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Middleswarth,

Victoria

1977

A FOLKLORISTIC APPROACH TO STORYTELLING PERFORMANCES BY A CONTEMPORARY LIBRARIAN

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Center for Intercultural

and Folk Studies

Western Kentucky University

Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Victoria Middleswarth

August 1977

A FOLKLORISTIC APPROACH TO STORYTELLING PERFORMANCES BY A CONTEMPORARY LIBRARIAN

Recommended June 8, 1977
(Date)

Burt Feintuch

Lynwood Montell

Vera G. Guthrie

Approved July 14, 1977

Elmer Gray
Dean of the Graduate College

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Like much folkloristic research, this study was based upon fieldwork. I would like to extend my thanks to the story hour listeners--both mothers and children--whose cooperation facilitated the completion of fieldwork. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Thelma Freeman for allowing the presence of my tape recorder in story hour, for answering endless questions, and for being the fine storyteller that she is.

PREFACE

In 1967 Dan Ben-Amos presented a paper at the American Folklore Society Annual Meeting that called for the redefinition of folklore in behavioral terms. Entitled "Folklore: The Definition Game Once Again," the essay was promptly criticized by Roger Welsch in a 1968 Journal of American Folklore note. In "A Note on Definitions," Welsch bemoans "the enduring search for The Definition of 'folklore,'" proffering linguistic principles as evidence of the futility of such searches and urging folklorists to "start using definitions and stop being used by them."[1] Within months of its printing, Welsch's critical note was itself criticized by Richard Bauman, a champion of the behavioralist cause, in another note, "Towards a Behavioral Theory of Folklore: A Reply to Roger Welsch." Bauman's response defends Ben-Amos's definition of folklore as a communicative process as "a conceptualization of folklore that makes a difference" and implores folklore scholars to "attack the scholarly problems confronting [them] with as much conceptual and logical rigor as [they] can bring

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[1]Roger L. Welsch, "A Note on Definitions," Journal of American Folklore 81 (July-September 1968):262-64.

to bear."[2] It is the intent of the present study to comply with the wishes of both Welsch and Bauman by utilizing a behavioral definition of folklore to provide supportive evidence for the behavioral approach.

The essence of the behavioral approach to folklore lies in its definition of folklore as a communicative process rather than a corpus of traditional materials.[3] In so describing folklore, the behavioralists have made possible the expansion of its boundaries to include materials not traditionally considered to be "folklore." Although they recognize the implications of their definitions, most scholars of the behavioral school support their theories with examples that lie safely within the traditional realm of "folklore."

The present study utilizes a behavioral definition to deal with a series of communicative events that lie on the periphery of the realm of folklore--a librarian's telling of nontraditional stories in organized story hours. The definition, one of Roger Abrahams's, describes

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[2]Richard Bauman, "Towards a Behavioral Theory of Folklore: A Reply to Roger Welsch," _Journal of American Folklore_ 82 (April-June 1969):170.

[3]Ben-Amos described folklore as communicative event in "Folklore: The Definition Game Once Again." That essay was later reprinted as "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," _Journal of American Folklore_ 84 (January-March 1971):3-15. Similar definitions appear in the same issue of the _Journal of American Folklore_ in Roger D. Abrahams's "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore," pp. 16-30, and in Dell Hymes's "The Contribution of Folklore to Sociolinguistic Research," pp. 42-50.

folklore as "all conventional expressive devices available for performance and the achievement of performer status within a socially bounded group."[4] The crux of this study consists of the identification and examination of the conventional expressive devices utilized by a Bowling Green, Kentucky librarian to achieve performer status in weekly story hours which she conducts in the Bowling Green Public Library.

The subject of this study is Thelma Freeman, the children's librarian at the Bowling Green Public Library. Mrs. Freeman has worked for the library for fourteen years, beginning in 1964 as a bookmobile driver and later transferring into the library building as children's librarian. The story hour on which this study centers was instituted in 1967 when Mrs. Freeman became the Bowling Green Library's first children's librarian. Although she probably acquired her storytelling art through observation and adoption of her mother's storytelling technique and through experience with her children and grandchildren, Mrs. Freeman also took an undergraduate-level library science course on storytelling which may have influenced her thinking and her style.

Mrs. Freeman's story hours are held twice a week

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[4] Roger D. Abrahams, "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore," Journal of American Folklore 84 (January-March 1971):28.

in a meeting room adjacent to the juvenile book area in the Bowling Green Public Library. The group to which she tells stories consists of ten to twenty three-, four-, and five-year-old children who attend one or the other of the week's two sessions on a fairly regular basis. Story hours last from forty to fifty minutes and consist of two or more stories told by Mrs. Freeman, one or two hand games or songs, and a narrated filmstrip.

Mrs. Freeman's repertory is comprised almost entirely of stories from picture books. Although she usually holds a book when telling a story, Mrs. Freeman alters and ornaments the printed text considerably, elaborating characterizations and scenes and dramatizing dialogues. The linguistic and paralinguistic devices utilized in the ornamentation process comprise the conventions that maintain Mrs. Freeman's performer status, which is established through a set of customary speeches and actions.

This study is divided into three chapters. The first includes a discussion of behavioral and performance-centered approaches to folklore and their implications, with particular emphasis on the definition upon which this study is based. The second chapter consists of a brief biography of Mrs. Freeman and discussion of the traditional and nontraditional influences on her storytelling art, her views about storytelling, and her repertory. The third chapter consists of the

identification and examination of the conventional expressive devices utilized by Mrs. Freeman to establish and maintain performer status in the story hour context. A brief conclusion, summarizing the results and the implications of the study, follows the third chapter.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iii

PREFACE iv

Chapter
I. FOLKLORE AND PERFORMANCE 1

Performance-Centered Approaches to Folklore 1
Folk Narrative and Performance 7
Terminology 11

II. THE PERFORMER: HER LIFE, EDUCATION, AND ATTITUDES ABOUT STORYTELLING 16

Biographical Information 17
Education as a Storyteller: Nonacademic and Academic Influences 20
Attitudes About Storytelling 32

III. THE PERFORMANCES 46

Performance as a Communicative Frame 47
Methodology 50
The Story Hour Context 51
Distancing 53
Opening Formulae 56
Familiarization Devices 59
Elaboration Devices 65
Dramatization Devices 70
Interruptions 78
Closing Formulae 80
A Word About the Audience 81

CONCLUSION 87

. . . .

APPENDIX 1 92

APPENDIX 2 95

APPENDIX 3 100

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 105

A FOLKLORISTIC APPROACH TO STORYTELLING PERFORMANCES BY A CONTEMPORARY LIBRARIAN

Victoria Middleswarth August 1977 112 pages

Directed by: Burt Feintuch, Lynwood Montell, and Vera Guthrie

Department of Intercultural and Folk Studies Western Kentucky University

Recent development of the behavioral approach to folklore has spawned new descriptions of folklore as stylized communicative event, or performance. Although their definitions expand the traditional realm of folklore, most proponents of the behavioral school continue to study materials traditionally classified as "folklore." The present study utilizes a performance-centered definition to define as folklore a series of communicative events that lie on the periphery of the traditional realm of folklore--a librarian's telling of nontraditional stories to children in organized story hours. Based upon field research in the Bowling Green, Kentucky Public Library, the study is divided into three chapters. The first provides a brief review of performance-oriented theories, with particular emphasis on the definition upon which this study is based--one which defines folklore as the expressive devices available for performance in a socially bounded group. The second chapter is concerned with the nonacademic and academic factors in the informant's acquisition of her storytelling art and the determination of their possible influence upon her oral style, repertory,

and attitudes about storytelling. The final chapter consists of the identification and examination of three major categories of expressive devices--familiarization, elaboration, and dramatization--utilized by the informant to establish and maintain performer status in the story hour context. The results of this study demonstrate that definitions of folklore as performance do, as their authors suggest, expand the traditional realm of folklore to include many more types of human interaction than previous definitions allowed.

CHAPTER I

FOLKLORE AND PERFORMANCE

Performance-Centered Approaches to Folklore

Behavioral and performance-centered approaches to folklore are a recent development in folklore scholarship. In 1957 William Jansen recognized the importance of recording performance information in the collection of verbal folklore:

> . . . notes about the conditions of the actual performance, notes that reveal the informant's attitudes toward his particular material and its relation to him and to his audience, notes that reveal the audience's attitudes toward the performer and toward his handling of the particular material . . . will enable the scholar to utilize a folklore collection as fully reliable commentary upon aspects of the particular folk group whence the collection was taken.[1]

Seven years later, Alan Dundes reiterated the importance of collecting performance, or "contextual," data in "Texture, Text and Context." Describing an item's context as "the specific social situation in which that particular item is actually employed," Dundes provides examples

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[1]William Hugh Jansen, "Classifying Performance in the Study of Verbal Folklore," in Studies in Folklore in honor of Distinguished Service Professor Stith Thompson, ed. W. Edson Richmond (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), pp. 110-11.

whose interpretation hinges upon contextual knowledge.[2] In conclusion, Dundes maintains that only analysis of an item's texture, text, and context can shed light on "the vital relationship between folk and folklore."[3]

Still, behavioral approaches to the study of folklore did not gain momentum until the late 1960s. As Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth Goldstein note in their introduction to Folklore: Performance and Communication, two versions of an essay by Richard Dorson, published in 1963 and 1972, reflect changing attitudes toward behavioral approaches within the discipline.[4] In the first version, Dorson describes five major approaches to studying folklore: (1) comparative, (2) national, (3) anthropological, (4) psychological, and (5) structural.[5] The second version, which appeared nine years later as the introduction to Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, includes discussion of the "contextual" school as a current trend in the study of folklore. Dorson notes that the proponents of the contextual school, whom he labels "young Turks," insist upon the examination of folklore texts in their contexts, employing such "overlapping" terms as "behavior,"

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[2]Alan Dundes, "Texture, Text and Context," Southern Folklore Quarterly 28 (December 1964):255-56.

[3]Ibid., p. 265.

[4]Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth Goldstein, eds., Folklore: Performance and Communication (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), p. 1.

[5]Richard M. Dorson, "Current Folklore Theories," Current Anthropology 4 (February 1963):93-112.

"communication," "expression," and "performance."[6] Whether or not the terms actually do "overlap," their inclusion in a major introductory folklore text demonstrates a recognition, if not an acceptance, of their potential usefulness in the study of folklore.

Since the appearance of Dorson's description of the contextualists, several works have appeared which describe the behavioral approach to folklore. Richard Bauman delineates the principle concern of the essays in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore as

> . . . full-scale and highly self-conscious reorientation from the traditional focus upon folklore as "item"--the things of folklore--to a conceptualization of folklore as "event"--the doing of folklore. In particular, there is an emphasis upon performance as an organizing principle that comprehends within a single conceptual framework artistic act, expressive form, and esthetic response.[7]

Likewise, Ben-Amos and Goldstein describe the behavioral approach as one which "releases folklore from literary bonds imposed upon it in archives and libraries and views it as human verbal symbolic interaction of a performing kind."[8]

As Ben-Amos and Goldstein's words suggest, the behavioral approach has given rise to new definitions

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[6]Richard M. Dorson, ed., Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 45.

[7]Américo Parades and Richard Bauman, eds., Toward New Perspectives in Folklore (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1972), p. xi.

[8]Ben-Amos and Goldstein, eds., Folklore: Performance and Communication, p. 3.

of folklore as well as providing the discipline with new methodologies. In his definitive essay "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," Ben-Amos argues that it is the social context in which an item is performed, rather than its traditional or oral qualities, that qualifies it as "folklore." Ben-Amos continues that folklore "is not an aggregate of things, but a process--a communicative process, to be exact." He concludes that the ultimate defining criterion of folklore is the small group: "In sum, folklore is artistic communication in small groups."[9]

A similar definition is proffered by Dell Hymes in "The Contribution of Folklore to Sociolinguistic Research." In this essay, Hymes postulates that folklorists, unlike other social scientists, are equipped with a number of methodological tools that enable them to shed new light on sociolinguistic studies. In particular, he lauds the folklorist's ability to recognize and analyze stylized communicative behavior as indispensable to the ethnographic study of speaking. Accordingly, Hymes describes folklore as "communicative behavior with an esthetic, expressive, or stylistic dimension."[10]

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[9]Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," pp. 10, 13.

[10]Dell Hymes, "The Contribution of Folklore to Sociolinguistic Research," Journal of American Folklore 84 (January-March 1971):50.

Maintaining that stylized communication, or performance, determines the folkloric nature of an event, Roger Abrahams defines folklore as "all conventional expressive devices available for performance and the achievement of performer status in a socially bounded group."[11] Because the devices which comprise folklore are artificial, or stylized, they are memorable and transmittable tools with which the performer can catch and hold the attention of the audience. Folklore, Abrahams argues, lives only in the performances that result from effective utilization of such stylized attention-getting devices.

> Folklore, from this point of view, is a collective term for traditional performances that are real, tangible, and capable of being described and analyzed objectively in terms of the following: who is performing to whom; what techniques are used to persuade, comfort, and entertain; and how the performance is qualified by considerations of time, place, occasion, composition of audience, convention of delivery, and group sense of decorum.[12]

Obviously, the implications of behavioral and performance-centered definitions are great. Viewed as events, rather than items, folklore can include materials not traditionally studied by folklorists. Any interaction which proceeds according to the communicative rules that define "folkloric events" can become the subject of folkloristic research. As Richard

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[11]Abrahams, "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore," p. 28.

[12]Ibid., p. 28.

Bauman notes in "Verbal Art as Performance," performance may be "the cornerstone of a new folkloristics, liberated from its backward-facing perspective, and able to comprehend much more of the totality of human experience."[13]

In spite of the possibilities, most performance-oriented folklorists illustrate their theories with examples that lie safely within the traditional realm of "folklore." Just as many early studies of urban folklore focused on the urbanized traditions of transplanted peasant and ethnic groups, most performance-oriented studies deal with the communication of traditionally accepted folkloric material within easily recognizable "folk" groups.[14] The essays in Folklore: Performance and Communication exemplify this trend. Performances of Chinookan narratives, a traditional parable by a Polish immigrant to Canada, Filipino-American erotic jokes, Turkish folk narrative by a professional singer-poet, Quaker folk linguistics, and casual communicative behaviors in an "Afro-American

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[13]Richard Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," American Anthropologist 77 (June 1975):306.

[14]The essays in Américo Parades and Ellen J. Stekert, eds., The Urban Experience and Folk Tradition (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1971) reflect the tendency to examine the traditions of transplanted "folk" cultures rather than seeking out indigenous urban folklore. Of five essays, two deal with southern mountain whites, one with black Americans, one with European immigrants, and one with migrant "farm families."

peasant community" are among the subjects studied.[15] Admittedly, the application of performance-oriented methodology can provide new insights, but it does not capitalize upon the definitions at the core of performance theory--except as new description of old materials. In "'Take That Night Train to Selma': An Excursion to the Outskirts of Scholarship," Henry Glassie describes an anthropological parallel.

> The anthropologist has developed the concepts necessary to study American culture . . . yet he persists in escaping to exotic cultural islands to return with fascinating data on people relatively easy to understand.[16]

Unlike most recent performance studies, the present study is concerned with the utilization of a performance-centered definition of folklore, as well as performance-oriented methodology, to examine "the nuances of things partially folk"[17]: the telling of nontraditional stories by a paraprofessional librarian in organized sessions held in a municipal library.

Folk Narrative and Performance

Like many performance-oriented studies, recent examinations of folk narrative exhibit the growing concern

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[15]Ben-Amos and Goldstein, eds., Folklore: Performance and Communication, pp. v-vi, 288.

[16]Henry Glassie, "'Take That Night Train to Selma': An Excursion to the Outskirts of Scholarship," in Folksongs and Their Makers, ed. Henry Glassie; Edward D. Ives; and John R. Szwed (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1970), p. 53.

[17]Ibid., p. 53.

for contextual information but avoid the definition question by dealing with traditional orally transmitted materials. In Folktales and Society, Linda Dégh examines the historical, cultural, and behavioral contexts in which folktales are told but limits her analysis to traditional märchen and her informants to European peasants.[18] Likewise, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's "A Parable in Context: A Social Interactional Analysis of Storytelling Performance" provides thorough behavioral analysis of the performance of a traditional parable.[19] Although Roger Abrahams recognizes that a performance-centered approach can enable the folklorist to study professional oral entertainers, the examples he cites--Adriatic and African Mediterranean singer-composers and Near Eastern, Asian, and African professional storytellers--represent the entertainers of tradition-bound societies.[20]

Accordingly, most studies of professional storytellers, whether written before or after Abrahams's realization, deal with age-old institutions in tradition-bound communities. Lord and Basgöz analyze the traditional

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[18]Linda Dégh, Folktales and Society: Storytelling in a Hungarian Peasant Community, trans. Emily M. Schossberger (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).

[19]Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "A Parable in Context: A Social Interactional Analysis of Storytelling Performance," in Folklore: Performance and Communication, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth Goldstein, pp. 105-30.

[20]Abrahams, "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore," p. 29.

narratives sung by Baltic singer-poets; Hrdličková describes performance techniques of professional Japanese storytellers; Eberhard discusses the narrations of Chinese storytellers, some of whom use printed novels as prompt books; and Ben-Amos examines Bini storytelling events conducted by professional storytellers.[21] In all of these studies the narratives are traditional and the performances take place in traditional settings, such as coffee houses and theaters reserved for professional storytelling events, functioning to "sustain traditional culture in the face of modernization."[22]

It is not surprising that much of American folk narrative scholarship focuses upon the traditional folktales and motif-laden legends and personal narratives told by "folk" raconteurs.[23] A notable exception is

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[21]Albert S. Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960); Ilhan Basgoz, "Turkish Hikaye-Telling Tradition in Azerbaijan, Iran," Journal of American Folklore 83 (October-December 1970):391-405; Ilhan Basgöz, "The Tale Singer and His Audience," in Folklore: Performance and Communication, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth Goldstein, pp. 142-203; V. Hrdličková, "Japanese Professional Storytellers," Genre 2 (September 1969):179-210; Wolfram Eberhard, "Notes on Chinese Storytellers," Fabula 11:1-2 (1970):1-31; and Dan Ben-Amos, Sweet Words/ Storytelling Events in Benin (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1975).

[22]Ben-Amos, Sweet Words, p. 15.

[23]Of the seven narrators treated in Richard M. Dorson's "Oral Styles of American Folk Narrators," in Style in Language, ed Thomas Sebeok (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960), pp. 27-51, one is black American, three are from Maine and Kentucky, regions

Kenneth Goldstein's recent study of the telling of nontraditional stories to children. In this study, he argues that tales fabricated by parents and grandparents and told in contexts similar to those in which traditional stories are related cannot be ignored by folklorists.[24] The value of Goldstein's study lies in its transcension of the search for folk-like narratives, or things, in favor of a search for folk-like processes, or events.

Like Goldstein's research, this study concerns a series of folk-like events conducted by a "professional" oral entertainer whose status as a performer makes her as worthy of folkloristic study as the Old World professional storytellers described by Abrahams and the New World raconteurs treated by Dorson. Although she tells nontraditional stories, prompted by books, in a nontraditional context, a library meeting room, Thelma Freeman has a repertory of "conventional expressive devices" that establish her status as performer in the story hour context. It is the thesis of this study that the performances keyed by those devices can be classified as folklore according to Abrahams's theory.

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well known for their wealth of folklore, three are European immigrants, and all are uneducated working class men.

[24]Kenneth Goldstein, "The Telling of Non-Traditional Tales to Children: An Ethnographic Report from a Northwest Philadelphia Neighborhood," Keystone Folklore 20 (Summer 1975):5-17.

Terminology

In keeping with Abrahams, the word "conventional," rather than the word "traditional," is used in this study. In the past, traditional qualities have been defining criteria of folklore. Dorson characteristically proposes, "We ask that lore live in people's mouths for at least several generations, that it be shared by many, that it bear the marks of much handling."[25] But recent folklore scholarship reflects dissatisfaction with definitions of folklore that rely upon tradition. Noting that the transmittors of folklore often pride themselves on their creativity and the newness of their material, Ben-Amos describes the traditional character of folklore as "an accidental quality associated with it in some cases, rather than an objectively intrinsic feature of it."[26] Another criticism of the folklorist's past dependence on tradition is that a discipline based upon the study of survivals is itself doomed to extinction.[27]

Although Ben-Amos banishes the concept of tradition from his contextual definition of folklore, some scholars have chosen to include it. Hymes, for instance, urges folklorists to seek tradition's roots in social life,

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[25]Richard M. Dorson, Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers: Folk Traditions of the Upper Penninsula (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 7

[26]Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," p. 13.

[27]Ibid., p. 14; and Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," p. 306.

rather than in time, by studying the human tendency to "traditionalize" aspects of experience.[28] Likewise, Kay Cothran argues that "degenerative peasants, red-necks, foreigners, and primitives" are not the sole possessors of traditions. She suggests a conceptualization of tradition as "the rules by means of which a given context is made sensible, by which further contexts are made possible . . . not antiquity and orality, but 'our way, our means, our categories, our system.'"[29]

Obviously, the strength of such definitions lies in their recognition of contemporary and future traditions and traditionalization. They predict a flourishing future for the discipline of folklore. Because the present study demands delineation between past and contemporary folklore, the word "conventional" will be employed to describe those rules, expressions, and actions which, through repetition in their contexts, become the signals by which a particular context is recognized. For lack of a better word, "traditional" will be used, in this study, in reference to those rules, expressions, and actions which have "lived in people's mouths for at least several generations."

Most behavioral definitions of folklore describe

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[28]Dell Hymes, "Folklore's Nature and the Sun's Myth," Journal of American Folklore 88 (October-December 1975):353.

[29]Kay L. Cothran, "Participation in Tradition," Keystone Folklore 18 (Spring-Summer 1975):8-9.

performance as a form of stylized communication characterized by the classification of its participants as performers or members of an audience. Erving Goffman defines theatrical performance as

> that arrangement which transforms an individual into a stage performer, the latter, in turn, being an object that can be looked at in the round and at length without offense, and looked to for engaging behavior, by persons in the "audience" role.[30]

Jansen notes that in order for performance to occur, there must be some amount of "posing" on the part of the individual who assumes the responsibilities of the performer.[31] This "posing," or "engaging behavior," calls attention to the performer and his or her expressive act, which, as Bauman notes, the audience can regard with "special intensity" because of its performance status.[32] In this study, the word "performer" will be used to designate a person who employs stylized communicative devices to engage the attention of an audience in preparation for the communication of a message in an uncommon nonliteral manner. Communicative

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[30]Erving Goffman, Frame Analysis (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 124.

[31]Jansen, "Classifying Performance in the Study of Verbal Folklore," pp. 112-13.

[32]Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," p. 293. Bauman views performance as one kind of interpretive frame through which messages are communicated that contrasts with other frames, such as the literal. It is the nonliteralism of the performance frame that enables the audience to react to performance with intensity. The concept of "frames" is treated more thoroughly in Chapter III.

acts involving performers and audiences will be termed "performances."

The final criterion of Abrahams's definition is that the group within which performance occurs be "socially bounded." Dundes suggests that a "folk" group is

> any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor . . . it does not matter what the linking factor is--it could be a common occupation, language, or religion--but what is important is that a group formed for whatever reason will have some traditions which it calls its own.[33]

Arguing that folkloric communication can and does take place among members of different ethnic, religious, regional, occupational, age, and kinship groups, Bauman proposes that folklorists focus upon the identities relevant to folkloric performance as the social base of folklore. Rather than seeking a common characteristic among group members, Bauman favors the identification of performer and audience roles.[34]

In the present study the phrase "socially bounded group" will be interpreted to mean one whose members are bound together by their participation in a form of social interaction. In this study the form of social interaction will be that which occurs in the story hour context. Although the group which comprises Mrs.

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[33]Alan Dundes, ed., The Study of Folklore (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 2.

[34]Richard Bauman, "Differential Identity and the Social Base of Folklore," Journal of American Folklore 84 (January-March 1971):31-41.

Freeman's audience is also bound together by "at least one common factor"--the membership of the story hour group that regular attendence implies--it is ultimately the group's ability to recognize Mrs. Freeman's performance signals that determines their audience role.

The remainder of this study, then, will center on the conventional, or repeated, expressive devices employed by Thelma Freeman to establish a performer-audience relationship in the socially bounded group comprised by the story hour interactants. Before the identification and examination of the devices themselves, some consideration will be given to Mrs. Freeman's life, education, and views of storytelling in hopes of determining their possible influence upon her art.

CHAPTER II

THE PERFORMER: HER LIFE, EDUCATION, AND ATTITUDES ABOUT STORYTELLING

This chapter is concerned with Mrs. Freeman's acquisition of her storytelling art, with particular emphasis on the nonacademic and academic factors that may have influenced her views about storytelling. It is divided into four parts. The first provides basic biographical information about Mrs. Freeman's education through high school, her marriage, and her employment in the Bowling Green Public Library. The second is concerned with her education as a storyteller. Because Mrs. Freeman's acquisition of her art included both nonacademic and academic factors, the second part of this chapter includes information concerning works about "folk" (nonacademically trained) narrators and guides for professional academically trained narrators as well as description of Mrs. Freeman's personal background. The third part of this chapter contains discussion of how those nonacademic and academic influences are reflected in Mrs. Freeman's views regarding the purposes of storytelling and the qualities of good stories and storytellers. Again, description of the nonacademic and academic factors which relate specifically to Mrs. Freeman's views is incorporated into the discussion of

those views. The final section consists of summarization and discussion of the implications of the data presented in this chapter.

Biographical Information

Thelma Farley Freeman was born in Indianapolis, Indiana in 1922. When she was six, her family moved to Knob Lick, a small southern Kentucky community. Thus, after completing one year of elementary school in Indianapolis, Thelma enrolled in Knob Lick's one-room school. Two years later the family moved into Bowling Green where Thelma attended a local public elementary school. When her family moved to a small farm in Greenwood, a community south of Bowling Green, Thelma walked two and a half miles into town each day to complete the seventh and eighth grades.

Thelma attended Bowling Green High School for one year, transferring to a local regional high school for the tenth and eleventh grades because it was a free public high school. In spite of the tuition, Thelma preferred Bowling Green High School:

> . . . I could take art and music, and I even went in early and took typing course because I--I just loved to get all the extras I could. . . . when I went to Alvaton, I was just at a loss . . . they just taught reading and writing and arithmetic.[1]

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[1]Interview with Thelma Freeman, Bowling Green Public Library, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1 December 1976. This interview along with one which took place 17 March

When she was seventeen, Thelma dropped out of high school and married Galen Harlan Freeman, the son of her family's doctor. The Freemans moved to a farm outside of Bowling Green where Thelma assumed the responsibilities of a farm wife and mother, "cooking for workhands and working out in the tobacco patch and . . . helping with the hay baling."[2] Because she loved to read and because her mother encouraged her to do so, Mrs. Freeman found time to study occasionally, thus managing to earn a high school diploma, twenty-four years and seven children later.

In the spring of 1964, Mrs. Freeman was offered a job as bookmobile driver by the Bowling Green Public Library. She accepted the position because she had recently undergone serious surgery and had been ordered by the doctor to discontinue strenuous farm activities. In addition, she knew people in several communities, through participation in local Parent and Teacher, Homemakers, and Eastern Star organizations, and she wanted to "bring the books out to the county people."[3]

Mrs. Freeman was the first woman in her family to take a job off the farm:

1977 and the field notes from discussions following story hours from 11 May 1976 through 22 March 1977 provided all information regarding Mrs. Freeman's life and opinions.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

> . . . my husband said that I might last six weeks. That was unheard of in my family--you know, for the women to go to work. . . . we just didn't do it. The men worked.[4]

She drove the bookmobile for three years, stopping at grocery stores, beauty parlors, and one summer, a graveyard in a community whose country store owner did not want children in his store. By the end of the third year, Mrs. Freeman was selecting and distributing one to three hundred books a day in ten county schools during the mornings and running the children's room in the Bowling Green Public Library during the afternoons. Mrs. Freeman was the library's first official children's librarian and the first library employee to assume the duty of storyteller, a role previously taken by volunteers. The story hour around which this study centers was instituted in 1967 under Mrs. Freeman's direction.

At present, Mrs. Freeman works full-time in the Bowling Green Public Library. In addition to managing the juvenile book area and conducting two weekly preschool story hours, she occasionally works with the adult collection. Mrs. Freeman is still married and has seven grown children and several grandchildren. As always, her storytelling activity is not limited to story hour programs; she tells personal narratives to co-workers, friends, and relatives whenever the occasion calls for a story. In

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[4]Ibid.

fact, one librarian recently told Mrs. Freeman that her company is always appreciated because she is always telling "some old tale."

Education as a Storyteller: Nonacademic and Academic Influences

Mrs. Freeman's education as a storyteller includes both academic and nonacademic factors. She has read several standard storytelling manuals and has taken several university courses without actually earning a degree, thus qualifying as a paraprofessional librarian and storyteller. At the same time, she has acquired some knowledge from experience and may have learned some techniques from listening to her mother tell stories. This section will describe in detail the academic and nonacademic aspects of Mrs. Freeman's storytelling education, through review of the nonacademic qualities associated with the "folk" narrators usually described by folklorists, description of standard academic works on storytelling, and discussion of Mrs. Freeman's respective exposures to both of these influences.

In the past, folklorists have insisted that most folklore be transmitted orally, a condition that automatically disqualifies Mrs. Freeman's narratives from classification as "folklore." Although she transmits her stories orally, she learns them from printed sources. In addition, she acquired her art from both traditional and nontraditional sources. The folk storyteller, by purist thinking,

must acquire his or her art from observation of a master and must tell only traditional, orally circulated tales learned from oral sources. Albert Lord, for example, describes three phases in the process of becoming a singer of Yugoslavian epic poetry: (1) a period of observation of the masters, possibly accompanied by the realization of one's ability to sing and the initial stages of learning, (2) a period of application when the singer practices by himself, and (3) the singing of songs for critical audiences.[5] Theoretically, orally transmitted learning fosters the preservation of traditions and the purity of texts.

As Ben-Amos notes, however, the increasing technological complexity of society has inevitably affected the oral tradition.[6] Contemporary "folk" storytellers cannot escape the influence of printed and broadcasted media. Even Dégh's peasant narrators, whose repertories were highly traditional, were affected by storybooks, secular narratives from chapbooks, and church literature and exempla.[7] Some contemporary Japanese and Chinese professional storytellers use printed texts as prompt books during their performances. And although the Japanese storytellers described by Hrdličková perform

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[5]Lord, The Singer of Tales, pp. 22-26.

[6]Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," p. 14.

[7]Dégh, Folktales and Society, p. 153.

only traditional epic tales, Eberhard's Chinese professionals base their narrations on popular historical novels.[8]

Possibly folklorists have elected to study Oriental professional storytelling traditions because they date back to the Middle Ages and because the storytellers still acquire their technique from the masters. Similar learning conditions are described by Ben-Amos in Sweet Words. The Bini professional storytellers he examines acquire their abilities through study under a professional teacher who demands tuition for his services.

> In return for his tuition, respect, and actual assistance, the master teaches the apprentice the art of music playing, a repertoire of tales and songs, and the secrets of the profession, including the method of constructing an akpata [the instrument used to accompany storytelling] and the various precautions a narrator has to take against the hazards of the profession.[9]

Although contemporary librarian storytellers often acquire their art through study with professionals at tuition funded institutions, folklorists have elected to ignore them, possibly because of the relation of university-sponsored learning to mass culture. Such thinking is implicit in the division between the "folk" and "organized" storytelling practices described in Richard Alvey's "The Historical Development of Organized

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[8] Hrdličková, "Japanese Professional Storytellers"; and Eberhard, "Notes on Chinese Storytellers."

[9] Ben-Amos, Sweet Words, p. 40.

Storytelling to Children in the United States."[10] In contrast to "folk" narrators, the librarian storytellers described by Alvey are usually university educated and have often taken courses or read standard works on children's literature and storytelling.

Mrs. Freeman took undergraduate level courses in both children's literature and storytelling in the late 1960s, but her education as a storyteller probably began when she was a child. As Dégh notes, "the first setting for learning the tale is, of course, the home; after than, a person who has aptitude for it can learn everywhere."[11] Unlike some librarian storytellers, Mrs. Freeman had the opportunity to learn stories at home from her mother who told folktales and the plots of classic literary works from memory. Although Mrs. Farley never consciously taught her daughter how to tell stories, Mrs. Freeman was affected by her mother's ability.

> . . . I guess that's why . . . I was always proud of when I could tell stories and I guess I've just really had her for an inspiration.[12]

Mrs. Freeman feels that her mother probably acquired most of her repertory from books.

> She cherished books. She would . . . go out and

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[10] Richard Gerald Alvey, "The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1974.

[11] Dégh, <u>Folktales and Society</u>, p. 170.

[12] Interview with Thelma Freeman, 1 December 1976.

> borrow books or save little pennies to buy a few little books, and she bought books on sale, and if people were giving away old boxes of books or cleaning out attics, she'd take every book that she could lay her hands on and bring them home.[13]

Most of Mrs. Farley's tale repertory consisted of what Mrs. Freeman designates "the classics"--traditional folktales, such as "Little Red Riding Hood" and "The Three Bears," and folktale-like and formulaic literary classics, such as Andersen's "Thumbalina" and "The Little Match-Girl" and Bannerman's Little Black Sambo. However Mrs. Farley recited the stories from memory.

> She read a lot, but Mama knew how to just tell the stories . . . she knew so many from memory. And I can't understand it . . . because she didn't go to college. I don't think she even went to high school.[14]

Mrs. Freeman discovered only after her mother's death that Mrs. Farley had told stories from the time she was a teenager when she was usually called upon during funerals to entertain the community children while the adults attended the funeral.[15] Because her husband was an invalid, Mrs. Farley spent much of her married life in her home and devoted most of her evenings to storytelling. Mrs. Freeman's memories of her mother telling stories by the fire are not unlike the "ancient"

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[13]Interview with Thelma Freeman, Bowling Green Public Library, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 17 March 1977.

[14]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 1 December 1976.

[15]Mrs. Farley's storytelling role during funerals was not entirely unlike those assumed by Dégh's Hungarian narrators during wakes in Kakasd. Degh, Folktales and Society, pp. 105-09.

storytelling contexts described by Hartland in The Science of Fairy Tales.[16] Although Mrs. Farley provided most of the family's entertainment, Mr. Farley occasionally fabricated ghost stories and related tales of his experiences in the war.

Mrs. Freeman's first opportunities to tell stories appeared with the birth of her first son, two years after her marriage.

> I spent a lot of those early years in telling stories and saying prayers with my children . . . in fact, I don't think I ever missed a night.[17]

Her early story repertory consisted of stories she had learned from her mother, tales from inexpensive Golden books, "made-up" stories, and family stories, some of which she still tells to her grandchildren. Mrs. Freeman began to rely more heavily on storybooks when she started telling stories to children who visited the bookmobile, "not because I had to or because I'd been told to by the library board, but just because I wanted to."[18]

Mrs. Freeman's education as a librarian began in 1964 when she attended a summer workshop for bookmobile librarians in Frankfort, Kentucky. During the following

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[16]Edwin Sidney Hartland, The Science of Fairy Tales (London: Walter Scott, 1891; reprint ed., Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968), p. 9.

[17]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 1 December 1976.

[18]Ibid.

years, she took several library science courses at a local university, including one on children's literature. In 1968, one year after the institution of the Bowling Green Public Library's story hour program, Mrs. Freeman took a course in storytelling which introduced her to two major works on library storytelling, The Art of the Storyteller, by Marie L. Shedlock, and The Way of the Storyteller, by Ruth Sawyer.[19]

Marie L. Shedlock, a British teacher turned professional storyteller, toured the United States in 1900, sometimes performing for audiences of as many as five thousand. Her performances, coupled with her storytelling manual, The Art of the Storyteller, were a source of inspiration for American librarians then beginning to institute story hours for children. The Art of the Storyteller, first published in 1915, is still used in contemporary storytelling classes.

The manual, as well as records of her performances, reflect Shedlock's view that storytelling should be a creative dramatic art. For Shedlock, the primary purpose of storytelling was to bring "dramatic joy . . . to the children and ourselves [the storytellers]."[20] Although she performed for large groups, she emphasized

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[19] Marie L. Shedlock, The Art of the Storyteller (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915); and Ruth Sawyer, The Way of the Storyteller (New York: The Viking Press, 1942).

[20] Shedlock, The Art of the Storyteller, p. 104.

Although she performed for large groups, she emphasized the importance of the small audience for effective storytelling. She urged aspiring storytellers to use their own words with "apparent simplicity," an ability to be cultivated through "unlimited time and concentrated thought."[21] In The Art of the Storyteller, she warns against over-use of the word "and" as a connector, digressions, alterations of plot, use of exotic words, encouragement of audience participation, the use of auxilary visual devices, over-elaboration, over-explanation, and talking down. Although she wrote The Art of the Storyteller to please her more pragmatic librarian disciples, Shedlock practiced a purely art-for-art's-sake approach to storytelling.

Like Shedlock, Ruth Sawyer was a practicing storyteller; unlike Shedlock, Sawyer viewed storytelling as a "folk"--not a "sophisticated"--art. She majored in folklore at Columbia University, acquiring both a knowledge of folkloric storytelling practices and the experience of telling folktales to school children. Alvey postulates that no other American storyteller "practiced her art in so wide a range of settings and before such divergent audiences."[22] In addition to travelling to Ireland to exchange tales with Irish

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[21]Ibid., p. 23.

[22]Alvey, "The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," p. 592.

storytellers, Sawyer performed in libraries, schools, churches, reformatories, and asylums.

Although she agreed with Shedlock that storytelling should be practiced "to arouse emotions--wonder, laughter, joy, amazement--" Sawyer did not advocate the dramatic performance of stories.[23] Her model, The Way of the Storyteller, presents a romantic description of folk storytelling practices from "antiquity" to the present as evidence that storytelling is a "folk art."[24] In contrast to The Art of the Storyteller, Sawyer's manual provides no lengthy enumerations of abilities to cultivate and pitfalls to avoid. Sawyer deems experience the best teacher, encouraging storytellers to acquire their art through observation of and exchange with "the folk." She argues, in fact, that the best stories follow the format of the folktale and the most successful storytellings result from the environment of intimacy, trust, and sharing which, she felt, characterize folkloric storytelling.

It should be noted that both Shedlock and Sawyer's models were designed for elementary school aged children, not the preschool audience for which Thelma Freeman performs. Accordingly, some of the storytelling conventions

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[23]Sawyer, The Way of the Storyteller, p. 149.

[24]Sawyer's romantic descriptions of the history of storytelling and of her encounters with Irish storytellers indicate that she equates the term "folk" with "peasant," "primitive," and other words connoting quaintness, illiteracy, and rurality.

which Shedlock shuns are appropriate, even necessary, in the preschool story hour context. When the listening group consists of young children, explanations and talking down are often required and audience participation is inevitable. In addition, picture book story hours, by definition, require the use of auxilary devices--pictures.[25]

Since the inception of the picture book story hour in the 1930s, several guides regarding methods for presenting picture books have been written.[26] Most picture book story hour models advocate informality and

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[25]In "The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," pp. 624-26, Alvey distinguishes between "storytelling" hours, in which stories are told without books or auxilary aids, and "story hours," in which stories are told or read in conjunction with other activities such as games. He suggests that contemporary picture book story hours are more widespread than storytelling hours because they appeal to the preschool children now attending libraries with their mothers, because they serve the practical purpose of introducing these children to the library, and because they are more easily presented than memorized stories. According to Mrs. Freeman, the Bowling Green Public Library instituted a preschool picture book story hour program because Bowling Green's school age children were too involved in other extra-curricular activities to attend storytelling sessions regularly.

[26]According to Alvey (Ibid., p. 626), there are five major models for preschool story hours: (1) Vardine Moore, Pre-School Story Hour (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1972); (2) Beth Caples, Story Hour for the Three to Five Year Old (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1969); (3) Joanna Foster, ed., How to Conduct Effective Picture Book Programs (New York: Westchester Library System, 1967); (4) Association of Children's Librarians of Northern California, Pre-School Story Time for Children Ages 3-5 (San Francisco: San Francisco Public Library, 1963); and (5) New York Library Association, Once Upon a Time, 2nd ed., (New York: New York Library Association, 1964).

interaction with the children. Because they deal with storytelling sessions that include visual aids and auxilary activities as well as pure narration, many picture book manuals devote some attention to techniques regarding posture and book position and include game and song, as well as story, suggestions. Although Mrs. Freeman cannot recall having read any picture book manuals, it is possible that she has come in contact with them through the years.

In addition to reading Shedlock's and Sawyer's manuals, Mrs. Freeman's storytelling class, which consisted of approximately twelve librarians and teachers, told stories to each other. Although she eventually learned to enjoy performing for the class and exchanging ideas with other storytellers, Mrs. Freeman was at first intimidated by the group.

> . . . I was so nervous when I got up to tell my first story. . . . my heart was just thumping--just like mad . . . And I said, "Dr. Grinstead," [the teacher of the storytelling class] . . . "did you realize how nervous I was? I could barely open my mouth to say anything." And she said, "Why Thelma, I didn't notice it at all . . . In fact . . . we noticed that you were so calm, and we wondered because you were so calm." And inside, I was just choking to death. I was really frightened.[27]

Mrs. Freeman feels now that learning "not to be nervous in front of adults" was the most beneficial aspect of the storytelling class. Although style was a common topic of discussion in the class, Mrs. Freeman feels

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[27]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 1 December 1977.

that her style was unaffected by the class's suggestions: "I think for some reason I must have been doing the right things and I didn't realize it."[28]

As Mrs. Freeman remembers it, class discussions on style centered on general rules for successful storytelling, rather than specific stylistic dictates. Knowing but not memorizing the story--a view held by both Shedlock and Sawyer--was stressed. For the most part, the class "had the same ideas about what children enjoyed and how to do it . . . we didn't have much criticism . . . we just enjoyed the stories."[29]

Since her class in storytelling, Mrs. Freeman has read occasional articles on story hours in library journals to which the Bowling Green Public Library subscribes. She feels that inexperienced storytellers who have not performed for their children or young relatives and friends should read storytelling literature, but she senses that the best teacher is experience.

> . . . really and truly, I think you just more or less learn by doing . . . I think some people have a natural knack for telling stories . . . I think most of what I've done with my story hour is just . . . a natural love of telling stories and a natural feeling for children and for people. . . . the children have taught me just about as much in storytelling as books have taught me.[30]

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[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 17 March 1977.

Attitudes About Storytelling

It is impossible to determine the respective degrees of the academic and nonacademic influences on Mrs. Freeman's views about storytelling. Two factors complicate the attempt to trace opinions to their sources. First, Mrs. Freeman holds several views that contradict the tenets of academic storytelling models. For example, her insistence upon telling, not reading, the stories concurs with similar views held by both Shedlock and Sawyer, but her belief that a good story is more important than beautiful illustrations is in direct opposition to views apparently held by most picture book storytellers.[31] Likewise, she practices the dramatization that Shedlock encourages, but necessarily strays from the story to explain unfamiliar words, simplifies difficult lexicographical and grammatical constructions, and occasionally alters a violent plot to avoid upsetting the children, three practices of which Shedlock disapproves. A second complication arises

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[31]In "The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," Alvey notes that most picture book storytelling models encourage the favoring of illustration over story and states that his field research confirms the existence of this view. Mrs. Freeman, in contrast, feels that the children's efforts to see the pictures often divert their attentions from the story. Like Richard Tallman's Nova Scotia narrator, she believes that a good storyteller's ability to evoke pictures in the minds of his or her audience eliminates the need for illustrations. Richard S. Tallman, "'You Can Almost Picture It': The Aesthetic of a Nova Scotia Storyteller," Folklore Forum 7 (April 1974):121-30.

from the fact that many rules listed in academic storytelling textbooks are common sensical. Although Mrs. Freeman may have acquired from Sawyer the view that one should only tell stories that one likes, it is also plausible that she arrived at this feeling through her own thinking and experience. At least three aspects of Mrs. Freeman's views of her art--her opinions regarding the purposes of storytelling, her attitudes regarding the qualities of a good story as reflected in her repertory, and her opinions about the qualities of a good storyteller--reflect both academic and nonacademic influences.

One probably influence of Mrs. Freeman's academic background is reflected in her statement of the purpose of the story hour.

> I think that the biggest purpose in the story hour is to make the little children have a feeling of belonging to the library . . . they'll learn to love the library first through their experience with story hour.[32]

This opinion is not unlike Dégh's statement that the value of telling märchen to children in Kakasd lies in its inevitable introduction of the children to folktales.[33] But it relates more closely to the standard library-oriented purposes for conducting story hours described by Alvey. He notes that since the inception of the organized story hour in the 1890s, librarians have named the dissemination of books as their primary storytelling

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[32]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 17 March 1977.

[33]Dégh, Folktales and Society, p. 104.

goal.[34] Even Sawyer, who at first advocated storytelling for its own sake, later assented to calling it an "applied art," one which functions to lead children to literature.[35]

Although storytelling can function as an educational medium, Mrs. Freeman insists that her storytelling is simply intended to entertain.

> I'm not trying to teach the children lessons. I'm not trying to be a school-teacherish figure for them. . . . As far as I'm concerned, storytelling is for entertainment. It's just for a good time, and if they learn anything, that's just incidental to the whole thing.[36]

This view probably has roots in both Mrs. Freeman's academic and nonacedemic training. Until recently, librarians, encouraged by both Shedlock and Sawyer, have viewed storytelling as an art rather than an educational tool.[37] Shedlock upbraided early twentieth century educators for abandoning dramatic art in favor of moral instruction and, as Alvey notes, even contemporary storytellers with library-oriented motives must often resort to artistic storytelling in order to attract the

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[34]Alvey, "The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," p. 23.

[35]Sawyer, The Way of the Storyteller, pp. 200-01.

[36]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 17 March 1977.

[37]Alvey's description of post-World War II story hours, designed to "bring [war orphans] through a troubled time," serves as a major example of pragmatically purposed story hours. ("The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," pp. 77-81.)

non-library-oriented public.[38]

At the same time, the storytelling events traditionally examined by folklorists usually function to entertain as well as instruct.[39] Ruth Finnegan's study of the Limba, for example, indicates that stories are for "laughter and sociability" as well as moralization: "to pick on the moral element alone and assert that it is the central and significant point of the stories would, in the case of the Limba tales, be a vastly over-simplified and distorted view."[40] Likewise, Mrs. Freeman's memories of her mother's storytelling and description of her own early storytelling experiences suggest that they functioned chiefly to entertain. Although her conviction that "storytelling is for entertainment" reflects opinions widely held by librarians, it may also be rooted in the nonacademic aspects of her storytelling history.

Like her opinions regarding the purposes of storytelling, Mrs. Freeman's criteria for a good story may be traced to the academic or nonacademic factors in

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[38]Shedlock, The Art of the Storyteller, pp. 130-31; and Alvey, "The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," pp. 79-80.

[39]In 1954, William Bascom proposed that folklore serves one or more of four functions: (1) the validation of culture, (2) education, (3) the maintenance of conformity to behavioral standards, and (4) amusement. William R. Bascom, "Four Functions of Folklore," Journal of American Folklore 67 (October-December 1954):333-49.

[40]Ruth Finnegan, Limba Stories and Storytelling (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 63.

her storytelling background. She believes the most important qualities of good stories for preschoolers to be brevity and action: "If it has too many words or too many characters or if it's sort of long and drawn out, I don't fool with it."[41] A good story, she feels, should have a few strong characters and action and should "[get] to the point of the story in a hurry."[42] She senses too that formula tales, particularly those containing phrases that can be repeated by the audience, and "animal stories" are popular with preschoolers.

Mrs. Freeman recognizes several narrative genres by which most of her repertory may be catagorized: (1) the classics, (2) folklore, (3) animal stories, and (4) holiday stories.[43] Classics are extremely

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[41]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 1 December 1976.

[42]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 17 March 1977.

[43]Conclusions about Mrs. Freeman's repertory are based upon discussion with Mrs. Freeman and examination of the thirty-five stories she told during the eighteen story hour sessions attended for this study. (Bibliographic information for the stories and the dates on which they were told are listed in Appendix 1.) Mrs. Freeman's frequent discussion of stories she has told in the past and stories she hopes to tell in the future confirms the assumption that her repertory includes more stories than the thirty-five examined for this study. Obtaining a comprehensive listing of Mrs. Freeman's repertory would probably be impossible. In addition to at least three stories she tells which came from outside sources, her active repertory could consist of any number of stories available in the Bowling Green Public Library, whose juvenile collection contains about 20,000 volumes. Her inactive repertory could plausibly include selections from her mother's repertory and any number of stories she learned from members of her storytelling class, who utilized mainly the university

well-known folktales and literary works, such as "Cinderella," "The Little Match-Girl," and "Robinson Crusoe." Only two of the stories Mrs. Freeman told during the eighteen sessions attended for this study were classics--"The Three Little Pigs" and _The Story of Little Black Sambo_. Unfamiliar adaptations of traditional narratives--such as _Two Greedy Bears_, a recent adaptation of a Hungarian animal tale, and _Mommy, Buy Me a China Doll_, a cumulative tale adapted from an Ozark song--are categorized by Mrs. Freeman as folklore or folktales. Animal stories are complex and simple tales in which the protagonists are animals or in which the action hinges on animal participation. Twenty of the thirty-five stories told during research for this study had animal protagonists and six included animals as important characters, possibly because Mrs. Freeman feels that animal stories are the most successful genre with her young audience. Tales which relate to major American and Christian holidays are classified as holiday stories. They include stories written specifically for holidays--such as _Gobble, Gobble, Gobble_ and _Mousekin's Christmas Eve_--and stories about traditional holiday symbols--such as _Miles and the Big Black Hat_, a story about a mischievous pilgrim, told at Thanksgiving, and _Too Many Rabbits_, told in honor of Easter.

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library, and from members of her summer bookmobile workshops, who utilized libraries all over the state.

It is interesting to note that although only five of the stories examined for this study are strictly traditional tales, acknowledged as such by their adapters, most of the remaining thirty share some of the characteristics of folk narrative. First, they can be categorized according to systems devised for the classification of folk narratives. Aarne's tale types, as clarified by Dégh in Folklore and Folklife, may be divided into complex--märchen, religious, and novella--and simple--animal, jokes, and formula--tales.[44] Most of Mrs. Freeman's repertory may be likewise divided and subdivided, producing a total of four complex and twenty-seven simple tales. Similarly, the stories in Mrs. Freeman's repertory contain a surprising number of traditional motifs, particularly those Stith Thompson classifies "Z," which include formula and cumulative tale motifs.[45] Finally, it should be added that most of Mrs. Freeman's stories conform to many of the "epic laws" of folk narrative described by Olrik: the Law of Opening, the Law of Closing, the Law of Repetition, the Law of Three, the Law of Two to a Scene, the Law of Contrast, the Law of Twins, the Importance of Initial

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[44]Linda Dégh, "Folk Narrative," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard M. Dorson, pp. 62-72; and Antii Aarne, The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography, trans. Stith Thompson (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia Academia, 1961).

[45]Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), pp. 540-58.

and Final Position, the Law of the Single Strand, the Law of Patterning, the Use of Tableaux Scenes, the Logic of the _Sage_, the Unity of Plot, and Concentration on a Leading Character.[46]

In spite of her claim that she tells stories to entertain and not to moralize, most of Mrs. Freeman's stories reflect a conservative Chirstian ethic. Unpromising but well-meaning protagonists who persist and triumph and selfish, disobedient, or cruel characters who are justly punished are common themes. The family is seen as a stable and healthy institution and parents are pictured as protective and forgiving. Twelve of the thirty-five stories examined for this study focus on interaction between parents and children, reinforcing the concepts that the security of home is more desirable than the dangers of the outside world and that seemingly restrictive parent-imposed rules ultimately benefit the child. Like many universally accepted folklore forms, Mrs. Freeman's stories argue for the maintenance of a conservative norm.

Although she may have acquired her aesthetic superorganically, as Olrik implies, Mrs. Freeman has also been exposed to several academic influences which may have affected her views. Mrs. Freeman's children's literature course, for example, provided her with

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[46]Axel Olrik, "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative," in _The Study of Folklore_, ed. Alan Dundes, pp. 129-41.

knowledge of materials and themes appropriate to various age levels. More important, both Shedlock's and Sawyer's manuals, which Mrs. Freeman read in conjunction with her storytelling class, contain extensive chapters on story selection.

Urging storytellers to utilize folk and Bible literature and poetry, Shedlock enumerates the qualities to seek in the search for good stories as

> (1) elements with which the child is already familiar in everyday life; (2) elements of the unusual . . . (3) elements which emphasize the "love of beauty" . . . (4) elements that illustrate common-sense and resourcefulness . . . (5) elements that create "wonder" for the child . . . (6) elements that cultivate the child's sense of humor; (7) elements of nonsense . . . (8) elements that illustrate and foster kinship with the animal kingdom . . . (9) elements of "dramatic excitement" . . . [and] (10) elements that deal with death.[47]

In contrast, psycholanalysis, sarcasm, satire, sentimentality, sensationalism, total unfamiliarity, fearsomeness, coarseness, "infant piety and death-bed scenes," and didacticism should be avoided.[48]

Unlike Shedlock, Sawyer does not list specific qualities to seek and shun in the search for good stories. Rather, she urges storytellers to select their tales from folk literature and good modern literary works, keeping in mind that stories whose forms resemble those of folktales are the easiest to tell.

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[47]Alvey, "The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," pp. 146-47.

[48]Shedlock, The Art of the Storyteller, pp. 57-59.

She maintains that intricate stories with too many characters and complicated plots are unpopular and ineffective with children. Moralization and elaborate adjective-laden description should also be avoided. Sawyer includes a bibliography of selected stories in her manual, but interestingly, only one selection, The Story of Little Black Sambo, is an evident part of Mrs. Freeman's repertory.

Alvey notes that the picture book models, which Mrs. Freeman does not *remember* having read, encourage the utilization of simple realistic stories with attractive illustrations. Repetitious passages which call for audience participation are suitable, but the realm of make-believe should be avoided in favor of realistic action. Finally, most picture book models encourage the favoring of fine illustrations over a good story.[49]

Most of Mrs. Freeman's stories conform to the rules listed by Shedlock, possibly because the improved quality and quantity of children's books since the turn of the century, when Shedlock wrote her manual, have decreased the need to utilize unsuitable but available materials. Mrs. Freeman's avoidance of stories with "too many words or too many characters" is in complete accordance with Sawyer's warning, and her stories often resemble folktales in form if not in actual plot.

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[49]Alvey, "The Historical Development of Organized Storytelling to Children in the United States," pp. 646-48.

She usually tells simple stories and takes advantage of repetitious passages to encourage participation. Her most glaring divergence from the preschool models is her consistent use of make-believe, a direction encouraged by both Shedlock and Sawyer.

Another possible influence upon Mrs. Freeman's penchant for the realm of make-believe is her mother.

> Mama could make a fairy tale just come to life . . . It was so real with her . . . Mama could tell things about fairies and lepruchans until I actually believed that they were there. I really did.[50]

All of the stories Mrs. Freeman remembers her mother telling were "classics"--well-known fairy tales, Andersen stories, and literary fantasies, Because Mrs. Freeman enjoyed her mother's stories, it is probably that her selection of stories is influenced by her memory of the qualities of her mother's tales.

In addition to teaching the children to "enjoy fantasy," a good storyteller, in Mrs. Freeman's opinion, should have the ability to arouse the listener's imagination, thus eliminating the need for pictures.

> . . . if you're a good storyteller, you can describe a bear or a mountainside or . . . a hen or a dog or anything. You can describe it and their imaginations can fill in the pictures.[51]

This ability may be cultivated through experience, but love of reading, of listening to others tell stories,

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[50]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 1 December 1976.

[51]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 17 March 1977.

and of people, and a good imagination are prerequisite to success.

> You have to enjoy the people, enjoy the reading, and enjoy listening, and . . . I think you have to have some imagination--a *lot* of imagination--yourself . . . I think you really have to ham it up.[52]

Summary

It has been the purpose of this chapter to describe the academic and nonacademic aspects of Mrs. Freeman's storytelling background and discuss their possible influences upon her views about storytelling and her art. As previously mentioned, Mrs. Freeman's nonacademic background includes experience as a listener to her mother's narration and experience as a storyteller with her own children and the children that visited the bookmobile. Possible academic influences include the ideas and opinions taught and voiced in library science courses on children's literature and on storytelling, and the views asserted by Marie Shedlock and Ruth Sawyer in their respective manuals, which Mrs. Freeman read in storytelling class.

Mrs. Freeman's views regarding the purposes of storytelling, the best method of telling stories, and the qualities of a good story may be traced to either her academic or her nonacademic background. Likewise, most of the stories in that portion of her repertory examined for this study reflect an aesthetic that may

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[52]Ibid.

have been acquired from her mother, Shedlock, Sawyer, or intuition. Although Mrs. Freeman senses that experience is the best teacher and that "some people have a natural knack for telling stories," it is equally possible that the academic influences she remembers only vaguely are the real source of her success.

Fortunately, the outcome of this study does not hinge on the determination of the predominant influence on Mrs. Freeman's views. What matters is that her views--academic or nonacademic--reflect a stance that storytelling is dramatic performance, the thesis upon which this study is based. Although its source is indeterminable, Mrs. Freeman's statement that "storytelling is for entertainment" indicates that she is willing to assume the performer role prerequisite to the establishment of what Bauman terms a "nonliteral" communicative frame--performance.[53] Likewise, her view that a good imagination, ability to express oneself without pictures, and willingness to "ham it up" are vital to storytelling success imply that she is willing to utilize dramatic devices to achieve performer status. Finally, the resemblance of many of the thematic components of her repertory to those of traditional folk narrative exhibit an inclination toward the conventionality and conservatism required to make performance recognizable. In short, Mrs. Freeman's views about storytelling, whether rooted in traditionalism

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[53] Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," p. 292.

or academe, suggest that she is capable of attempting to communicate her stories in a performance mode by utilizing conventional devices to establish herself as the performer. It is those conventional expressive devices which comprise the subject of the third and final chapter of this study.

CHAPTER III

THE PERFORMANCES

It is the purpose of this chapter to identify and examine the expressive devices repeatedly employed by Thelma Freeman to establish and maintain performer status in the story hour context. Although the bulk of this chapter consists of description of the devices themselves, other information is provided in order to elucidate methods utilized in isolating them from the narrative contexts in which they appear. First, the conceptualization of performance as a communicative frame is discussed to provide a theoretical foundation for the selection of devices. Next, the field and analytical methodologies utilized for this study are explained. Statement of methodologies employed is followed by description of the story hour context. Then, after brief discussion of the distancing processes and opening formulae that alert Mrs. Freeman's audience to the coming performance, three major categories of performance devices--familiarization, elaboration, and dramatization--are examined. The examination of performance devices is concluded with discussion of the methods by which Mrs. Freeman handles interruptions and the identification of the closing devices that signal the completion of her performances. A brief discussion

of the story hour audience and the extent to which they comprehend the performances follows the identification and examination of performance devices.

Performance as a Communicative Frame

Recent folkloristic explorations of performance have often been based on a conceptualization of performance as one kind of communicative "frame." Since the expressive devices described in this chapter were identified according to their classification as uncommon or stylized signals of a frame that contrasts with the literal frame utilized in everyday interaction, some attention is devoted to the concept of "frames." The term "frame" was conceived by Gregory Bateson in the early 1950s to label those sets of messages which define the nature of a communicative event. Specifically, Bateson was interested in the metacommunicative behaviors that enable animals--puppies, for instance--to recognize that actions which seem to signify a known situation--such as biting denoting battle--signify, in actuality, something else--play. Bateson concluded that there are three types of messages: (1) those which denote mood-signs, (2) those which only _seem_ to denote mood-signs (such as a nip on the ear which signifies play rather than battle), and (3) those which enable the perceiver to distinguish between (1) and (2). The sets of messages which enable perceivers to recognize mood-signs, _seeming_ mood-signs, and the communicative situations they denote

are termed "frames."[1]

In "Verbal Art as Performance," Richard Bauman utilizes Bateson's theories to describe performance, defining frames as interpretive contexts providing guidelines for discriminating between orders of messages. Like literalism, translation, and quotation, performance is an interpretive frame. Unlike literalism, translation, and quotation, performance may be regarded with special intensity because it is made up of uncommon, nonliteral devices which call attention to themselves and the performance.[2]

In keeping with Bauman's statement that the performance frame contrasts with the literal frame, it has been assumed, in this study, that the devices which make performance recognizable are of a noncasual, artistic nature. The term "noncasual," as defined by Voegelin, is employed to qualify those utterances which contrast with the casual everyday mode of speaking utilized in the literal frame.[3] In this study, the term "art" is employed to label that which is "[elaborated] beyond the point of utility," "utility" being associated

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[1]Gregory Bateson, "A Theory of Play and Fantasy," in Steps to an Ecology of Mind (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 177-93.

[2]Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," pp. 292-93.

[3]For further discussion on casual and noncasual speech, see C. F. Voegelin, "Casual and Noncasual Utterances Within Unified Structure," in Style in Language, ed. Thomas Sebeok (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960), pp. 57-68.

with the literal.[4] Accordingly, many of the expressive devices described in this chapter were isolated as a result of their obvious classification as "noncasual" or "artistic" in comparison with Mrs. Thompson's everyday speech patterns. Likewise, most of the kinesic and proxemic devices described in this chapter are noticeable to the untrained eye because they contrast rather obviously with casual everyday kinesic and proxemic patterns.

As Bascom notes,

> In verbal art it is only necessary to compare myths, folktales, proverbs, and riddles with the direct statements of ordinary speech to see a similar concern with the form of expression, over and above the needs of communication.[5]

Expression, "over and above the needs of communication," may include (1) form of statement, (2) choice of vocabulary and idiom, (3) use of obsolete words, (4) imagery or metaphor, (5) repetitions, (6) formalized openings and closings, (7) incorporation of cultural details, (8) conventionalized greetings, and (9) stylistic features absent in ordinary conversation [emphasis mine].[6]

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[4]William R. Bascom, "Verbal Art," Journal of American Folklore 68 (July-September 1955):245-52.

[5]Ibid., p. 247.

[6]Ibid., p. 247. Bauman enumerates a similar set of "communicative means . . .serving to key performance" in "Verbal Art as Performance": (1) special codes, (2) special formulae that signify performance, (3) figurative language, (4) formal stylistic devices, (5) special prosodic patterns of tempo, stress, pitch, (6) special paralinguistic patterns of voice quality and vocalization, (7) appeal to tradition, and (8) disclaimer of performance (p. 295).

Since fieldwork for this study was conducted with the devices enumerated above in mind, the devices most easily identified in Mrs. Freeman's performances were those which resembled those described by Bascom, Bauman, and other folk narrative scholars. Description of exact fieldwork and analytical methods follows.

Methodology

Field research for this study consisted of the observation, over a ten month period, of nineteen storytelling sessions and the tape recording of fourteen of those nineteen sessions.[7] Sessions were taped on a portable cassette recorder because it was the most unobtrusive and inconspicuous means of intruding on a self-conscious performer and an audience of curious, easily distracted preschoolers. As a result, most of the attention-getting devices described in this chapter are verbal--that is, those that can be documented inconspicuously.[8] Recordings of the sessions were then transcribed and compared to

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[7]Cassette tapes recorded for this study and their transcriptions are deposited in the Western Kentucky University Folklore, Folklife, and Oral History Archive, Bowling Green, Kentucky and are available for listening at the archivist's discretion. See Appendices 2 and 3 for sample transcriptions of a performance and the printed text.

[8]The verbal nature of most of the expressive devices examined in this chapter is due to several factors, among them the author's lack of training in minute paralinguistic and kinesic analytical methodologies and the necessity of delimiting the parameters of this study. Ultimately, however, the informant's wishes (and fears) determined the reliance upon a cassette recorder and observation as the major means of documentation of the story hour sessions.

the printed texts upon which the narrations were based in order to isolate some of the devices repeatedly utilized to establish and maintain performer status in the story hour context.

The Story Hour Context

Story hours are conducted in a small meeting room adjacent to the juvenile book area in the Bowling Green Public Library. Because the room is also used for adult functions, it is not decorated with the posters and toys that complement the juvenile book area. The walls, in fact, are totally bare. Furnishings usually include five to twenty plain chairs, which are arranged around the wall, one or two low stools, and a puppet theater, which Mrs. Freeman rarely uses. Traces of meetings held the night before story hour, such as chalkboards, tables, and extra chairs, are sometimes among the room's furnishings.[9]

The group which comprises Mrs. Freeman's audience consists of five to twenty three-, four-, and five-year-old children and one to four of their mothers. Although she senses that state library officials interpret her small audiences as an indication of failure, Mrs.

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[9]It should be mentioned here that the plainness of the story hour room is not Mrs. Freeman's doing. As stated above, the room is used for meetings as well as story hours, and library officials have consequently requested that Mrs. Freeman leave it undecorated. Although Mrs. Freeman is not pleased with the sterility of the room, it is to her credit that she can capture her audiences' attentions in so uninspiring an environment.

Freeman enjoys performing for a small group in which she can "eyeball" each child, hopefully creating a sense of security and belonging. Likewise, she knows that some librarians bar mothers from their story hours. She allows them--often urges them--to listen and participate, possibly because several mothers have expressed positive opinions about her storytelling. The five to twenty children in attendence generally come from a core of about thirty children who attend one or the other of the week's two sessions fairly regularly. New children join the group and older ones drop out occasionally, maintaining a balance that results in attendance of about twelve children to each session.

Story hours usually consist of one to three stories, one to three stretching games or songs, one or two narrated filmstrips, and conversation. Conversations include discussions about subjects related to the stories (usually instigated by Mrs. Freeman), discussions about topics unrelated to the stories (usually sparked by statements made by children), and discussions between Mrs. Freeman and the mothers about the stories and the filmstrips. Usually, Mrs. Freeman greets the children, tells a story, leads the children in a game, tells another story, and shows a filmstrip. If the children are particularly attentive, she tells both stories before the game; if they are especially rambunctious, she often prolongs the game period in hopes of tiring

them to a receptive state. Although the story hour is flexible with respect to order, additions, and substitutions, it is structured during the actual story performances. Mrs. Freeman will allow a child to tell a story or lead a game after, but not during, the story; the child who interrupts with unrelated discussion or the wish to relate a personal experience is politely silenced until the story's completion.

The story hour program begins when Mrs. Freeman addresses the children as a group, inviting them into the story hour room or, if they have filtered into the room by themselves, joining them there and welcoming them to the program. Sometimes Mrs. Freeman leads the children in a circle game or dance before settling down for the stories. When she is ready to tell a story, she asks the children to sit down on the floor and she sits down on the low stool from which she conducts most of the story hour program.

Distancing

In recent studies the term "distancing" has been employed to label the process of demarcation between performer and audience that initiates the negotiation of the performance frame.[10] Like many performers, Mrs.

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[10]For a more detailed discussion of distancing, see Burt Feintuch, "Negotiating the Performance Frame: A Musical Example," Paper presented at the 1976 Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Philadelphia, Pa., 14 November 1976.

Freeman endeavors to separate herself from her audience at the outset of the performance. When she is ready to tell a story, she asks the children to arrange themselves on the floor around a stool upon which she sits to tell the stories and hold the book which contains the pictures.

> Now we're going to read a story called Loudmouse. . . . Now before we start this--before we start the story, I want to tell you now to go back and you sit on the floor and I'll hold the book up so you can see it . . . sit up close enough so that you can see the pictures and I'll sit in the chair.[11]

Generally, however, physical distancing is only partially successful in the story hour context, possibly because of the ages of the listeners. The imaginary line that normally separates a performer from adult audiences is often lacking in the preschool story hour context. Children, unlike adults, often interact within the limits of the "far phase of intimate distance"--six to eighteen inches apart.[12] Accordingly, Mrs. Freeman's young audience is unwilling to maintain the distance from her that Western audiences maintain from performers.

Likewise, the story hour listeners refuse to comply with the Western audience formation patterns described by Scheflen.

> In America, at least, spectators tend to station themselves in rows or circles facing the focus of activity . . . rows for a formal affair and

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[11]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, Bowling Green Public Library, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1 February 1977. Hereafter, all references to story hours will include only dates.

[12]Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966), p. 111.

in circles or semicircles for an informal one.[13] Although Mrs. Freeman usually arranges her audience into a circular formation at the outset of the story, it is unusual for the children to maintain the pattern throughout the session. Often, when the children are enjoying the story, they tend to move inward as it progresses until they are in a heap at Mrs. Freeman's feet by its end. In fact, it is not unusual for a child to crawl into her lap during the story, an action which she often condones.

The most obviously effective physical distancing device--Mrs. Freeman's positioning on a stool above the children who sit on the floor--doubles as a psychological distancing mechanism as well. She sits in a position above her audience, holds the book that contains the pictures, and knows the story, three advantages not available to the children. Although they may play with the stool before the story hour begins, they are prohibited from sitting on it during the story.[14]

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[13] Albert E. Scheflen, How Behavior Means (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966), p. 56.

[14] The following dialogue, which took place in the presence of the children between Mrs. Freeman and a visiting day-care teacher, demonstrates at least one adult's recognition of the stool as a distancing mechanism. When Mrs. Freeman entered the story hour room, Mrs. Wilson was sitting on the stool.

MRS. F.: I'm going to get me another stool. [LAUGHS]
MRS. W.: Oh listen--no. No, you go ahead. [MAKES A MOVE TO GET OFF THE STOOL]
MRS. F.: No, I'll get another one. [LEAVES]
MRS. W.: I don't have to. [SPOKEN TO THE OTHER TWO

Likewise, they are not allowed to play with the books, even while Mrs. Freeman tells another story, and they are silenced if they try to interject personal narration into the story.

In summary, the physical separation Mrs. Freeman attempts to establish between herself and her audience may serve to signal the coming performance. But because the resulting demarcation is shortlived, it does not function as a performance-maintainance device. More significant to the distancing process are the psychological separation factors, of which Mrs. Freeman may be unaware, established by her position on a stool above the audience and the control over text and illustration that holding the book affords.

Opening Formulae

Often distancing is shortlived because it promises but does not deliver performance. Mrs. Freeman sometimes seats the children, in preparation for a story, then proceeds to lead a discussion about the ages of the children or the theme of the story before actually telling it. For example, on 25 January 1977, she decided to tell Snowman's Secret in honor of recent cold weather, and, after sitting down with the children,

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ADULTS IN THE ROOM] "I just--ah--[LAUGHS]--saw it and used it.
MRS. F.: [RETURNING] How about that? We both have a stool.
MRS. W.: I'll move. You probably want to . . . [MOVES TO EDGE OF ROOM WITH STOOL]

initiated a conversation about snowmen and Eskimos that lasted almost as long as the ensuing story.

At such times, it is the opening formulae that mark the start of the performance. For the purpose of this study, the term "opening formulae" will be employed to label those brief conventionalized statements that announce a coming performance. The Bahamian term "Bunday" and the Limba statement "A story for you" are examples of opening formulae.[15] Mrs. Freeman's opening formulae usually consist of the words "This is a story about . . . ," followed by the subject of the story or the main character's name. Although none of the printed texts begin with the words "This is a story about . . . ," Mrs. Freeman always uses them. The opening text of Mrs. Mopple's Washing Line, for instance, is "Mrs. Mopple was a farmer's wife and on Monday morning she did her washing."[16] Mrs.

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[15]Daniel J. Crowley, I Could Talk Old-Story Good: Creativity in Bahamian Folklore (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 32-35; and Finnegan, Limba Stories and Story-telling, p. 64. In "From Reality to Fantasy: Opening-Closing Formulas in the Structures of American Tall Tales" (Southern Folklore Quarterly 36 [December 1972]:369-82), Russell Reaver defines opening-closing "formulas" as all narrative material preceding and following the actual tale that serves to introduce or conclude the tale. By this thinking, Mrs. Freeman's monologue on the meaning of "greedy" (delivered before the performance of Two Greedy Bears on 4 January 1977) would qualify as an "opening formula." However, since the "greedy" monologue and others like it are delivered in the literal, rather than the performance frame, they are therefore excluded from the "formula" category--one which includes brief, repeated, stylized devices.

[16]Anita Hewett, Mrs. Mopple's Washing Line (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1966).

Freeman's opening statements are considerably lengthier:

> Okay, this is the story about Mrs. Mopple. This is the story of her washing day and what happened when she washed her clothes. Let me show you the picture. This is Mrs. Mopple. And now she's doing her wash in an old-fashioned tub, the way our mothers and our grandmothers did it. MRS. MOPPLE WAS THE FARMER'S WIFE AND ON MONDAY MORNING SHE DID HER WASH.[17]

The opening formula is "this is the story about Mrs. Mopple"; examples of similar formulae include ". . . let's sit back down and we'll tell a story about an old mooley cow," "I'm going to read a story about a little baby bunny," and ". . . we're going to have a story about a little groundhog named Gertie."[18]

In addition to verbally announcing her intention to tell a story, Mrs. Freeman asserts her plans kinesically, by opening the book. Although Mrs. Freeman may be unconscious of its importance, this gesture is a major signal to the children that the story is forthcoming. Often, as with Mrs. Mopple's Washing Line, Mrs. Freeman incorporates description of the picture into her opening speech, taking advantage of a busy illustration to embellish the text with some of the devices that characterize her performances. In short, opening formulae, coupled with the opening of the book, announce that the

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[17]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 31 August 1976. In all quotations of storytelling, the words which agree with the printed text upon which the story was based are capitalized.

[18]Mrs. Freeman used the term "mooley," rather than "muley," because the storybook's title was Mrs. Mooley.

performance is beginning.

Familiarization Devices

In his description of professional Chinese story-tellers, Eberhard notes that although the narrators use printed historical novels as prompt books, they alter the style of the texts to suit their working class audiences. Usage of colloquialisms, familiar curses, and local dialect, abbreviation of names, and simplification of complex words and sentence structures are among the changes made by Chinese storytellers to familiarize formal novel texts.[19] Mrs. Freeman employs a similar set of familiarization devices to make her performances comprehensible to her preschool audience. Like the other expressive devices that characterize her storytelling performances, the familiarization devices contrast noticeably with Mrs. Freeman's everyday speaking patterns. Familiarization devices are used for the benefit of the children; accordingly, they include baby talk, localization, explanation of words and concepts, and simplification of language.

In Pre-School Story Hour, Vardine Moore instructs storytellers to speak softly and slowly, avoiding "baby-talk and 'talking down.'" Shedlock similarly warns against talking down, simply because the audience is

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[19]Eberhard, "Notes on Chinese Storytellers."

comprised of children.[20] Mrs. Freeman, in contrast, stresses the necessity of "talking down" to an audience of children

> I think some of the stories are good but the words are so big that they don't know the meaning . . . if they haven't heard it and there's a simple word that you can replace in the story to make it easier, I think it's all right to do it . . . if there is a simple everyday word, I think the children enjoy the story more.[21]

For Mrs. Freeman, "simple everyday" words are often what sociolinguists term "baby talk":

> . . . any special form of a language which is regarded by a speech community as being primarily appropriate for talking to young children and which is generally regarded as not the normal adult use of language.[22]

Baby talk may include simplification of phonological and grammatical constructions which adults deem too difficult for children and usage of a set of "baby" words relating to kin names, body parts and functions, basic qualities, and animals. Although she may be unaware of its sociolinguistic classification, Mrs. Freeman employs some baby talk vocabulary during her storytelling performances. Special kin names, such as "Daddy" and "Mama"; animal names, such as "puppy-dog" and "kitty-cat"; and the basic quality terms "little," "big," and "pretty" constitute Mrs. Freeman's baby talk

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[20] Moore, Pre-School Story Hour, p. 54; and Shedlock, The Art of the Storyteller, pp. 21-22.

[21] Interview with Thelma Freeman, 17 March 1977.

[22] Charles A. Ferguson, "Baby Talk in Six Languages," in The Ethnography of Communication, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, American Anthropologist Special Publication 66:6 (1964):103.

vocabulary.

Because Mrs. Freeman employs the word "little" more than other baby talk words--and possibly more than any other modifiers she uses--it deserves special attention. Although her reasons for using "little" so frequently are uncertain, it is possible that they relate to a belief that children can deal more easily with small things. For Mrs. Freeman, the main character of the story is almost always a "little" boy, girl, dog, or bird; even proper names are often preceded by "little." Likewise, the body of her narration is marked by "little":

> It was the little dog collar. The little blue collar that the dog had lost. And they had built the snowman on top of it. RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF WHERE THE snowman HAD been WAS the little BRIGHT BLUE COLLAR.[23]

Often Mrs. Freeman uses "little" to modify words that are small by definition, such as "little baby turkey" and "little tiny crumbs," and occasionally, she describes "little" large objects, such as "little grown turkey" and "little [bear's] den," as well. In her performance of Mousekin's Christmas Eve, the text of which contains two instances of the word "little," Mrs. Freeman utilized the adjective "little" twenty-three times to modify fourteen proper and common nouns.

Like Eberhard's Chinese narrators and Basgöz's professional Turkish storytellers, Mrs. Freeman localizes the printed texts she narrates for the benefit of an

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[23]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 25 January 1977.

unworldly audience.[24] Mrs. Freeman's localization devices consist of alteration of standard English lexical and grammatical constructions to local dialect. For example, the printed text of Gertie Groundhog's first confrontation with Old Grampa Groundhog, which includes no dialogue, is localized in Mrs. Freeman's narration.

> . . . he had a big gruff voice. When Grampa came in he'd say, "Gertie! What are you shaking for? What's the matter with you, girl?" And Gertie would just shake that much more and she'd say, "I--I'm afraid, Grampa. There's something outside that hole and it might get me."[25]

Similarly, Mrs. Freeman adjusted the nineteenth century British prose in The Story of Little Black Sambo to accomodate her twentieth century American audience, substituting "red" for "crimson" and "pretty soon" for "presently" and changing Bannerman's "a huge big plate of the most lovely pancakes" to "stacks and stacks of good pancakes."[26] When she first heard herself on tape, Mrs. Freeman was distressed that she sounded "so country," particularly with respect to pronunciation, but adamant that the children's enjoyment of the stories hinges on their feeling "at home," a condition which necessitates the use of familiar speech patterns.

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[24]Eberhard, "Notes on Chinese Storytellers," p. 9; and Basgōz, "The Tale-Singer and His Audience," p. 149.

[25]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 15 February 1977. "Shaking" was pronounced "shakin'," "just" as "jist," "something" as "somethin'," and "get" as "git."

[26]Helen Bannerman, The Story of Little Black Sambo (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1946); and Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 15 March 1977.

A third familiarization device which characterizes Mrs. Freeman's storytelling performances consists of explanation of unfamiliar words and concepts. For example, when she sensed that the word "burrow," which appears frequently in the text of Gertie Groundhog, was not in the average preschool vocabulary, she decided to substitute the word "tunnel."

> The little hole that Gertie's in is her little home. And it's not called her home. It's called a burrow. She goes down under the ground--straight down--to get to her little home. I'll tell you what. We'll just call it a tunnel instead of a burrow or instead of a hole. I think we understand what a tunnel means. Don't you understand that better?[27]

In Mrs. Mooley, the protagonist appears to jump over the moon as it sinks behind the western horizon at dawn. Mrs. Freeman evidently felt that such optical illusions are incomprehensible to young children.

> Now, can you understand and see when the moon's way up in the sky like that, the cow couldn't jump over it. But when it hid there--went down and got below the fence--she gave a big jump and it did look like she was jumping over the moon, didn't it?[28]

A similar example is provided by Mrs. Freeman's explanation of the ending to The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt and Almost Became a Superslob, in which the hero, who has supposedly journeyed to Superslob Land, wakes up in his own bathtub.

The last type of familiarization devices are Mrs. Freeman's alteration of lexical and grammatical constructions

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[27]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 15 February 1977.

[28]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 4 January 1977.

in the printed text to agree with her conception of the preschooler's level of comprehension. Such devices are not baby talk but merely simplifications of language. Examples include such substitutions as "holding his breath" for "kept breathlessly still" and "the little manger with Baby Jesus" for "the crêche." Often, complicated grammatical constructions that can be read silently with relative ease present problems when recited. Accordingly, Mrs. Freeman simplified Judith Vigna's "Liking dirt, especially at bathtime, he dreamed of joining the Superslobs who, he'd heard, lived happily in the mud," to ". . . got in that nice warm bathtub and he begin to dream . . . he just lay down in that nice warm bath and he begin to dream."[29]

In summary, familiarization devices include baby talk, particularly use of the word "little," localization, explanation, and simplification. Mrs. Freeman employs them regularly to familiarize her audience with sometimes complex texts, thereby maintaining the performer status that would be lost in mere recital of the printed text. Like many folk narrators who obtain story material from newspapers, storybooks, and other printed sources, Mrs. Freeman utilizes familiarization devices to adapt printed material into the oral mode. Because they

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[29] Judith Vigna, The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt and Almost Became a Superslob (Chicago: Albert Whitman and Company, 1975); and Story hour by Thelma Freeman 8 March 1977.

appear more frequently in Mrs. Freeman's storytelling performances than in her everyday conversation, familiarization techniques are among the devices that make performance recognizable.

Elaboration Devices

A second category of expressive devices employed by Mrs. Freeman to establish and maintain performer status in the story hour context are those by which she elaborates the printed text. In her own words,

> I add things. I add--ah--a few more words and maybe I'll talk about a character or I'll ask the children questions. I'll ask them what they would do in a certain situation, and I try to make it last a little longer . . . I do a lot of ad libbing in my stories.[30]

The "few more words" that Mrs. Freeman adds to the printed text may be divided into three categories: double adjectival modifiers, characterization, and description.

Double adjectival modifiers are strings of two or more adjectives used to describe characters, places, and objects. Mrs. Freeman employs them frequently, if unconsciously. Generally, the word "little," "big," or "old" is one of the two or more modifiers in Mrs. Freeman's adjective phrases. In addition, although she occasionally adds a second adjective to nouns already modified in the printed text, she usually employs double modifiers to describe nouns not modified

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[30]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 17 March 1977.

in the text. For example, the text of Snowman's Secret describes the transformations of a melting snowman into several objects, one of which is a rabbit: "Drip by drip, the reindeer turned into a rabbit huddled in the snow."[31] Mrs. Freeman's description of the rabbit includes several adjectives: "DRIP BY DRIP, THE REINDEER TURNED INTO A RABBIT HUDDLED IN THE SNOW. See? He looks like a big rabbit. A big white Easter rabbit."[32] Similarly, "that pig," in A Fly Went By, became "that big old fat ugly pig" in Mrs. Freeman's telling; and "weeds," in The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt and Almost Became a Superslob, was converted to "little old bitty pieces of green grass."[33] Although the printed texts of the stories in Mrs. Freeman's repertory sometimes contain double modifiers, Mrs. Freeman usually employs the technique in conjunction with extratextual description and characterization.

When she feels that a character deserves more attention than it is given in the printed text, Mrs. Freeman augments the printed characterization with extra description and dialogue. Like Eberhard's Chinese narrators, who add and detract traits to the characterizations of

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[31]Robert Barry, Snowman's Secret (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1975).

[32]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 15 January 1977.

[33]Mike McClintock, A Fly Went By (New York: Beginner Books, Inc., 1958); Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 22 February 1977; Vigna, The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt; and Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 8 March 1977.

heroes and villains in their printed prompt books, Mrs. Freeman often elaborates characterizations to enrich her performances.[34] For example, the text of _Mrs. Mooley_ reflects no pity for the protagonist, a cow who wants to jump over the moon: "They all laughed at Mrs. Mooley until it was bedtime."[35] Mrs. Freeman's narration, in contrast, evokes pity and admiration for the heroine.

> THEY ALL LAUGHED AT poor Mizriz MOOLEY till BEDTIME. And Mizriz Mooley was so ashamed, she just went out and laid her head down and looked sad cause everybody was making fun of her. And she knew that there was some way to jump over the moon because she saw it in the [nursery rhyme] book. And she knew that a verse was written that a cow jumped over the moon. And she made up her mind then and there that in spite of all the laughter, she was going to jump over that moon.[36]

Similarly, the text of _The Day It Rained Watermelons_ blandly describes Farmer O'Dell's hurry to get to market; Mrs. Freeman's performance, in contrast, magnifies, through dialogue, the undesirable characteristics of a man too hurried to listen to the calls of passersby that his cargo is bouncing out of the wagon.

> "They probably want me to give them a watermelon," he thought. "But I am very, very late, and I don't have time to stop."
>
> "That's just like kids. Jumping around and yelling at me. I know what they want. THEY WANT ME TO GIVE THEM A WATERMELON. Well, I'm just too busy today. I'm in a hurry to get to market. Giddyup!

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[34]Eberhard, "Notes on Chinese Storytellers," p. 9.

[35]Jack Kent, _Mrs. Mooley_ (New York: Golden Press, 1973).

[36]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 4 January 1977.

> Giddyup! Let's go! Hurry! Hurry! I don't have time to fool with kids today.[37]

Characterization is almost completely extratextual. Although Mrs. Freeman performed Two Greedy Bears for the first time on 4 January 1977 and therefore read most of the printed text, she added description of the fox to emphasize its slyness. According to the text, the two protagonists are arguing about the division of a cheese when a fox appears. Mrs. Freeman elaborates:

> And finally, a sly old fox poked his head out of the bushes, and he looked at the cheese and his tongue was drooling. "WHAT ARE YOU ARGUING ABOUT?" the SLY old fox ASKED THE little BEARS.[38]

Similarly, Mrs. Freeman almost always portrays mothers as nagging scolding tyrants, whether or not the text does the same. In The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt and Almost Became a Superslob, Jonathan James's mother appears only in the last illustration and is scarcely mentioned in the text. Mrs. Freeman, however, portrayed her in a negative light.

> Jonathan James, you are as nasty as a pig. Now you get in that bathtub right now and take a nice warm bath. And don't you dare run that mud all over my walls and put your greasy dirty hands on my bathtub and my fixtures and my walls. You're just so nasty.[39]

Like some characters, places and events sometimes deserve more description, in Mrs. Freeman's opinion,

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[37]Mabel Watts, The Day It Rained Watermelons (New York: Lantern Press, Inc., 1964); and Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 1 March 1977.

[38]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 4 January 1977.

[39]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 8 March 1977.

than the printed text supplies. When she deems a scene interesting or funny, Mrs. Freeman augments the printed text with extra description. Although the content of her description is sometimes based on illustrations, selection of words and style of delivery are her own. The text of *Jake*, for example, consists only of dialogue in poetry. When Jake carries a lump of butter on his head on a summer day, the text is comprised of Jake's monologue:

> Butter!
> How shall I take it?
> What did Ma say?
> Oh yes. Like this.
> I'll do it this way.
> Look, Ma. Look.
> I did just as you said.
> I put the butter on my head.[40]

Mrs. Freeman's rendition, in contrast, includes description of the action.

> The sun came out bright and shiney. And Jake started home with the butter. And guess what the sun did? It melted--it was so hot . . . butter was running down his ears, it was running down his eyes and all over his shirt.

Likewise, Superslob Land is described only briefly in *The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt and Almost Became a Superslob*:

> . . . in deep dark tunnels, wearing mud instead of clothes, the Superslobs lived. They never washed and never brushed and never bathed--and smelled. And they ate dirt mostly.[42]

Mrs. Freeman's description is considerably longer:

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[40]Tamara Kitt, *Jake* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1969).

[41]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 25 January 1977.

[42]Vigna, *The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt*.

> It was a dark dirty old cave. And all of the other Superslobs looked just like little old pieces of mud that somebody threw together. They had a little old nose, a little old hand, and a [sic] arm. They were just big globs of mud. And when they saw Jonathan James come in, they begin to jump up and down and yell, "Oh goody! We have another Superslob to play with." And they played with worms. They pulled old fishing worms up out of the ground. And they marked all over the walls. And they threw mud pies at each other. And do you know, they even played baseball with little dirty sticks and rotten eggs. And you can see the eggshells all over the floor. And when they got ready to eat, they had mud pies. And they ate worms. And they ate little pieces of rocks. And they had more fun. And when they had their mud pies, they just dipped their hands in and went [MAKES SLURPING NOISE TWICE]. They slurped everything. They didn't have any manners at all. And they would never brush their teeth. They never took a bath.[43]

Although the book provides her with a printed narrative, Mrs. Freeman elaborates the text of the story, describing characters, places, and events to a greater degree than does the book's text. Elaboration devices include additions as brief as two-word modifiers and as lengthy as the description of Superslob Land cited above. Short or long, however, the elaborations function as performance establishing and maintaining devices because they are unique to the storytelling context and indicative of Mrs. Freeman's achievement of the performer role.

Dramatization Devices

Probably the performance devices that are most recognizable to folklorists--and possibly to the children

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[43]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 8 March 1977.

as well--are those that serve to dramatize the story, through exaggeration, repetition, or paralinguistic emphasis. They include exaggeration, exclamation, repetition and parallel phrasing, and use of paralinguistic expressions and emphasis. Mrs. Freeman feels that storytellers who "ham it up," thus putting "action" into the story, can capture the attention of any audience. The devices described in this section are the means by which Mrs. Freeman "[hams] it up," thereby contributing to the establishment of the performance frame in the story hour context.

Much of Mrs. Freeman's exaggeration hinges on her use of the modifier "so." Although she occasionally follows a condition modified by "so" with an event--". . . the old billy goat laughed so hard his teeth almost fell out"--Mrs. Freeman usually uses "so" in incomplete sentences. Thus when Tom Turkey, the unpromising protagonist of _Gobble, Gobble, Gobble_, is unable to gobble, he is described as "so embarrassed and so ashamed."[44] Although it is not always grammatically correct, Mrs. Freeman's use of "so" serves to intensify the word she wishes to exaggerate. She often utilizes the word "just" in a similar manner (e.g., "You'll just melt all to pieces," and "He just cried and cried"). Although "just" is grammatically interchangeable with "simply," it serves the same

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[44]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 23 November 1977.

intensifying purpose as "so" when used by Mrs. Freeman. Other exaggerations include superlatives, such as "Isn't he the biggest thing you ever looked at?" and absurdities, such as "down, down, down forever."

Exclamations are conventionalized statements used to indicate surprise, disgust, or other emotional responses. "Oh" and "oh my goodness" are Mrs. Freeman's favorite storytelling exclamations. Whereas the text of The Story of Little Black Sambo describes the newly clothed protagonist and asks, "And then wasn't Little Black Sambo grand?," Mrs. Freeman exclaimed, "And oh my goodness, he felt so dressed up."[45] In a similar vein, she uses the phrases "about that time," and "all of a sudden" to emphasize the abruptness of changes in the stories' action.

Although she recognizes that the children enjoy repetition, Mrs. Freeman probably does not realize how frequently she repeats herself in her storytelling performances. She employs three types of repetition: (1) repetition of words within sentences, (2) repetition of grammatical constructions within sentences, and (3) repetition of passages throughout the story. When she wants to emphasize a concept, Mrs. Freeman repeats key adjectives and verbs. Sometimes she merely repeats again a word or phrase which is already repeated in the printed

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[45]Bannerman, The Story of Little Black Sambo; and Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 15 March 1977.

text. The text of Two Greedy Bears, for example, includes the repetition "They cried and cried"; Mrs. Freeman altered this phrase to "THEY CRIED and they CRIED and they cried."[46] More often, Mrs. Freeman repeats words and phrases that are not part of the original text. In her performance of Are You My Mother?, Mrs. Freeman did not use a book and interestingly, resorted to repetition in several instances, one of which entailed double repetition of two complete sentences: "Wait for me, Mama. Wait for me, Mama. Here I am. Here I am."[47]

The second form of repetition, which Ruth Finnegan terms "parallel phrasing," involves use and reuse of one grammatical form within a sentence.[48] Interestingly, Mrs. Freeman usually alters obvious parallel phrasing in the printed text but utilizes it, if unconsciously, in her own extratextual additions. Her description of the greedy bears' battle is grammatically repetitious: "They picked each other's chins, they poked each other's noses, and they pulled each other's fur."[49] Likewise, she describes Sambo's plight in repetitious terms: "His trousers were gone, his jacket was gone, and

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[46]Mirra Ginsburg, Two Greedy Bears (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1976); and Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 4 January 1977.

[47]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 8 February 1977.

[48]Finnegan, Limba Stories and Storytelling, p. 78.

[49]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 4 January 1977.

his pretty umbrella was gone."[50]

A third type of repetition is that which involves the repeated use of a passage or word throughout the story. Stith Thompson labels these "conventional passages of set form" "runs" and assigns them motif number Z30.[51] Approximately one-third of the stories examined for this study contain runs, but again, Mrs. Freeman often ignores them in favor of her own renditions. Snowman's Secret, for example, included five occurences of the sentence "But that was not the secret"; Mrs. Freeman utilizes the run but alters it to "But that still wasn't the secret," emphasizing the word "still" and shaking her head as she repeats it.[52] Likewise, Mrs. Mopple's Washing Line contains four extensively repeated phrases which Mrs. Freeman does not fully utilize. Instead, she adds " It just stood there," replacing the text's more cumbersome "[It] sat down in the middle of the barnyard."[53] Whether she utilizes the text's or her own runs, Mrs. Freeman recognizes that repetition is an effective attention-getting device. One of her favorite stories is Jake, an adaptation of a traditional formula tale that centers on a clever run.

. . . the mother goes through the same routine--

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[50]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 15 March 1977.

[51]Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, p. 540.

[52]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 25 January 1977.

[53]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 31 August 1976.

"Jake, Jake, for goodness sake"--and they love that. They like to say it with me.[54]

Of all the dramatization devices Mrs. Freeman employs, those which involve paralinguistic emphasis are probably the most obvious to the casual listener. They include vocal segregates, vocal characterizers, and altered voice qualifiers that differ from those utilized in everyday speech.[55] Although they are described here as one category of dramatization devices, Mrs. Freeman also uses them in conjunction with familiarization, elaboration, and other dramatization devices because paralanguage pervades all aspects of language. It is possible, therefore, that the paralinguistic dramatization devices, particularly those relating to voice qualifiers, are key performance signals in the story hour context.

Vocal segregates are sounds made with vocal apparatus that don't fit the standard phonological frame of a given language. "Mm," "ssh," coughs, and imitations of animals are examples of vocal segregates in the English language. The majority of the vocal segregates utilized by Mrs. Freeman are animal imitations. Because she believes that young children enjoy hearing and producing animal

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[54]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 1 December 1976.

[55]The terms "vocal segregates," "vocal characterizers," and "voice qualifiers" are taken from George L. Trager, "Paralanguage: A First Approximation," Studies in Linguistics 13 (Spring 1958):1-12. They are defined in the text.

imitations, Mrs. Freeman takes advantage of every available opportunity to incorporate animal sounds into her narration. Of the twenty animal-related stories examined for this study, six provided Mrs. Freeman with the opportunity to imitate their nonhuman characters. Examples of other vocal segregates employed in the performances examined for this study are the "ssh's" employed repeatedly in Loudmouse, the sniffs employed in Are You My Mother? and Gertie Groundhog, the snores employed in The Day It Rained Watermelons, and the slurping sound employed to describe the Superslobs' eating habits.

Vocal characterizers are the paralinguistic qualities associated with emotional opposites such as laughing and crying and yelling and whispering. Although Mrs. Freeman seldom incorporates false laughter into her stories, she often imitates crying and sobbing, rather than merely reciting monologues. In Are You My Mother?, for example, she whimpered most of the little bird's lines. Similarly, she rarely yells but whispers when the story is about silence. The text of Loudmouse is actually printed in two sizes of type, with Loudmouse's speeches in bold letters and the remaining text in a standard size. Accordingly, Mrs. Freeman's performance of Loudmouse included much whispering.

Voice qualifiers regulate intensity (loud or soft), pitch (high or low), and extent (drawl or clipping). In Mrs. Freeman's performances, changes in intensity and

pitch are most evident in dialogue when she alters her voice to enhance a character's speech. For instance, she delivered Grampa Groundhog's speeches in a loud, low voice, possibly because the text describes him as "gruff." Speeches by Farmer O'Dell of The Day It Rained Watermelons and the tigers of The Story of Little Black Sambo were delivered similarly. In contrast, the speeches of the nagging mothers in Jake and The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt and Almost Became a Superslob were spoken in a loud, high, clipped manner.

In addition to vocal qualifiers that can be readily identified is an apparent but subtle paralinguistic tone that pervades Mrs. Freeman's storytelling. When she begins to tell a story, the vocal qualifiers that characterize her everyday casual speaking change. Moore warns against employing "an artificial, saccharin-sweet story voice," but Mrs. Freeman undeniably employs a "story voice," a fact which becomes more and more evident through repeated study of the recordings of her performances.[56]

Dramatization devices, then, include exaggeration,

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[56]Moore, Pre-School Story Hour, p. 54. Although many scholars of adult storytelling to children recognize the prevalence of the "story voice," few, if any, have endeavored to analyze it in precise paralinguistic terms. For example, in "The Telling of Non-Traditional Tales to Children," Goldstein suggests that the parents and grandparents he studied acquired their styles of delivery from librarians and television narrators but neglects to label the styles precisely. It is suggested, with regard to this study, that the reader interested in familiarizing him or herself with the "story voice" listen to some of the tapes recorded for this study.

through use of the words "so," "just," and other superlatives; exclamation; repetition of words, phrases, and grammatical constructions within sentences and throughout the story; and paralinguistic devices including vocal segregates, vocal characterizers, and voice qualifiers. Like familiarization and elaboration devices, dramatization devices are not used in Mrs. Freeman's everyday speech acts; all three are unique to the storytelling performance. Furthermore, all three are utilized repeatedly and interdependently. Thus, they may serve to alert the audience to the performance frame, a major step in the establishment and maintenance of performer status within the socially bounded group that the story hour participants comprise.

Interruptions

Like Crowley's Bahamian narrators, Mrs. Freeman is often faced with interruptions that must be halted if the story is to proceed.[57] When the performance frame is thus broken, Mrs. Freeman endeavors to maintain her status as performer in one of several ways. The first, which she terms "eyeballing," consists of looking directly at the offender while continuing the story. A second method by which she deals with one child is physically moving him or her into her lap or to another location

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[57] Crowley, _I Could Talk Old-Story Good: Creativity in Bahamian Folklore_, p. 13.

on the floor. A third is asking the child to be quiet or quickly answering his or her questions when they interrupt the story. During the performance of Are You My Mother?, for example, a new child persisted in interrupting until Mrs. Freeman was forced to answer him.

> MRS. F.: . . . The boat just kept chugging along. It wasn't his mother.
> CHILD: Hey, you know what? Um--I was a dog for four days.
> MRS. F.: You were? You were a dog? For four days?
> CHILD: Yep.
> MRS. F.: Well, that's great. Listen, let me go on and tell the story now, and we'll see if the little bird finds his mother. The next thing he saw was an old moo-cow. And she was eating and . . .[58]

Group interruptions are more difficult to handle. When the group is rambunctious, Mrs. Freeman sometimes employs the following metaphor before starting the story.

> MRS. F.: . . . okay, now let's zip our lips up. You know, when I say zip our lips that means to listen to the story.
> CHILD: I got a button on my lip.
> MRS. F.: Ssh. Put a button on it. Button on it. Now--ssh--let's sit quietly and listen to the story. Now, today I'm going to tell you a story about an an old man who decided to go to town and sell his watermelons.[59]

Although the lip-zipping metaphor is a success initially, one or two of the children may become restless during the performance and, together, may create a disturbance. Again, Mrs. Freeman first attempts to silence them without breaking frame, by "eyeballing" them, physically

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[58] Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 8 February 1977.

[59] Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 1 March 1977.

separating them, or saying "ssh" and proceeding with the story.

When she is forced to break frame and delay the performance because several children are interrupting, Mrs. Freeman usually delivers a brief lecture about the importance of listening quietly. It is possible that the tape recordings made during field research for this study contain an abnormally low number of such lectures because Mrs. Freeman refuses to scold the children when the tape recorder is running. At least twice she asked, "Is that thing on?" before lecturing an uncooperative audience. At the same time, she avoids breaking frame whenever possible because it causes her to lose her place and forget the story.

Closing Formulae

Whereas most of the performances examined for this study began with formulaic opening phrases, few ended as regularly. In only five of the twenty-seven stories recorded for this study did Mrs. Freeman employ closing formulae that included the words connoting completion (e.g., "Well, that's the end of the Christmas party," and "And that's all for this story.") In the others, she utilized the literary endings printed in the text or devised similar closings, often finishing with a series of questions about the story. For example,

> And I don't think that Beady ever wanted to run away again. WHEN BEADY WENT TO BED THAT NIGHT,

> HE WAS TRULY THE HAPPIEST little BEAR YOU EVER SAW. Don't you know they were glad to see each other again? How many of you have a teddy bear at home? Do you have one? How many do you have?[60]

A discussion about teddy bears followed, marking the end of the performance and the return to the literal frame.

Whereas Mrs. Freeman utilizes formulaic closing statements only occasionally, she always announces the end of the performance in two ways. First, she closes the book. Second, she stops performing. She ceases to rely on the familiarization, elaboration, and dramatization devices that maintain her performer role and reassumes the role of story hour organizer, leading a discussion, announcing her intention to show a filmstrip, or suggesting that the group play a game. As story hour organizer, she addresses the children in her everyday voice, indicating that the storytelling performance, in which she utilized the linguistic and paralinguistic devices described in this chapter, is over.

A Word About the Audience

According to Abrahams, folklore is "all conventional expressive devices available for performance and the achievement of performer status within a socially bounded group."[61] The devices described in this chapter comprise the "conventional expressive devices abailable for

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[60]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 7 September 1976.

[61]Abrahams, "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore," p. 28.

performance" in the story hour context, but whether or not performer status is "achieved" is questionable. As Georges notes, storytelling events require encoders and decoders, and although Mrs. Freeman is clearly encoding a message, it is indeterminable whether or not the children decode it.[62] This section provides evidence from both printed scholarship and field research that preschool children are capable of recognizing the storytelling performance frame.

In "The Everyday World of the Child," Matthew Speier presents evidence that young children, like adults, interact with others by selecting identity equipment appropriate to the interaction situation. Further, he demonstrates that they are capable of making identity selections because they are aware of "standardized relational pairs"--adult-child, teacher-student, etc.--and the social obligations that they require.[63] By this thinking, children should be cognizant of the social obligations implicit in the storyteller-story listener pair and should be capable of assuming the decoder role.

Further evidence is provided by Louise Ames in "Children's Stories," a psychological study of preschool

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[62]Robert Georges, "Toward an Understanding of Storytelling Events," Journal of American Folklore 82 (October-December 1969):317.

[63]Matthew Speier, "The Everyday World of the Child," in Understanding Everyday Life, ed. Jack Douglas (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 188-217.

fantasy narratives which demonstrates that by age four, a child knows what a "story" is.[64] Similarly, Jean MacLaughlin's recent research with her preschool aged son indicates that children not only know what stories are but are also capable of remembering plots and characters over extended periods of time.[65] Field research for this study supports both Ames's and MacLaughlin's findings. On 11 May 1976, when she was unable to retain their attention, Mrs. Freeman asked if one of the children could tell a story. The ensuing performance of "The Three Bears" by a four and a half year old child included conventional formulae and standard intonational patterns as well as a thorough recounting of the plot, indicating that Ames's and MacLaughlin's theories are valid.

Although it cannot be proven with absolute certainty, several instances recorded during field research for this study provide evidence that the children assume the audience role in the story hour context in conjunction with Mrs. Freeman's usage of the devices described in this chapter. Mrs. Freeman's telling of _A Chocolate Moose For Dinner_, a picture book of children's literal interpretations of adult mataphors, such as "holding up the bank" and "shoe tree," provides one example of the

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[64]Louise Bates Ames, "Children's Stories," _Genetic Psychology Monographs_ 73 (1966):337-96.

[65]Jean M. MacLaughlin, "Folktales and Children Ages Three and Four: A Cognitive Experiment," Paper presented at the 1976 Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Philadelphia, Pa., 11 November 1976.

children's recognition of an unperformed story. Because the story hour children misunderstood the book's metaphors, Mrs. Freeman had to explain their humor. And, because the explanation took the form of a discussion, Mrs. Freeman was forced to assume the role of discussion leader, thereby relinquishing the control afforded by the performer role. When she ceased to perform, the children lapsed into unruly conversation, a discussion about fishing "tackles" gave way to one about football, and the "story" failed.

In contrast, Mrs. Freeman sometimes converts the game "Five Little Monkeys" into a performance which the children watch, subsequently forgetting their roles as participants in the game. The game consists of a chanted rhyme accompanied by motions.

> Five little monkeys jumping on a bed,
> One fell off and bumped his head,
> Mama called the doctor and the doctor said,
> "That's what you get for jumping on the bed."[66]

The rhyme is then repeated, substituting "four," "three," "two," and "one" for "five." Sometimes, however, Mrs. Freeman adds to the last verse a discussion between "Mama" and "the doctor," employing many of the dramatization devices she utilizes in her storytelling performances.

> And then the doctor came to Mama and looked at her and he said, "Mama Monkey, now you should learn to make those monkeys mind. They just don't

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[66]Mrs. Freeman does not remember when or where she learned the game "Five Little Monkeys."

> pay any attention to you. You know they shouldn't jump on your bed." And Mama Monkey said, [WHINING] "Oh my goodness, I just have five little monkeys and they're so wild I don't know what to do with them. But I promise you, they'll be good the next time." And Mama and the doctor went out the door, and what did the monkeys do? What did they do? They jumped right back up on that bed and they went, [MAKES WAGGLING NOISE WITH TONGUE][67]

When this occurs, the children immediately assume the audience role, watching spellbound as Mrs. Freeman performs.

In addition to the situations described above are countless instances when the observer can only sense that the children are viewing and listening to the storytelling event with the "special intensity" described by Bauman.[68] In Mrs. Freeman's words,

> . . . you can see their eyes and you can see their body movements when they begin to get tense or excited; their whole body moves. Their shoulders hunch up and their eyes get big and if they're happy, they laugh.[69]

Finally, the children seem to know when the storytelling performance is over. Even when Mrs. Freeman does not use a book, the children seem to recognize her abandonment of the performance frame and react accordingly by resuming the talk and play activities they relinquished when the performance began. In short, evidence recorded during field research for this study concords with Speier's theory that children are capable of dealing with various

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[67]Story hour by Thelma Freeman, 1 February 1977.

[68]Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," p. 293.

[69]Interview with Thelma Freeman, 17 March 1977.

interaction situations, including performance, a condition which makes possible the "achievement of performer status" in the story hour context.

CONCLUSION

It has been the purpose of this study to utilize a performance-oriented definition of folklore to describe a series of communicative events that lie on the periphery of the traditional realm of folklore. The definition utilized was Roger Abrahams's description of folklore as "all conventional expressive devices available for performance and the achievement of performer status within a socially bounded group."[1] The events studied were a series of regularly scheduled storytelling performances by Thelma Freeman, a paraprofessional librarian from Bowling Green, Kentucky.

The first chapter provided a review of performance-related theories and their implications, with particular emphasis on the definition upon which this study is based. "Conventional" was defined as "repeated" and was established as a qualifier for those rules, expressions, and actions which, through repetition, become the signals by which a particular context is recognized. Performance was defined as a form of stylized communication characterized by the classification of its interactants as performers or audience members, performers being the

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[1]Abrahams, "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore," p. 28.

interactants who employ stylized communicative devices to capture the attention of an audience in preparation for and during the communication of a message in an uncommon, nonliteral manner. The term "socially bounded group" was defined as one which is bound by its members' participation in a form of social interaction.

In the second chapter, it was shown that Mrs. Freeman's education as a storyteller included both nonacademic and academic factors. Although she may have acquired her art traditionally, by listening to her mother tell stories, Mrs. Freeman was probably also influenced by several academic factors, among them several university courses on children's literature and storytelling and the two standard storytelling manuals she read in conjunction with those courses. Whatever the predominant source of her storytelling knowledge, however, Mrs. Freeman's views about storytelling, as stated directly and as reflected in her repertory, indicate that she is capable of attempting to communicate her stories in a performance mode by employing conventional devices to establish herself as a performer.

The third chapter was devoted to identifying and examining the devices Mrs. Freeman employed repeatedly, in the fourteen story hours recorded for this study, to establish and maintain performer status in the story hour context. It was shown that Mrs. Freeman generally prepares her audience for the performance through

psychological, if not physical, distancing and announces the start of the performance with conventionalized opening formulae. She then maintains performer status by utilizing familiarization, elaboration, and dramatization devices, all of which contrast with her everyday speech patterns, thus serving as potential performance signals. Mrs. Freeman announces the end of her performances by ceasing to perform and reverting to the common nonstylized forms that characterize her everyday speech patterns. Finally, it was shown that children, as well as adults, are capable of comprehending performance signals, a condition necessary for the "achievement" of performer status in the story hour context.

In summary then, "conventional expressive devices" _are_ available for performance within the socially bounded group that the story hour participants comprise, and field-collected data indicates that performer status _is_ achieved by Mrs. Freeman in the story hour context. Given these conditions, Mrs. Freeman's storytelling performances can be classified as "folklore" by Abrahams's definition. Whether or not the performances are folklore is, of course, unprovable. It is indisputable, however, that Mrs. Freeman has traditionalized a set of stylized communicative devices which she repeatedly employs to establish and maintain performer status in the story hour context. In that the means by which she achieves performer status resemble the means by which narrators traditionally

studied by folklorists achieve performer status in their respective contexts, Mrs. Freeman's performances are at least classifiable as folk-like. If, as the contextualists suggest, events must be classified as folklore because they "operate" like folklore, her performances are folklore as well.

It was the purpose of this study to take full advantage of the possibilities implicit in definitions that describe folklore as performance. As Hymes suggests, the performance-oriented folklorist is equipped with unique sensitivities and methodologies, among them the ability to recognize the stylized communicative events that folklore includes.[2] The stylized devices examined in this study, in fact, were isolated on the basis of their resemblance to devices already labelled by folklorists from other storytelling contexts. In addition to the predominantly verbal devices examined in this study, Mrs. Freeman probably employs countless other paralinguistic, kinesic, and proxemic devices to achieve performer status in the story hour context. Hopefully, future communication scholarship will provide folklorists with the tools to recognize many forms of communicative devices, an ability which, coupled with acceptance of theories of folklore as performance, will enable the folklorist alone to comprehend what Bauman terms "much

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[2]Hymes, "The Contribution of Folklore to Sociolinguistic Research," p. 48.

more of the totality of human experience."[3]

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[3]Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," p. 306.

APPENDIX 1

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APPENDIX 2

TRANSCRIPTION OF A STORYTELLING PERFORMANCE

This transcription is of Mrs. Freeman's performance of Jake, one of her favorite stories. It was performed on 25 January 1977 as the second of two stories. (The first was Snowman's Secret.)[1] Narration which corresponds exactly with the printed text is indicated in capital letters.

MRS. F.: Now, this is one of my favorite stories. And the name of this story is Jake. Now, this is a little animal and he has a mother. He's a little animal and we pretend he's a little boy. This is Jake and he likes to sleep. And I'm sure since we've had all of the snow that you've enjoyed sleeping late, haven't you? Has you mother had any problems trying to get you up? Out of bed? I don't think she would want to in this kind of weather. But this little boy's mother wants him to get up and go to Grandmother's and take Grandmother a present from her cause she's expecting a present back from Grandmother. So when Mama goes into his room, she grabs the covers on his bed and she says . . .

CHILD: That's what my mother does . . .

MRS. F.: . . . "JAKE, JAKE, FOR GOODNESS SAKE, ARE YOU ASLEEP OR ARE YOU AWAKE?" And Jake just pulls the covers back and rubs his eyes and he says, "Huh? WHO ME? Oh, CAN'T YOU SEE I'M SLEEPING, MA? PLEASE LET ME BE." And then Ma says, "No. You GO TO YOUR GRANNY'S and you GIVE HER THIS TEA, and then GRANNY's GOING TO GIVE YOU SOMETHING FOR ME." So Jake got on his little bicycle and rode over to Granny's house. And Granny looked out the window and

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[1]Barry, Snowman's Secret; and Kitt, Jake.

she said, "HI!" and Jake said "Hi!" And then Granny asked him about his ma and his pa and the baby. And Jake said, "They're all okay." And then Ma said, "SEE WHAT I HAVE FOR you TODAY, Jake?" And she gave him a needle. That was for him to take home to his mother. "A needle?" said Jake. Well, Jake didn't know what he would do with a needle on the way home because he liked to play with the other little friends. And on his way home, he was holding the needle and he saw some other little friends, and they said, "COME ON, JAKE, stay a little while. Play with us. We're going to have a race. We're going to have a turtle and a snail and THEY're GOING TO RACE over TO THAT other WALL." And then Jake decided that Ma would like for him to stay and watch the race. And Jake went to a haystack and he stuck the needle in a haystack. And he said, "I KNOW MA WOULD WANT ME TO SEE THIS RACE. I'LL just PUT THIS NEEDLE IN A GOOD SAFE PLACE." And he stuck it in the haystack. And the other little animals were racing the turtle and the snail. They were down on their knees singing, "GO, GO, GO. OH, WHY, WHY are you SO SLOW?" And then, Jake went back to find his needle. He was ready to go home. It was so dark. He said, "Oh, I can't find that needle in a hay-stack. MA NEEDS THAT NEEDLE RIGHT AWAY, but WHERE IS it? WELL, IT'S just TOO DARK TO SEE. I'LL just pick up the HAYSTACK and take it WITH ME." And he picked up the haystack, put it on his bike, and headed for home. And of course when he returned, the house was dark and it was dark outside and Jake hollered, "YOO-HOO? Yoo-hoo? I HAVE A NEEDLE FOR YOU. I DIDn't WANT TO LOSE IT SO I PUT IT AWAY. THE NEEDLE's SOMEWHERE IN THIS STACK OF HAY." And his mother said, "Oh, JAKE, JAKE, FOR GOODNESS SAKE, YOU DON'T HAVE THE SENSE OF A TWO-HEADED SNAKE. I OUGHT TO SPANK YOU AND PUT YOU TO BED. YOU DON'T HAVE THE BRAINS OF A CABBAGE HEAD." And she was so aggravated. She said, "NOW, you LISTEN TO ME, and you HEAR WHAT I SAY. WHEN YOU BRING ME A NEELLE, you DO IT THIS WAY. WHEN YOU BRING ME A NEEDLE, you DO IT THIS WAY. WHEN YOU BRING ME A NEEDLE, HOLD IT TIGHT IN YOUR HAND. DO YOU HEAR ME, JAKE? DO YOU UNDERSTAND?" And Jake looked up at Ma and he said, "YES, MA. OKAY, OKAY. I'LL DO IT JUST THE WAY YOU SAY. NEXT TIME." So the next day, Ma looked at Jake and she said, "JAKE, you GO TO YOUR GRANNY and take HER some TEA. And then YOUR GRANNY WILL GIVE YOU SOMETHING FOR ME." And Jake went back to Granny's house and she asked him, "HOW'S MA?" And Jake said, "MA'S fine." "HOW'S PA?" "PA'S OKAY." "HOW'S THE BABY?" "THE BABY'S OKAY, too." And then Ma--Grandma gave him something to take back to his ma. And guess what it was. A little cupcake. And Jake scratched his head and he tried to think. "How did she tell me to carry that? Oh, I know. Hold it tight." So he squeezed the cupcake.

CHILD: Oh.

MRS. F.: He held it tight. And he started home and he squeezed it tight so he wouldn't lose it. And then, when he got home, his mother looked out the window. And she said, "GOOD BOY, JAKE. YOU CAME HOME QUICK. NOW, WHERE'S THE CAKE?" Jake rode up to the window and he was holding the cake in his hand and the icing was squeezing between his fingers and the crumbs were all mashed up. And when he held it out and showed it to Ma, she just fainted. She fell out the window. Jake said, "MA, ARE YOU SICK?" And he was so disappointed because he had done just exactly what Ma had told him to. And Ma looked at him and she said--what did she say? "JAKE, JAKE, FOR GOODNESS SAKE, YOU DON'T HAVE THE SENSE OF A TWO-HEADED SNAKE. I OUGHT TO SPANK YOU AND PUT YOU TO BED. YOU DON'T HAVE THE BRAINS OF A CABBAGE HEAD." Would you like to say it with me? [CHILDREN JOIN IN] "Jake, Jake, for goodness sake, you don't have sense of a two-headed snake. I ought to spank you and put you to bed. But you don't have the sense of a cabbage head. NOW you LISTEN TO ME, and HEAR WHAT I SAY. WHEN YOU BRING ME A CAKE, you DO IT THIS WAY. WHEN YOU BRING ME A CAKE, you PUT IT ON YOUR HEAD. Jake, do you understand? Have YOU heard WHAT I SAID?" And Jake looked up at Ma, and he was so humble and wanted to be so good and he said, "YES, MA. I understand. I know exactly. Put it on my head." So the next day, he went back to Granny's. Granny asked him the same thing. And guess what she had for him this time? Some homemade butter. She churned and it was such good butter. A great big nice pat of butter.

CHILD: You know what happens then? He put it on his head and it melted all over his head . . .

MRS. F.: And Jake thought, "Now, how am I supposed to carry that home? How am I supposed to take it home? What did Mother say? OH, YES. She said, 'Put it on your head.' That's what I'll do." So Jake took the big pat of butter and put it on his head, pulled his little cap down tight so he wouldn't lose it, and guess what happened? The sun came out, bright and shiney. And Jake started home with the butter. And guess what the sun did? It melted--it was so hot. When he got home to Mother, she was looking out the window and she saw Jake, and he said, "LOOK, MA. I DID JUST AS YOU SAID. I PUT THE BUTTER ON MY HEAD." And his mother just threw up her hands and she said, "Oh my goodness!" Butter was running down his ears, it was running down his eyes and all over his shirt. But poor little Jake was doing exactly the thing that Mother told him to.

CHILD: I told you so . . .

MRS. F.: He had put it on his head. And he looked up and he said, "But Ma, I did what you said. You said put it on my head." And his mother started to faint again. But instead, she said, "JAKE, JAKE, FOR GOODNESS SAKE, YOU DON'T HAVE SENSE OF A TWO-HEADED SNAKE. Oughta just SPANK YOU AND PUT YOU TO BED, but YOU DON'T HAVE THE sense OF A CABBAGE HEAD. NOW you LISTEN TO ME, AND HEAR WHAT I SAY. WHEN YOU BRING ME BUTTER, you DO IT THIS WAY. ON A WARM SUNNY DAY WHEN YOU BRING ME BUTTER, STOP AT THE RIVER AND COOL IT IN THE WATER." Jake said, "YES, MA. I will. I know exactly how to do it now. I'LL DO JUST THE WAY YOU SAY." So the next day when he went to Granny's and took Granny some tea, guess what Granny gave him to take back to his ma? A little goldfish in a bowl.

CHILD: Oh.

MRS. F.: So he started home with the little goldfish in a bowl, and Jake thought and thought. "Now, how did Ma tell me to take this home? I want to do it exactly right. What did she say? Oh, I know. She said on a hot summer day for me to stop by the river and cool it in the water. And that's just what I'll do. I'LL PUT IT IN THE RIVER WHERE IT'S NICE AND COLD. MA WILL BE GLAD I DID JUST WHAT SHE TOLD ME TO do." So Jake took the little goldfish bowl and he set it in the river. And do you know what happened?

CHILD: The fish jumped out.

MRS. F.: The fish jumped out and swam down the river. Then, when Jake went home, his ma took one look at him. She said, "JAKE, JAKE, FOR GOODNESS SAKE, YOU DON'T HAVE THE SENSE OF A TWO-HEADED SNAKE. YOU DON'T HAVE THE BRAINS OF A CABBAGE HEAD. NOW YOU STAY HOME AND I'LL GO INSTEAD. JAKE, WATCH THE BABY AND DO IT RIGHT. DON'T you LET that BABY OUT OF YOUR SIGHT.

CHILD: You know what happened? [WHISPERS TO THE CHILD NEXT TO HER]

MRS. F.: And Jake thought, "Oh boy, I know I can do this right." And she put the baby in the living room with Jake, and Jake did exactly what Mama said. She said, "You keep your eye on that baby, Jake. You do what I say. Don't you let that baby out of your sight." And here's Jake. NO MATTER WHAT THE BABY DOES, NO MATTER WHERE THE BABY GOES, NO MATTER HOW THE BABY PLAYS, JAKE DOES JUST WHAT HIS MOTHER SAYS. HE keeps his eye on that BABY. He kept his eye on the baby when the baby tore down the draperies. He kept his eye on the baby when the baby knocked over the flower pots. He kept his eye on the baby when the baby emptied all the ashes out of the fireplace. And he was still sitting on the mantle,

keeping his eye on the baby, when Ma walked in the door. He was doing exactly what Ma told him to. His eyes never left that baby. No matter which corner he went into, Jake's eye was on him. He was doing exactly what Ma said. And when Ma came back this time, I know she fainted dead away. Don't you think she would? When she saw her living room in such a mess. And now I wonder what happened to poor little old Jake. He could never do anything right. And he tried and tried, didn't he? You know when someone tells you to do something a certain way and you do it the way they tell you, sometimes it isn't your fault if it turns out all wrong, is it? Would you like to repeat with me again what Jake's mother said to Jake? "Jake, Jake, for goodness sake, you don't have sense of a two-headed snake. I ought to spank you and put you to bed. You don't have the brains of a cabbage head." Well, I think now we can have a filmstrip. Would you like that? Would you like to get up and stretch a little and play some kind of another little game? . . .

APPENDIX 3

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE PRINTED TEXT OF *JAKE*

The following transcription is taken from the printed text of Tamara Kitt, *Jake* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1969). The text appears on the left, with brief description of the accompanying pictures on the right.

Text	Picture
Jake, Jake! For goodness sake, Are you asleep Or are you awake?	MA AND THE BABY PULLING THE COVERS OFF JAKE
Huh? Who? Me? Can't you see? I'm sleeping, Ma. Please let me be.	JAKE PRETENDING TO BE ASLEEP
Go to your granny. Give her this tea. Your granny will give you Something for me.	MA GIVING JAKE THE TEA
Hi! My!	JAKE AND GRANNY
How's your ma? Ma's OK.	CONVERSATION
How's your pa? Pa's OK.	CONVERSATION
How is the baby? The baby's OK.	CONVERSATION
See what I have for your ma today. A needle!	GRANNY HOLDING OUT THE NEEDLE
Come on, Jake. Watch the fun! A snail and a turtle are going to run.	THE KIDS CALLING JAKE

They are going to race from here
  to that wall.
Come on! It won't take long at all.

I know Ma would want me to see
  this race.
I'll put this needle in a good
  safe place.

JAKE HIDING NEEDLE

Turtle! Snail!
Go-go-go.
Why, oh why
Is this race so slow?
Sorry, kids, I can't stay
Ma needs that needle right away.
Now where is that needle?

JAKE LOOKING FOR THE NEEDLE

It's too dark to see.
I'll take this haystack
Home with me.

SILHOUETTE OF JAKE AND THE HAYSTACK ON JAKE'S BICYCLE

Jake! Jake!
Hi ma! Yoo-hoo!
I have a needle here for you.
I did not want to lose it,
So I put it away.
The needle is somewhere
In this stack of hay.

SHADOW OF THE HOUSE AND JAKE WITH THE HAYSTACK

Jake, Jake
For goodness sake!
You don't have the sense
Of a two-headed snake.
I ought to spank you
And put you to bed.
You don't have the brains
Of a cabbage head.
Now listen to me.
Hear what I say.
When you bring me a needle.
Do it this way . . .
When you bring me a needle,
Hold it tight in your hand.
Do you hear me, Jake?
Do you understand?

MA SCOLDING JAKE

Yes, Ma. OK, OK, OK!
I'll do it just the way you say
--next time.

JAKE

Jake, go to your granny.
Give her this tea.
Your granny will give you
Something for me.

MA GIVING JAKE THE TEA

Hi! My!	JAKE AND GRANNY
How's your ma? Ma's OK!	CONVERSATION
How's your pa? Pa's OK!	CONVERSATION
How is the baby? The baby's OK!	CONVERSATION
Now see what I have for your ma today. A little cake!	GRANNY GIVING JAKE THE CAKE
I'm going to hold this cake Tight, tight, tight. Oh Ma will see I can do it right.	JAKE CRUMBLING THE CAKE IN HIS FIST
Good boy, Jake! You came home quick. Now where's the cake?	MA LOOKING OUT THE WINDOW
Ma! Are you sick?	MA FAINTING
Jake, Jake! For goodness sake! You don't have the sense Of a two-headed snake. I ought to spank you And put you to bed. You don't have the brains Of a cabbage head. Now listen to me. Hear what I say. When you bring me a cake, Do it this way . . . When you bring me a cake, Put it on your head. Do you near me, Jake? Do you hear what I said?	MA SCOLDING JAKE
Yes, Ma. OK, OK, OK. I'll do it just the way you say --next time.	JAKE
Jake, go to your granny. Give her this tea. Your granny will give you Something for me.	MA GIVING JAKE THE TEA
Hi! My!	JAKE AND GRANNY

How is the baby? The baby's OK.	CONVERSATION
What do you have For my ma today?	CONVERSATION
Butter!	GRANNY GIVING JAKE THE BUTTER
How shall I take it? What did Ma say?	JAKE LOOKING AT THE BUTTER
Oh, yes. Like this I'll do it this way.	JAKE PUTTING THE BUTTER UNDER HIS CAP
Look, Ma. Look I did just as you said. I put the butter on my head.	MA IN THE GARDEN WATERING THE BABY
Jake, Jake! For goodness sake! You don't have the sense Of a two-headed snake. I ought to spank you And put you to bed. You don't have the brains Of a cabbage head. Now listen to me. Hear what I say. When you bring me butter, Do it this way . . . On a warm sunny day, When you bring me butter Stop at the river And cool it in the water.	MA SCOLDING JAKE
Yes, Ma. OK, OK, OK. I'll do it just the way you say --next time.	JAKE
Jake, go to your granny Give her this tea Your granny will give you Something for me.	MA GIVING JAKE THE TEA
Hi! My!	JAKE AND GRANNY
EVERYONE is OK! What do you have For my ma today?	CONVERSATION
A fish!	GRANNY HOLDING FISH

I'll put it in the river Where it's nice and cold. Ma will be glad I did just what she told Me to do.	JAKE PUTTING FISH BOWL IN RIVER
Oh.	FISH SWIMMING AWAY
Jake, Jake! For goodness sake! You don't have the sense Of a two-headed snake. You don't have the brains Of a cabbage head. Now you stay home. I'LL go instead Jake, WATCH THE BABY. And do it right. Don't let the baby Out of your sight.	MA SCOLDING JAKE
OK, Ma. OK, OK. I'll do everything you say.	JAKE
No matter what the baby does . . .	JAKE'S EYES ON BABY
No matter where the baby goes . . .	JAKE'S EYES ON BABY
No matter how the baby plays . . .	JAKE'S EYES ON BABY
Jake does what his mother says	
He WATCHES THE BABY!	MESSED UP LIVING ROOM; MA ENTERING. JAKE ON MANTLE WATCHING THE BABY

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