

Episodic Analysis
of
Preschool Children's
Prompt-Elicited and Direct-Elicited Narratives

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by
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*This thesis is dedicated to my father who rests in my most
precious personal narratives.*

I grew up listening to his recursive narratives themed:

"If you want to be successful in life..."

*For his trust in me...although he knew my view of success
was very different than his.*

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ABSTRACT

Episodic Analysis of Preschool Children's Prompt-Elicited and Direct-Elicited

Narratives

by

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This study aimed to investigate narrative development in preschool children with the premise that action is a semiotic arena that enhances development. It was hypothesized that children would produce structurally more complex narratives in prompt elicited vs. direct elicited conditions and that this competence would increase by age. It was also hypothesized that young children would produce more scripted narratives compared to older children. Ten children from three age groups of three, four and five, produced narratives in both toy prompted elicitation and direct elicitation conditions. Children's narratives were analyzed by Stein and Glenn's story grammar. Results from analysis of variance revealed significant structural complexity increase in preschool children's prompt-elicited narratives. No significant age related change was found in children's direct elicited narratives. The results showed a non-significant trend for prompt-elicited narratives to have higher complexity structures than direct elicited narratives. There was no age related difference found in children's script productions. A qualitative analysis revealed that four year old children produced higher complexity structures in prompt-elicited narratives compared to their direct elicited narratives. It is concluded that by five years of age children possess a story schema that can function on the symbolic plane of language without the aid of objects and actions while four year olds need the scaffolding of objects and actions to express their developing capacity of using a story schema in fictitious narrations.

KISA ÖZET

Hande Ilgaz

Okulöncesi Çocukları Tarafından Uyaranlı ve Uyaransız Koşullarda Üretilen

Anlatıların Yapısal Analizi

Bu araştırma, nesne ve eylemlerin erken çocukluk dönemindeki dil gelişimini destekleyen, semiotik bir alan olduğu görüşüne dayanarak anaokulu çocuklarında anlatı gelişimini incelemeyi hedeflemiştir. Buna ek olarak senaryo-anlatılarının erken çocukluk döneminde okulöncesi dönemine oranla daha fazla bulunacağını öngörmüştür. Üç, dört ve beş yaş gruplarında onar çocuk oyuncak uyaranlı ve uyaransız koşullarda anlatılar üretmişlerdir. Çocukların anlatıları Stein ve Glenn'in hikaye grameri analizine uygun olarak incelenmiştir. Varyans analizi sonuçları çocukların oyuncak uyaranlı anlatılarında yaşa bağlı bir olay yapısı gelişimi belirlemiştir. Çocukların uyaransız anlatılarında yaşa bağlı, istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir gelişim görülmemiştir. Çocukların bu iki farklı koşulda ürettikleri anlatılar arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı olmayan ancak beklenen yönde bir eğilim bulunmuştur. Bu eğilim çocukların oyuncak uyaranlı anlatılarının, uyaransız anlatılarına oranla yapısal açıdan daha gelişmiş anlatılar olduğunu göstermektedir. Çocukların senaryo-anlatıları üretiminde yaşa bağlı bir gelişim belirlenmemiştir. Niteliksel analiz anlatı koşullarının, özellikle dört yaş çocuklarının anlatı üretimlerinde etkin olduğunu göstermiştir. Dört yaş çocukları oyuncak uyaranlı anlatımda, uyaransız anlatıma kıyasla daha gelişmiş anlatı yapıları üretmişlerdir. Bu çalışma dört yaş çocuklarının anlatı yeterliliklerini nesneler ve eylemler yardımı ile daha iyi ifade edebildiklerini, buna kıyasla beş yaş çocuklarının anlatı kurmakta

böyle bir desteğe ihtiyaç duymadıklarını göstermiştir. Bu çalışma sonucunda beş yaş çocuklarının olay anlatılarını tamamen sembolik olarak kurgulayıp ifade edebildikleri bir hikaye şemasına sahip oldukları, dört yaş çocuklarının ise gelişen hikaye şemalarını dilsel ve eylemsel alanları birlikte kullanarak daha etkin ifade edebildikleri sonucuna varılmıştır

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | <u>pp.</u> |
|---|------------|
| I- INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 Pretend Play | 1 |
| 1.2 Narrative | 10 |
| 1.2.1 Episodic Analysis | 15 |
| 1.2.2 Narrative Elicitation Methods | 19 |
| 1.3 Statement of the Problem | 20 |
| 1.3.1 Hypothesis | 21 |
| II- METHOD | 22 |
| 2.1 Subjects | 22 |
| 2.2 Materials | 22 |
| 2.3 Procedures | 23 |
| 2.4 Transcription and Textualization | 27 |
| 2.5 Coding | 28 |
| 2.5.1 Coding of Utterances | 28 |
| 2.5.2 Determining Episodic Structure Complexity | 31 |
| 2.6 Scoring | 64 |
| 2.7 Reliability for Coding | 65 |
| III- RESULTS | 66 |
| 3.1 Quantitative Analysis | 66 |
| 3.2 Qualitative Analysis | 75 |
| 3.3 Children's Experience with Narratives | 91 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3.4 Other factors that could have influenced children's narrative productions | 94 |
| IV- DISCUSSION | 100 |
| V- REFERENCES | 114 |
| VI- APPENDIX | 118 |
| 6.1 Parent questionnaires about children's experience with written and oral narratives | 118 |
| 6.2 Examples from Children's Narrative Productions | 121 |
| 6.2.1 Prompt and Direct-elicited narratives of a 3-year-old girl | 121 |
| 6.2.1 Prompt and Direct-elicited narratives of a 4-year-old girl | 126 |
| 6.2.3 Prompt and Direct-elicited narratives of a 5-year-old boy | 134 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | | <u>pp.</u> |
|----------|---|------------|
| Figure 1 | Complete Episode Map | 51 |
| Figure 2 | Mapped Complete Episode Example | 53 |
| Figure 3 | Mapped Complex Episode Example | 55 |
| Figure 4 | Mapped Interactive Episode Example | 63 |
| Figure 5 | Percent of children's episodic narrative productions according to PEN, DEN and total complexity scores by age | 71 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | pp. |
|---------|--|-----|
| Table 1 | Distribution of Means and Standard Deviations for PEN Scores by Age and Gender | 67 |
| Table 2 | Distribution of Children in terms of the type of Complexity Structure Produced in PEN and Age | 68 |
| Table 3 | Distribution of Children in terms of the type of Complexity Structure Produced in PEN and Age | 69 |
| Table 4 | Distribution of Children in terms of the type of Complexity Structure Produced in DEN and Age | 70 |
| Table 5 | Distribution of Means and Standard Deviations for Total Complexity Scores by Age and Gender | 71 |
| Table 6 | Distribution of Children in terms of the type of Total Complexity Structures Produced by Age | 72 |
| Table 7 | The Direction of Ranked Differences between Elicitation Conditions and the Sum of Ranks | 73 |
| Table 8 | Distribution of Means and Standard Deviations for Total Number of Scripts Produced by Age | 74 |

LIST OF SYMBOLS

1. Coding of Utterances

| | |
|------|-----------------|
| Ac | : Action |
| Abs | : Abstract |
| At | : Attempt |
| C | : Consequence |
| Con | : Closing |
| E | : Event |
| Int | : Introduction |
| M.S. | : Mental States |
| R | : Reaction |
| S | : Setting |

2. Experimental Conditions

| | |
|-----|-----------------------------|
| PEN | : Prompt-elicited narrative |
| DEN | : Direct-elicited narrative |

3. Presentation of Children's Narratives

In text:

The original, narratives in Turkish, are presented in italics.

The English translations of narratives are presented in single quotes “.

Researcher's questions are presented in box-paranthesis [].

Children's actions are presented with a preceding asterisk *.

Children's actions that are included in the text along with their verbalizations to make the meaning of child's verbalization clearer are presented in paranthesis with an asteriks.(*)

1. INTRODUCTION

Narrative and pretend play are two areas of research in child development that have raised numerous questions, and have led to immense research. Although development in both these areas have been considered to hold key answers to general cognitive development, their lines of research have progressed mainly on parallel tracks, rather independent of each other. Their commonality arises from the general academic belief that both phenomena hold keys to extensive explanations for cognitive development. The general purpose of this research is to align these two research tracks to have a broader view of whether pretend play acts as a semiotic arena for narrative development.

1.1 Pretend Play

Pretend play is characterized as a spontaneously appearing phenomenon in the course of development which entails creating and functioning on a supposed reality (Lillard, 1993). Pretend play has been studied from very different perspectives. The social and cognitive dimensions and consequences of pretend have been under intense scientific scrutiny. The Piagetian perspective has explored pretend play from a cognitive dimension, keeping in line with the Piagetian stages of cognitive development. The representative functions of pretend have been the primary concern of the Piagetian school. In line with this outlook numerous studies have been carried out with the purpose of observing change in children's performance with pretend play interventions, such as in Golomb and Cornelius, (1977). Vygotsky has taken a different perspective, one of social functions. He has stated that pretend play acts as an area of proximal development (Lilliard, 1993). It is important to point out that this is in accordance with

his scientific outlook that took social interaction and its effects as core to learning, Vygotsky viewed and postulated about the social dimensions of play.

The developmental research of pretend varies in objectives according to the specific ages under scrutiny. Differentiations, decentrations and object substitutions have been studied in line with the representational capacities of very young children (Fein, 1981), whereas mental state words and representing characters' mind in play (Lilliard, 1993; Aronson and Golomb, 1999) have been studied in relation to theory of mind development. Solitary pretend has been the object of research for children under 3 years of age, while social pretend has been studied with older than 3-year olds.

Pretend play has been framed as a natural activity of the young child which has facilitative effects on the child's cognitive and social development; but pointing out the means of this effect has been largely left unidentified. The Vygotskian claim that "a child in play is always above his average age, above his daily behavior in play...as though he is a head taller than himself" (cited in Lilliard, (1993), pp. 350) has been agreed with by many researchers. Contemporary views on preschool education have embraced pretend play as a valued and critical element in their programs, aiming at promoting development in social, cognitive and linguistic arenas (Sayeed and Guerin, 2001). Yet as Fein (1981) points out, studies of language and cognitive development have not been able to provide convincing data on either the necessity of pretend as a facilitator or its existence as a consequence of cognitive development.

McCune-Nicolich has given a comprehensive summary of play development as observed by naturalistic and experimental studies. These studies are in perfect concordance with each other and suggest that the first pretend gestures are observed at about 12 or 13 months of age. These gestures are self-referenced and through their

developmental course they first become other referenced, and finally the “other” in the play –meaning the object of action- becomes “active” (Fein, 1981). In the “other active” stage of pretend, the child manipulates the object as if it were an active agent and starts to perform action sequences featuring the object as an active agent. This level is said to be reached at 2 years of age. (Fenson & Ramsey, 1980; Largo & Howard, 1979; Lezine, 1973; cited in McCune-Nicolich, 1981). After 2 years of age children start progressing on the play plots first reaching a single event, and then combining several events to make a more complex play plot. Wolf et al. (1979; cited in Fein, 1981) confirm that 2 year old children can attribute independent agency to dolls and add that by 2.6 years of age children begin attributing sensory, perceptual, and emotive experiences; and just before 3.6 years of age they attribute cognitive experiences to dolls. It is also reported that by 4 years of age, children can handle more than two characters (Rubin & Wolf, 1979; cited in Benson, 1993) and make attributions about their internal states (Wolf, Rygh & Altshuler, 1984; cited in Benson, 1993).

Pretend play starts around two years of age and continues its development through preschool years. Although the field of developmental psychology has shown great interest in the development of play; research on its effects is relatively sparse. The fact that pretend play appears as a universally spontaneous phenomenon raises questions related to its effects on development.

Pretend contributes to social development when it becomes a means of interpersonal communication between children. Modeling, learning and practicing of social norms and roles are among the obvious effects of pretend (Hetherington & Parke, 1993). Yet pretend is initially practiced by the child solitarily which may rule out considering its contribution to social development as the only benefits of pretend. What

is the function of solitary pretend for the development of the child? A variety of answers can be provided from different theoretical standpoints on this question. Although there have been changes in the conceptualization of the infant's state of mind since the Piagetian perspective was first introduced; the infant's relation to action and action sequences are one of the defining significant elements of the infant's world (Mandler, 2000, Nelson, 1996). There seems to be no debate on the significance of action whether it is preformed by others observable to the child or by himself. Action performed by the child is a valuable tool with which the child can explore and experience the world into which he is born. The action sequences of others as observed by the child also provide valuable learning settings which not only provide a learning experience, but also help his world become a more predictable place by marking repeated action sequences (such as bathing time, eating time) that act as anchors of the infant life (Nelson, 1996).

All theoretical points of view in developmental psychology literature have paid special attention to action, since it is not only a private anchor for the child's mind but it also is a tool for the researcher which lends access to the workings of the infant mind. Hence, whether a theoretical framework idealizes action as a tool for proving mental representation in children (Mandler, 1988) or a sensori-motor tool which marks the first stage of cognitive development for the child enabling the symbolic mental framework of later cognitive stages, action is always under the spotlight of early childhood research.

Research by Mandler (1992) has pointed out that the infant mind actively attends to stimuli conveying action. Mandler proposes that it is an innate disposition in human infants to attend to action and action sequences and use a means of perceptual analysis to form the perceptual representations.

Nelson (1996) in her book, *Language in Cognitive Development*, traces the cognitive development of the child from the onset; evaluating possible precursors and predispositions in the preverbal stage of the infant that enable subsequent language development. According to Nelson, the child is born with certain sensory predispositions such as attending to action sequences and sound patterns. These predispositions enable the child to attend to and distinguish the routine action sequences in his life and represent them in his mind as general event representations. Nelson calls these general event representations MERs (general event representations). These general event representations are later generalized to form a “cognitive context” for the child, cultivating a world model.

Nelson pays special attention to the cultural world into which the child is born and in which his development takes place. The primary quality of the interactional world the child is born into and tries to interpret is communication. For a preverbal child who is able to perceive actions around him but cannot yet make meaning of the perceived linguistic stimuli, the world conveys itself as mimetic. Nelson borrows this term from Donald (1993; cited in Nelson, 1996) who uses it to describe the second stage in the phylogenetic evolution of the human mind. Mimesis was originally used by Aristotle in his legendary *Poetics*. Aristotle used mimesis to describe the manner in which drama imitated life (Bruner, 1990). Bruner interprets Aristotle’s use of mimesis as “capturing of ‘life in action’, an elaboration and amelioration of what happened” (Bruner, 1990). Mimesis is interpreted as “a metaphor of reality” by Ricoeur (cited in Bruner, 1990). Although these definitions have caused certain debates over what the term really meant, they have a certain essence in common. They all focus on a second representation of reality, one that is influenced by the reality itself, yet is not an exact copy. Nelson’s

interpretation of this reality is of a preverbal representational medium which imitates life by action.

Nelson (1996) embraces Donald's theory of "the phylogenetic evolution of human cognition" stages of the human mind (Nelson, p.59). She has mapped out parallels between these evolutionary stages and the cognitive and linguistic development of a human organism from birth till adulthood. It is a commonly embraced ideal to fit ontogenetic development into phylogenetic development yet Nelson does not propose that the development of representational systems in an individual show an identical track with the evolutionary scale of development. She points out that valuable similarities exist which have explanatory power for the qualitative differences of the cognitive and linguistic stages of man. Nelson claims that the world of children between 2 and 4 years is episo/mimetic. Although there is abundant language use both in the family and preschool settings; the child's main mode of communication both in expression and reception are still action based as in dramatic games. Nelson identifies the use of language in this period as pragmatic rather than symbolic.

According to Nelson the ability to think in language is the ultimate goal reached by the developing mind. She believes that the mind develops rather in a stage like fashion to reach an ultimate point in which language is used both interpersonally and intrapersonally as a symbolic mode of thought. Nelson asserts that language does not constitute a symbolic nature in the first three years of life but instead is used as a pragmatic tool in conjunction with action to communicate about the immediate world. Hence the mere start of language acquisition by the very young child is only a stepping-stone for the child to reach the end goal of a mind that uses language as a mode of thought.

What does an episo/mimetic culture consist of? Donald (1991; cited in Nelson, 1996) describes the episodic culture of primates as one possessing mimetic skills which have social consequences and together create the mimetic culture. The mimetic skills involve “intentional representations, generative and recursive capacity of mime, a voluntary and public communicative system, differentiation of reference, unlimited modeling of episodic events and voluntary autocued rehearsal” (Donald 1991, cited in Nelson, 1996). According to Donald these skills result in social consequences which consist of “shared modeling of social customs and hierarchies, reciprocal mimetic games,..., group mimetic acts, slow-paced innovative capacity, simple pedagogy and social attribution ” (Donald 1991, cited in Nelson, 1996, p.66).

Nelson (1996) asserts that before language becomes a symbolic mode of thought and communication, it must be supported by “the prelinguistic systems- the nonsymbolic event system and the symbolic mimetic system-” (p. 105). She identifies three elements of the episo/mimetic world as imitation, pretend play and communication (self-other system). This research in line with Nelson’s above summarized premises asserts that pretend play provides a semiotic environment that enhances language production with the aid of mimetic tools.

The main consensus on pretend, between scholars of different orientations is the opportunity it provides the child with decontextualization. In other words, pretend creates an environment for the child to step out from the constrictions of the real world and present objects as if they are something else, act as if they are somewhere else or someone else and later to develop episodes centered around their play figures in a different mode of reality. This abrupt change of reality base, reordering reality elements into fictitious presences and functions inspires interpretations of representational

development. Representational development is central to the areas of cognitive and linguistic development.

The main objective of recent research has been defining the level of representational capacity needed by the child to engage in pretend play. Leslie (1987), Hobson (1987), Lilliard (1993), Gopnik & Slaughter (1991) and Perner (1991) are the prominent scientists who have contemplated upon whether pretend requires a capacity for representation and /or a representation for minds other than the pretending child's. This argument is salient and has far-reaching implications for the development of the human representational mind; yet it is out of this research's scope. Although this contemporary debate will not be explored here; nevertheless the premises of Gopnik & Slaughter (1991) and Perner (1991) contribute nicely to the role that pretend plays in the aspects of cognitive development, which enhances linguistic development.

Gopnik & Slaughter (1991) imply that pretend is a constant arena of cognitive assimilation and accommodation in which the child organizes the world -reality of pretend- into the schema of events in his mind and has the chance to construct and accommodate his world view (MER of Nelson) through repeated practice. Pretend is an arena primarily of assimilation which could not only effect the child's point of view and interpretation of the world but also provides a free arena in which the child constantly practices his verbalizations free of corrective restraints. Regardless of whether pretend play requires a representational, or a meta-representational ability the child finds a unique opportunity in which he can enact his schemas and practice his language freely in a pretend mode of reality. Moreover, the pleasurable nature of pretend for the young child makes this kind of cognitive practice desirable and a common element of his world.

Perner (1991) argues against the view that early pretend requires a symbolic representative capacity, and asserts that pretend play creates a different world in which the child acts upon objects in an “as if” mode of operation. Perner (1991) argues against the proposition that very young children must have a representational capability in order to pretend and claims that the child need only to have a theory of action in pretense. Perner differentiates between representational content and representational medium. Representational content may be perceived as a still-life frame of a referent whereas representational medium entails active operations to maintain and elaborate on representational content. This differentiation is of central importance to Perner’s understanding of the representational mind. Perner asserts that representations are not means and ends in themselves but “serve a function in some overreaching system that uses them” (Perner, 1991; p.24)

Perner’s (1991) perspective is radically different from Leslie’s (1987) which attributes meta-representational capacity to the pretend play of early childhood. Perner asserts that the pretend play of early childhood requires the existence of a “system” of representational content, a “model”, if it is to be attributed representational quality. According to Perner this entails that pretend play in which the child simply acts as-if something is other than what it really is, cannot be concluded to possess a representational capacity. Representational capacity requires a system of relations in which several representative content exist and function in relation to one another in a mode which departs from the constraints of the reality base. From this perspective a meta-representative ability is depicted as “a model that models the representational relationship between a model and the environment” (Perner, 1991; p.41).

Meta-representations are postulated to be necessary to evaluate different interpretations of the same representation. This would necessitate understanding differences between past-present and interpersonal interpretations. The child's evaluation of what he knows now to be the truth contrary to what he knew before, as in appearance-reality tasks is one example where meta-representational capacity is used. False-belief tasks which probe for the understanding of the child for another person's deficient representation of reality is another example of meta-representational requirement. Both of these examples require for an ability to evaluate representations whether of self's or another person's. The theory of mind literature seems to converge on a critical developmental point around 4 years of age when children pass theory of mind tasks and are posited to gain an operational meta-representational capability. (Rice, Koinis, Sullivan, Tager-Flusberg, Winner; 1997).

It was stated earlier that pretend is an area of frequent study and point of collision between different perspectives of diverse scholastic orientations. The enduring discussion about whether pretend play requires representative capacity is a salient argument with far reaching implications. This study however will not probe this question directly but adopt the intersection point from where the argument concerning the concept of representations diverge. All theoretical orientations agree that pretense enhances a mode of decontextualization. Ucelli, Hemphill, Pan and Snow (1999) assert that both personal narratives and fictive stories require decontextualization similar to pretend play. Researchers at Harvard Project Zero have found the simultaneous appearance of pretend and narrative of importance and probed for the development of symbolic systems using pretend play and narrative in alliance (Gardner & Wolf, 1982; cited in Benson, 1993). Data on maternal observation of 3 to 6 years old children show

that spontaneous narrative in children appears mostly in pretend play (Lemche, Haefker, Ari, Grote, Ilka, Orthmann and Klann-Delius, 1998). Regardless of the source of these phenomena and whether pretend play requires a representative framework or not, this study intends to use this quality of pretend to provide a semiotic arena in which the child moves from a linguistic plane to a semiotic plane between language and action.

This study aims to utilize symbolic play toys as prompts to supply children with a semiotic arena that incorporates both action and language. It is posited that toys that provide settings will cue children's narratives with general event representations. Toys are also believed to provide children with orientation and anchoring of their narrative plots hence decreasing cognitive load.

1.2 Narrative

The definition of narrative varies extensively among scholars and these different definitions lead to different interpretations. White (1980) identifies narration as an act of transferring knowing into telling. White's basic definition is in agreement with most other definitions and is important in the sense that it outlines the two basic requirements of narration: cognitive and linguistic ability. McCabe (1990) further clarifies this point by stating that narrative structures draw from both mind and memory; (narrative) "structures recapitulating events and events recapitulating stories" (McCabe, p.XII). Narrative has been evaluated and defined by diverse fields of science ranging from philosophy, linguistics, psychology and arts; each looking at the phenomenon from different perspectives. The semantic and syntactic structures of narratives have held varying scores of significance to these different points of views.

The universality of narration as a phenomenon, the universal structure of narratives, narrative as a tool for self-exploration as in psychoanalysis; whether narrative is a natural product of language, or a culture nurtured tool of communication are all salient arguments which have significance to the definition of narratives. Although this research does not aim to answer any of these questions; it is necessary to define narrative first to study its developmental course.

As there are ongoing disagreements about the definition of narrative; there are also parallel debates on what the simple form of narrative as expressed by children should be. Nelson (1996), asserts that the simplest narrative consists of sequencing of events through time. Bus and van Ijzendoorn (1988, p.1264; quoted in McCabe, 1990) define narrative as "all maternal explanations, questions and comments about the meaning of objects, stories and illustrations; ...(also containing) interpretations of content through other means such as naming and pointing out." This clearly is a very tailored definition of narrative. I believe that simplifying the definition of a phenomenon to meet the essentials of a developmental appropriateness should not deprive the term from its original meaning. Narration should not be taken as all the meaningful linguistic productions of a child. Narrative withholds coherence as a critical element of its definition. As the temporal sequencing of events are essential to narrative so are the causal network that glues these action fragments together to convey a unique form of expression.

Numerous theoretical constructs have been proposed to study narrative and its developmental discourse. Each construct defines some variables of narratives as central and focuses definition around them. It should also be noted that these constructs refer to

narrative phenomena with different titles and definitions which burdens the comparison of findings.

A brief summary of theoretical constructs will be provided here, to explicate the selected theoretical construct and its means of analysis later. Peterson and McCabe (1983) have used three modes of analysis (high-point, episodic and dependency) for personal narratives collected from children between the ages of 3.5 to 9.5. Their aim was not to discern which mode of analysis was more adequate, but to probe narrative from several views to gather a more complete picture of children's narratives.

High-point analysis, which has been constructed by Labov and his colleagues (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) describe stories as built around 'high-points'. High points are constituents of critical importance to the overall story plot in which events of climax are recapitulated and maintained in the story. Labov's (1972; cited in Peterson and McCabe, 1990) description of narrative consisting of six parts (abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda) is a widely accepted and comprehensive description.

Episodic analysis or story grammars, perceives stories as constituted of episodes. A complete episode according to this approach has to include a protagonist, his goals, the protagonist's efforts to achieve them and the outcomes of these efforts. This notion of episodic structure is also embraced by Rumelhart (1975, 77 cited in Peterson and McCabe, 1983), in his story grammar approach. Bruner (1990) agrees with episodic structure as inherent in stories and describes narrative as composed of "a unique sequence of events, mental states, happenings involving human characters or actors" gaining meaning within the overall configuration or the plot (Bruner; 43). Schwartz (1991) has stated that in play ideas are expressed as propositions and actualized as

actions which constitutes a “semantic edifice” similar to written or oral narratives. This edifice, Schwartz explains could be treated on several levels of depth according to the objectives of researchers. Formal linguistic analyses and semantic analysis of plot are among these. Play plot lends itself to two layers of analysis, in which semantic analysis is performed to discern the functions of actions and propositions in relation to each other, to reveal the constituent episodic structures present in the narrative. A second layer of plot analysis aims to identify the hierarchical structure the episodes stand in relation to one another.

Episodic analysis has been used extensively as a tool for analyzing children’s personal narrative productions (Peterson & McCabe, 1983), fantasy narrative productions (Hudson & Shapiro; 1990), comprehension and recall of stories (Grueneich, 1982; Van der Broek, Puzles Lorch & Thurlow, 1996). The wide-ranging interest in episodic analysis stems from its implications for cognitive development. The fact that episodic analysis renders units of episodic components and thus provides clear picture of the building blocks of narratives, presents it as a viable and valuable tool to investigate narrative development in particularly young age children.

Another method of analysis applied to the personal narratives of children is the dependency analysis which holds a syntactic point of view and analyzes the syntactic hierarchy between the propositions of the narrative (McCabe & Peterson, 1983).

The literature on narrative development in preschool children stresses the importance of the means of analysis. This is most plausible since narrative analysis is largely qualitative and setting common parameters for analysis is most essential for validity. Means of analysis should not be taken as a simple procedural formality since different means of analysis embrace different definitions of narrative. The selection for a means

of analysis also bears the result of accepting and operating in the definition provided by that particular analysis framework. The selection process encompasses careful consideration of the type of narratives to be analyzed and the age groups under scrutiny. This study focuses on preschool children's narratives and aims to assess age related change in the quality of narratives produced by preschool children. The method of analysis was selected to be episodic analysis with the belief that the meticulous and comprehensive nature of this system of analysis would provide adequate measure for preschool children's narratives.

1.2.1 Episodic Analysis

McCabe and Peterson (1983) have applied story grammar in seven hierarchical structures; the complexity of narratives in each structure increase from a pre-episodic format at the first stage to a multi episodic format at the eighth. These structures are not mutually exclusive, as a more primitive form can exist embedded in a more advanced structure. This scale nicely exhibits developing complexity starting from sequential structures to episodic and multiple-episodic structures. The first and the most primitive structure of the hierarchy is *descriptive sequence* in which the child describes the environment, characters and the habitual actions of the characters. The second complexity structure, *action sequence*, is characterized by unrelated action sequences with reference to internal or external states of the characters. The third complexity structure is *reactive sequence* and is characterized by changes in the environment that lead to other changes without indication of goal based behavior. The fourth complexity structure is *abbreviated episode*, which contains a goal and attempts, yet the planning to reach the goal is not explicitly stated and can only be inferred. The fifth complexity

structure is the *complete episode*, which presents the protagonist's actions as goal driven. The planning is explicitly stated with the protagonist's source of motivation, attempts to reach his goal and consequences. The sixth complexity structure is *complex episode*. There are four types of complex episodes. A complex episode incorporates a complete episode and its elaboration either by an embedded reactive sequence, by an embedded complete episode, by a multiple plan application or by a multiple plan application with an embedded complete episode. The seventh complexity structure is *interactive episode* in which two protagonists with different motivations exist and the episodic structure can be completed from either protagonist's point of view. In interactive episode each protagonist has a complete episode.

Peterson and McCabe state that there also are narratives which are compounds of complex and simpler structures. These structures are called multiple structure narratives and are qualitatively examined by semantic analysis of connectives. The semantic analysis of connectives refers to probing the narrative for the way in which the stories are connected. Explicit use of connectives is not necessary in this type of analysis since the researcher can use inference on the connective link between structures. This semantic analysis of connectives does not yield comparable complexity ranks but rather enables for a qualitative evaluation of the overall narrative plot.

This structural analysis which adheres to story grammar presents itself as both practical and effective to use with very young children's narratives. Children's narratives can be analyzed and defined from a developmental perspective. This structural system encompasses children's narratives from the simplest -descriptions and scripts- to the most complex.

Nelson (1996) takes the sequencing of events through time as the lowest criterion of narrative; yet this definition raises another question. Can we classify children's reported scripts as narrative? Scripts are accounts of what usually happens in significant and repeated events. They are usually reported in the timeless present tense using the general pronoun "you" (Hudson & Shapiro; 1990). Children as young as three years old are stated to have "temporally organized *general event knowledge* that is verbally accessible" (Hudson & Shapiro, 1990). Scripts dominate the linguistic production of three year olds. The reason for this seem to fit nicely with Nelson's (1996) theory of cognitive and linguistic development. If the premise that the child focuses on repeated action sequences to form a general world model is taken to be true, then it is plausible that the child's first narrative productions that are temporally sequenced would be in the script format. Scripts are valuable in their own right, and can be placed in the initial stages of the developmental continuum of linguistic compatibility. French, Lucariello, Seidman & Nelson (1985) have found that children can draw on script knowledge in developing play scenarios by the age of four (cited in Benson, 1993). Sachs, Goldman and Chaille (1985) state that 5-year-olds produced episodes with plots based on scripts (cited in Benson, 1993). Scripts can and should be idealized as necessary stepping-stones toward the production of complete narratives.

Eckler and Weininger (1989) have done a study in which they used pretend play to elicit narratives from children (ages ranging from 4 to 8). Although their definition of episode conforms to story grammar criteria, their complexity structure is different. Eckler and Weininger used a three levels complexity analysis in which narratives with one episode attained a score of 0, narratives with two episodes in sequence attained a score of 1 and narratives that contained three episodes (two in simultaneous and one in

sequence appearance) attained a score of 2. They report that children as young as 4 years can produce one episode in their play narratives and the number of episodes per play increases with age. In this study Eckler & Weininger have used a room with toys and after a warm-up period, asked the child to play a good game of pretend and tell the experimenter everything that he did while playing. If the child forgot to verbalize his action, the experimenter reminded him to verbalize what he did. Their play session lasted 15 minutes and was video recorded. The instruction used in this study is of concern since the instruction does not explicitly probe for story production. It should be considered that the children in this study were not aware that their play was evaluated as stories. Children's awareness of the intent could have led to different results. They also probed for presence of episodic formation coding the narrative into two broad categories of episodic and non-episodic narratives. This study revealed significant increase in the structural complexity of children narratives with age. This increase was reflected both on the overall score and analysis for episodic formation.

Eckler and Weininger's procedure of using two sets of play toys to elicit narratives from children was novel and later used by Farver & Frosch (1996) successfully to elicit narratives from 4-year-old preschool children. Farver & Frosch used this procedure to examine the aggressive content of preschool children's narratives after the Los Angeles riots.

Benson (1993) obtained quite different results from Eckler & Weininger in an investigation of story telling and pretend play. In her study which included 4- and 5-year-olds, the children were asked to play with replica toys and narrate their play simultaneously and to tell a story based on drawings of figures. In each story telling session the children were presented with three characters. Two characters were reported

to be “potentially in conflict” with each other. All the plotted narratives in Benson’s study included a conflict; and children were most likely to produce plotted narratives in story telling sessions. Benson observed a significant change in structural complexity with age, especially in the story telling session. She concludes that five year olds possess a much more usable mental model of story than four year olds. It is of crucial importance to point out that in Benson’s study there was a high ratio of instances when the children did not produce response. Twenty-three of the 38 play trials of the 4-year-old group and 9 of the 42 play trials of the 5-year-old group received no response. The elicitation method, the attractiveness of the play material and the structure of the procedure plays crucial role on the results of studies. Benson herself points out the ambiguity about the no response situations and contemplates on the adequateness of her procedure

1.2.2 Narrative Elicitation Methods

There are several applicable methods to elicit narratives from children. Naturalistic observations, taping narratives in home settings, conversational prompt technique or direct elicitation are among these methods. The direct elicitation usually employs a prompt such as a story stem (Ely, Wolf, Mc Cabe & Melzi, 2000). Direct elicitation via asking the child to tell a story is a rare method to be employed. Leonadar (1977; cited in Benson, 1993) and Pitcher and Prelinger (1963; cited in Nelson, 1996) have used this technique successfully with children as young as two years old.

Studies which aim to seek parallels between pretend play and narrative development are rare. Apart from Leonadar’s (1977; cited in Benson, 1993) and Pitcher & Prelinger’s (1963; cited in Nelson, 1996) study no other have used direct narrative elicitation but have employed pictorial cues or story stems instead. Direct elicitation

without cues will be used in this study, since it is of particular concern whether children can produce fictitious narratives without the aid of structured cues. The researcher posits that some of the cues such as picture sequences and story stems may actually constrain the act of narrating with additional cognitive demands. This study also aims to investigate the productions of scripts in children's fictitious narratives hence does not intend to influence the themes of children's narrative productions to probe for the frequency of script sequences.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

This study conceptualizes symbolic play as a semiotic arena in which the child can practice and develop the complex problem of mapping hierarchically composed thoughts to the linear structure of language in accordance with Nelson's(1996) views. It is postulated that symbolic play prompts will create a semiotic arena for the child to exploit both action and language. The symbolic play prompts are further postulated to provide a ready arena for action and decontextualization, hence enhance production of relationships between representational content resulting in episodic formations.

Preschooler's (3-5 years old) story productions elicited via two different techniques: i) symbolic play toys prompted elicitation and ii) direct elicitation, will be employed to elicit narratives from children. The plot structure- the organization of episodes- and the episodic structure –the components of individual episodes- of these narratives will be explored from a developmental point of view via employing the structural levels of story grammar analysis (McCabe & Peterson, 1983). The proposition that toy prompted narratives have more complex episodic structure from that of other means of narrative elicitation will also be explored. Thus the specific research questions asked are:

Do children's play narratives differ from their spontaneous story productions in terms of story structure?

Does the episodic structure of young children's stories change with age?

Do young children produce more scripted narratives while older children produce novel fantasy narratives?

1.3.1. Hypothesis:

The structural levels of story grammar attained will increase with age in narratives produced via both pretend play and direct elicitation.

Younger children's pretend play elicited narratives will adhere significantly to higher stages of structural complexity compared to their narratives produced by direct elicitation.

The amount of scripts in narratives will decrease with age in narratives produced via both pretend play and direct elicitation.

2. METHOD:

2.1 Subjects:

The sample group consisted of thirty children in three age groups; ten children in each group of ages; 3, 4 and 5. There were 5 girls and 5 boys in each age group. The mean ages for the age groups were: 3 years and 7 months for the 3-year old groups, 4 years and 7 months for the 4-year-old groups and 5 years and 6 months for the 5-year-old group. Turkish was the native language of all children in the sample; none of the children were bilingual.

The sample for the study was drawn from three preschools in the Asian side of Istanbul. The schools monthly fees were approximate to one another, and targeted middle-class families. Sixteen children were from Işık Çocuk Evi, 11 children from Aydede Çocuk Evi and 3 children were from Erte Çocuk Evi. The children were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate. The schools gave consent to the study and held the responsibility to inform parents about the study.

2.2 Materials

Two sets of toys were used in the study as play prompts. One set consisted of a farm house with animals, pumpkins, a stack of hay, a farmer and a tractor. The animals of the set were two horses, two cows, two sheep, a pig and a chicken. For the animals in pairs, one animal was slightly bigger than the other, suggestive of a parental relation. The second set consisted of a house, with furniture and human figures. The furniture set consisted of a bed, a couch, an armchair, a swinging chair, a table, four chairs, a coffee table, a cupboard and a computer. The human figures were suggestive of a family, and

consisted of two adult figures (one male and one female) and two children (a girl and a boy)

A Crayola coloring book, Crayola magic pens, coloring pens and scrap paper were used for the warm-up period of the direct elicitation session. The Crayola book depicted pictures of familiar animals. Each page displayed one animal. The animal picture was drawn in a large, undetailed manner to allow for preschool children to color without difficulty. The magic pens appeared white and changed color in a few seconds. The Crayola set was selected to serve as materials that would increase interest of the child about the procedure and allow for interaction with the child in an entertaining activity as a means of warm up to the direct elicitation task.

The experimental sessions were video-recorded using a Canon MV600 camcorder.

2.3 Procedure:

Each child had two experimental sessions with the researcher. One of these sessions was conducted using play prompts; and in the other session no prompts were used to elicit narratives. The conditions were administered at a one week interval. Three children could not be tested at a one week interval, two of them due to being absent from school due to illness and one due to taking an unexpected vacation to visit his grandmother in another city. These children were tested when they returned to school two weeks after the initial session. The experimental sessions were video taped and the experimental conditions were counterbalanced.

The researcher visited the classroom and explained to the children that she was very interested in the stories children tell, and had a set of toy or interesting coloring

pens that she wanted to show to the willing children. The children volunteered to go a separate room in their preschool building with the researcher to either play or do coloring. The room was prepared in advance for the particular experimental condition the child was to participate in. In the prompted condition, the furniture in the room was moved to make a clearing for the play materials. The house and the farm house were spread out on the floor next to each other. The materials of each set were lined in front of the houses. The camera was set facing the houses' open rears. In the direct elicitation condition a table and two chairs were arranged and warm-up materials were placed on the table. The camera was set facing the child in the direct elicitation condition.

In the prompts' elicited play condition the researcher explained to the child once more that she loved the stories children tell, and wanted to make a great book containing only the stories that children tell. She explained that she had to record the play using her camera because "since children don't know how to write I have to write stories for them. I am going to record your story so that I can later watch it at home and write it. Then it will be in a book about children's stories." The researcher then instructed the child to explore, get to know and play with the toys in whichever way s/he liked until the researcher told them that it was time to tell a story using the toys. The researcher showed her chronometer to the child explaining "this special watch will show me when it is time to tell a story using these toys". Time for warm-up was started after the child indicated an understanding of what was expected of him. The warm-up period was approximately 10 minutes for each child. It was observed in the prior pilot study that children took time to explore the toy sets, manipulating the toys, and asking numerous questions about how they worked, where were they purchased from, how the researcher carried all the toys, whether she had a car etc. These questions tended to interrupt their story telling and was

interpreted as a means of forming a relationship with the experimenter. It was thought essential that children participating in the study felt themselves secure and comfortable before they started narrating. Thus the warm-up time was increased to 10 minutes. After the warm-up period the child was told : “ You have looked at all the toys, now it is time to tell me a story using the toys. Can you tell me a story using these toys?” (“*Şimdi sen benim bütün oyuncaklarıma baktın, artık sıra bana bu oyuncakları kullanarak bir hikaye anlatmaya geldi. Bana bu oyuncakları kullanarak bir hikaye anlatır mısın?*”) Further explanation was given to children who did not seem to comprehend the instruction. Some children asked how they were to carry out the instruction. These children were told “Just like playing. Yet this time you have to tell me what is happening as if in a story.” (“*Aynı oyun oynamak gibi. Bu sefer neler olduğunu aynı bir hikayede olduğu gibi anlatmanı istiyorum.*”) Some children dropped the toys and started telling a tale without using the toys. These children were told to enact their story with the toys and show the experimenter who was doing what. None of the children had any difficulty after the elaboration of the instruction. The researcher maintained a listening stance throughout the narrative session after the instruction was given. Non specific prompts such as “Huh-huh”, “Eeee?”, “Then?” (“*Sonra?*”) or verbatim repetitions of a portion of the child’s utterance was given in line with the procedure of Peterson & McCabe (1983). At times when the child’s speech got incomprehensible (i.e voicing characters, talking in whispers or talking too fast) the experimenter asked the child to repeat what s/he had just said or if the experimenter thought it was essential asked explicitly about the incomprehensible utterance. The children turned their backs to the camera too often, and in the instances when the child’s actions were not in the camera’s range the experimenter voiced the actions if the child did not. The children were told that it was

time to wrap up their stories after 9 minutes. If the children protested that their stories were not finished and wanted to go on they were allowed extra time. The recording was finished after 20 minutes of story telling. If the child still protested that they wanted to tell more, they were told that their friends were waiting and they should have a turn also. The children were presented with a sticker they chose among Barbie, car or animal stickers, and thanked for “such a nice story”.

In the direct elicitation period the children either did coloring of Crayola magic pens on a Crayola coloring book that depicted pictures of animals, or they could do free drawing. The children as in the prompt elicited condition were taken to a separate familiar room in their preschools and were seated at a table. The researcher explained that she had very interesting pens and a coloring book with pictures of animals in it. She said that the child could either choose to do coloring or could draw with the extra set of pens on blank paper whatever they liked. The experimenter showed the child the chronometer and told that “after ten minutes of coloring or drawing, the special watch would show them that it was story-telling time”. When the warm-up time was finished, the researcher told the child “My watch shows me coloring time is over, now I want you to tell me a story. Can you please tell me a story?” (*“Saatim bana boyama vaktinin bittiğini söylüyor, şimdi senden bana bir hikaye anlatmanı istiyorum. Lütfen bana bir hikaye anlatır mısın?”*) Then they would have to stop drawing or coloring and the child would tell a story. Only one child, a 3-years old boy- chose to do drawing instead of coloring. If the child said that she couldn’t tell a story, then the researcher asked the child whether his/her parents read or told stories. The children were asked about their favorite story and were asked to tell their favorite story. The children who had difficulty with the direct elicitation task were suggested that they could tell a story about the

animal they had colored in the warm-up session. Only one child, a 3-years old boy, refused to tell a story by direct elicitation. He protested that he didn't want to tell a story. The children were presented stickers after their direct elicitation sessions.

The children were told after their first sessions that the researcher would be coming next week with either toys, or coloring material and would ask them once more to tell a story. All children expressed desire to participate in the following session.

The parents of the children received a questionnaire about their children's fictional narrative experience and competence. The questionnaire (appendix 1) was designed by the researcher. 27 of the questionnaires were collected through the schools. Two mothers' could not receive the questionnaires due to being out of town and were contacted by phone by the researcher. For these two mothers the researcher administered the questionnaires on the phone. The parents of one child (a 3-years old boy) could not be reached with the questionnaire since he had quit school and the school did not wish the parents to be contacted by phone.

2.4 Transcription and Textualization

The video tapes of the two sessions for each child were transcribed by the researcher. The warm up period in both experimental conditions were not transcribed and were not included in the analysis due to the constraints of the study.

The prompted elicitation was transcribed for the child's utterances, the child's actions and the researcher's utterances. Narratives in the direct elicitation were transcribed for the child's and the researcher's utterances.

The transcribed versions were later textualized. The textualization was also done by the researcher. In the textualization process, the utterances and actions of subjects were sequenced according to the order of their appearance. The experimenter's reactions that

triggered a response were included with the experimenter's reaction presented first in square brackets and the child's response following. The researcher also included the referents in the child's utterances in italics enclosed within parenthesis, in cases of ambiguity. This process was needed especially in the prompted condition in which the children referred to the subjects of their narratives by pointing or gestures, rather than explicit referencing.

2.5 Coding:

Two layers of coding was applied to the textualized narratives. First the utterances were coded into structural components and then the coded utterances were ordered into structural patterns of complexity.

2.5.1 Coding of Utterances

The coding was done according to the Stein & Glenn story grammar structures outlined and elaborated in Peterson and McCabe, 1983. Each behavioral or linguistic proposition was codified according to the function they served within the episodic structure. The semantic context the utterances were used in, determined its code of classification. The classification categories of actions, events, settings, motivating states, attempts, consequences and judgments were used. The formal introduction and closing of narratives were codified as Introduction and Conclusion.

Peterson and McCabe (1983) differentiated children's narratives according to the causal structure they held. They used a different scheme of coding for the narrative productions that did not withhold a causal structure. The classifications of 'actions', 'external states', 'internal states' and 'natural occurrences' were used for utterances in

children's narratives that did not hold a causal structure. For the present study, differentiating between narratives according to their causal structure and coding it accordingly was thought not to be efficient by the researcher. The two different schemes used by Peterson and McCabe according to causal network presence in narrative were merged in a uniform schema that could be applied to all narratives without taking the presence of an underlying causal network criterial. In the merging process the categories of internal states, external states and natural occurrences could be translated as motivating states or settings according to the function they played in the overall narrative. A separate category of action was added to the scheme of coding that entailed actions or behaviors of a character or characters that were chronologically sequenced but did not initiate a goal.

It is important to note that abstracts, introductions and closings are not used as separate classification categories for utterances in Peterson and McCabe (1983). Abstracts category was added as a result of a need arising specifically from prompt-elicited narratives. Some children gave a short outline of what would happen next in the story before acting it out. These short outlines were coded as abstracts.

Some children started telling their story with formal introduction utterances and finished their narrations with formal story closings. These utterances were coded as introduction and closing utterances accordingly.

The classification of utterances and actions were identified as follows:

Settings: Internal states, external states or habitual actions that serve to introduce the characters and the social and physical environment.

Actions: Behavior and actions of a character that follow each other chronologically with no causal relation in between them.

Events: Natural occurrences, actions or environmental states resulting from actions that serve as an initiating event and serve to start an episode.

Motivating States: Internal states, such as affects, cognitions or goals that motivate the protagonist.

Reactions: Either internal states that are precipitated by events, attempts or consequences and do not motivate behavior, or they are purposeless actions that are precipitated by events, attempts or consequences.

Attempts: Actions initiated by an event or a motivating state and are preparatory to goal attainment.

Consequences: Actions that directly achieve or fail to achieve a goal, or existing states once all attempts have failed.

Judgements: Statements in which the child steps out of the time frame and comments on the narrated events.

Abstracts: Statements in which the child gave a summary of what was to happen next in the narrative then proceeded with telling it.

Introductions: Statements of formal story opening.

Such as: Bir varmış bir yokmuş.... (Once upon a time)

Closings: The statements in which the child indicated that the story the child had been narrating has to come to an end. Either formal story endings such as “Ve bu masal da burada bitmiş.”, or personal utterances “Benim hikayem bitti.” Were considered closing utterances.

2.5 Determining Episodic Structure Complexity

The organization of utterances and actions into episodic structures were done according to the explanation of the Glenn & Stein episodic grammar structures in Peterson & McCabe (1983). Glenn and Stein have identified seven basic structures of story grammar. These structures are descriptive sequence, action sequence, reactive sequence, abbreviated episode, complete episode, complex episode and interactive episode. It is also noted in Peterson and McCabe (1983) that incomplete episodes and interactive reactive sequences are present in children's narratives. These two structural categories were added to the original structural complexity hierarchy in our study. Script sequences, which are temporally ordered action sequences for regular events, would normally be coded as action sequences. Scripts were added as a separate category to the structural hierarchy to inspect their frequency more closely since the study, among other objectives aimed to seek the developmental change in script productions in children's narratives. The task of distinguishing scripts out of children's narratives without specification of possible script themes would produce unreliable results since scripts would vary in nature between children. Hence, the script productions about main self-help issues of cooking, toileting, washing and grooming were selected as script themes probed in the data.

The structural complexity hierarchy used in this study with the additions of the two subcategories pointed out by Stein and Glenn and the script sequence added by the researcher is presented below:

1. **Descriptive Sequence:** Describes character(s), surroundings, and habitual actions with no casual relationship.

2. **Script Sequence:** Gives temporally and causally organized narrations of routine events. Four script themes were chosen that the play prompts could initiate. These were: washing hands, taking a bath, using the toilet and eating. Three or more utterances about the script theme were required in order for the string of utterances to be considered a script sequence.
3. **Action Sequence:** It is list of actions that are chronologically rather than causally related.
4. **Reactive Sequence:** It is a set of changes that automatically cause other changes with no planning involved.
5. **Interactive Reactive Sequence:** Describes extensive interactions between two or more characters without any evidence of planning.
6. **Incomplete Episode:** Gives all components of a complete, complex, or interactive episode except the requisite consequence.
7. **Abbreviated Episode:** Describes aims of the protagonist, but planning generally must be inferred.
8. **Complete Episode:** It encompasses at least three components of event, motivating state, attempt and consequence. The consequence category is compulsory.
9. **Complex Episode:** It is an elaboration of the complete episode in one the four ways presented below.
 - i. by an embedded reactive sequence
 - ii. by an embedded complete episode
 - iii. by a multiple plan application (i.e., Repeated attempts)
 - iv. by a multiple plan application with an embedded complete episode

10. Interactive Episode: It describes one set of events from two perspectives where both characters have goals and influence each other. Interactive episode can encompass more than two characters though it has been stated as a rare occurring phenomenon by Peterson and McCabe.

Stein and Glenn have postulated the seven category structural pattern as being logically ordered as a hierarchy. The addition of the three categories of script sequences, interactive reactive sequences and incomplete episodes were done by careful consideration of the hierarchical relationships between structural elements. The ten-category classification hierarchy will be referred to as structural complexity hierarchy by the researcher.

It would be beneficial to explicate the application of the criteria for coding utterances into structural components and the criteria for ordering sequences into hierarchical categories with examples.

1. Descriptive Sequence:

The descriptive sequence depicts the characters, surroundings and habitual actions without causal relations. It is almost like a picture description.

71. *Burası çocuk banyosu.*
'Here is the kids' bathroom.'

72. *Burası da büyük banyosu.*
'Here is the adults' bathroom.'

73. *Burası da ayna.*
'Here is the mirror.'

74. *Burası büyükannenin yatağı. Bu da yatak.*
'Here is grandmother's bed. This is the bed.'

75. Bak burada yatıyor büyükanne. (Büyükanneyi yatırdı.)
 'Look! Here lies grandmother' (She placed the grandmother on the bed.)
76. Bu da ders çalışıyor.
 'And she is studying.'
77. [O kim?] Cem.
 '[Who is it?] Cem.'
78. Uyuyor
 'She is sleeping.'
79. Cemin bilgisayarı varmış.
 'Cem had a computer.'

Ayşegül, 3;4, (PEN)

The utterances that constitute this descriptive sequence are actually at the end of Ayşegül's prompt elicited narrative. Although utterances 76 and 78 could have been coded as actions rather than setting; setting seems to be more appropriate since Ayşegül is describing a scene rather than narrating events. She is identifying scenery and describing the states of people that match the identified scenery. Although descriptive sequences usually appear at the beginning of narratives to orient the listener, descriptive sequences were used extensively also to orient the listener to the changing of the scenes in the prompted condition. Long descriptive sequences were common in prompted narratives since the children frequently organized and reorganized the toys to change scenery.

The descriptive sequence below is taken from a five-year old boy's direct elicited narrative. This sequence is identified as setting and followed by a complicating action, attempts and a consequence; hence was ordered to be a complete episode. This particular sequence is used here both to illustrate a qualified sequence of utterances that describe

the characters and the environment; and how utterances or sequence of utterances may take different structural definitions according to their function in the overall narrative.

1. *Köy vardı bir tane. Köy var evet, köy var.*
'There was a village. There was (a) village, there was a village.'
2. *Çiftçi var.*
'There was (a) farmer.'
3. *Onun şeşşş... ördekleri, ineği, kazı, ondan sonra domuzu ve de eşiği, horozu varmış.*
'He had....ducks, a cow, a goose, and than a pig and a donkey, a rooster.'
4. *Çiçeklerle dolu bir tarla varmış bir de.*
'There was a field full of flowers, too.'
5. *Arılar var bir de.*
'There were bees, too.'
6. *Amaaa orada kötü birşey varmış.*
'But there was something bad there.'
7. *Eşek arısı varmış.*
'There was a wasp.'
8. *Şu puzzle parçaları bu kadar boyda ya böyle dümdüz...Onun kadarmış.*
'(It was) the size of those puzzle pieces....It was that big.'

2. Script Sequence

Script sequences give temporally and causally organized narrations of routine events.

Three or more utterances were required on the same script theme in order to make a sequence.

25. *(Anne)Buzdolabını açmış.*
'(The mother) opened the refrigerator.'
26. *Yemekler almış.*
'Took out food.'
27. *Pişirmiş.*
'Cooked (the food.)'
28. *Sonra fırını açmış.*
'(She) Opened the oven.'
29. *Koymuş*
'(She) Put (the food in the oven).'
30. *Yemekleri pişirmiş.*
'(She) cooked the food.'
31. *Sonra almış*
'Then (she) took (the food) out.'
32. *(Anne ve baba)Yemiş.*
'(The mother and the father) ate it.'
33. *Sonra baba da burada (koltuğa) oturuyormuş.*
'Then the father was sitting (in the armchair)here'
34. *Sonra yıkanyormuş bu (Anne) da*
'Then the mother was taking a bath.'

35. *Banyoda. Yıkanyormuş.*
'(She) was taking a bath at the bathroom.'
36. *Şampuanı dökmüş kafasına.*
'(She) put shampoo on her head.'
37. *Sulamış, sulamış, sulamış.*
'(She) watered, watered, watered'
38. *Yıkamış burada.*
'(She) washed (it) here.'
39. *Sonra kremini almış,*
'(She) took her cream'
40. *Sabunlamış.*
'(She) rinsed it.'
41. *Hemen çişini yapmış.*
'(She) did her pee.'

Selen, 4;8, PEN

Selen gives two substantial examples for script sequences in her prompted narrative, one for preparing food and eating, the other for taking a bath. She starts telling about a toilet script at utterance 41; but the utterance stands alone and is not elaborated. Hence this utterance can not be evaluated as a script sequence since script sequences require three or more utterances related to the same mode of habitual action.

135. (Kız): "I uuu Ben tuvaletimi yapmak istiyorum."
'(The girl): "Iuu. I want to pooh"'

136. *Oturdu da elini tuvalete sokuyor.*

'She sat but she is putting her hand in the toilet.'

137. *Bu kakasını yaptı.*

'She did her pooh.'

138. *Şimdi bunun kapağını kapattım.*

'I'll close the lid now.'

139. **Kız sifonu çekti.*

*'She flushed the toilet.'

Elif, 3;3, PEN

In the prompt elicited narrative children passed into a narrative stance and narrated everything that happened as if telling a story. Sometimes children had difficulty with handling the toy characters and lost control of them. Utterance 136 is a good example for this. A naïve listener would think that the girl in the script sequence deliberately put her hand in the toilet while the fact is that Elif had trouble seating the girl on the toilet. The girl character slipped from her hand and the girl's hand was temporarily in the toilet. Elif accounted for this but did not or could not detach herself from the narrative plane and shift voice. For this reason utterance 136 was not separated into two distinct utterances and treated accordingly.

The last theme of script sequence coded in this study is the temporal sequencing of actions related to washing hands. The children typically produced these types of script sequences following production of toilet script sequences. It would be worth considering compounding these themes to create a unified theme for future research.

1. *Ellerini yıkayacaklar ama sıra sıra.*
'They are going to wash their hands but one by one.'
2. *Çünkü bir tane var.*
'Because there is one (sink).'
3. *İlk önce küçükler.*
'First the young ones.'
4. *Çünkü onlar daha küçük.*
'Because they are younger.'
5. *Böyle...böyle. (*Kız elini yıkadı.)*
'Like this, like this (*The girl washed her hands)'
6. *Çık. Çeşme de kapattı.*
'Çık. Turned off the faucet.'
7. *Erkek çocuk ellerini yıkadı.*
'The boy washed his hands.'
8. *Çık çık çık çık. Kapattı gene bu.*
'Çık çık çık çık. He turned it off again.'
9. *Şimdi de anne baba da sıra.*
'Now it is mommy and daddy's turn.'

Orli, 5;2 PEN

3. Action Sequence

Action sequences are composed of the actions of characters that are not causally but temporally linked.

26. *Çocuklar da (kız) masaya çıkmışlar.*
'The children got on top of the table.'
27. *Düşmüş kız.*
'The girl fell.'
28. *Oooo *Çocuk masanın üzerinden aşağı yuvarlandı.*
'Oooo * the boy fell down from the table.'
29. *El ele tutuşmuşlar. (Kız ve çocuk) Vuaaa*
'(The girl and the boy) held hands. Vuaaa'
30. *Uuu düştü. Hepsi düşmüş.*
'Uuu they (the chairs) fell. All of them fell.'
31. *Çocuklar (Kız, çocuk ve kadın) girmiş (dışarı çıktılar.). Girmişler.*
'The children (the girl, the boy and the woman) went in (went out). They went in.'
32. *(*Kapıyı)Kapatmışlar.*
'They closed (the door).'
33. **Adam dışarı çıktı.*
'*The man got out.'
34. *Kapatmış kapıyı.*
'*He closed the door.'
35. *(*Kız) (*balkon kapılarını)Camı açmışlar...Cam açılmış....açılmış...*
'They opened the windows. Windows are opened.'
36. *Kız buradan aşağı düşmüş.*
'The girl fell down from here.'

37. *(Kadın) Bu da düşmüş.*
'She fell down too.'

38. *(Adam) (balkondan aşağı) Düşmüş.... Yeşilli...*
'(The man) fell down (from the balcony)... The green one.'

39. *Sarı... *Kız balkondan aşağı düştü.*
'The yellow one... *The girl fell down from the balcony.'

40. *Kırmızı da (Erkek çocuk) düşmüş.*
'The red one (The boy) fell down too.'

41. *Hepsi düşmüşler.*
'All of them fell down.'

42. *Kapıyı kapattılar.*
'They closed the door.'

Baran, 3;10, PEN

This piece of narrative is composed of actions that follow one another without any implication of a causal link. It is not apparent why the children fall from the table, or later why the family falls down from the balcony one by one. Utterance 35 may be puzzling at first glance. It shows the discrepancy between the narrator's actions. He clearly confuses the concepts of in and out, and although he tells that the figures are going in he in reality is putting them out of the house.

4. Reactive Sequence

Reactive Sequence is composed of changes in the environment or actions that automatically cause changes with no planning involved.

28. *Süpürge'nin içine yuvarlanıyor, yuvarlanıyor, yuvarlanıyor*
'He is rolling in the vacuum cleaner, rolling, rolling.'

29. *böyle düşmüş*
'He fell like this'.

30. *yaralanmış.*
'He got wounded.'

31. *Evi çatlıyormuş.*
'His house was cracking.'

32. *Tongada tongada ediyormuş.*
'It was going drum, drum.'

33. *Ev çatlıyormuş.*
'The house was cracking.'

34. *Evet. Vurunca*
'Yes. When he hit'

35. *ev çatlıyormuş.*
'The house cracked'

36. *Kerem vurmuş.*
'Kerem hit it.'

37. *çatlamış.*
'It cracked.'

38. *Bak çatlıyor...*

'Look it is cracking.'

39. *yıkılıyor.*

'It is falling down.'

40. *Çocuk içinden çıkamayacak.*

'The child won't be able to get out.'

Kerem, 3;11, DEN

In this extract the child narrates the falling of a house with the child trapped inside it. The blows to the house results in the house being cracked and fall down. The state of the child trapped inside is the result of the house falling down. There is no goal implied or explicit of why Kerem is hitting the house, whether he aims to crack the house or imprison the child. Utterances 34 and 36 cause reactions, which are utterances 35 and 37 through 40.

5. Interactive Reactive Sequence

Interactive reactive sequence is composed of the actions of a character that influence actions in another character without any implicit or explicit planning of the characters. Interactive Reactive sequences can feature two or more characters. This category is not included in the original hierarchy of Stein and Glenn. Peterson and McCabe (1983) do not classify it as a distinct category but treat it under the category of interactive episodes. Peterson and McCabe (1983) report that they encountered these types of episodes vary rarely in all the age groups they studied. It is however of importance to note that their data was composed solely of personal narratives, and a specific genre of narrative can influence the types and amounts of structures produced. Interactive reactive sequence is

taken as a distinct category in this study to differentiate better between sequences and episodes. The interactive reactive sequence does not constitute an episodic structure in which a protagonist bears goals and acts in accordance to achieve them.

43. (*At) *Bu böyle çifte attı.*

'This (horse) kicked him like this.'

44. *İnek uçtu. Tuuu!*

'The cow flew.'

45. *Şimdi bunlar (atlar) birbirlerine çifte atıyorlar. Çuh! Çuh! Çuh!*

'Now these (horses) are kicking each other. Çuh! Çuh! Çuh!'

46. **Büyük at çifte attı.*

'*The big horse threw a kick.'

47. **Küçük at düştü.*

'*The small horse fell.'

48. '**Küçük at çifte attı*'

'*The small horse threw a kick.'

49. **Büyük at düştü.*

'*The big horse fell.'

50. **Büyük at çifte attı.*

'*The big horse threw a kick.'

51. **Küçük at düştü.*

'*The small horse fell.'

52. **Küçük at çifte attı*

'*The small horse threw a kick.'

53. **Büyük at düştü.*
 ‘*The big horse fell.’

Gökhan, 4; 7, PEN

The above narrative is an example of a sequence in which the characters interact with each other repeatedly without any goals. This sequence is followed by another utterance in which the child states that the horses are doing sumo-wrestling. It could be argued that the two horses are in fact purposeful in their actions yet the placement of this utterance and the way the child states it –grinning as if he found a joke- seems to imply that the reactive sequence between the horses reminded him of sumo wrestling, and it makes him smile because the idea of sumo-wrestling horses seems funny. Since the horses do not initiate and maintain interaction with a goal, this sequence is classified as a reactive episode.

6. Incomplete Episode

The incomplete episode is a category elaborated by Peterson and McCabe (1983), but does not appear in their analysis. The incomplete episode gives all components of a complete, complex or interactive episode without the consequence. The initiating event, goals, attempts may be stated yet the consequence of the attempts is left untold. Incomplete episode was included in the hierarchy of complexity structure as a separate category in this study.

71. *Ondan sonra iki tavuk (*kabakların yanına)gelmiş.*
 ‘After that two chicken came (*near the pumpkins).’

72. *Dı dı dı dı bi onları yemişler.*
 ‘Dı dı dı dı they ate them (*the pumpkins).’

73. *Bi onların yatağına yatmışlar.*

'They (*the chicken) lay on their bed.'

74. *Diye bunların (*insanların)evine gelmiş.*

'Came to their (*the human's) house.'

75. *Ama onlar (*insanlar) buradaymış*

'But they (*the humans) were here.'

76. *"Xxxlar neden bizim evimize geliyorsunuz?" demişler.*

' "Xxxx why do you come to our house?" they said.'

77. *Evet ama bunları bağırmamışlar.*

'Yes but they didn't shout these things.'

78. *Bi gün anne, tavukun üstüne binmiş.*

'One day the mother sat on the chicken.'

79. *Gidiyormuş.*

'She was going.'

Ege, (3; 4), PEN

In the above extract the child starts an episode from the people's perspective. The chickens come to the family's house, eat their food and sleep on their beds. The family is home and when they see the chickens they ask the chicken what they are doing in the house. From the family's perspective utterances 71 through 73 are events; the child also narrates the chickens' cognitions in utterance 74; utterance 75 can be perceived as an event for both the family and the chickens; the family implies affect and begins an attempt possibly to get the chickens out of the house in utterances 76 and 77.

Yet this episode abruptly ends, the time of the narrative shifts to an unknown future time (One day) and the child starts another sequence at utterances 78 and 79.

7. Abbreviated Episode

Abbreviated Episode is a simpler form of complete episode. It is constituted of either an initiating event or a motivating state that leads to a consequence. The difference between complete episode and abbreviated episode lies in the fact that in the latter one plans to reach the goal are rather implicit or unelaboated. Below is an extract from a 3-years old girl's direct elicited narrative as an abbreviated episode example.

29. *(Baba) Bir bakmış hırsız uyuyor.*

'The father looks and sees the thief sleeping.'

30. *Yavaşça sessizce bakmış.*

'He looked slowly and silently.'

31. *"Bu hırsız" demiş.*

'This is the thief' he says.'

32. *Meğerse çocuğuymuş.*

'But in fact it is his child.'

33. *Sonra birgün babası çok kızmış.*

'Than one day his father got very angry.'

34. *"Ben seni...ben seni dövücem bugün!" demiş.*

' "I will...I will beat you today!" he (the father) said.'

35. *Giderken de dövmüş kafasını.*

' While going away he (the father) beat his (the child's) head.'

36. *Ambulans çağırmiş annesi.*

'The child's mother called an ambulance.'

37. *Sonra hastaneye gitmiş.*

'After that (the child) goes to the hospital.'

38. *Sonra birgün iyileşmiş.*

'After that one day he got well.'

39. *Uslu bir çocuk olmuş.*

'He became a good child.'

40. *Bu hikaye burada da bitmiş.*

'And this story ends here.'

Alara, (3;11), DEN

The above episode can best be analysed from the father's perspective. Utterances 29 and 30 are events in which the father sees the sleeping child. Utterance 31 is motivating state since it encompasses the fathers cognition about who the sleeping person is. Utterance 32 is an event for the father. In Utterance 33 and 34 Alara states the motivating state of the father. The father accomplishes his goal in utterance 35. This abbreviated episode in fact serves as an event unit in the following episode in which the child is taken to the hospital, gets well there and becomes a good child ever after. In this second abbreviated episode the event and the consequence are present but the planning of the child to become a good boy is untold. Things start to happen magically without any planning or attempt. The child gets well at the hospital and turns into a good child. It could be argued that if the mother's perspective was taken, this sequence of utterances could yield a complete episode for the mother: (29-35) E – (36) Att - (37-38) C.

This example brings three points of concern to attention. First; the selection of the protagonist for the story, crucially effects the structural complexity of the narrative. In this study the researcher made the decision of protagonist selection on the basis of the most developed character in the narrative. In this case it could either be the father or the child. The father was the only one in this extract with explicit motivational states, enabling the listener to understand the reasons for his actions. Hence this string of utterances were classified as two abbreviated episodes one from the perspective of the father and one from the perspective of the child.

The second point of concern could be the influence of the fairy tale genre upon children's narratives. Transformations of states are conventional in the standard fairy tales. The frog who is kissed by the princess turns into a prince, a sleeping princess can be awoken by the kiss of a naive prince who does not know that kissing the princess will break the curse and wake her up. These almost accidental transformations provide high point and resolution in these narratives. Alara's narrative resembles the fairy tale endings and it is questionable whether she did not provide utterances functioning as attempts due to lack of capability or an influence of fairy tale genre.

Another point of concern that can be generalized to the production of narratives of preschool children is the constraint their lack of knowledge may impose upon them. The schema of evaluation has to take the child's stance into careful consideration especially in causal relationships. Alara as a three year old child may think that going to the hospital is a sure way of getting better if one is sick, or that every bad boy spanked becomes good afterwards, and no alternative consequence can be possible.

There is one last point necessary to attend that is aroused by abbreviated episodes particularly their formation in prompt elicited narratives. Prompts facilitate the

use of dialogue in the narrative resulting in a much extended use of discourse among characters. Peterson and McCabe (1983) point out that dialogue in the narrative may elicit a false illusion of complexity of the narrative. Each utterance of the character may be viewed as an attempt and each response another character gives to the former may be conceived as a consequence. These forms are evaluated as abbreviated episodes in this study, in alliance with Peterson and McCabe's evaluation.

60. (Baba): "*Alican köpeğin üstüne binmek ister misin?*"
'(The father): "Alican would you like to ride the dog?"'

61. (Alican): "*Hayır babacığım*"
'(Alican): No father'

62. *beni yiyor.*
'He eats me.'

Zeynep, (4; 3), PEN

In this extract utterance 60 can be conceived as an attempt on the part of the father with an implicit motivating state. It can be inferred that the father wants Alican to ride the dog. Alican's response, fails the father's attempt and acts as a consequence. This string is qualitatively different from Alara's. The motivating state and attempt is compiled into one utterance yet it seems not to require conscious effort on the child's part. Dialogue in essence intrinsically implies an attempt of one person to communicate a desire, belief or affect. This quality of discourse may have reduced the cognitive complexity of producing an episodic structure. Hence, dialogic strings that implied attempt by a singular utterance were not coded as complete episodes.

8. Complete Episode

Complete episodes are constituted of at least three categories of events, motivating states, attempts and consequences. They exhibit more evidence of planning on the protagonist's part compared to abbreviated episodes. Peterson and McCabe give an illuminating illustration of the ideal complete episode. This illustration is provided below.

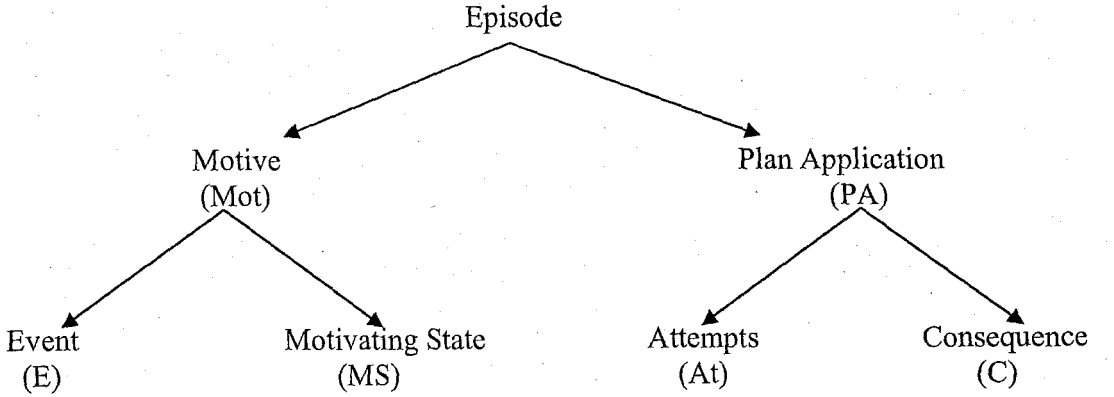


Figure 1. “Idealized structure of complete episode” (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p. 75)

Complete episode will be demonstrated from an extract of a 4-years old girl's prompted narrative.

117. (Çiftçi): “Ahhhh...Bizim arabımızı almışlar.”
'(The farmer): “Ahhh They took our car.”’
118. (Çiftçi): “Hemen gidiyim bakayım kim almış.”
'(The farmer): “Let me go quick and see who took it.”’
119. *Çiftçi aşağı indi.
'The farmer went to the first floor.'
120. *Kapıyı açtı.
'He opened the door.'

121. **Dışarı çıktı.*
'He got out (of the house).'
122. **Arabaya yürüdü.*
'He walked to the car.'
123. (*Çiftçi*): "*Aaaa bizim arabamız,*"
'(The farmer): "Aaaa our car." '
124. **Çiftçi arabaya bindi.*
'The farmer got in the car.'
125. (*Çiftçi*): "*Yavaşça gideyim.*"
'(The farmer): Let me go slowly.'
126. (**Çiftliğe geldi.*)*Arabasını park etmiş.*
'(*He arrived the farm.) He parked his car.'
127. **Çiftliğin kapısını açtı.*
'*He opened the door of the farm.'
128. **İçeri girdi.*
'*He went in.'
129. **Kapıyı kapattı.*
'*He closed the door.'

Kayra, (4; 5), PEN

The farmer in this episode sees that his car is missing, decides to find it, goes out and looks around, finds the car, brings the car back to the farm and goes into the farm.

This sequence of utterances contains each category of events, motivating states, attempts and consequences. This particular string can be mapped as demonstrated in Figure 2:

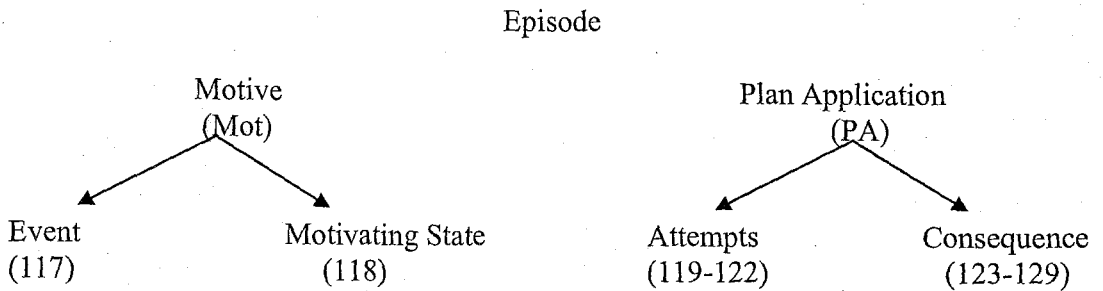


Figure 2.

9. Complex Episode

The complex episode is the elaboration of the complete episode in one of four ways.

- a. by an embedded reactive sequence
- b. by an embedded complete episode
- c. by a multiple plan application (repeated attempts to reach the goal)
- d. by a multiple plan application with an embedded complete episode

All four types complex episodes will be exemplified here. The first type incorporates a reactive sequence into the structure of complete episode.

252. "Hapşu hapşu hapşu."

253. *Kız -aksırığının kuvveti ile-aşağı zıpladı.
'The girl jumped down -with the force of her sneeze-'

254. (Anne): "Kızım ne oldu sana?"
'(The mother): What happened to you my girl?'

255. *"Hastalandım o kadar."*
'I got sick; that's it.'
256. *"Hapşu hapşu."*
257. **Kız –aksırığının kuvveti ile- çatıya zıpladı.*
'The girl jumped on the roof –with the force of her sneeze-'
258. *Kız balkona zıpladı.*
'The girl jumped onto the balcony.'
259. *Balkonun kapısı da kilitlendi. Kilitlendi şimdi balkonun kapısı*
'The door of the balcony is locked. The door of the balcony is now locked.'
260. *Balkonda kaldı.*
'She is trapped in the balcony.'
261. *Göremiyorlar şimdi bu bunun altından...*
'They can't see her now, from under...'
262. Kız: "Hapşu hapşu
263. *(Kız): "Kurtarın beni kurtarın!"*
'(The girl): Save me, same me!'
264. *Baba: "Hemen çıkaracağım seni kızım. Hemen.*
'(The father): "I'll get you out right away my girl. Right away." '
265. **Baba balkon kapılarını açtı.*
'The father opened the doors of the balcony.'

266. *Kızı balkondan çıkardı.
'He took the girl out of the balcony.'

Nazlı, (4;11), PEN

In this extract the girl who got sick is involuntarily jumping up and down while sneezing. This involuntary jumping starts a purposeless reaction sequence which results in her getting trapped in the balcony. The reactive sequence in this case functions as an initiating event for the father who aims to free her from the balcony, makes an attempt and succeeds. If the extract is evaluated from the perspective of the father the episode can be sketched as in Figure 3.

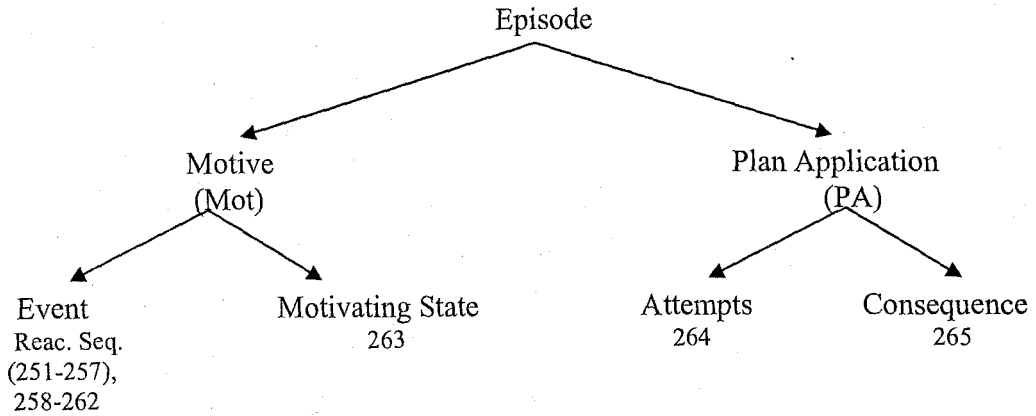


Figure 3.

In the second type of complex episode a complete episode acts as a single component of event, motivating state, attempt or consequence.

61. Sonra (*çiftçi atın yanına) gelmiş.
'Then (the farmer) came (near the horse) '

62. (Çiftçi): "Neden bunlar çalınmış" demiş buna.
'(The farmer): "Why are these stolen?" he said to this (the horse). '

63. (*Büyük at*): “Çünkü çocukla babası, kız, annesi onları götürmüşler.
‘The big horse: “Because the boy, his father, the girl, her mother took them away.”’
64. “Bir hayvanat... bir yerine koymuşlar.”
‘“Put them in a animal...place.”’
65. *İneği alıp dışarı atın yanına koydu.
‘He took the cow out and put it next to the horse.’
66. Çifçi de bunları (*hayvanları) almış geri.
‘The farmer got these (animals) back.’
67. *Domuzu dışarı koydu
‘Put the pig out.’
68. Sonra bunu (*kuzuyu) da almış.
‘Then he took this sheep, too.’
69. Buraya (*çiftliğin önüne) koymuş.
‘Put her here (in front of the farm).’
70. Bunu (*küçük atı) da almış.
‘He took this (the small horse), too.’
71. Buraya (*çiftliğin önüne) koymuş.
‘Put him here (in front of the farm).’
72. Bunu (*küçük kuzuyu) da almış.
‘(The farmer) took this (the little lamb), too.’
73. *Çiftliğin önüne koydu.
‘Put him in front of the farm.’
74. Bunu (*Büyük inek) da almış.
‘Took this (the big cow), too.’

75. *Kapıları kapatmış.*

'The farmer closed the doors.'

76. *Böyle çocuk da bakmış.*

'Like this the boy looked.'

77. *(Çocuk): "Burada şey yok" demiş. "Yani kuzu. Kuzu."*

'(The boy): "Thing is not here" he said. "I mean the lamb. The lamb." '

78. *Aşağı da bakmış.*

'He looked down, too.'

79. *Çocuk: "Hiç kimse yok" demiş "burada."*

'(The boy): "There is nobody" he said, "here"'

80. *Babası da, köpeği de (aşağı) atlamış.*

'His father, his dog both jumped (down).'

81. *Çiftçi de korumuş onlar (hayvanları).*

'The farmer protected them (the animals)'

82. *Köpek ve çocuk uzaklaştılar.*

'The dog and the child walked away.'

Berkay (5; 7), PEN

This narrative opens with the complete episode, in which the farmer learns that the family took his animals. He rescues the animals one by one, and puts them in front of his farm. The boy realizes that the animals are gone. He, his father and the dog jump down from the second floor of the farm, in an implicit attempt to see where the animals

have gone. The farmer who sees them protects his animals. The boy and the dog leave the farm.

The mapping of the narrative from the farmer's perspective is provided below:

E [E (61-64) – At (65, 67-74) – C (66, 75)] – E (76-80) – At (81) – C (82)

The third type of complex episode incorporates a multiple plan application in which the protagonist performs repeated attempts to achieve his goal. This type of complex episode was present extensively among all age groups in the study.

1. *Bir varmış bir yokmuş.*
'Formal introduction sentence / Once upon a time'
2. *Bir tane çocuk varmış.*
'There was a boy.'
3. *Çocuk televizyon dinlemeyi çok severmiş.*
'The boy liked listening television a lot.'
4. *Sonra açmış televizyonu*
'Then he turned the television on.'
5. *ama açılmıyormuş.*
'But it didn't work.'
6. *Sonra fişine bakmış.*
'Then he looked at its plug.'
7. *Kendisi çekmiş.*
'He pulled (the plug) out himself.'
8. *Sonra bir daha denemiş.*
'Then he tried one more time.'

9. *Bu sefer bir tane görüntü bile çıkmamış.*
'This time not even one image appeared.'

10. *Sonra fişi takmış.*
'Then he put the plug back.'

11. *Basmış*
'He pressed (the button).'

12. *sonra dinlemiş.*
'Then he listened.'

13. *Sonra biri açınca haberleri dinlemeyi çok severmiş.*
'Then when he opened one (channel) he liked listening to the news.'

14. *Açmış biri*
'He opened (channel) one.'

15. *dinlemiş.*
'He listened.'

Kaan, (5; 8), DEN

In this narrative the child wants to watch television, so he tries to turn it on. Yet the television doesn't work. He makes several attempts at getting the television working, by unplugging and plugging it again. The content of the attempts may be perceived absurd from an adult's perspective. It seems quite irrational to think that a television set could work without it being plugged to an electric supply. Nevertheless Kaan's episode incorporates more than one attempt in starting the television and can be mapped as below:

Int (1) – S (2,3) - E (4,5) - At (6-8) - C (9) – At (10-11) – C (12-15)

The fourth type of complex episode incorporates a complete episode into an episode with multiple plan application. Example for this is extracted from a 4-years old boy's direct elicited narrative. The narrative begins with a butterfly flying over a lake. The butterfly sees an alligator and runs away. At the same time people who are having a picnic near the lake see the alligator, they gather their things and run away. The extract below describes what happens when the people get home.

13. *Ondan sonra insanlar görünce (*timsahı)*
'Then when the people saw (*the alligator)'

14. *Hemen sandalyelerinden fırlamışlar.*
'They jumped from their chairs.'

15. *Bütün eşyalarını toplayıp*
'Gathered all their things'

16. *gitmişler eve.*
'Went home'

17. *Evde bir bakmışlar eve;*
' They looked in the house'

18. *evde de hiçbirşey...herşey çalınmış.*
' Nothing in the house...everything is stolen.'

19. *Ondan sonra onlar yardımcı istemişler*
'Then they wanted helpers.'

20. *yardımcı yok.*
'There was no helper.'

21. *Eee insanlar itfayeci çağırmaya karar vermiş.*
' The people decided to call the firemen.'

22. *İtfayeci de yok.*

'There were no fire man.'

23. *kadarcık insan var başka birşey yok.*

'It was just them, nobody else'

Ege, (4;5), DEN

This narrative starts out with a complete episode in which the people see an alligator and run away. The alligator is the reason that the people in the story go home, and discover their house empty. This starts another episode in which there is repeated attempts to find someone to help. The protagonist in this story is the people, and the constructs of the narrative can be mapped as:

E [E (13) – At (14-15) – C (16)], E (17-18) – At (19) – C (20) - At (21) – C (22-23)

10. Interactive Episode

In interactive episode there are two or more characters that have distinct aims and goals. These characters make attempts and arrive at consequences separately yet they influence each other through out the episode. In interactive episode utterances can be classified according to both characters and they usually serve different functions from alternate perspectives. For example, an attempt from one character's perspective can be perceived as an event from the perspective of the other.

1. *Bir tavşan varmış...*

'There was a rabbit...'

2. *Yürümüş yürümüş yürümüş...*

'He walked, walked, walked.'

3. *Bir tarlaya gelmiş.*

'He came to a field.'

4. *Havuç bulmuş orada*
'He found carrot there.'

5. *havuç yemiş.*
'He ate carrot.'

6. *Sonra karnıbahar da yemiş.*
'Then he ate cauliflower.'

7. *Sonra bir köpek de onu kovalamaya başlamış.*
'Then a dog started chasing him.'

24. *Köpek de oraya geldiğinde*
'When the dog got there'

25. *abi tavşanla diğer tavşan o tavşanlar onlar onların da aynısından yemişti.havuç ve marul...*
'the older rabbit, and the other rabbit; the rabbits, they, had eaten the same, carrot and green salad.'

26. *Aynı tarlaya gelerek*
'Coming to the same field.'

27. *Sonra köpek onları gördü*
'Than the dog saw them.'

28. *Kovaladı.*
'He chased (them).'

29. *Tavşan...Zaten küçük tavşan onu uyandırmıştı...*
'The rabbit, the little rabbit had awoken him (once)'

30. *kovalamıştı.*
'He had chased (the little rabbit then).'

31. *Sonra hepsi birden kaçtı.*

'Then all of them ran away together.'

32. *İlk önce abi tavşanlar sonra iki tanesi, biri küçük tavşan, biri de sincaptı kaçtılar.*

'First the older rabbits then the two, one the little rabbit and the other the squirrel ran away.'

33. *Kuyruğundan bir tanesinin ısırıldı tavşanın.*

'(The dog) bit one of the rabbits tales.'

34. *'Ama bir delik görmüştü.'*

'But (the rabbit) had seen a hole..

35. *'Kaçmıştı oradan da.'*

He escaped from there

36. *'Bu kadar.'*

This is all.

Nedi (5; 10), DEN

This narrative can be analyzed from both the perspective of the little rabbit and the dog.

Interactive episodes are best mapped in a vertical order to observe the effects of the

interaction. Figure 4. displays the interactive episode map of the above narrative.

| | The Little Rabbit | The Dog |
|----|-------------------|---------|
| 1. | S | S |
| 2. | Ac | E |
| 3. | Ac | E |
| 4 | Ac | E |
| 5. | Ac | E |
| 6. | Ac | E |
| 7. | E | At |

| | | |
|-----|----|----|
| 24. | S | S |
| 25. | E | E |
| 26. | S | E |
| 27. | E | E |
| 28. | E | At |
| 29. | E | E |
| 30. | E | At |
| 31. | At | E |
| 32. | At | E |
| 33. | E | At |
| 34. | At | |
| 35. | C | C |

2.6 Scoring:

The narratives produced via both conditions were first coded according to the function each utterance or action took within the whole of the narrative, than these coded narratives were ordered into structural constituents on the structural hierarchy scale. In each condition children produced more than one type of episodic structures. Among these structures, the one that attained the highest score identified the complexity score for the specific elicitation condition.

Descriptive sequences attained a score of 1, Script Sequences attained a score of 2, Action sequences attained a score of 3, reactive sequences attained a score of 4, interactive reactive sequences attained a score of 5, incomplete episodes attained a score of 6, abbreviated episodes attained a score of 7, complete episodes received a score of 8, complex episodes attained a score of 9 and interactive episodes attained a score of 10.

The most complex structure the child produced in an elicitation condition was taken to be his complexity score for that type of elicitation condition.

2.7 Reliability for Coding

The researcher carried out both coding into structural components and ordering coded narratives into structural patterns of complexity. Twelve randomly selected narratives (4 narratives from each age group), 6 prompted and 6 directly elicited, were coded and ordered by a second rater. The second-rater was explained the nature and requirements of both the coding of utterances into structural components and ordering structural patterns into complexity structures on the complexity structure hierarchy. The percent of agreement was found to be %75 on the prompt-elicited narratives and %79 on the direct elicited narratives for coding of utterances. The total percent of agreement was %76 for coding of utterances. The percent of agreement on the complexity scores was %100 for all narratives.

3. RESULTS:

3.1. Quantitative Analysis:

Children typically produced more than one complexity structure both in their prompted and direct elicited narratives. The highest complexity score the child attained was taken as the score of his/her complexity level pertaining to that condition. Each subject had a complexity score for prompted elicited condition and a separate complexity score for direct elicitation condition. The highest of these two scores was taken as the total complexity score referring to the highest level of complexity the child could produce regardless of the elicitation condition.

The first hypothesis of the study postulated an age related increase in the complexity scores of the children in both prompt elicited and direct elicited narratives. The data was non-parametric in nature, yet the small sample size did not permit chi-square analysis. Analysis of variance was used in accordance with Eckler & Weiniger's study (1989) in which they encountered a similar situation and applied one way analysis of variance to discern the effects of age on narrative complexity. Thus it was assumed that the complexity scores from the structural complexity hierarchy, ranging between one to ten, constituted an equal interval scale. Two-way ANOVAs with age and gender as the between subjects factors were used to test this hypothesis; first for the prompt elicited narratives' complexity scores; second for direct elicited narratives' complexity scores and last for the total complexity scores of the children.

All subjects produced narratives in the play prompts elicited condition. A 3 (age) x 2 (gender) analysis of variance was used to determine whether there were significant differences in the structural complexity attained in prompt elicited condition (PEN) by age and gender. Mean complexity scores attained in each age group are presented in

Table 1. The analysis showed a significant structural complexity change in PEN with age $F(2, 24) = 4.244$, $p < .03$. Gender was found not to contribute significantly to variance on PEN scores $F(1, 24) = 0.069$, $p > .05$. There was also no significant interaction effect $F(2, 24) = .09$, $p > .05$. Follow up test of Tukey HSD showed that the 3-year-old group differed significantly from the 4- and 5-year-old groups. The 3-year-old group attained lower scores compared to the 4- and 5-year old groups. There was no significant difference between the 4-year-old and 5-year-old age groups.

Table 1

Distribution of Means and Standard Deviations for PEN Scores by Age and Gender

| | Age 3 | | Age 4 | | Age 5 | | Total Sample | |
|-----------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| <i>M</i> | 5.80 | 6.40 | 8.60 | 8.80 | 8.20 | 8.00 | 7.73 | 7.53 |
| <i>SD</i> | 2.775 | 2.608 | 1.140 | 1.095 | .837 | 2.915 | 2.100 | 2.404 |
| Total <i>M</i> | 6.10 | | 8.70 | | 8.10 | | 7.63 | |
| Total <i>SD</i> | 2.558 | | 1.059 | | 2.025 | | 2.220 | |

Frequencies of the structural complexity scores attained by children in each age group in PEN is provided in Table 2, with the purpose of giving an overview of the distribution of structural complexity scores. It is evident that the 3-year-old group has a greater range of variability while the four and five year old groups have produced mainly episodic narrative formations.

Table 2

*Distribution of Children in terms of the type of Complexity Structure
Produced in PEN and Age*

| Type of Complexity Structure | Age | | | Total |
|-------------------------------|-----|----|----|-------|
| | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| Action Sequence | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| Interactive Reactive Sequence | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Incomplete Episode | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Abbreviated Episode | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Complete Episode | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| Complex Episode | 3 | 5 | 3 | 11 |
| Interactive Episode | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| <i>N</i> | 10 | 10 | 10 | |
| <i>N</i> | | | | 30 |

Twenty-nine subjects produced narratives in the direct elicitation condition. One subject (a 3-years old boy) refused to tell a story. A two-way analysis of variance [3 (age) x 2 (gender)] was used to determine whether there were significant differences in the structural complexity attained in direct elicited condition by age and gender. This analysis failed to show any significant effects of age $F(2, 23) = .953, p > .05$ or of gender $F(1) = 2.450, p > .05$ on DEN scores. The mean complexity scores in DEN according to age and gender are provided in table 3.

Table 3

Distribution of Means and Standard Deviations for DEN Scores by Age and Gender

| | Age 3 | | Age 4 | | Age 5 | | Total Sample | |
|-----------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| <i>M</i> | 6,25 | 6,60 | 6,40 | 7,00 | 7,60 | 8,40 | 6,79 | 7,33 |
| <i>SD</i> | 3,594 | 2,191 | 2,793 | 3,317 | 2,702 | 0,894 | 2,833 | 2,320 |
| Total <i>M</i> | 6,44 | | 6,70 | | 8,00 | | 7,07 | |
| Total <i>SD</i> | 2,698 | | 2,908 | | 1,944 | | 2,549 | |

The results of direct elicited conditions will be discussed from a qualitative perspective in the qualitative analysis section. The structural complexity scores distributed according to age factor in direct elicited narratives are presented below in Table 4. This table shows that while 3 and 4-year-old groups complexity scores in DEN have a greater range of variability, 5-year-old group's complexity scores in DEN are confined to a more restricted range which is largely clustered around the higher complexity structures. This table shows a gradual change in DEN scores with age that is not found significant by statistical analysis. There also is a non-significant trend for girls to have higher DEN scores than boys.

Table 4

*Distribution of Children in terms of the type of Complexity Structure
Produced in DEN and Age*

| Type of Complexity Structure | Age | | | Total |
|------------------------------|-----|----|----|-------|
| | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| Descriptive Sequence | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Action Sequence | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| Reactive Sequence | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Abbreviated Episode | 4 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| Complete Episode | 1 | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Complex Episode | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| Interactive Episode | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| <i>n</i> | 9 | 10 | 10 | |
| <i>N</i> | | | | 29 |

The total complexity score was computed by taking the highest score the child produced under the two test conditions. A two-way analysis of variance 3 (age) x 2 (gender) was used to determine whether there were significant differences in the total structural complexity by age and gender. Means of complexity scores attained in each age group is presented in table 5. Two-way analysis of variance showed a significant structural complexity change in total complexity scores with age $F(2, 24) = 5.550$, $p < .01$. Gender was found not to contribute significantly to variance on total complexity scores $F(1, 24) = 1.183$, $p > .05$. The two-way analysis of variance did not show any significant effect.

Table 5

*Distribution of Means and Standard Deviations for Total Complexity Scores
by Age and Gender*

| | Age 3 | | Age 4 | | Age 5 | | Total Sample | |
|-----------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| <i>M</i> | 6,40 | 7,40 | 8,60 | 9,20 | 9,00 | 9,40 | 8,00 | 8,67 |
| <i>SD</i> | 3,130 | 1,673 | 1,140 | 1,304 | 0,707 | 0,894 | 2,171 | 1,543 |
| Total <i>M</i> | 6,90 | | 8,90 | | 9,20 | | 8,33 | |
| Total <i>SD</i> | 2,424 | | 1,197 | | 0,789 | | 1,882 | |

Follow up test of Tukey HSD showed significant difference between the 3-year-old group with the 4 and 5- year old groups. There was no significant difference indicated between the 4-year-old and 5-year-old age groups. The 3-year-old group attained lower scores than the 4- and 5-year-old groups. The distribution of the total complexity scores according to age are presented in table 6. This analysis proved age related increase in narrative complexity change in accordance with the first hypothesis.

Table 6

*Distribution of Children in terms of the type of Total Complexity Structures
Produced by Age*

| Type of Complexity Structure | Age | | | Total |
|-------------------------------|-----|----|----|-------|
| | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| Action Sequence | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Interactive Reactive Sequence | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Abbreviated Episode | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| Complete Episode | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Complex Episode | 4 | 3 | 4 | 11 |
| Interactive Episode | 0 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| <i>n</i> | 10 | 10 | 10 | |
| <i>N</i> | | | | 30 |

The second hypothesis postulated that prompted narratives of children would be significantly higher in complexity than direct elicitation narratives. In order to test for this hypothesis a Wilcoxon signed-ranks test was used. The complexity score of one child was not included in the analysis, since he refused the task in the direct elicitation condition. The remaining 29 children were ranked according to the magnitude of the difference in their narrative complexity scores according to elicitation conditions. The results did not show a significant difference in the magnitude of the difference in complexity scores attained in the two elicitation conditions. The critical value for Wilcoxon test for $n=27$ is, $T = 119$, $p < .05$ (one-tailed), with the ranks for higher scores

in PEN totaling 252 and the ranks for higher scores in DEN totaling 126. Although not significant, there is a trend for children to attain higher scores in the prompt-elicited condition compared to the direct elicited condition.

Table 7

The Direction of Ranked Differences between Elicitation

Conditions and the Sum of Ranks

| Complexity Scores DEN - PEN | N | Sum of Ranks |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Negative | 17 ^a | 252,0 |
| Positive | 10 ^b | 126,0 |
| Ties | 2 ^c | |
| Total | 29 | |

a. Complexity Score in DEN < Complexity Score in PEN

b. Complexity Score in DEN > Complexity Score in PEN

c. Complexity Score in DEN = Complexity Score in PEN

The third hypothesis postulated that younger children's narratives would convey scripts significantly more than older children's. The total number of scripts each child produced was computed by adding the number of scripts each child produced in both elicitation conditions. This hypothesis was tested with a one-way analysis of variance with number of scripts as the dependent variable. The means of total number of scripts produced by age are presented in Table 8. The analysis proved no significant change in the number of scripts produced by age.

Table 8

*Distribution of Means and Standard Deviations for Total Number of Scripts**Produced by Age*

| | Age 3 | Age 4 | Age 5 | Total Sample |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|--------------|
| <i>M</i> | 1.00 | .70 | 1.20 | .97 |
| <i>SD</i> | 1.700 | 1.252 | 1.989 | 1.629 |

A further analysis of t-test for related samples was conducted to see whether there was any effect of elicitation condition on the production of scripts. This analysis was carried out to see whether the toys used as prompts had affected the production of scripts. This analysis demonstrated that the number of scripts produced in direct elicitation condition ($M = .03$, $SD = 1.808$) was lower than that in prompted condition ($M = 1.23$, $SD = 1.813$). This difference was significant, $t(29) = 3.635$, $p < .001$ (2-tailed). Thirty-seven scripts overall were produced by children in the prompted elicitation condition, while only 1 script was produced in the direct elicitation condition. It is possible that the classification criteria for scripts were too constrained. As stated in the method section, the scripts were identified in terms of four categories of using the toilet, taking a bath, washing hands and eating. There were other sequences which were suggestive of a script-like quality, yet were not considered in the analysis. These script-like sequences were not included since it was impossible to know the repertoire of each child's personal habitual routine actions.

3.2 Qualitative Analysis

In this section the data will be analyzed from a qualitative perspective. This is essential for two reasons. The first hypothesis which postulated age related change in complexity scores in both elicitation conditions were assessed by a parametric analysis instead of chi-square analysis due to the restrictions sample size imposed. Although the results of the analysis of variance gave insight into the nature of the data, a closer examination of age related changes in levels of complexity attained should yield a better understanding of the subtle trends. A second reason arises purely out of the nature of the data collected in this study. The data is composed of a considerable amount of semantic edifice and the mode of analysis, however structured, is still semantic in nature. A qualitative presentation of the data will yield more comprehensive insight into the points of discussion.

The quantitative analysis has shown that there is a significant increase in the complexity scores attained in prompt elicited narratives with age. However, age related effects were not significant in the complexity scores attained in direct elicited narratives. The ten category structural complexity hierarchy were reclassified into two broad categories of pre-episodic and episodic structures, to see the effects of age related change more clearly. Descriptive sequences, script sequences, action sequences, reactive sequences, interactive reactive sequences, incomplete and abbreviated episodes were grouped as pre-episodic structures. Complete episode, complex episode and interactive episode were grouped as episodic structures. Percentage of children who could produce episodic formations in the direct elicited, prompt-elicited conditions and regardless of elicitation conditions is presented in Figure 5.

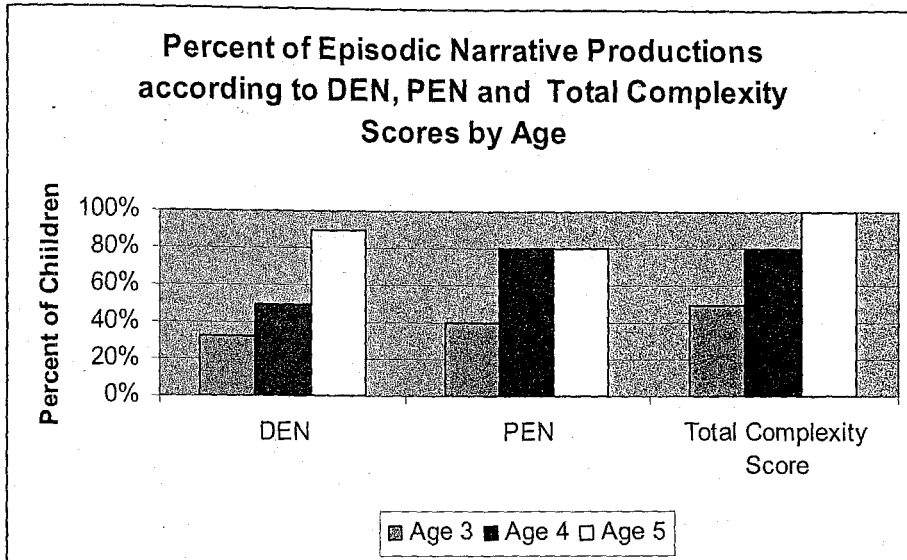


Figure 5 displays age related increase in narrative complexity from pre-episodic structures to episodic structures. The significant implication of this finding which is also confirmed by quantitative analysis is that children develop their ability to produce episodic narrative formations throughout their preschool years. These findings show that children's narrative productions improved from non-causal formations to causal formations. Episodic formations with one or more protagonists' motivating states, attempts to reach their goals and the consequences of their attempts could be observed as early as 3 years of age. Episodic formations became the dominant type of structure by four-years of age in prompt elicited condition and by five years of age regardless of condition. It is important to note the developmental shift in producing causal structures in narratives is found to be at four years of age concordant with the results of the theory of mind literature which posits meta-representational capacity at this time. This may imply that story grammar schema with a causal structure can be considered a working model reference in the narrative production of five year old children.

Figure 5 portrays the age related difference in the percentage of children who could produce episodic structures in prompt elicited narratives. The three year old age group is clearly different from the four and five year old groups with only about thirty percent producing episodic narratives. Episodic structures become prevalent in preschool children's prompt-elicited narratives with four and five years of age. These results in prompt elicited narratives imply story schema development scaffolded by actions and objects. Such scaffolding does not effect the episodic structure of three year old children's narratives substantially. In order to arrive at implications of this finding about story schemas, comparison with direct elicitation complexity scores will be of significance.

Figure 5 shows a steady but more gradual increase in episodic formation with age in the direct-elicitation condition. The performance of the five year olds did not differ significantly between elicitation conditions; episodic formations dominated their narrative productions. The four-year old group, on the other hand, produces less episodic formation in direct elicitation narratives compared to prompted-elicitation. This finding shows that 4-years-olds can actualize their level of structural complexity better in prompted narratives. It could be posited that a working model of story schema develops between three and five years of age. While five- year olds could express their level of structural complexity for narratives regardless of elicitation condition, four-year olds could express their level of structural complexity for narratives best under prompt elicited condition. Age of four years presents itself to be a critical point in the development of story schemas as a working model, and is best expressed in a symbolic play condition.

Points of critical importance arose about the mode of analysis pertaining especially to the prompt-elicited condition that is believed to have affected the results. The mode of analysis, story grammar, was selected on the basis of its wide application on children's narrative productions and its hierarchical nature. It was believed to be an efficient tool to structure the semantic context of children's narrative productions. The narrative productions in this study however has compelled the researcher to reconsider the capacity of story grammar analysis for capturing development in fictitious productions of children. The findings in this study revealed an unexpected and surprising complexity level prevalent among all age groups. Twenty-three children (77%) achieved a total complexity score of eight (complete narrative) and above in total complexity scores; 20 children (67%) in prompt elicited condition and 17 children (59%) in direct elicitation condition. There is an evident ceiling effect in the prompt elicited condition and total complexity scores. Although the complexity scale provided detailed means of analysis for pre-episodic structures and a useful tool for distinguishing episodic from pre-episodic structures; it did not provide sufficient complexity details for episodic structures.

A complete episode can be perceived as a structural plot unit, complex episode elaborates on this unit allowing for a reactive sequence or a complete episode to be embedded within it. A complex episode can also withhold multiple plan applications and a reactive episode. Although these elaborations call for higher order structures, the definition of complex episode is still limited to two complete episodes. An interactive sequence on the other hand requires episodes to be completed from the perspectives of two or more characters' perspectives simultaneously. The researcher however encountered narratives which incorporated more than two complete episodes into a

coherent structure. There were also examples of complementary complex episodes and interactive episodes in which a complex episode could be completed from each characters' perspectives. These structures will be called multi-structure episodic compounds. Although the structural grammar hierarchy provided an efficient tool in discerning episodic and pre-episodic structures, it could not portray the hierarchical complexity of multi-structure episodic compounds. Most studies used story grammar analysis in personal narratives and the genre difference could have affected the complexity of productions extensively. In a personal narrative the child first faces the task of recollecting and then narrating. The child may face more difficulty with remembering rather than recounting, and this factor may limit the complexity of their personal narratives. Another factor would be the content of real life happenings. The content of child's experience may limit his personal narrative structure.

The data were checked once more for the presence of multi-structures which held enabling or causal relationships between them, and exceeded the structural complexity criteria for complex narratives. It is important to note that only multi-causal structures that exceed complex and interactive complexity levels were considered to be multi-structure complexity compounds. Seven children (four 4-years-olds and two 5-year-olds) produced narratives with multi-structures in play prompted narratives, and one 4-year old child had a multi-structure in direct elicited narrative.

An extract is provided below to present a better understanding of several multi-structural formations.

72. (*Erkek çocuk*) Birazcık balkona çıktı.
(The boy) went out on the balcony a bit.

73. *(Balkon) Kapıyı kapattı.*

He closed the door (of the balcony.)

74. *Ve de üşüyecek*

And he will be cold.

75. *hasta olacak.*

He will get sick.

76. **Erkek çocuk aşağı kata annesinin yanına indi.*

*The boy went downstairs near his mother.

77. *Erkek Çocuk: "Aaaa Üşüdüm!"*

The boy: "Aaa I am cold!"

78. *Hasta oldum anne."*

"I got sick mother."

79. *(*Annesi)Bu da şimdi hastaneye götürüyor onu (*çocuğu).*

And she is taking him to the hospital.

80. *Yanlışlıkla çiftliğe geldiler.*

But they came to the farm by mistake.

81. *Ormanda kayboldu(lar).*

They got lost in the forest.

82. *"Nereden kurtulacağız biz?" (diyorlar)*

How will we get out of here? (they say)

83. *Anne: "Bize yolumuzu söyler misiniz?" diyor bu.*

The mother: Can you show us our way? says this .

84. *Çiftçi: "Söylerim şu taraftaydı.*

The farmer: I will, it was that way.

85. *Orası hastane."*

The hospital's there.

86. *Dık dık dık dık... Yürüyor yürüyo yürüyor.*

Dık dık dık dık... Walks, walks, walks

87. *Hastane burası diye geldiler.*

They came thinking it is here.

88. *Hastanenin kapısını...İşte ama açılmadı kapı.*

The door of the hospital...here but the door didn't open.

89. *Kilitlenmiş.*

It was locked.

90. *Şimdi başka hastaneye gidiyorlar.*

Now they are going to another hospital.

91. *Diğer hastanenin kapısını açmaya çalıştılar.*

They tried to open the other hospital's door.

92. *Kilitli diye. (*açılmadı.)*

Because it is locked (it didn't open).

93. *Burası hastane olsun Ya da burası değil de...banyo olsun. Burası olacak..*

Here will be the hospital. Or not here...(here) will be the bathroom. I will be here.

94. *Aaa burası da kilitli.*

Aaaa here, too, is locked.

95. *Ben de buradan girerim. (*Pencereden)*

I will get in from here (the window) then.

96. *Girdiler. Camdan.*

They came in. From the window.

97. *Yaptı doktor.*

The doctor did it

98. *Şimdi annesi aldı onu.*

Now his mother took him.

99. *Gidiyor.*

He is going.

Orli (5;2)

In this extract there is one complex and one complete episode. The boy gets ill and the mother decides to take him to the hospital. This may be considered the main event and goal of this multi-episode. Right after they set out for the hospital, they get lost, which is an event and starts a complete episode in which they encounter the farmer, attempt to learn the way to the hospital and get there, however they realize that it is not the hospital and go to another one, they attempt to open the door and when they cannot, they get into the hospital through the window. The conclusion of this multi-narrative is the doctor tending for the boy. This multi-structure narrative can be mapped as:

[[[[E (72-73) – R (74-75) – E (77-78) – At (79) – C (80-81)] – M.S (82) – At (83-84) – C (85-89)] – At (90-91) – C (92)] – S (93) – E (94) – M.S. (95) – C (96-99)]

This extract is coded as two episodes one complex, one complete in this study. Yet it displays more complexity than a simple and a complex episode that follows each other with causal relations since the child stays on the same theme and elaborates with escalating complicating events. This example clearly displays the need for a more detailed hierarchy in the episodic stages of the complexity ladder. The researcher

believes that most efficient method would be to employ formal linguistic structures of connectives and forming a framework with their aid to support semantic analysis.

It is important to point out and exemplify the qualitative difference between prompt-elicited and direct elicited narratives. It would be beneficial to explicate on data analysis with examples of children's episodic productions from both prompt-elicited and direct elicited narratives. Two examples will be given to provide the reader with further insight into the analysis of children's narratives. The examples are selected from children who produced episodes with an extreme difference in complexity on different elicitation conditions. The first of these is a 5-years old boy who produced considerably better in prompt elicited condition than in the direct elicited condition. The second example is of a five year old girl who produced notably better in her direct elicited condition than in her prompt elicited condition.

Burak has attained a complex episode complexity in his prompt-elicited narrative and an action sequence complexity in his directly elicited narrative. Two extracts from his narratives produced under different elicitation conditions will be evaluated.

23. *(Kadın)Dolabı açmış.*
(The woman) opened the refrigerator.

24. *Yemekleri almaya*
(She) to take the food

25. *gitmiş.*
Had gone.

26. *Sonra (yemek) yokmuş.*
Then there wasn't (food).

27. *(Kadın)Şey... alıp gelecekmiş.*

(The woman) mmm... would get (some) and come (back).

28. **Kadın dışarı çıktı.*

The woman walked out.

29. *Sonra da gelmiş.*

Then (she) came.

30. *Yemek almış.*

(She) got food.

Burak (5; 1), PEN

This extract is from Burak's prompt elicited narrative and constitutes a complex episode. The woman goes to the refrigerator to take food out. She sees that there is no food in the refrigerator so she goes out and gets some. The first part in which she goes to the refrigerator and finds out that there is no food is complete episode in which the goal of the woman, her attempt and consequence is present. This complete episode provides an event for the next episode in which she goes out to get food. In this second episode there is an event, a goal, an attempt and a consequence. This extract exemplifies a complex episode in which a complete episode is embedded in another, functioning as a single unit. The coding for this complex episode is provided below.

E [M.S (24-25) - At (23) - C (26)] – M.S (27) – At (28) – C (29-30)

Burak's direct elicited narrative attains a noticeably lower complexity level. He cannot produce a narrative without cues and relies extensively on his warm-up picture for narration. His direct elicited narrative is composed of temporally related actions that have no causal relation.

1. *Buraya gidiyormuş. Tavuk. Buraya.*
'Going here. The chicken. Here.'
2. *Şuna oturmuş. Oturmuş. Masa(ya)*
'Sat there. Sat. (On the) table.'
3. *Ondan sonra (güneşe) buna da bakmış*
'After that looked at this (the sun).'
4. *almış. Güneş(i).*
'Took it. The sun.'
5. *Şunun üzerine oturmuş. Yumurtası (nın).*
'Sat on this. (On) Her egg.'
6. *Bunun üzerine oturuyor. Çimen(in).*
'Sitting on this. (On the) The grass.'
7. *Şurayı açmış. Kapı(yı).*
'Opened this. The door.'
8. *Çatıya vurmuş.*
'Hit the roof.'
9. *Şuraya bakmış.*
'Looked there.'
10. *Uyumuş orada.*
'Slept there.'
11. *Sonra da boyama yapmış.*
'Then she did coloring.'
12. *Sonra asmış.*
'Than she hang (it)'

13. *Sonra da çit çakmış.*
'Than she put up the fence.'

14. *Sonra da bunun üzerine oturmuş.*
'Than she sat on this.'

15. *Sonra da uçuyormuş.*
'Then she was flying.'

16. *Ondan sonra ayakları sarıymış.*
'Than her feet were yellow.'

Burak (5 ;1), DEN

The above utterances constitute the direct elicited narrative of Burak. He relies extensively on the chicken picture he colored for this narrative. Burak produces a temporally related action sequence in which he tells what the chicken does. None of the actions the chicken performs in this narrative is goal oriented.

What would cause the discrepancy between Burak's complexity scores on different elicitation conditions? A plausible answer may be that the prompts act as cues for potential initiating events that start an episode. Burak seems to need cues extensively to produce episodic formats. If the utterances leading to the complex episode in his prompted narrative are scrutinized closely it is seen that Burak starts with describing the habitual actions of characters and moves on to script-like action sequences in which the figures perform everyday actions of using the toilet, having a bath and sleeping. Cooking would have been another of these habitual actions, except that when Burak opens the door of the refrigerator he is startled momentarily with not seeing any food in it. It was the experimenter's impression that he did not expect the refrigerator to be empty. This fact produces an initiating event for the female figure in the story. It might be said this

episode arose from an accidental opportunity through the discrepancy between Burak's expectations and reality. In the direct elicitation condition Burak could not produce a novel fictitious narrative but had to rely heavily on his warm-up picture which depicted a fat chicken standing in front of a shabby barn, and with an egg next to her did not cue him to narrate a conflict laden episode.

Beliz, a five year old girl produced complete episodes in her directly elicited narrative and action sequences in her prompt elicited narrative. Her prompt elicited narrative did not contain any conflicts and was constituted of temporally ordered actions the characters performed. An extract from her prompt elicited narrative is provided below.

1. *Şimdi bu (*kız çocuk) uyuyormuş ya...*
'Now this (girl) is sleeping...'
2. *Sonra kalkmış*
'Than (she) got up.'
3. *Sabah olmuş*
'Morning came.'
4. *çantasını almış.*
'(she) took her bag.'
5. *Okula gitmiş.*
'Went to school.'
6. *okulda.*
'She is at school.'
7. *Sonra bu da dersin çalıştıktan sonra*
'Than after this too studied his lessons.'

8. (**erkek çocuk*) *bunun da okulu var.*
'He (the boy) has school, too.'
9. *Bu da okula gitmiş.*
'He went to school, too.'
10. *Sonra bunun(anne) işi yokmuş.*
'Than she (the mother) didn't have any work.'
11. (**Baba*) *Bunun da işi varmış.*
'(The father) He had work.'
12. (**Baba*) *O da gitmiş.*
'He went, too.'
13. *Sonra akşam yemeği hazırlıyormuş bu (*anne).*
'Than she(the mother) was preparing dinner.'
14. *Akşam yemeğini hazırladıktan sonra*
'After she prepared dinner'
15. *Onlar gelmiş.*
'They came.'

Beliz (5; 10)

This extract is taken from the beginning of Beliz's prompt elicited narrative and characterizes her whole narrative production in this condition. Her whole narrative resembles a family script in which each character in the family has a role and acts accordingly, like the father going to work, the children to school and mother stays home fixing dinner. The set of toys does not cue initiating events but rather a script like tale about habitual family life. Her direct elicited narrative on the other hand is different and considerably complex compared to her direct elicited narrative.

1. *Sincap yola çıkmış.*
'The squirrel started walking.'
2. *Önüne bir arkadaşı çıkmış.*
'A friend if his crossed his path.'
3. *Ona demiş ki "senle oynayalım mı?" demiş.*
'(his friend) said to him "can we play together?"'
4. *"Hayır" demiş o da.*
'"No" said he (the squirrel).'
5. *"Okula gitmem lazım" demiş.*
'"I have to go to school" (the squirrel) said.'
6. *Sonra yoluna devam etmiş sincap.*
'Than the squirrel kept on walking.'
7. *Sonra gitmiş gitmiş*
'Than he walked and walked.'
8. *ev görmüş.*
'Saw a house.'
9. *evin içinde ne var diye merak ediyormuş.*
'He was wondering what was in the house.'
10. *Diyormuş ki içinden..., Aç...açsam mı kapıyı acaba diyormuş.*
'He was saying to himself: "Should I open the door (of the house)?"'
11. *Sonra açmamış*
'Than he did not open it.'
12. *Gelmiş, gitmiş.*
'He came, he went.'

13. *Birşey yapmamış.*
'He did nothing.'

14. *Merak etmesine gerek yokmuş.*
'There was no reason for him to wonder.'

15. *Sonra yine yola çıkmış.*
'Than he started walking again.'

Beliz (5; 10), DEN

These are two complete episodes from Beliz's direct elicited narrative. The first episode starts with the squirrel walking and encountering a friend who asks to play with him. He declines the offer on the premise that he has to go to school and gets going to school. This episode can be mapped as:

S (1) – E (2-3) – At (4) – M.S. (5) – C (6)

In the following complete episode the squirrel sees a house and wonders what is inside it. He does a lot of thinking about whether to look in the house or not, decides not to and keeps on walking.

S (7) – E (8) – M.S. (9) – At (10,12) – C (11, 13-15)

This second episode is provided here as an example to show the ambiguity involved in coding children's narrative productions. It could be argued here that the squirrel in fact makes no attempt in pursuing a goal. Yet it is the researcher's belief that the squirrel in fact does a lot of thinking in trying to decide what kind of an action to take. For this reason utterances 10 and 12 are coded as attempts. Utterance 14 in which the child states that there was nothing to wonder in the house could be taken as a statement of judgment, yet it is again the researcher's subjective interpretation that it is

the squirrel that reaches this conclusion, since the researcher did not observe the child as stepping out of the narrative to make a personal comment.

What would cause the discrepancy between this child's prompt elicited and direct elicited narratives' complexity levels? It could be argued that the child did not perceive she was telling a story in the prompted session and performed random symbolic play acts without the goal of narrating a story. The house set which is familiar and attractive to girls might have cued a symbolic play in which social roles and rules are practiced. The direct elicited narrative on the other hand may have activated a story telling schema which the child could readily operate in.

3.3 Children's Experience with Narratives

Questionnaires were completed for 29 subjects. One subject's parents couldn't be reached with the questionnaire. All the questionnaires were completed by the mothers of the subjects. The question asking about the age at which the child produced his/her first words were answered by 26 mothers; and the answers ranged from 6 months to two years of age. The questionnaires revealed that all the children who participated in the study were being read story books and 26 children were being told fairy tales (*masal*) at home. It is important to note however that the distinguishing criteria for fictional stories and fairy tales from the mothers' perspectives are unclear. Some mothers made notes on the questionnaires although the question did not require an open-ended response. Some mothers who said they were telling fairy tales stated that they were to making up stories about the virtues of "the good eater", or the children who brush their teeth. These mothers claimed to tell stories whenever a need arose; to get the child do something s/he was unwilling to do but the mother insisted like finishing his/her vegetables. Although

these stories are fictional as fairy tales, they are presumed to belong to a different genre of story telling. It is impossible to evaluate the parents' perception of fairy tales, since as stated this question was not probed by the questionnaire. Nevertheless it is important to note this divergence. It is also important to point out that a unified perspective on children's story books is equally hard to reach. There are various types of books, some story books of fairy tales, of kids' science, of fables etc. These divergences were not of great significance to the study since the aim was exploratory in nature as the researcher strived to maintain an overall picture of the children's home stimulation of fictional stories.

The questionnaire revealed that the majority of the sample was introduced to story books at an early age. For 34.5 % of the sample the starting age at which story books were read was before age one. 34.5 % of the sample was being read story books since the age of one, 13.8 % since the age of two, 10.3 % since the age of three and 6.9 % since the age of five. It appears that the sample of the study was introduced to story books at an early age with 69 % of the children being read story books either before or at the onset of age one. This situation was relatively similar in fairy tale narration. Out of the 27 mothers who reported to telling their children fairy tales, % 31 stated to having started telling fairy tales before the age of one, 27.6 % at age one, 24.1 % at age two, 6.9 % at age three and 3.4 % at age five. It can be said that the majority of the sample was introduced to fairy tales at an early age with 58.6 % of the children being told fairy tales either before or at the onset of age one.

The questions regarding the frequency with which children were read story books or told fairy tales at home revealed that reading of story books was a more frequent activity compared to narration of fairy tales. Twenty percent (20.7 %) of the

sample was being read books everyday compared to 6,9 % of the sample that was told fairy tales daily. 31 % of the sample was being read story books every two days, while 24.1 % were being told fairy tales every two days. 10.3 % of the children were reported to being read story books in every three to four days while 17.2 % of the sample was told fairy tales in the same prevalence. Thirteen percent (13.8 %) of the sample was read story books once a week; the proportion of children who were told fairy stories once a week was equivalent. Twenty four percent (24.1 %) of the children were read story books, 31 % of the children were told fairy tales at an unspecified frequency.

Twenty eight children were reported to tell stories looking at picture books. Only one child, a 3-year-old boy, was reported to not tell stories looking at picture books. This boy also received the lowest complexity score in the direct elicitation condition. He performed at level one of the complexity hierarchy, producing a personal descriptive narrative in which he named his family members, the names of his friends and their family members and described his father's friends.

Twenty three children were reported to as knowing and telling a fictional story while 6 children were reported as contrary. The group of children who were reported as not knowing or not being able to tell a fictional story on their own were one 3-years old, two 4-years oldss and three 5-year-olds. It is interesting that all these children are males. Three of these children produced narratives of above average complexity in their age groups which may imply that they did not spontaneously narrate fictional stories at home but nevertheless were capable of producing narratives of age appropriate complexity. Two of the other three children who were reported as not knowing or being capable of telling stories by their mothers attained the lowest complexity scores in the direct

elicitation condition in their age groups; the other child attained a below average complexity score in his direct elicited narrative.

Nine children were reported as incapable of narrating fairy tales. These nine children consisted of one 3-years old child and four children at both four and five-old age groups. Seven of these children were male. Four of these children, three four year olds and one five year old recieved the lowest complexity scores in their age groups for their directly elicited narratives.

3.4 Other factors that could have influenced children's narrative productions

The effectiveness of the procedures used in the study was of fundamental value for two reasons. The methods used in developmental research, especially with young children effects the outcome extensively. The researcher has to be aware of the effectiveness of the instructions, the adequateness of the experimental material according to age and gender and try to maintain ultimate control of external conditions that may affect the performance of the child.

Child narrative has been studied with an impressive array of objectives. Although research that probed on children's personal narratives is quite comprehensive, research concerning children's own fictive narrative productions is relatively sparse. This in part was due to beliefs that young children could not produce fantasy narratives, or that they would be unwilling to tell fictive narratives in experimental conditions.

To evaluate whether the methods of elicitation were effective, the data was reconsidered for signs of children's understanding of the instructions, their awareness of telling a story and their use of the play prompts.

All children produced narratives in the prompt elicitation condition. It is important to note that the children in this study were not instructed to play with toys, but “to tell a story using the toys”. The researcher was concerned initially that this instruction could be confusing for children. The data was scrutinized for the portion of children who needed additional instruction. Nine children; four from the 3-year-old age group, two from the 4-year-old age group and three from the 5-year-old age group required additional instruction for the prompted narratives. Six of the children who had difficulty with the initial instruction were explained that they had to tell a story playing with the toys, making the toys act the story. If the child had already produced a similar narrative in the warm-up period it was pointed out that they had already told a nice narrative and the experimenter wanted one more. One 3-years old girl insisted telling the story of the red riding hood. The experimenter let her finish her narrating that fairy tale and instructed her again with similar explanation. Three children stopped playing with the toys to narrate. The experimenter instructed them to show what they were narrating with the toys. After the second instruction none of the children had difficulty with the task. Twenty-two children, 70% of the sample did not require additional instruction.

Another valid point of concern is whether the children realized that they were telling a story. The formal introduction and closing utterances the children used in the prompted elicitation condition was probed. Five children used formal introduction utterances and seventeen children spontaneously used closings to end their stories (only the children who used closings spontaneously, prior to the experimenter’s instruction to wrap up their stories are included in the reported number). Most children used a story voice, with varying intonations, orientation of the listener, and story like sentence

grammar. However, close analysis of the children's narrations for linguistic features is needed and would yield more accurate accounts.

It was reported in the literature that children's play progresses from a self-referenced state, to active agents (Fein, 1981). Active-agents play entail that the child is capable of making play figures act independent of the child himself. A critical assumption was made in this study based on this finding. The preschool children in the study were assumed to possess the ability to narrate active agents play, in which they would treat the play figures as independent agents of action. Ninety percent of the children narrated solely other-referenced plays. Yet it is important to note that three children included themselves as characters in their prompted narratives. One three-year old girl made herself mother and the human figures the children. Another three-year old girl created a narrative centering on her as the main character. A four-year old boy assigned himself the duty of taking care of the characters in the story, who were running away from ghosts. It seems on closer inspection that this boy's role in the story stem out of his need to explain how the houses in the play could change places. He seems to assign this role out of a need to have a valid explanation for the change of settings. However it is of concern whether the two three-year old girls produced task appropriate narratives or were they playing pretend. Nevertheless these children's narrative productions were analyzed according to story grammar and were included in the data.

Although the play materials, the farm set and the house set were carefully selected and tested for adequateness in the pilot study; children's use of the toy sets was probed again in the final data. Four children; one three years old girl, one four years old boy and two five years old children used only one set of toys to narrate their story. Two children did not use the house set and two children did not make use of the farm set. 87

% of the sample used both toy sets to tell narratives. The toy sets were concluded to be fairly attractive to the children in the sample. None of the children who preferred one set of toy over another produced narratives below the average complexity level reached by their age groups. Only one of these four children (one 5-years old boy) received a complexity score higher than the mean score for her group.

Conducting experimental procedures with young children bears some unexpected and uncontrolled external factors. Four children's prompt elicited sessions were interrupted with their need to use the bathroom. Three children soiled themselves and the session was to be stopped to wait for them to be changed into clean clothes by their teachers. Two of these children readily continued their narrative from where they had left before the interruption, yet one five year old boy seemed to lose interest in the session after the break.

Ninety-seven percent of the sample produced narratives under the direct elicitation condition. Only one child, a three-year old boy refused the task after the warm-up period. It was of particular concern whether children especially young children would be able to produce narratives when simply asked to tell a story without supporting cues. The data were probed for the themes of children's direct elicited narratives. It is important to state that the children used cues extensively to produce narratives. The picture children colored in the warm up period acted as cues for some children. Yet cuing was not limited to the warm-up pictures the researcher provided. Children also used the fairy tales they knew, the films they had watched, objects in the room as cues. The experimenter could not control these self-initiated cues. Seven children, (5 four-year olds and 3 five year olds) seemed to narrate novel stories that they made up without implicit or explicit cuing. Eleven children, (4 three-year olds, 3 four-year olds and 5

five-year olds) used their warm-up pictures to produce their narratives. Ten of these children used the animals in the pictures as characters and built a novel story afterwards while two children produced almost picture descriptions. Four of the children were told they could use their animal colorings to produce narratives, seven children used their colorings as cues with researcher's instruction. Six children produced stories with common fairy tale themes of either little red riding hood, snow white or sleeping beauty. Two children (a three-year old and a five-year old) narrated the full fairy tale. The remaining four children used the story characters and built novel stories on them. For example a 3-years old girl told the narrative of Snow White who goes out to water her flowers while her mother is looking for her. In another narrative by a three-year old boy the red riding hood goes to the forest, delivers food to her grandmother and comes back home. Yet her father who is a soldier goes to the forest and is confronted by a mean goat and has to be taken to the hospital. The mean goat is killed and everyone lives happily there after. None of the children who produced narratives cued by fairy tales were explicitly cued by the researcher. The children self initiated these cues. Three children used objects from the room the experiment was held in as cues to narrate stories. One child used the bee pictures on the table cloth, two children were inspired to produce new years stories in accordance with the decoration of the rooms the session took place. One child stated that he told the story of a cartoon film he has at home on VCD. One child (a three-year old boy) produced a descriptive personal narrative. In light of this thematic elaboration about what influenced children's narratives in this sample, it was quite evident that children needed cues to organize and narrate stories. It was also evident that fairy tales provided grounds for children to compose their own narratives. This qualitative probing into the themes of children's 'direct elicited' narratives proves that

direct elicitation without cues was not efficient and children needed cues to produce fictive narratives. It is a compelling finding that even when cues were not provided or explicitly instructed the children searched and found cues for their narratives. Although it is clear that children made use of many cues to narrate their fictive stories, the term 'direct elicitation' will be used till the end of this paper to refer to the same condition, since the researcher probed children for narratives with a direct instruction and provided cues only when the children were unable to narrate.

Twelve children used formal introduction utterances to start their story and 24 children used closing utterances to end their stories. The number of introduction and closing utterances in direct elicitation is considerably higher than that of prompt-elicited condition and it could be argued that children's awareness of narrating a story was not as substantial in the prompt elicited condition.

4. DISCUSSION

This study aimed to investigate the developmental course of story grammar as a model in children's fictitious narrative productions. The effect of two different elicitation conditions were also of importance and prompt-elicited narratives were postulated to attain a higher complexity structure than direct elicited narratives. It was also hypothesized that younger children would produce more script formations than older children.

The findings in this study confirmed an age related development from pre-episodic to episodic structure formations in children's narratives produced via both direct and prompt elicited conditions. Three year old children were able to produce narratives with episodic formations yet episodic structures were not the dominant type of formation in this age group. In contrast, episodic structure productions were the dominant type of structure in the five-year old group regardless of the elicitation condition. Four years emerged as a transitional age in which children were capable of episodic formations but could express their competency noticeably better in prompt elicited condition.

The results of the study yielded interesting and unanticipated findings both in terms of the predictions of this study and in comparison to previous studies. The level of complexity of children's narrative performance was startlingly high when compared to previous studies carried out using story grammar analysis. Peterson & McCabe (1983) have found complete episode to be present in all age groups ranging from 3.5 to 9.5, though it's prevalence rising with age from 16% to 60 %. Complex episode has been found to be totally missing from four year olds' narrative productions. In contrast this study has found that episodic formation and its higher formulations of complex and

interactive episodes were prevalent in 40 % in three year olds', 80 % in four year olds and five year olds in prompted narratives where children were presented toys as prompts and their actions along with their verbalizations were coded. In the direct elicitation condition 30 % of three year olds, 50% of 4-year-olds and 90 % of 5-year-olds produced narratives equivalent and higher in complexity. The direct elicited narratives increased steadily with age from non-episodic to episodic structures.

Eckler and Weininger (1989) have administered an identical procedure to this study's prompted condition and obtained that 50% of 4-year-olds and 88% of 5-year-olds could produce episodic narratives and are more similar to the results of the current study.

Benson (1993)'s study compared story telling and pretend play narratives in 4- and 5-year-olds. She used Leondar's phases of the primary narrative (1977, cited in Benson, 1993) which consists of a state of equilibrium, disruption of the equilibrium, an action to counteract the disruption and a new equilibrium. All these components are compulsory to the plotted narrative in Benson's study. The primary narrative of Leondar is compatible with the complete episode with the exception of the requirement for setting information (the initial state of equilibrium). Her results showed an age related increase in the production of plotted narratives; %5 of four year olds were able to produce plotted narratives compared to %33 of the five year olds.

Numerous studies can be cited that will give different results. It is important to pinpoint the reasons behind this discrepancy. Narrative analysis is a precarious phenomenon that is affected very easily from several factors of probing. The content of narratives is an important issue of consideration that taps directly on the discrepancy of the results with the study of Peterson & McCabe, (1983). Peterson & McCabe collected

personal narratives for their data. Personal narratives hold different dynamics compared to fictitious narratives. Children who are perceived to be the protagonists of their personal narratives in reality are observers of happenings with very limited if any control over them. Children do not provide themselves as good protagonists for their personal narratives since a lot of things are done to and for them, especially in critical and problematic situations. A wounded child cannot go the hospital on his own, a child stung by a bee cannot in general make conscious attempts to achieve a preconceived goal. This quality of children's personal narratives is confirmed by McCabe and Peterson, (1984) too. The incapability of children to be active participants in problem solving situations yet it is also important to note that the sample for their study was drawn from a lower-middle class in a small town. The children who participated in this study were from higher-middle class families with extensive fictive narrative stimulation at home.

A second issue of concern would be the methods of elicitation. Although Benson (1993) administered a task very similar to this study, her pretend prompts were relatively different. She used an unspecified set of figures, bendable fur trees and a cardboard. Her study is limited in size and there is a very high ratio of non-response answers in her study. It is important to ascertain the effectiveness of the materials to elicit narratives later to generalize about the optimum capacity of age groups for narrative production. If optimal performance is of concern, optimal environment for elicitation should be provided. In Benson's study a warm-up period was assigned neither before the "pretend play" nor the story telling sessions. The children in Benson's study were not instructed to tell a story with the toys but rather instructed to pretend something and narrate it to the experimenter who took notes of the child's actions, since her sessions were audio-

recorded. These are all valid points which could effect the discrepancy between the results.

Another point of concern is the mode of analysis adopted. As stated earlier the mode of analysis is not just a tool for assessment but primarily defines narrative phenomenon; and different modes of narrative analysis can render the results of different studies on narrative impossible to compare. Although it was stated that Leondar's definition of primary narrative is similar to the definition of a complete episode, even minor differences can cause drastic changes in results. This point can be explicated with an example from Benson's data.

1. Well, the boy was trying
2. to brush the dragon's teeth
3. but, he couldn't
4. and the dragon ate him.

Girl; age 5;0 (Benson, 1993)

The above narrative has been provided by Benson as an example to sequential narrative yet from an episodic perspective this narrative may be coded as an abbreviated episode. The boy is the protagonist who has a motivating state of brushing the dragon's teeth, he is trying which is an attempt. His failure and dragon eating the boy are consequences. Although by story grammar standards this narrative would not have been considered a complete episode, it would be perceived more complex than a sequential narrative which is equivalent to an action sequence in story grammar.

The study predicted that prompted elicitation would yield higher complexity results compared to direct elicitation. Evaluation of the complexity scores between these two elicitation conditions did not show significant complexity differences. Yet there

existed an insignificant trend towards more complex narrative production in the prompt elicitation condition. Prompt elicitation condition noticeably enhance more complex narrative structures in the 4 years group but the three and five year old groups did not show as pronounced differences in narrative complexity between the two elicitation conditions. The only study that has investigated this relationship is Benson's (1993), and her results seems to contradict the findings of the study. Benson incorporates action into her research design by observing and rating the child's overall play on a scale of four categories of levels of event representations in play. Level one was postulated to be manipulative in nature with action dominant, level two was characterized as pretend play in which language use is subordinate to action, in the third level children are claimed to subordinate actions to language in their pretend play, and in the fourth level children are characterized as using solely on language to narrate. Yet Benson does not explicate the results of this scale application with the narrative complexities attained by children in her article. It is of importance however that Benson's research material, methods and means of analysis differed from this study which renders problems pertaining to comparability of the results.

There may be several reasons arising from the experimental conditions pertaining to why prompted narratives did not achieve significantly higher complexity structures than direct elicited narratives. There may also be certain theoretical implications. First the implications of the study conditions will be discussed followed by more general theoretical implications.

The prompt elicited condition resulted in long narrative productions compared to direct elicitation. The toy prompts attracted the children attention and made the task more enjoyable yet it was the interpretation of the observer that children found it harder

to focus on a central theme or problem and wandered from one episode to another, shifting focus continuously especially in the 3 year-old group,. The prompt-elicited condition provided qualitatively different narrative productions than direct elicited narratives since the children made more use of direct speech, gave more evidence of internal and mental states of the characters. Direct elicitation conditions however resulted in shorter but more oriented and compact narrative productions. The children seemed more aware of telling a story in the direct elicitation condition hence a more overt requirement for using a story schema may have been prevalent for some children.

These are the impressions of the researcher since linguistic tools that pertain to the definition of genre formations was not probed in this study. Direct speech as expressed in dialogic formations poses less cognitive demand since goals and attempts can be implied as inherent in dialogic communications. The example below is given to exemplify dialogic utterances that harbor both motivational and attempt content.

1. (Kız): *"Anneciğim ben kendim gidebilirim artık, büyüdüm.*
'(The girl): "Mommy I can go by myself, I grew up." '
2. *Gidebilir miyim?" demiş.*
'Can I go?'
3. *"Babacığım hı?"*
'"Daddy, mmm?" '
4. *Baba: "Gidebilirsin kızım" demiş.*
'(The father): "You can go" (he) said.'
5. *da sonra gitmiş.*
'Than she went.'

Utterances one to three incorporate goals of the girl and her attempts to go into one unit. This is believed to be a more economic way than indirect speech in which the child would have to produce an extract such as: "The girl wanted to go on her own because she thought she was old enough by then. So she asked her mother whether she could go and told her that she could go on her own since she had grown. She also asked her father. Her father permitted her to go and so she went". The dialogic content that dominated prompt-elicited narratives could have decreased the cognitive and the linguistic load of producing episodic formations for some children.

Another factor that could have affected the outcome of prompted narratives adversely is the amount of the toys. Although children readily approached the toys and were interested in them, the number of characters could have been too many for them, affecting their narrative organization negatively. Children typically played with more than one character in some cases all of them and this may have led them to shift attention from one episode to another.

It was not foreseen in this study that children would be able produce episodes pertaining to the higher ranks of the hierarchy to this extent. The narratives in this study could be analyzed for the constituents on the hierarchy scale yet more complex multi structures, the syntactic relationships between the episodes and maintenance of a single protagonist in the narrative was not probed. It was explained in the qualitative analysis section that multiple-structure complexity compounds that were produced by four and five year old children and were mainly prevalent in the prompt elicited condition could not be assigned their true complexity since the scale did not permit ordering strings of higher complexity structures. A narrative gains coherence according to the relationships

between the existing episodes. Although complex and interactive episodes provided higher complexity structures than complete episode; structures which incorporated the organization of higher complexity constituents of complex and interactive episodes could not be carried out due to the limitations of the means of analysis. A multi-structure episode can be mapped according to episodic grammar elements yet assigning hierarchical ranks to these multiple structure complexity compounds is left unidentified.

A multiple structure narrative could be constituted of two complex episodes and a complete episode; or three complex episodes and two abbreviated episodes. The coherence between these constituents can only be attained by a careful semantic analysis that targets more complex causal relations between episodes, performed in alliance with story grammar. Mandler and Johnson (1980) assert that story grammar provide the bare structural outlines for story plots and may miss the inconsistencies of content in narratives. In other words a narrative may start out with a complete episode for a protagonist and continue with a complex episode about another protagonist, or a goal may not be in relation to an attempt that follows it sequentially. Further research should integrate a special evaluation means that incorporates the shifts in both protagonists and the themes.

Could one discern from this data that children by the age of three started narrating complex and good stories? The answer to this question would be negative. This scale used in this study did not allow for multi-structural complexity compounds which characterizes stories. This study showed that children could produce episodic structures of causal content starting with the age of three. It also showed that by the age of five children used a story schema readily in producing narratives. Stories however are constituted of plots at several layers of depth with multiple episodic complexities. Hence

children's episodic productions cannot be taken as stories and a more detailed mode of analysis would yield story narration development for this study. McCabe and Peterson, (1984) administered a study in which they asked adults to rate the quality of the personal narratives they collected from children ages between 3.5 and 9.5. This data was collected for their 1983 study, and was administered episodic, high-point and dependency analysis. The results showed that although adults took episodic structure into consideration when deciding how good a story is, no single mode of analysis could predict whether a story would be perceived as a good story. McCabe & Peterson concluded that these different modes of analysis tapped on different and important qualities of stories and that a narrative analysis should best incorporate two analysis modes to make more accurate assessments. Other modes of analysis that elaborate on story grammars with syntactic components have been developed by Trabasso & Van den Broek, (1985; cited in Van den Broek et al., 1996). They have proposed a network model incorporating causal and enabling relations into the story grammar framework.

This study showed the gradual development of episodic structure in preschool children's narrative productions. Episodic narrative structure was found to be present in 3-year- olds narratives, became significantly prevalent in prompted narratives of 4-year- olds and became the dominant structure for 5-year-olds. The 4 years old group presented itself to be a transitional group between the age groups of three and five, expressing the nature of their competency best in prompted narratives. Why would narrative complexity of four year olds be best expressed under prompted condition? The key features of the prompted condition were, increasing the availability of general world representations and presenting the child with the opportunity of action as a medium of expression in story telling.

This study drew its rationale greatly from the escalating interest in the development of the symbolic mind. Nelson's (1996) premise that mind develops from a preverbal representational medium to a verbal one, in which an episo-mimetic mode plane of thought precedes a medium in which language becomes an executive tool for thinking was central to the rationale of this study. This rationale attributed special importance to the role of action in the development of the symbolic mind. According to Nelson (1996) the human mind comes to the world with a bias to attend to action and action sequences. The infant makes meaning of the world through attending to repeated action sequences which anchor him to the world. Later he can recognize these sequences, as they gradually become general world representations. It is important to point out that this premise entails a representational plane which bears action as a functional in line with Piaget's characterization of the sensori-motor stage. Action does not exclusively confine to being a comprehension tool but is also takes active operational role as a semiotic mode of thought in which the child makes constant use of his general event representations to function in the world. Child mind does not abandon the benefits of the action arena immediately after the child starts acquiring language, but instead continues to rely heavily on the representative arena of action both production and in comprehension. There appears to be a certain turning point in childhood at age four. The child at four years of age starts to be able to evaluate his and others' representations about reality, or namely he develops theory of mind (Astington & Gopnik, 1991). Theory of mind encompasses a meta-representational quality since it requires both evaluating others' mental states and the mismatches of these mental states with reality (Perner, 1991). Some theorists have argued that theory of mind, or rather this meta-representational capability is impossible without language (Segal, 1998,

Smith, 1996; cited in Astington and Jenkins, 1999). This premise arises from a need for a symbolic means of evaluation between different representations. If the theory that a representative arena of action precedes a symbolic arena is taken to be true, it follows that children's experience with understanding and producing causal relationships is first presented in an arena of action. The most suitable means for this arena is pretend play. Children can draw from their general event representations to form the causal links between actions to comprehend the world, in a constant arena of cognitive assimilation and accommodation as Gopnik and Slaughter (1991; cited in Lilliard) assert. It is plausible to assert that episodes are causal units of comprehension and narration evident in symbolic-actional medium prior to verbal productions.

The prompt-elicited condition supplied the child with symbolic settings and a means of action. The researcher posits that symbolic settings provided two important benefits for the child's story telling. First, the children were presented with symbolic settings that cued for decontextualized planes of reality. Secondly it cued for general event knowledge about these toy settings and figures. Taking into account Perner's (1991) perception of representation, it can be stated that both representational referents and functional relationships between them were cued. This would imply that the prompted condition cued a whole system with referents and relationships, in other words a representational medium. In addition to these effects of the prompted condition; the toys acted as anchors through out the prompted narratives and reduced the working memory load by constantly cueing the events that unfolded. It was the impression of the researcher that children used more direct speech in prompt elicited narratives. Direct speech may also have reduced the cognitive load of forming episodic structures, since

dialogic utterances could take on more than one episodic function, and an episodic structure could be produced with fewer utterances.

The direct elicitation task required the child both to construct a symbolic representation plane, and function exclusively on a symbolic mode of language. The direct elicitation task is clearly more cognitively taxing for children.

There was a discrepancy between the complexity scores of 4-year olds according to elicitation conditions. 4-year olds produced more complex episodic structures in prompt elicited narratives compared to their direct elicited narratives. It is posited therefore that the semiotic arena of action, facilitated the production of more complex narratives for this age group by making available the general event representations.

The hypothesis that younger children would produce more scripts was refuted. The literature suggests that script centered play is observed extensively in the spontaneous social play, in which children use scripts as a common knowledge base among them to ease communication difficulty (Short-Mayerson & Abbeduto, 1997; White, 1991). It is important to acknowledge again that the warm-up periods were not transcribed and coded. It is the impression of the researcher that children made extensive use of the bathroom section of the house set in the warm-up sessions; but further investigation would be necessary to ascertain this impression.

This study probed preschool children's fictive story productions under conditions of toy prompted and direct elicitation condition. The study found an age related increase in prompt-elicited narratives of preschool children. A non significant trend of higher complexity scores in prompted condition compared to direct elicited condition was found. It is believed that the small sample size affected the outcome of the statistical analysis. Narrative development can also be postulated to show a more gradual change

and that the age groups under scrutiny could reflect only a limited picture of this development. It was of particular importance that the 4-year-old group's prompt elicitation performance was higher than their direct elicitation performance. The results of the study gave supporting evidence of representational change at age four. The results showed that four year old children could better express their potential in forming episodic structures with the aid of actions while five year old children could produce episodic structures with and without the aid of actions. It is concluded that by five years of age children possess a story schema that can function on the symbolic plane of language without the aid of actions while four year olds need the assistance of action to express their developing capacity of using a story schema in fictitious narrations.

It would be important to state the limitations of the study, as they were many. It should also be pointed out that without a second layer of macro-analysis administered, the results of the study should be approached with caution. Similar studies should incorporate inter-rater reliability ratings not only for means of analysis; but also in the processes of transcription and textualization.

It is important to state that prompted narratives were qualitatively different from direct elicited narratives in the sense that children used more direct speech, and change of voice. These qualities would be important considerations in linguistic genres. It was impossible to evaluate the effects of such qualities in this study since they were not probed for.

The sample in this study was small and this may have affected the outcome of the results. The testing condition with some subjects were problematical and may have affected the outcome of their narrative sessions.

Story grammar analysis enhanced understanding of structural constituents of children's fictive narratives. The need for a macro analysis including both semantic and syntactic aspects emerged for evaluating preschool children's narratives more effectively.

It is once again confirmed that studies concerning the analysis of children's narratives should pay special attention to the selection measures, tools and procedures to attain accurate evaluation. Further research should incorporate more than one means of analysis; and utilize different methods of elicitation.

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VI- APPENDIX

6.1 Parent questionnaire about children's experience with written and oral narratives

Çocuğunuzun :

Adı:

Soyadı:

Doğum Tarihi:

Formu Dolduran Kişinin

Adı:

Soyadı:

Çocuğa Yakınlık Derecesi: Anne _____

Babası _____

Diğer _____

1. Çocuğunuz ilk anlamlı kelimesini kaç aylıken/kaç yaşında söyledi? _____

2. Çocuğunuza resimli kitaplar okunur mu?

☐ Evet

☐ Hayır

Cevabınız “hayır” ise lütfen 8. soruya geçerek devam ediniz.

3. Kaç yaşından itibaren çocuğunuza hikaye kitapları okumaya başladınız?

☐ 6 ay- 12 ay

☐ 1 yaş

☐ 2 yaş

☐ 3 yaş

☐ 4 yaş

☐ 5 yaş

4. Çocuğunuza ne sıklıkta hikaye kitabı okursunuz?

☐ Her gün

☐ 1-2 günde bir

☐ 3-4 günde bir

☐ Haftada bir

☐ Diğer

5. Çocuğunuz hikaye kitaplarının resimlerine bakarak hikaye anlatmaya çalışır mı?

- ☐ Evet
- ☐ Hayır

6. Çocuğunuzun çok sevdiği, kendisine okunmasından bıkmadığı, sürekli okunması için ısrar ettiği bir hikaye var mı?

- ☐ Evet Hikayenin adı: _____
- ☐ Hayır

7. Çocuğunuzun ezbere bildiği ve bakarak anlattığı bir hikaye kitabı var mı?

- ☐ Evet Hikayenin adı: _____
- ☐ Hayır

8. Çocuğunuza masal anlatılır mısınız?

- ☐ Evet
- ☐ Hayır

9. Kaç yaşından itibaren çocuğunuza masal anlatılmaya başladınız?

- ☐ 6 ay- 12 ay
- ☐ 1 yaş
- ☐ 2 yaş
- ☐ 3 yaş
- ☐ 4 yaş
- ☐ 5 yaş

10. Çocuğunuza ne sıklıkta masal anlatıyorsunuz?

- ☐ Her gün
- ☐ 1-2 günde bir
- ☐ 3-4 günde bir
- ☐ Haftada bir
- ☐ Diğer

11. Çocuğunuzun çok sevdiği, kendisine anlatılmasından bıkmadığı, sürekli anlatılması için ısrar ettiği bir masal var mı?

- ☐ Evet Masalın adı: _____
- ☐ Hayır

12. Çocuğunuzun ezbere bildiğı bir masal var mı?

- ☐ Evet
- ☐ Hayır

Masalın adı: _____

6.2 Examples from Children's Narrative Productions

6.2.1 Prompt and Direct-elicited narratives of a 3-year-old girl

Ayşegül (3;4)

Prompt Elicited Narrative

1. *Bir varmış bir yokmuş.*
2. *Evvel zaman içinde,*
3. *kalbur zaman içinde*
4. *bir tane çocuk gelmiş.*
5. *Çiçek gibi bir çocuk*
6. *gelmiş.*
7. *Sonra birden bire bi tane kurt görmüş....*
8. *Sonra da böyle böyle böyle oynuyormuş.*
9. *Bir var.....xxxx*
10. *(Bu) Ayşe (Adam figürü)*
11. *Bu da böyle yatıyormuş.*
12. *Ama üstü, örtü yok ki!*
13. *Sonra bir tane büyükanne gelmiş. (Kız çocuğu)*
14. *Buraya oturmuş.*
15. *Kitabını güzelce okusun.*
16. *Nerede kitabı? Burdaa..*
17. *Büyükannenin burası odası (2. kat oda).*
18. *Orada yatıyor.*
19. *Sabah olmuş*

20. *kalkıyormuş* (Ayşegül-adam-).
21. *Yeniden oturuyormuş.*
22. *Büyükannesi de yatmış.*
23. (Büyükanne)*Buraya oturmuş.*
24. *Bu masalda burada bitmiş.*
25. (Büyükanne)*Böyle ölmüş.*
26. (Çocuklar)*Sevinmişler.*
27. (Ayşegül)*Şimdi bi daha yatmış.*
28. *Ama kendi uyumuş bu sefer.*
29. *Dolabı da buymuş. Buymuş dolabı da. Bu da dolap*
30. *Barbi (dolabı).*
31. *Burada ders yapıyor.*
32. *Aaa burada yatsın. (*Yatağı dolabın yanına yerleştirdi.)*
33. *Sallanan sandalyeyi yatağın yanına koydu.*
34. *Dolap burada dursun.*
35. *Şimdi çocuk (Ayşegül-adam-)da yatmış.*
36. *Bu çocuk (Kadın fig.)da yatmış.*
37. *Halıda yatsın.*
38. (Ayşegül-adam)*Bi daha kalkmış.*
39. *Şimdi büyük okula gidiyormuş.*
40. *Derslerini çalışmış.*
41. *Sandalyesini almış.*
42. *Kitaplarını (*dolaptan) çıkarmış. Rrrt çıkarmış.*
43. *Çalışmış çalışmış çalışmış.*

44. Bacağını vurmuş.
45. *Hem de buraya (yatağın kenarına)!*
46. *Ama kan akmamış.*
47. *Böyle “pat” diye vurmuş.*
48. *Bu da yatağıymış. Bu yatağı olsun.*
49. *Ayşegül yatağa yattı.
50. *Büyükanne de o halıda yatıyormuş.*
51. *Büyükanne sallanan sandalyeye oturdu.
52. *Hoppa. Büyükanne de burayı açmış. Kapıyı açmış.*
53. *Balkona girmiş.*
54. *Camdan dışarı bakıyormuş.*
55. *“Bakıyım bari şu balkona.”*
56. *Hava çok soğukmuş.*
57. *Üşümüş.*
58. *Büyükanne eve geri girdi.
59. *Sonra camları kapatmış.*
60. *Burası ev.*
61. *Bi tane daha birşey yapacakmış. Kepçe bakıcakmış dışarıda.*
62. *Şuradan bakıyım ben.*
63. *Balkon kapılarını açtı
64. *Kapattı.
65. *Şuradan bakıyım bari demiş.*
66. *Yan pencereden baktı.
67. *Kepçe geliyormuş evlerine.*

68. *“Uy!Çok korkuyorum çooooook!”*

69. **Bağırarak koştu.*

70. *Gelmemiş şimdi.*

71. *Burası çocuk banyosu.*

72. *Burası da büyük banyosu.*

73. *Burası da ayna.*

74. *Burası büyükannenin yatağı.Bu da yatak.*

75. *Bak burada yatıyor büyükanne. (*Büyükanneyi yatırdı.)*

76. *Bu da ders çalışıyor.*

77. *[O kim?] Cem (deminki Ayşegül)*

78. *Uyuyor*

79. *Cemin bilgisayarı varmış.*

Direct- Elicited Narrative

1. *Evvel zaman içinde,*
2. *Kalbur saman içinde.*
3. *Develer tellal,*
4. *Pireler berber iken.*
5. *Ben annemin beşiğinde*
6. *tingir tıfır sallarken...*
7. *Bir tane pamuk prenses varmış.*
8. *Cadı gelmiş.*
9. *Pamuk prenses "Elmaların çok güzelmiş" demiş ona.*
10. *Vermiş bi tane.*
11. *Isırmış.*
12. *Sonra bayılmış.*
13. *Yedi cüceler ağlamış.*
14. *Prens gelmiş.*
15. *Onu öpmüş yanağından*
16. *o da kalkmış.*

6.2.2 Prompt and Direct-elicited narratives of a 4-year-old girl

Kayra (4;5)

Prompt-Elicited Narrative

1. *Çiftçi yürümüş.
2. *Domuzun yanına gelmiş.
3. Çiftçi: "Masal anlatacağım."
4. Domuz: "Anlatma."
5. "Bir varmış bir yokmuş.
6. Evvel zaman içinde"
7. Horoz: "Üüüüü Üüüüüü"
8. *Horoz yürüdü.
9. *Çiftçi onun yanına geldi..
10. Ç: "Ne oldu?"
11. H: "Meyvalarımı aldılar."
12. *Kabakları arabanın arkasına koydu.
13. Ç: "Kim aldı?"
14. *Horoz yemek yedi.
15. *Yürüyüp uzaklaştı.
16. H: "Köpekçik."
17. Aaaa. Sabah olmuş.
18. *Horoz yemek yedi.
19. *Horoz dolaştı.
20. *Kuzu eve yürüdü.
21. *Evin üst katına çıktı.

22. *Odadan kitap aldı
23. *Düşmüş, yırtılmış.*
24. *Kuzu çiftliğe yürüdü.
25. *Ahırına girdi.
26. *Düştü.
27. *Kalktı.
28. *Kız yürüdü.
29. *Evin 2. katına çıktı.
30. K: *"Ben pembe kitabımı alayım."*
31. *Kitaplığa baktı.
32. *Ama pembe kitabını yırtmış. (*kitabı bulamadı)*
33. K: *"Pembe kitabım nerede?"*
34. *Kız odada yatan babasının yanına gitti.
35. *Baba kitaplığa baktı.
36. *Tekrar yattı. (*baba kitabı bulamadı.)
37. K: *"Baba pembe kitabım yok"*
38. B: *"Aaa belki birisi almıştır."*
39. *Kız çiftliğe yürüdü.
40. K: *"Hemen gideyim bakayım, sorayım."*
41. *Kız kuzunun ahırının kapısını açtı.
42. *Ahıra girdi.
43. *Ahırın kapısını kapattı.
44. K: *"Ne yaptın sen benim kitabıma?"*
45. Kuzu: *"Yırttım."*

46. K: *"Tamam ama bir daha yapma!"*
47. *Ahırın kapısını açtı.
48. *Kız çıktı.
49. *Ahırın kapısını tekrar kapattı.
50. Kuzu: *"Bir daha yapmayacağım" demiş.*
51. Hoppa (*Kız eve yürüdü.)
52. Babasının yanında yatıyormuş.
53. Annesi uyanmış. (*Anne yataktan kalktı.)
54. *Önce 1. katta yürüdü.
55. *Sonra 2. katta yürüdü.
56. Tepeye çıktı. (*Anne çatıya çıktı.) Hop.
57. *Anne çatıda yürüdü.
58. Aaaaa. (Anne) Yere düştü.
59. *Anne arabanın arkasına bindi.
60. *Ahırın kapısını açıldı.
61. *Koyunu çıktı.
62. *Kapıyı kapandı.
63. *Kuzunun ahırının kapısını açıldı.
64. *Koyun kuzunun yanına girdi.
65. *Kapı kapandı.
66. (Baba)Arabasına bindi.
67. *Kız arabaya bindi.
68. *Araba gitti.
69. Bu açıldı.Açık. (*Çifiliğin kapısını açtı.)

70. *Domuzu ahıra koydu.
71. (Küçük at)Annesinin yanına gelmiş.
72. *İnekleri yan yana ahıra girdi..
73. *Tavuşu kümese girdi.
74. (Araba)Bunlar (çiftliğin içinden) geçmiş. Çuvvvv!
75. *Evin arkasına geldi.
76. "Baba beni tuvalete götür."
77. Abisini almaya gelmiş. Abisini almaya gelmiş.
78. Q: "Herkes dışarı çıksın."
79. *Evin kapısını açtı.
80. *Baba eve girdi..
81. *Kız eve girdi..
82. *Anne eve girdi.
83. *Çocuk eve girdi..
84. *Kapıyı kapandı..
85. "Aaa ne oldu, araba gidiyor."
86. "Hırsız var! Hırsız"
87. *Baba evin kapısını açtı.
88. *Dışarı çıktı.
89. *Kapıyı kapattı.
90. Babası yardım etmiş.
91. Polise söylemiş.
92. Hırsızı almış polis.
93. Arabayı da orada bırakmış.

94. *Baba eve girdi.

95. Dışarı bırakmış.

96. Almış.

97. Bu (Anne) uykuya gitmiş.

98. Kız: "Baba ben de yatacağım.

99. İyi geceler baba."

100. B: "İyi geceler yavrum."

101. Babası da gelmiş . (2. kata)

102. Yatağını bulamamış.

103. Pat! diye yere (1. kata)düşmüş.

104. Yukarıya gitmiş.

105. Babası yatağını görememiş, görememiş,
görememiş.

106. *Baba salona yattı.

107. *Çatıya yattı.

108. En son görmüş.

109. (*Çatıdan düştü.)Ahhh...

110. B: "Benim yatağım nerede?"

111. Arabada yattı.

112. *Baba kalktı.

113. *Eve yürüdü.

114. (*Evde 1. kat salonda yattı.) Yatağını en son...

115. Tuvaletini kimse yapmıyor.

116. Hemen kapayalım. Tuvaletin kapağını...

117. Çiftçi: "Ahhhh...Bizim arabımızı almışlar."
118. Çiftçi: "Hemen gidiyim bakayım kim almış."
119. *Çiftçi aşağı indi.
120. *Kapıyı açtı.
121. *Dışarı çıktı.
122. *Arabaya yürüdü.
123. Aaaa bizim arabamız,
124. *Çiftçi arabaya bindi.
125. Yavaşça gideyim."
126. (*Çiftliğe geldi.)Arabasını park etmiş.
127. *Çiftliğin kapısını açtı.
128. *İçeri girdi.
129. *Kapıyı kapattı.
130. Sonra...dışarda. Salon...Dışarıda salon
(*Koltukları evin dışına yerleştirdi.)
131. Dışarıda koydu salonu
132. *Koltukları evin 1. katına yerleştirdi.
133. *Masayı 2. kat salona koydu.
134. *Tek tek sandalyeleri yerleştirdi.
135. *Sallanan sandalyeyi koydu.
136. Aaaa sandalye bozuldu.
137. Hemen yeni... yeni yaptı.
138. *Baba oturdu.
139. *Kız oturdu.

140. *Anne oturdu.
141. *Abisi kalkmıyor hala.*
142. *(Abi) Düřtü yatağından “boing”.*
143. *Abi: “Anne ben yatağımdan düřtüm”*
144. *Çocuk masaya oturdu.
145. *Yemeğini yemek istedi.*
146. *Ve şimdi okula gitmek istemiş*
147. *(Baba)Arabasını almış.*
148. *Babası onu okula bırakmaya*
149. *gitmiş.*
150. *Kız evin kapısını kapattı.
151. *Arabaya oturdu.
152. *Çünkü baba nerde olduğunu babası bilmiyormuş.*
153. *Babası nerde olduğunu bilmiyormuş.*
154. *“Pat” diye düşmüş.*
155. *Bu hikaye burada bitmiş.*
156. *Sonra da yataklarına....yatmış.*
157. *Bitti.*

Direct-Elicited Narrative

1. *At ormanda koşuyormuş.*
2. *Koşarken*
3. *bir sürü at arkadaşını görmüş.*
4. *Okula gitmişler beraber.*
5. *Öğretmenler yazı yazmışlar öğretmenler.*
6. *Öğrenmişler*
7. *eve gelmişler.*
8. *Sonra at arkadaşına gitmiş.*
9. *"Hastasın di mi?" demiş.*
10. *"Hayır" demiş.*
11. *O zaman gitmiş*
12. *odasına çıkıp*
13. *televizyon izlemiş.*
14. *Bu kadarmış.*

6.2.3 Prompt and Direct-elicited narratives of a 5-year-old boy

Berkay (5, 7)

Prompts-Elicited Narrative

1. *Bir varmış, bir yokmuş.*
2. *Evvel zaman içinde kalbur saman içinde*
3. *bir tane çocuk (kız çocuk) varmış.*
4. *Bu çocuk annesinin sözünü dinlermiş.*
5. *Annesinden izin almış.*
6. *Dışarı çıkmış*
7. *"Çıkabilir miyim?" demiş.*
8. *Çıkmış.*
9. *Sonra orada bir tane şey görmüş. Şey görmüş... horoz.*
10. *Onu almak istemiş.*
11. *Almış. Xxxxx.*
12. *Bakmış.*
13. *Bakmış oturarak yere. (*Anne yere oturdu.)*
14. *Çocuk (Kız) da yere oturmuş bakmış.*
15. *Çocuk (Kız) onu çok beğenmiş.*
16. *(Ahırın kapısını) Açmış.*
17. *(Horoz) Gitmiş gitmiş.*
18. *(Horoz) Binmiş arabaya.*
19. *(Ahırın kapısı) Kapanmış.*
20. *Annesi de binmiş.*

21. Çocuk (kız) da şuraya (arabaya) binmiş.
22. Almış...babası buraya park etmiş.
23. Babası çıkmış arabadan
24. gitmiş gitmiş.
25. * Baba salonda koltuğa oturmuş.
26. Televizyon seyretmiş çocukla (erkek çocuk).
27. Köpek sıkılmış yerde
28. koltuğa oturmuş.
29. Sonra çocuk (kız) çıkmak istemiş bu arabadan.
30. *Kız arabadan çıktı.
31. (Kız)Gitmiş gitmiş
32. (Kız)Buradan...şuradan çıkamamış. (*Çiftliğin penceresinden yukarı tırmanmaya çalıştı. Yapamadı.)
33. (Kız)Gitmiş gitmiş buradan.
34. (Kız)Biraz da şöyle gitmiş. Gitmiş.
35. (Kız) Şöyle burada (ahırların arasına) oturmuş...
36. (Kızın)Canı sıkılmış.
37. Ondan sonra (kız) çatıya çıkmak istemiş.
38. (Kız) Çıkmış.(Zemin kata çıktı.)
39. (Kız) Atlamış. (1.kata atladı.)
40. (Kız) Sonra bi daha atlamış.
41. *Çatıya çıktı.
42. Çatıda da şey yapıyormuş.(Kız)Orada hep kiremitleri aşağıya atmış.

43. Babası da çıkmış sonra da...
44. Sonra "Ne yaptın?" demiş.
45. Kız: "Birşey yapmadım." demiş.
46. (Kız) Sonra hemen atlamış buradan
47. Babası da atlamış
48. Baba: "Kiremitleri kim yaptı?" demiş.
49. Kız: "Ben yaptım" demiş.
50. Sonra şuradan gitmiş(ler) böyle. (*Çiftliğin arkasında dolandılar)
51. Sonra buradan çıkmışlar. (*Ahırların arasından çıktılar.)
52. Sonra babasıyla çocuk (kız) burada (ahırların önüne) oturmuş.
53. Sonra sonra köpekle çocuk (erkek çocuk) (çiftliğe) gelmiş. Gelmiş.
54. Buraya (çiftliğin 2. katına) oturmuş(lar).
55. Sonra sonra bu (domuz) da buraya (2. kata) oturmuş.
56. Sonra (kuzu) yanına gelmiş kopek(in).
57. (Kuzu)Burada oturmuş.
58. Bu (erkek) çocuk da gelmiş buraya (çiftliğin penceresine).
59. Ondan sonra camları kapatmış çocuk. Burada...
60. Babası görmesin diye.
61. Sonra (çifti atın yanına) gelmiş.
62. Çiftçi: "Neden bunlar çalınmış" demiş buna.

63. Büyük at: "Çünkü çocukla babası, kız annesi onları götürmüşler.

64. Bir hayvanat... bir yerine koymuşlar."

65. *İneği alıp dışarı atın yanına koydu.

66. Çiftçi de bunları (hayvanları) almış geri.

67. *Domuzu dışarı koydu

68. Sonra bunu (kuzuyu) da almış.

69. Buraya (çiftliğin önüne) koymuş.

70. Bunu (küçük atı) da almış.

71. Buraya (çiftliğin önüne) koymuş.

72. Bunu (küçük kuzuyu)da almış.

73. *Çiftliğin önüne koydu.

74. Bunu (Büyük inegi)da almış.

75. Kapıları kapatmış.

76. Böyle çocuk da bakmış.

77. Erkek Çocuk: "Burada şey yok demiş. Yani kuzu. Kuzu."

78. Aşağı da bakmış.

79. Erkek Çocuk: "Hiç kimse yok demiş burada."

80. Babası da, köpeği de (aşağı) atlamış.

81. Çiftçi de korumuş onları.

82. *Köpek ve çocuk uzaklaştılar.

83. Ondan sonra şurada şey yapmışlar. Ayaklarını (halıya) silmişler.

84. *Balkon kapısını açtılar.

85. *Balkona çıktılar.

86. *Sonra buradan bakmışlar. Bakmış.*

87. *Baktıktan sonra şey yapmış. Bu buradan şöyle çıkmış.*

88. *Kapı (balkon kapısı) kapanmış.*

89. *Köpek de çocuk da çıkamamış.*

90. *(Aşağı) atlamışlar.*

91. *Sonra (ev kapısını) kapıyı şuradan kapatmışlar.*

92. *Sonra gitmişler.*

93. *Bu kapıyı (yan kapı)da kapatmışlar.*

94. *Sonra şu...Sonra burayı da kapatmışlar şöyle.*

95. *(Çiftlik kapısını)Burayı açmışlar.*

96. *Bir bakmışlar*

97. *Şurayı (çiftlik pencerelerini)da açmış...*

98. *(Köpek)Buradan (çiftliğin 2. katına) atlamış.*

99. *(Kümeşe)Buraya oturmuş.*

100. *Pencereleri kapattı.

101. *Sonra (çocuk) bu da buraya (ahırların arasına) oturmuş.*

102. *"Köpek nerede?" demiş çocuk.*

103. *O (çocuk)da gitti.*

104. *"Nerede?" demiş.*

105. *Yukarı bakmış.*

106. *Çocuk yukarı atladı.

107. *Kapısını açmış. (Dışarıdan çiftlik pencerelerini açtı.)*

108. *"Burdasın" demiş.*

109. *Sonra çatıya çıkmış.*
110. *Sonra hep şey yapmış. Bakmış.*
111. *Sonra köpek de çıkmak istemiş.*
112. *Çıkmış.*
113. *Kapısını (pencereleri) kapatmış.*
114. *İkisi de bakmış.*
115. *Ondan sonra...Sonra çocuk şurada durmuş.*
116. *O da durmuş köpek de.*
117. *Bacaya tamir yapmaya*
118. *gitmiş kopek.*
119. *"Bacada hiçbirşey yok" demiş.*
120. *(bacanın üzerine)Burada oturmuş.*
121. *Çocuk da burada (diğer bacanın üzerinde) oturmuş.*
122. *Ondan sonra köpek otururken de düşmüş.*
123. **Çocuk aşağı indi.*
124. *Sonra çocuk köpeği hastaneye götürmüş.*
125. *Köpeği açmış (evin kapısını) kapıyı.*
126. *(Eve) Girmiş(ler).*
127. *Sonra çocuk kapıyı kapatmış.*
128. *Sonra olmuş, iğne olmuş.*
129. **Köpek kapıyı açtı.*
130. *Sonra (dışarı) çıkmış.*
131. *Sonra şey olmuş. Sonra şuraya (balkona) çıkmışlar atlayarak.*

132. (Balkonun)Kapısını açmış.
133. Bunu da açmış.
134. *Eve girdiler.
135. Sonra terlemişler.
136. Su içmişler.
137. Oturmuşlar paspasa.
138. Çocuk böyle şey yapmış.
139. Böyle bakıyorlarmış.
140. (Balkon kapıları) Kapı da kapanmış.
141. Ondan sonra şuraya (banyoya) gelmişler.
142. Köpek çişini yapmış...
143. bu yapmış yapmış.
144. Çok da gelmiş.
145. Kapağını indirmiş.
146. Sonra elini yıkamış.
147. Sonra musluğu kapatmış.
148. Sonra gitmiş.
149. Burada duş yapmış.
150. Ellerini kurulamış.
151. Böyle....sonrada hikaye bitmiş.

Direct-Elicited Narrative

1. Hikaye anlatacađım.
2. Evvel zaman içinde
3. bir tane çocuk varmış.
4. Bu çocuk annesinin sözünü dinlermiş.
5. Birgün annesinden “dışarı çıkabilir miyim” demiş.
6. Çıkmış.
7. Ondan sonra gitmiş, gitmiş.
8. Parka gitmiş... gelmiş.
9. Ondan sonra orada kaydıraklardan kaymış.
10. kaydıraktan kaydıktan sonra tahteravalliye binmiş.
11. Oradan da sallanmış.
12. Sonra palyaço gelmiş.
13. Ona... onunla oyunlar oynamış.
14. Ondan sonra da... o gittikten
15. sonra da noel baba gelmiş.
16. Ona hediyelerini vermiş.
17. Hepsini istemiş çocuk Noel baba, ondan...Çocuk ondan
istemiş hepsini
18. Vermiş ama
19. Verdikten sonra anne bakmış hepsi...
20. “bunu kim getirmiş” demiş.
21. Ondan sonra, gittikten sonra

22. "Bunu Noel baba getirmiş" demiş.
23. Ama içinde bir tane de fil varmış.
24. O fil de gerçekmiş.
25. Ama küçükmüş.
26. Ondan sonra o da fille yatmış.
27. Sonra fil...akşam olduğu zaman
28. fil buzdolabının kapısını açmış.
29. Oradan hep yiyecekleri açmış
30. Yemiş.
31. Ondan sonra da yedikten sonra hepsini yemiş
32. ve kocaman olmaya başlamış...
33. Ondan sonra yedikten sonra
34. annesi çocuk çocuğu çocuk yemiş sanmış.
35. Ama çocuk yememiş.
36. Çocuğa kızmış ama
37. Çocuk: "ben yapmadım" demiş.
38. Çocuk: "O fil yaptı" demiş.
39. Ondan sonra da bir tane...böyle fil yatmış yatağında ço... fil
40. Ondan sonra yattıktan sonra
41. aklından bir fikir gelmiş.
42. Boyama yapmak.
43. Boyama yaptıktan sonra..
44. Ondan sonra çileği boyamış.
45. Çileği boyadıktan sonra da

46. *çilek gerçek olmaya başlamış.*
47. *Ondan sonra gerçek olmuş.*
48. *Yemişler onu.*
49. *Sonra yedikten sonra...*
50. *bir tane Bir horoz varmış.*
51. *O da onun bahçelerindeymiş.*
52. *Sonra horoz kalkmış hemen.*
53. *Horozu bulamamışlar.*
54. *(Horoz) Gemiye binmişler.*
55. *(Horoz) Hemen gitmişler.*
56. *O kadar.*