 students participating in this project (Ukrainetz et al., 2005, p. 1363).

To examine the extent of expressive elaboration in the retellings from students in the participating classrooms, the analytic procedures of Ukrainetz et al. (2005) were closely followed. This involved first dividing the narratives into T-units, or the smallest unit able to

express meaning. T-units were then classified into three major categories of expressive elaboration (appendages, orientations, evaluations) and into a number of subcategories within each major category. In following Ukrainetz et al. (2005), each T-unit could be coded as contributing to multiple major categories (for example, a statement could be coded as both an orientation and an evaluation) but could only be coded in one sub-category for each major category. There were five subcategories for appendages, six subcategories for orientations and six subcategories for evaluations coded. These subcategories are listed in *Table 5*. Three categories were added to the orientations of Ukrainetz et al. (2005) in order to incorporate specific descriptions of unnamed characters, time and place that seemed relevant as expressive characteristics in the stories, and one subcategory (detail) was added to evaluations.

Table 5: Categories and sub-categories of expressive elaboration

Category	Subcategory
Appendage	<i>Introducer</i> : Statements indicating the beginning of a story <i>Abstract</i> : Summaries of the story prior to the narrative <i>Theme</i> : Summaries of the story within the narrative <i>Coda</i> : Statements that show the effect of the narrative on the characters <i>Ender</i> : Formal indication the narrative is over
Orientation	<i>Character</i> : Specific references to a character without using a name (first mention only) <i>Names</i> : Specific identifiers for characters (first mention only) <i>Relations</i> : Words defining a characters role in terms of relationship (first mention only) <i>Personality</i> : Personal attributes of characters contributing to the story <i>Time</i> : Specific mention of when the story takes place or acknowledgement of time passing <i>Place</i> : Specific mention of locations
Evaluation	<i>Modifiers</i> : Adjectives, adverbs, intensifiers and counts (e.g., 5 minutes) <i>Expressions</i> : multiword modifying units that appeared to have a literary usage <i>Repetition</i> : Repetition of words or phrases to add emphasis. This could happen within a T-unit (closer and closer) or across T-units if words or ideas are repeated closely after <i>Internal State</i> : Words that reflected intentions, thoughts, emotions, motivations and physical states <i>Dialogue</i> : Any portion of the narrative where a character speaks <i>Detail</i> : Elaborating on specific details as a form of emphasis

Students' retellings were then compared in terms of the presence of different types of expressive elaboration and the proportion of their retelling that focused on providing a given type. First, students in each classroom were compared in terms of the total amount of appendages, orientations and evaluations they included in their story retellings. All retellings in both classrooms included at least one instance of an appendage, an orientation and an evaluation. For this reason, a binary presence variable like that used by Ukrainetz et al, (2005) was not appropriate. Instead, presence was examined in terms of the total number of T-Units coded into one of the three categories. Independent samples t-tests suggested that the grade 4 students were including substantially more orientations ($M = 10.67$, $SD = 3.50$) than the grade 1 students ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.56$) in their retellings, $t(26) = -6.70$, $p < 0.001$, $r = 0.80$; and that the grade 4 students were also including substantially more evaluations ($M = 35.80$, $SD = 25.61$) than the grade 1 students ($M = 8.15$, $SD = 6.09$), $t(16) = -4.05$, $p = 0.001$, $r = 0.62$.¹⁰ The number of appendages included did not differ between the two groups, $t(26) = -0.89$, $p = 0.38$, $r = 0.17$. This lack of difference in the amount of appendages between the classrooms is not very surprising as appendages, by definition, occur largely at the beginning and ending of a narrative and thus including more appendages does not necessarily make a story more expressive.¹¹

As is clear from the verse analyses, there was a significant difference in the average length of the retellings (here measured in the number of T-Units, in earlier chapters as the number of lines) from the two classrooms such that the grade 4 students ($M = 61.20$, $SD = 33.52$) told longer narratives than the grade 1 students ($M = 15.00$, $SD = 7.63$), $t(16) = -5.19$, $p < 0.001$,

¹⁰ Levene's test for equality of variances was significant at $p = 0.004$, so equal variances were not assumed and a Welch's t-test was interpreted.

¹¹ Ukrainetz et al. (2005) found that the binary presence of appendages differed between the youngest participants (5-6) and the two older groups (7-9 and 10-12) while the frequency (percentage of T-units coded as appendages) did not. They explain this result in a similar way, noting how many appendages need only occur once.

$r = 0.69$,¹² and for this reason overall counts of the different categories are conflated with story length. To control for the length of retellings independent samples t-tests were also conducted on the proportion of the narrative that focused on providing either orienting information or evaluation. Since there was no significant difference between the classrooms, this procedure was not followed for appendages. For each retelling proportion scores were calculated by dividing the total number of orientations and evaluations in a retelling by the total number of T-units and multiplying by 100 for a measure of the percentage of T-Units of a given type in the narrative. This procedure closely followed that of Ukrainetz et al. (2005). Through independent samples t-tests no significant differences were found between the groups in the mean proportion scores for both orientations, $t(26) = 1.75$, $p = 0.09$, $r = 0.32$, and evaluations, $t(26) = -1.03$, $p = 0.31$, $r = 0.20$. This analysis suggests that though grade 4 students were including more orientations and evaluations in their retellings than grade 1 students overall, both the grade 1 students and grade 4 students were focusing similar amounts of their retellings on providing orienting and evaluative information for their audience.

In addition to these overall comparisons, the classrooms were compared in terms of the extent to which different types of appendages, orientations and evaluations were used by the students. This analysis involved comparing students' retellings in terms of the presence of at least one instance of the 17 different sub-categories of appendages, orientations and evaluations described in *Table 5*. The bar graph included as *Figure 3* displays the percentage of students in each classroom who incorporated the different types of appendages at least once. A set of 2 x 2 Chi-square tests of independence were conducted to examine whether students in a particular classroom were significantly more likely to include at least one instance of the different types of

¹² Levene's Test for equality of variances was significant at $p < 0.001$, so equal variances were not assumed and a Welch's t-test was interpreted.

expressive elaboration in their retellings. To perform these analyses, new variables were created where students were given a score of 1 if they included at least one instance of a given feature and 0 if they did not. Contingency tables were then developed comparing the number of students who did and did not include a given feature within Class A and then Class B, and Chi-square tests explored whether there were significant differences between the classrooms. When expected cell counts were lower than 5, leading to difficulties in interpretation, Fisher's exact tests of independence were employed (McDonald, 2009).

First, in terms of appendages, Chi-square and Fisher's exact tests of independence suggested that grade 4 students were significantly more likely than grade 1 students to include Enders in their retellings, $p = 0.001$, *FET*; $OR = 39$ [95% $CI = 1.93, 789.33$]¹³ and that grade 1 students were significantly more likely than grade 4 students to include Abstracts in their retellings, $X^2(1, N = 28) = 3.88$, $p = 0.049$, $\phi = -0.37$. There were no significant differences between the classrooms in terms of the likelihood of including Introducers, Themes, or Codas.

Similar analyses were conducted on the types of orientations (see *Figure 3*) included in students' retellings. These analyses suggested that grade 4 students were significantly more likely than grade 1 students to include at least one orientation focused on descriptions of unnamed Characters, $p = 0.001$, *FET*, $OR = 3$ [95% $CI = 0.3, 33$]; descriptions of Relations, $X^2(1, N = 28) = 18.2$, $p < 0.001$, $\phi = 0.81$; descriptions of Personality, $p = 0.042$, *FET*, $OR = 13$ [95% $CI = 2, 83$]; and descriptions of Place, $p = 0.01$, *FET*, $OR = 6$, [95% $CI = 0.6, 61$]. There were no

¹³ In this case, one column in the 2 x 2 table had zero cases (presence for grade 1) and an odds ratio (OR) (as a measure of effect size) could not be calculated. Durlak (2009) suggests that in calculating OR's when one cell has zero cases it is appropriate to substitute 0.5 in this column. In this case, 0.5 does not make sense on a presence/absence variable so a score of 1 was substituted to calculate the OR. All chi-square tests report Phi (ϕ) as a measure of effect size as recommended by Ferguson (2009).

significant differences between the groups in terms of the likelihood of including orientations involving the provision of identifying Names for the characters or descriptions of Time.

It should be noted that the Dzunuk'wa story, re-told by most of the students in the grade 4 class, did not include proper names or identifiers for the characters (with the exception of Dzunuk'wa herself) whereas the stories from the first educator did (e.g. The Wolves). This could have influenced the likelihood that grade 4 students identified the characters in ways other than using a proper name (both the Character and Name codes). The stories from the second educator also contained more explicit mention of characters' relationships (e.g., the boy's father) that may have influenced the Relations code. Stories from both educators incorporated information about time, place and personality so these codes were less likely to be influenced by the presence of these features in the original stories.

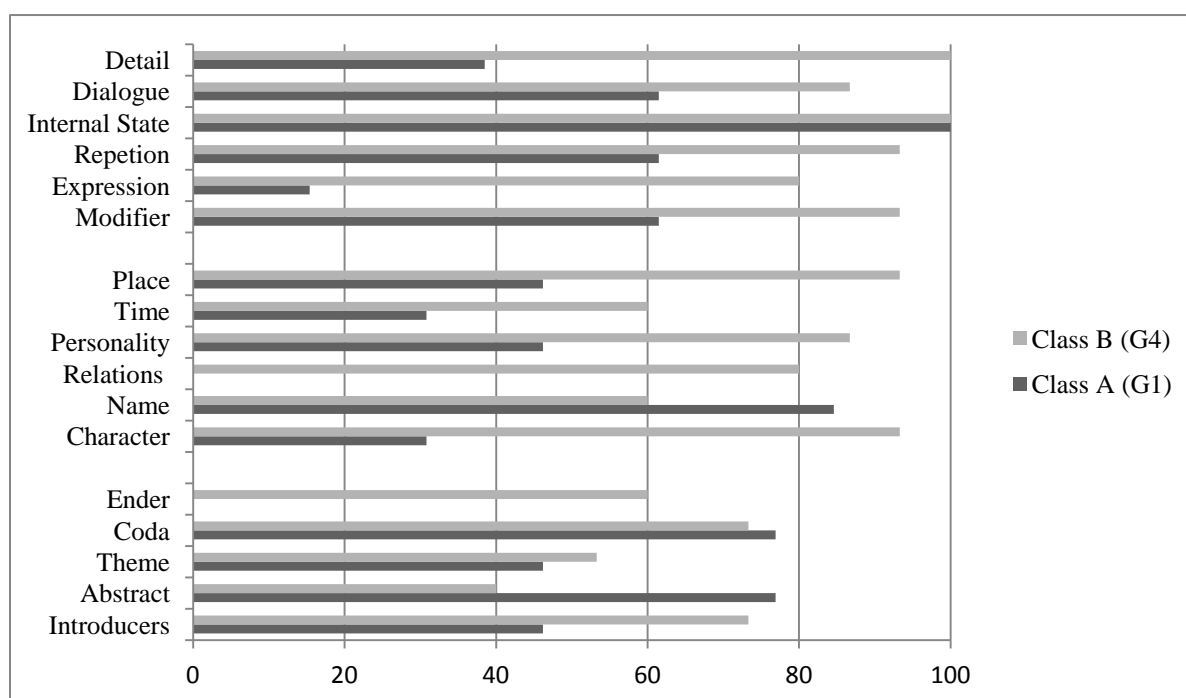
Finally, the students' retellings were compared in terms of the types of evaluation they included (see *Figure 3*). In these comparisons 2 x 2 Chi-square tests or Fisher's exact tests of independence suggested that the grade 4 students were significantly more likely than the grade 1 students to include at least one instance of only two types of evaluation in their retellings: Expressions, $X^2(1, N = 28) = 11.63, p = 0.001, \phi = 0.65$; and Detail, $p < 0.001, FET, OR = 24$ [95% $CI = 2.38, 242.32$].¹⁴ All students in both classrooms included discussions of internal states in their retellings and there was no significant difference in the likelihood of including at least one instance of Modifiers, Repetition and Dialogue in the retellings between the two groups¹⁵. Again, it should be noted that there may have been aspects of the stories the students

¹⁴ In this case, one cell (Absence for grade 4) had zero cases so this cell was adjusted to 1 in order to produce the OR following the same procedure as above, based on the advice of Durlak (2009) when cells have zero cases.

¹⁵ The analyses for Modifiers and Repetition, such that the grade 4 students were more likely to include these, reached significance through the Chi-square test, but since in both cases expected cell counts were not all above five

heard that influenced these results. Specifically, the type of evaluation labelled Detail is similar to the cultural feature involving descriptive elaboration in the second educator's stories. Grade 1 students may thus have heard fewer examples elaboration in terms of detail, which could account for the large difference in the likelihood that the grade 1 students included at least one instance of this type of evaluation when compared to the grade 4 students.

Figure 3: Percentage of students including the different elements at least once in each classroom



These results show, as one would expect, that grade 4 students are more complex in terms of the types of expressive elaboration that they included in their retellings. Grade 4 students included more orientations and evaluations overall in their longer retellings and they were more likely than the grade 1 students to incorporate a number of different types of appendages, orientations and evaluations. Grade 1 students, however, were more likely than grade 4 students

Fisher's exact tests were interpreted. On this more stringent test (McDonald, 2009) there were no differences between the classrooms in the likelihood of including these types of evaluations.

to incorporate Abstracts in their retellings, and, as in other research (Fivush, Haden & Adam, 1995; Peterson, & McCabe, 1983; 1994), both younger and older participants were heavily evaluative in their narratives and they included an abundance of orienting statements. Also, when the length of the retellings was taken into account, there were no significant differences between the groups in the percentage of their narratives focused on either orientation or evaluation. This suggests that students in both classrooms were concerned with creating evaluative and contextualized narratives that told their audience what happened, provided details and commented on the meaning of the actions. This result is very much in line with findings from the verse analyses, findings which displayed the numerous ways that students in both classes emphasized specific points that they found particularly relevant in their retellings.

Comparing the Classrooms through the Narrative Coherence Coding Scheme (NaCCS)

In a recent paper, Reese et al. (2011) developed the Narrative Coherence Coding Scheme (NaCCS), which they suggest integrates a number of approaches to narrative development across the life course. This coding scheme focuses on analyzing narratives, in this case personal experience narratives, in terms of three dimensions of coherence: Context, Chronology and Theme. In addition, the authors report evidence of developmental differences in coherence of personal narratives using this coding scheme. Specifically, they found that the youngest children (aged 3-5) showed low coherence scores on all three dimensions, particularly context and chronology. School age children (6 years old through high school) showed continued growth on all three dimensions, with the most dramatic change for the chronology dimension and more gradual changes on the context and theme dimensions. Adult narratives were highly coherent on chronology and theme dimensions and somewhat less coherent in terms of context. They interpret these results as evidence that narrative coherence is a multidimensional construct and

suggest that these dimensions may be related to different sets of socio-cognitive skills and have different developmental trajectories.

Since Reese et al. (2011) designed the NaCCS as a tool to integrate a number of different perspectives on the development of narrative coherence, it seems reasonable to apply this coding scheme in an attempt to understand differences in the narrative skills of students in the two classrooms participating in this project. The reasoning here is twofold. First, the high-point analysis above suggested some particular ways in which story-retellings from the grade 4 students were more complex than retellings from the grade 1 students and this new coding scheme may provide additional evidence of similarities and differences between the classrooms. Second, in the previous chapters it was argued that the verse analysis revealed particular forms of narrative skills that seem related to the oral traditions the cultural educator was presenting; and that these forms of skill are often not explored in research on children's narratives. Integrating the verse analysis with this recent approach to analyzing narrative coherence, particularly since the authors strive to examine a number of dimensions of coherence, could provide further evidence of distinct forms of narrative skills children are exploring in participating in the cultural education program.

Story-retellings from students in both the grade 1 and grade 4 classrooms were coded through the NaCCS coding scheme provided by Reese et al. (2011). This coding scheme consists of three 4-point rating scales used to determine the extent to which a given narrative shows coherence on the three dimensions of Context, Chronology and Theme. Scoring guidelines are given through a chart with verbal descriptions of scores from 0 to 3 on each dimension and through examples of narratives, and these guidelines (in terms of verbal descriptions for scores) are reproduced here as *Appendix E*. Since the NaCCS was developed in relation to personal

experience narratives there are some potential differences in applying it to story retellings. Specifically, the theme dimension is based on codes developed for the extent of meaning-making in memories of personal experiences and for this reason may be less applicable to the analysis of story-retellings, where there may be less explicit relations to the self-concept. In an attempt to adapt this code to fit story-retellings, ratings were based not only on linking the event to changes in the self-concept, but also on whether a participant explicitly mentions the lesson in the story. Both the rating scales for context and chronology seemed reasonably present in personal experience narratives and story-retellings.

After each student's retelling was coded using the NaCCS procedures, average scores from each classroom were compared through independent samples t-tests. These analyses revealed significant differences in the mean scores for the two classrooms on each of the three dimensions. Specifically, the grade 4 students ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 0.52$) scored significantly higher on the context dimension than the grade 1 students ($M = 1.54$, $SD = 0.76$), $t(26) = -4.04$, $p < 0.001$, $r = 0.62$. Grade 4 students ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 0.46$) also scored significantly higher than the grade 1 students ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 0.64$) on the chronology dimension, $t(26) = -3.15$, $p = 0.004$, $r = 0.53$. Finally, the grade 4 ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 0.52$) students scored significantly higher than the grade 1 students ($M = 1.92$, $SD = 0.76$) on the theme dimension, $t(26) = -2.24$, $p = 0.03$, $r = 0.40$. Analysis through the NaCCS coding scheme thus provides additional evidence of how the older students' story retellings were more complex than those of the younger students.

Interestingly, the mean scores of the present study's grade 1 students were higher than the mean scores reported for the six-year-olds studied by Reese et al. (2011) on all three dimensions. In the data reported by Reese et al. (2011) it was not until the early adolescence (ages 11 and 12) that mean context scores were above 1.00 and mean chronology scores reached approximately

2.00. In addition, the mean theme scores of the 8-year-old children in the Reese et al. samples seem most similar to those of children in grade 1 in the present study. Mean scores on chronology and theme from the grade 4 students in this study were also higher than those of similarly aged children in Reese et al. (2011). One reason for these different results could be the presence of information regarding a number of these coherence dimensions in the stories children heard and were subsequently retelling. Despite these diverging results in the mean scores, the pattern of the results aligns with the findings of Reese et al. (2011). Grade 1 students had significantly lower scores on all the dimensions and the dimension of context, which was the lowest across the age groups in the study by Reese et al., was also the lowest dimension for the grade 1 students in this study.

Comparing the Classrooms through Verse Analysis

The first two analyses reported in this chapter described several ways in which story-retellings from the grade 4 students were more complex than retellings from the grade 1 students. By employing forms of analysis commonly used to examine children's narratives in developmental psychology, evidence has been provided that the grade 4 students' story-retellings were more likely to include more varied forms of appendages, orientations and evaluations and that these stories displayed higher levels of context, coherence and theme on the NaCCS coding scheme than story-retellings from the grade 1 students. Despite these differences in complexity, it was also the case that retellings from the grade 1 students incorporated all three forms of expressive elaboration, that grade 1 students were more likely to include abstracts, and that the proportions of retellings focused on these forms of elaboration were very similar for grade 1 and grade 4 students. The grade 1 students also scored relatively high on all three dimensions of the NaCCS when compared to the samples studied by Reese et al. (2011). In general then, students

in both classrooms employed a substantial amount of narrative skills in their retellings when compared through these frameworks, though the grade 4 students' retellings were more complex in a number of ways.

This project was designed to explore how children's narrative development is situated in particular cultural contexts, where particular forms of narrative skills are introduced to children. By employing verse analysis (Hymes, 1981, 2003) the previous two chapters have revealed particular, culturally relevant, forms of narrative skills that children engaged with through their participation in cultural education programs developed by First Nations cultural educators. These forms of narrative skills were focused largely around sophisticated rhetorical patterning that recurs throughout children's retellings of stories; patterning which often emphasizes particular points in the story related the storyteller's interpretation. An examination of these patterns has highlighted the ways in which verses of speech are integrated into the stories, the use of epilogues and formal openings, the use of recurring action patterns and recurring statements relating to the theme, and the use of both rhythmic language and two types of descriptive elaboration.

These forms of narrative skills seem quite different than those emphasized so far in this comparative chapter; yet they clearly contribute to the "coherence" of the retelling. Specifically, Reese et al. (2011) define coherence as a narrative "that makes sense to a naive listener — not just in terms of understanding when, where, and what event took place but also with respect to understanding the meaning of that event to the narrator" (p. 425). If coherence involves relaying the meaning of a story to an audience than the forms of "rhetorical" skills described in the previous chapters clearly seem relevant. In many cases, it has been argued that aspects of the meaning of a particular story are conveyed through this recurrent patterning, and the various

devices (or cultural features) that analysis of the patterning reveals. As Hymes (1981) describes, verse analysis focuses on understanding a co-variance of form and meaning, it is often through form that meaning is conveyed.

The final section of this chapter is focused on whether the verse analysis reveals any different ways in which the grade 1 students and grade 4 students made use of the particular forms of narrative skills that are highlighted in this approach. The purpose of this final section is to both strengthen the case that the verse analysis revealed particular forms of narrative skills explored by children in this context and to relate these forms of narrative skill to those more commonly examined through the other frameworks reviewed above. First, retellings from grade 1 and grade 4 students were compared in terms of the complexity in which they incorporated recurring patterns in the grouping together of lines, verses and stanzas. In following the rating scale approach to measuring other dimensions of coherence (Reese et al., 2011) a four point rating scale (1-4) was created to measure the complexity verse patterning. *Table 6* describes each of the ratings on this scale.

Table 6: *Rating scale for the complexity of verse patterning*

Score	Criteria
1	-Retellings were given a score of 1 if they contained any evidence of recurring patterns
2	-Retellings were given a score of 2 if these recurring patterns clearly contributed to a rhetorical structure (for example, the “Onset, ongoing, outcome” pattern described by Hymes, 1981)
3	-Retellings were given a score of 3 if there was consistent evidence of recurring rhetorical patterns at more than one level (line and verse)
4	-Retellings were given a score of 4 if there was consistent evidence of recurring rhetorical patterns on more than 2 levels (line, verse and stanza)

Each retelling from the grade 4 and the grade 1 students was coded using the 4 point scale above and then average scores for the two classrooms were compared through an

independent samples t-test. This analysis suggested that the grade 4 students ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 0.69$) retold the stories in ways that were significantly more complex and consistent than the grade 1 students ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 0.52$) in terms of their incorporation of verse patterning, $t(26) = -4.36$, $p < 0.001$, $r = 0.65$. More specifically, the grade 4 students were more likely to consistently include recurring rhetorical patterns at multiple levels in their retellings. The mean scores were high for both classrooms and thus, as with the comparative data using other analytical approaches, it seems reasonable to conclude that both the grade 1 students and the grade 4 students were engaging with this particular form of narrative skill.

There is one more way in which the two classrooms differed that was revealed through verse analysis. This concerns the complexity of the cultural features themselves in each classroom and evidence of how students were making particular choices in how they made use of these features. For the grade 4 students, the stories told by the educator were longer, and in these longer stories the way cultural features were coded was extended, especially in terms of the different ways in which speech was used. For example, in the retellings from grade 1 students, speech was coded in terms of whether or not it appeared at all and the extent to which it appeared. As the analysis in chapter 4 made clear, many of the grade 1 students incorporated verses of speech in their retellings, but a number of them did not. In contrast, almost all of the grade 4 students (13 out of 15) incorporated verses of speech.

Also, the educators used speech in slightly different ways. Both educators used speech to highlight particular points of importance in the plot, but the second educator (possibly because of the longer stories) seemed more concerned with using speech to characterize the different actors, even giving some actors characteristic ways of speaking. In the story analyzed by the first educator, the wolves speech can be interpreted as characterizing them in some ways (they are

acting irresponsibly each time they speak), and the language is also quite rhythmic (“maybe later” is repeated); but with fewer actors in the shorter stories, distinct characterization seems less of a focus. Instead the focus in the “Story about the Wolves” seems to be on the use of recurring statements to emphasize the theme. Since the cultural features coded were different in the two classrooms specific comparisons of the extent to which students make use of particular features cannot be made. Instead, the data from both classrooms suggest that when complex cultural features were available as resources, many students in both classrooms made use of them to craft retellings that emphasized specific points, that is, they made use of them skillfully.

One final point that is evident in comparing the classrooms was that the grade 4 students were often quite explicit in the particular cultural feature they chose to focus on in their retellings. For example, Participant 5 and Participant 6, though they told their retellings together in a group with the researcher, were quite distinct in terms of how they incorporated cultural features. Participant 5 focused largely on the feature of descriptive elaboration and highlighted his desire to be descriptive in the interview. In contrast, Participant 6 focused much more on verses of speech and through her interview emphasized the importance of “listening.” Participant 11 and Participant 14 also structured their retellings very similarly, but seemed distinct in their engagement with cultural features. For example, Participant 11 made use of speech, but was largely focused on the recurring character of Raven. In contrast, Participant 14 seemed most focused on exploring rhythmic language in verses of speech and her retelling seemed less focused on Raven as a recurring character. These sorts of distinct choices were sometimes evident among the grade 1 students, but in their shorter retellings they were not as clear. This final point, however, is somewhat speculative as many students in both classrooms employed cultural features in ways relating to their particular interpretation of the story.

It was also the case that particular phrases and speeches were often echoed word for word among the grade 1 students (e.g., “maybe later”) and while this did happen among the grade 4 students (e.g. “Butterfly, butterfly come alive”) it was more common for these phrases to be transformed (i.e., shortened). Both of these patterns seem reasonable based on the greater experience with stories among the grade 4 students, who, as was previously described, were discussing “legends” in their class before the educator’s visit. In addition, these results could be interpreted in relation to numerous studies documenting developments in meta-linguistic skills in the early elementary school years; studies which describe how children begin to reflect on their language use (see Berk, 2012 for a review). Despite this commentary on differences in how cultural features are engaged with by students, in both classrooms the evidence clearly displays aspects of the individual narrative “voices” of these children as they engage with and employ particular forms of narrative skills of interest to them in retelling stories to share a lesson with their audience.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Theoretical Considerations

This research project was structured around two main questions. In drawing from socio-cultural approaches to development these questions were formulated to explore, 1) particular “forms” and “functions” of the narrative practices introduced by the cultural educator, and 2) how student participants “echo” and “transform” these practices through participation in narrative activities. In addressing these questions, the goal for this project was to trace how children come to make use of particular forms of cultural practices introduced by the educator, and to provide evidence relevant to the process of development. In order to complete this task the

analytical framework of “ethnopoetics” or “verse” analysis has been quite useful. Through this framework recurring patterns were abundantly apparent in the storytelling from both cultural educators. In addition, the case was made that the educators employed these resources for particular “rhetorical effects.” That is, it was argued that the recurring patterns were part of how the intended meaning of a story was imparted to the audience, and as such, it seems right to call these patterns forms of narrative skill.

It was also possible to describe “cultural features” evident in the patterning of the stories. Proposals about cultural features were supported by resonances between the researcher’s interpretations and how the educators discussed their own storytelling, as well as with research from both Indigenous scholars and anthropologists who have explored oral traditions. The case was made that these particular features have some “relevance” to the oral traditions the cultural educators are presenting to students. Many of the cultural features described in this project focused on the way speech was used. In particular, both educators conveyed much of the plot of their stories through characters’ speaking and important pronouncements were often made by characters. The verses of speech were also emphasized through their place in recurring patterns and often these verses had clear relevance to the theme or lesson of the story. The second educator also was able to “characterize” the main actors in his stories through their speech in ways that developed a particular “voice” for a recurring character or were relevant to the lesson about the actor’s behaviour.

Other cultural features focused on a high degree of repetition in both educators’ storytelling, apparent through recurring statements or repetitive action patterns, often at points of cultural importance. Through both conforming with and, at times, departing from patterns related to “pattern numbers” in the stories, these forms of repetition also were important in sharing the theme or lesson. Further, the second educator employed a strategy of descriptive elaboration that

was quite engaging for the audience and that was often focused on developing a picture of the experience in the story within the audience's mind. Finally, both educators made use of epilogues in the stories that seemed focused on making the story and its lessons relevant to the present day.

The second research question was focused on how student participants engaged with these cultural features through their story-retellings. In both classrooms, the analyses supported two main conclusions related to this question. First, evidence of recurring patterning was abundant in students' retellings on multiple levels and in both classrooms. This evidence clearly supports Hymes' (1981, 1996, 2003) argument that particular forms of verbal artistry are revealed by exploring spoken narrative as "measured verse"—a conclusion that is particularly relevant for research exploring the different ways that children build coherence in narratives (Nicolopoulou, 2008; Reese, et al., 2011). Second, evidence was presented that many students were quite interested in a number of the cultural features and they made use of these features to emphasize particular points that were relevant to the lesson or meaning they were trying to impart. It was thus argued that many student participants were making use of these features as "narrative resources;" they were exploring particular ways of telling the stories and using these features to produce particular rhetorical effects.

By way of illustration, some of the grade 1 students were particularly skillful in how they incorporated recurring and memorable statements in their stories that were relevant to the lesson. Similarly, many grade 4 students echoed or transformed memorable verses of speech that characterized individuals, that marked important decisions and warnings, and that reproduced repetitive patterns. Other grade 4 students were focused on reproducing descriptive passages from the story that built opportunities for the audience to vicariously experience a deep, dark forest or to understand unfamiliar cultural practices. This evidence is similar to proposals by

Nelson (1989), Bruner (1990) and other authors who suggest narrative provides a form useful to children in organizing experiences and making them personally meaningful. The narrative resources these students were exploring seem relevant to *sharing* the meaning of a story with others. The recurring patterns and cultural features provided a form that helped students convey the lesson to their audience, and it seems reasonable to call this evidence of form-meaning co-variation (Hymes, 1996).

Reflections on the Research Partnership

The above conclusions have focused on how the results of this study are relevant to current research on children's development through participation in cultural practices and children's developing narrative skills. In addition to these more theoretical conclusions, the way this study was conducted also has relevance to the processes of working with community partners in research projects. Indeed, recommendations and methodologies regarding the engagement of research with community partners, especially Indigenous partners, played a significant role in the design of this study (Bannister, Leadbeater & Marshall, 2011). Specifically, research partners (the cultural educators and director of ANED) were engaged early on in the design of this project and these partners played a role in granting the researcher the ability to work with the particular programs, in helping to set up the research with particular classrooms by speaking with teachers and principals, and in helping to organize the activities conducted with the classrooms.

In addition, the cultural educators played a role in building the validity of the researchers' interpretations. Specifically, initial ideas about "cultural features" were shared with the educators through discussions before the analysis was written up and in the write up resonances between the researchers' interpretations and the educators' understandings were noted as supporting evidence. The research partnership also allowed for detailed descriptions of the different cultural

education programs children received from the educators, which were used in developing the ethnographic portraits of each classroom.

Two points of relevance can be drawn out from the approach taken to developing the partnerships in this project. First of all, by building validity of interpretations through resonances between the researcher and research partners, this project reports evidence of *how* the research partners participated in the project. Social science researchers are calling for more efforts to document and report the processes involved with “engaging” community partners in the research process, especially when working with partners from marginalized communities (Barnes, et al., 2011). In this project, the research partners were largely engaged in a consulting role. That is, as experts on the cultural traditions they were sharing, the research partners were consulted by the researcher when making various interpretations about cultural relevance, and from these consultations points of resonance or similar understandings found through discussions and interviews supported the researcher’s interpretations.

Second, the researcher made substantial efforts to foster collaborative working relationships with each cultural educator by meeting with partners face-to-face both before and after the actual research was conducted. Relationship building through face-to-face meetings has been noted as an important consideration when conducting research with Aboriginal community partners as it shows an “active demonstration of cultural respect” (Marshall, & Guenette, 2011, p. 46). Face-to-face meetings also allowed for a number of discussions around the practical benefits the cultural educators were seeing from their participation. In these discussions both educators noted how participating in the research project could bring some visibility to their programs and one of the educators in particular noted how partnering in this project has built interest in the program at a particular school, which was a goal he was trying to achieve. In addition, these relationships will allow the researcher to work with the educators in the future in

order to find ways of sharing the findings from this project in ways that are beneficial to the programs.

Future Directions

Finally, there are a number of future directions that naturally arise from this project. First of all, if the findings really are relevant to the process of development, further work that traces *changes* in how children come to participate in particular forms of cultural practices seems the next logical step. In this cross-sectional case-study, evidence regarding the differing complexity in how differently aged students incorporated consistent rhetorical patterning on multiple levels suggests that particular forms of narrative skill explored in this project are relevant to development, but it does not actually trace developmental change. Despite the appeal of more longitudinal approaches to research design, these sorts of approaches may be difficult to implement with the particular programs explored here, or others like them, as these programs occur over a limited time frame. In addition, individual teachers could vary greatly in terms of how they integrate programs like this into students' classroom experiences, making controlled evaluations difficult. Instead, micro-genetic designs (Siegler & Chen, 1998) which explore development over short periods of time with intensive measurement could be one useful approach in future work. In this project, some difficulties in organizing opportunities for data collection with multiple stakeholders (cultural educators, classroom teachers, school principals, and school boards) would have made this sort of intensive design challenging to implement. In future work, if extensive relationship building with stakeholders were to take place long before data collection begins, this sort of methodological approach would become much more feasible.

In addition, the results of this study point to clear directions for work on the development of children's narrative skills. It has been argued that the particular forms of narrative skills

explored in this project, involving recurring patterning in spoken narrative and the particular cultural features this patterning reveals, often go unrecognized in children's narratives. In addition, similar findings regarding different levels of complexity in how the younger and older participants in this study engaged with forms of skill highlighted through both the verse analyses and other analytical frameworks (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; Reese, et al., 2011) suggest these forms of skill could be usefully explored in relation to one another. Indeed, in the example from Hymes (1996) reproduced in Chapter 3, a child's narrative is analyzed through a verse analysis to reveal "evaluation"—a feature emphasized in high-point analysis (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). In recent work, Reese et al. (2011) describe narrative skills related to coherence as "multidimensional" and more work incorporating the sorts of recurring patterns revealed through verse analysis with these other dimensions of narrative skill would broaden our understanding of the artistry, skill, and sophisticated organizational structuring involved in children's narrative production.

Finally, this study was designed to inquire into how children are developing through participation in forms of cultural practices that the cultural educators are sharing in particular programs designed for a particular purpose. The programs were developed as attempts to build better representations of First Nations cultures in educational settings in British Columbia. In this particular context some future directions seem clear. One direction for future research could involve taking steps to understand the meaning of a cultural practice in future work exploring children's participation. In this study, explorations of the meaning of the particular forms of practice were built into the project design in the form of interviews with the cultural educators. As I have already described, these interviews, along with previous research from Indigenous scholars and anthropologists, were essential in terms of understanding the cultural relevance of a given feature. By inquiring into the meanings of these practices as well as their form, the results

can be shared with the educators in ways that clearly relate to the educator's goals in the programs.

This study was designed based on evidence of how participation in a shared and continuous culture has benefits for young people (Chandler & Lalonde, 2009). In addition, it was designed based on interest, on the part of the researcher, in how aspects of development can be related to particular forms of cultural practices that are being shared with culturally diverse student audiences by First Nations communities and organizations. Through this study, evidence has been provided that particular forms of narrative practice are employed by First Nations cultural educators through their cultural education programs in this particular context. In addition, evidence from student's retellings of the stories they heard in the programs suggests that they are enthusiastically exploring these forms of storytelling in the space the programs provide. What is particularly striking in many of the students' retellings is how particular cultural features are used for rhetorical effects, that is, they relate to how the storyteller intends their story to be interpreted. There is an abundance of evidence in this project that recurring patterns in the stories help children organize and structure their retellings and that these patterns help convey meaning. In this way, the results of this study have provided substantial support for the main argument. Particular forms of narrative resources were being explored by the students in these contexts, and these forms seem relevant to constructing "possible worlds" and in students' attempts at sharing and constructing meaning with members of their cultural communities.

References

- Aboriginal Nations Education Division: An Overview*. (2009). Aboriginal Nations Education Division, Greater Victoria School District. Victoria, BC.
- Abrams, D. M., & Sutton-Smith, B. (1977). The development of the Trickster in children's narrative. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 90, 29-47.
- Adrian, J. E., Clemente, R. A., & Villanueva, J. (2005). Parent-child picture-book reading, mothers' mental state language and children's theory of mind. *Journal of Child Language*, 32, 673-686.
- Applebee, A. N. (1978). *The child's concept of story: Ages two to seventeen*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Aram, D., & Aviram, S. (2009). Mothers' storybook reading and kindergartners' socioemotional and literacy development. *Reading Psychology*, 30, 175-194.
- Archibald, J. (2008). *Indigenous storywork: Educating the heart, mind, body and spirit*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Atleo, E. R. (2004). *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth worldview*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Bamberg, M. (2004). Form and functions of 'slut-bashing' in male identity construction in 15 year olds. *Human Development*, 47, 331-353.
- Barnes, H. M., Henwood, W., Kerr, S., McManus, V., & McCreanor, T. (2011). Knowledge translation and Indigenous research. In E. M. Bannister, B. J. Leadbeater, & E. A. Marshall (Eds.). *Knowledge translation in context: Indigenous, policy and community settings* (pp.161-180). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

- Bannister, E. M., Leadbeater, B. J., & Marshall E. A. (2011). *Knowledge translation in context: Indigenous, policy and community settings*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Basso, K. H. (1984). "Stalking with stories": Names, places, and moral narratives among the Western Apache. In E. M. Bruner (Ed.). *Text, play and story: The construction and reconstruction of self and society*. (pp. 19-55) Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society.
- Berk, L. (2013). *Child Development (9th Edition)*. Pearson Education Ltd.
- Berman, J. (1992). Oolachan Woman's Robe: Fish, Blankets, Masks and Meaning in Boas's Kwakw'ala Texts. In B. Swann (Ed.). *On the Translation of Native American Literatures*,(pp. 125-62). Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Bloommaert, J. (2006). Ethnopoetics as functional reconstruction: Dell Hymes' narrative view of the world. *Functions of Language*, 13, 255-275.
- Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Burke, K. (1925). Psychology and form. *The Dial*, 71, 34-46.
- Cajate, G. (1994). *Look to the mountain: An ecology of indigenous education*. Durango, CO: Kivaki Press
- Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, *Tri-council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, December, 2010

- Chandler, M.J. & Lalonde, C.E. (2009). Cultural continuity as a moderator of suicide risk among Canada's First Nations. In Kirmayer, L. & Valaskakis, G. (Eds.). *Healing traditions: The mental health of Aboriginal peoples in Canada* (pp 221-248). University of British Columbia Press.
- Chandler, M., Lalonde, C., Sokol, B. W., & Hallett. (2003). *Personal persistence, identity development and suicide: A study of Native and non-Native North American adolescents*. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, No. 273, Vol. 68, N. 2.
- Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Daiute, C. (2010). Critical narrating by adolescents growing up in war: Case study across former Yugoslavia. In K. C. McLean & M. Pasupathi (eds.). *Narrative development in adolescence: Creating the storied self*. (pp. 207-230). New York, NY: Springer.
- Durlak, J. A. (2009). How to select, calculate and interpret effect sizes. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology, 34*, 917-928
- Ferguson, C. J. (2009). An effect size primer: A guide for clinicians and researchers. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 40*, 532-538.
- Fivush, R., Haden, C., & Adam, A. (1995). Structure and coherence of preschooler's personal narratives over time: Implications for childhood amnesia. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 60*, 32-56.
- Gee, J. P. (1989). Two styles of narrative construction and their linguistic and educational implications. *Discourse Processes, 12*, 287-307.

- Gerring, J. (2007). *Case study research: Principles and practices*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, S., & Hill, M. (2005). Researching children's experience: methods and methodological issues. In S. Greene & D. Hogan (Eds.). *Researching children's experiences: Methods and approaches* (pp. 1-21). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.
- Haden, C. A., Haine, R. A., & Fivush, R. (1997). Developing narrative structure in parent child reminiscing across the preschool years. *Developmental Psychology*, 33, 295-307
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hymes, D. (1981). *"In vain I tried to tell you": Essays in Native American ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hymes, D. (1990). Thomas Paul's Sametl: Verse analysis of a (Saanich) Chinook Jargon text. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 5, 71-105.
- Hymes, D. (1994). Ethnopoetics, oral-formulaic theory, and editing texts. *Oral Tradition*, 9, 330-370.
- Hymes, D. (1996). *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Towards an understanding of voice*. London: Taylor & Francis
- Hymes, D. (2003). *Now I only know so far: Essays in Ethnopoetics*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

- Jakobson, R. (1960). Closing statement: Linguistics and poetics. In T. A. Sebeok (Ed.). *Style and Language* (pp. 350-377). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kientz, C. [director], Curwen, C. [producer], James, W. [producer], & Thornton, J. [producer]. (2004). *Raven Tales* [television]. Canada, New Machine Studios.
- Kirmayer, L. J., & Valaskakis, G. G. (Eds.). (2009). *Healing traditions: The mental health of Aboriginal peoples in Canada*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Kovach, M. (2004) *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, conversations and contexts*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Kroeber, K. (1998) *Artistry in Native American Myths*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press
- Kroeber, K. (2004) *Native American Storytelling: A reader of myths and legends*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Labov, W., & Weletzky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In J. Helm (Ed.). *Essays on the verbal and visual arts*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Lee, C. D., Rosenfeld, E., Mendenhall, R., Rivers, A., & Tynes, B. (2004). Cultural modelling as a frame for narrative analysis. In C. Diaute & C. Lightfoot (Eds.). *Narrative analysis: Studying the development of individuals in society*. (pp. 39-62) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Mar, R. A., & Oatley, K. (2008). The function of fiction is the abstraction and simulation of social experience. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 3*, 173-192.
- Mar, R. A., Oatley, K., Hirsh, J., dela Paz, J., & Peterson, J. B. (2006). Bookworms versus nerds: Exposure to fiction versus non-fiction, divergent associations with social ability, and the simulation of fictional social worlds. *Journal of Research in Personality, 40*, 694-712.
- Marshall, E. A., & Guenette, F. (2011). Cross-cultural journeys: Transferring and exchanging knowledge among researchers and community partners. In E. M. Bannister, B. J. Leadbeater, & E. A. Marshall (Eds.). *Knowledge translation in context: Indigenous, policy and community settings* (pp. 35-55). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- McAdams, D. P. (2001). The psychology of life stories. *Review of General Psychology, 5*, 100-122.
- McAdams, D. P. (2006). *The redemptive self: Stories Americans live by*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McCabe, A., & Bliss, L. S. (2003). *Patterns of narrative discourse: A multicultural, life span approach*. Pearson Education Ltd.
- McDonald, J. H. (2009). *Handbook of biological statistics (2nd Ed.)*. Baltimore, MD: Sparky House Publishing.
- McKeough, A., & Genereaux, R. (2003). Transformation of narrative thought during adolescence. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 95*, 537-552.
- Michaels, S. (1991). The dismantling of narrative. In A. McCabe, & C. Peterson (Eds.), *Developing narrative structure* (pp. 303-352). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

- Miller, P. J., Cho, G. E., & Bracy, J. R. (2005). Working class children's experience through the prism of personal story-telling. *Human Development, 48*, 115-135.
- Miller, P. J., Fung, H., & Koven, M. (2007). Narrative reverberations: How participation in narrative practices co-creates persons and cultures. In S. Kitayama and D. Cohen (Eds.). *Handbook of cultural psychology*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Miller, P. J., Fung, H., Lin, S., Chen, E. C., & Boldt, B. R. (2012) *How socialization happens on the ground: Narrative practices as alternate socializing pathways in Taiwanese and European American families*. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 77, Issue 1.
- Miller, P. J., Hoogstra, L., Mintz, J., Fung, H., & Williams, K. (1993). Troubles in the garden and how they get resolved: A young child's transformation of his favourite story. In C. Nelson (Ed.). *Memory and Affect in Development: Minnesota Symposium on Child Psychology*, Vol 26 (pp. 87-114). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Mistry, J., & Wu, J. (2010). Navigating cultural worlds and negotiating identities: A conceptual model. *Human Development, 53*, 5-25.
- Nelson, K. (1989). Monologue as representation of real-life experience. In K. Nelson (Ed.), *Narratives from the crib* (pp. 27-72). Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press.
- Nelson, K. (2003). Narrative and self, myth and memory: Emergence of the cultural self. In R. Fivush, & C. A. Haden (Eds.), *Autobiographical memory and the construction of a narrative self: Developmental and cultural perspectives* (pp. 3 -28). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

- Nelson, K. (2007). *Young minds in social worlds: Experience, meaning and memory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Nelson, K. (2009). Narrative practices and folk psychology: A perspective from developmental psychology. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 16, 69-93.
- Nelson, K., & Fivush, R. (2004). The emergence of autobiographical memory: A social cultural developmental theory. *Psychological Review*, 111, 486-511.
- Newcombe, R., & Reese, E. (2004). Evaluations and orientations in mother-child narratives as a function of attachment security: A longitudinal investigation. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 28, 230-245.
- Nicolopoulou, A. (2008). The elementary forms of narrative coherence in young children's storytelling. *Narrative Inquiry*, 18, 299-325.
- Nicolopoulou, A., & Richner, E. S. (2007). From actors to agents to persons: The development of character representations in young children's narratives. *Child Development*, 78, 412-429.
- Page, R. (2008). Variation in storytelling style amongst New Zealand school children. *Narrative Inquiry*, 18, 152-179
- Paley, V. (1981). *Wally's stories*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Paley, V. (1990). *The boy who would be a helicopter: The uses of storytelling in the classroom*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Peterson, C. (1990). The who, when and where of early narratives. *Journal of Child Language*, *17*, 433-455.
- Peterson, C., & McCabe, A. (1983). *Developmental psycholinguistics: Three ways of looking at a child's narrative*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Peterson, C., & McCabe, A. (2004). Echoing our parents: Parental influences on children's narration. In M. W. Pratt and B. H. Fiese (Eds.), *Family stories and the life course: Across time and generations*. (pp. 27-54). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Reese, E., Haden, C. A., Baker-Ward, L., Bauer, P., Fivush, R., & Ornstein, P. A. (2011). Coherence of personal narratives across the lifespan: A multidimensional model and coding method. *Journal of Cognition and Development*, *12*, 424-462.
- Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Sapir, E. (1909). *Wishram Texts*. Leiden: Publications of the American Ethnological Society 2.
- Saxe, G. (2012). *Cultural development of mathematic ideas: Papua New Guinea Studies*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Siegler, R. S., & Chen, Z. (1998). Developmental differences in rule learning: A microgenetic analysis. *Cognitive Psychology*, *36*, 273-310
- Shweder, R. A. (1991). *Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Spera, C., & Lightfoot, C. (2010). Negotiating the meanings of adolescent motherhood through the media of identity collages. In K. C. McLean & M. Pasupathi (eds.). *Narrative development in adolescence: Creating the storied self*. (pp. 169-184). New York, NY: Springer.
- Sutton-Smith, B. (1981). *The folkstories of children*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press.
- Tedlock, D. (1977). Toward an oral poetics. *New Literary History*, 8, 507-519
- Tomasello, M. (1999). *The cultural origins of human cognition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Thompson, M. T., & Egesdal, S. M. (Eds.). (2008). *Salish myths and legends: One People's stories*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.
- Trionfi, G., & Reese, E. (2009). A good story: Children with imaginary companions create richer narratives. *Child Development*, 80, 1301-1313
- Welsh-Ross, M. K. (1997). Mother-child participation in conversation about the past: Relationships to preschoolers' theory of mind. *Developmental Psychology*, 33, 618-629.
- Ukrainetz, T. A., Justice, L. M., Kaderavek, J. N., Eisenberg, S. L., Gillam, R. B., & Harm, H. M. (2005). The development of expressive elaboration in fictional narratives. *Journal of Speech, Language and Hearing Research*, 48, 1363-1377.
- U'mista Cultural Society. (2003). Kulus: Sister to Thunderbird. *The Story of the Masks*. Retrieved June 4, 2013 from http://www.umista.ca/masks_story/en/ht/tlasalaKulus.html.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*.
Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Appendix A: Guides for the interview with the cultural educator, students' retellings and student interviews

Guide for interview with cultural educators

Step 1: Start with a broad outline of what I want to interview the cultural educator about

-“I am interested in better understanding some of the ways that First Nation’s people are trying to incorporate culture into the education of First Nations young people. Can you please tell me about some of the ways you have been trying to do this with district 61 schools?”

-“I am particularly interested in how First Nation’s educators are trying to share culture through storytelling. Could you please tell me a bit about your perspective on storytelling and whether or not you see it as important?”

Step 2: Un-structured, open-ended questions about storytelling in the cultural education program

- 1) Why do you think it is important to tell stories in school?
- 2) How is storytelling a part of your cultural education program?
- 3) What kinds of stories do you tell in this program?
- 4) If different kinds are mentioned, how are these different kinds of stories used?
- 5) What kinds of stories do you think are appropriate to tell in educational contexts?
- 6) What do you think children/adults can learn from storytelling?
- 7) Would you tell stories differently for children of different ages? Why?
- 8) In your opinion what are some of the markers of a good storyteller?

Step 3: Questions about a specific instance of storytelling in the cultural education program.

-“Now I’m wondering if we can discuss a particular example of how you use stories in your cultural education program?”

- 1) Can you describe an example when and how you told a story in your cultural education program?
- 2) Why did you choose to tell the particular stories that you did?
- 3) What kind of stories were they?
- 4) How do you think the stories were received by the listeners? Did they like/dislike it?
- 5) What was good or useful about the stories you told for the listeners?
- 6) Why did you choose to tell this particular story to the students?
- 7) Why was this story better than another, at this particular time?
- 8) What do you like about this story?

- 9) Why did you tell the story in the way you did?
- 10) Would you always tell the story in this way? Why or why not?
- 11) What do you think the children took away from this story?

Guide for prompting story retelling and Interview

Intro: I am interested in talking a bit with you about storytelling and about how First Nation's communities tell stories. I'm going to be asking you a few questions and then recording your answers with this recording device. Then after that, I'll be asking you to tell me some stories. Does that sound like something you would like to participate in?

Today (cultural educator's name) told you some stories about First Nation's people in Canada, do you remember any of these stories?

Retelling: Could you tell me one of these stories in your own words?

Try and think carefully about what happened in the story.

- 1) How did the story begin?
- 2) What was the first thing that happened in the story?
- 3) What happened in the middle?
- 4) How did the story end?

Interview: (conducted following the story retelling):

- 1) Did you like having (cultural educator's name) come in to tell you stories? Why? What do you like most about it?
- 2) Did you have a favourite story today?
- 3) Could you tell me about your favourite story?
- 4) What did you like most about this story?
- 5) Who were the main characters in the story?
- 6) Did the main characters learn anything, or change in any way in the story?
- 7) Did you have a favourite part of the story?
- 8) What do you think this story is about? This question could be probed using character's names or other aspects central to the story.
- 9) Did you learn anything from this story?
- 10) Have you heard First Nation's stories before? Can you tell me about that?
- 11) How do you know these stories are First Nation's stories?
- 12) Do you think First Nations stories are similar or different from other types of stories? Why/Why not?

Appendix B: Parental consent form and student consent form

Department of Psychology

Parent Consent Form

Life Span Development Program

Living, learning and storytelling in cultural worlds: Documenting children's engagement with First Nation's storytelling traditions in educational contexts

Your child is being invited to participate in a study entitled *Living, learning and storytelling in cultural worlds* that is being conducted by James Allen and Dr. Christopher Lalonde. James Allen is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Psychology at the University of Victoria and you may contact him by phone (250 853-3789) or by email (jwallen@uvic.ca) if you have further questions about the project.

As a graduate student, James is required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a degree in developmental psychology. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Christopher Lalonde. You may contact Dr. Lalonde by phone (250 721-7535) or by email (lalonde@uvic.ca).

This research is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this research project is to examine the effects of participation in First Nation's cultural practices on children's cognitive development. In this project, I will be documenting the ways in which storytelling is incorporated into First Nation's cultural education programs in public schools. I am interested in how students of different ages interact with the cultural knowledge represented in the stories through their participation in subsequent narrative activities.

Importance of this Research

This research is important because it will contribute to our understanding of the development of children's narrative skills. It will also contribute to our understanding of the role of culture in cognitive development, by examining how particular forms of narrative skills develop through interactive experiences in particular social and cultural contexts. Further, it will contribute to tracking the influence of the programs themselves on school children, information that could be useful to the organizations partnering in this project.

Participant Selection

Your child is being asked to participate in this study because he or she a student in (teachers name) classroom at (school name) All students in this class will be participating in a First Nation's cultural education session with (cultural educators name). As participants in this session, students will also be given the opportunity of taking part in this research by completing a number of activities based on the session. These activities will consist of retellings of stories, a brief interview about the stories they heard and creating their own original stories. The information students provide from participating in these activities will be used to examine how students develop through their participation in First Nation's cultural activities.

What is involved

If you agree to allow your child to participate in this research, we will also ask your child for their consent using the student consent form attached for your review. Participation will include completing a series of activities during or around the cultural education session provided by (cultural educators name). These activities will consist of retelling stories heard during the cultural education session and completing a brief interview with the primary researcher (James Allen) that will include questions about the stories the students heard and their opinion of these stories. Students will also create their own stories about an aspect of First Nation's culture that was included in the session. Your child's teacher, (teacher's name), and the First Nation's cultural educator, (cultural educators name), will assist in facilitating these activities. Audio recordings will be made of the cultural education session as well as the interview, story retellings and any oral narrative compositions. All these recordings will be subsequently transcribed removing any information that could identify your child. The recordings will then be erased. The transcriptions along with any written narrative compositions will be stored in locked offices at the University of Victoria.

Inconvenience

This study will not cause any inconvenience to students, as it will be similar to what they regularly experience in class on most school days. It is anticipated that participation in this study will only involve some minor inconveniences, for example, speaking with the principal researcher (James Allen) during class time.

Risks

There are no known or anticipated risks to students participating in this research

Benefits

The potential benefits of participation in this research for students include enhancing the educational value of the cultural education sessions held in their classrooms.

Voluntary Participation

Student participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you provide consent, and if your child decides to participate, you and your child may withdraw that consent at any time without any consequence or explanation. If you (or your child) withdraw from the study the student's data will be destroyed. The student will still be able to take part in the activities involved in this study as they are a regular part of the classroom experience. If consent is withdrawn, the only difference will be that any information provided from the activities will not be used in this study or analyzed. Your decision to allow or disallow your child to be asked to participate will not be known by your child's teacher and will in no way affect your child's participation in regular classroom activities. Your child will be instructed to return this consent form to the school secretary.

Anonymity

In terms of protecting student anonymity, any names or identifying information will be changed in transcription of the data, and during analysis of any written data.

Confidentiality

All data will be stored in locked offices at the University of Victoria. Electronic files will be stored on password protected computers and any written materials will be stored in locked offices. The only people who will have access to the data will be the principal researcher (James Allen) or his supervisor (Dr. Christopher Lalonde).

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared through the written dissertation, in presentations at scientific conferences or workshops and through articles in scientific journals.

Disposal of Data

No data that could identify any student will be retained. All audio recordings will be deleted once they are transcribed. Non-identifying data will be retained for a period of 7 years (as required for psychological research) and then deleted or shredded.

Contacts

In addition to contacting the researchers, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you agree to allow your child to be asked participate in this research project. Your child is free to decline to participate even if you give your consent.

Name of Parent/Guardian

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be handed back to the school secretary

Student Consent Form

Research Project: Living, learning and storytelling in cultural worlds

I am willing to talk with James Allen about the First Nations stories (cultural educators name) is telling our class and about what I am learning from these stories. I am also willing to tell James what I remember about the stories and to create my own story about an aspect of First Nation's culture.

It is OK with me that:

1. Our conversations and the storytelling activities will not name or identify me
2. Our conversations and the stories I tell with James will be recorded
3. Only James will use the recordings and he will keep them in a locked office
4. I can drop out of the research project at any time without any questions being asked
5. James or (cultural educators name) might talk to someone responsible if they are worried about my safety

My name: _____

My signature or special mark: _____

Today's date:

Appendix C: Stories and story profiles for stories discussed and not produced in the text

Story 1: “The gathering of the animals”

A

a(1) Ok...so to the First Nations people, animals...animals are..very, very important

(2) and the reason why is because they were here first,
before people...

according to the First Nations people.

(3) Now when the creator who made all of these wonderful things,
in our stories and legends,

(4) when he decided he was going to introduce people...
he had a big meeting with all of the animals,
he gathered them all (emphasized) together.

(5) And they were very excited:

“Why, why, why (whispered) is the creator gathering us all together,
what’s happening?”

b(6) And he came, and he brought them all together, and he said:

“I need to let you know that I am going to be introducing a new (emphasized) creature to this world”

(7) And the animals are all like:

“Woo, this is exciting,”

(8) And he said:

“But this creature’s not going to be like you,
he’s not going to come into the world knowing that he’s a bear,
or he’s a wolf,
or he’s a squirrel...
he’s going to need your help, to figure out what he is”

(9) And the animals were all:

“Ohh...this is very exciting,”

(10) he said:

“he’s going to need a lot of help,
and I’m going to ask you to help me,
and to share your special gifts with this new creature”

c(11) Well the animals were all so excited,

and so pleased,

and so proud that the creator had asked for their help.

(12) So they all stepped up, one by one,
to offer their special gifts to this new creature.

(13) The wolves stepped up and said

“We will teach this new creature how to be loyal and respectful of family”

(14)And the creator was very thankful.

d(15) All the other animals stepped up,

(16)the bear said:

“I will offer my strength to this new creature”

(17)“thank you very much” said the creator.

(18) Even the tiny little dragonfly came forward and said:

“I will offer my speed (small voice, higher pitch),
so if this new creature’s a hunter he will be fast,”

- (19)“thank you very much” said the creator.
 e(20) All the animals stepped forward to share their special gifts,
 (21) And when they shared their gifts,
 certain people...became very close with those particular animals.
 (22)And they began to form clans.
 “We are the wolf clan,”
 “We are the bear clan,”
 “We are the eagle clan.”

B

- f(23) So people had stories about coming from the sky animals,
 or coming from the forest,
 or coming from the ocean.
 (24) In the village across where I live, the people came ashore in the mouth of a halibut,
 a big fish.
 (25)And they stepped out,
 and that’s where they decided to build their village.
 g(26) So there’s all kinds of stories of the animals helping First Nations people, become who they became
 one day.
 (27) Ok.
 (28)So that’s why they’re so...very important to the First Nations people.
 h(29) Now, all of the villages along the coast here,
 and even in the interior will have special stories about where they come from.
 (30)And we call these creation stories.
 (31)Sometimes we sing these songs,
 sometimes we carve different things to represent these stories, like totem poles,

Story profile for “The Gathering of the Animals”

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
A	a,	1, 2, 3, 4, 5!	(1)(2-4)(5-6)(7-9)(10-12)
	b,	(6!, 7!^), (8!, 9!^), 10	(13-14)(15-16)(17-22)(23-24)(25-28)
	c,	11, 12, 13!, 14^	(29-31)(32-33)(34-35)(36)
	d,	15, (16!, 17!^), (18!, 19!^)	(37)(38-39)(40)(41-43)(44)
	e	20, 21, 22!	(45)(46-47)(48-51)
B ⁺	F	23, 24, 25*,	(52-54)(55-56)(57-58)
	g	26, 27, 28	(59)(60)(61)
	h	29, 30, 31*	(62-63)(64)(65-66)

Notes: ! marks a verse of speech * marks a 2/4 pattern within a verse, ^ marks a recurring statement, (x) mark verses of speech organized as a dialogic pair, + marks a concluding epilogue.

Story 3: “Eagle and Snail”

A (Precursor)

- a(1)L: Have you ever heard people say:
 “ Oh, see that person, he has eyes just like an eagle,”
 Do you know what that means?

K’s: some No, some yeah

- (2)L: It means, if you say that somebody
 “Wow, you have eyes like an eagle,”
 that means you can see great distances.

- (3)My dad used to say that about me when I was little.

b(4) We'd be out in the boat fishing, and I'd say:

“Dad, look on the shoreline, there's a deer going down to lick the salt from the rocks”

(5) and he'd look:

“where?”

(6) and I'd go

“right there”...

(7) “You, can you see that far?”

(8) “Mhmm”

(9) “Wow, you must have eyes like an eagle, you can see great distances.”

c(10) But do you know what?

Eagles didn't always have good eyesight.

(11) A long time ago, an eagle, could barely see past his beak.

And it didn't seem fair that he could fly all the way to the top of a cedar tree,
and he could barely see the branches surrounding his nest,

(12) but... eagles made due, because that's the way they were made.

B

(d)(13) Well there was one eagle sitting in his favourite tree... um,

(14) When he heard a tap at the bottom of the tree,

and he looked down, it was the Chief, from the local village.

(15) Now this Chief was very kind to this eagle,

And every time he went fishing,

he always left a salmon at the base of the tree for this eagle.

(e) (16) So the eagle flew down and he spoke to the Chief:

“Good morning Chief”

(17) “Good morning Eagle... I was wondering if I could ask you a favor,”

(18) And the Chief said, or the Eagle said:

“what's the favor?”

(19) and the Chief said:

“I'm expecting some very special guests,

and... I need to know, well in advance, as soon as possible, when they're coming,
so that I can make sure that my drummers on the beach, are on the beach
welcoming them in a good way,

and that we've prepared enough food for them in the village.”

(20) And the Eagle said:

“Well... I'll do the best I can”

(21) And the Chief said:

“That's all I can ask, is that you do the best you can.”

f(22) So... the Chief went back to his village,

and the Eagle flew back up to the top of his tree.

(23) He was up there wondering how he was going to help the Chief with this special, special request
when, he, he couldn't see out there,

he couldn't see out in the water,

What was he going to do?

He really wanted to help this Chief because the Chief had been so kind to him.

(24) And he was just thinking about it... when he saw... a little Snail... (laughs) (K: kids whispering)
creeping along the bottom of the ground.

C

g(25) Now a long time ago, Snails did not have the pretty shell that we see on their backs,

They had more like a rock that they would peak out from,

or maybe under a log or something,

but they didn't have the nice shell.

They looked actually a lot more like Slugs, than they did like Snails (K: laughing).

(26) Mhmm, but you know what they had?

Really sharp, sharp eyesight,
they could see great distances.

(27) And they kind of had to,

because they had to see when danger was coming so that they could wriggle under a rock,
or a seashell, or maybe a log or something. (K: But they're so small).

h(28) So the Eagle...got a great idea (in a softer voice),

and he flew down to the bottom of his tree and he spoke to the Snail:

(29) "Good morning Snail"

(30) "Good morning Eagle"

(31) and eagle said:

"Um...I was wondering if I could ask you a favor?"

(32) and the snail said:

"what's the favor?"

(33) "I was wondering if I could borrow your eyes?"

(34) "Borrow my eyes" (emphasized) said the Snail (K: some laughter)

"I don't think that's such a good idea"

(35) and Eagle said "well it's for a really good cause" he said

"and the Chief has asked me to do this very special task"

and explained his whole story to the Snail.

i(36)The Snail still wasn't convinced that this was a good idea,

(37) so that, again the Eagle had to think very quickly:

"Well, those people are coming from a great distance,
and when they get here they are probably going to be really hungry,
and...you look like the perfect little snack"

(38) "Oh...that's different" said the Snail,

"Ok, if I, if I give you my eyes I get them back right"

(39) "Oh absolutely" said the Eagle

"I will give you your eyes back as soon as I do this special task for the chief."

(40) So they switched eyes (K: how was...that)

D

j(41) And the Eagle flew up to the top of his tree...

and he was looking around:

(42) "wa...look at that, I can see the mountains over there,

I can see the mouth of the river over there,

there's a big island right out there that I didn't even know was right in front of my nest,
and look at that...the canoes are coming just around the edge, of the, of the island
there.

I better go and speak to the Chief."

(43) So he flew down to the village and he spoke to the Chief:

"Chief" he said

"the...the visitors you are expecting should be here in about two hours"

(44) And the Chief was so grateful: "that you Eagle, I really really appreciate your help"

he said: "Now we'll be able to make sure that my drummers are on the beach welcoming these
people a shore in a good way,

and all the people will be able to prepare a great feast for these special guests."

(45)The eagle was so proud of himself that he'd finally been able to do something nice for this Chief.

k(46) So he flew back up to his tree

(47) And was really enjoying this new eyesight when he heard a little tiny tap at the bottom of the tree.

- It was his friend the Snail.
- (48) He said:
 “uh oh, snail probably wants his eyes back.”
- l(49) So he flew down:
 “Hi Snail”
- (50) “Hello Eagle, can I have my eyes back now?”
- (51) “Well it doesn’t seem fair that I can fly all the way to the top of that cedar tree and I can’t see anything”
- (52) Snail said:
 “well that’s very unfortunate, but I need to be able to see when there’s danger coming so that I can... wiggle under a rock, or under a log or something.”
- (53) So the Eagle thought very quickly again.
 “What if I was to build you a house, a house that you could carry with you?”
- (54) “A house” said the Snail “My very own house, that I could take with me?”
 “I don’t know” said the Snail, “I’d have to see the house first”
- m(55) So the Eagle bent down,
 with his sharp, sharp beak, he pealed a piece of his great sharp talon off,
 and it formed a perfect little shell,
 and he very gently placed that on the back of the snail.
- (56) And the snail was thrilled...
 “this is great... I can pop in, and I can pop out
 and I can pop in, and I can pop out.”
- (57) He was so happy with this house,
- n(58) And the Eagle said
 “Does that mean I get to keep the eyes?”
- (59) “Absolutely” said the Snail “This is wonderful, I have my own home,
 yep you keep the eyes, I’m ok with this new house.”
- (60) So that’s why Eagles have sharp, sharp eyesight,
 because they actually have the snail’s eyes. (K: laughter).
- (61) But that’s why Snails move so slowly, along our gardens,
 because they actually have the eagle’s eyes.

Story Profile for “Eagle and Snail”

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
A (precursor)	A	1!, 2! [^] , 3	(1-3)(4-6)(7)
	b	(4!, 5!), (6!, 7!), (8!, 9! [^] *)	(8-9)(10-11)(12-13)(14)(15)(16)
	c	10, 11, 12	(17-18)(19-21)(22)
B	d	13*, 14, 15	(23)(24-25)(26-28)
	e	(16!, 17!), (18! [*] , 19!), (20!, 21!)	(29-30)(31)(32-33)(34-38)(39-40)(41-42)
	f	22*, 23*, 24*	(43-44)(45-49)(50-51)
C	G	25, 26, 27	(52-56)(57-59)(60-61)
	h	28*, (29!, 30!), (31!, 32!), (33!, 34!), 35!	(62-63)(64)(65)(66-67)(68-69)(70)(71-72) (73-75)
	i	36, 37!, 38!, 39!, 40*	(76)(77-80)(81-82)(83-84)(85)
D	J	41*, 42!, (43!, 44!), 45	(86-87)(88-92)(93-95)(96-99)(100)
	k	46, 47, 48!	(101)(102-103)(104-105)
	l	(49!, 50!), (51!, 52!), (53!, 54! [*])	(106-107) (108)(109)(110-111) (112-113)(114-115)
	m	55*, 56! [^] , 57	(116-119)(120-122)(123)
	n	(58!, 59!), 60 ⁺ , 61 ⁺	(124-125)(126-127)(128-129)(130-131)

Notes: ! marks a verse of speech * marks a 2/4 pattern within a verse, ^ marks a recurring statement, (#) mark verses of speech organized as a dialogic pair, + marks a concluding epilogue.

Story 5: Dzunuk'wa story from museum tour

- A a(1) Dzunuk'wa is the wild women of the forest,
 (2) And it's said that she would come close to villages
 and steals children
 and put them in her basket
 and take them away to her cave, to eat them. ...
 (3) Yeah, this is kind of our boogyman story.
 (4) This story is often told to children because the, the forest around our children is very thick,
 and it would be very easy for a child to wander away and get lost,
 (5) And it's bad enough if you know there are cougars and bears out there,
 but if you knew that Dzunuk'wa was lurking around,
 you stayed very close to home and to Mom and Dad,

Dzunuk'wa continued....

- A a(1) Ok, so you remember when we were talking about the Dzunuk'wa, (K: Mhmm)
 the wild woman of the woods. (K: Mhmm) Yeah.
 (2) These are the two masks,
 these two masks are both the same person,
 this is the Dzunuk'wa,
 (3) The...she's got, hair in front of her eyes,
 she's got sleepy eyes.
 b(4) Every time you see her dancing in the Big House,
 because she sometimes comes into the house,
 (5) You see her doing this...(making a gesture)...
 she's putting children in her basket.
 (6) But...she's also doing this (making a gesture again) rubbing her eyes, yawning...
 (7) So, if you ever get caught...
 just wait till she falls asleep (whispered)
 (8) And then sneak out of the basket,
 and run for home...
 c(9) So, and she's big and scary,
 but she's not smart like you guys,
 (10) So...just keep that in mind.
 (11) They don't tell you that when you're children,
 (12) They tell you about the scary Dzunuk'wa,
 that makes you stay really close to the village,
 and out of the forest where it's very dark.
 (13) Ok. So this is the Dzunuk'wa...
 big giant woman of the forest,

Story Profile for "Dzunuk'wa" from the museum tour

Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
A (Part 1)	A	1, 2*, 3, 4*, 5	(1)(2-5)(6)(7-8)(9-11)
B (Part 2)	A	1^*, 2, 3~	(1-2)(3-5)(6-7)
	b	4, 5*~, 6~, 7*, 8*	(8-9)(10-11)(12)(13-14)(15-16)

	c	9*, 10, 11, 12, 13*^	(17-18)(19)(20)(21-23)(24)
--	---	----------------------	----------------------------

Notes: ! marks a verse of speech * marks a 2/4 pattern within a verse, ^ marks a recurring statement, (#) mark verses of speech organized as a dialogic pair, + marks a concluding epilogue, ~marks a focus on physical characteristics.

Stories from the Second Cultural Educator

Story 1: Dzunuk'wa (full story)

I (A)

- a (1)P: So this story is about a giant, giant women, who lives in the forest.
 (2)And she...has a really neat appetite,
 she likes to eat something,
 What do you think she likes to eat?

(K: Fish)

- Nope...kids...she loves to eat children.
 (3)But ONLY children that go into the deep forest,
 where their Elders have told them,
 don't go into the deep forest, or Dzunuk'wa will get you.
 Cause that's her name, Dzunuk'wa.

- b (4)Now, if you go down to the museum,
 go into the First Nations exhibit,
 look in the masks division,
 right there behind the glass,
 and the spotlight's on them.

- (5)You'll find her, easy.
 Black scraggly hair, all over her face,
 it's usually gnarled, twisted.
 Usually she's got a black face,
 two big red spots on her cheek,
 GREAT big hook nose,
 sleepy eyes.

- (6)But it's her lips...
 her lips are pursed,
 cause she walks though the forest going
 "Ooo, Ooo, Ooo"
 which means eat, eat, eat.

- (7)And she likes to eat children.
 (8)And on her back she has a beautiful cedar bark basket,
 with a very tight fitting lid.

B

- c (9)Now this story is about...four little boys,
 three of them, regular kids,
 (10)the little guy was born with a funny shaped lip,
 we call it a cleft pallet today.
 (11)And he had a hard time talking.
 (12)But that's ok, the other boys didn't have a problem with that,
 they called him stupid, funny face, dummy,
 chucked rocks and sticks at him,

- and chased him away.
- (13)How nice is that? (K: some “not nice”)
- Not very... (K’s: XXXX)
- That’s another one.
- d (14)Ok, so...in this story,
this little boy has three other people in his village, only his age,
he had no-one else to play with.
- (15)So he didn’t know what to do,
because these boys were really nasty to him.
- (16)So he thought
*Ok, I know what I’m going to do,
I’ll go talk to the Elders,
the Elders always let me know the right thing to do.*
- e (17)So out of his house he went,
down the street to where the Big House,
where the Elders are sitting around a fire.
- (18)Now when you go and see and Elder,
you don’t just walk in and:
“Hey, I got a problem buddy”
Cause boy you got a problem,
they won’t talk to ya.
- (19)You sit down, and wait patiently until they talk to you.
- f (20)So the little guy sat down and he waited.
- (21)Well pretty soon one of the Elders looked over:
“Hey, what are doing young fella,
what’s the problem”
- (22)“Well Sir” he said
“I have a problem.
In the village there’s only three other boys my age,
I want to play with them.
They call me really bad names,
and they throw rocks and sticks at me and chase me
away”
- g (23)So one of the Elders said:
“Hey no problem,
we’ll fix that,
we’ll force them boys to play with you”
- (24)And the other Elders went:
“No no no no, guys, that won’t work, that will not work”
- (25)“Why not”
- (26)“Well because as soon as our back’s turned,
they’re gonna be even more nasty to him”
- (27)“Yeah, I guess you’re right,
but what are we going to do?”
- C
- h (28)Well they talked back and forth,
back and forth,
they couldn’t find a solution for the little guy.
- (29)And they finally said to him,

- “Well young fella,
we really don’t have a solution,
but we do know one thing”
- (30)“What’s that” he said.
- (31)“Well, someday those boys will be your friends,
so you’re just going to have to keep trying”
- (32)“Oh great” He said
“Ok well, I believe you guys,
I trust you,
so I’ll keep trying”
- (33)“Excellent”
- (34)And so he did.
- i (35)But Uh uh,
didn’t work,
out would come the rocks, the sticks, the names,
and they chased him away.
- (36)So he thought to himself,
how am I going to find out how to play this game.
- (37)“Huh...I got an idea” he said,
he started practicing being stealthful...sneaky.
- j (38)And they tell me he got so good,
he’d sneak through the forest,
sneak up behind a deer and “pink”
pull a hair from the deer’s tail.
Tell me that ain’t sneaky,
- (39)Now he was able to sneak up on those boys,
watch how they played the game,
learned the rules,
went home practiced, practiced practiced.
- (40)And he also became the expert at camouflage.
He could hide behind a rock, a twig, a branch, a stick,
he could hide in plain view.
- II.D
- k (41)Well our story starts out,
early one morning
- (42)the little guy walks out of his Big House,
and he’s looking around,
and he sees the three boys heading up into the forest,
- (43)And he runs after them like he always did
“Hey guys, where you going?”
- l (44)And of course, they did what they always do
“Hey funny face”
- (45)And one of the boys said
“Hey man, we’re going in the deep forest and having a real adventure”
- (46)Oh, the little guys eyeballs got as big, as round as saucers:
“Guy’s guy’s, No no no,
you guys know the Elders told us never to go into the deep forest”
- (47)And they started to laugh:
“Ha ha, yeah, you really are stupid kid,
of course they don’t want to say ‘go have an adventure’”
- (48)“No, guys guys, you know that’s where Dzunuk’wa lives”

- (49)Now they really started to laugh:
 “Ha ha, Dzunuk’wa Shmunukwa,
 kid you are a dummy,
 of course there’s no such thing as Dzunuk’wa”
- m (50)And then they reached down to get a stick.
 When they straightened up, he was gone.
- (51)“Oh, did you guys see him go?”
- (52)“No, man can that little kid move, come on let’s go”
- (53)And so the three boys started up into the forest.
- E (54)Now the little guy was watching him, from his point of safety.
- n (55)And he thought to himself:
 They’re going to get in trouble,
 I know they’re going to get in trouble,
 they really are.
 I know...I’ll go into stealth mode and follow them,
 If they get in trouble maybe I can help them.
- (56)And so he did,
 he slipped into stealth mode and started to follow the boys.
- o (57)Well they went through the ordinary, everyday forest.
- (58)And then they went through what we call the second growth,
 where the trees are about um, two meters, a meter through.
- (59)Then they came to the old growth forest,
 where the trees are as big around as this ROOM.
 and if all of us put our hands together,
 we couldn’t get around the base of some of those trees.
- (60)And because they’re so huge,
 and they reach so high up in the sky,
 their leaves, needles and branches stop the sun from shining through onto the
 forest floor.
 So the only thing that grows down there, is moss and ferns.
- (61)And because the sun doesn’t shine down there,
 it’s damp, it’s clammy, it’s cold, it’s...spooky.
- p (62)Now the three boys,
 they walk into this forest and their eyes are popping right out of their head:
- (63)“Wow, look at this place, man oh man,
 look at that tree over there it’s touching the sky,
 that one over there’s got a cloud stuck in it,
 Ooo ooo, look at that branch over there, a hanging down,
 it looks just like an octopus.
 No wonder the Elders didn’t want us to come here,
 What and adventure, yay”
- (64)They made their way deeper into that forest,
 until they came to this big old spruce tree.
- (65)Now spruce are incredible,
 they have roots that start way up there,
 and they come down like this,
 and they’re solid walls of wood,
 there was like room where you could hid your family for
 the winter.
- (66)And they go:

“Wow, look at that, we could put our whole family in there for the winter
Look at that root there,

Comes out it’s all brown and twisted and gnarled,
It looks just like Grampa’s knee”

q (67)Now the little guy, he comes into the forest,

(68)And he looks into it and goes:

“Wow...this is not a good place to be,
I don’t like the feeling of being in here,
we shouldn’t be here,

this is spooky,
it’s cold and wet and damp,
I don’t like it in here,

I bet you I bet you this is where Dzunuk’wa lives,
Ahh ha, this was not a good place for us,
but wow is it ever a neat place”

r (69)Now, those three boys,

they make their way around that tree,

they’re not paying any attention,

they’re giggling and laughing and looking at things,

(70)and that’s when it happens (claps) WHAM,

one, two, three, Dzunuk’wa grabs them,

throws them in the basket and puts down the lid.

(71)“Huh” the little guy sees that happen,

“Oh I’ll get a stick and whack her,

that wouldn’t do any good,

ah rock I’ll smack her,

no that’s a rocks not going to be good,

I know, I’ll go get help”

F

s

(72)So he turned around and it’s fast as his little legs could go.

(73)Phew through the forest,

through the trees,

through the bushes,

back into the village.

(74)But when he gets to the village,

there’s nobody there,

not even a dog comes out to see him

(75)“Ah man, we were supposed to go dig clams today,

Oh now we are really in big trouble,

what am I going to do,

what am I going to do,

wait, I got an idea”

(76)He ran into his Dad’s house,

and there hanging on the wall by Dad’s sleeping platform was Dad’s knife.

t

(77)Now knives in those days were not made from iron, bronze, copper, steel,

they were made from a very special rock,

a rock that had to be brought by back and canoe,

all the way from Oregon,

from three volcanoes in Oregon.

And it’s a volcanic glass called Obsidian.

(78)And they would break big chunks of this,

- and pack it in,
and people would trade for it.
- (79)Well once you got this big chunk you got to smack it off,
and take of pieces,
and then you've got to use a deer antler,
and you got to chip it and flake it,
and make it into a sharp tool.
- u (80)So...hard to find...hard to make,
and...it's made of glass.
- (81)If you drop a glass knife on the ground, what's going to happen?
- Yeah...tinkle, tinkle, a whole bunch of little knives not worth anything.
- (82)So his Dad had said to him
"Don't you ever play with my knife"
- (83)But he thought,
Ohh, we're dead anyway.
- (84)So he grabbed his daddy's knife,
and back he went through the forest as fast as he could go.
Till up ahead he spots this Giant Woman...
slowly making her way through the forest.
- v (85)Now all she's thinking about is:
*Hmm hmm hmm, I'm going to go home and have...
huh huh, barbequed boy for breakfast,
Ohh maybe I'll have boiled boy for brunch,
Ohh Ohh boy drumsticks for lunch,
Ohh nummers.*
- (86)Now the little guy slipped into super duper stealth mode,
and he started to follow.
- (87) Closer, closer, closer, closer, closer,
until he's almost touching the Woman,
he's right there behind her like that.
He matches his step with her.
- w (88)He then reaches up, cuts the basket,
it's right over his head,
and with the knife he starts to cut the bottom of the basket.
- (89)And as it opens,
the first little kid stuck his head out,
he helps the first kid out,
the second kid,
the third kid.
- (90)The four of them sit there huddled on the forest floor.
- III G
- x (91)And there's this Giant,
slowly.
slowly makes her way through the forest away from them.
- (92)As soon as she's far enough away,
Phew, through the forest, through the trees, through the bushes,
back into the village go the boys.
- (93)Except now when they get there,
everybody's back,
and there are some very unhappy parents.

(K: XXXX)

- There's four boys didn't go dig clams today,
they might be going to bed without food tonight.
- y (94)Then, the little boy's Dad spots him holding the, knife,
he runs over there,
and he grabs him and he starts to shake him:
- (95)"What are you doing with my knife,
what are doing with my knife"
- (96)The poor little kids eyeballs are rolling around like a couple of marbles on a plate.
- z (97)The other three boys run up go:
"No Sir, Sir, don't hurt our friend,
please, please don't hurt our friend,
he saved our life,
he saved us from Dzunuz'wa"...
- (98)It got really quiet in the village:
"Dzunuz'wa, Dzunuz'wa,
what do you boys know about Dzunuz'wa?"
- (99)Uh oh, busted
- (some laughter).
- H
aa (100)So the story had to come out,
how they'd been captured,
and how the little boy had cut the basket and saved their lives.
- (101)Well those three parents of those three boys were some angry:
- (102)"That's it, you guys are grounded until you're 30,
Naw well maybe 29,
you can't go with your Dad in the canoe fishing,
you can't go with your Dad in the forest hunting,
you got to stick around the Big House,
bring in the water,
bring in the wood,
sweep the floor
and look after your baby sister."
- (103)Now the little guy's Dad looked at him,
and he was not happy with this little guy.
- (104)He said to him:
"You, YOU KNOW, YOU KNEW PERFECTLY WELL,
the Elders told you never to go into the forest,
and you always listen to them,
but you did save those boy's life,
and...you knew, you know I absolutely forbid to be using my knife,
ha ha, but you did save those boys life.
Ok, you're grounded for a week,
you can't come with me in the canoe fishing,
you cannot come with me in the forest hunting,
you got to stick around the Big House,
bring in the firewood,
bring in the water,
sweep the floor,
and look after your baby sister"
- ab (105)Now the next day the four boys met.
Now of course, are these three boys feeling proud of themselves?

- (K's: "no")
- No of course not,
because who was it they called stupid and dummy and funny face?
- (K: The kid)
- Who was it they through rocks and sticks and stones at?
- (K: XXXX)
- Who was it that saved their life?
- (K: The kid[?])
- You got it.
- (106)So they said to him:
"Why didn't you just let Dzunuk'wa eat us and be finished with us?"
- (107)And the little guy looked at them and said:
"Guys, the Elders told me,
someday you guys would be my friends,
I was not about to let me friends get eaten by no Giant Woman in the forest,
no way"
- ac (108)Well that made them feel a whole lot better didn't it?
- (109)Nuh uh.
- (110)So they said,
"Ok buddy from now on we're going to be like the fingers on a hand,
where you go we go,
and were we go you go"
- (111)And then one of them said:
"Can you teach us to be sneaky like that?"
- (112)"Oh yeah sure" he said,
- I
ad (113)And he did,
and those three boys got very good at it.
- (114)And when they got old enough to go hunting on their own,
they could slip up on the Elk, and the Bear, and the Deer that live here on our island.
And with their bow and arrows they were able to shoot them.
- (115)And they were able to bring home the meat, the hides, the bones.
- (116)And they were able to feed people in the village that didn't have any food that day,
or the old people who couldn't go hunting any more.
- (117)And they became very, very important young men in that village.
- ae (118)Now the little guy, the LITTLE GUY,
cause he always, always listened to the Elders,
ALWAYS listened to the Elders,
watched what they did,
remembered what they told him,
and did what told him,
and he had a really warm and wonderful heart.
- (119)When he got a little bit older,
they did something incredible,
they made him the leader ,
of the First, that First Nation village.
- (120)What's the leader of a First Nation's village called?
- (K: one "Elder", one "King")
- Not the king but...
- (K: Cheif)
- The Cheif, they did,

- they made that little guy the Cheif of that village.
- af (121)Now here's the funny part,
that little village, has a name,
its called Fort Rupert,
its up by Alert Bay.
- (122)Wow, you want to know something else,
that little boy,
his family is called the Hunt family.
- (123)And guess what, all these many, many, many, many years later,
they are still the hereditary Chief's in that little village.
- (124)Ok, so we have the village is real,
the little boy is real,
what about Dzunuk'wa, anybody think Dzunuk'wa was real? ...
- (125)I do, I think at one time there was something like that in the forest.

Story Profile for "Dzunuk'wa" from the Second Cultural Educator

Act	Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line
I	A, B, C,	a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j,	1 [^] , 2, 3* 4, 5 ^{-v} , 6! ^{C^A-v} , 7, 8* ^{-v} 9*, 10*, 11, 12*, 13 14, 15*, 16! ^I 17, 18! ^{-C} , 19 ^{-C} 20, (21!, 22!) 23!, (24!, 25!), (26!, 27!) 28 ^{^R} , (29!, 30!), (31!, 32! ^C), 33!, 34 35 ^{^A} , 36! ^I , 37 38 ^{-v} , 39 ^{^R} , 40 ^{^R}	(1)(2-5)(6-9) (10-14)(15-21)(22-26)(27)(28-29) (30-31)(32-33)(34)(35-38)(39-41) (42-44)(45-46)(47-50) (51-53)(54-58)(59) (60)(61-63)(64-69) (70-73)(74-75)(76)(77-78)(79-80) (81-83)(84-87)(88)(89-90)(91-94)(95-98)(99)(100) (101-104)(105-106)(107-108) (109-113)(114-117)118-120)
II	D, E, F,	k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w	41*, 42, 43!, (44! ^C , 45! ^C) (46! ^C , 47! ^C), (48! ^C , 49! ^C) 50* (51!, 52!), 53 54, 55! ^{IR} , 56* 57 ^{^A} , 58 ^{^A-v} , 59 ^{^A-v} , 60 ^{-v} , 61* ^{^R-v} 62*, 63! ^{CR} , 64*, 65 ^{-v} , 66! ^C , 67,68! ^{CR} , 69, 70 ^{^R} , 71! ^{CR} , 72, 73 ^{^A} , 74, 75! ^I , 76*, 77 ^{-v} , 78 ^{-v} , 79 ^{-v} , 80, 81, 82!, 83! ^{CI} , 84* 85! ^{CR} , 86*, 87 ^{^R} 88, 89 ^{^R} , 90	(121-122)(123-125)(126-127) (128-129)(130-131)(132-134)(135-137)(138)(139-142) (143-144)(145)(146)(147) (148)(149-154)(155-156) (157)(158-159)(160-163)(164-167)(168-169) (170-171)(172-178)(179-180)(181-185)(186-190) (191)(192-202) (203-206)(207-209)(210-215) (216)(217-220)(221-223)(224-228)(229-230) (231-236)(237-239)(240-244) (245-246)(247-248)(249-250)(251-252)(253-256) (257-262)(263-264)(265-268) (269-271)(272-276)(277)
III	G, H, I	x, y, z, aa, ab, ac, ad, ae, af ⁺	91, 92 ^{^A} , 93, 94, 95!, 96, 97! ^C , 98! ^R , 99, 100, 101, 102! ^{IR} , 103, 104! ^{IR} 105, (106!, 107! ^C), 108, 109, 110! ^{IR} , (111!, 112!) 113*, 114, 115 ^{^R} , 116, 117 118 ^{^R} , 119, 120, 121*, 122, 123, 124, 125	(278-280)(281-283)(284-288) (289-291)(292-293)(294) (295-299)(300-302)(303) (304-306)(307)(308-316)(317-318)(319-333) (334-340)(341-342)(343-347) (348)(349)(350-353)(354-355)(356) (357-358)(359-361)(362)(363-364)(365) (366-372)(373-376)(377-380) (381-384)(385-387)(388-389)(390-392)(393)

Notes: ! marks verses of speech (^C characterization, ^I important decisions, pronouncements, ^R rhythmic language), (x) marks dialogic pairing, ^ marks repetitive statements (^A recurring action patters, ^R rhythmic

language), * marks a 2/4 pattern, ~ marks descriptive elaboration (^V for visualisation, ^C for cultural explanation), - marks a formal opening, + marks an epilogue

Story 2: “Raven Loses his Beak” (presented as a story profile)

Story Profile to display patterning and cultural features

Act	Scene	Stanza	Verse	Line	
I	A	a-	1, 2*, 3*, 4*, 5,	(1-5)(6-7)(8-9)(10-11)(12-14)	
		b	6*, 7 ^{-V} , 8	(15-16)(17-19)(20)	
		c	9*, 10*, 11 [^]	(21-22)(23-24)(25-27)	
		d	(12! ^R , 13!), (14!, 15! ^C), 16!	(28-33)(34-35)(36-38)(39)(40)	
		e*	17, 18*	(41-43)(44-45)	
	B	f*	19*, 20* ^{^R} ,	(46-49)(50-53)	
		g*	21, 22!	(54-56)(57-58)	
		h	23, 24! ^I , 25*, 26*, 27*	(59)(60-61)(62-63)(64-65)(66-67)	
	C	i	28* ^{^R} , 29, 30, 31!, 32 [^]	(68-69)(70-71)(72)(73-74)(75)	
		j ^{^A}	33! [^] , 34*, 35	(76-77)(78-79)(80-82)	
		k	36 [^] , 37, 38!	(83-85)(86-88)(89-92)	
	D	l	39*, 40*, 41*	(93-96)(97-98)(99-100)	
		m	42, 43*, (44!, 45!)	(101)(102-103)(104)(105)	
		n	46*, 47* ^{^A} , 48, 49*, 50! ^C	(106-107)(108-109)(110)(11-114)(115-116)	
	E	o	51*, 52!, 53!, 54!, 55	(117-118)(119-120)(121)(122)(123)	
p		56!, 57*, 58	(124-126)(127-128)(129-131)		
q		59* ^{^R} , 60, 61! ^I	(132-133)(134)(135-137)		
II	F	r	62! ^{ICR*} , 63, 64!, 65*, 66! ^{IC}	(139-143)(144-147)(148)(149-152)(153-155)	
		s	67! ^I , 68 ^{-C*} , 69*, 70, 71! ^C	(156-157)(158-159)(160-161)(162-164)(165)	
		t	72, 73! ^{IRC} , 74! ^I	(166)(167-178)(179-181)	
	G	u*	75, 76*, 77*, 78!	(182-184)(185-186)(187-188)(189-191)	
		v* ^{^AR}	(79! ^R , 80), (81! ^R , 82), (83! ^R , 84!), (85! ^{R^R} , 86* [^])	(192-193)(194)(195)(196)(197-198)(199-200)(201-203)(204-207)	
		w ^{^AR}	87! ^{IC} , (88! ^R , 89 [^]), (90! ^R , 91 [^]), (92! ^R , 93! ^R , 94), (95! ^{R^R} , 96*)	(208-213)(214-215)(216-217)(218)(219)	
	H	x	(97! ^{C*} , 98!), (99! ^{C*} , 100!*), (101!, 102!*)	(210)(211-212)(213-214)(215-217)(218-221)	
		y	103*, 104! ^C , 105! ^C , 106! ^C , 107*	(222-226)(227-228)(229-232)(233-236) (237)(238-240)	
		z	108!, 109! ^{IC} , 110	(241-244)(245)(246)(247)(248-251)	
	III	I	aa	(111!, 112!), (113! ^{^A} , 114!), 115!	(252-253)(254-258)(259-261)
			ab	(116! ^R , 117! ^R), (118!, 119!), (120!, 121)	(262-265)(266)(267)(268)(269)
			ac	(122!, 123! ^R), (124! ^C , 125!) (126! ^C , 127!)	(270-271)(272-276)(277)(278)(279-280)(281)
ad*			(128!, 129!), (130!, 131!), (132!, 133!), (134!, 135*)	(282-283)(284-285)(286)(287) (288)(289)	
ae			136*, 137! ^R , 138, 139! ^C , 140! ^C	(290)(291)(292)(293)(294)(295)(296-297) (298-299)	
J ^{^A}			(af	(141!* , 142!), (143!, 144!), (145!, 146!)	(300-301)(302-303)(304)(305-307)(308-309)
ag)			147*, (148!, 149!), (150!, 151!), (152!, 153!), (154!,	(310-314)(315)(316)(317)(318)(319)	
				147*, (148!, 149!), (150!, 151!), (152!, 153!), (154!,	(320-321)(322-323)(324-325)(326-332)
				151!), (152!, 153!), (154!,	(333)(334)(335)(336)(337-338)(339)

		(ah	155!), 156 (157! [^] , 158! ^{R^}), (159! ^C , 160!), (161! ^C , 162!), (163! ^{C^A} , 164! [^]), (165!, 166!)	(340-341)(342-343)(344)(345)(346)(347) (348)(349)(350)(351)
		ai)	(167, 168! [^]), (169!, 170!), (171!, 172! ^C), (173!, 174! ^C), (175!, 176!)	(352)(353)(354)(355)(356)(357)(358- 360)(361)(362)(363)
		(aj	177, 178, (179! ^C , 180!), (181! ^C , 182!), 183!	(364-366)(367-369)(370)(371)(372)(373) (374)
	K ^A	ak)	184! ^C , 185, 186	(375-377)(378)(379)
		al	187, 188!, 189! ^C , 190!, 191	(380)(381)(382-386)(387)(388)
		am	192, 193!, 194!, 195! ^C , 196	(389-390)(391-392)(393-394)(395)(396)
		an	197, (198!, 199! ^C), (200!, 201!), 202*, 203*	(397-398)(399-400)(401)(402)(403)(404-405)(406- 407)
	L	ao	204, 205*, 206*	(408-410)(411-412)(413-414)
		ap	207!, 208! ^C , 209*	(415-418)(419-420)(421-422)
		aq	210, 211!*, 212, 213! ^C , 214!	(423)(424-428)(429-431)(432-433)(434)
	M	ar	215 [^] *, 216*, 217! ^R , 218! ^{RC} , 219! ^R	(435-436)(437-438)(439-440)(441-443) (444-446)
		as	220*, 221, 222	(447-450)(451-456)(457)
		at ⁺	223! ^{Cl} , 224, 225, 226, 227	(458-459)(460)(461)(462)(463)

Notes: ! marks verses of speech (^C characterization, ^I important decisions, pronouncements, ^R rhythmic language), (x) marks dialogic pairing, ^ marks repetitive statements (^A recurring action patters, ^R rhythmic language), * marks a 2/4 pattern, ~ marks descriptive elaboration (^V for visualization, ^C for cultural explanation), - marks a formal opening, + marks an epilogue

Appendix D: Comparison of two tellings of Dzunuk'wa from the second cultural educator

This appendix presents evidence of the consistency of the verse structure of the story of Dzunuk'wa from the second cultural educator over two tellings to different classrooms. Hymes (2003) presents numerous examples where different narrators make different expressive choices in the telling of a widely known story and where the same narrator makes different expressive choices in telling the same story to different audiences. For Hymes, variations in the telling, brought into focus through verse analysis, allow the analyst to recognize aspects of the narrator's personal "voice." Since two clear recordings are available of the Dzunuk'wa story from this educator (one told to a grade 1 class, the other told to a grade 4 class) it seems appropriate to compare the tellings. In addition, evidence of similarity in the two tellings supports the validity of referencing a subsequent, better recorded, telling of "Raven loses his beak" in both developing ideas of cultural features and in analyzing four student's retellings.

To perform this comparison, story profiles for both tellings of the Dzunuk'wa story are presented side by side. For clarity, these profiles only include acts, scenes, stanzas and verses.

Story profiles for Dzunuk'wa as told to a grade 1 class and a grade 4 class

Version 1: Grade 4 class				Version 2: Grade 1 class				
Act	Scene	Stanza	Verse	Act	Scene	Stanza	Verse	
I	A,	a,	1, 2, 3	I	A,	a,	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	
		b,	4, 5, 6, 7, 8			b,	6, 7, 8	
		c,	9, 10, 11, 12,			c,	9, 10, 11, 12,	
	B,	d,	13		B,	d,	13	14, 15, 16,
		e,	14, 15, 16			e,	17, 18	17, 18
		f,	17, 18, 19			f,	19, 20, 21	19, 20, 21
		g,	20, 21, 22			g,	22, 23, 24	22, 23, 24
		h,	23, 24, 25,			h,	25, 26, 27,	25, 26, 27,
		i,	26, 27			i,	28, 29	28, 29
C,	h,	28, (29, 30),	C,	h,	30, 31, 32,	30, 31, 32,		
	i,	(31, 32), 33,		i,	33, 34	33, 34		
		34			35, 36, 37,	35, 36, 37,		
		i,	35, 36, 37					

		j,	38, 39, 40			j,	38, 39 40, 41, 42, 43, 44
II	D, E, F,	k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w	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	II	D, E, F,	k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w,	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
III	G, H, I	x, y, z, aa, ab, ac, ad, ae af	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	III	G, H, I	x, y, z, aa, ab, ac, ad, ae, af, ag, ah	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, 126, 127 128, 129, 130, 131, 132 133, 134, 135

As the two story profiles make clear the overall structure of the Dzunuk'wa story is largely maintained across these two tellings. In both cases the story consists of three acts and each act consists of three scenes. There are in fact a number of points where the story is told in exactly the same way, word for word, across these tellings. The excerpt below is an example of one such occurrence:

Stanza Verse Line

- n (60) Now the little guy, from his safe spot, was watching them.
 (61) And he thought:
they're going to get in trouble, they,
I know they're going to get in trouble.
Ah, I know what...I'll go into stealth mode,
and I'll follow them.
I'll stay back where they can't see me,
if they get in trouble, maybe I can help them.
 (62) So...he slipped into stealth mode,
 and he started to follow those boys into the forest.

When this example is compared to stanza (n) in the first telling the text is almost exactly the same. Verse (60) is somewhat reorganized so that “his safe spot” comes before “watching them,” but the words are the same. The boys’ speech in verse (61) is also expanded slightly to include the line “I’ll stay back where they can’t see me,” but is otherwise the same and verse (62) is almost an exact repetition of verse (56) in the first telling. When variation does occur in the structure of the story it happens at the level of stanza and verse, and each time this variation maintains the three and five part patterns at the level of stanza. For example, in Scene (H) of the second telling a three stanza scene is extended to five stanzas. These stanzas (ac, ad, & ae) elaborate on the discussion between the youngest boy and the three boys about why the youngest boy chose to save them.

In addition, cultural features of this storytelling performance are also maintained across tellings. Both dialogues (sometimes word for word) and important sequences of speech and inner speech are maintained. Speech that characterizes the main actors also occurs in both tellings. As the above excerpt shows, The youngest boys' worried inner speech occurs in verse (61) in the second telling and the three boys' excited response to the forest occurs in verses (68 & 71). Below I present the inner speech of Dzunuk'wa that occurs in verse (98) of the second telling to display the similarities of these passages:

Verse Line

(98) Now all she's thinking about is:

hoo ha ha ha,

I'm going to go home and have barbequed boy for breakfast.

Oh, maybe I'll have barbequed boy for brunch,

ooo boy drumsticks for lunch

ahh nummers.

As this example displays, this speech maintains much of the alliterative and humorous character of the speech in the first telling, features that are suggested to play a role in characterizing the Dzunuk'wa as a type of creature that acts and speaks in a memorable way.

Descriptive breaks also occur in both tellings. In the second telling the deep forest is described in verses (66, 67, & 70) and the culturally important knife is described in verses (83-87), again as stanza (t). Repeated actions involving the trip through the three forests (verses 63-65) and the repeated taunting by the three boys (verses 48-54) are also maintained. Finally, the epilogue in the Dzunuk'wa story is maintained, but slightly varied. The epilogue in the second telling is presented below:

Scene Verse Line

ah (133) Now the funny thing is, that village, has a name
it's called Fort Rupert.

- It's up by Alert Bay,
up by Campbell River.
- (134) And guess what? That little boy's family,
all these many, many, many, many,
hundreds, and hundreds, and hundreds of years later.
His descendants, and called the Hunt family.
- (135) And the Hunt family,
in that little village,
in Fort Rupert,
are the hereditary Chiefs in that village.

When compared to the epilogue in the first telling, this epilogue is very much the same. Verses (133, 134 & 135) are almost word for word of verses (118, 119, 120) in the first telling. The only difference is that in the second telling the epilogue is missing the additional verses discussing the reality of the village and questioning the reality of the Dzunuk'wa character. In summary then, this short comparison of two tellings of the Dzunuk'wa story shows abundant similarities. These similarities exist in both the overall organization of the story, with some variance within the frame, and in the presence of cultural features. The overwhelming similarity in the two telling both reinforces the proposals about cultural features (as important parts of the story, they are present in both tellings) and also makes the use of a subsequent recording to display particular patterns seem reasonable.

Appendix E: Directions of for the Narrative Coherence Coding Scheme

In order to illustrate how the three dimensions of coherence (Context, Chronology and Theme) are coded according to the Narrative Coherence Coding Scheme (Reese, et al., 2011) the scoring procedures are reproduced below. This table (reproduced from *Table 1* in Reese et al., 2011, p. 436) was the basis for the coding of student's retellings using this method in Chapter 6.

Table 1: *Scoring Criteria for the Narrative Coherence Coding Scheme*

Criteria	Context: <i>Orienting the narrative in time and space</i>	Chronology: <i>Relating components along a timeline</i>	Theme: <i>Maintaining and elaborating on topic</i>
Level 0	No information about time or location is provided	Narrative consists of a list of actions with minimal or no information about temporal order	The narrative is substantially off topic and or characterized by multiple digressions that make the topic difficult to identify. No attempt to repair digressions.
Level 1	Partial information is provided; there is a mention of time or location at any level of specificity	Naive listener can place some but not most of the events on a timeline. Fewer than half of the temporally relevant actions can be ordered on a timeline with confidence	A topic is identifiable and most of the statements relate to it. The narrative may include minimal development of the topic through causal linkages, or personal evaluations and reactions, or elaborations of actions.
Level 2	Both time and place are mentioned, but no more than one dimension is specific	Naive listener can place between 50% and 75% of the relevant actions on a timeline but cannot reliably order the entire story from start to finish with confidence	The narrative substantially develops the topic. Several instances of causal linkages, and/or interpretations, and/or elaborations of previously reported actions are included
Level 3	Both time and place are mentioned and both are specific	Naive listener can order almost all (>75%) of the temporally relevant actions. This includes cases in which the speaker marks deviations from temporal order or repairs a violated timeline	Narrative includes all the above and a resolution to the story, or links to other autobiographical experiences including future occurrences, or self-concept or identity. Resolution brings closure and provides new information.