

Part 2: CRISIS

Part 2A: COMPLICATING ACTIONS

19. an' so I didn't leave till seven
20. an' I took the bus
21. an' my puppy he always be following me
22. my father said "he— you can't go" //
23. an' he followed me all the way to the bus stop
24. an' I hadda go all the way back
(25. by that time it was seven thirty) //
26. an' then he kept followin' me back and forth =
27. an' I hadda keep comin' back //

Part 2B: NON-NARRATIVE SECTION (EVALUATION)

28. an' he always be followin' me = when I go anywhere
29. he wants to go to the store
30. an' only he could not go to places where we could go
31. like to the stores he could go = but he have to be chained up

Part 3: RESOLUTION

Part 3A: CONCLUDING EPISODES

32. an' we took him to the emergency
33. an' see what was wrong with him
34. an' he got a shot
35. an' then he was crying
36. an' last yesterday, an' now they put him asleep
37. an' he's still in the hospital
38. (an' the doctor said. . .) he got a shot because
39. he was nervous about my home that I had

Part 3B: CODA

41. an' he could still stay but
42. he thought he wasn't gonna be able to let him go //

TWO STYLES OF NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION AND THEIR LINGUISTIC AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

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In this paper I will offer a linguistic analysis of two stories: a story told to a group of her peers by an 11-year-old black girl (whom I will call "Leona") and a story told to a sympathetic adult female by an 11-year-old white middle-class girl (whom I will call "Sandy"). Sandy exemplifies in her use of language a style highly compatible with school-based values governing speech and writing. Leona's style, on the other hand, though often misunderstood in the school context, is found in many cultures across the world and is often associated with great verbal mastery. The goals of the analysis are: (1) to offer a view of psycholinguistically relevant structures that I take to be universally characteristic of spoken narratives, (2) to delineate other aspects of narrative construction that vary across social groups, and (3) to point to some of the educational implications of both of these aspects of narrative, in particular their implications for literacy.

Lines and Stanzas

Though we are often not consciously aware of it, speech is produced in little spurts, each of which usually contains a single piece of new information, has a unitary intonation contour, is often separated from other such spurts by a slight pause or hesitation, and is most often a single clause long though it can be somewhat shorter or longer (Chafe, 1979, 1980, 1984). These small

The research on which this paper is based was done in collaboration with a project at the Harvard University School of Education directed by Courtney Cazden and Sarah Michaels. The stories by the young black girl discussed in this paper were collected by Charles Haynes of Harvard University as part of the project. The story by the young white girl was collected by Dennie Wolf of Project Zero at Harvard as part of her own research. All of the above helped with the ideas in this paper, though they may not agree with them all. Gee (1985, 1986d) contain linguistic analyses of the same black child's stories four years earlier than those treated here, and readers may want to compare the present analysis to the earlier ones to gain a developmental perspective on the material. The line of research in this paper and the earlier ones took root from the "sharing time" literature (Cazden, Michaels, & Tabors, 1985; Collins, 1985; Michaels, 1981, 1985, 1986; Michaels & Cazden, 1986; Michaels & Collins, 1984; Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979). My approach to narrative analysis has been influenced greatly by the work of Dell Hymes (1977, 1980, 1981, 1982, in press).

spurts I will call, following Chafe's early work (1979, 1980), "idea units." Below, I give an example of some idea units from Leona's story to her peers:

this lady was all cleanin'
an stuff like that
she said
"you have an ear infection
an
an everything is going well
but there's something in your ear
you know"
an I was like
"yea
I know"

Idea units, together with the speech errors and disfluencies characteristic of all spontaneous speech (which I have not tried to fully indicate here), appear to reflect the on-line planning and production of speech, the mind actively at work (Gee, 1986d). The simple clause appears, however, to be the basic linguistic unit underlying this process (Halliday, 1985). In fact, if we remove speech errors and disfluencies, which characterize all speech, and place pieces of clauses back together, we get an "ideal" structure that reflects quite clearly the overall shape and patterning of a text, the "ideal" or underlying structure the mind is "aiming" at. This ideal structure contains what I will call "lines," each one of which is a simple clause, a verb of saying and what is said, or a "heavy" pre- or post-clausal modifier, e.g. something like: "and then you know just all of a sudden." Lines tend to begin with conjunctions like "and" or "but." For example, below I put Leona's idea units above into lines:

this lady was all cleanin an stuff like that
she said: "you have an ear infection
an everything is going well
but there's something in your ear, you know"
an I was like: "yeah, I know"

Both Leona (the working-class black girl) and Sandy (the middle-class white girl) group their lines into what I will call "stanzas." A stanza is a group of lines that concern a single topic, and capture a single "vignette." The function of a stanza is to mark perspective: at the beginning of each stanza a new point of view is taken, either through a shift of focal participants or through a change in the time or framing of events (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Comments and evaluative statements are often placed in separate stanzas. Stanzas are marked by a such varied linguistic devices as "topic chaining" (the first line contains a noun phrase which is referred back to in each subsequent line by a pronoun); phonological, rhythmic, syntactic, and/or semantic patterning of

words and phrases across the lines of the stanza; and patterns of pausing and rate. We will see some of these features below.

The lines I quoted earlier make up a stanza; they capture one speech exchange between the nurse and Leona. In the Appendix to this paper I give the line and stanza structure of Leona's story to her peers and Sandy's story. One can clearly see how each stanza represents a change of character, event, location, time, or narrative function, and I have labeled each stanza to reflect this. (A detailed step-by-step defense of the demarcation of these texts into stanzas is given in Gee, 1986a.) Such line and stanza structure has been found in a wide variety of cultures, and has heretofore been most often associated with so-called oral (non-literate) cultures and their traditional stories and myths (Hymes, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1982; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Tedlock, 1977, 1978, 1983). I would argue, however, that it is "built into" the human narrative production system, however much the line and stanza structure may be obscured in middle-class adult "literate" speech (Gee, 1986d; Law, 1986).

When we look at the stanza structure in the girls' stories, we find an interesting sort of "isochrony." Both girls organize their stanzas around something like four lines as a base or norm (after stanza 6 all but one of Leona's stanzas are either four lines long or made up of an introductory line plus four tightly patterned lines; for Sandy, 19 of her 25 stanzas are four lines long). I don't insist on "four" as any special number here (though it is intriguing how often stanzas in English formal poetry are four lines long; see Turco, 1968). Rather, I am interested in the fact that stanzas are relatively short and pretty evenly balanced across the text as a whole. It is for this reason, together with the fact that they are an important domain of internal patterning (see discussion below), that I call them "stanzas," rather than, say, "paragraphs" or "extended sentences" (Chafe, 1980).

Lines and Stanzas and Literacy

Line and stanza structure, though it has not been much examined except through anthropological studies of "oral cultures," has important implications for school-based literacy studies. While lines and stanzas are a pervasive feature of children's speech, children from different social groups pattern language within stanzas differently. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that in school poor writers "translate" their line and stanza structure into writing differently than good writers. For an example I will take one good writer and one poor writer from a study of a group of good and poor high school writers (female, white working class) (Gordon, 1986). Figure 1 below gives two stanzas from the opening of each girl's oral story and next to them the first four sentences from her written version of the same story. The figure is meant to exemplify characteristics that hold across the texts as wholes.

Figure 1

The mapping between the line and stanza structure of speech and the sentence structure of writing for a poor and a good high school writer. Adapted from Gordon, 1986.

POOR WRITER:

SPEECH:

Stanza 1:

That was last year
I woke up for school getting ready
I was getting dressed
and I got a pain in my neck

Stanza 2:

so I told my sister
I asked her should I go to school
cause I never missed a day in school
and she said if your neck hurts
you should stay home

GOOD WRITER:

SPEECH:

Stanza 1:

Ok when I was about five years old
and John—he's my brother
he was about eleven
we got up real early one Saturday
to make orange juice and watch
cartoons

Stanza 2:

and we were standing in between
the kitchen & the dining room
and we were stirring up the orange
juice
and just kidding around
and I looked over to the front door
and there was this man
standing there looking into our house

WRITING:

Sentence 1 (= Stanza 3, not shown)

Sentence 2 (= Stanza 1):

I woke up one morning and got a
sharp pain in my neck.

Sentence 3 (= Stanza 4, not shown)

Sentence 4 (= Stanza 2):

My sister said I shouldn't go
even though I wasn't absent.

WRITING:

Sentences 1 & 2 (= Stanza 1):

It happened early one Saturday
morning when John and I got up
to make some orange juice and
watch the Saturday morning
cartoons. I was about five; he
around eleven.

Sentences 3 & 4 (= Stanza 2):

As we stood between the kitchen
and the dining room, the early
morning sun peeking out over the
housetops, I glanced at the front
door ahead of me. A dark,
shadowed, mysterious figure stood
spying into our front door
window!

The poor writer tends to map each one of her stanzas onto a single sentence in her written text, though she does not retain the order of her stanzas from her speech in her written text (e.g., sentence 3 corresponds to stanza 4, sentence 4 to stanza 2). The good writer, however, maps each of her stanzas into two or more sentences, and while these sentences may rearrange the order of information within a stanza, the order of the stanzas as wholes is retained across the written text. The good writer also arranges information in her speech differently than the poor writer: she tends to state background information in the first part of each stanza and then give the main focused information at the end. And she uses lexical and syntactic devices to clearly mark this background-foreground structuring (e.g., the "when" clause spreading over the first three lines in stanza 1 and the series of progressive forms over the first three lines in stanza 2 mark the background parts of these stanzas). In her writing she makes even more use of lexical and syntactic devices for foregrounding and backgrounding. She also rearranges material for effect (e.g. stressing the age difference between herself and her brother in the written version—it plays a role later in the story). The poor writer tends to simply juxtapose lines in her speech and sentences in her writing without marking out their informational relations. The two girls have a different attitude toward the written text. The poor writer sees each sentence as a topical unit analogous to her stanzas, while the good writer sees sentences as domains wherein lexical, syntactic, and cohesive devices structure information within and across sentences, the topical units of her stanzas translating into several sentences. In Talmy Givón's (1979) terms, the poor writer uses the "pragmatic" (topic-based) mode in her speech and writing, while the good writer uses a more "syntactic" mode in both, in an increasing degree as she moves from speech to writing.

Differences between Leona and Sandy: Language within Stanzas

Leona and Sandy differ significantly in how they organize information within and across their stanzas. Leona adopts a method that is in many respects similar to styles found in "oral cultures" (and it is this style that has made some believe that lines and stanzas occur only in such cultures, because it foregrounds line and stanza structure so clearly). On the other hand, Sandy adopts a method similar in some respects to the good writer's, discussed above. Leona's style is to create patterns out of the lines of her stanzas by using such devices as sound play; repetition of sounds, words, and phrases; syntactic and semantic parallelism; changes of rate, loudness, stress, and pitch; and patterns of rhythm generally. Below, I give five example stanzas from Leona's story to her

peers, displacing some of the patterning created by these devices (to the extent that they can be shown in print):

STANZA 2		
all right,	I got this thing	
	MY ear's all buggin me	an everything
and	MY ear was all buggin me	
	I was cryin	
	I was all:	oooh, oooh, oooh
and	I was doin all that	
	MY mother put alcohol on	though

STANZA 6		
"Allright,	... there"	
	sittin there,	oooh, oooh, oooh
and she's <u>all</u> :"	sittin there, and <u>all</u>	
	at <u>all</u> "	oooh, oooh, oooh

STANZA 12

she didn't PAY that CAB DRIVER
 she jus' WALKED OUT
 she jus' SLAMMED that DOOR
 she said: COME ON RONA

STANZA 16		
she said:	"you have an ear infection	
	an everything is going well	
	but there's something in your ear	you know"
I was like:	...yeah...	I know"

STANZA 17

put that medicine in my ear
 an I was grubbin out on that food
 I was grubbin out on that food : mmm, mmm
 an I was grubbin out on that food : an everythin

In addition to the obvious patterns created by repetition and parallelism, we can note that stanza 9 is said very rapidly, with increasing rate, pitch, and loudness as it progresses. It is made up of short lines with heavy stresses on its content words. Then stanzas 10 and 11 are said more slowly, with a great deal of enactment, each containing a pair of turns of speech between a nurse and the mother (in the order: mother-nurse-nurse-mother). Leona changes her voice for each speaker, and ends the two stanzas with the mother's "I ain't got no money now" said quite loudly and with increased rate. Then stanza 12 is said much like 9, with increasing rate, pitch, and loudness, short lines, and heavy stresses. Leona uses throughout the story a variety of voices and emphatic and paralinguistic devices to enact the different speakers and their feelings and attitudes (her mother, various nurses, and herself in and out of distress). In fact, we can distinguish two related, but separable, aspects to Leona's style. First,

it is *spatializing* in that it creates an intricate pattern of crisscrossing and interlocking relationships that render the lines of the stanza a simultaneously whole sequence, rather than a linear sequence. Similar devices are formalized in traditional poetry in many cultures, and paradigmatically exemplified in the Hebrew poetry of the Bible (e.g. the Psalms) or the poetry of Walt Whitman (Berlin, 1985; Jakobson, 1978, 1980; Jakobson & Pomorska, 1983). And it is *performative* or *enactive* in that it uses various dramatic and expressive devices to create a dramatic performance that the listener is enactively caught up in (cf. Wolfson, 1982 and her category of "performed narratives"). There is some reason to believe that these two features do not always co-occur in cultures, though both spatialization and performed narratives are common across the world.

Sandy's stanzas are also tightly patterned, but in a different way. She uses the information structure of the content of her stanzas (namely relations like topic-focus or background information-foreground information), as well as the analytic structure of the actions she describes, to build up patterns for her stanzas. For example, consider the following four stanzas:

STANZA 1

TOPIC: ... we have THIS PARK near our house
 COMMENT: ... it really stinks

but TOPIC: me and my friend Sarah were over there
 COMMENT: we were playing on the swings

STANZA 4

ACTION: I threw a rock at him
 RESULT OF ACTION: it missed him
 INTENTION: I made sure it missed him
 RESULT OF INTENTION: it jst banged on the slide

STANZA 20

BACKGROUND (SETTING): next day we go over there
 FOREGROUND (SETTING): he was up in the tree

BACKGROUND (SETTING): he has rocks and sand up there
 FOREGROUND (ACTION): he started throwin sand at us

STANZA 21

BACKGROUND (SETTING: reason for action): Debbie got sand thrown
 at her
 FOREGROUND (SETTING: preparation for action): she goes up to
 tree

BACKGROUND (SETTING: preparation for action): she took the
 bucket of sand
 FOREGROUND (ACTION): and dumped it over his head

Once again, the patterns more or less speak for themselves. In stanza 1 we get a topic introduced (park), then a comment about it (stinks). The second two lines then constitute a further comment (but we play there anyway) on the first two as topic (the park that stinks), and these two are themselves broken down into topic (over there) and comment (we play). Sandy often uses an explicit signal (like "but" here or "because" in stanza 2, see Appendix) to mark how the second two lines of a stanza relate to the first two. Stanzas 20 and 21 also show how Sandy moves from background to foreground in the first two lines of a stanza, and then treats the second two lines as foreground vis-a-vis the first two as background, while ordering these latter two lines as foreground to background between themselves. Thus, often her stanzas have a structure something like: First Line is to Second Line as Third Line is to Fourth, and First Line-Second Line as a Pair are to Third Line-Fourth Line as a Pair as First Line is to Second or Third is to Fourth, i.e., (1:2)::(3:4). Notice that this device ties the stanza tightly together semantically, while at the same time rendering sequence crucial, i.e. line 2 carries 1 forward just as 3 carries 2 forward, and lines 3/4 carry 1/2 forward, in terms of either the analysis of action or the analysis of information structure.

I think we can all agree that Leona's style relates primarily to devices we associate with literary writing, rather than with expository prose, while Sandy's (despite being used in a narrative) comes closer to the sorts of linear and analytic devices we associate with exposition. This is one of the senses in which Sandy's style is more oriented toward school-based sorts of literacy, which tend to stress (outside of creative writing classes) expository sorts of writing, speaking, and thinking (Gee, 1986c; Heath, 1983; Romaine, 1984; Scribner & Cole, 1981). We will see additional implications of this sort below.

Differences Between Leona and Sandy: Organization of Whole Texts

The same sort of differences that we saw in how Leona and Sandy shape their language within stanzas show up in how they organize their texts as wholes. Just as Sandy's stanzas have something like the linear and analytic structure of a syllogism, so too does her text as a whole. We can schematize her text as a whole as below (see the Appendix, which displays the three major divisions of the story, labeling them Beginning, Middle, and End):

SANDY'S TEXT

BEGINNING (PART 1)	
CHILDREN FIGHTING --> MOTHER INTERVENES --> (FAILED) RESOLUTION	
MIDDLE (PART 2)	
CHILDREN FIGHTING --> MOTHER INTERVENES --> (FAILED) RESOLUTION	
END (PART 3)	
CHILDREN FIGHTING --> 0 [ZERO] --> REAL RESOLUTION	

Sandy creates a structure that could go on forever (children fighting --> mother intervenes --> failed resolution --> children fighting, and so on). By Part 3 of the story we expect once again to see a parent try to intervene, but our expectation is frustrated. This is a perfect device for closure (Smith, 1968), and helps us see as significant the fact that the children settle the conflict by themselves, without parental intervention. The point to notice here is how sequential and "logical" Sandy's structure is. The fact that Part 2 follows Part 1 with an identical structure sets up the expectations for Part 3, and these can then be frustrated, both as a device for closure and as a way to convey meaning. Further, the three parts have an almost syllogistic structure: the 0 in Part 3 (absence of parent) is to the parental intervention of Parts 1 and 2 as the successful resolution of Part 3 is to the failed ones of Parts 1 and 2. We can almost "deduce" a successful resolution for Part 3 from the absence of parental intervention. In fact, in Part 3, the misbehaving boy runs home to his mother (to be socialized?), the exact inverse of the other mothers coming out to the children in Parts 1 and 2 (and failing to socialize the child).

Leona's story is shaped quite differently. Her story is not unified, like Sandy's, by a single setting; rather it features a fluid movement between places. Its unity is thematic. Her first scene starts with leaving the grandmother's house, then two bouts of pain bracket the vignette about getting ice cream. Finally, this opening, which lacks any single focus, ends by a staged arrival at the first hospital (stanza 5: "an then the hospital was there"). Leona announces the main part of her narrative by saying "and this is the funny part" (stanza 6). She then uses the cab stanzas (11 and 12) to make a very fluid transition from one hospital to another—effectively making the transition and adding a whole mini-story about the cab. The cab transition is quite well handled: the mother fails to pay the cab driver, while moving from one institution that will not treat her because she cannot pay to another that mistreats her even though (perhaps because) there she does not have to pay. The cab stanzas move us from one hospital to another both physically and thematically. Stanzas 16 and 17 appear somewhat tacked on. I have argued elsewhere (Gee, 1986a) that 16 is added to the main development of the story so that the tone will end on "cool" rather than "hot," and that stanza 17 serves as a coda and end of the story at the same time that it achieves closure by returning us full circle to the home world.

Leona organizes her text in a "self-reflexive" way that makes it turn back on itself, so to speak. She organizes by what has been called "the principle of the echo" (Havelock, 1963; Ong, 1982); that is, later stanzas of her text bear thematic and structural similarity to earlier ones and thus "echo" them (much like a rhyme). This principle is just the analog at the whole-text level of what she does within her stanzas, where repetition and parallelism cause various lines and parts of lines to "echo" others within the stanza. Thus, note how the recurrent ear ache in stanza four echoes the ear ache in stanza 2, and thus brackets the ice cream stanza in 3. Below I diagram some of the thematic

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graph LR
    6[6. BEGINNING] --> 7[7. WAITING FOR TREATMENT]
    7 --> 8[8. MIS-TREATMENT BY FIRST HOSPITAL]
    8 --> 9[9. MOTHER MAID]
    9 --> 10[10. MOTHER AND NURSE ARGUE]
    10 --> 11[11. MOTHER AND NURSE ARGUE]
    11 --> 12[12. MOTHER MAID]
    12 --> 13[13. MIS-TREATMENT BY SECOND HOSPITAL]
    13 --> 14[14. WAITING FOR TREATMENT]
    14 --> 15[15. REPRISE]
    14 --> 7
  
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Leona's use of the principle of the echo spatializes her text as a whole (makes us simultaneously relate parts of it, rather than take it simply in a linear chronological fashion), just as it spatializes her stanzas. While Sandy does reiterate the logical structure of the parts of her story, she does not "rhyme" the language and themes of her stanzas. At both the level of individual stanzas and at the level of the whole texts, Sandy stresses what the language refers to (content) as an organizing principle, while Leona shapes the language itself to create pattern. The distinction between Sandy's style and Leona's is analogous to the principle that differentiates prose (exposition) from poetry.

Leona's style and its import can also be seen clearly if we compare it in quantitative terms both to Sandy's and to a version of Leona's story which she

Table 1. Informational, Expressive, and Contextual Design

This table compares a version of the same story to a white adult, and Sandy's story (to a white female adult). Figures represent percentage of lines containing the relevant feature out of total lines of each story. See text for details.

In the table, "Informative lines" are lines which carry new information; they advance the story, however trivially. "Expressive lines" are lines that carry emotive, performative, or expressive content, but do not advance the narrative line of the story. "Other lines" are lines that are neither informative nor expressive, being either extra-narrative comments or old information, that is, content expressed elsewhere in the story. "Line links" treats the way one line is linked to the line that immediately precedes it (or the preceding stanza if it is the first line of a stanza), thus measuring a certain type of cohesion. I distinguish four types of links: a temporally linked line is linked to the previous line by a relation of temporal contiguity; a logically linked line is linked to the previous line by a nontemporal information-relevant relation such as commenting, explanation, intention, result, exception, exemplification, "because," "instead," and so forth. An expressively linked line is linked to the previous line by an expressive or emotive relation (including exact and stylistically varied repetitions and acting out/performed lines). Unlinked lines are

lines that bear none of the above linkage relations to the previous line. "Speech and Sound" categorizes lines that include speech or one or more sound effects. And, finally, "Performed Narrative Features" gives information about features of speech that have been taken to be characteristic of performed narratives (aside from speech and sound effects). These include demonstratives, the present tense for past action, and semantically empty expressions like "and all that stuff," "and like that," or "and all" that encourage hearers to add their own equivalent experience as to what "stuff like that" is like.

Table 1 shows clearly that Leona and Sandy differ in style: in her story to her peers Leona uses more expressive lines and fewer informative ones than Sandy, uses more expressive links and fewer temporal and logical ones, and uses more features indicative of performed narratives (speech and sound effects, demonstratives, present tense for past action, and contextualizers). These differences do not mean that there is more substantive information in Sandy's story. Both stories are informative and have a strong sense of plot. The numerical differences simply reflect the fact that the girls use different linguistic devices to shape their stanzas. Sandy uses temporal/logical linkage almost exclusively, and these make her text seem very connected and sequential as we move through it linearly from beginning to end. Leona's smaller percentage of such links will make the text seem unconnected and nonsequential if we are not paying attention to, or do not know how to encode, her expressive and pattern-creating devices. Sandy's style bears the hallmarks of school-based essay-text literacy; unfortunately, children like Leona are often judged as if they were aiming for this style and missing it, rather than doing something quite different and doing it well (Gee, 1986c).

When Leona tells her story to the white male, she appears to switch to Sandy's style, increasing her temporal and logical links and lowering all measures of performed narratives. However, the increase in temporal and logical links is actually caused by her dropping the expressive aspects of her narrative: as expressive lines are dropped, lines which were separated by this expressive material and which may be related temporally or logically have a greater chance to get next to each other. In fact, as Table 1 shows, Leona does not actually increase the number of her informative lines—instead, she greatly lowers the number of expressive ones and increases lines that are neither informative nor expressive ("other"). This increase in "other" lines represents lines in the story to the adult which are not similar to anything Sandy does, nor to what Leona does to her peers. They are nonexpressive sorts of repetition and extra-narrative comments, mainly "knowledge checks" she runs on the adult ("you know how. . ."). Thus, it is not so much that Leona switches to new devices as she speaks to the adult, but rather that she drops performance aspects of her style. She also drops some of her spatialization devices, which is not directly reflected in Table 1. In fact, a content-based analysis of her two versions (to peers and adult) shows the same thing: while both versions are

about equally long, the content of seven of the stanzas in the story to the peers is simply missing in the story to the adult (which sometimes uses two or more stanzas to say what she took one stanza to say to the peers). And all these missing stanzas involve the expression of anger, antagonistic relations, or Leona's fear and dismay; in other words, emotive and expressive information. Presumably, Leona has dropped the enactive/performative aspects of her style because she lacks "social permission" in the face of the white male to fully utilize her own style—the style that reflects her cultural identity and sense of self.

Narrative style is associated with one's cultural identity and presentation of self (Goffman, 1981; for connections between speech style and sense of self in black culture, see Abrahams, 1976; Erickson, 1984; Kochman, 1972, 1981). Therefore, a change in style can amount to a change in social identity (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). We know from Leona's history in school that the school has not given Leona full access to the uses of language and literacy that would enable her to switch to Sandy's style. But the matter is deeper too: such a style is connected with another culture's mode of expression, presentation of self, and way of making sense, encapsulating values that may at points conflict with Leona's cultural values. The school does not understand or value Leona's mode of expression, doesn't see its connection to a culture and sense of self, and doesn't understand the full implications of asking Leona to switch that style. It does not give her access to the instruction that would ensure she could so switch, let alone do so in a way that does not threaten her own sense of self. It is not only prejudice that stands in the way. We are also hindered by our ignorance of how humans make sense, of how different ways of making sense interrelate in cross-cultural communication, and of how to teach people to use, understand, and appreciate alternative modes of making sense beyond the ones they acquired as children. I believe linguistics has a role to play in removing both these blocks.

Appendix: Leona's Story to Peers and Sandy's Story

LEONA'S HOSPITAL STORY AS TOLD TO PEERS

FRAME:

I'll tell you about my ear ache, o.k.?
all right, this is what happened

BEGINNING

1. AT GRANDMOTHER'S

I was just up there
I was up my grandmother's house
especially for like like two weeks, or three
well not two weeks, two days or three, or more like that, a couple of days
ah shoot, I should say

2. EAR ACHE
all right, I got this thing
my ear's all buggin me an everything
my ear was all buggin me
and I was cryin
I was all: oooh oooh oooh, oooh oooh
I was doin all that
and my mother put alcohol on though

3. ICE CREAM
and then what happened was
and then what happened
I was just let alone
an I bought myself an ice cream
I thought that would make me feel better
I was all shuup, shuup, shuup, you know

4. EAR ACHE
and then, you know, just all of a sudden
I just got this terrible feelin
after I stopped eatin ice cream, and what not
like, oh shoot, oh god
my ear was killin me
an I was sayin: "ma:: ma::"

5. GOING TO FIRST HOSPITAL
an we got on the train to go home
an my mother said: "let's go to the hospital"
we had to walk down this LONG DARK street
about FIVE MILES, or somethin like that

???[aside—line cannot be heard]

we had to walk down this long street
an then the hospital was there

DEVELOPMENT

6. TALK TO RECEPTIONIST
and this is the funny part
"All right, you wait in there"
I'm sittin there, oooh oooh oooh
my mother's sittin there, talking to this lady and all
an, she's all, "excuse me, madam, can I help you at all," oooh oooh oooh

7. INTO THE EMERGENCY
an then we went in the emergency
because we didn't make an appointment or notin
my mother's in there, for about ten minutes, or what not
I'm still cryin
she's talkin to this lady

8. WE CAN'T HELP YOU
and they said: "well we can't help you here
cuz this is a here regular hospital"
we're blaa blaa blaa
and they kept goin on and on

9. MOTHER'S ANGER AT THE NURSE
my mother got real mad
start steamin at that lady
she was all cussin her out
yellin naa naa naa [increasing rate over these lines]

10. MOTHER-NURSE ARGUE ABOUT TREATMENT
and then she goes: "what happened if my daughter was die'in," an all that stuff
she was all: "well um excuse me miss
if you want to pay the bill
we can see you right away, my way"

11. MOTHER-NURSE ARGUE ABOUT CAB
an then she called my hospital doctor up on the phone
I was like ooooooh, still me cryin
and my mother was cussin that lady out
an then this lady goes: "why don't you take a cab?"
my mother say: "I ain't got no *money now*"

12. MOTHER'S ANGER AT THE CAB
an then they sent a cab down for her cuz she have no money
she didn't pay that cab driver
she jus' walked out
she jus' slammed that door
she said: "come on Rona" [increasing rate over these lines]

13. GETTING THE "BILL"
an then they gave me this consummation, or something like that, for the bill
this lady wrote it up
an spit it in my mother's face
??? pssst (kissing sound) "thank you," like that
boy I was upset

14. HAD TO WAIT
and then we had to wait for a good fifteen minutes
just to get help
now isn't that, come on, what if I was goin deaf, or something
you know what I mean

15. REPRISE
that's when I had that bad ear ache
I was like: "oh god, am I gonna die?"
I says: "no what if I die?" ooooooh
I was just cryin there like that

16. LEONA AND THE NURSE CLEANING HER EAR
this lady was all cleanin, an like that
she said: "you have an ear INFECTION
an everything is going well
but there's something in your ear, you know"
an I was like: "yeah, I know"

END

17. GRUBBING OUT ON FOOD
an that's about all
we went home
I grubbed out on SOME FOOD
wait you see

put that medicine in my ear
an I was grubbin out on that food
I was grubbin out, shuuk shuuk, mmm mmm
an I was grubbin out on the food, an everything, mmm

FRAME:
all right
[Name of child], it's your turn

SANDY'S PARK NARRATIVE AS TOLD TO FEMALE ADULT

BEGINNING (PART 1)

1. PARK
well see, we have this park near our house
and it really stinks
out me and my friend Sarah were over there
and we were playin on the swings

2. "THE KID"
and this other kid
we call "tin head cans," or whatever
because he goes around through garbage and stuff and picks up cans
and brings em to the store to get the money

3. NAME CALLING
and so we're playin
and he starts callin us names
and so we call him names back
and then he starts talkin about our mothers

4. GIRL THROWS ROCK
so I take a rock and I threw it at him
it missed him
made sure it missed him
just banged on the slide

5. KID THROWS ROCKS
and then he started throwing rocks at us
and now he was throwin rocks
and he was spittin and everything else
he wouldn't dare have hit us with it though

6. MOTHER TRIES TO INTERVENE
and my mother was going down the street, okay?
and she saw him spittin at us
so my mother was trying to go over to his house
but she couldn't find 'im

7. JEREMY AND ERICA
and instead she went to Jeremy and Erica's house
they're brats
they do everything he does
except they get buckets and they dump 'em on people, and stuff like that

8. MOTHER ARRIVES AT KID'S PLACE
and so then him and my mother went over there
and she went up to where he was sittin
and I was telling my mother that he was up to the tree
and I told him that my mother was coming

9. MOTHER & KID TALK
and my mother came up
and she goes: "what's your name?"
and he goes: "I'm not gonna tell you,
you're not my mother"

10. TURNS OUT KID HAS PROBLEM
and my mother started calling him names and stuff like that
and then it turns out that he has this problem
like cause he's got some disease or somethin
and he doesn't quite know how to make friends, or anything like that

MIDDLE (PART 2)

11. KID HITS GIRLS
and one day we went over there, another day
he starts swingin chains around, okay?
and he whips Sarah with a chain
and whipped me with a padlock that was on the chain

12. GIRL THREATENS KID
and I didn't do anything,
but I grabbed him, okay?
and I go: "you hit me again
and you're gonna be in so much trouble you're not gonna believe it"

13. KID WINGS SWING

so instead he starts swinging a swing
he wasn't on it
he just started swinging it
he swung it into me

14. GIRL KICKS KID

I go up to him
and I kicked him so hard he was like ahhhhhh
and he fell after I kicked him
I kicked him in both of his shins so it really hurt
and he'd get big bruises on his shins

15. MARK FROM PADLOCK

and the mark I had from the padlock was about a lump
it was about like that
and the mark went—oohhhh
and it was all black and blue
and you could see the shape of the padlock

16. MOTHER INTERVENES

and then, let's see, Sarah's mother starts talkin to him
not to Jay—we finally found out his name was Jay
and started talkin to his mother
and the mother said: "I'll be glad to pay any hospital bills and anything like that"

17. KID'S APOLOGY TO SARAH

and Sarah goes: "all I want him to do is apologize"
and he goes, like this: "I *did* apologize"
and Sarah, yeah, like, "oh you wanna be my friend,
after you whipped me with a chain?"

18. KID'S WHIPPING OF SARAH

he whipped her in the n---
he whipped once in her leg
and once in her arm
and once on her stomach

19. GIRL REPLIES TO KID'S APOLOGY

and then I go like this
after he yells at her like: "I'm sorry, I'm sorry"
and I go like this: "oh yeah that's a great way to make friends
whip people with chains and say 'hi I wanna be your friend'
that's dumb"

END (PART 3)

20. KID THROWS SAND

and so then the next day we went over there
he was up in the tree
and he has a bunch of rocks and a bucket of sand up there, kay?
and he started throwin sand at us

21. DEBBIE THROWS SAND AT KID
and Debbie Moraine got sand thrown at her
she goes up to the tree
she took the bucket of sand
and dumped it over his head

22. KID RUNS HOME CRYING
and he went home screamin and cryin
he's thirteen
and he went home screamin and cryin
and told his mother

23. EVERYBODY RUNS
and everybody ran
cause they didn't want to get in trouble

24. KID CAUSES NO MORE TROUBLE
and then he doesn't cause any trouble anymore
cept when people start with him

[big pause]

25. KID HAS A PROBLEM

he's dumb
you threaten his life and he laughs
he's got some problem