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Beyond Chronicity: Evaluation and Temporality in Spanish-Speaking Children's Personal Narratives

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Key Words: narrative, language development, Andean, Spanish-speaking children, temporality, evaluation

ABSTRACT

This chapter focuses on Spanish-speaking children's evaluation and temporality in the construction of personal narratives. The study analyzes 32 personal narratives produced by 8 Andean Spanish-speaking children from the Andean city of Cusco in Peru All children were monolingual speakers of the Andean Spanish variety and came from lower-middle-class families. Half the children were preschoolers (4;9 to 5;5 years) and the other half were first-graders (6;6 to 7;8 years). Both age groups were balanced in terms of gender. Children were interviewed and tape-recorded by the author using the *Conversational Map of Narratives of Real Experiences* (McCabe & Rollins, 1994) as the elicitation procedure. Narratives were transcribed using CHAT conventions (MacWhinney, 2000) and were subsequently coded for narrative components (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) and temporal organization (Genette, 1980). Results indicated that contrary to the sequentiality and single-story structure reported as characteristic of U.S. European American English-speaking children, these Andean Spanish-speaking children's narratives present a distinctive feature labeled herein as *structural evaluation*. Structural evaluation takes two forms, either (1) a functional deviation from the timeline of real events; or (2) a chain of independent stories connected within the boundaries of a single narrative. These young narrators used these strategies to evaluate a specific point in the narrative, consequently affecting both the temporal organization of events and the episodic complexity of the narratives. Deviations from the timeline are usually identified as indicators of language pathology or immaturity for U.S. European American English-speaking children. In these Andean children's narratives, conversely, departures from the timeline served a rhetorical function that reflected a sophisticated discourse skill. Results highlight the need of data-driven interpretative approaches of

Spanish-speakers' narratives in a field increasingly focused on cultural/linguistic diversity but still dominated by Anglo-centric views of development.

INTRODUCTION

Narrative Development and Sequentiality

The study of cultural and linguistic variation in children's narrative performance has shed light on crucial differences in developmental paths. On the one hand, cross-linguistic studies attending to typological differences suggest an influence of language-specific grammatical features on children's narrative development (Slobin, 1996). On the other hand, cross-cultural studies, which focus on culture as the source of variation, have documented the impact of culturally valued patterns of communication on children's narrative development. These studies highlight the importance of interactional and sociocultural factors in development and warn us against universal standards for assessing narrative performance. These studies have documented, for example, that the topic-chaining discourse style (Michaels, 1981) and parallelism (Cazden, Michaels, & Tabors, 1985; Gee, 1996) of African American children's narratives and the multiepisodic quality of Japanese children's narratives (Minami, 2001; Minami & McCabe, 1991) are appropriate and desirable patterns in these children's speech community.

There is, however, a pervasive notion regarding narrative structure that is hardly ever contested and is usually assumed to be a requisite for appropriate narrative performance. This notion is *sequentiality* or *linearity* (Ochs & Capps, 2001) – that is, a chronological representation of events.

The study of children's narratives, in general, has assumed sequentiality as a telos toward which discourse structures progress, and it has focused on the study of chronologically organized narratives (Ochs & Capps, 2001). In fact, the classic work of Labov and Waletzky (1967), from which the majority of current studies on personal narratives stems, defines narratives precisely "by the fact that they recapitulate experience in the *same* order as the original events" (p. 21). The sequential organization of narratives has been identified as a crucial achievement in U.S. European American English-speaking children. Peterson and McCabe's (1983) research has highlighted sequentiality and focus on a single experience as goals that drive the narrative development of these children. These authors and colleagues have identified deviations from a sequential timeline as indicators of still being in an early stage of development for U.S. European American English-speaking children (McCabe & Rollins, 1994; Peterson & McCabe, 1983). In their model for assessing narrative skills, for instance, McCabe and Rollins (1994) identified seven hierarchical stages for U.S. European American English-speaking children's narrative development. Among these seven stages, "leapfrog narratives" (i.e., nonsequential) characterize the still immature performance of

4-year-olds, whereas the "classic pattern" (i.e., sequential) is reached at 6 years of age. The authors themselves define these stages as follows (McCabe & Rollins, 1994, p. 46) (brackets and emphasis are mine):

> "LEAPFROG NARRATIVE: By 4, children's narratives tend to consist of more than two events that occurred on one occasion, but they narrate the **events out of sequence** in what is called Leapfrog Narrative (. . .)

> CLASSIC NARRATIVE: Six-year-olds tell a well-formed story [that occurred on one occasion] that orients a listener to who, what, and where something happened, narrates a **sequence of events** that builds to some sort of climax or high point and then goes on to resolve itself . . . "

These authors found that U.S. European American English-speaking children's deviations from the timeline after 6 years of age are signs of language immaturity or language pathology. In addition, they have reported that these children convey narratives that focus on one single experience from an early age. McCabe and her colleagues have been very careful not to overgeneralize their findings to other populations. Indeed, as discussed previously, they have advanced our understanding of how narrative development varies across different cultural/linguistic groups (McCabe, 1997a). Ochs and Capps (2001) are among the few who have conceptualized the dimension of *linearity* as "a span of possibilities" (p. 83) in which events can be linked linearly or nonlinearly. They document four ways of children's nonlinear narrative practices: (1) *emotional outbursts,* when a narrative event triggers a child's emotional reaction in the present time; (2) *incoherent narratives,* which are the result of a child's cognitive limitations; (3) *narrative as problem solving,* in which the child is uncertain about a facet of the narrated experience and is trying to figure it out; and (4) *parallelism,* as the artful repetition of themes and forms characteristic of African American narratives. In their framework, the first three scenarios still constitute some disruption either in development or in the narration process. Only the fourth type, parallelism, is the result of a cultural aesthetic of a specific narrative tradition. Given that parallelism is not the dominant narrative aesthetic in U.S. schools, however, researchers have documented the difficulties these children face when at school they are confronted with narrative expectations that focus on sequentiality (Gee, 1996; Michaels, 1981; Ochs & Capps, 2001). The central role of sequentiality of discourse as well as the focus on a single experience, identified as dominant expectations both in developmental research and in U.S. schools call for further investigation of this dimension in different populations. Whereas the narrative aesthetics of African American children in the United States have received considerable attention, it is still necessary to study the narrative structures of other cultural groups, exploring in particular the possibility that discourse deviations from sequentiality and focus on a single experience could be linguistically and culturally appropriate for some children.

It could even be the case that for some European American English-speaking children, narrative performances that go beyond chronicity and single experience represent higher levels of achievement, just not visible in the developmental range so far studied.

In contrast to the emphasis on sequentiality characteristic of the study of children's narratives, in the field of contemporary poetics, departures from the timeline are conceived of as crucial in textual analysis (Genette, 1980; Rimmon-Kenan, 1983). Widely known narrative theories advanced by Genette and Rimmon-Kenan highlight that literary narratives rarely follow a chronological pattern and most often deviate from it. In their studies of literary works, these authors demonstrate how moves out of chronicity are important strategies through which the narrator signals different meanings. In Rimmon-Kenan's words (1983, p. 17):

> "Strict linear chronology is neither natural nor an actual characteristic of most stories. It is a conventional 'norm' which has become so widespread as to [. . .] acquire a pseudo-natural status."

The analysis offered herein focuses on the form-and-meaning relations that emerge from exploring two dimensions that lie in the interplay between representation of experience and discourse macrostructure in children's narratives: *temporality* and *scope*. Borrowing concepts from contemporary poetics, this study explores *temporal representations* – chronicity and beyond-chronicity relations – in the oral personal narratives of Peruvian Andean Spanish-speaking children as contrasted to those of U.S. Midwestern English-speaking children. A complementary structural analysis examines these narratives' *scope* – that is, the narrativization of single versus multiple experiences. Although the main goal of the study is to focus on the yet unknown narrative patterns of Andean Spanish-speaking children, it was designed as comparative so that the patterns described for the extensively studied U.S. Midwestern group could be taken as a point of reference in the temporal and structural analysis of Andean narratives.

Andean Spanish-speaking children are a particularly appealing group for studying narrative temporal organization because the anthropological literature has repeatedly highlighted that the Andean concept of time cannot be described through a linear representation, as in Western philosophies, but rather as a cyclical or spiral one, where recursive circularity is the driving force that constantly combines past, present, and future (Manga Qespi, 1994; Ortiz, 1992; Randall, 1982). As Randall synthesizes it (1982, pp. 48–49):

> The Andean mind (. . .) views history as a series of cycles (. . .) in which linear time has little meaning (. . .) This concept of world cycles continues to be the vision of contemporary Andean indigenous peoples.

Along these lines, Ortiz (1992) highlights that Andean myths captured in oral tradition could be better described as a mosaic of short narratives linked together

by thematic bonds, repetitions, or aesthetic principles. Even though making a connection between orally transmitted myths and children's narratives is neither a goal nor an assumption of this chapter, this body of research suggests a possible enculturation and socialization context in which sequentiality and single focus are not especially emphasized.

In no way does this study attempt to generalize the patterns described herein as distinct and exclusive characteristics of these two cultural/linguistic groups. The data of this study simply suggest an alternative narrative model that could prove relevant for children in other cultures and languages, which is offered here as an optional framework for interpreting children's narrative performances and not as a strict definition of a specific cultural/linguistic group.

Sociocultural Context

While narrative studies of varied cultural and linguistic groups are rapidly expanding, the global structure of diverse Spanish-speaking children's narratives still needs further research. The increasing available data suggest that Spanish-speaking children tend to produce narratives that differ from other cultural/linguistic groups (Bocaz, 1989; Gutiérrez-Clellen & Heinrichs-Ramos, 1993; Gutiérrez-Clellen & Quinn, 1995; Sebastián & Slobin, 1994; Shiro, 2003). In a comparative study of narratives produced by low-income African American and Latino children (from Central America and the Caribbean), Rodino, Gimbert, Perez, and McCabe (1991) found that Latino children did not generally narrate using sequences of events but instead favored description and evaluation. These authors claim that sequencing events is not an important characteristic of Latino narrative discourse. Although some common narrative features across diverse populations of Latino children might exist, we cannot assume that this is necessarily the case. Spanish is a widely spoken language, and the description of Spanish-speaking children from diverse communities may shed light on varied ways to portray experience in discourse.

Andean means herein that the participating children, as well as their parents and siblings, were born, raised, and have lived all their life in the highlands of Peru. The Andean regions are home of a little less than a third of the Peruvian population in a country with about 27 million inhabitants (INEI, 2005). The children in this study are specifically from Cusco, one of the most important urban centers located in the Southern Andes.

The "Andean Spanish variety properly speaking" (Escobar, 1978) is a native Spanish variety spoken in the Northern and Southern Andes and is the product of the coexistence of Spanish and Quechua in this particular Andean region.[1]

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[1] Escobar (1978) identified two other Andean Spanish varieties: the "Altiplano Spanish variety," highly influenced by Aymara, and the "Coastal and Southwestern Andean Spanish variety."

Its lexicon is predominantly Spanish, but many phonological and grammatical features reflect a Quechua influence (Cerrón Palomino, 1972; Escobar, 1978; Pozzi-Escot, 1972).

Although important research has focused on the study of Andean bilingual children and bilingual education (e.g., Hornberger, 1988; Montoya, 1990; Pozzi-Escot & Zúñiga, 1989), still little is known about language development in monolingual speakers of Andean Spanish. Furthermore, even though extensive research has documented the grammatical and phonological features of adult Andean Spanish (e.g., Camacho, Paredes, & Sánchez, 1995; Escobar, 1978; Godenzzi, 1995), the discourse level has received scarce attention (Zavala, 2001; see also chapter 6, this volume). Some research has looked at the discourse of women in the Andes (Seligmann, 2004); however, gender has not yet been explored in Peruvian Andean children's discourse. Different gender-based patterns of socialization (Uccelli, F. 1999) and school practices (Ames, 2005) have been reported for *rural* Andean children, suggesting that gender might be also a relevant dimension to consider for *urban* Andean children. Previous research on gender and narrative has reported, for instance, that English-speaking girls use evaluative devices in narratives earlier than boys (Peterson, 2001); that Mexican American mothers talk more about emotions with their daughters (Flannagan & Perese, 1998); and that urban mothers from Lima, Peru, discuss more positive emotions with their sons than with their daughters in conversations about the past (Melzi & Fernández, 2004). This line of research points to evaluation as the narrative component that might display the most salient differences across genders.

In summary, by studying the discourse of urban monolingual Andean Spanish-speaking girls and boys, this exploration seeks to shed initial light on the ways in which these children construct their personal narratives.

METHODS

Participants and Procedures

A total of 16 children participated in this study: 8 Peruvian Andean Spanish-speaking children and 8 U.S. Midwestern English-speaking children from Peterson and McCabe's (1983) dataset, whose transcribed narratives were made available thanks to the generosity of Allyssa McCabe. The children's ages ranged from 4;9 to 7;8 years and were equally divided, within each cultural/linguistic group, into preschoolers (4;9 to 5;5 years) and first-graders (6;6 to 7;8 years). Both age groups were also balanced in terms of gender.

All Andean children were monolingual speakers of Spanish whose parents were bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, and they came from lower-middle-class families. Children were from Cusco, a city located in the highlands of Peru, and all attended the same urban school. According to teacher reports and school records, none of the children had repeated a grade or had any sensory,

intellectual, language, or learning difficulty. I interviewed each of the children in their school setting with a Spanish translation of the same elicitation procedure used by Peterson and McCabe (1983), the *Conversational Map of Narratives of Real Experiences* (McCabe & Rollins, 1994). After interviews were tape-recorded and completely transcribed, the four longest narratives of each child were selected for analysis (following McCabe & Rollins, 1994) for a total of 32 narratives.

The total U.S. Midwestern group from which this subsample was drawn consisted of 96 Caucasian, working-class, monolingual English-speaking children between the ages of 3;6 and 9;6 years from a nursery school and an elementary school in a small town in Ohio. Of these, eight children were randomly selected after matching them by age and gender with the Andean Spanish-speaking participants. Because Peterson and McCabe selected the 3 longest narratives per child, a total of 24 narratives were analyzed for this group.

In summary, a total of 56 narratives, all transcribed in CHILDES format (MacWhinney, 2000), comprised the corpus analyzed in this chapter.

Dimensions of Analysis

Defining a Narrative

Labov and Waletzky (1967, p. 28) defined a minimal narrative as "a sequence of two restricted [independent] clauses which are temporally ordered." They further highlighted the role of temporality in narratives by adding that "any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture is a narrative." This classic definition was adopted by Peterson and McCabe (1983) in their influential highpoint analysis of children's narrative development and has guided several other linguistic approaches to the study of child narratives (Bamberg, 1997). As Bamberg (1997) pointed out, this definition implies a minimum requirement of two individual events sequentially ordered and assumes predicates marked by tensed verbs.

More recently, other researchers have used expanded versions of the Labov and Waletzky definition. McCabe (1997b), for instance, in reporting 2-year-olds' productions of one-event narratives, states that "had we not adopted a broad definition of narrative; that is, had we defined a minimal narrative as consisting of two past events in sequence . . . these early productions would have been excluded" (McCabe, 1997b, p. 144). Minami (2001) takes this point further, highlighting that older children and even adults produce appropriate narratives that contain only one event – for example, some Japanese haiku narratives follow a minimalist tradition of storytelling (Minami & McCabe, 1991). Because this is an initial approach toward understanding the narrative performance of a cultural/linguistic group that has not been previously studied, I also opted for a broad definition of personal narrative: an type of connected discourse that provides an account of related events that have been personally experienced (Hudson & Shapiro, 1991).

Analytical Instruments

Contemporary poetics (Genette, 1980; Rimmon-Kenan, 1983), episodic analysis (Peterson & McCabe, 1983), and highpoint analysis (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) are the three sources used in this chapter to analyze the following dimensions of narrative:

1. *Temporal representation.* This dimension can be best described by Genette's (1980) notion of "order." Following Genette, "order" concerns the relations between the succession of events and their linear disposition in the narrative text. In his framework, anachronies are a crucial aspect of textual analysis; thus, these analytical instruments aim to identify the following narrative temporal departures:
   - *Temporal graph.* To display the relationship between the timeline of events and the narrative timeline, a simple graph was designed. First, the clauses classified as events (i.e., temporally anchored actions of the characters or natural occurrences, such as *I fell down*) were selected. Background actions, such as *My grandmother was living in the country/ she had a lot of harvest* or *I was taking the can to my room*, offered descriptive information that functions as setting. Therefore, they were not included in the selection. The second step involved plotting the sequence of these selected clauses against the sequence of real events to which they refer. (Figure 8.1 displays a temporal graph that represents a chronological sequence.)
   - *Temporal categories.* The two possible deviations from sequentiality are:
     – *Analepsis* (i.e., retrospection or flashback) is the narration of an event at a point in the text after later events have been told.
     – *Prolepsis* (i.e., foreshadowing or anticipation) is the narration of an event at a point in the text before earlier events have been told (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983).
2. *Scope.* Scope refers to the narrativization of single versus multiple experiences. In the field of children's narratives, two main structural analyses dominate the scene. The first is *episodic analysis* or *story grammar*, which describes narratives as composed of problem-solving episodes that contain causal components, such as *events, attempts,* or *consequences* (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Stein & Glenn, 1979. The second, *highpoint analysis*, which is Peterson and McCabe's (1983) adaptation of the Labovian method (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), conceives of narrative as recapitulation of events structured around a climax – that is, a highly evaluated point. Narrative components are defined, in this framework, based on the contrast between referential (i.e., actions and background information) and evaluative elements (i.e., devices that signal the narrator's perspective). Whereas story grammar has been traditionally applied to fictional narratives and highpoint analysis to personal narratives, these two

methods can be integrated into an analytical instrument that provides insights from both. In this study, I applied an integrated analytical instrument that included the following codes[2]:

- *Clause-level codes*: Clauses were coded according to Peterson and McCabe's (1983) adaptation of episodic categories, but *evaluation* was added. Any unit that was present in the narrative because of causal requirement was coded as an *event,* a *motivating state,* an *attempt,* or a *consequence.* Additional units were coded as *setting, reactions, appendages,* or *evaluation.*
- *Structural patterns*: At a higher level, clauses were organized into larger units, labeled *structural patterns* (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). These structural patterns were defined on the basis of connectedness and causal relationships among clauses.

3. *Evaluative dimension*: Evaluation refers to the individual meanings emphasized through storytelling. As defined by Labov and Waletzky (1967, p. 37), evaluation is "the part of the narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some units as compared to others." This dimension affects the structuring of narratives because the most salient events are highlighted through varied linguistic strategies that do not advance the narrative plot: by repeating them, explicitly telling how important they are, raising intonation, adding a series of adjectives, or accompanying them with onomatopoeias and/or elongations (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). By capturing linguistic devices that express the narrators' attitude, the analysis enters the realm of interpretation. Through this dimension, it is possible to understand how meaning and structure affect each other in the construction of narratives.

Inter-rater reliability for coding categories was assessed using Cohen's Kappa (Cohen, 1960). Of the randomly selected narratives, 15% were coded by another Peruvian researcher who was bilingual in Spanish and English. A coefficient of 0.71 was computed, which is regarded as good agreement by Bakeman and Gottman (1986). Afterwards, all remaining disagreements were resolved.

RESULTS

Temporal Representation

As introduced previously, "order" (Genette, 1980) concerns the relations between the succession of real events and their linear disposition in the text.

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[2] It is important to clarify here that my analyses do not carry over the assumption of universals held by episodic analysts but rather simply attempt to identify the specific characteristics of the predominant narrative patterns for this specific group of children.
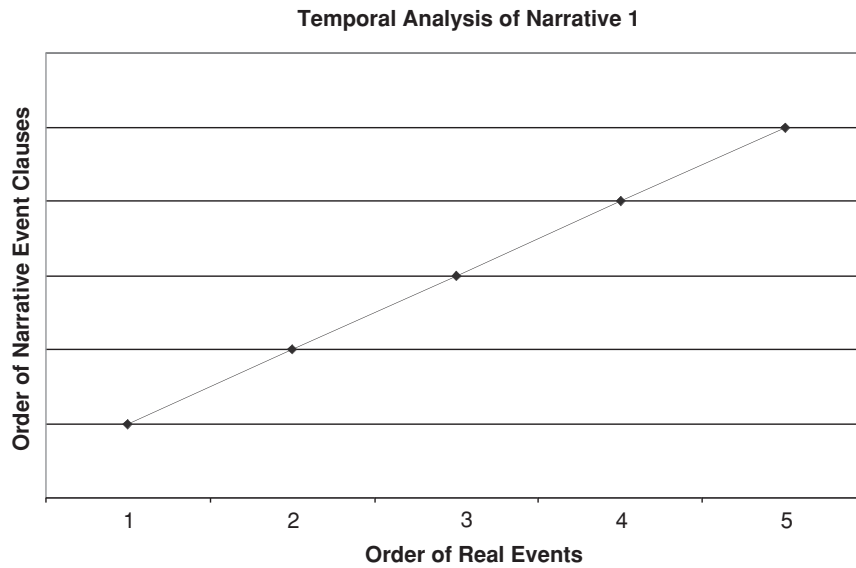
Temporal Analysis of Narrative 1

Figure 8.1. Temporal analysis of Narrative 1, told by Gonzalo, a 7;9-year-old boy.

The following temporal graph used to visually display this relation is offered here with an example:

Order of Real Events	**Clause Number**
[**Real Timeline**]	[**Narrative Timeline**]
I approached the beebee}	**5** *I approached {it = the}*
2 I got stung by it	**6** *I got stung*
3 someone took the sting out	**8** *and {they} took its sting out of me*
4 it itched	**9** *but it itched*
5 it still itches	**10** *it still itches*
(Narrative 1: Gonzalo, 7;9 years)	

As Figure 8.1 shows, the narrative produced by Gonzalo, an Andean 7;9-year-old boy, displays a temporal organization that mirrors the order of real events. The Y axis displays the narrative timeline – that is, the order in which narrative event clauses were presented by the child. For example, *I approached {it}* was the first event clause in this child's narrative. The X axis displays the real timeline of events – that is, the order in which the actual events (those reported by narrative event clauses) occurred in the real experience. For example, the narrative event clause *I approached {it}* referred to the real event I approached the bee.[3] In the graph, each *narrative event clause* is matched with the corresponding real event

[3] In all examples, narrative event clauses are written in italics and the real events that those clauses report are underlined.

Table 8.1. *Narratives divided by temporal organization and number of children producing each type*

	Andean spanish-speaking children		U.S. midwestern english-speaking children	
	Sequential	Nonsequential	Sequential	Non-equential
Narratives	14 (44%)	18 (56%)	11 (46%)	13 (54%)
Children	7 (88%)	8 (100%)	6 (75%)	7 (88%)

it reports. Figure 8.1 shows that the first *narrative event clause* told by the child referred to the <u>real event</u> that happened first in his experience (see bottom left of graph); the second *narrative event clause* to the second <u>real event</u>; and so on, displaying a narrative timeline that corresponded to the real timeline of the experience. Therefore, this narrative displays a sequential pattern.

Pure sequentiality, however, is not the predominant pattern for the narratives analyzed in this study. Table 8.1 indicates the number of sequential versus nonsequential narratives found for each group.

As shown in Table 8.1, 18 of 32 (56%) of the narratives told by Andean children are nonsequential. It is interesting that for the U.S. Midwestern children, the distribution of sequential (46%) versus nonsequential (54%) narratives is almost identical, in proportional terms.

Group differences emerged, however, when a closer examination of the nonsequential category was undertaken. The sequential category contains only narratives that mirror the timeline of events; however, within the nonsequential category, two kinds of departures were identified during the analysis: partial and full departures.

Partial Departures
Partial departures from sequentiality are nonsequential events that are expressed either through reported speech or in the form of an abstract (i.e., a brief summary of what is to come). As Rimmon-Kenan (1983) states, instead of being directly attributed to the narrator, these analepses and prolepses filtered. An example of a partial departure is the following fragment by an Andean 5-year-old boy: *"I got sick on Sunday and my father called the doctor and the nurse said that the doctor went on a trip"* (Alonso, 5;1 years). Even though the trip of the doctor in this narrative was the first event that happened in the timeline of real events, this does not constitute a real analepsis because it is part of a chronological and reportorial speech act.

An interesting finding is that abstracts and reported speech departures are inversely distributed in the two cultural/linguistic groups: more than half of the partial departures in English narratives occur in the form of an abstract (7/11), but only 3 of 10 of the Spanish narratives with partial departures include abstracts, whereas all the others contain departures through reported speech.

Table 8.2. *Narratives classified by type of temporal representation*

	Sequential	Partial	Full
32 Andean Narratives	14 (44%)	10 (31%)	8 (25%)
24 U.S. Midwestern Narratives	11 (46%)	11 (46%)	2 (8%)

Abstracts and reported speech clauses serve very different functions within narratives. Thus, these findings could justify two independent hypotheses. First, the narratives of U.S. Midwestern children in this group seem to reflect that a brief summary of the narrative to come is a highly valued feature, whereas for Andean Spanish-speaking children, that narrative feature does not seem to be particularly relevant. Previous research on Peruvian Spanish-speaking children also highlights the absence of abstracts in those children's narratives (Minaya-Portella, 1980). Second, in contrast to the English narratives, Andean Spanish narratives contain many reports of characters' actual words. These narrative preferences could signal cultural values associated with different skills and varied forms of parsing and selecting what is worth talking about in each society.

In summary, partial departures are not real analepses attributable to the narrator (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983) and, because the boundaries of chronicity have not really been surpassed, narratives with partial departures can still be described as following a sequential organization. Therefore, the core of the comparison along the temporal dimension entails the exploration of full departures.

Full Departures

These departures are the narrator's moves that deviate from the timeline by referring directly to nonsequential events. As Table 8.2 indicates, of the 18 nonsequential Andean narratives, 8 (equivalent to 25% of that group) contain full departures. On the contrary, there were just 2 English narratives with full departures of 13 nonsequential English narratives.

Moreover, when narratives were divided into age groups (i.e., preschoolers and first-graders), the differences became even more striking. As shown in Table 8.3, the number of sequential narratives and narratives with partial departures decreases in older Andean children, whereas the number of narratives with full departures increases considerably. In contrast to the English group, where only one first-grader produced one narrative with full departures, almost all Andean first-graders produced one or more narratives with full departures (the seven

Table 8.3. *Andean Spanish-speaking children's narratives classified by type of temporal representation and divided into age groups*

	Sequential	Partial	Full
16 Preschoolers' narratives	9 (56%)	6 (38%)	1 (6%)
16 First-graders' narratives	5 (31%)	4 (25%)	7 (44%)

narratives were produced by three of the four Andean first-graders). This more salient difference in the older age groups suggests movement toward different cultural/linguistic models of narrative performance.

In summary, at the temporal representation level, one fourth of the Spanish narratives exhibited full departures, whereas fewer than one tenth of the English narratives displayed this temporal deviation. Moreover, *all* Andean children in this sample produced at least one narrative with some kind of departure from the timeline of real events. In addition, almost all of them (i.e., seven of the eight) produced at least one sequential narrative as well; in other words, these children can also narrate chronologically organized structures. These findings suggest that in contrast to the U.S. Midwestern children, as Andean children grow older, the predominant pattern is *not* to remain within the boundaries of sequentiality but rather to move beyond chronicity.

Scope: Narrativization of One Versus Multiple Experiences

Beyond the level of the clause, at the level of structural patterns, the scope of what gets narrativized within the boundaries of one narrative was compared across the groups.

First, the number of *sequences* and *episodes* – the major types of structural patterns – contained in a single narrative were used as an index of how many structural patterns the child was integrating within a single narrative.[4] *Episodes* or *sequences* identify the connected parts of the main action of *one* happening (e.g., approaching a flower; being stung by a bee; going home and being cured by mother). A *happening* refers to the connected events that occurred at one occasion. Some narratives in this dataset referred not only to one happening but also to many connected happenings within the boundaries of one narrative (e.g., vaccination as a baby; surgery at 3 years of age; recent visit to the doctor). The term *anecdote* is used from now on to refer to one happening within a longer narrative.[5]

First, narratives were classified into two kinds: *unistructural* (i.e., those with one sequence or one episode) and *multistructural* (i.e., those with more than

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[4] Notice that a higher number of structures does not necessarily index a higher degree of narrative sophistication because a one-episode narrative that involves elaborated causal and temporal connections could be "more complex" than a "simple" account that contains a series of action sequences. In any case, how to define "complexity" is in itself a controversial issue and one that does not directly concern us here. Thus, the term *structural multiplicity* does not contain any assumptions regarding complexity.

[5] The criteria for specifying the boundaries between anecdotes were inductively derived from the data analysis. These boundaries were established on the basis of shifts in a combination of some of the following narrative elements:

- narrator: from protagonist narrator to witness narrator
- characters: from set of characters A to set of characters B
- time and setting: non-contiguous change of setting and time of action
- conflict definition: a shift in the specificity of the conflict (e.g., from a happening about a stomachache to an independent one about a very high fever)

Table 8.4. *Multistructural narratives divided by number of anecdotes and by number of different children producing each type*

	Andean Spanish-speaking children		U.S. midwestern english-speaking children	
	Unianecdotal narratives	Multianecdotal narratives	Unianecdotal narratives	Multianecdotal narratives
Narratives	9/32 (28%)	8/32 (25%)	6/24 (25%)	2/24 (8%)
Children	4 (50%)	5 (63%)	4 (50%)	2 (25%)

This table contains only the narratives identified as multistructural (i.e., 17 Andean and 8 Midwestern narratives) because only those structures allow for a multianecdotal pattern.

one episode or a combination of sequences and episodes). Whereas 53% of the Spanish narratives display a multistructural organization, more than half of the English narratives (63%) present a unistructural one.

Then, narratives were further classified as *unianecdotal* (i.e., those with only one anecdote) and *multianecdotal* narratives (i.e., those that link different anecdotes within the boundaries of one narrative). Frequencies of unianecdotal and multianecdotal narratives are reported in Table 8.4.

The most interesting finding regarding overall structure is that 25% – a quarter of the narratives produced by the Andean children – are not only multistructural but also multianecdotal. In contrast, only two U.S. children's narratives (less than 10%) contain more than one anecdote.

UNDERSTANDING THE RESULTS

As Tables 8.5 through 8.7 summarize, the previous sections reported the proportional differences in the two cultural/linguistic groups, highlighting the Andean children's tendencies toward temporal departures and multianecdotal narratives.

In contrast to the conclusions from U.S. research, the departures from temporality in the Andean Spanish narratives do not appear as problematic or as evidence of language deficiencies. On the contrary, narratives with full departures

Table 8.5. *Narratives with full departures*

Full departures – All children	
Andean spanish narratives	Midwestern english narratives
8/32 (25%)	2/24 (8%)

Table 8.6. *Narratives with full departures among first-graders*

Full departures – First-graders	
Andean Spanish Narratives	Midwestern English Narratives
7/16 (44%)	1/12 (8%)

were some of the most sophisticated and effective texts in this dataset. Why do Andean narratives seem coherent and effective despite these "deviations" and "lack of single focus"? In line with Ochs and Capps' (2001) conceptualization of *linearity* as a range of possibilities, the narrative structures described herein seem to constitute yet another possibility of a nonlinear narrative aesthetic. The following section offers an interpretative framework in which temporal departures and multianecdotal structures are understood as *functional* within the global structure of these texts.

Andean Spanish Narratives: Beyond Chronicity

One of Labov and Waletzky's (1967) main contributions was the description of evaluation as occurring by *suspending* the recapitulation of events. In the case of these Andean Spanish-speaking children, however, evaluation is conveyed not through suspension of the timeline but rather through the alteration of the order of the real timeline. This evaluative strategy is not located within the boundaries of the clause but rather affects the whole structure of the narratives; therefore, I call it *structural evaluation.*

Following Genette's (1980) terminology, *analepses* are "flashbacks" or "retrospection" and *prolepses* are "foreshadowing" or "anticipation." Andean Spanish narratives displayed both analepses and prolepses as *functional departures* from the timeline – that is, as strategies serving the purpose of signaling the narrator's perspective toward the narrated experience.

Table 8.7. *Narratives with multiple anecdotes*

Multianecdotal narratives – All children	
Andean spanish narratives	Midwestern english narratives
8/32 (25%)	2/24 (8%)

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Narratives with Analeptic Evaluation

In this narrative, Lara, a 7;6-year-old girl, brought an embedded story from the past to emphasize one specific point, as follows:

		Spanish Original	**English Translation**
	Interviewer:	*¿Y aquí en tu labio qué te pasó?*	And what happened here on your lip?
1	Child:	*Es que me cayó una lata.*	A can hit me.
	Interviewer:	*¿Cómo fue? Cuéntame.*	How did it happen? Tell me about it.
2	Child:	*Es que yo estaba llevando a mi cuarto una lata*	I was taking a can to my room
3		*después mi hermano me estaba haciendo*	and then my brother was showing me
4		*para jugar como volley*	[that he wanted] to play volleyball [with the can]
5		*y mi hermano me lo tiró*	and my brother threw it to me
6		*y me cayó en acá*	and {it} hit me here [pointing to her lip]
7		*y mi mami me lo quería coser*	and my mom wanted to stitch it
8		*pero mi papi no me lo quería hacer coser*	but my daddy didn't want to stitch it
9		***porque a mi hermano lo cosieron esto***	**because my brother was stitched**
10		***y quedó feo***	**And {his scar} became awful**
11		*y mi papi me puso huevo.*	And my daddy put egg [on my lip].[6]

(Narrative 2, by Lara 7;6 years)

Figure 8.2 displays the relationship between the narrative timeline and the order of real events:

Order of Real Events	**Order of Narrative Event Clauses**
[Real Timeline]	[Narrative Timeline]
	1 *a can hit me*
1 <u>my brother was stitched</u>	**5** ***and*** *my brother threw it to me*
2 <u>and his scar became awful</u>	**6** *and {it} hit me here* [pointing to her lip]
3 <u>my brother threw a can to me</u>	**9** because *my brother was stitched*
4 <u>the can hit me on my lip</u>	**10** *and {his scar} became awful*
5 <u>my daddy put egg on it</u>	**11** *and my daddy put egg {on it}*

[6]To use egg for curing wounds is a common practice in some Andean regions.
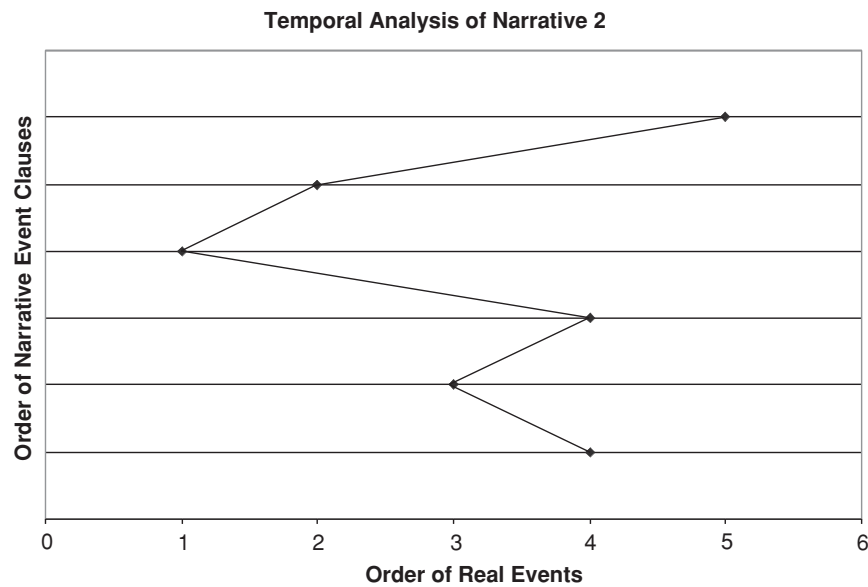
Temporal Analysis of Narrative 2

Figure 8.2. Temporal analysis of Narrative 2, told by Lara, a 7;6-year-old girl.

As the temporal graph shows, Lara starts by expressing the main event of the narrative as an abstract: *a can hit me*. Then she goes back to the previous events that caused that to happen and narrates them in sequence. After that, she makes the most interesting temporal move: she introduces a second anecdote, about her brother, from a past that antedates the starting point of the first anecdote. Why does this girl "violate" chronicity? To understand this narrative, the dimensions of evaluation and causality need to be included in the analysis. The meaning this girl is constructing resides not only in the content of her clauses but also in the way in which she has organized them. By introducing this second anecdote at this point of the narrative, Lara is both explaining and evaluating the fact that she was not given stitches – like her brother had been – but rather was cured with an egg, as her father wanted. This temporal deviation is far from being the result of a language delay or of any other linguistic difficulty. On the contrary, it reflects a complex ability to associate experiences that occurred at different times and integrate them into a single narrative frame by establishing relationships of causality and evaluation. In this case of structural evaluation, the second anecdote is reported after later events have already been told; therefore, I call it a *narrative with analeptic evaluation* (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983).

Another example that displays a functional deviation from the real timeline is the narrative told by Ana, a 6;9-year-old girl. In the following narrative, Ana tells us about one time when she got injured and needed to be cured by a doctor in the hospital:

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		Spanish Original	**English Translation**
1	**Child:**	*Un día en el hospital Antonio Lorena, no venía el panadero*	One day in the Antonio Lorena hospital the baker wasn't coming
2		*para que yo desayune*	so that I could have breakfast
3		*es que no había desayunado en mi casa*	because I hadn't had breakfast at home
4		*porque mi mami como trabaja en el hospital Antonio Lorena*	because my mom works at the Antonio Lorena hospital
5		*nos apuramos rápido*	{we} hurried up quickly
6		*y no venía el panadero*	and the baker wasn't coming
7		*entonces al fin que llegó*	then finally {he} arrived
8		*y estaban arreglando el piso*	and {some people} were fixing the floor
9		*porque mi mami antes trabajaba*	because in the past my mom used to work
10		*para cocinar*	{so she could} cook
11		*y entonces estaban arreglando el piso*	and so {they} were fixing the floor
12		*y yo me he desbarrancado*	and I ran
13		*y me he caído*	and {I} fell down
14		*y toda mi cara sangre había*	and there was blood all over my face
	Interviewer:	*¡Oh! Toda tu cara de sangre! ¿Y entonces?*	Oh! All your face with blood and then?
15	**Child:**	*Me han curado*	{They} cured me
16		*me han llevado donde la jefa de mi mamá*	{they} brought me to my mother's boss
17		*para que me quede*	so that {I} could stay there
18		*después me han curado*	after that {they} cured me
19		*hasta me ha salido de mi nariz sangre chajjí así*	even my nose bled chajj! like this
20		*y mi mami pensaba*	and my mom thought
21		*que me la había <roto> [?]*	that it was <broken> [?]
22		*y nada, no había ninguna heridita*	and nothing, there was no wound
23		*y la doctora nos dijo*	and the doctor told us
24		*que había sido como caí*	that {it} was since {I} fell down {it}

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		Spanish Original	**English Translation**
25		*reventó así y así*	{it} burst like this and this
			[enacting the bleeding of her nose with her hands]
	Interviewer:	*Cayó un chorro*	Lots {of blood} came out
26	**Child:**	*Chass! cayó así*	Splash! {it = the blood} came out like this
27		*y entonces después me curó pues*	and then later {she} cured me
28		*en esa edad mi hermano tenía cuatro cinco*	at that age my brother was four years old
29		*ya estaba en colegio*	{he} was already in school
30		*y entonces desde ese día no me ha gustado correr mucho.*	and then since that day I don't like to run very much.

(Narrative 3, by Ana, 6;9 years)

Order of Real Events	**Order of Narrative Event Clauses**
[Real Timeline]	[Narrative Timeline]
1 we hurried up	5
2 the baker arrived	7
3 I ran	12
4 I fell down	13, 24
5 my nose "exploded"	25
6 my nose bled	19, 26
7 they brought me to my mother's boss	16
8 they cured me	15, 18, 27
9 the doctor said	23

As displayed by Figure 8.3, as Ana's narrative unfolds, the anachronies become more frequent. The first proleptic event is clause 15, which is offered as a label, or generalization, for the episode to follow. Ana says "I got cured" and then starts specifying the details in which that happened. Then, the first analeptic move is clause 19, where she refers to the fact that her nose bled – information that she had already conveyed in a descriptive form in clause 14. This event is repeated once more in clause 26. It is interesting that this girl is not introducing an external anecdote, as Lara did in the previous example. In this narrative, Ana is altering the chronicity within the events of one single anecdote. As strange as this narrative might appear to foreign eyes and ears, it was perceived by me as perfectly acceptable and highly entertaining at the time of the
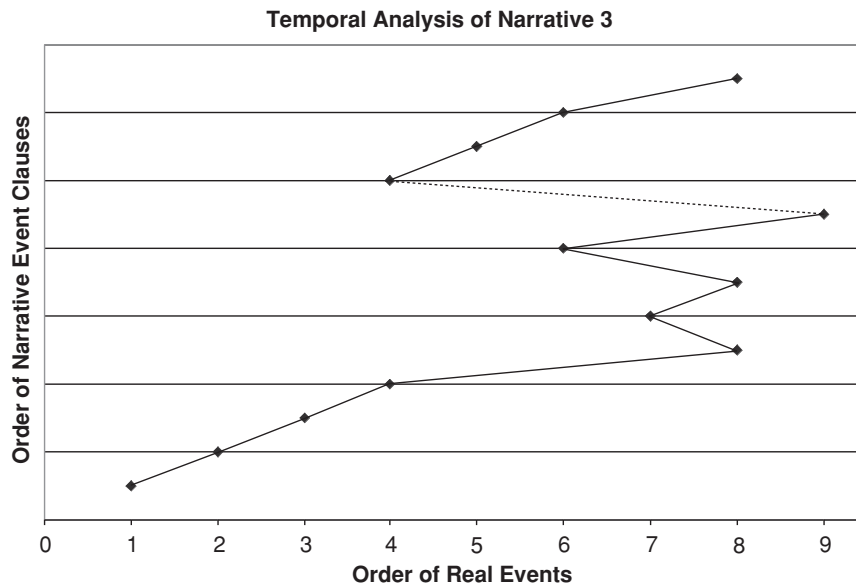
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Figure 8.3. Temporal analysis of Narrative 3, told by Ana; a 6;9 year-old girl.

interview.[7] Here, as with the previous example, the temporal analysis combined with the evaluative dimension offers an illuminating perspective for interpreting how meaning and structure are intertwined in Ana's performance. First, if we observe the analeptic events of this narrative (i.e., clauses 19 and 26),[8] it becomes evident that both refer to the most emotionally charged moment of Ana's narrativized experience: the moment her nose bled. Both clauses include, in addition, evaluative onomatopoeias, and the second one (i.e., clause 26) is even accompanied by the physical enactment of the scene. Thus, these analeptic events are both functioning as evaluative devices to emphasize how awful her accident was.

Then, if we go further to analyze the events that Ana chooses to repeat throughout the narrative, they are the cause of the most emotionally loaded point (13, 24); the most emotionally charged point, itself (19, 26); and the final resolution (15, 18, 27). Contrary to telling a temporally disorganized narrative, what this girl is doing is rhetorically evaluating the most salient events of this particular experience through the narrative structure. Instead of arbitrarily telling nonsequential events in a disorganized fashion, she discriminates and selects the events that "deserve" to be highlighted through retrospection

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[7] In fact, I was not even aware of anything happening at the temporal level.
[8] Clauses 24 and 25 are "reported-speech clauses" of what the doctor said; therefore, they are just partial departures.
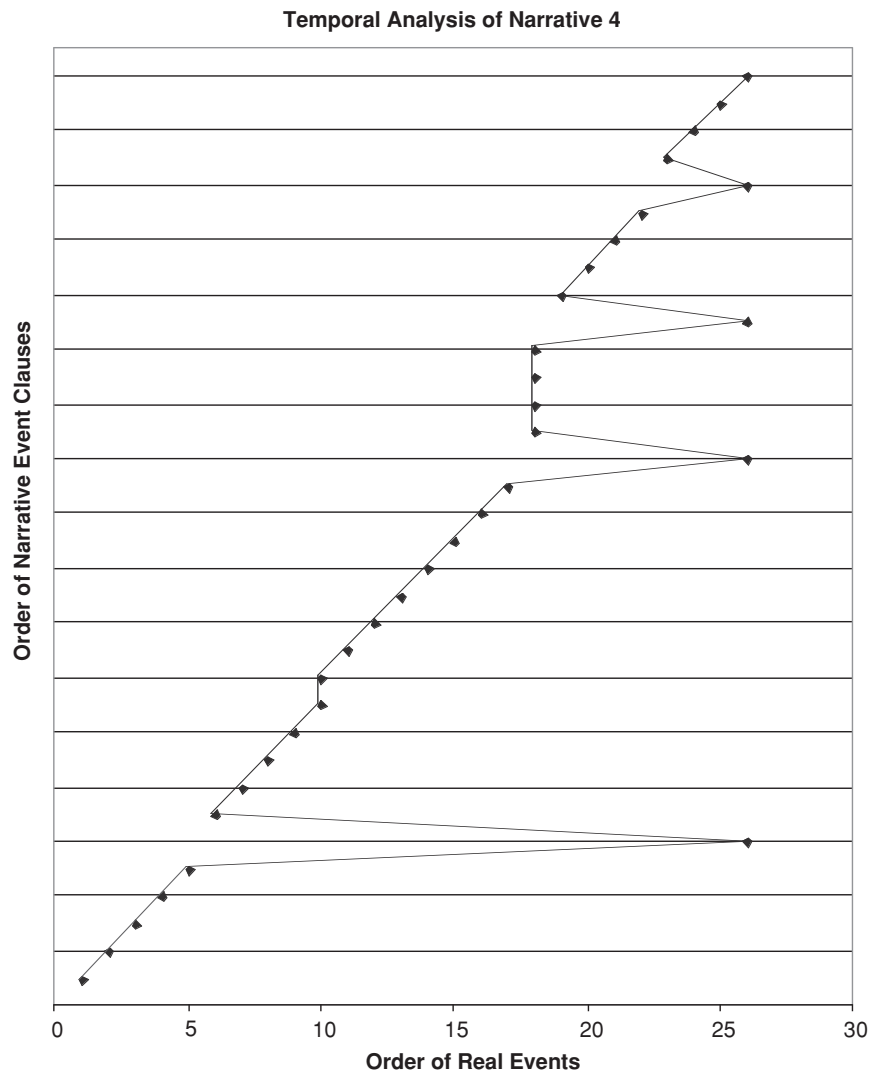
Temporal Analysis of Narrative 4

Figure 8.4. Temporal analysis of Narrative 4, told by Ana; a 6;9 year-old girl.

and repetition, and she achieves a dramatic performance that is highly effective.

Narratives With Proleptic Evaluation

Narrative 4 presents a series of continuing episodes about the life of Samanta, Ana's (6;9 years) cat. This especially long narrative consists of 95 clauses grouped in 6 episodes, which could be labeled as follows: (1) the arrival of the cat at Ana's

home; (2) Ana's mother's acceptance of the cat; (3) the process of naming the cat; (4) and (5) the process of Samanta becoming a spoiled cat; (6) an evaluative episode; and (7) finally, a reference to Samanta's descendants (see Appendix A for the complete version of this narrative). Throughout this extended "life history," a proleptic event is constantly stated: the fact that Samanta turned into a spoiled and lazy pet when she grew up. Ana moves beyond chronicity several times in her telling: she highlights the final end of her narrative and goes back to continue with the cat's story. This interesting narrative connects episodes of the lifetime of a cat with the function of showing how the narrator herself and her family caused the transformation of Samanta into a spoiled pet. The episodes themselves are thus evaluative, but the point is further emphasized by repeated reference to the proleptic event: Samanta's spoiling. Figure 8.4 displays the temporal graph of this narrative.

In summary, these three narratives illustrate not only that these children express departures from the timeline but also that such departures function to evaluate a specific point in the story.

MIDWESTERN ENGLISH NARRATIVES: CHRONICITY AS THE GOAL

In the English dataset, the two full departures – in addition to representing a minimal proportion of the group – exhibit very different characteristics from those observed in the Spanish group. One narrative with full departure was produced by a 5-year-old girl, Lucy, and the other by a 7-year-old girl, Rose. The relevant fragments of both narratives are reproduced herein.

PART 1

Child:	My friend Gary Shovel, he's in first grade and I went over there and they were eating supper (. . .) And I was waiting on the bed and, um, Gary, well, he, his mother gave him a jelly glass and he broke it
Interviewer:	And he broke it.

PART 2

Child:	**After it was, um, after it,** whatever was in there **well** he drank it out after, after a while he was playing around with Cindy (. . .)
Child:	**Uh, yeah, and, um, well,** they got, when they played then he musta knocked his elbow, but it musta . . .
Interviewer:	He must have knocked his elbow? Uh huh?
Child:	And, and, then, um, jelly glass musta slipped offa the table and it broke.

The next narrative is about a trip to Rose's Grandpa, Jamie, and Elsie's house. After an elaborated orientation, Rose continues as follows[9]:

Child:		(...)
	15	so, we ate breakfast
	16	we got dressed
	17	packed our suitcases (...)
	20	so we went
	21	and we got there (...)
	29	and we called Jamie for surprise
	30	and, so we went there
	31	and Ricky told us
	32	where she (= Elsie) was, at Margaret's, at the party
	33	Ricky didn't want to go
	34	See, he's lazy
	35	*He flunked a lot of times*
	36	*He just graduated*
Interviewer		Oh.
Child		**And, so** [**pause**] we went over to Margaret's and knocked on the door

(Rose, 7-year-old girl)

The highlighted portions of the examples in both narratives indicate that the moves out of chronicity are signaled by discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1994), which function both as flashing lights and as transitional bridges between the chronological sequence and the deviation. This is an illuminating finding that retrospectively enriches the analysis of Andean Spanish narratives by foregrounding the natural way in which these children move in and out of chronicity without any need for special markers. Lucy's and Rose's discourse markers are expressed in the form of repetitions, hesitations, and pauses; it is enormously interesting that children of this young age are already recognizing the need to mark the deviation. This expressed need seems to confirm Peterson and McCabe's (1983) finding of the importance of sequentiality for this cultural/linguistic group. Another illustrative example of this tendency toward sequentiality is the following narrative fragment by Paul, a 5-year-old boy:

> (...) And then I went to the Amherst hospital
> **no, which before I went to the Amherst hospital**
> it was bleeding real bad (...)

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[9] Given the length of this narrative, I have selected just the clauses containing temporally anchored events, which are the relevant ones for the analysis.

This repair made by Paul suggests that he is learning to follow the order of real events in his narrative. When he suddenly jumps ahead, he then goes back, corrects himself, and then continues with the narrative. This example suggests that for this child, departures from sequentiality constitute nonacceptable moves. Not only is the form of introducing these two full departures markedly different from the Andean ones but also their function. In Lucy's narrative, she tells first – in perfect chronological sequence – the events she witnessed at her friend's house. After finishing ("and he broke it"), there is no real analeptic move because all of what she tells afterwards are not actual events but rather her conjectures about what had happened. Thus, this narrative offers a peculiar pattern in which the "pseudo-analeptic" move corresponds to the transition between narrated events and narrated conjectures. Lucy's narrative could be described as *a sequential narrative plus an addendum.*

The departure in the second example (i.e., *He flunked a lot of times. He just graduated*) matches perfectly the description of full departure. It does not, however, classify as structural evaluation. This girl is clearly deviating from the real timeline by referring directly to nonsequential events (full departure), but this analeptic move is not serving the purpose of emphasizing the main point of her story. Here, Rose is introducing a new character in her narrative and giving contextual information that serves as evidence for her assertion: *He's lazy.* No further point is emphasized by this analeptic move. In fact, the narrative is best characterized as a chain of events with no real highpoint (Peterson & McCabe, 1983).

In summary, not only are structural evaluations absent from the English dataset but, moreover, full temporal departures are rare; in the atypical cases in which they occur, they are heavily marked as deviations from the preferred sequential pattern in this cultural/linguistic group. The absence of structural evaluation in these English narratives contrasts with the increasing presence of this phenomenon in the older group of Andean Spanish-speaking children.

ANDEAN SPANISH NARRATIVES: MULTIPLE ANECDOTES

The Andean children used also supplementary anecdotes to mark important events and emphasize particular points in their narrative. Alonso's narrative is offered here as an example.

Narrative With Multianecdotal Evaluation

In narrative 5, Alonso (5;1-year-old boy) tells us, first, that his uncle got stung by a mosquito (anecdote 1); then, that his sister got stung in a different city also by a mosquito (anecdote 2); then, that he, Alonso, also got stung once (anecdote 3); and finally, he starts with a longer anecdote (4) in which he got stung at night by a mosquito and then was cured by his mother. This narrative ends with an embedded episode in which his mother gets stung while throwing away the mosquitoes that had first stung Alonso. In this case, all these anecdotes emphasize

Table 8.8 *Andean Spanish-speaking children's narratives with
structural evaluation*

	Sequential	Analeptic	Proleptic	Total
# of Narratives	3	4	2	9 (28%)
# of Children	3	3	2	5 (63%)

Narrative #3 presents both analeptic and proleptic moves, whereas narrative #4 presents both sequence of stories and proleptic moves. However, in this table, I classified them according to their most salient feature. Narrative #3 is included in the analeptic category and narrative #4 in the proleptic category.

that not only he but also other people get stung. This issue is further highlighted when he says, close to the end, *my mother did not know that there were some things to sting children and mothers and fathers.* Thus, even though the evaluated point of the narrative is not clearly stated at any point, it is easily inferred from the whole structure. These stories might be seen as simply associations of related topics but, in fact, they are evaluative (see Appendix B for the complete version of this narrative).

The English multianecdotal narratives were produced by a 6-year-old girl, Karen, and by a 7-year-old boy, Brian. In the latter case, the boy told two independent anecdotes, but both happened the same day during a visit to the zoo. Thus, this narrative offers a chain of two incidents that were sequentially and closely experienced. Karen's narrative, on the other hand, connects two drowning experiences: the first one very briefly, almost in the form of an abstract, and the second one in a detailed style. It is interesting, as was also seen in the case of full departures, that Karen marks the transition to a new anecdote. She actually does it very explicitly by saying, after the first summarized anecdote, *and the next time it happened,* and continues with the second incident. However, Karen's first anecdote was so briefly developed that it is difficult to see how it could be evaluative rather than just orientative.

Again, within the narrative-components dimension, the different frequencies and characterizations of the phenomenon for the two groups suggest diverse cultural/linguistic narrative tendencies, which the differential presence of discourse markers seems to confirm.

To summarize, the main distinctive feature found in these Andean Spanish-speaking children's narratives is the use of structural evaluation. This evaluative strategy is not located at the clause level but rather affects the entire structuring of a narrative. Structural evaluation takes one of two forms, either (1) a functional deviation from the timeline of real events – which can include analepses or prolepses; or (2) an inclusion of a sequence of anecdotes within a single narrative for emphasizing a not-always-explicit point.

Table 8.8 displays the number of narratives and children that presented structural evaluation. In summary, the table indicates that 9 of the 32 (approximately

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28%) Andean narratives show what I call structural evaluation. An interesting point is that narratives with analepsis and prolepsis were told only by girls and mostly by the older girls. This finding suggests that structural evaluation that goes beyond chronicity might be a developmental phenomenon in process in the age range from 6 to 8 years and might unfold differently across genders.

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Structural evaluation displayed by Andean Spanish-speaking children included the following three forms:

1. *Analeptic evaluation: "a return to the past."* Analeptic evaluation consists of a return to past events or anecdotes to highlight something important in the narrative (e.g., narratives 2 and 3).
2. *Proleptic evaluation: "an excursion into the future."* This strategy consists of narrating an event at a point in the text before earlier events have been told with the purpose of emphasizing the point for telling the narrative (e.g., narrative 4).
3. *Multianecdotal evaluation: "a complex sequence."* Structural multianecdotal evaluation occurs when anecdotes chronologically organized are used to emphasize the point of the story (e.g., narrative 5).

Whereas deviations from the timeline have been described as indicators of language pathology or immaturity for U.S. White English-speaking children, in these Andean children's narratives, departures from the timeline serve a rhetorical function that reflects a complex narrative ability. In narratives with analeptic and proleptic evaluation, the real sequence of events was clearly reconstructable. In addition, these children produced sequential narratives at other points in the conversation, which further confirms their ability to report experiences in a chronologically organized manner. The sequencing of events, instead of being a neglected aspect, reflects a sophisticated rhetorical ability and represents a key to understanding why narratives are being told.

Gender differences suggest that Andean boys and girls might follow distinct developmental paths in their acquisition of personal-narrative discourse. All instances of full departures were produced by girls, resulting in narratives that highlight the emotional aspect of narratives more intensely as compared to those of boys, who mostly displayed multiple anecdotes. This might respond to girls being allowed to express their vulnerable emotions more fully than boys, a finding demonstrated for English-speaking children (Jansz, 2000). As research suggests, children's participation in language exchanges provides them with cultural understandings and cultural norms for expressing emotions, which include gender-appropriate forms of expression (Fivush & Buckner, 2000; Rogoff, 1990). Within this framework, we could hypothesize that narratives offer a context in

which the expression of evaluation – and emotion – follows different norms across genders. This finding is still puzzling, however, and can only suggest a line of further inquiry, given that no research is yet available on the language socialization of emotions in Andean children.

An interpretation of the contrastive findings of this study points toward a hierarchy of dimensions – temporality and evaluation – that functions distinctively in the two cultural/linguistic groups. In the Andean children's narratives, the temporal organization was subordinated to the evaluative purposes. In other words, the timeline of the narrative followed the organization of events imposed by the need of these children to evaluate certain points of their story. In the U.S. Midwestern children's narratives, on the contrary, evaluation seemed to be subordinated to temporality. The narrative timeline for these children always followed the order of real events, and evaluation was conveyed only within the limits of chronicity: the action could be suspended but not altered. It is important to highlight that the two characterizations are not presented herein as exclusive paradigms. In fact, in the English examples, *pseudo-departures* and *pseudo-multiplicities* were identified, and sequential and unistructural narratives were also produced by Andean children. These characterizations are presented as tendencies that seem to represent culturally valued and prevalent narrative forms, but they do not necessarily exhaust all or exclude other possibilities.

Indeed, an immediate question that emerges from this study is: Are the patterns described herein typical of or exclusive to young monolingual speakers of Andean Spanish as compared to those of older speakers, to other Spanish varieties, or to other languages or cultural groups? On the one hand, due to the small numbers of children in this study, the findings are not generalizable to all monolingual Andean Spanish-speaking communities. On the other hand, although this study has revealed not previously described narrative patterns and has suggested an interpretative framework in which to understand them, the question of how those tendencies might relate to different cultural/linguistic factors remains unanswered. Linguistic features present in each language, styles of socialization and enculturation, and different parental beliefs and values regarding storytelling are among the most salient hypotheses that need to be assessed in further investigations.

However, a few insights from my own research might help to partially contextualize the current results. Research has extensively documented that children are socialized into the particular ways of sharing narratives in their family and culture. This line of research points to a homotypic developmental continuity in which early narrative practices are associated with later narrative skills. Moreover, a heterotypic continuity also seems to be part of the developmental progression because not only direct narrative experiences but also even more general talk about the nonpresent that starts very early on (i.e., between 2 and 3 years of age) has been shown to be predictive of later narrative performance

in English-speaking children (Uccelli, Hemphill, Pan, & Snow, 2005). Following this line of inquiry with Spanish-speaking children, I explored the early coconstruction of narratives and nonpresent talk between parents and young children. Specifically, I focused on the emergence of temporality via grammatical and discourse skills in two Spanish-speaking girls followed from 2 to 3 years of age (Uccelli, 2003). That study revealed that the two girls achieved comparable grammatical skills (Uccelli, submitted); however, each one presented different ways of organizing discourse. Whereas one girl focused on sequentiality, the other frequently altered the chronicity of events to highlight what was meaningful to her in interactions that supported these flashbacks and anticipations. It is interesting that this latter girl grew up in a Latin American family (i.e., father from Puerto Rico; mother from Lima, Peru), whereas the former girl grew up in Madrid, Spain. This study is relevant to the current findings in two ways. First, functional moves out of chronicity might not be exclusive to Andean children. Second, these nonsequential patterns of narration might evolve from initial earlier forms of nonpresent talk coconstructed with adults who support flashbacks and anticipations.

Thus, even though cyclical conceptualization of time in the Andean cosmovision might be related in some way to discourse patterns prevalent today in Andean society (Uccelli, 1999), it might not be the crucial factor behind this narrative esthetic. My subsequent research suggests that moves beyond chronicity might be present at least in other populations of Spanish speakers.

It is interesting that flashbacks and anticipations are characteristic of many famous Latin American writers, such as Vargas Llosa and García Márquez (de Toro, 1992). Those authors' moves out of chronicity are interpreted as artful strategies through which the narrator signals different meanings. Tools from contemporary narratology (Genette, 1980) have proven useful for revealing that those children's departures from chronicity constitute meaningful discourse moves. The children in this study seem to be developing toward a cultural narrative aesthetic that emphasizes storytelling as a collection of stories and includes a structural use of evaluation that functionally affects the temporal construction of narratives. The question that remains is whether *beyond-chronicity* narratives might also be prevalent in other cultural/linguistic groups.

Caution should be exerted, however, to not generalize the current findings to other Spanish-speaking populations without further research. Indeed, when compared to Rodino et al.'s (1991) findings on Caribbean and Central American children, these results offer a warning against generalizing patterns for the pan-Latino population and motivate a quest for detailed description of specific Spanish-speaking groups, so that common as well as particular discourse features can be identified. This claim also applies to Latino bilingual children from the United States. Findings on monolingual Spanish speakers' narratives might prove relevant for bilingual children, particularly given research that

suggests transfer of narrative structure skills across languages (Pearson, 2002; Uccelli & Páez, 2007). However, Latino children in the United States come from different countries, from families with various characteristics, and from different language-socialization patterns. Although findings on monolingual Spanish speakers might be informative for research and practice, researchers, teachers, and clinicians need to acknowledge the wide variety entailed by the term *Latino* or *Spanish speaker*.

In this world of increasing cultural/linguistic heterogeneity, the role of researchers in developing alternative models of narrative performance helps teachers and language clinicians to have alternative criteria for interpreting and assessing the performance of any child. It is becoming increasingly inaccurate to identify ethnicity, place of origin, or even language with one specific culture. Consequently, on the one hand, broad guidelines for understanding the narrative development of children from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds are extremely helpful. On the other hand, it is necessary to remember that each child is unique and reflects diverse experiences not always easily classifiable as those of one discrete cultural group. Children vary enormously even within the same cultural group. Therefore, alternative cultural/linguistic models of narrative ability should be applied as options for interpreting the performance of any child with the purpose of achieving a more realistic assessment and a deeper understanding of children's skills.

Meaning resides not only in *what* we say but also in *how* we say it. In narratives of real experience, we convey messages through both reference to real-world events and the way in which we structure those events into a whole. The narrativization of personal experiences is one of the earliest discourse forms acquired (Nelson, 1986) and a primary means by which children make sense not only of their world but also of *themselves in* the world (Bruner, 1990). These narrative structures vary across cultures, and children learn them gradually as they become competent members of their specific cultural group. In this study, the focus is on how Andean Spanish-speaking children from Cusco, Peru, structure and evaluate their personal narratives.

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<div align="center">

APPENDIX A: NARRATIVE 4 BY ANA (6;9 YEAR-OLD GIRL)

</div>

	INV:	**INV:**
	¿Quieres contarme algo más o no?	Do you want to tell me something else or not?
1	**CHILD:**	**CHILD:**
	De cuando ha venido mi gata Samanta a mi casa.	About when my cat Samanta came home.
	INV:	**INV:**
	Ah, cuéntame.	OK, tell me about it.
	CHILD:	
	Mi mama tenía una amiga	My mother had a friend
	y su amiga tenía una gata bien hermosita	and her friend had a really beautiful cat
	así de este porte	{it was} like this big
		[shows size with her hands]
	bien hermosita tenía	{she} had a really beautiful {one}
	pero yo no sé	but I don't know
	cómo es su mama de la Samanta.	what Samanta's mother looks like.
	Así que ese día Fabricio y yo estábamos durmiendo con Marlene ahí en la cama	So that day Fabricio [her brother] and me were sleeping with Marlene on the bed
	estábamos durmiendo	{we} were sleeping
	y Fabri abrió la puerta	and Fabri opened the door
	todavía nosotros estábamos durmiendo	{we} were still sleeping
	y yo tenía una herida acá	and I had an injury here
		[points to her arm]
	y fui a la sala	and {I} went to the living room
	y vi a la gatita pues	and {I} saw the little cat
	¡miau miau miau! me hizo	meow, meow, meow the cat did to me
	me quería mucho	{she = the cat} loved me very much
	mua! le di un beso	mua! {I} gave her a kiss
	entonces como la estaba apretando tanto	then since {I} was hugging her so much
	no me arañó nada	{she} didn't scratch me or anything
	era media mansita	{she} was a little tame
	cuando era bebita.	when {she} was a baby.
	Ahora se ha vuelto una peleonera	Now {she} has become a spoiled fighter

INV:

Así . . . una peleonera.

CHILD:

Ajá.

Y entonces cuando mi mamá vino

yo la escondí en una silla

"Como me quieres

me vas a aceptar"

"Vete!"

"Vete!"

Y no le hacía ver a mi mamá

y no le había tapado nada

así nomás le estaba haciendo

y el gato se había escapado

y mi mami "¡Ay, qué bonito!"

y entonces se fue la Florida.

porque su amiga se llama Florida

y entonces ella, mi mami, le pusieron Malú

INV:

¿A quién?

CHILD:

A mi gata Samata.

INV:

Ahí le cambiaron el nombre.

CHILD:

No.

Primero le pusieron Malú.

y entonces no le gustaba

Malú, Malú, Malú Madera!

Nada no venía.

Malú, Malú, Malú Madera!

Nada.

Malú, Malú, Malú Madera!

INV:

So . . . a spoiled fighter

CHILD:

Mhm.

And then when my mom came

I hid it under a chair

"Since you love me

you will obey me"

[as if talking to her cat]

"Go away!"

"Go away!"

And {I} did not let my mom see her

and {I} had not even covered her or anything

just like that {I} was doing

[moving her arms]

and the cat had escaped

and my mom: "Oh, how pretty!"

and then Florida left

because her friend is called Florida

and then she, my mom, named her Malú

INV:

Whom {did they name}?

CHILD:

My cat Samanta.

INV:

Then {you} changed her name.

CHILD:

No.

First {they = impersonal} named her Malú

and then she did not like {it}

Malú, Malú, Malú Madera!

[name of a Brazilian actress]

nothing, {she} would not come

Malú, Malú, Malú Madera!

Nothing.

Malú, Malú, Malú Madera!

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Nada.	Nothing.
Entonces el Fabri dijo:	Then Fabri said:
"Frazada"	"Blanket"
	[meaning: Let's call her Blanket]
Entonces mi mami dijo:	Then my mommy said:
"Ya sé,	"I know,
que se llame Samanta."	{she} should be called Samanta."
y le pusieron el nombre pues Samantita.	and then {they = impersonal} named her Samantita.
Y un día la Samantita había estado mal con tos	And one day Samantita was sick with a cough
y la estaban curando	and {they = impersonal} were healing her
y una mañana a la Samanta <cada> le ocmpraban su atún	and one morning for Samanta <every>, {they = impersonal} would buy her tuna
ahora ya no le compran	now they = impersonal don't buy that anymore.
INV:	**INV:**
Ya no . . .	Not anymore . . .
CHILD:	**CHILD:**
Ya no.	Not anymore.
Es que se ha vuelto una majadera.	Because {she} has become spoiled.
Entonces ese día yo le enseñé	Then that day I taught her
y tenía una cunita, una cajita pues	and {she} had a little cradle, a box
para que duerma.	to sleep in.
Entonces yo le digo,	Then I say,
yo le enseñé así	I taught her like that
ahora se ha vuelto una vaga pore so	now {she} has become lazy because of that
porque yo le he enseñado eso	because I have taught her that.
INV:	**INV:**
¿Qué le has enseñado?	What have you taught her?
CHILD:	**CHILD:**
"Métete."	"Go in"
	[as if talking to her cat]
"Métete en tu cama."	"Go in bed"
Los enfermitos nomás se ponen a la cama	Only sick {people/animals} go to bed
y la tape así y nada la gatita no quería	and {I} covered her, and nothing the cat did not want to
"Métete."	"Go in."

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Así y me fui rápido.	Like that and {I} left quickly.
yo me he ido rápido.	I left quickly.
y la gatita estaba ahí	and the cat was there
aburrida estaba.	{she} was bored.
Es que sé	I know
que tenía hambre	{she} was hungry
por eso iba a traerle atún.	that's why {I} was going to bring her tuna.
Pero no tenía hambre,	But {she} was not hungry,
Nada.	Nothing.
Así que desde ese día ya se ha vuelto una vaga.	So since that day she has become lazy.
INV:	**INV:**
Desde ese día se volvió una vaga . . .	Since that day she became lazy . . .
CHILD:	**CHILD:**
Y pronto va creciendo	And soon {she} is growing
va creciendo	and growing
y ahora es bonita	and now {she} is pretty
pero es una rascamiche	but {she} is too spoiled
	[**CHILD** uses particularly funny word for "lazy" here]
y además de eso te quita la carne de tu boca,	and besides that, {she} takes the meat away from your mouth.
INV:	**INV:**
¡Qué cosa!	What!
CHILD:	**CHILD:**
Es una medio raterita la Samanta ahora	Samanta is like a little thief now
Ahora si la Samanta está llorando,	Now if Samanta is crying,
no como antes que siempre le comprábamos su atún diario	not like before when {we} used to buy her tuna daily
ahora ya no le compramos su atún	now {we} don't buy her tuna any longer
"Oye, ya estás grande."	"Hey, you are old now"
	[as if **CHILD** is talking to cat]
y su hijito pues se quedó	and her son stayed [with us]
En la primera cría todos se murieron	In the first litter, all of them died
pero en la segunda sigue vivo uno, el negro	but in the second {litter} one is alive, the black one
y sus hermanitos más están en otras casas.	and his little siblings are in other houses.

APPENDIX B: NARRATIVE 5 BY ALONSO (5;1-YEAR-OLD BOY)

INV:

¿Quieres contarme algo más o no?

INV:

Do you want to tell me something else or not?

CHILD:

De cuando ha venido mi gata Samanta a mi casa.

CHILD:

About when my cat Samanta came home.

INV:

¿Y algún otro bicho?

INV:

And by any other insect?

CHILD:

Le vi a mi tío.

a mi tío, a mi tío que le había picado quí

también a mi hermana

y aquí le picó un mosco en Quillabamba

CHILD:

{I} saw my uncle.

my uncle, my uncle had gotten stung here

[**CHILD** points to shoulder]

{I} also {saw} my sister

and here she got stung by a mosquito in Quillabamba [a Peruvian city]

[**CHILD** points to his arm]

INV:

Le picó un mosco en Quillabamba. ¿Y de ahí?

INV:

She got stung by a mosquito in Quillabamba. And then?

CHILD:

De ahí, de ahí, también a mí me picó.

CHILD:

Then, then, I got stung too.

INV:

¿Cómo fue?

INV:

What happened?

CHILD:

Me picó aquí en xx unas veces en Moyopata.

CHILD:

I got stung here in xx sometimes in Moyopata [a Peruvian city]

INV:

¿Y te dolió?

INV:

And did it hurt?

CHILD:

Sí.

CHILD:

Yes.

INV:

¿Y qué pasó después?

INV:

And what happened next?

CHILD:

*Después pasió [=pasó] una cosa
que cuando dormí en la cama
en la cama no sabía mi mama
que había unas cosas*

CHILD:

Then one thing happened
that when {I} slept on the bed
on the bed, my mother did not know
that there were some things

unas cosas para picar a los niños y a las mamas y a los papas	some things that sting children, mothers, and fathers
me había picado.	{it} stung me.

INV:

Otro te picó en la noche. ¿Y después?	You were stung by another one at night And then?

CHILD:

Después me dolió.	Then it hurt.
Mi mama me curó eso.	My mom cured me of that.
y ya botó esas cosas.	and {she} threw these things away
y un bicho a su mano le cogió	and a bug caught her hand
y le hizo eso	and did it to her
y el bicho se escapó	and the bug escaped.

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