

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **QUALITATIVE FINDINGS: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Chapter 4 indicates that preschoolers employ increasing amount and variety of evaluative devices with age. Yet, it fails to illustrate some qualitative shifts in preschoolers' evaluative language skills. The present chapter, thus, aims at providing illustrative excerpts to demonstrate that, over time, preschoolers have not only quantitative but also qualitative changes in their ability to use evaluative devices. Through these examples, we hope to go beyond frequency of use of particular linguistic devices as the indicator of narrative development.

All the following excerpts are from the fictional narrative task rather than the personal narrative task. The purpose of using fictional narratives is threefold. The first reason is that all the fictional productions in our work base on the frog story, which provides a common ground for us to compare the developmental changes in evaluative skills. Since subjects narrate the frog story across three time points, such repeat performances provide insights into what elements in a narrative a child considers worth describing, as stated by Preece (1987). On the contrary, the variability of personal experience narratives makes a systematic comparison of the way in using evaluative devices impossible. Secondly, according to our quantitative findings, all length properties are more pronounced in the fictional narrative task than in the personal one. Though earlier studies claim that the personal experience narrative is the most highly evaluated form of language (Peterson and McCabe, 1983; Labov, 1981), our present work detects that preschoolers use a larger variety of evaluative devices in the fictional narrative task than in the personal one. Accordingly, we assume that some interesting variations in preschoolers' use of evaluative devices can be discerned in the narrative productions from the fictional

task. Thirdly, research assumes that structured fictional narratives are likely to display some evaluative elements which change in frequency and variability over time. Nevertheless, only a few studies have examined the evaluative language in fictional narratives (Bamberg and Damrad-Frye, 1991; Shiro, 2003; Ukrainetz et al., 2005). Less is known about the developmental changes in this aspect for preschoolers in Taiwan. Given these three reasons, the following discussion will focus on the qualitative findings from fictional narratives.

Our concern is the common threads regarding the use of evaluative devices which can be discerned across the subjects. Among various evaluative devices, the expressions for 'frames of mind (FOM)' are especially chosen to illustrate the developmental changes in the use of evaluative language. As Tager-Flusberg and Sullivan (1995) state, a good story often explains protagonists' actions by referring to their motivations and mental states. The use of FOM is one such way to interpret one's own and others' action. The felicitous use of FOM requires perspective shifting which involves the integration of cognitive, communicative and linguistic capacities. Additionally, studies indicate that children demonstrate advances in the use of this device with increasing age (Chang, 2000; Chang, 2001; Bamberg and Damrad-Frye, 1991; Berman and Slobin, 1994). From the developmental viewpoint, the preschool stage is the time during which children's theory of mind develops, and is also the period shows rapid language growth (Astington and Jenkins, 1999). As a result, the developmental shifts for the use of FOM in preschool years can lead us to speculate the relation between language and cognition. Thus, in the following discussions, we will explore more deeply into the developmental changes in the use of this particular evaluative device by focusing on several events in the frog story.

Our qualitative analyses not only focus on the changes of the discourse functions of references to FOM, but also delineate the developmental shifts of the capacity to

describe/relate events in a story. Moreover, we examine the interplay between narrative focus and the use of evaluative language skills. The findings described in this chapter are analyzed on the basis of three distinct but related assumptions. The first assumption underlying our analysis is that narrative focus progresses from static picture description to dynamic event narration. The second assumption is that the precursor for using FOM transits from local event to global story plotline. The third assumption is that children's narratives evolve from focusing on individual events into including a sequence of events, or event complex.

### **5.1 From Static Picture to Dynamic Event**

In Berman and Slobin's study (1994), some of the youngest children (3- and 4-year-olds) rely on purely static descriptions of pictures while narrating the frog story. In the present work, four out of the six male preschoolers generate similar narrative productions at Time 1.<sup>1</sup> What they do is just read off pictures from the book by delineating the pictures in static terms. Over time, these children begin to take a dynamically motivated approach and try to interpret what did the story characters do or what happened to them, which suggests that the children then begin to conceive of the pictures as events. The transition from static-oriented to dynamic-oriented narration is revealed in the excerpts which follow.

Excerpts 1 through 3 are from the same boy LCY narrating Pictures 1 through 3. In Excerpt 1, the boy merely lists the contents of the pictures as a static array of objects, which suggests that he has not got the listings into the narrative flow. In Excerpt 2, in addition to the static terms, LCY tries to explain why the jar is empty, though he uses the causal connector 因為 'because' in a wrong way. Instead of relying much on static descriptions, LCY generates a series of coherent events in Excerpt 3. To begin with, he notices not only the boy protagonist but also the dog is

observing the frog. He, then, takes a dynamic perspective referring to the second picture, in which he describes the frog runs away while the protagonist is sleeping. Moreover, the evaluative term 偷偷地 ‘secretly’ vividly illustrates how the frog is gone. Different from Excerpts 1 and 2, Excerpt 3 reveals the connection between empty jar and the protagonist’s cognizance of the missing of the frog. Finally, he mentions the protagonist sets out to search for his frog. Rather than providing picture-by-picture description, in Excerpt 3, LCY relates to the pictures as showing events, which gives evidence of emergence of the most basic element involved in a narrative. Excerpts 1 through 3 evidence LCY’s developmental progression from stative picture description to interclausal sequential chaining of events.

**Excerpt 1: LCY (Time 1)**

青蛙跟狗、跟人 - 喔 - 還有靴子 - 衣服 - 襪子 - 床 - 這邊有一隻青蛙 - 跟拖鞋 - 跟椅子 - 跟靴子 - 跟狗 - 跟人 - 在睡覺 - 嗯 - 一個空瓶子 - 一個拖鞋 - 一個椅子 - 一個靴子 - 一個衣服 - 一個襪子 - 靴子跟椅子 - 跟狗 - 跟空瓶子 - 跟拖鞋 - 跟衣服 - 跟睡衣 - 跟枕頭 - 然後他在看靴子

qingwa gen gou gen ren - o - haiyou xuezi - yifu - wazi - chuang - zhebian you yi zhi qingwa - gen tuoxie - gen yi zi - gen xuezi - gen gou - gen ren - zai shuijiao - en - yi ge kong pingzi - yi ge tuoxie - yi ge yizi - yi ge xuezi - yi ge yifu - yi ge wazi - xuezi gen yizi - gen gou - gen kong pingzi - gen tuoxie - gen yifu - gen shuiyi - gen zhentou - ranhou ta zai kan xuezi

A frog, a dog, and a boy. Oh, and there is a pair of boots, a shirt, a pair of socks, and a bed. There is a frog, a pair of slippers, a pair of boots, a dog, and a sleeping boy. An empty jar, one slipper, a chair, a boot, a shirt, a sock, a boot and a chair, with a dog, with an empty jar, with a pair of slippers, with some clothes, with a pajamas, and a pillow. And he is looking at the boot.

**Excerpt 2: LCY (Time 2)**

一隻青蛙 - 還有一個人 - 還有一隻狗 - 還有衣服 - 還有襪子 - 還有床跟枕頭 - 還有電燈 - 還有月亮 - 這裡沒有青蛙 - 因為這裡是沒有青蛙 - 青蛙已經走了 - 然後在瓶子裡面瓶子是空的 - 空的。

yi zhi qingwa - haiyou yi ge ren - haiyou yi zhi gou - haiyou yifu - haiyou wazi - haiyou chuang gen zhentou - haiyou diandeng - haiyou yueliang - zheli meiyou qingwa - yinwei zheli shi meiyou qingwa - qingwa yijing zou le - ranhou zai pingzi limian pingzi shi kongde - kongde

A frog. And there is a boy. And there is a dog. And there is a shirt. And a sock. And a bed and a pillow. And the light. And the moon. There is no frog here because there is no frog here. The frog has left. The jar is empty. Empty.

### **Excerpt 3: LCY (Time 3)**

小男生在看他的青蛙 - 他的狗狗也在看他的青蛙 - 然後他在睡覺的時候 - 他的青蛙就偷偷地跑走了 - 他起床看到他的瓶子裡面沒有青蛙 - 然後他們就出去找青蛙。

xiao nansheng zai kan ta de qingwa - ta de gougou ye zai kan ta de qingwa - ranhou ta zai shuijiao de shihou - ta de qingwa jiu toutoude paozou le - ta qichuang kandao ta de pingzi limian meiyou qingwa - ranhou tamen jiu chuqu zhao qingwa

The little boy is looking at his frog. His dog is also looking at the frog. Then when he is sleeping, the frog secretly left. When the boy wakes up, he notices that his frog is not inside his jar. Then they go out to search for the frog.

Similarly, Excerpts 4 through 6 reveal the developmental progression from static item-based description to dynamic event-based narration. For example, in Excerpts 5 and 6, CRS regards Picture 2 as an event, taking a dynamically motivated approach and stating 衣服掉到地上 ‘the clothes fall onto the floor’, which could have been interpreted in purely static term 衣服 ‘clothes’, as in Excerpt 4. Another interesting evidence for the static-dynamic contrast is that 單腳青蛙 ‘one-legged frog’ in

Excerpt 4 is rephrased as 青蛙偷偷伸一隻腳 ‘the frog secretly sticks out one leg’ in Excerpt 5.

In addition to the static-to-dynamic transition mentioned above, Excerpts 4 through 6 demonstrate the developmental progress in temporal organization of narratives. Compared with Excerpt 4, Excerpts 5 and 6 have more elaborated structures in terms of temporal organization. That is, in Excerpts 5 and 6, the child begins to use explicit temporal anchoring of events by expressions such as 有一天 ‘one day’, 晚上 ‘at night’, and 天亮 ‘the sky turns bright’, 後來他們起來的時候 ‘then when they get up’.

#### **Excerpt 4: CRS (Time 1)**

狗 青蛙 人 衣服 - 有 一 隻 狗 - 一 個 人 在 睡 覺 - 一 個 拖 鞋 一 個 衣 服 椅 子 - 瓶 子 青 蛙 - 拖 鞋 - 月 亮 窗 戶 燈 - 馬 靴 - 人 - 狗 - 枕 頭 - 椅 子 - 拖 鞋 - 瓶 子 - 單 腳 青 蛙 - 狗 - 還 有 人 .

gou qingwa ren yifu - you yi zhi gou - yi ge ren zai shuijiao - yi ge tuoxie yi ge yifu yizi - pingzi qingwa - tuoxie - yueliang chuanguhu deng - maxue - ren - gou - zhentou-yizi- tuoxie - pingzi - dan jiao qingwa - gou - haiyou ren

Dog, frog, boy, clothes. There is a dog, a sleeping boy, a slipper, a shirt, a chair. A jar, a frog. A slipper. Moon, window, lamp. Boots. Boy. Dog. Pillow. Chair. Slipper. Jar. Single-legged frog. Dog. And a boy.

#### **Excerpt 5: CRS (Time 2)**

有 一 天 小 男 孩 跟 狗 狗 去 看 他 的 青 蛙 - 坐 在 床 的 下 面 狗 狗 站 著 - 已 經 是 晚 上 了 - 沒 開 燈 - 衣 服 掉 到 地 上 - 還 有 襪 子 - 後 來 他 跟 狗 狗 在 床 上 睡 覺 的 時 候 - 青 蛙 偷 偷 伸 一 隻 腳 - 然 後 呢 - 天 亮 的 時 候 呢 - 它 都 跑 - 它 都 已 經 都 跑 出 去 了 - 然 後 呢 - 小 男 孩 跟 那 個 狗 狗 都 覺 得 青 蛙 跑 到 哪 去 了 .

you yitian xiao nanhai gen gougou qu kan ta de qingwa - zuo zai chuang de xiamian  
gougou zhanzhe - yijing shi wanshang le - mei kai deng - yifu diaodao dishang -  
haiyou wazi - houlai ta gen gougou zai chunagshang shuijiao de shihou - qingwa  
toutou shen yi zhi jiao - ranhou ne - tianliang de shihou ne - ta dou pao - ta dou yijing  
dou pao chuqu le - ranhou ne - xiao nanhai gen nage gougou dou jue de qingwa pao  
dao na qu le.

One day, the little boy and the dog are looking at his frog. The dog who sat under the bed stands up. It is already night time. The light is not on. The clothes fall on the floor. There is a sock. Later, the boy and the dog are sleeping on the bed. The frog secretly stick out one leg. And then when the sky turns bright, it runs away. It runs out already. And then, the little boy and the dog both think about where the frog ran to.

### **Excerpt 6: CRS (Time 3)**

有一 個 小 朋 友 - 坐 在 床 上 - 跟 狗 狗 看 青 蛙 - 現 在 有 月 亮 了 - 晚  
上 衣 服 掉 在 地 上 了 - 好 好 笑 - 還 有 椅 子 放 在 地 上 - 今 天 睡 覺 的  
時 候 - 青 蛙 就 跑 走 了 - 他 今 天 睡 覺 青 蛙 就 跑 走 了 - 後 來 他 們 起  
來 的 時 候 - 發 現 青 蛙 跑 掉 了 - 不 見 了。

you yi ge xiao penyou - zuo zai chuangshang - gen gougou kan qingwa - xianzai you  
yueliang le - wanshang yifu diao zai dishang le - hao haoxiao - haiyou yizi fang zai  
dishang - jintian shuijiao de shihou - qingwa jiu pao zou le- ta jintian shuijiao qingwa  
jiu pao zou le - houlai tamen qilai de shihou - faxian qingwa pao diao le - bu jian le.

There is a kid, sitting on the bed, watching the frog together with the dog. Now there comes the moon. Night shirt falls on the floor. It is very funny. And a chair is placed on the floor. Today, while sleeping, the frog runs away. He sleeps today and the frog just runs away. Then, when they get up, they realize that the frog ran away. It's gone.

Another ability which Excerpts 4 to 6 evidence is that of making inferences about what is not visible in the printed pages. In Excerpt 4, CRS refers to 月亮 ‘the moon’ as one among many items in the pictures. It is in Excerpt 5, however, he makes overt temporal reference to 晚上 ‘at night’, inferring from the facts that there

is the moon outside the window and the boy is sleeping. The transition shown in Excerpt 6, from 現在有月亮了 ‘now there comes the moon’ to 晚上 ‘at night’ in the following sentence, reveals the inner process while making inferences.

Regarding evaluative devices, like LCY, CRS also begins to employ evaluative terms at Time 2. For example, he uses 偷偷 ‘secretly’ describing the way the frog creeps out of the jar. Moreover, in Excerpt 6, CRS steps outside the story world and makes commentary evaluation such as 好好笑 ‘very funny’, which indicates that he can travel between the story world and the real world. This excerpt embodies Chafe’s (1994) claim that, when narrating a fictional story, a narrator adopts both the narrator’s stance and the story character’s perspective. It is interesting to note that the child does not shift between the story world and the real world until Time 3, which suggests that perspective-shifting ability such as this is cognitively demanding and hence takes longer time to develop. As a result, such perspective shifts in narratives will not emerge until later developmental stage.

In addition to the evaluative words per se mentioned above, CRS employs FOM such as 覺得 ‘think’, and 發現 ‘realize’ referring to change of inner cognitive states on the part of the protagonist. These FOM terms imply that the narrator can consider more than one perspective and interpret others’ inner states of mind. As mentioned above, the shift in perspective is cognitively demanding; consequently, these FOM terms do not emerge in CRS’s narration until Time 2. In addition, more elaborated narrative skills are displayed in Excerpt 6, in which CRS not only uses the specific verb 發現 ‘realize’, but also chooses a more tightly packaged sequence of expression: 後來他們起來的時候 - 發現青蛙跑掉了 ‘Then, when they get up, they realize that the frog ran away’.

Compared with male preschoolers’ static picture-by-picture description at Time 1, all our female preschoolers are more advanced in this regard for they produce



event-oriented narration throughout the three time points. Excerpts 7 through 9, from LCF, show advances in narrative length, which is congruent with the increasing trend indicated in Section 4.1.5. More specifically, in terms of linguistic expression, LCF provides richer lexicon than the previous two male preschoolers as shown in Excerpts 1 through 6. The female advantage echoes the findings in Section 4.1.2, in which female preschoolers provide a larger variety of words than their male counterparts in the fictional narrative task.

### **Excerpt 7: LCF (Time 1)**

有一天呢 - 這個男孩就就在觀察青蛙 - 然後很晚很晚才睡覺 - 結果呢而他就睡覺的時候 - 青蛙就偷偷跑出去了 - 結果他早上起床的時候就發現青蛙不見。

you yi tian ne - zhege nanhai jiu jiu zai guan cha qingwa - ranhou hen wan hen wan cai shuijiao - jieguo ne er ta jiu shuijiao de shihou - qingwa jiu toutou pao chuqu le - jieguo ta zaoshang qichuang de shihou jiu faxian qingwa bu jian.

One day, this boy is observing the frog. So he does not sleep until it is very very late. And then when he falls asleep, the frog secretly runs away. So when he gets up in the morning, he realizes that the frog is gone.

### **Excerpt 8: LCF (Time 2)**

有一天晚上男孩跟狗看了好久好久的青蛙 - 然後呢他們就看到晚上三點了 - 然後呢男孩很累了 - 他就上床睡覺了 - 狗也上床睡覺了 - 只有青蛙還沒有睡覺 - 結果他就偷偷跑出玻璃罐裡面 - 他就跳跳跳跳 - 然後走了 - 結果到了早上的時候呢 - 狗跟男孩都起來的時候 - 他發現玻璃罐裡面已經沒有青蛙。

you yi tian wanshang nanhai gen gou kan le haojiu haojiude qingwa - ranhou ne tamen jiu kan dao wanshang san dian le - ranhou ne nanhai hen lei le- ta jiu

shangchuang shuijiao le - gou ye shang chuang shuijiao le - zhi you qingwa hai  
meiyou shuijiao - jieguo ta jiu pao chu boli guan limian - ta jiu tiao tiao tiao tiao -  
ranhou zou le - jieguo dao le zaoshang de shihou ne - gou gen nanhai dou qilai de  
shihou - ta faxian boli guan limian yijing meiyou qingwa.

One night the boy and the dog look at the fog for a long, long time. And then they  
look at it until it is three in the morning. And then the boy is very tired. So he goes to  
bed. The dog also sleeps on the bed. Only the frog does not fall asleep. So it secretly  
climbs out of the glass jar. It just hops, hops, hops, and hops. Then, it leaves. Then,  
in the morning, the dog and the boy both get up. He notices that the frog is no longer  
inside the glass jar.

### **Excerpt 9: LCF (Time 3)**

有一天有一個小男孩 - 他很喜歡青蛙 - 他的名字叫做小文 -  
他的狗狗叫做小安 - 然後他他就把他抓來的一隻青蛙放到他  
最喜歡的罐子裡面 - 然後小文還有小狗狗小安 - 都很喜歡那隻  
青蛙 - 然後呢小文就把那隻青蛙叫做小蛙 - 然後呢那個小蛙就  
很貪心 - 他就在瓶子裡面笑嘻嘻的 - 然後呢他然後呢小男孩就  
去睡覺了 - 小狗狗小安也去睡覺了 - 可是呢小青蛙覺得這個  
瓶子沒有水 - 他不喜歡住這個地方 - 他就想走出去走一走 -  
然後呢去看看有沒有適合他的家 - 然後一早起來小男孩就  
說：「啊！小蛙不見了。小狗狗小安快點起床。」

you yi tian you yi ge xiao nanhai - ta hen xihuan qingwa - ta de mingzi jiaozuo  
xiaowen - ta de gougou jiaozuo xiaohan - ranhou ta ta jiuba ta zhualaide yi zhi qingwa  
fangdao ta zui xihuan de guanzi limian - ranhou xiaowen haiyou xiao gougou xiaohan -  
dou hen xihuan nazhi qingwa - ranhou ne xiaowen jiu ba nazhi qingwa jiaozuo  
xiaowa - ranhou ne nage xiaowa jiu hen tanxin - ta jiu zai pingzi limian xiaoxixide -  
ranhou ne xiao nanhai jiu qu shuijiao le - xiao gougou xiaohan ye qu shuijiao le - keshi  
ne xiao qingwa jue de zhege pingzi meiyou shui - ta bu xihuan zhu zhege defang - ta  
jiu xiang zou chuqu zou yi zou - ranhou ne qu kankan you meiyou shihe ta de jia -  
ranhou yizao qilai xiao nanhai jiu shuo : 「a! xiaowa bu jian le 。 xiao gougou xiaohan  
kuai dian qichuang 。」

One day, there is a little boy. He really likes the frog. The boy's name is Little Wen.  
His dog is called Little Ann. So he puts the frog that he caught into his favorite jar.

And then, Little Wen and his little dog, Little Ann, both adore the frog. And then, Little Wen names that frog Little Frog. And then, that frog is very greedy. It begins laughing and smiling inside the jar. And then, and then, the little boy goes to sleep. The dog Little Ann goes to sleep as well. Yet, the little frog notices that there is no water in this jar. It does not like to live in here. It wants to go out. And then to explore and see if there is a place suitable to be its home. And then, when the little boy gets up in the morning, he said, “Ahh! Little Frog is gone! Little Ann, hurry up and get up!”

Similar to LCY and CRS, LCF often opens the clauses with 然後/後來 ‘and then’, which is typical of most of the 5-year-olds in different languages (Berman and Slobin, 1994). In addition, she displays advanced temporal organization, with explicit expressions signaling temporal anchoring of events such as 有一天 ‘one day’, 晚上 ‘at night’, 晚上三點 ‘three in the morning’, 早上/一早 ‘in the morning’.

Regarding evaluative language, LCF provides more evaluative devices than LCY and CRS, in terms of both quantity and variety, which evidences our earlier finding that female preschoolers use a greater variety of evaluative devices than their male counterparts in the fictional narrative task (Section 4.2.1). More specifically, she not only uses EVA, INT, FOM, and CSE as the two boys do, but also employs additional devices such as CAS, PAR, and REP. The emergence of these devices is in line with our observations about order of difficulty in Section 4.2.3, in which EVA, INT, FOM, and CSE are the most frequently used evaluative devices by preschoolers of both genders, and CAS is one of the devices preferred by female preschoolers while narrating fictional stories.

The occurrence of CAS, PAR, and REP in LCF’s narratives merits careful consideration. To begin with, at the end of Excerpt 9, LCY uses CAS to unveil the missing of the frog and to emphasize the protagonist’s concern, which leads us to speculate that she understands CAS is an effective tool in presenting an eyewitness-like account in narration. The use of CAS not only exemplifies the

narrator's abilities of role-taking and perspective-shifting, but confirms earlier-mentioned female preference for this device. Secondly, our quantitative analysis shows that female preschoolers tend to use more PAR than their male counterparts (Section 4.2.2.18). Peterson and McCabe (1983) also note that girls are more likely to interject exclamations in their narratives. Thus, LCF's use of PAR is not purely an idiosyncratic feature but exemplifies another female preference. Thirdly, regarding the use of REP, despite of the scarcity of its incidence in our data pool, REP is used several times by LCF (很晚很晚 'very very late', 好久好久 'for a long, long time', and 跳跳跳跳 'hop, hop, hop, and hop'). This could be ascribed to her idiosyncratic style of narration or related to parental input.<sup>2</sup> Yet, before any valid explanation for such usage is provided, more in-depth investigations are needed to address this issue.

As mentioned earlier, the use of FOM expressions involves perspective-shifting. In Excerpts 7 through 9, LCF provides several FOM terms, including 發現 'realize', 累 'tired', 喜歡 'like', 覺得 'notice'. In Excerpt 9, she makes inferences not only about the protagonist's states of mind, but also the dog's and the frog's inner mental states: 小文還有小狗狗小安都很喜歡那隻青蛙 'Little Wen and his little dog, Little Ann, both adore the frog'; 小青蛙覺得這個瓶子沒有水 'the little frog notices that there is no water in this jar'; 他不喜歡住這個地方 'it does not like to live in here'. Thus, at Time 3, LCF embodies the term 'social detective', for she begins to assess and interpret the actions and inner states of mind of more than one person. As Perry and Bussey (1984) indicate, with increasing age and with more experiences in social interactions with others in kindergarten, children turn out to be more skillful at interpreting others' motivations, feelings and thoughts. In particular, LCF wavers between interest in the frog by the boy and by the dog (小男孩...很喜歡青蛙... '[The] little boy... really likes the frog'; 小文還有小狗狗小安都很喜歡那隻青蛙 'Little

Wen and his little dog, Little Ann, both adore the frog'), and happiness of the frog (i.e., 笑嘻嘻 'laughing and smiling'). The increasing amount of FOM from Excerpt 7 through Excerpt 9 echoes findings from earlier research (Chang, 2000; Chang, 2001; Bamberg and Damrad-Frye, 1991) and the present one (Section 4.2.2.11), which detect growing trend in the use of FOM over time.

In sum, as illustrated in Excerpts 1 through 9, in static-picture-oriented stage of narration, preschoolers merely describe stative objects in pictures; thus, they do not have to rely on evaluative devices while producing narratives. Along with the progression in cognitive and social abilities, preschoolers evolve into event-oriented stage. From this stage on, they start to use increasing amount of the evaluative devices for the need to emphasize their own viewpoints, to refer to motivations for actions and the states of mind of story characters, and to help background scene-setting and foreground plot-advancing. That is, preschoolers at the event-oriented stage have in their narratives more of an elaborated evaluative flavor which is missing in the picture-bound descriptions at the earlier developmental stage. Thus, one finding obtained here is that the narrative focus, event-oriented or item-oriented, may have an impact on the use of evaluative language. Another related finding is that female preschoolers evolve into the event-oriented stage earlier than their male counterparts. With regard to perspective-shifting, our data indicate that it appears at the later developmental stage.

## **5.2 From Local Event to Global Plotline**

In the investigation of the changing functions of evaluative devices in children's narratives, Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991) point out that 5-year-olds' references to FOM are motivated by the facial expression which is in agreement with the immediately precipitating event. Gradually, the importance of such facial

expressions declines; instead, overall story plotline becomes better predictor for references to FOM. Accordingly, with increasing age, children seem to be able to use FOM expressions more flexibly and rely more on global plotline, i.e., the hierarchical relationships among events in a story. Similarly, in the present work, we note that, at an earlier stage, preschoolers' references to FOM rely more strongly on facial expressions which are restricted at local, immediate situations. With increasing age, their use of such expressions tends to be motivated by not only immediate/local event but also the overall/global plotline.

In line with the pioneering work of Labov and Waletzky (1967), we stipulate three core components (onset, unfolding, and resolution) of the frog story as indicators to assess if preschoolers' references to FOM involve global plotline (also see Berman and Slobin, 1994). These three components are: (1) the onset part: the protagonist notices that the frog is missing; (2) the unfolding part: the protagonist searches for the frog; (3) the resolution part: the frog that the protagonist takes home is his own frog or the substitute for the lost one. Pictures 1-3, 7, and 22-24 are selected to examine this local to global progression in using references to FOM.

As indicated in Excerpt 9, in describing the scene in Pictures 1 through 3, LCF not only refers to the frog's facial expression as 笑嘻嘻 'laughing and smiling', but re-modifies the frog's happiness in order to allow for the frog's escape in the ensuing picture. To this end, she uses FOM expressions to illustrate the frog's change of inner cognitive state (可是呢小青蛙覺得這個瓶子沒有水 'Yet, the little frog notices that there is no water in this jar') and to explain that the frog is not satisfied with its present existence which leads to its subsequent escape (他不喜歡住這個地方 'it does not like to live in here'). LCF's endeavor in providing background information for the frog's escape suggests that she has in mind the global plotline that the frog is missing.

Excerpts 10 through 13 display the way in which our preschoolers describe Picture 7. In Excerpt 10, TYH relates merely to the local, immediate situation by stating that the protagonist is angry for the dog is very naughty (他就生氣...因為那個狗太頑皮了 'He is mad...Because that dog is too naughty'). In Excerpt 11, TK also refers to the facial expression in agreement with the immediately precipitating situation (那個小孩很生氣 'that boy is very angry'). Yet, he goes further by shifting focus from the protagonist's anger to happiness on the dog's part (後來那個狗狗就很快樂. 因為牠把瓶子弄破了 'Later that dog is very happy. Because it breaks the jar.'). Here, TK provides a multi-focus description for an event, which suggests that he is cognitively more advanced for he can view the same event from more than one perspective.

Similar to TK, KHC refers to both the protagonist's anger and the dog's reaction (Excerpt 12). She vividly delineates the protagonist's anger by using character speech which includes a conditional clause (「你不可以再跳一次了, 萬一摔死怎麼辦?」 'You can not jump out ever again. What if you fall out and die?'). Even so, her references to FOM still focus on a local aspect of the situation. At Time 3, KHC exemplifies the shift in focus from local to global organization while referring to story characters' inner emotion states (Excerpt 13). Comparing Excerpt 12 with Excerpt 13, we note that the protagonist's negative reactions are motivated at different levels of the narrative organization. In Excerpt 12, the protagonist's anger is triggered by the dog's immediately preceding action, which belongs to the local level (很生氣的對著狗狗說 'he speaks to the dog in an angry tone of voice'); in Excerpt 13, however, the protagonist's unhappiness responds to the missing of the frog, which is one of the core components of the global plotline (可是小男孩卻不開心 - 因為他的青蛙不見了 'But then the little boy is not happy because his frog is not there anymore').

**Excerpt 10: TYH (Time 3)**

他們在跑 - 狗就摔下去了 - 然後玻璃碎掉 - 狗刺到喉嚨 - 死掉又復活 - 狗真的摔下去了 - 然後小朋友跳下去 - 穿著高跟鞋跑往那隻狗 - 他就生氣 - 小朋友 - 那隻狗 - 因為那個狗太頑皮了。

tamen zai pao - gou jiu shuaixiaqu le - ranhou boli suidiao - gou ci dao houlong - sidiao you fuhuo - gou zhende shuaixiaqu le - ranhou xiaopengyou tiao xiaqu - chuan zhe gaogenxie paowang nazhi gou - ta jiu shengqi - xiaopengyou - nazhi gou - yinwei nage gou tai wanpi le.

They are running. The dog falls down. And then the glass breaks. A piece of glass hurts the dog around the throat. Die and be alive again. The dog really falls down. And then the boy jumps down. Wearing high-heeled shoes and running toward the dog. He is mad. The kid. That dog. Because that dog is too naughty.

**Excerpt 11: TK (Time 3)**

青蛙跳下去 - 然後就把瓶子弄破了 - 然後呢那個小孩很生氣 - 後來那個狗狗就很快樂 - 因為牠把瓶子弄破了。

qingwa tiao xiaqu - ranhou jiu ba pingzi nongpo le - ranhou ne nage xiaohai hen shengqi - houlai nage gougou jiu hen kuaile - yinwei ta ba pingzi nong po le.

The frog jumps down. And then breaks the jar. And then that boy is very angry. Later that dog is very happy because it broke the jar.

**Excerpt 12: KHC (Time 2)**

結果狗狗跳到跳到那個地板 - 跳到外面去 - 就把玻璃頭上的玻璃摔破了 - 然後然後那個小孩就從窗戶爬下來 - 很生氣的對著狗狗說：「你不能再跳一次了，萬一摔死怎麼辦？」 - 可是狗狗還是聽不懂 - 所以牠就一直舔那個。

jiieguo gougou tiaodao tiaodao nage diban - tiaodao waimian qu - jiu ba bo toushang de boli shuai po le - ranhou ranhou nage xiaohai jiu cong chuanhu pa xialai - hen shengqidde dui zhe gougou shuo : 「ni bu keyi zai tiao yi ci le , wanyi shuaisi



zenmenban ? 』 - keshi gougou hai shi ting budong - suoyi ta jiu yizhi tian nage.

So the dog jumps onto jumps onto that ground. Jump outside. And it breaks the glass over its head. And then the boy climbs out from the window. He speaks to the dog in an angry tone of voice: “You can not jump out ever again. What if you fall out and die?” But the dog still does not understand. So it keeps on licking that.

### **Excerpt 13: KHC (Time 3)**

後來 那隻 狗 不 小心 - 那個 一 一 不 小心 就 滑 滑去 地上 了 - 然後 玻璃 就 打 破 掉 了 - 然後 這個 小 男孩 就 突然 抱著 牠 - 狗狗 - 狗狗 一直 很 開心 的 舔 著 他 - 可是 小 男孩 卻 不 開心 - 因為 他 的 青蛙 不 見 了.

houlai nazhi gou bu xiaoxin - nage yi yi buxiaoxin jiu hua huaqu dishang le - ranhou boli jiu da podiao le - ranhou zhege xiao nanhai jiu turan baozhe ta - gougou - gougou yizhi hen kaixinde tianzhe ta - keshi xiao nanhai que bu kaixin - yinwei ta de qingwa bu jian le.

Later that dog is not careful. That, accidentally slips, slips onto the ground. And then the glass is broken. And then the little boy all the sudden hugs it. The dog. The dog keeps on licking the boy happily. But then the little boy is not happy. Because his frog is not there anymore.

In the cross-sectional study on evaluative comments from the frog story, Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991) indicate that, for Picture 7, the 5-year-olds restrict themselves to the protagonist’s anger triggered by the facial expression in agreement with the immediately preceding event; in contrast, adults encode two different ‘frames of mind’ when describing this picture. That is, after the negative emotion, adults tend to mitigate the negative feelings so that the ensuing search for the frog can continue, such as (Bamberg and Damrad-Frye, 1991: 702):

the boy is **angry** – but ... – it's no big deal – the dog **doesn't really care** ... -  
so they have to go look for the frog

Similarly, most of our preschoolers take the typical 5-year-old response to Picture 7, encoding this scene by referring to negative emotion, which confines to a purely local outcome. Excerpt 13 stands out from all the other transcripts for this scene, however, revealing a more global perspective which signals the awareness of the overall plotline.

A similar local-global distinction can be spotted in the narration for Pictures 22 through 24. In the investigation on the organizational structure of the frog story, Marchman (1989) uses respondent judgments to identify the important components for the understanding of the overall frog story. She finds that Pictures 22 to 24 are regarded as the resolution part of the story and rated the highest scores for importance.

Regarding this episode, Bamberg and Damrad-Fyre (1991) note that none of their 5-year-olds refer to FOM; in contrast, some 9-year-olds and many adults consider this episode to be a good indicator for references to FOM, especially the positive emotions. These positive emotions, such as the happiness on the protagonist's or the dog's part, are motivated by the global, overall story structure, i.e., the recovery of the lost pet frog. The following excerpts are from our preschoolers narrating this concluding sequence, which exemplify the distinctions between references to FOM motivated by different sources.

**Excerpt 14: CRS (Time 3)**

就 那 人 就 走 過 來 看 原 來 是 那 群 青 蛙 - 好 了 沒 了 - 他 就 說 -  
他 就 說 跟 青 蛙 爸 爸 青 蛙 媽 媽 還 有 小 的 青 蛙 再 見 了 .

jiu na ren jiu zou guolai kan yuanlai shi na qun qingwa - hao le mei le - ta jiu shuo - ta jiu shuo gen qingwa baba qingwa mama haiyou xiaode qingwa zaijian le.

And then that person walks over to see and he realizes it is a group of frogs. Okay, no more. He says. He says goodbye to the father frog, mother frog, and baby frog.

### **Excerpt 15: YK (Time 3)**

然後小孩跟小狗就爬到那邊去看 - 結果看到青蛙媽媽 - 青蛙爸爸 - 和青蛙弟弟青蛙哥哥 - 然後呢他就說：「謝謝。」 - 然後跟青蛙 - 因為牠給他一隻 - 青蛙爸爸跟青蛙媽媽給他一隻青蛙 - 然後呢他們就說：「拜拜。」

ranhou xiaohai gen xiaogou jiu pa dao naban qu kan - jieguo kandao qingwa mama - qingwa baba - han qingwa didi qingwa gege - ranhou ne ta jiu shuo :「xiexie」 - ranhou gen qingwa - yinwei ta gei ta yi zhi - qingwa baba gen qingwa mama gei ta yi zhi qingwa - ranhou ne tamen jiu shuo :「baibai」.

And then the kid and the dog climb over the the other side to see. And then they see mother frog. Father frog. And younger brother frog, older brother frog. And then he says, "Thank you." And then to the frog. Because it gives him one frog. Father frog and mother frog give him one frog. And then they say, "Bye-bye."

### **Excerpt 16: LTC (Time 2)**

耶真的有看到好多隻青蛙喔 - 而且總共有兩個 - 然後呢變成變成九個 - 變成九個青蛙出來呢 - 小男孩看到了好高興喔 - 然後呢他們就說：「謝謝你們幫我看到很多隻青蛙。」 - 然後呢青蛙說：「不客氣。」 - 然後他們從此呢小男孩從此跟小狗過著幸福快樂的日子。

ye zhende you kan dao hao duo zhi qingwa o - erqie zonggong you liang ge - ranhou ne biancheng biancheng jiu ge - biancheng jiu ge qingwa chulai ne - xiao nanhai kandao le hao gaoxing o - ranhou ne tamen jiu shuo :「xiexie nimen bang wo kandao hen duo zhi qingwa o」 - ranhou ne qingwa shuo :「bu keqi」 - ranhou tamen congci ne xiao nanhai congci gen xiao gou guo zhe xingfu kuaile de rizi.

Yay! It is true. There are a lot of frogs. And there are a total of two. And then it becomes nine. Nine frogs come out. The little boy is overjoyed at what he sees. And then they say, “Thank you for helping me see so many frogs.” And then the frog says, “You are welcome.” And then, from then on, they, from then on the little boy and the dog live happily ever after.

### **Excerpt 17: LCT (Time 3)**

發現兩個很好很漂亮的青蛙 - 牠們好像相親相愛的 - 牠們生了好多好多小寶寶 - 然後呢小男孩看到好高興喔 - 小狗也覺得好高興喔 - 然後呢他呢看到一隻青蛙他就把牠拿在手上 - 然後呢他呢就就要把那一隻青蛙說：「借我用一下好不好？」 - 青蛙答應了 - 然後呢他就他就過著幸福快樂的日子。

faxian liang ge hen hao hen piaoliangde qingwa - tamen hoaxiang xiangqinxiangai - tamen sheng le hao duo hao duo xiao baobao - ranhou ne xiao nanhai kandao hao gaoxing o - xiaogou ye jue de hao gaoxing o - ranhou ne ta ne kandao yi zhi qingwa ta jiu ba ta na zai shou shang - ranhou ne ta ne jiu jiu yao ba na yi zhi qingwa shuo : 「jie wo yong yi xia hao bu hao? 」 - qingwa daying le - ranhou ne ta jiu ta jiu guo zhe xingfu kuaile de rizi.

[They] find two very good, very cute frogs. They seem to be in love with each other. They give birth to a lot of babies. And then the little boy sees them and is so happy. The little dog also feels very happy. And then he sees a frog and he picks it up with his hands. And then he takes that frog and asks, “Can I borrow it for a while?” The frog agrees. And then he he lives happily ever after.

Excerpts 14 and 15 are narrative productions for this concluding sequence from two male preschoolers at Time 3, and both fail to generate any reference to FOM. Excerpt 14 is linguistically and structurally non-elaborated, while Excerpt 15 displays juvenile linguistic expression but provides a more organized narrative. Excerpts 16 and 17 are the narratives from the same girl, LTC, at Time 2 and Time 3, respectively. Compared with Excerpts 14 and 15, Excerpts 16 and 17 are more advanced not only

in linguistic expressions but also in overall story structure.

In Excerpt 16, LCT provides the implicit resolution which does not indicate whether the protagonist gets back his lost frog or has another one as a replacement (他們就說：「謝謝你們幫我看到很多隻青蛙。」 ‘then they say, “Thank you for helping me see so many frogs.”’). Nevertheless, she provides a typical ending for a story, which suggests that she thinks such resolution is a must for a story (小男孩從此跟小狗過著幸福快樂的日子 ‘from then on the little boy and the dog live happily ever after’). In Excerpt 17, LCT comes up with a more explicit resolution (他...說：「借我用一下好不好？」, 青蛙答應了 ‘he ...asks, “Can I borrow it for a while?” The frog agrees’). Again, there is the typical ending for the story. In these two excerpts, though LCT makes explicit references to the ‘happiness’ of the story characters, these references are merely attempts to interpret local cues to the situation, i.e., as a result of seeing many baby frogs (Excerpt 16: 小男孩看到了好高興喔 ‘The little boy is overjoyed at what he sees’; Excerpt 17: 小男孩看到好高興喔 - 小狗也覺得好高興喔 ‘And then the little boy sees them and is so happy. The little dog also feels very happy.’).

The data in our work show that the references to positive emotions in Pictures 22 through 24 can be triggered by either local situation or global plotline. Excerpts 18 through 20 exemplify the developmental progress of LCF in narrating this concluding sequence. Excerpt 18 is the narrative produced at Time 1. At this earliest stage, LCF already provides a story resolution by stating that the boy finds a substitute for his lost pet (他就選好一隻青蛙就跟他們說拜拜 ‘then he picks a frog and then says goodbye to them’), which suggests that she has the knowledge of the global concept of the story structure. Yet, she does not offer any reference to FOM of any story character. In Excerpt 19 (at Time 2), she explicitly refers to the recovery of the boy’s pet frog (帶走他他失蹤的一隻青蛙 ‘the boy takes his missing frog with him’).

Still, no reference to FOM is provided.

In Excerpt 20, LCF uses three 開心的 'happy' which exemplify that positive emotions can be motivated at local as well as global levels. The first 開心的 'happy' is locally triggered which refers to the parent frogs' emotional states in the local situation (一個是青蛙爸爸青蛙媽媽 - 他們在很開心的休息 'One is father frog, mother frog. They are resting happily.'). The other two 開心的 'happy', in particular, document the co-occurrence of the story resolution and the globally-triggered positive emotions. Here, LCF not only provides resolution of the plot by stating that the protagonist finds his lost pet (他就看到他從罐子裡面走的青蛙 'then he sees his frog, the one who ran away from the jar'), but also refers to the positive emotions on the frog's and the dog's parts which are globally motivated by the story resolution (小蛙就很開心的說 ... 小狗狗 ... 也很開心的說拜拜 'the baby frog happily says his thanks... The little dog also barks happily while saying goodbye').

#### **Excerpt 18: LCF (Time 1)**

結果是一個青蛙爸爸還有青蛙媽媽 - 然後呢還有可愛的青蛙小baby - 一起出來了散步 - 結果他就選好一隻青蛙就跟他們說拜拜.

jiieguo shi yi ge qinwa baba haiyou qingwa mama - ranhou ne haiyou keaide qingwa xiao baby yiqi chulai le sanbu - jieguo ta jiu xuan hao yi zhi qingwa jiu gen tamen shuo baibai.

Then it is a father frog and a mother frog. And then there is a cute baby frog. All come out for a stroll. And then he picks a frog and then says goodbye to them.

#### **Excerpt 19: LCF (Time 2)**

然後呢 他們就跑到樹幹的後面 - 然後呢 他們就看到兩隻隻青蛙 - 然後呢 一隻是青蛙爸爸 - 一隻是青蛙媽媽 - 然後呢 有八隻小青蛙跳過來 - 原來是青蛙爸爸媽媽都帶八隻青蛙來散步 - 然後呢 男孩就其中帶走他他失蹤的一隻青蛙 - 然後青蛙家族說：「拜拜。」 - 然後最小的青蛙還跳上去跳上去一直看著姐姐們 - 姐姐跟哥哥們 - 然後呢 還有爸爸媽媽們 - 然後呢 狗就嘿嘿嘿說：「拜拜。」 - 然後男孩也說：「拜拜了。」 - 青蛙也說：「拜拜。」

ranhou ne tamen jiu pao zai shugan de houmian - ranhou ne ta men jiu kandao liang zhi zhi qingwa - ranhou ne yi zhi shi qingwa baba - yi zhi shi qingwa ma mama - ranhou ne you ba zhi xiao qingwa tiao quolai - yuanlai shi qingwa baba mama dou dai ba zhi qingwa lai sanbu - ranhou ne nanhai jiu qizhong dai zou ta ta shizongde yi zhi qingwa wa - ranhou qingwa jiazhu shuo :「baibai」 - ranhou zui xioude qingwa hai tiao shangqu tiao shangqu yizhi kan zhe jiejiemen - jiejie gen gege men - ranhou ne haiyou baba mama men - ranhou ne gou jiu hei hei hei shuo :「baibai」 - ranhou nanhai ye shuo :「baibai le」 - qingwa ye shuo :「baibai」 .

And then they run behind a tree. And then they see two frogs. And then, one is father frog. One is mother frog. And then eight little frogs jump out here. It turns out that the father frog and mother frog are taking the eight frogs out for a walk. And then the boy takes his missing frog with him. And then the frog family say, “Goodbye.” And then the smallest frog keeps on jumping up and up while looking at his sisters. Sisters and brothers. And then his parents. And then the dog says, “Bye-bye.” And then the boy also says, “Bye-bye.” The frog also says, “Bye-bye.”

### **Excerpt 20: LCF (Time 3)**

然後呢 他們看木頭後面就真的兩隻青兩隻青蛙 - 一個是青蛙爸爸 青蛙媽媽 - 他們在很開心的休息 - 然後呢 他就看到他他就看到他從罐子裡面走的青蛙 - 然後呢 就說：「小蛙你在這裡啊快回來吧。」 - 然後小蛙就說：「可是你會把我放在那個罐子 - 裡面沒有水我怎麼生活呢？」 - 然後呢 - 「沒關係我已經準備一個盆子可以讓你很舒服在裡面了。」 - 然後呢 青蛙爸爸和青蛙媽媽就說：「小蛙快點去吧。」 - 然後呢 小蛙就很開心的說：「謝謝 青蛙媽媽 青蛙爸爸 - 希望下次再跟你見面。」 - 然後呢 好多小青蛙也說：「拜拜。」 - 然後呢 小狗狗也汪汪也很開心的說：

「拜拜。」 - 然後呢小文和小安都走了 - 還有小蛙也跟他的爸爸媽媽說：「拜拜 - 下次我應該可以見到你們。」。

ranhou ne tamen kan mutou houmian jiu zhende you liang zhi qingwa liang zhi qingwa - yi ge shi qingwa baba qingwa mama - tamen zai hen kaixinde xiuxi - ranhou ne ta jiu kan dao ta ta ta jiu kandao ta cong guanzi limian zou de qingwa - ranhou ne jiu shuo :「 xiaowa ni zai zheli a kuai huilai ba 」 - ranhou xiaowa jiu shuo :「 keshi ni hui ba wo fangzai nage guanzi - limian meiyou shui wo zen mo shenghuo ne? 」 - ranhou ne :「 mei guanxi wo yijing zhunbei yi ge pingzi keyi rang ni hen shufu zai limian le 」 - ranhou ne qingwa baba han qingwa mama jiu shuo :「 xiaowa kuaidian qu ba 」 - ranhou ne xiaowa jiu hen kaixinde shuo :「 xiexie qingwa mama qingwa baba - xiwang xiaci zai gen ni jianmian 」 - ranhou ne hao duo xiao qingwa ye shuo :「 baibai 」 - ranhou ne xiao gougou ye wangwang ye hen kaixinde shuo :「 baibai 」 - ranhou ne xiaowen han xiaolan dou zou le - haiyou xiaowa ye gen ta de baba mama shuo :「 baibai - xiaci wo yinggai keyi jiandao nimen 」 .

And then they look behind the piece of wood and they see two frogs. One is father frog, mother frog. They are resting happily. And then he sees he he sees his frog, the one who ran away from the jar. And then he says to the frog, “Hurry up and come back.” The frog says, “But, you will put me in that jar. There is no water in there. How can I live in it?” And then [the boy replies], “Don’t worry, I’ve prepared a container for you to live in there comfortably.” And then father frog and mother frog say, “Hurry up and go back.” And then the baby frog happily says, ”Thank to father frog and mother frog. [I] hope to see you again.” And then many baby frogs also say, “Goodbye.” And then the little dog also barks happily while says, “Goodbye.” And then Little Wen and Little Ann both leave. And the little frog also says to his parents, “Bye-bye. I hope I am able to see you again next time.”

### **Excerpt 21: TK (Time 3)**

他看到有兩個青大青蛙 - 一個是媽媽一個是小孩 - 結果跳出來有好多青蛙 - 原來是他的青蛙也在裡面 - 在這裡 - 後來他就想說把這個青蛙拿回來 - 說：「那是什麼呀？」 - 然後他就很高興看到青蛙在那裡 - 後來他就抓了那隻青蛙說：「拜拜。」 - 全部的人就說：「拜拜。」

ta kandao you liang ge qing da qingwa - yi ge shi mama yi ge shi xiaohai - jieguo tiao



chulai you hao duo qingwa – yuanlai shi ta de qingwa ye zai limian – zai zheli –  
houlai ta jiu xiang shuo ba zhege qingwa na huilai – shuo : 「 na shi shemo ya ? 」 –  
ranhou ta jiu hen gaoxing kandao qingwa zai nali – houlai ta jiu zhua le nazhi qingwa  
shuo : 「 baibai 」 – quanbude ren jiu shuo : 「 baibai 」

He sees two large frogs. One is the mother, one is the kid. Then a lot of frogs jump out. It turns out that his frog is in there as well. In here. Later he thinks that he wants to take the frog back. [He] asks, "What is that?" Then he is very happy to see the frog there. And then he grabs that frog and says, "Goodbye." All say, "Goodbye."

Regarding this concluding sequence, Excerpt 21 also exemplifies the protagonist's happiness as the outcome of finding the lost pet and getting it back. In our data, Excerpt 20 and Excerpt 21 are the only two pieces of evidence for the co-occurrence of story resolution and globally-triggered emotions. In other words, only two of our preschoolers, LCF and TK, make explicit references to the positive emotions on the protagonist's or the dog's part due to the recovery of the lost frog.

In our data, such globally-triggered emotions do not appear until the children reach Time 3. Likewise, in Bamberg and Damrad-Fyre's (1991) study, none of their 5-year-olds refer to the globally-triggered emotions and only a few of the 9-year-olds make such explicit references, while adults use a lot more such references. The discrepancy in references to globally-triggered emotions between younger and older children, or even between older children and adults, lies in that these subjects belong to different developmental phases. The proper attributions of FOM responding to the story resolution part require the knowledge of global structure of the narrative, which takes time to develop. In our work, the preschoolers age ranges from 5;3 to 6;1. Thus, the rarity of the globally-triggered references to FOM obtained for this plot in our study is explicable.

In the present section, we use three core components of the frog story to examine the local to global progression in narrative development. As indicated in Section 5.1,

narrative focus has an impact on the use of evaluative language. Our finding for the present section is that different narrative focus, i.e., local situation or global plotline, may motivate the use of FOM expressions differently. Similar to Bamberg and Damrad-Frye's (1991) observations, our preschoolers' attribution of FOM mainly responds to immediately preceding event at earlier stages. On the other hand, globally triggered FOM expressions do not show up until children reach Time 3. Like perspective-shifting abilities, the ability to use globally motivated references to FOM displays at later developmental stage.

### **5.3 From Unrelated Events to Event Complex**

As mentioned earlier, some of our preschoolers display the transition from static picture-description to dynamic event-narration. Although all of them can produce event-oriented narratives at Time 2, most of them tend to treat the events from the same episode as unrelated events. Pictures 14 and 15 impose an even more difficult challenge than the previously-discussed pictures, both conceptually and linguistically, for our preschoolers. To begin with, Picture 14 depicts that the boy-protagonist gets up on the rock to call for his frog. Up on the rock, the protagonist grabs something which he believes are the branches from the tree. Actually, Picture 14 functions as the background event for what happens in Pictures 15, in which the branches turn out to be the antlers of a deer.<sup>3</sup> Thus, these two pictures involve a misconception on the boy-protagonist's part. Given the interrelatedness between these events, competent verbalization of the sequence in these two pictures requires considerable cognitive and linguistic capabilities (Berman and Slobin, 1994).

As Berman and Slobin (1994) point out, a proficient narrator should treat the scenes in Pictures 14 and 15 as related events. Hence, the mature interpretation for these events should involve the misconception on the boy-protagonist's part.

Inspecting the data, we note that only four out of our twelve preschoolers link Picture 14 with Picture 15 by relating to the boy's misconception and that these four subjects do not infer such connection until Time 3. Among them, TYH and TK (Excerpts 22 and 23) make explicit mention of such misconception by using the FOM term, 以爲 'think', and INT, 原來 'originally/actually', while the other two preschoolers, LCF and TSY (Excerpts 24 and 25), implicitly make connection between the two events.

**Excerpt 22: TYH (Time 3)**

小朋友就爬到那個石頭上 - 抓著鹿的角 - 以為是樹根 - 鹿衝出來 - 然後把小朋友的屁股網到頭上面啦 - 腳在那個 - 手跟腳 - 手跟頭都在鹿的後面

xiao pengyou jiu padao nage shitou shang - zhuazhe lu de jiao - yiwei shi shugen - lu ching chulai - ranhou ba xiao pengyou de pigu wangdao tous hangmian la - jiao zai nage - shou gen jiao - shou gen tou dou zai lu de houmian

The kid climbs onto that rock and grabs the deer's horn. He thinks that it is a branch. The deer bolts out. And then it gets the kid's butt over its head. The leg is at that. The hand and the leg. The head and the hands are behind the deer.

**Excerpt 23: TK (Time 3)**

然後他就抓著一個樹幹說：「青蛙你在哪裡？」 - 結果呢青蛙還是沒有回來 - 嗯 - 那個小狗那個小狗在看那個小孩在哪裡 - 結果是一個麋鹿在那個下面 - 他他說：「那個那個根原來是麋鹿的角」

ranhou ta jiu zhuazhe yi ge shugan shuo : 「qingwa ni zai nali ? 」 - jieguo ne qingwa haishi maiyou huilai - en - nage xiaogou nage xiaogou zai kan nage xiaohai zai nail - jieguo shi yi ge milu zai nage xiamian - ta ta shuo : 「nage nage gen yuanlai shi milu de jiao 」

He grabs onto a tree branch and asks, "Frog, where are you?" Yet, the frog still does not come back. That little dog that little dog is looking for the child. Then it turns out

that a moose is down there. He, he says, “That that root is actually the moose’s horn.”

**Excerpt 24: LCF (Time 3)**

他抓住一枝樹枝是一隻麋鹿 - 然後呢他就說說說:「小蛙你在哪裡啊?」 - 然後呢 - 嗯小鹿就那隻麋鹿就把小男孩這樣叨起來 - 然後呢那隻那個小男孩就說那個小文就說說:「你叫什麼名字?」 - 「我叫小鹿」 - 然後呢「你有沒有看到我的青蛙?」 - 「沒有可是我知道有很多青蛙的地方喔。」 - 然後呢小男孩就騎在那個麋鹿的背上

ta zhuazhu yi zhi shuzhi shi yi zhi milu - ranhou ne ta jiu shuo shuo shuo :「xiaowa ni zai nail a ? 」 - ranhou ne - en xiao lu jiu nazhi milu jiu ba xiao nanhai zheyang diao qilai - ranhou ne nazhi na ge xiao nanhai jiu shuo na ge xiaowen jiu shou shou :「ni jiao she shemo mingzi ? 」 - 「wo jiao xiaolu 」 - ranhou ne 「ni you meiyou kandao wo de qingwa ? 」 - 「meiyou keshi wo zhidao you hen duo qingwa de difang o 」 - ranhou ne xiao nanhai jiu qi zai nage milu de bei shang

He grabs onto a tree branch and it is a reindeer. And then he asks, asks, asks, “Little frog, where are you?” And then the deer which turns out to be a moose picks up the boy with its mouth. And then the little boy says that, Little Wen asks, asks “What is your name?” “My name is Little Deer.” And then “Have you seen my frog?” “No, but I know a place with a lot of frogs.” And then the little boy rides on the back of the moose.

**Excerpt 25: TSY (Time 3)**

後來他就找到一棵樹 - 他就跑到上面叫:「小青蛙。」 - 結果呢他抓手抓到的東西是鹿角

houlai ta jiu zhaodao yi ke shu - ta jiu paodao shangmian jia :「xiao qingwa 。 」 - jieguo ne ta zhua shou zhuadao de dongxi shi lujiao

Later, he finds a tree. He then runs to the top and calls out, “Little frog.” Yet, the thing he grabs turns out to be the deer’s horn.

In their cross-sectional study of narrative productions of the frog story, Berman and Slobin (1994) find that over 60% of their 5-year-olds regard Pictures 14 and 15 as two unrelated events and that, with increasing age, more and more children begin to

make connection between these two events. Similar tendency is detected in the present work, as illustrated in Table 5.1. On the one hand, with increasing age, less and less preschoolers mention only one event or no event at all. On the other hand, at Time 3, children not only mention two events but begin to provide implicit or explicit connection between the two events.

**Table 5.1. Number of event(s) in Pictures 14 and 15 referred to by preschoolers across three time points (N=12)**

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
One or no event	5	4	2
Two unrelated events	7	8	6
Two implicitly related events	0	0	2
Two explicitly related events	0	0	2

Table 5.1 demonstrates the way in which our preschoolers relate the event(s) in Pictures 14 and 15 across three time points. Each case is illustrated by one specific excerpt given below. To begin with, in Excerpt 26, the child, CRS, mentions only one event in which he shows that the boy tries to make sure whether the animal in the picture is a lamb, a deer, or a moose: 又有一隻羊...那是什麼鹿呀? 那個是梅花鹿啊...麋鹿哦麋鹿 ‘There is a lamb... what kind of deer is it? That is a spotted deer... Moose! Oh, moose’. The progression from two distinct events to two related events is exemplified by the pair of excerpts: 22 and 27. In Excerpt 27 (Time 2), TYH relates the two events in a straightforward temporal contiguity: 然後就爬到樹上... 然後他就扶在鹿的角 ‘[He] climbs to the top of the tree... He is holding onto the deer’s horn’. Three months later (Time 3), the same child seems to be conceptually

and linguistically better equipped so he links the events by explicitly referring to the mistaken identity on the boy-protagonist's part, as shown in Excerpt 22.

Excerpts 22 and 27 also display the interconnection between the development of narrative structure and the development of evaluative language skills. As Excerpt 27 illustrates, when treating Pictures 14 and 15 as unrelated events, the narrator does not need to rely on FOM references or other evaluative devices to connect the situations. In Excerpt 22, however, the same narrator interpretes the two events as related. Accordingly, the FOM term 以為 'think' functions as a signal which helps to explicitly link two events.

Similar to Berman and Slobin's (1994) finding, from Time 1 through Time 3, over 50% of our 5-year-olds fail to make any connection between the two events in Pictures 14 and 15. As Table 5.1 displays, there are only two children, TYH and TK, who make explicit mention of the connection of the two events, which leads us to speculate that the inference of such connection is beyond the capacities of preschoolers. As Berman and Slobin (1994: 56) note, mature rendering of this sequence of events requires "backtracking" at on-line linguistic production and perceptual as well as conceptual processing.<sup>4</sup> In other words, to successfully interpret this event complex, narrators need to be equipped with the capacities at three levels: prepackaging information in on-line linguistic processing, perceptual attentiveness and conceptual awareness.

Our results also confirm earlier findings that children around age 5 can generate individual events well; yet, they still have difficulties in producing complete episodes in fictional narratives, especially the complicated episodes (Nelson and Gruendel, 1986).

#### **Excerpt 26: CRS (Time 1)**

然後呢 - 又有一隻羊 - 又有一隻 - 那個 那個 - 那是什麼鹿呀  
- 那個是梅花鹿啊 - 不是在下雪的那邊有的 - 麋鹿 - 哦 麋鹿

ranhou ne - you you yi zhi yang - you you yi zhi - nage nage - nashi shemo lu ya -  
nage shi meihualu a - bushi zai xiaxue de naban youde - milu - o milu

And then. There is a lamb. another one. that. that. What kind of deer is that? That is a spotted deer. It does not belong in the snow. Moose! Oh, moose.

**Excerpt 27: TYH (Time 2)**

然後就爬到樹上 - 狗就在下面趴 - 然後他就扶在鹿的角 - 鹿  
- 然後那個鹿就起來 - 然後把那個人撞到牠的眼睛上面

ranhou jiu padao shu shang - ranhou maotouying jiu fei de hen hao - gou jiu zai  
xiamian pa - ranhou ta jiu fuzai lu de jiao - lu - ranhou nage lu jiu qilai - ranhou ba  
nage ren zhuangdao ta de yanjing shangmian

[He] climbs to the top of the tree. The dog is crawling down there. And then he holds onto the deer's horn. The deer. Then the deer stands up. And then it hits the man onto its eyes.

**Excerpt 22: TYH (Time 3)**

小朋友就爬到那個石頭上 - 抓著鹿的角 - 以為是樹根 - 鹿衝  
出來 - 然後把小朋友的屁股網到頭上面啦 - 腳在那個 - 手跟腳  
- 手跟頭都在鹿的後面

xiao pengyou jiu padao nage shitou shang - zhuazhe lu de jiao - yiwei shi shugen - lu  
ching chulai - ranhou ba xiao pengyou de pigu wangdao tous hangmian la - jiao zai  
nage - shou gen jiao - shou gen tou dou zai lu de houmian

The kid climbs onto that rock and grabs the deer's horn. He thinks that it is a branch. The deer bolts out. And then it gets the kid's butt over its head. The leg is at that. The hand and the leg. The head and the hands are behind the deer.

Excerpt 28 forms another interesting contrast with Excerpt 22. As mentioned above, Excerpt 22 makes explicit connection between Pictures 14 and 15 by referring

to the boy-protagonist's mis-conception. Although TYH yields mature rendering of the two events with respect to the global plotline, his text is highly condensed and contains impoverished linguistic and descriptive details. Excerpt 28, in contrast, fails to establish connection between the two events, but manifests richness of linguistic expression which involves interpretative comments and an elaborated evaluative flavor: 他爬上去找也找不到...那個小男孩呢好像要被抓走一樣喔 'The boy climbs to the top but can not find it... That little boy looks as if he is being taken away'. Thus, the contrast between Excerpts 22 and 28 suggest the dissociation in ability for providing linguistic expressions and that for inferring relations between events.

Excerpts 22 and 28 not only display the above-mentioned dissociation, but indicate that, in children's development of narrative ability, there is a trade-off between top-down organization of global plotline and the descriptive details of the local event. As Karmiloff-Smith's (1984) predicts, the development of top-down organization may sometimes be at the expense of descriptive details and lexical richness. Such reasoning is exemplified by Excerpt 22 in which the boy, TYH, focuses on links between events yet he shows impoverished descriptive details. In contrast, in Excerpt 28, LTC provides interpretative and evaluative comments but fails to infer any connection for this event complex. Neither LTC nor TYH can be regarded as a proficient storyteller, for storytelling is a joint process of event interpretation and linguistic production (Berman and Slobin, 1994). To present a mature narrative, the narrator needs to integrate the top-down, globally-motivated story plotline with the bottom-up, locally-driven descriptive details.

**Excerpt 28: LTC (Time 3)**

小男孩他爬上去找也找不到 - 突然呢旁邊有一個貓頭鷹 - 然後呢看到了一個馴鹿 - 馴鹿呢就揹著一個小男孩 - 那個小



男孩呢好像要被抓走一樣喔

xiao nanhai ta pa shangqu zhao ye zhao bu dao - turan ne pangbian you yi ge  
maotouying - ranhou ne kandao le yige xunlu - xunlu ne jiu bei zhe yi ge xiao nanhai -  
nage xiao nanhai ne hoaxiang yao bei zhua zou yiyang o

The little boy climbs to the top but can not find it. Suddenly there is an owl nearby.  
And then he sees a reindeer. The reindeer carries a little boy. That little boy looks as if  
he is being taken away.

To sum up, this section informs us that the ability for relating events in narratives unfolds gradually. The narrator's progression from treating only one event to related event complex, implicitly or explicitly, requires linguistic as well as cognitive capacities. On the one hand, we note that the advanced ability in making inferences fosters a successful interpretation of the interconnections among the network of events. On the other hand, it is found that there is dissociation in ability for producing linguistic expressions and that for making inferences. Such dissociation suggests a trade-off between top-down organization and bottom-up linguistic expressions in children's development of narrative skills.

#### **5.4 Discussion and Conclusions**

In quantitative analysis of Chapter 4, we note that preschoolers employ increasing amount and variety of evaluative devices with age. Our findings from qualitative analysis confirm such an ascending trend. Moreover, Sections 5.1 through 5.3 delineate three developmental shifts for preschoolers in the use of evaluative devices.

The first developmental shift is that preschoolers' narration progresses from statically picture-oriented stage to dynamically event-oriented stage. During this developmental progression, children's narratives become longer and longer and have

more and more evaluative flavor, which is congruent with the findings indicated in Sections 4.1.5 and 4.2.1. Our results also evidence the earlier claim that, in the fictional narrative task, female preschoolers use a greater variety of evaluative devices than their male counterparts.

Our qualitative analyses not only support earlier quantitative findings but detect that it is at the event-oriented stage that preschoolers have in their narratives more of an elaborated evaluative flavor which is missing in the picture-bound description at the earlier developmental stage. Accordingly, we suggest that the narrative focus, event-oriented or item-oriented, may be influential in the use of evaluative language skills.

A related female advantage yielded here is that female preschoolers produce event-oriented narration earlier than their male counterparts do. That is, all our female preschoolers enter the event-oriented stage at Time 1, while most male preschoolers do not evolve into such a stage until Time 2. Along with the increasing trend for the use of evaluative devices in general, at the event-oriented stage, growth in preschoolers' use of FOM is obtained, which suggests that these children turn out to be more skillful at interpreting others' and their own inner state of minds.

The second developmental shift detected is the progression from local event to global story plotline for children's use of FOM. As mentioned above, preschoolers use more and more FOM expressions with increasing age. Furthermore, we note that, at an earlier stage, these preschoolers' references to FOM are mostly motivated by the facial expression which is in agreement with the immediately precipitating event. At the later developmental stage, however, their FOM terms are triggered not only by local situation but also by global story plotline. Thus, the results suggest that references to FOM can be motivated by different narrative focuses, i.e., local, immediate situation or global plotline. The ability for using globally motivated

FOM references takes time to develop and thus displays at later developmental stage (Time 3).

The third developmental shift is the progression from handling individual events to relating event complex. As discussed above, preschoolers at the event-oriented stage already have the ability to link different components in a single event and to infer beyond what is overtly displayed in the pictures. Such ability, however, is not sufficient for a proficient narrator. To successfully interpret a story, the narrator needs to consider different aspects of a complex chain of events and to make connection between events, which requires higher levels of inferencing. In the present work, though preschoolers repeatedly narrate the frog story throughout three time points, only two children, at Time 3, make explicit connection between the target events, which suggests that continuous linguistic stimulation is not a sufficient condition for appropriate narrative construction. Likewise, rich linguistic expressions and descriptive details do not suffice for children to construct an elaborated narrative. Higher level of inferences and event comprehension are also necessary for building up a complete narrative. As researchers point out, mature rendering of a complex chain of events will not be fully established before children reach age 10 (Hedberg and Fink, 1985; Roth and Spekman, 1986).

Regarding these three developmental shifts, we try to use findings from developmental psychology, namely Piaget's (1962, 1969) theory of cognitive development and children's development of theory of mind, to account for preschoolers' progression in narrative production.<sup>5</sup> To begin with, for our preschoolers at the earlier time, the salience of individual items in the picture is what counts, rather than the dynamic event, as shown in the first developmental shift. The advantage of individual items is indicated in Piaget's theory of cognitive development. According to Piaget (1962, 1969), children between ages 4 and 7 belong to the

intuitive period.<sup>6</sup> During this period, young children's understanding of objects or events mainly relies on the most salient perceptual feature of the target things, rather than on the logical or rational thinking processes. Piaget's reasoning explains why some of our preschoolers merely focus on the static items in pictures at Time 1. On the other hand, our work provides additional information in which gender difference possibly shows up in the perceptual-to-rational development, since all of our female preschoolers already evolve into dynamic-event stage at Time 1 (mean age 5;5), and thus they are no longer paying attention to the salience of individual items only. Instead, they begin to make efforts in figuring out the logical relation between events. Our data lead us to speculate that there might be gender and age interaction in the cognitive preference for children during the intuitive period. However, more in-depth investigations are needed to clarify this issue.

Piaget also claims that young children of the preoperational stage (2 to 7 years) tend to be egocentric.<sup>7</sup> That is, they rely more on their own perspectives and thus are less able to make accurate judgements about other people's states of mind. However, our data imply that that even during the preoperational stage, children need to interpret others' inner states of mind often and consider more than one perspective, once their narrative focus shifts to dynamic events.<sup>8</sup> It is believed that, with increasing age, children gradually become less egocentric and better at perspective-taking. And such perspective-taking abilities unfold slowly and become more refined from early in life into adulthood (Bjorklund, 2000).

A narrator needs to infer about what is not visible in the pictures, ranging from interpreting other's inner states of mind to making connection between events. The ability to interpret one's own and others' mental states or mental activity is very important for constructing an elaborated story. The reason is twofold: a good story needs to provide references to story characters' motivations or mental states to explain

their actions; a proficient narrator should attend to the listener's perspective and need (Tager-Flusberg and Sullivan, 1995).

Such ability in perspective-taking is closely related to the developments in theory of mind, which involves the realization that just as I have feelings, desires and beliefs so do other people (Astington, 1990). Researchers point out that children's knowledge about how mind work takes several years to develop and that this knowledge cannot be unfolded fully by the preschool years (Chandler and Sokol, 1999). At different developmental phases, children have different degrees of understanding about the mind. Through gradual differentiation and integration, children's knowledge about mind builds up more complex, hierarchical relationships (Wellman, 1988). Following this line of reasoning, we can explain the progression from locally-motivated FOM to globally-triggered FOM.

In addition to inferring other's states of mind, a narrator needs to infer connection between events. The ability to point out connection between events presupposes complex linguistic and cognitive capacities which may be dissociable in developmental paces. Our data display such dissociation in abilities for providing descriptive details and for inferring relations between events.<sup>9</sup> The rarity of reference to explicit connection between events in our data may be attributed to the precedence of individual event over event complex at this developmental phase. For young children's narration, the individual event is far more salient than the structurally-motivated overall plotline or relevance of one event to the ongoing event complex. As Berman and Slobin (1994) state, to elaborate a network of events requires complex backtracking abilities at perceptual, conceptual and on-line verbal production, which are beyond the capacities of preschoolers. Such backtracking capacities take time to develop and thus our preschoolers have not been able to master them well.

Our samples of narratives not only document three developmental shifts, but also evidence the first three stages of the developmental continuum identified by Berman and Slobin (1994).<sup>10</sup> Initially, children at the first developmental stage tend to construct spatially-motivated chain of utterances, as illustrated in the static-oriented picture-by-picture description. In the second stage, children, most starting at event-oriented stage, can chain events in terms of the temporal organization. Their narratives are now more extended series of events, though still locally organized. At the third developmental stage, children begin to produce not only sequential but causal chains of events which are partially elaborated.

The third stage is evidenced by Excerpts 10, 11, and 13, all produced at Time 3. Berman and Slobin (1994) characterize causal chaining as the feature for 9-year-olds. Similarly, Piaget (1962) believes that children above 7, at the concrete-operational stage, have a better appreciation of causal principles. Since causal chaining is important for elaboration of a good story, some researchers claim that complex episode in fictional narratives will not be successfully interpreted until children reach age 10 (Hedberg and Fink, 1985; Roth and Spekman, 1986). Given these reasons, we infer that our preschoolers may not evolve into this stage of causally-structured narratives until later developmental stage, while at the earlier developmental stages, they tend to describe what happened without explicitly referring to the associated causal circumstances surrounding the events.

To sum up, our findings in this chapter not only delineate three qualitative shifts in children's narrative development but also display the developmental path in constructing narrative discourse based on the frog story.<sup>11</sup> Our data suggest that narrative focus may have impacts on the use of evaluative language skills and that different narrative focus may motivate the references to FOM differently. We also point out that a well-elaborated story requires mature linguistic and cognitive

capacities. Through these narrative excerpts, though we cannot ascertain the direction of the relation between narrative competence and perspective-taking ability,<sup>12</sup> we try to display the interplay between language development and cognitive development. With these analyses we hope that we have provided something beyond the frequency counts and pointed out developmental differences in children's budding narrative skills.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> They are CRS, LCY, TK, and TYH.

<sup>2</sup> Through the influences from maternal narrative styles and experiences in book reading interactions with her mother, LCF seems to sense that REP is an effective device to convey emphasis in story-telling.

<sup>3</sup> Picture 14 also works as the precursor of Pictures 16 and 17 which reveal the consequences of the misconception: the boy gets caught in the antlers; the deer runs to a cliff with the boy; the dog runs alongside and barks at the deer; the deer throws the boy off the edge of the cliff and the dog falls off too. In other words, the boy's ill-conceived or unintentional act in the initial event leads to unforeseeable consequences in the latter two pictures. The inter-connection among these three pictures, though very intriguing, is beyond the scope of the present work. To better focus our discussion, we analyze only Pictures 14 and 15.

<sup>4</sup> The hesitations and pauses detected by Berman and Slobin (1994) provide evidence for the narrator's on-line linguistic backtracking while they try to link the two events.

<sup>5</sup> There are differences between perspective-taking research and the theory-of-mind research. The former assumes that young children are egocentric and cannot understand other's viewpoint (Chandler, 1977); the latter, however, argues that children develop an integrated theory of mind (Gopnik and Astington, 1988). That is, theory-of-mind research tries to integrate children's understanding of their own and other's mental states. Despite different philosophies these researchers have, many of them suggest that the development of a theory of mind is closely related to the development of language.

<sup>6</sup> The mean age of our preschoolers is 5;5 months at the first session of data collection, and 5;11 months at the last session. Thus, they belong to the intuitive period.

<sup>7</sup> Piaget identifies four major stages of cognitive development: the *sensorimotor* stage (birth to 2 years), the *preoperational* stage (2 to 7 years), the *concrete-operation* stage (7 to 11 years), and the *formal-operation* stage (11 years till adulthood).

<sup>8</sup> Throughout the time span of the investigation, our subjects are at the preoperational stage in Piaget's continuum, for their mean ages range from 5;5 to 5;11.

<sup>9</sup> The ability for providing descriptive details is the linguistic capacity; the one for inferring connection between events is the cognitive capacity.

<sup>10</sup> In Berman and Slobin's framework, this continuum contains four phases: spatially-motivated organization, temporal organization, sequential and /or causal organization, and global organization around an action structure. Our preschoolers are limited in their cognitive and linguistic abilities, and thus they manifest only the first three organizations.

<sup>11</sup> Our results should be taken as observations that some preschoolers at certain time point display such and such developmental shifts. It is not feasible to claim that all our preschoolers, across the board, evolve into some developmental stage at specific time, for there are individual differences in developmental progression.

<sup>12</sup> The correlation between narrative competence and perspective-taking ability can be explained in a number of different ways. There are three possibilities: (1) narrative competence depends on perspective-taking ability, (2) narrative competence facilitates perspective-taking ability, and (3) both narrative competence and perspective-taking ability depend on some third factor. Though pursuit of such correlation is intriguing, it is beyond the scope of the present research.