Chapter 1. Introduction

Narrative permeates our life. Everyday in our speech, we retell narratives of personal experience to others for different purposes. We might include stories in our speech to make it more genuine or factual. We might also retell stories for such purposes as giving advice to others, for enjoyment and fun, and for entertainment. Children also enjoy when their parents tell them stories at bedtime. As a result, it might be important to know why narrative has been the subject of study by many sociologists and researchers. As Franzosi states, the purpose of narrative analysis might be precisely the fact that narrative texts give us sociological information and "much of our empirical evidence is in narrative form that sociologists should be concerned with" (1998:519).

Narrative forms and varieties are almost infinite and they are found in a boundless number of genres. Narrative is used in a great range of fields and disciplines like philosophy, law, studies of performance art and hypertexts. Even there is a new movement in religious studies called narrative theology. Another application of narrative is observed in a new type of psychological treatment called narrative therapy. Narrative theory also continues to expand in literary, cultural, and performance studies (Richardson, 2000:168). They can also be communicated via different ways, whether spoken or written word, pictures, films, music, mime and so on. They have also a lot of uses in our lives, like comic strips, erotic fiction, horror movies and psychoanalytic therapy (Rudrum, 2006:201).

Narrative skill is an important achievement of the preschool years as it builds upon earlier accomplishments in language development such as learning the vocabulary for identification of story characters and syntactic structures for representation of time relationships among past events. Although narration relies on lexical and morphosyntactic skills, it also demands new skills like text-building skills for combining separate narrative events into a coherent whole and skills for linking the referential and evaluative functions of narrative (Hemphill, Uccelli, Winner, Chang, and Bellinger, 2002:318).

Narrative skills have also frequently been associated with social class. In a study conducted by Peterson (1994), the relationship between specific narrative skills and social class in a culturally and racially homogenous sample was investigated with a focus on narratives of economically disadvantaged children from disorganized households. The

results revealed that most middle-class and economically disadvantaged children often produce long and informative narratives. However, children from disorganized households were most likely to produce extremely minimal narratives and even their longer narratives tended to be chronologically disorganized and poorly patterned in terms of overall structure (p. 251). In fact, narrative skills of middle-class children more closely match the demands of school and the teacher and thus facilitate successful collaboration in learning. There are greater mismatches between language of home and the language of school in economically disadvantaged children (p. 264).

Narrative as a type of discourse also plays an important role in school as children are read stories, told about people's personal experiences, encouraged to write fiction, and so on (Peterson, 1994:251). Peterson (1994:253-4) enumerates some narrative skills displayed by school-entrant children which are important for school success. These skills are response to narrative prompts, informativeness, decontextualization, producing linguistically explicit temporal and causal relationships, producing chronologically organized and structurally well-patterned narrative. These skills are some of the key components of skillful narration in the school setting and thus prove the role narrative plays in pedagogy.

To investigate the term more precisely, narrative is a method of repeating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually happened (Labov, 1999:225). The framework developed for oral narratives of personal experience by Labov and Waletzky (1967) is useful in approaching a wide variety of narrative situations and types including oral memoirs, therapeutic interviews, traditional folktales, and most important of all the ordinary narratives of everyday life. Gradually, it appeared that narratives are privileged forms of discourse which play an important role in almost every conversation. Narrative has proved to be a prototype and perhaps the only example of a well-formed speech event with a beginning, a middle, and an end (Labov, 1997:1).

In the area of narrative structure and comprehension, the theory of evaluation devices has been one of the most influential theories. The underlying assumption of this theory, which is part of Labov's theory of oral narratives, is that relating the sequence of events is not the only function the story fulfills. Conveying the purpose or the point of the

story to the reader, why it is being told at all, and what the narrator intends is another central function which is termed the evaluative function. Since the sequence of events by itself is not necessarily interesting provides the reason why this function is essential in a narrative. In addition, the sequence of events in a story does not allow one to infer the story's raison d'être, a function which is fulfilled by evaluation devices as defined by Labov (Shen, 2005:131). As a result, narrative propositions themselves are indifferent to the message of the narrative. It is the non-narrative and non-temporal sentences which perform the function of evaluating the narrative and in this way, the point of the story and its importance are clearly conveyed. Devices such as repetition, metaphor, etc. play a functional role in text understanding and establish the purpose of telling the story (Giora, 1990:301).

Evaluation devices play an important role both at the level of narrative point marking function and the thematic and affective points of the stories (Shen, 2005:135). As argued by van Dijk (1980), the narrative point revolves around the main or important events of the story. These important or central events in the story are better recalled in memory, consist of summaries of stories and contain the discourse topic of the stories. The discourse topic (DT) or what the discourse is about functions as an information organizer throughout the processing of discourse and is based on processes of abstraction and summarization of the story events (cited in Shen, 2005:133). There are some stories in which the central events do not revolve around those actions which directly reflect the conflict between the narrator and its opponent. In other words, the structural organization in these stories cannot yield a clear hierarchical organization of the story events. In such cases, the same set of events are organized along two or more narrative structures and the evaluative devices signal which of these several structures is the relevant one. In order to test the influence of the evaluative devices on the disambiguation of stories, two groups of subjects were given two different versions of the same story: a story with the evaluation devices version and another one without evaluation devices. The subjects were asked to identify which among the two possible structures was the more central. The results showed that subjects who read the original version revealed an organization which was consistent with the one signaled by the evaluation focus. On the other hand, subjects who read the story without evaluation version were less decisive in their judgment. These findings

support the claim that in cases of narrative ambiguity the evaluative devices play a central role in determining the narrative point of the story (Shen, 2005:135-6).

A large number of thematic interpretations can be derived from a possible story. Therefore, the narrator has to highlight certain themes rather than the others. In such cases, the evaluation devices signal the reader which themes are instantiated in a story. These thematic interpretations cannot be derived from the set of events in themselves; therefore, evaluation devices help the reader identify which thematic points are relevant to that story (p. 139).

As Shen (2005) continues, in addition to the narrative and thematic points of the story, evaluation devices play an important role at another level of text comprehension, the affective level. Stories produce certain affective responses in their readers and part of reading the point of a story has to do with these affective responses (p. 139). Evaluation devices create affect-states in the reader and direct the readers' affective responses towards the story events (pp. 140-1).

1.1 Statement of the problem

The element of evaluation, in addition to the basic narrative clause, is the most important element, and it is the means which is used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative and it is the most important reason for its existence. In other words, it indicates why the narrative is told, and what it is that the narrator aims at (Labov, 1999:231). Further, the significance of a story is established through evaluation. In other words, evaluation distinguishes a directionless sequence of sentences from a story with point and meaning (Bell, 1999:240).

The element of evaluation in narratives is expressed through the use of specific devices called evaluation devices. In fact, the use of evaluation devices in narratives indicates the ability of the narrators to refer to the point and the significance of their story in order to catch the attention of the listener or reader toward their story. In other words, a narrative which is devoid of such elements seems spiritless and uninteresting to the reader or listener. Further, the use of such language devices reveals the narrators' narrative competence in a language. A first language speaker is fluent in using such devices because he becomes familiar to them through the processes of language acquisition. However, the

use of such devices by EFL learners might be a difficult task because it requires the EFL learner to be proficient in a second language. Further, it is not clear what types of these devices are used by EFL learners more than the others and the reasons for this type of occurrence is also unknown. For these reasons, this study considers two settings, controlled and free, and two modes, oral and written, in order to investigate these problems. In other words, the aim of this study is to identify whether there are significant differences between the oral and written narratives of EFL learners on the production of the element of evaluation. Further, differences between the controlled (oral and written productions of the 'frog story' picture book by Mayer, 1969) and free setting narratives (oral and written productions of a personal experience story) on the production of this element will be revealed. Meanwhile, types of evaluation devices used in participants' productions will also be investigated.

1.2 Research questions

In order to pursue the aforementioned purposes, the following research questions are formulated:

1. Are there any significant differences in the oral and written production of the element of evaluation in the Iranian EFL narratives in general?

2. Are there any significant differences in the controlled and free settings in particular in the evaluation of the above narratives?

3. What evaluative devices are observed in the participants' productions?

1.3 Data analysis and scoring procedure

Paired samples t-test was conducted to compare story length and number of evaluation devices produced in both modes and settings. Wilcoxon signed ranks test was also conducted to determine whether there were statistically significant differences between the two settings or modes in terms of the types of evaluative devices that they integrated into their narratives. The results of the study revealed that there are significant differences between the two settings and modes in terms of story length, number of evaluation devices, and types of evaluations utilized in narratives.

1.4 Significance of the study

       The present study aims to compare written and oral productions of evaluation and pinpoint possible similarities and differences between these two modes. As mentioned earlier, evaluation maintains the significance of a story and this element gives worth and value to a story. That is why, it might be important to know how EFL learners affect their listeners or readers through the use of evaluative devices in their speaking and writing to convince others that their story is worth telling. Furthermore, two settings will be selected for the analysis of narratives because the use of these devices might change in controlled and free settings. The significance of this study lies in the fact that evaluative devices in narratives will be analyzed and identified in detail. Furthermore, this research will be conducted on EFL adult learners as compared with previous studies which were conducted on children or native speakers. Another significance of this study will be in the fact that the way second language learners use evaluative devices in their narratives will also be identified, which shows their power in arguing and expressing the significance of their story.

Chapter 2. Review of Literature

Among influential works on narrative, Labov and Waletzky's model of action narrative has strongly influenced language studies since its introduction in 1967. This model gave an important place to evaluation in first person narratives and also to "its function in establishing the meaning of the narrative for the narrator" (Daiute & Nelson, 1997:1). In Labov and Waletzky's view, there are two broad functions with regard to narrative when it is viewed within the human context. The first one is the referential function, which is the function of narrative as a means of repeating experience in a set of clauses that matches the temporal sequence of the original experience. The second function is evaluation, which takes users of narratives into account and emphasizes the idea that a narrative is meant to convey a point and "is worth telling, as far as the teller (and preferably the addressee also) is concerned" (Toolan, 1988:147). It is this second function which will be the focus of this research. However, before embarking on the discussions concerned with Labov's model of narrative and the element of evaluation, it is in order to present the reader with some definition.

2.1 Views on defining narrative

There are four basic approaches to the definition of narrative: temporal, causal, minimal, and transactional. The temporal approach considers the representation of events in a time sequence as the defining feature of narrative. The second emphasizes the causal connection between the events. The third approach states that any statement of an action or event is in fact a narrative because it implies a transition from an earlier state to a later one. Finally, the transactional approach holds that narrative is not a feature found in text; rather, it is simply a way of reading a text (Richardson, 2000:169).

Recent views on defining narrative hold that a definition is not after all necessary to the study of narrative because a great deal is lost when we define narrative. Furthermore, a definition can often restrict our view of our subject (Rudrum, 2006:203). However, giving a straightforward definition of narrative without taking into account the context, the uses and the practices to which texts are put is not a simple task (Rudrum, 2005:201). According to him (p. 196), what is common among all the definitions given about narrative is the view

that narrative represents a series or sequence of events. However, in order to provide a full definition of narrative, two other elements should be taken into account. One is the concept of narrativity which represents "the structural interrelation between the various parts of the narrative whole" (p. 198), and use or how texts or graphics are normally used (read, laughed at, acted upon, etc.) by the members of our linguistic or cultural community. In other words, the question of use is related to the question of social practices and conventions (p. 199).

Likewise Labov, who will be elucidated in the forthcoming sections, defined narrative as a method of repeating past experience in which a verbal sequence of clauses is matched to the sequence of events which actually occurred (cited in Franzosi, 1998:519). Also, based on Labov and Waletzky's words (1967:21), a sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture is called narrative (temporal juncture will be defined later). For example, a statement like "I shot and killed him" is a narrative, but not "I laughed and laughed at him" because the former contains a temporal juncture and the latter does not.

2.2 Roots of the theory

The discovery of formal patterns in texts and the analysis of how such patterns are controlled by the text, namely Labov and Waletzkey's model of narrative (1967), is an important part of the variationist approach to discourse (Schiffrin, 1994:11). This approach uses some of the basic tools of linguistic analysis; that is, it divides texts into sections and assigns labels and functions to those sections. In this way, more context independence (or greater degree of autonomy in text in relation to context) would be possible. This is indicated in Labov's willingness to consider evaluating clause as a separate structured unit which can be extracted from the story in order to be compared with other evaluative devices (p. 11).

One of the characteristics of narratives is that they can be studied apart from the immediate textual or interactional contexts in which they are told. Another feature is that they are not independent of personal meaning and significance. The personal value which the narrator gives to an experience provides the evaluative structure in narrative (p. 285). In fact, the speaker's subjective involvement in telling an experience is indicative of the

presence of evaluative structures (p. 299). According to Labov, this is the evaluative structural part which attracts the attention of an audience in a special way and creates a deep silence which can never be found in an academic or political discussion (cited in Schiffrin, 1994:285). In other words, a story which lacks this subjective involvement does not catch the listeners' or readers' interest so much. Its presence, on the other hand, gives color and vividness to the story and causes the listeners or readers to follow the story with more attention and interest. So, narratives are personally meaningful and their production is based on the social context. In fact, the evaluative structure is one way through which personal identity enters into the study of discourse units in order to convey the personal significance of an experience (p. 286).

2.3 Basic concepts

Before presenting the structure of narrative, it is essential that some terms with regard to action narrative be explained.

2.3.1 Temporal sequence

Temporal sequence is the basic element in Labov's analysis of narrative because the reader or listener is always eager to follow the clauses to see what will happen next (Shokouhi & Kamyab, 2004:216). In fact, temporal juncture stands between successive clauses. If these successive clauses are reversed, the line of the story can sometimes change (p. 230). This type of analysis is not normally suitable for descriptive events because description- unlike action narratives- does not depend on temporality (p. 216). According to Labov and Waletzky (1967:12-13), the temporal sequence of narrative results from its referential function. In their view, narrative is not the only way to refer to a sequence of events or, "all recapitulation of experience is not narrative". Consider the following example:

Well, this person had a little too much to drink,

and he attacked me,

and a friend came in,

and she stopped it.

This story can be presented in the following way:

A friend of mine stopped the attack.

She had just come in.

This person was attacking me.

He had had a little too much to drink.

Although this is a perfectly logical and acceptable way of presenting a sequence of events, it is not a narrative because the basic narrative units (or 'clauses') repeat experience in the same order as the original events. In other words, if the order of clauses is changed, the sequence of events in the original semantic interpretation also changes (p. 14). One important feature of temporal sequence is that only independent clauses are relevant here (p. 13).

2.3.2 Displacement sets

When there is temporal juncture between two clauses, a change in their order also changes the meaning. Such clauses are called displacement sets (Shokouhi & Kamyab, 2004:230). In a clause like 'c', the symbol $_ac_p$ shows that 'c' can be placed before any and all of the following 'p' clauses. A set which consists of the clauses before which 'c' can be placed is called the displacement set of 'c' and is symbolized DS(c) (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:15). The following example, adapted from Labov and Waletzky (1967:14-15), clarifies the point:

w. and they was catchin' up to me,

x. and I crossed the street,

y. and I tripped, man.

If some clauses in this sequence are displaced, the semantic interpretation which results also changes. For example, if 'x' is placed before 'w', the original semantic interpretation does not change because the process of catching up extended throughout the sequence. However, if 'x' is placed after 'y', the original interpretation changes:

w. and they was catchin' up to me,

y. and I tripped, man,

x. and I crossed the street.

Thus, for this sequence the displacement sets would be:

DS (w)= { w, x, y}

DS $(x)= \{w, x\}$

DS $(y)= \{y\}$

2.3.3 Free clause, narrative clause, restricted clause and narrative head

A clause like $_0c_0$ is called a narrative clause because it does not move from one position to another and thus has a fixed position in the sequence. In this way, it maintains the strict temporal sequence which is the defining characteristic of narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:15). In other words, if a narrative clause is displaced across a temporal juncture, the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation also changes. Therefore, if the displacement set of a clause does not contain two temporally ordered clauses, then that clause is a narrative clause. More simply, a narrative clause has an unordered displacement set (pp. 20-21).

On the other hand, a clause which can move freely through the narrative sequence and has a displacement set equal to the entire narrative is called a free clause (p. 15). There is another type of clause which is neither free nor permanently fixed in one position in the strict sense (p. 17). In other words, as Shokouhi and Kamyab (2004:231) also assert, these types of clauses have a shorter range of occurrence and are called restricted clauses. In plain words, when the displacement set is ordered- or when some members are temporally ordered with respect to each other- then the given clause is either a restricted clause or a free clause. If this ordered set is equal to the narrative as a whole, the clause is a free clause; if not, it is a restricted one (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:21).

In a narrative clause the finite verb which carries the tense marker of the clause is called the narrative head of that clause. The principle grammatical forms and categories that can function as grammatical heads are simple past and present. The past progressive and possibly present progressive appear occasionally as a narrative head. Normally, there are no modals although it is possible that "could" may abstractly function as a narrative head. On the whole, the present perfect does not occur in a narrative, and the past perfect does not function as a narrative head (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:22-23).

2.4 The structure of action narrative

The analysis of narrative based on Labov's model is two-dimensional: formal and functional. The former is based on the regular patterns which are characteristic of narrative from the clause level to the complete simple narrative. In this type of analysis, the basic techniques of linguistic analysis are employed in which the invariable structural units are isolated. These structural units themselves are represented by various superficial forms. Based on this type of analysis, a lot of information on the syntax and semantics of English below the sentence level can be derived. However, this type of analysis is not employed here because the characteristics of the narrative itself are of interest. The latter type of analysis considers narrative as one of constructing narrative units that match the temporal sequence of that experience. However, a narrative which serves only this function is not considered normal. It is, in fact, empty or pointless because a narrative serves another function or personal interest which is determined by a stimulus in the social context in which it is produced. Therefore, there are two functions of narrative: referential and evaluative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:4). As mentioned before, it is this second function which will be explored in this research. In this part, the overall structure of narrative based on Labov and Waletzky's model (1967) will be presented.

Narratives have a linear structure consisting of different sections which present different kinds of information and have different functions within the story. In each section, also, there are different types of clauses whose syntactic and semantic properties determine their identity and their function in the story (Schiffrin, 1994:284). Each element of narrative will be explored in this section. Evaluation will be the last element to be explained because of its importance in this research.

2.4.1 Abstract

Abstract appears at the beginning of the narrative and presents a summary of the whole story. In other words, abstract expresses the point of the story in a few words (Labov, 1999:228). Based on Shokouhi and Kamyab's words (2004), abstract appears in the form of the title and can only reveal the major theme of the story. Its function is to entice the reader to read the narrative while, at the same time, providing a frame set of mind for him (pp. 217-18).

2.4.2 Orientation

Theoretically, in the course of the first several narrative clauses, the setting or the time, place, persons, and their activity is identified (Labov, 1999:229). In other words, as Labov and Waletzky (1967) further posit, the orientation section, which is a group of free clauses that precede the first narrative clause, serves to orient the listener with regard to person, place, time, and behavioral situation. Orientation section may not be found in all narratives. Furthermore, they may not perform all these four functions. Some free clauses which carry these functions can occur in other positions. Finally, phrases or lexical items contained in narrative clauses can often perform the orientation function. When orientation sections are displaced, this displacement performs evaluative function, to be discussed later. Typically, narratives of children and less verbal adults whose narratives fail to perform referential functions, like temporal sequence, lack orientation sections (p. 27). As for the syntactic properties of this section, orientation contains many past progressive clauses which provide the reader with the information about what was happening before the first event of the narrative or in the course of the entire episode (Labov, 1999:229).

2.4.3 Complication and resolution

Complicating action refers to the main body of narrative clauses which usually consists of a series of events and is regularly terminated by a result (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:27-8). Resolution of the narrative, also, is that part of the narrative which follows the evaluation. If the evaluation is the last element in narrative, then resolution coincides with the evaluation (p. 35). To quote Wennerstrom's words (2001), resolution is the outcome or the result of the narrative (p. 1187).

2.4.4 Coda

Many narratives end in resolution, but in others there is another element called the coda. Coda is a functional device which returns the verbal perspective to the present moment (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:35). This part usually comes after resolution or concluding statements of narrative. Codas focus on some current situation which was originally part of the narrative- taken from either events or participants- and in this way take the reader back to something or somewhere which was mentioned at the beginning of

the narrative (Shokouhi & Kamyab, 2004:225-6). This, as Labov and Waletzky (1967) continue, is done by a lot of means. One way is the use of deixis, which is the linguistic category that points to a referent instead of naming it. In case of narrative, coda stands at the present moment and points towards the end of the narrative. In this way, it identifies the narrative as a remote point in the past. Another device used in codas is an incident in which one of the actors can be followed to the present moment, but he is not completely relevant to the narrative sequence. The effect which the narrative has on the narrator can also be extended to the present moment (p. 36). One characteristic about codas is that they are separated from the resolution by temporal juncture. Also, one way to distinguish codas is the fact that they do not describe events; that is, they are not the answer to the question: "What happened?" (p. 37). Another way to distinguish codas is that in this section, again there are some free clauses which signal that the narrative is finished. They may also contain general observations or reveal the effects of the events the narrator has produced (Labov, 1999:229).

2.4.5 Evaluation: its importance and definition

A narrative which contains an orientation, complicating action, and result carries out the referential function quite well, yet it is difficult to understand because without evaluation, it lacks significance and has no point (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:28). Usually, narratives are produced in answer to a stimulus from outside in order to establish some point of personal interest (p. 29). For instance, when someone is asked whether he were ever in serious danger of being killed, and he answers "Yes", then he is further asked: "What happened?" In fact, in his narration he should demonstrate to the listener that he was really in danger, and the more real and distinct the danger is the more effective his narrative. If he fails to deliver an interesting narrative, he will have made a false claim. In other words, these narratives are designed in a way to demonstrate that the situation was really unusual and strange. In fact, a simple sequence of clauses which only consists of complication and result does not provide the listener with the relative importance of the events. Furthermore, in narratives without evaluation, it is difficult to distinguish complication from the resolution. Therefore, it is necessary for the narrator to explain the point at which the complication has reached a maximum or the break between the

complication and the result. Most narratives contain an evaluation section which performs this function (p. 30). Some authors would further argue that there is very little going on in a narrative that is not in some way evaluative (Gwyn, 2000:316).

It is claimed that perhaps in addition to the basic narrative clause, evaluation is also the most important element, and it is the means which is used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative and is the most important reason for its existence. In other words, it indicates why the narrative is told, and what it is that the narrator aims at (Labov, 1999:231). One important point about narrative is that the significance of a story is established through evaluation. In other words, evaluation distinguishes a directionless sequence of sentences from a story with point and meaning (Bell, 1999:240).

So, the teller or the author must have something to say which catches the attention of the listeners or readers toward the value of the story and the idea that it is worth telling after all. As Koven (2002:170) states, it is the evaluative component of narrative which reflects the storyteller's stance towards the events narrated, or to quote Wennerstrom's words (2001:1187), evaluation is "the teller's own assessment of the narrative events". In plain words, evaluation reflects the narrator's attitude and emotions toward the narrative (p. 1203). In Ravid and Berman's words (2006:122), evaluation is an interpretive-attitudinal content in narratives which expresses narrators' attitudes and views about events and circumstances and also their subjective views and comments on the inner states that the narrator attributes to participants. One final quote on the definition of evaluation is that of Schiffrin (1994:11) who claims that evaluation is the means through which narrators emphasize different aspects of an experience in order to reveal the point of the story.

2.4.5.1 Types of evaluation

Evaluation has two important dimensions. The first serves a structural purpose and the second emphasizes the interpersonal nature of the story telling. It is the second dimension which expresses the idea of why the story is worth telling (Page, 2002:102). There is a further classification by Labov in this regard as cited in Wennerstrom (2001). He states that Labov identifies external and internal types of evaluation. External types of evaluation occur as separate clauses from the actual story line in which the teller shows his stance toward the current events. On the other hand, internal evaluations are embedded

within the clauses of the story events to indicate the teller's perspective. Tellers use marked syntactic structures, expletives, lexical items, and so on to add "a special evaluative status within storyline clauses". For internal evaluation, Labov names quotations because by quotations the teller can make the story more realistic in the hearer's view (p. 1187). In other words, the internal-external type of classification relates to the degree of embedding of evaluation in the narrative frame. As Labov and Waletzky (1967) further clarify, the internalized type represents a symbolic action or the evaluation of a third person and the external one is a direct statement on the part of the narrator to the listener about his feelings at the time. An example of internal evaluation would be: "I say, 'Calvin, I'm bust your head for dat.'", and an example of external evaluation is: "You know, in cases like this, it's clear that she was likely as not dead." Sometimes, evaluation is embedded in a statement which the narrator is articulating to himself. In this way, the statement is less well integrated into the narrative, like "So I say to myself, 'Well, there's gonna be times….'". A comment can also occur at the end of the narrative directed towards the listener, as in "I will tell you if I had ever walloped that dog I'd have felt some bad" (pp. 34-5).

2.4.5.2 Location of evaluation

Regarding the location of evaluation, most authors have more or less the same idea: that evaluation does not occur in a specified place in all stories. It should be pointed out that it is not something to be found so easily and in a straightforward manner. It is embedded throughout the story, and rarely is it to be found in the form of explicit propositions within the story (Koven, 2002:171). As Labov (1999) also states, evaluation forms a secondary structure which mostly occurs in the evaluation section but can also take various forms and may be found throughout the narrative (p. 234). In other words, it can be embedded within narrative clauses. "Embedded evaluations rely on deviations from the simple syntactic structure typical of a narrative clause" (Schiffrin, 1994:11).

However, based on Page's idea, there is one clue to identification of evaluation. He stresses that evaluation clusters occur when the speaker gives some kind of commentary, explanation, or opinion which is not part of the main events of the story (2002:103). Another way to identify evaluation within narrative is that these sections are, in fact, deviations from the order of the temporal sequence of clauses, in which one clause follows

another. However, all evaluation sections do not have the feature of suspending the complicating action. In many cases, evaluation is a lexical or phrasal modification of a narrative clause, or it may be a narrative clause itself, or it can also coincide with the last narrative clause. It is also for this reason that evaluation must be defined semantically rather than structurally (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:32). Another clue to the identification of the evaluation section, as these authors further mention, is that this section consists of multicoordinate clauses or groups of free or restricted clauses. In many narratives, evaluation combines with the result; in other words, both the importance of the result and the result itself are expressed by a single narrative clause (p. 30). In some other narratives, as Bell (1999:241) states, evaluations typically occur near the end of narratives, just before the resolution of the events.

Before providing the reader with the next technique of detecting evaluation in narrative, it is necessary to remind him of the definition of evaluation. To quote Labov and Waletzky (1967), evaluation refers to that part of the narrative which shows the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units in comparison with others. This can be done in a lot of ways. First, it is done through semantically defined evaluation, which consists of the use of direct statement: "I said to myself: this is it.", and lexical intensifiers: "He was beat up real, real bad." Second, it is done through formally defined evaluation, which consists of the suspension of the action through coordinate clauses and restricted clauses and repetition. Third, it is done through culturally defined evaluation, which involves symbolic action: "I crossed myself.", and judgment of a third person in which the whole narrative is reported to a person who is not present at the narrative (pp. 32-33).

The use of evaluative devices is also representative of the presence of evaluation. Negation, participles, future modals, non-finite verbs and comparatives are some of the grammatical markers which are used by the narrator in the evaluation section of narrative. The reason why negative constructions or modals are frequent in this section is that evaluations often refer to the events that did not happen (Shokouhi & Kamyab, 2004:222). An evaluative device that Schiffrin (1994:11) names is comparator which includes "negatives, futures, modals, quasimodals, questions, imperatives, or-clauses, superlatives, and comparatives." The use of marked syntactic structures, expletives, lexical items, and

quotations, as mentioned in section 2.3.6.1 for internal type of evaluation, are some of the other ways to distinguish evaluation in narratives.

The structure of narratives which has been explained is not unvarying. There may be differences with respect to complexity, the number of structural elements, and the performance of various functions (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:37). The schematic structure of narrative can be represented by the following diagram:
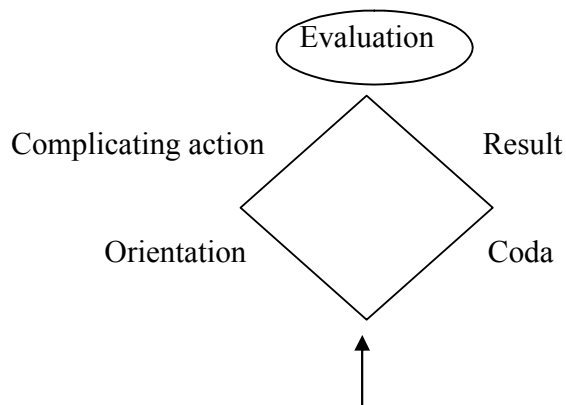
At the base of the diamond, there is the originating function of narrative. There is the orientation section to the left and after that, up to the top, there is the complication. At the top of the diagram, evaluation usually suspends the action after which the resolution follows downward to the right. Finally, a line which returns to the situation at which the narrative was first produced represents coda. The simplest narratives just consist of the single line of complication without a clear resolution. However, more complex narratives, like those produced by speakers with better verbal abilities, duplicate the exact form of this diagram more than the simple ones. Usually, the most frequent type is the one in which evaluation ends the resolution, as in jokes, ghost stories, and surprise endings (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:37).

Another point worth noting is that these six components do not necessarily occur in a strict order (Wennerstrom, 2001:1187). For example, in spontaneous speech, storytellers may use evaluations at any point during the story. Such components as abstracts and codas may also be omitted.

2.5 Studies on evaluation

Studies conducted in this area show the significance of evaluation in narratives. The use of 'Frog Story' picture book, which is also applied in the present research, is one common way of eliciting oral narratives from participants. For example, in a study done by Berman (1988), the 'frog story' was used to elicit narratives from two groups of Hebrew children- preschoolers aged 3 to 5 and school children aged 7 to 12- in order to find out how children of different ages talk about events that form part of an ongoing narrative. The results showed that most 3-, 4-, and some 5-year-olds described each picture in isolation while older children related the events sequentially in relation to an overall plot line (p. 469).

The function of digressions in informative texts was examined in an attempt in Giora's study (1990). Digressions seem equivalent to evaluation in narratives. Digressions, like evaluation, are structurally free. They also resemble evaluation semantically because digressions are composed of analogy, metaphor, comparisons, repetition, and the like (p. 300). Although this study established the similarity between narrative and informative texts, it also questioned the role evaluation plays in processing. The results of the study implied that digressions in informative texts do not facilitate understanding. Also, results revealed that evaluative devices in informative texts inhibit or fail to improve understanding. In fact, their role in informative texts is problematic (pp. 300-301).

Oral narratives were solicited from native speakers of standard North American English and second language speakers of English from Japan in a study by Wennerstrom (2001). In this study, he investigated the distribution of pitch maxima in the texts of these narratives. The results indicated that intonation peaks were related to evaluative language as conceived of by Labov (p. 1183). A second finding was that there was a correspondence between pitch maxima and structural junctures in the progress of the stories for both language groups. This association between pitch and text allowed the narrators to emphasize the timing and pace of the narrative events (p. 1203).

The effect of maternal storytelling on the child's use of eight linguistic evaluative devices (e.g., reference to internal states of actors) was assessed by Harkins, Koch, and Michel (2001) for sixty 5-year-old children. Picture books which provided the components of a narrative were implemented in this study while leaving storytellers free to use their

own linguistic evaluative devices. At the end of this study, it was proved that these 5-year-old children used more clauses and evaluative devices in their storytelling as a consequence of hearing the same story told by their mother (p. 254). The children's frequency of use of linguistic evaluative devices was closely connected with the frequency of use by their mother, but the use of specific evaluative devices was not. These findings further revealed that listening to maternal storytelling can have an immediate effect on a child's narrative skills, especially on the number of clauses and the use of evaluative devices in the story (p. 255).

The characteristics of narratives told by women and men about the birth of children was explored in another study by Page (2002) with a focus on the way speakers use evaluation devices to structure their experiences and to negotiate a relationship with their audience. The results revealed that male speakers emphasize meaning which conveys information while women provoke an affectual response (p. 99). With regard to the use of evaluation, women used more evaluation devices than men while on average the male speakers told longer stories (p. 102).

A study conducted by Koven (2002) builds on Labov's idea of evaluation, conversation analytic insights into narrative, Goffman's notion of footing, and Bakhtin's idea of voicing. In this study, three role perspectives speakers perform in a narrative of personal experience were described: those of author, interlocutor, and character. This frame was applied to two tellings of the same event by the same speaker- one in which the speaker performed the story more from the perspective of a performed character, the other in which the speaker performed the story more from a current interlocutory position. The results demonstrated that this tripartite role distinction was salient for listeners, who described one of the tellings as revealing more about the speaker at the time of the original event and the other one as revealing more about the speaker at the time of the telling (p. 209).

The categories of repetition as one type of evaluation strategy used in Turkish oral personal narratives were examined in Yemenici's study (2002). Repetition is used by the narrators to create involvement on the part of the listener as a universal trait. However, the types, categories and functions of repetition which are utilized by the narrators are different. This study aimed to identify these types, categories and functions. This study also