

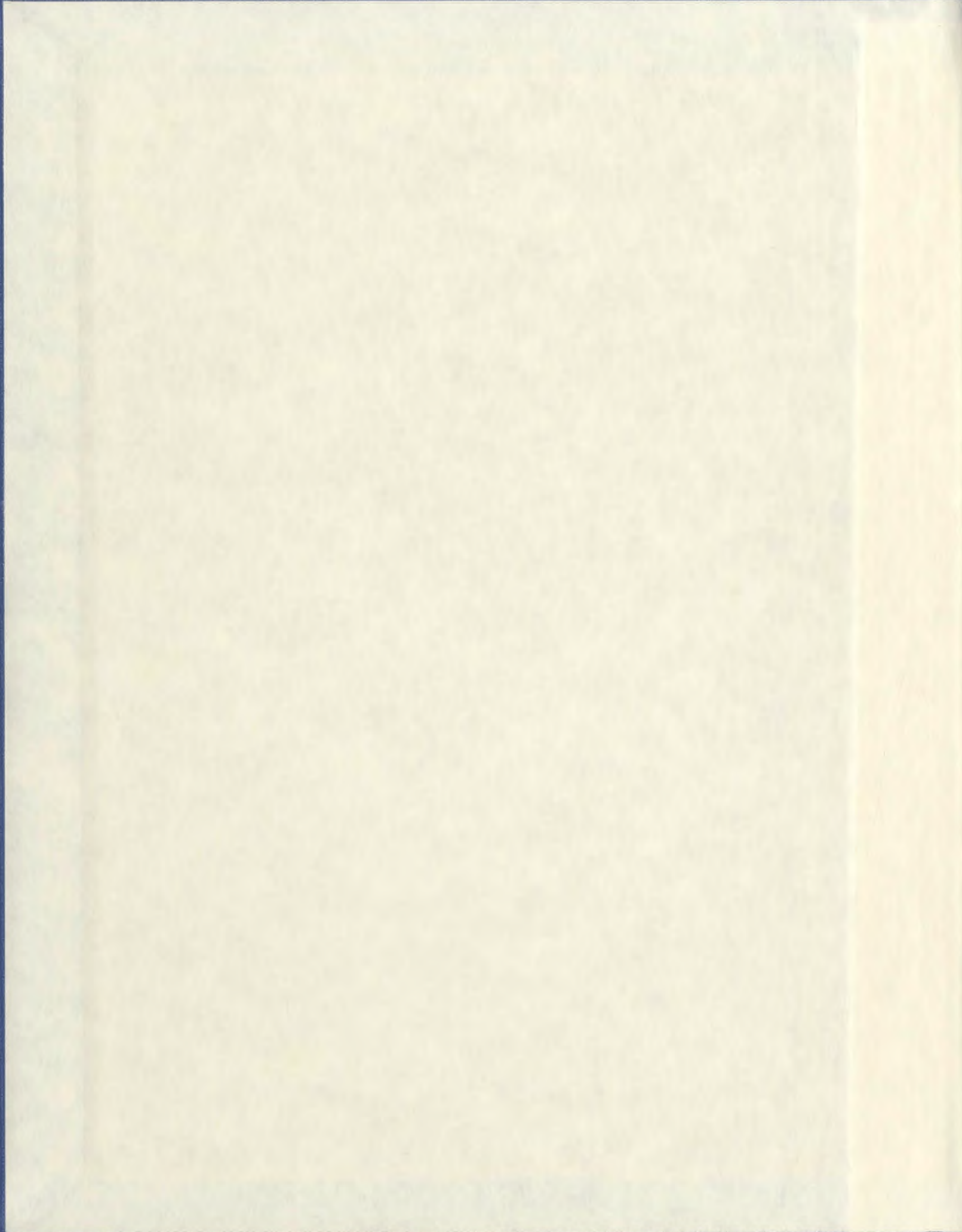
THE INCORPORATION OF POPULAR CULTURE
INTO NEWFOUNDLAND SCHOOL CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**The Incorporation of Popular Culture into
Newfoundland School Children's Narratives**

by

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in partial fulfilment of the
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Abstract

The concept of children taking characters and ideas from popular culture and the mass media and incorporating them into new narratives is not new. On the Avalon Peninsula, Newfoundland I collected a corpus of narratives from two groups of children aged between seven and nine. It is commonly assumed that Newfoundland was isolated from mainland influences, but research has found it has a strong relationship to mainland popular culture and mass media

Despite Newfoundland's rich history of oral tradition, four categories emerged from the data showing evidence of influence from the mass media and popular culture. A gender division emerged in the data, with girls producing passive texts and boys creating action-adventure stories. I found my informants were all exposed to similar mass media and popular culture texts from which they took and incorporated characters and images into their own narratives.

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Introduction

“Michael fought a lot with the Ninja Turtles” (Cordell Our Lady of Fatima, written story, July 1993, see Appendix 7). Cordell Ninja Turtles Molloy started his last written assignment of the school year incorporating his friend Michael into a story alongside the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, Japanese comic characters well known through the popular culture media. Cordell’s story is another version of the never-ending strife between the two antagonists Splinter, the wise rat and mentor to the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, and the evil Shredder. In Cordell’s story Michael is Splinter, Mitchell is Shredder, and Eileen is April, the female reporter and friend to the turtles who always ends up in situations where she needs rescuing. Following the typical media text, Shredder is defeated at the end of story by the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, but he is cunning and able to escape because he “threw a stink bomb on the ground.” Cordell’s story is just one of the examples I collected during my research of how children take characters and ideas from popular culture and incorporate them into new narratives, the topic of this thesis.

To conduct my research I went to two diverse Newfoundland communities on the Avalon Peninsula and collected stories from two groups of children during the winter and Spring Terms of 1993. Because I was from England and this was my first trip to Newfoundland, I did not know or have immediate access to any groups of children in St. John’s. Consequently, two Newfoundland friends determined my choice of school, teachers and informants by inviting me to contact local teachers Mrs. Coles and Mrs. Martin. They thought Mrs. Coles and Mrs. Martin would both be interested in my

research and open to having me work with their classes. The first collection of narratives came from Mrs. Coles' Grade 3 class of twenty-eight children at St. Mary's Elementary School in St. John's. This was an urban, Protestant, single grade school. The children had easy access to all the amenities the city of St. John's offered. Before the fieldwork started I had the opportunity to be a volunteer in the classroom one afternoon a week for six weeks, allowing me to get to know the children and the education system which was different to my own experience in Britain. During my fieldwork I went into the classroom about three days a week, for six weeks, depending on the class timetable, and withdrew small groups of children to collect narratives in twenty minute sessions where I heard about their weekends, Brownie and Cub Scout activities, and sleepover antics.

In direct contrast, the second group of narratives came from sixteen children in Mrs. Martin's multi-grade class of second, third and fourth grades, with a few additional stories coming from Grade 1 informants, at Our Lady of Fatima, a Roman Catholic school in St. Shotts. St. Shotts was a small community of approximately 250 people about two hours south of St. John's, at the southern tip of the Avalon Peninsula, twelve further miles down a recently paved road to the coast. Due to the distance from St. John's and my own lack of transport I was only able to meet the class and Mrs. Martin once prior to my fieldwork. Later as I boarded in St. Shotts, I went into school daily, which gave me an equal time in the two schools and the opportunity to get to know my informants quickly during their free time. I discuss my fieldwork in greater depth in Chapter 2 and the background to the narrators in Chapter 3.

Focus of Study

Children are presented with narratives which adults deem suitable for their consumption in a variety of forms from literary texts, the mass media and oral tradition. It is not a new phenomenon; for example Jacob and Wilhelm Grimms' collection of Märchen, which was originally published for an adult audience in the mid-nineteenth century, was subjected to further censorship to make them "suitable" for children. From her research of their transcriptions and the abstracts of their notes Rob Baum says, "like the good ethical binary German men they were: anything that did not suit their "Christian" standards simply disappeared" (70). Consequently, she notes the absence of certain types of tales such as stories about children surviving on their own or women suffering from domestic violence, which were obviously "unsuitable texts" for women and children. Yet, she says that certain nasty stories about racial violence towards the Jews stayed in the collection. This censorship or protection of women and children was not restricted to the Grimm brothers; Baum cites also the work of the French writer Charles Perrault, who she says, "was concerned lest women and children go astray" (71).

A century later this adult censorship of suitable children's texts continues. In her paper "After the Ball is Over: Bringing Cinderella Home," Rob Baum (2000) questions who children's stories in their literary and cinematic versions are really created for. Jacqueline Rose (1984) argues it is impossible to say that children's literature can be described as a genre primarily for children, because adults both write the texts and greatly influence the child's choice. I would broaden her argument to encompass other texts especially those from the mass media which are aimed at children. Children who have

economic resources are usually guided by an adult to make a “sensible choice.” Finally, returning to Rose’s argument about the literary texts, it is the adult who reads the book aloud to children, especially younger children or emergent readers. Thus Rose concludes, in the world of children’s fiction adults come first as author, maker and giver while children follow as reader, product and receiver (1984 1-2). In the mass media this censorship continues and proliferates: for example film makers, such as Walt Disney in his animated versions of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937), Cinderella (1950), and Beauty and the Beast (1991), reinterprets traditional folktales into a form of entertainment of “clean, non-violent, fantasies with songs and happy endings” (Koven 16) intended for all age groups.

Walt Disney attracts criticism and praise alike from folklorists for his portrayal of traditional fairy tales. Mikel Koven says that in 1946 Stith Thompson thought “that cinema was a marvelous channel of tale dissemination and that it was a kind of storytelling event” (qtd. in Koven 2). Thompson thought animated cartoons “were the most successful of all mediums for the presentation of the fairytale. Creatures of the folk imagination can be constructed with ease and given lifelike qualities.” Koven says Thompson was amazed “that one single text could reach so many people at the same time” (qtd. in Koven 3). While Thompson thought the Disney texts would be seen as one among many texts, fifty years later folklorists like Elizabeth Tucker are expressing concern because for some children the mass mediated texts of Märchen are the only version they know, to the exclusion of the traditional literary texts. She is concerned that the oral version will die out leaving these mass mediated versions to stand in their place.

Koven says that as far back as 1965 Disney was attracting criticism from folklorists and non-folklorists alike for his cinematic interpretation of folktales and the subsequent Disney literary versions. Further criticism can be aimed at Disney for the style of animation in which even the leading characters are stereotyped; with princes all resembling a familiar Hollywood star and the princess indistinguishable from a catwalk model. Kay Stone, although critical of Disney for his stereotypes of heroes as rescuers and heroines perpetually in need of rescuing, argues that by retaining fantastic elements in the narratives, Disney films allowed the child to develop imagination. This argument is further developed by folklorists such as Sylvia Grider (1977), John Niles (1980) and Elizabeth Tucker (1992) who see children not passive consumers or “victims” of these and other popular culture texts, but rather as active consumers, able to discern what is important to them and creatively incorporate elements from these mediums into their stories.

Much has been written about children’s folklore and the stories they tell, but what about the influence of popular culture and the mass media on their narratives? While Grider, Niles and Tucker found evidence of children extrapolating ideas and experiences from popular culture and incorporating them into their own text and context, I wondered if this was widespread. Would I find evidence of this in Newfoundland? Preparing for my fieldwork I came across examples of this type of narrative in the annual collections of elementary school children’s writings published by the Roman Catholic School Board in St. John’s during the 1980s.

Looking at Cordell's story, the contemporary popular culture content is evident. Like adult censorship, the influence of popular culture on storytelling is not new. Jack Zipes (1994) and Marina Warner (1995), tracing the literary origins of the fairy tale, both note how it developed in the seventeenth century French court. Here groups of writers, in particular aristocratic women, gathered together and wrote fairy tales for initially an adult audience. These literary narratives, Zipes argues, "are socially symbolic acts: narrative strategies formed to take part in civilized discourses about morality and behaviour in particular societies and cultures" (19). Far from remaining static, these discourses are constantly "rearranged and transformed to suit changes in tastes and values" (19). While modern popular culture does not necessarily reflect the moralist and behavioural attitudes of society in the same manner, it reaches a broad audience through the mass media.

Cable television with its plethora of children's programmes and numerous movie channels was new to the community of St. Shotts, compared to St. John's, where it appeared in the mid-seventies. Was there any evidence of popular culture influence on the children's narratives from this particular source of mass media? In Chapter 1 I look at the history of the popular culture and mass media and its relationship with Newfoundland.

As I later discovered, the content of cable television was one form of popular culture that greatly affected children's narratives in St. Shotts. Another form of mass media, which I had failed to consider, prior to my fieldwork as a possible source of influence on style and content of narratives, was video games. I devised a short survey to conduct with the informants to enable me to get to know them a little better and quicker

at the start of my fieldwork, so I included a further section on the survey form and asked children what video games and computer games they played. Not many children had access to a computer and computer games, but they nearly all had access to video games from either older siblings or from the video store. Video games were predominantly played by boys and seemed to account for a certain type of style in the warrior narratives. In addition to looking for evidence of popular culture in the narrative corpus, I was also interested in differences in narrative style, content and performance, either between the children in the two schools or according to gender which I return to in Chapter 5.

Newfoundland is renowned for its folklore and rich oral tradition, including a wealth of narratives about fairy stories. Barbara Rieti (1991) and Peter Narváez (1991, 1997) found belief in fairylore was still widespread in Newfoundland during the 1980s. In St. Shotts there were several well-known storytellers, who were either grandparents or related to the children. Did they believe in fairy stories themselves? I anticipated collecting some traditional fairy stories and sea-related stories in St. Shotts. Would the children recount their grandparents' texts or were they passive bearers of this tradition? Would they share these stories with me?

Taxonomy of the Narrative Corpus

Once children are old enough to attend school the focus of their socialization moves away from the family. Here they are able to mix and socialize with a larger group of peers. It provides an opportunity for storytelling other than sleepovers. To create my taxonomy of the narrative corpus I looked to the research of Elizabeth Tucker in her

unpublished dissertation “Tradition and Creativity in the Storytelling of Pre-adolescent Girls” (1977) and Sylvia Grider’s research in her unpublished dissertation “The Supernatural Narratives of Children” (1976). Their respective informants were older children. Tucker’s informants were two groups of Brownies taking the storytelling badge, whereas Grider’s informants were Grade 6 elementary school children.

Tucker meticulously categorized her informants’ repertoires into the following twelve groups: Scary Stories, Funny Scary Stories, Funny Stories, Nasty Stories, Story Question, True Stories, Stories from Books, Television Stories, Dreams, Made Up Stories, Made Up Stories based on Traditional Tales, to which she devotes a whole chapter, and Other. It appears that her categories are predominantly emic because her informants described the story type as they introduced their stories. In contrast, although her initial classification fell into similar categories as Tucker’s, Sylvia Grider focused on the supernatural narratives she collected. Her nine categories were: Ghost Story with Catch Ending, Legend, Negative Legend, Personal Experience, Media Narratorm, Description of Mock Supernatural Entertainment, Fantasy, Joke and Other, which are etic narrative categories because she labelled them herself. I discuss the narrative categorizations further in relation to my own taxonomy in Chapter 4.

Some of my categories were emic, because like Tucker’s Brownies my informants chose to label their own narratives, the rest of them are etic because I allocated stories to an appropriate category. From the corpus of narratives I collected emerged similar categories to that of Tucker and Grider, but for the sake of analytical consistency I adapted Tucker’s already accepted framework for discussing my data. Therefore my

narrative taxonomy is: Scary Stories, Funny Stories, True Stories, Made-up Stories based on Television Programmes and Films, Made-up Stories based on Books, Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture and Warrior Narratives and Miscellaneous. In the Miscellaneous category I include all the narratives which fell outside the remit of the thesis. These included material from the school curriculum like prose and poetry which are part of every day school work for this age group and playground lore, for example children's jump rope rhymes which are informal and fun. This data was noted on the respective tape indexes.

From this taxonomy I identified four groups of narratives which contained popular culture: Made-up Stories based on Television and Films, Scary Stories, Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture and Warrior Narratives, which I analyze in depth in Chapter 5.

Analysis of Narratives

When analyzing and categorizing the children's stories for content and style, I was looking for possible differences and similarities between the two collections of narratives. Would there be an urban versus rural dichotomy? Would the two different religious backgrounds provide a source of popular culture in the narratives or appear in the content? What type of stories would these children tell, if any, particularly in the school setting, which is not traditionally a storytelling arena for children? Gary Alan Fine proposed a framework of analysis for contemporary legend, which he called "The Folklore Diamond" (1992: 5). The Folklore Diamond comprises of four variables. These

are the social structure or the context, personal imperatives of the narrator such as their mood or self image, the actual performance and finally the narrative content (5).

Although Fine is referring to contemporary legend, these four variables are applicable when analyzing the corpus of narratives I collected. The school was the institutional context for these storytellers and they had to mediate telling stories, including the risqué ones, in this structure. Personal imperatives are important for young narrators, who while in a bad mood or unable to remember the story correctly would refuse to tell a story or perhaps sulk rather than be ridiculed by peers. I look at the storytellers in Chapter 3, compare their diverse backgrounds and analyze their performance. The situated dynamics likewise caused problems both for the narrator and me. Negotiating a “suitable” place for a storytelling event was difficult in the school setting as we were supposed to be supervised by the teacher. The narrative content and the form the stories took were at times dependent on the other variables and the audience. I discuss my methodology and fieldwork, including the problems that emerged collecting narratives in a school in Chapter 2.

Coming to folklore with a background of working with children both in special schools and children’s homes in England, I was aware of how important the mass media as a source of entertainment could be in free time. Likewise I had worked in a therapeutic community and knew that while some children found it hard to distinguish what was real from the fantasy world of popular culture, I had not yet come across any examples of popular culture being incorporated into their storytelling or subcultures. From my

research in Newfoundland I found children and adults alike were able to take items of popular culture from the mass media and incorporate them into their narrative repertoire.

Chapter 1

Media Influence in Newfoundland and its Effects on Children's Folklore

History of Popular Culture in Newfoundland

Children in Newfoundland grew up listening to tales and songs designed to entertain and educate them about their world (Bennett 1989). There is a commonly held assumption that the inhabitants of Newfoundland's isolated outport communities had little or no cultural contact with the outside world. Consequently Newfoundland culture was perceived in Regina Bendix (1977) terms as an "authentic" folk culture. It was envisaged as free from the evils of civilization with "authentic" becoming a metaphor for everything not modern. Yet from my research and talking to informants, Newfoundland's folk culture is not "authentic" in Bendix's terms. Folklorists such as Michael Taft (1981) and Gerald Pocius (1991) refute this in their respective fieldwork on the Great Northern Peninsula and the Southern Shore. In addition, folklorists such as Neil Rosenberg in his article "Omar Blondahl's contribution to the Newfoundland Folksong Canon," Peter Narváez in his paper "The Folklore of 'Old Foolishness': Newfoundland Media Legends," and Philip Hiscock's "Folk Process In A Popular Medium The "Irene B. Mellon" Radio Programme, 1934-1941." and others support this argument with their wealth of research into the media, Newfoundland folksong and folk music.

The study of mass media and its interaction with folklore has come under considerable scrutiny by folklorists in Newfoundland. They are concerned about “the media as transmitters of folklore and popular culture” (Hiscock 1984 20). For over a century Narváez says, “new technological media have been modifying the sensory experiences of the populations of Newfoundland and Labrador” (1986 125), citing the introduction of cooking stoves as an example of change in folklore that on one hand could be interpreted as the demise of a tradition: the open hearth with a style of cooking and communication that it generated. Alternatively while the appliance may have changed the cooking process, cooking food and communication continued in the kitchen so that the stove can be seen as a “continuity of expressive behaviours” (1986 126). Marshall McLuhan takes this argument further, saying that while technological media can replace older folkloristic communication, they can also, “shape and rearrange the patterns of human association and community” (1964 121). Narváez says some folklorists see new technology as “destroyers” of folklore, but conversely, some new technology such as winches and cooking stoves do not incite the same vehement concern from folklorists because for them “mass media are the bogeys” (1986 128).

The Movie-Man

Before the influx of the radio in the late 1930s, people in Newfoundland had limited access to the mass media through the travelling movie-man. In his paper the “Itinerant Movie-Man” (1981), Michael Taft found popular culture from the mass media was regularly distributed by the “movie-man” from the 1920s through the sixties, along

with the radio and the postal service. In the period from the 1920s to the 1950s Taft argues the movie had a prodigious impact on Newfoundland culture because the “movie-man” (31), as he became known, brought mainstream culture directly into the outports. He maintained this influence until the post-war development of television and its arrival in the mid-to-late 1950s on the island.

In the early days the movie-man travelled around the island by small motorboat: when roads became accessible by car or truck he brought with him a portable movie projector and the film, and a gasoline generator as his power supply. The generator was commonly called a “Delco,” regardless of the make. He ordered the films in St. John’s from distributors using a catalogue to guide his selection (31).

The movie-man travelled to places where he could obtain maximum capacity audiences with easy access for smaller communities. He learned which communities were profitable and what type of film drew the largest audience. The arrival of the movie-man would attract the children, who were ready to run errands or help him for which, according to one of Taft’s male informants, he gave free admission (33). Generally the audiences were primarily women, children and young people for whom it provided the opportunity to meet and court without parental restrictions. It seems the men were usually too busy or too tired to attend.

The show usually comprised of one or two short movies followed by a feature film. Taft says the shorts varied from National Film Board documentaries, to Pathé newsreels and cartoons, but the favourites were the cliff-hangers or serials. The feature film followed these with the favourite ones being westerns, war films, or comedies:

Taft's informants cited the western as the favourite because it "told a story" (34). One movie-man commented it was "useless to go in if you didn't have a western or a comedy" (34).

In the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore Archive (MUNFA), Taft found references to the influence of westerns in children's games of Cowboys and Indians being played after watching this genre (37). One adult recollected how after watching a film with his friends as a child, they wanted to cook outside like the cowboys (38). While I was conducting research in St. Shotts, I met a visiting teacher who was part of the Moratorium retraining scheme for adults. This teacher said he remembered playing war games as a child after watching the war movies brought into his community in the early 1950s by the movie-man, just at the end of the movie-man's popularity.

Children were not the only ones to absorb and incorporate new ideas from the movies into their narratives. Taft found it was not uncommon for film plots to become a source of material for new types of oral narrative and some were included into adult narrative repertoires. For example, a recitation teller saw the poem "Face on the Bathroom Floor" in a film; he liked the way it was performed so much that he changed his performance to mimic the film presentation (39). Women who attended the movie would recount the plot to friends who missed the film. Similarly Taft says lyrics were taken from musicals and incorporated into ballad singers' repertoires, in the same way that songs were taken from phonographs and added to repertoires forty years earlier. One man told Michael Taft that he liked the songs in a George Formby film so much that he learnt them (39).

With the arrival of electricity and television in the 1960s came the demise of the movie-man. Several adults in St. Shotts mentioned the arrival of television with its two channels in the sixties and the excitement of getting cable television, with all its channels, in the early 1990s. This brought a broader range of popular culture into homes with the wide variety of children's television programmes and the numerous movie channels that became instantly available.

Radio

Commercial radio and community radio were another early popular form of mass media to be introduced to Newfoundland that quickly became widespread. Narváez says it brought a profound change onto Newfoundland society and culture, despite the number of radios initially being few due to their cost. In his paper "Folk Process In A Popular Medium: The 'Irene B. Mellon' Radio Programme, 1934-1941" (1991), Hiscock documents the development of both types of radio stations in Newfoundland, in particular St. John's. Radio signals reached outports in the late 1930s and even communities without electricity had access to radio signals.

One of Michael Taft's informants reported that while growing up in the 1940s everyone had a radio and an outdoor aerial which picked up all the stations. Taft's informants recalled that during the winter time they could receive all of the St. John's stations on the Great Northern Peninsula; they even heard mainland stations as far away as Boston (30). Running a battery-powered radio was expensive; the former Premier

Joseph R. Smallwood, in his interview with Narváez, describes how “you’d see wind chargers all around the island, people revving up their batteries” (1986 55).

Where electricity was unavailable a twelve-volt battery was necessary to operate the radio, but this did not stop people listening. Instead some regular programmes, such as the highly popular fifteen minute programme “The Barrelman,” drew large audiences. Narváez says people flocked to each other’s houses to listen to the show (1986). The programme became a major event, virtually a performance in itself as friends and neighbours took turns visiting each other’s houses in the evening to listen to the show.

Country music spread through Newfoundland via the radio in the 1930s and 1940s. Narváez says it was aided by the popularity of Hollywood, which was producing numerous westerns at the same time. Not only did people hear these songs on their radios, but the movie-man would also be showing the movies in the outports so people would know the context and the films they came from.

The Postal Service

Taft mentions that a further link with the outside world for Newfoundlanders, and a good source of popular culture, was the postal service. This offered islanders the opportunity to order all kinds of items from the North American mainland and Europe regularly including; books, sheet music and phonograph records, as well as the songs which I have already mentioned, were often incorporated into ballad singers’ repertoires. Forty years earlier, Taft says, in her book Elisabeth Greenleaf, Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland, warned collectors to beware of the availability of phonographs.

In his book, A Place to Belong (1991), Gerald Pocius noted that people living in outport communities were far from isolated because they had regular contact with other outports and the mainland by boat long before accessible roads came into being. Although he was examining material culture and not the oral tradition, Pocius found late twentieth century material objects incorporated into the community culture. In his paper “Holy Pictures in Newfoundland Houses: Visual Codes of Secular and Supernatural Relationships” (1986), Pocius demonstrated how commercially available prints of religious pictures demarcated the family living space in traditional ways in Newfoundland homes.

Newfoundlanders Working Away from Newfoundland

This notion of Newfoundland as an isolated island, with an authentic folk culture, is further dispelled in Neil Rosenberg’s introduction to the Michael Taft collection of papers. He says that Newfoundland men frequently went in search of work in eastern North America. Michael Taft said the sea provided a major link with the rest of Newfoundland, North America and other parts of the world. Many Newfoundlanders regularly travelled to Boston, New York, Halifax and Montreal to buy and sell commodities (29). Seamen would return from their trips abroad with items acquired on their travels such as clothing, furniture, books and non-material items which included stories of their adventures, jokes and songs learned while they were away (30).

Gerald Pocius (1991) comments that people in Calvert were probably more mobile when they were dependent on the sea for transport, than they are today with the

car and accessible roads. He found people regularly travelled to other regions even though boats were the primary source of transport.

Today men and women still leave Newfoundland in search of work in other parts of Canada and the United States, and are doing so in greater numbers since 1992 when the moratorium on cod fishing began. For Example, on one of my taxi rides down to St. Shotts, a fellow male passenger and the driver were discussing the passenger's work in the North West Territories where the money was good. In addition, Rosenberg mentions the traditional seasonal work in Newfoundland, such as fishing and lumbering, which regularly took men away from home for long periods of time (1).

From this discussion, it is evident that Newfoundlanders were in touch with mainland culture and were not pockets of isolated communities. After Confederation in 1949, Rosenberg argues, there was a pressure for change within Newfoundland. People wanted the same access to the mass media as those who lived on the mainland.

Popular Culture

"Popular Culture" has been written about extensively in theoretical analysis and case studies. A few common definitions will be cited here. Broad definitions are most often offered such as: a culture widely favoured or well liked by many people, the culture which originates from the people; or Raymond Williams says "culture actually made by people for themselves" (1976 199). Other are more specific definitions associated with left and right wing ideology are also used.

A conservative interpretation of popular culture views it as mass culture or a commercial culture in which people consume in an automated and passive manner. Narváez argues that stimulating analyses of popular culture emerged with the growth of cultural studies in Britain in the mid nineteen-sixties (1991). Cultural Studies has since become an international discipline, yet it has not lost its leftist ideology which is rooted in the work of Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist. Gramsci argued for a definition in terms of hegemony, a struggle between dominant and subordinate classes and therefore between dominant and subordinate cultures. Popular culture in this context is not imposed from above nor does it emerge from below. This interpretation contrasts to John Fiske's proposed definition for popular culture which he says "is made by subordinated peoples in their own interests out of resources that also contradictorily, serve the economic interests of the dominant. Popular culture is made from within and below, not imposed from without or above...." (Fiske 1989 2).

Popular Culture and Folklore

The study of popular culture has also become a focus of study within folklore. Through the discipline of folkloristics the traditional mode of small artistic group communication can be examined. Narváez says despite the differences between folklore and popular culture, such as in performance style, popular culture attracts the attention of folklorists. One of the major differences he mentions concerns performance. He describes folk performance as exhibiting "the relatively close spatial and social relations of performers and audiences" (1991 17). In direct contrast some of today's popular culture

events are characterized by “enormous spatial and social distances between performers and audiences” (1991 17). On these occasions he says the communication between performer and audience becomes unidirectional, or the audience response is not easily discernable by the performer. The technological nature of the electronic media, such as television and radio, also creates an impossible spatial distance for an audience to “respond in an instantaneous, direct personal manner to the performance of a popular performer” (1991, 17), other than a show being recorded in front of a small live audience.

At the “folklore/popular culture interface” (Narváez 1991, 17) Narváez says there are four main areas of interest to folklorists, three of which are concerned with the incorporation of folklore into popular culture. The fourth area of interest he describes as “the expressive uses of communications media, mass produced goods, and mass mediated texts in small group contexts” (1991 20). In this category new technologies, goods and texts, may generate new types of folklore from the way people have used these new items and incorporated them into their life style. As a result he identifies a new genre of folklore, which he describes as “media lore” (Narváez 1991, 20). This genre contains such forms as “media legends,” and humorous narratives of people’s ineptitude when coping with new technologies, such as using the telephone or watching television for the first time. He says people excorporate, by selection and choosing appropriate mass-produced texts for their own use. An example of this is seen in Camille Bacon-Smith’s ethnography of Star Trek fans. The fans manipulate the texts they are provided with by the show and re-interpret them creating their own products in many different and creative ways. Likewise I found evidence of this in my own research.

In his book The Bosom Serpent (1988) Harold Schechter argues many definitions of popular culture still hold negative connotations. Schechter proposes that popular culture should be seen as popular art, which should be assessed “not as a primitive, rudimentary form of “real art” . . . but as part of an age old tradition of popular and communal storytelling” (9). Schechter says critics and scholars have noticed the relationship between folklore and popular art. He supports his argument with this quote from Leslie Frieder “Like fairy tales and legends popular fiction is distinguished by a special kind of immortality: what remains alive is not the language of the original text or even the name of the creator but simply the story itself” (9). They share the perception that the immortality of popular culture as similar to folklore.

As with other folklorists’ arguments Schechter’s adds to the current discussion that popular culture has the potential to act as a creative medium. Nevertheless he recognizes the dichotomy associated with it saying that some folklorists condemn modern “mass culture” as completely destructive of folksong and story while “others recognize a more complex and vital interplay between tradition, oral legend and the media” (10). In the latter case Herman Bausinger has argued, “industrialisation has not meant the end of folk culture” but rather its “mutation and modification” (10).

“The most obvious and most frightening thing about contemporary popular culture is that it matters so much to so many different people (Grossberg 1992 80).” He argues popular culture is significant to people at specific periods of time in their lives, which is clearly demonstrated in popular culture aimed at children. This type of popular culture is transitory in nature; there is speed in its adoption and change, and it appeals to

children's subcultures. Already the title of this thesis is dated. The Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles are gone, replaced by Pokémon. The associated spin off Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles games, toys, bedding, clothing, lunch boxes and other advertising hype are now yard sale bargains for collectors. My own two sons of ten and eight years old have no idea who these characters were, instead like the Star Trek fans, they take their favourite characters from Pokémon, re-enact favourite parts of the stories or create their own narratives with their friends.

Mass Media

The range of mass media, in the twentieth century, expanded from black and white silent movies which included short weekly serials or "cliff-hangers," in the twenties to digital colour films with national and international distribution networks by the millennium. The thirties saw the development of commercial and short wave radio, with television emerging and expanding rapidly after the Second World War. Over the last fifty years television has diversified from terrestrial networks to cable and satellite stations, thus allowing isolated areas with poor terrestrial reception access to main stream networks. At the time of my research cable television was a new phenomenon in many outport communities such as St. Shotts where it was rapidly replacing poor reception from the two terrestrial networks.

Since the end of the 1980s the video recorder has become a household item enabling people to watch a broader range of popular culture from the mass media. No longer are people dependent on going to the cinema to see a movie. Old movies or even

movies that were on “general release” up to about four months ago are now available to rent from video rental stores, to be watched at home. Blank videocassettes allow adults and children alike to record favourite programmes, they might otherwise have missed, to be watched later, possibly numerous times or shared amongst friends. In Western Society, the television and the video recorder, with its easily accessible cassettes of popular children’s films are often condemned mediums. They are seen to exert a derogatory influence on children’s creativity as opposed to being interpreted as stimulating vehicles of new ideas for communication among children. Today the DVD player and the DVD recording system are quickly replacing the video recorder; fewer videos are being released, movies are automatically going to DVD format.

One final development in the mass media, pertinent to this research, in the last two decades of the twentieth century was the development of the home computer or PC, as it is generally known, and video games. Nintendo and Sony emerged as biggest competitors for the home video game industry. Video rental stores now offer videos and games to rent for an evening’s entertainment. Video game playing was very popular among my informants at sleepovers.

Children’s General Television Viewing

The debate about the potentially harmful effect of the mass media and popular culture on culture generally is found amongst those working with children as educators; again the influence of the mass media is controversial. There appears to be two schools of thought: those that see the mass media as exerting a negative influence with reports and

statistical surveys to prove their point; and others, manipulating the same or similar surveys and reports, who argue it is a potentially creative medium for children.

In a paper written for teachers and parents Nicholas Criscuolo (1983) asked the question “Is television a boon or bane to both teachers and parents?” He said a third of children’s waking hours were spent watching television, although this might well have decreased over the last ten years, challenged by the rise in popularity of electronic games such as Nintendo and PC games. Elementary students were found to watch approximately five hours of television on school days, eight hours on Saturday and more than four hours on Sunday (3). Criscuolo was concerned about children’s excessive television viewing because if they were watching television, they were not reading. He suggested there were possible school activities, which could capitalize on children’s television viewing, such as creative writing exercises and discussions.

Criticism about the media and in particular the role of television is not limited to educators. Storyteller, Alanna Mitchell, in her article “Saturday Morning Hell” (1993) was highly critical of Saturday morning television. Far from offering creative ideas, she found numerous examples of negative stereotyped gender roles. She also expressed concern about the values and attitudes in the shows that she watched and others like them. She commented “Watching this barrage of ghastly villains, gruesome violence, infant sexpots and retro women it’s hard to believe this is children’s television” (C1)

Mitchell conducted a four-hour vigil watching Saturday morning television, from 8 am to noon. She watched cartoon versions of games such as Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles in which the young woman April constantly needs rescuing by the Turtles just as

she does in the various video games. Mitchell criticized Dog City (Fox Global) with its 1950s attitudes towards women. The producers did try to improve the status of women in the programme by introducing a female chief inspector but as Mitchell says, like April, she often falls into the damsel in distress role. Mitchell attacked Steven Spielberg Presents Tiny Toon Adventures for yet another negative female role model. This time portrayed by Babs, an infant bunny, who transforms herself into an “infant sexpot with painted face and lips” (C1) when dressing up for a date. Mitchell found Darkwing Duck equally disturbing because of the “bad guys” continual bickering over the different ways they could possibly kill Darkwing Duck.

As a parent, Mitchell is concerned about the values and attitudes shown in these programmes and others like them and suggests Saturday morning television should be radically altered. She quotes Sandra Campbell, of Viva Associates in Toronto, who had recently completed a study of the effect of television viewing on children’s sense of gender. Campbell said many of the improvements parents and educators fought for in the 1970s had all but disappeared. “Since 1983, we’ve seen a real resurgence of sex role stereotyping. It’s a terrible regression” (C1). Campbell also noted that some elementary schools in Ontario were banning logo toys, such as Batman back packs and Hulk Hogan T-shirts, hoping to reduce peer pressure to watch such television programmes (C2).

Television also comes under attack for the amount of violence and aggression incorporated into programmes and its potential influence on child viewers. Jerome Burne in “When the Medium’s Message is Violent” (1993), quotes Jonathan Freedman, a professor of psychology at the University of Toronto, who said “Aggressive children like

violent television” (12). He thought this was more accurate than saying children become aggressive from watching violent television. Burne argues the real question is whether violence on screen makes children aggressive. Freedman says, “The evidence is inconsistent, contradictory and does not provide a scientific basis for a causal effect” (qtd. in Burne 1993 12). Jerome Burne suggests that when the violence is part of the narrative it is the effect of the context on the viewer that is important. If the violence were taken out of context, would the effect on children be the same? After some laboratory studies on the effects of violence Burne concluded, “When violence is seen to be justified or is rewarded in some way, people are more likely to imitate it. But, random gratuitous violence tends to make people more anxious than aggressive” (13).

Media Applied to Classroom Instruction

Patricia Marks Greenfield in her book, Mind and Media (1984) expressed concern about the influence of the media on children, with regard to the content of commercial television shows and the possibility of negative effects on children’s attitudes (2). But she also argued there is a positive side to television viewing because it gives children different mental skills for reading and writing. Television is also better at conveying certain types of information. It makes learning available to children who have difficulty in the traditional school situation and appeals even to non-readers (2). She suggests that if parents and teachers use television for children to watch worthwhile programmes it can be a way for the school to reinforce viewing skills for fact versus fantasy (3). In addition she found that action and sound effects were more attention getting than dialogue for

children aged between five to six years old. By the time children were reaching eight years old she found these devices became irrelevant because comprehension level of this age group is good enough to understand the programme with or without them (19).

She also found that the visual impact of television helped elementary school children to remember action from a narrated television story better than the same story read from a picture book. Television versions, she said, made the actions visually explicit whereas the picture book version was implicit (19).

Another creative way of using the media was adopted by teacher, Marni Swartz (1987), who used storytelling in the classroom as part of her language programme. She asked her pupils to prepare and then perform their own stories. While some stories were personal, she found children also chose media based stories, such as a version of Bambi (1942 Disney). She was surprised to find some children only knew classic Greek myths from film versions such as Jason and the Argonauts (1963). This was a concern of Elizabeth Tucker's that I mention below. The child who chose this story was persuaded to read a written version of Perseus' tale, which helped the child in their classroom performance. Although Swartz personally disliked the media she thought it did have an impact on children commenting that "While I believe that much of television weakens an ability to visualize, I do not devalue the powerful impact of stories from the media" (606).

There was one further form of mass media entertainment, which emerged during my fieldwork as a potential influence on children and their narratives, and this was the video game. Over a decade ago Patricia Marks Greenfield commented that video games

introduce children to the world of microcomputers. This is still a valid comment, especially as computers are now an educational tool in the classroom, and in the computer laboratory, to help children learn mathematics and language skills through games and specific educational programmes. With the development of the PC and their decrease in price they are increasingly found in homes. There has been a big resurgence in the home video game industry with more modern technology and competition between the major manufacturers causing prices to drop thus making game playing machines more accessible. Nevertheless, like the debate about television influence, there is also one about the impact of video games on children and this is something I shall explore in greater depth in Chapter 5.

Mass Media and Folklore

How much folklore is there in the mass media and what is the role of the mass media in spreading folklore? Philip Hiscock, discussing the mass media in relation to Newfoundland's folk culture (1984), says the interaction between the two has long been recognized with folklorists expressing differing attitudes to this interaction.

Tom Burns in his article, "Folklore in the Mass Media: Television" (1969) found there was a high content of folklore within television programmes. He devised a framework to analyze "true" folklore content. "True folklore" he defined as traditional text, whether composed of verbal, non-verbal or mixed components; a traditional performance of that text in a traditional or customary situation in response to or in conjunction with a traditional audience. Using this framework of analysis he examined

the amount of traditional material found in the television media, the extent to which the material was “true” folklore, according to his definition; the distribution of the material in the programmes and the use to which the material was put (1969).

He arranged a nineteen-hour television vigil and found one hundred and one traditional items or themes in twelve genres. The largest genre he identified was traditional music and song. The other genres were folk belief which contained four true items of folklore; gesture; narratives in the form of jokes, proverbs and proverbial sayings; custom, which he described as the timing of certain programmes and the anthems at the signing on and off time; signs, dance, games and rhymes. A version of Cinderella (AT 150) was used to sell a cleaning agent called Mr. Clean, but he found little of what he defined as “true folklore.”

The use of folklore persists in television programmes and commercials whether the targeted audience is children or adults. As Cynthia Boyd (1990) in her analysis of the American animated children’s programme, Alf Tales, found the mass media makes literary transformations of traditional Märchen. In Cynthia Boyd’s example of Rapunzel, the media narrative is a reflection of the original story. The length of Rapunzel’s hair remains a core element to the story but in the modern version her long hair is exploited to sell shampoo. Conversely, as well as selling commercial products such as hair shampoo, the media also uses advertising to “help pay for the dissemination of folklore popular culture products” (Hiscock 1984 21).

Children's Storytelling

Although agreeing with the potential negative influence of the mass media, because of the portrayed gender stereotypes, the high levels of aggression and violence within film, television programmes and video games, folklorists Sylvia Grider and Elizabeth Tucker argue it is also a creative medium for children and their narratives. In her research with three to six year old children Elizabeth Tucker found they were at a "crucial stage of storytelling development" in what she describes as a key "video age," adapting Buhler and Bilz's term "Märchen age" (1992: 25). During her research it became evident the children had access to a video recorder and video versions of traditional fairy tales such as Cinderella and The Little Mermaid. She was interested in how the video recorder and video tape stories were influencing the storytelling process because she found the video versions were now the starting point for their narratives, instead of the traditional written ones. Although the video version was overshadowing the traditional printed story, she found the original story structure was still present and there appeared to be no waning of narrative creativity (1992: 25). On one occasion, her own three year old son suggested that when she felt unable to make up a story she pretend she was a video and rewind herself to tell him a favourite story. On another occasion when she was observing three children telling stories, two boys and one girl, she noted how when one child excused himself to go to the bathroom all three children used video associated terminology to interrupt the session, such as, "pause," "click" and "rewind." On the child's return, the storytelling session resumed with no further reference to video terms (1992).

Tucker also found that children were able to blend elements from different stories. She gives an example in a short excerpt from a collaborative story by two girls, in which elements from different stories included Cinderella, Winnie the Pooh, and E.T., all three of which are now available on the home video market. At the same time she noticed the children telling media narraforms which are defined and discussed below. She concluded that with some monitoring of the children's use of the video recorder, "we" as adults should not be too concerned about its effect on children's creativity because it appears to act as a springboard.

John Niles (1980) contributes to this debate but approaches it from a different perspective. In his study of four to six year olds Niles collected one hundred stories. He argues children are able to enter storytelling from a more creative perspective because, by ignoring the possible influence of the mass media, he perceives children of this age as displaying "a largely preliterate mentality" (320). Unlike older children, they are not totally under the influence of the written word. Instead, for children of this age traditional oral narratives act as a starting point for their own imagination. In his paper Niles concentrates on the narratives of one child, a four-year-old called Rachel. At four Rachel is able to introduce her own experience of popular culture in one of her versions of Jack and the Beanstalk. When Jack first climbs the beanstalk and enters the giant's kitchen he tells the giant's wife, "I would like a milkshake and a hamburger and that's it" (323) thus conjuring up a picture of a fast food restaurant. Rachel also gives the giant a prodigious appetite only satiated after demanding a total of forty one pancakes, again a possible reflection of her own food tastes.

Media Narraforms

Sylvia Grider argued there is a new form of narrative, “the media narraform” which is the direct result of the influence of the mass media and an integral part of children’s storytelling (1976 418). She found that these new narratives differed to those from the oral tradition because they were generally “loosely structured and contain less creative development” (1976 420). In her article “The Media Narraform” (1981) Sylvia Grider defines this narrative as “the re-tellings of mass media presentations about the supernatural, using traditional storytelling techniques” (1981 125), presumably relating it to her PhD fieldwork. She continues “media narraforms thus embody a symbiotic relationship between the media and oral tradition: the media provide the content, and oral tradition provides the situations and format for the performance of these contemporary, narratives” (1981 126). Although Grider is talking about these narratives in relation to the supernatural content of her informants’ stories, they are not restricted to this genre. She also found they were not just a storytelling device used by children, as adults and adolescents frequently tell them. Her description of media narraforms seems very reminiscent of the narrative re-tellings of movie plots that Michael Taft found in his movie-man research.

Sylvia Grider argues the mass media has an enormous influence on some aspects of American children’s storytelling, in particular their interest in the supernatural. Not only does the television present an assortment of programmes with the supernatural as a theme but also comic books and horror movies, “constantly exploit supernatural themes combined with sex and violence” (1981 125). In addition, supernatural, violent and

horror themes regular appear in the popular video games children are playing, such as Mortal Combat, which suggests there may be some influence from these games on children's narratives.

Grider argues the narraforms are not as tightly structured as traditional oral narratives and she found a difference between narraforms based on television and comic books. She identified four major characteristics of narraforms, which were: narrators tend to acknowledge the source of their information with a simple statement such as, "I saw this on television" which she suggests indicates the high status of the media in their eyes (1981 126). Secondly she found the core of the narraform is little more than a description with linking phrases (1981 127). Thirdly the character development and description is quite shallow in these narratives giving a third-person effect in the telling of the narrative and lastly the narratives are often longer than a traditional story because the young narrator is trying to include everything they saw or read in the story (1981 127).

She suggests that narraforms are an important part of American children's storytelling sessions because of the importance of the media in their lives and the way they share information about the media. It also enables less skilled narrators to participate in the telling of narraforms (1981 129). Although children like to recount their own narraform she found that it was often quite difficult for them to do this, especially with a movie, so it became a collaboration of several children to tell all the highlights of a plot (1981 130).

Summary

Newfoundland culture as folklorists such as Narváez, Hiscock, Pocius and Taft have proved, is not authentic and isolated from mainland culture, although it might have been slower to receive it. Through travelling people such as the movie-man or people working away, popular culture was brought in and assimilated into the local culture. With the expansion of the mass media over the last fifty years popular culture has been brought to a wider audience. The incorporation of ideas from popular culture is not a new phenomenon as Elizabeth Tucker and Sylvia Grider have demonstrated with their research into children's narratives. The potential influence of the media and popular on children and culture at large is a heated debate among educators and folklorists. Nevertheless it appears that children and adults are able to take ideas from the mass media and incorporate them creatively into their narratives.

Chapter 2

Fieldwork

To obtain the corpus of narratives required for this thesis I needed to find a group of children with whom I could have regular access to record their story repertoires. For her research Elizabeth Tucker (1977) collected stories from two Brownie troops outside school hours. In contrast Sylvia Grider (1976) collected stories from children in school time in their classroom. Not knowing any Brownie troops in St. John's I decided to try to collect narratives from children in school. In this chapter I discuss how I found my informants and their respective schools, my preparations for fieldwork, along with the research tools I used to both collect the corpus of narratives needed for this research: my questionnaires and a media diary, to give me, as an outsider, an understanding of the popular cultural influences to which my informants were exposed in Newfoundland.

Preparation for Fieldwork

Meeting my informants and their teachers

At the suggestion of two friends on the M.A. programme I contacted Mrs. Barbara Coles and Mrs. Maureen Finlay. Mrs. Coles was a Grade 3 teacher at St. Marv's Elementary School in St. John's and Mrs. Finlay, was the Principal at Our Lady of Fatima School St. Shotts St. Mary's Bay. St. Mary's was a Protestant grade school in urban St. John's, whereas Our Lady of Fatima was a small Roman Catholic multi-grade

school, with three classes, in rural Newfoundland, on the southern tip of the Avalon Peninsula.

I immediately approached Mrs. Coles and Mrs. Finlay to explain my fieldwork proposals and to ask if I could work with them in their respective schools. Both women were excited about the idea so I arranged to meet Mrs. Coles at the end of January while Mrs. Finlay suggested I write to the Roman Catholic School Board immediately and contact her again later in the Winter semester. She mentioned that Mrs. Martin taught the Grades 3 and 4 and that I would work primarily with her. As they were both willing to have me in their classrooms I thought it would be of interest to split the fieldwork between the two schools and compare the styles of narrative, contents and performance to see if there was an urban versus rural dichotomy.

Due to the locality of St. Shotts and the lack of public transport, the sensible approach was to divide the fieldwork into two sections; firstly, to conduct my fieldwork at St. Mary's School, in St. John's, during the first half of the Spring Semester, where I could visit three times a week, fitting it in with the class timetable and use public transport to get there. Then in the last half of the semester I could complete my fieldwork at Our Lady of Fatima School, in St. Shotts, where I would find some accommodation for the duration of the fieldwork.

Meeting Mrs. Coles

Mrs. Coles and I met for the first time in her classroom, at the end of the school day, in the last week of January 1993. She gave me a tour of her room and introduced me

to a few remaining children who were waiting to catch the school bus or to be collected by their parents, along with their older siblings. I explained the ideas for my research and the aims of my thesis. She thought it would be of mutual benefit to the class and me so she suggested I contact the Avalon Consolidated School Board immediately and to leave it with her as the Principal. Mr. Hiscock was off sick. Shortly after I started as a volunteer he returned and Mrs. Coles introduced him to me. Because they had already discussed the possibility of me working with her class he asked a few questions and then he gave his approval.

I wrote to the respective school boards asking for their permission for my fieldwork. I enclosed a proposal for the research and a copy of the parental permission form that I intended to send out. The two school boards kindly and enthusiastically consented to my fieldwork plans.

For the rest of the Winter Semester and while waiting for a reply from the two school boards, Mrs. Coles welcomed me into her classroom as a volunteer every Friday afternoon, weather and public transport willing. During this time I was busy assisting with art projects, reading stories, listening to children read, marking schoolwork and any other activities with which Mrs. Coles asked me to help. Towards the end of this time I was able to conduct some preliminary fieldwork, which I will discuss later in the chapter. Volunteering proved to be a good experience, allowing the children and myself to get to know each other while giving me an insight into the school routine and the educational system, which was different to my own experience in England.

After receiving approval from the school boards I sent out parental consent forms to the parents of the children in Mrs. Coles' class. On the form I explained I was a student at Memorial University who wanted to collect stories from children as part of my fieldwork for my folklore M.A. I asked for their permission to collect stories from the children and offered three options for using the children's names: to let the child's name appear as it was, to use a pseudonym or let the child be anonymous. There was a tear-off strip at the bottom of the form for their reply and the majority of the parents gave their consent. A few parents declined and some requested I use a pseudonym for their child's name to which I agreed. In the text of the thesis I only use the children's given name. Where I have used examples of two children telling one story, their names are abbreviated to their initials. The child's given name and surname or pseudonyms appear in the four story appendices and in the tape indexes. Several children were reluctant to participate in the research initially but changed their minds later once they found out what was happening from friends. If they asked to join in I gave them a consent form to be signed by their parents before I collected any stories from them. Mrs. Finlay was so enthusiastic about my coming to Our Lady of Fatima's that I waited until I went there before the parental consent forms were distributed. She did not anticipate any problems obtaining parental permission from the children's parents.

Meeting Mrs. Finlay and Mrs. Martin

After I received permission from the Roman Catholic School Board, I telephoned Mrs. Finlay and arranged to meet her and visit the school on Tuesday 11th May 1993. My

friend, Jean Marie Myrick suggested I board with her mother Mrs. Regina Myrick, in St. Shotts for the duration of my fieldwork. On the day I arranged to visit Mrs. Finlay, Mrs. Myrick kindly offered lunch to her daughter, myself, and two friends, Melissa Ladenheim and Jamie Moirera, who volunteered to drive us all to St. Shotts.

I was both excited and a little apprehensive about conducting fieldwork in St. Shotts because it was a good two-hour car journey from St. John's. Would I find myself "stranded" in this community for almost six weeks? How would the people there react to a single English woman living in the community? To allay my anxieties I read the several of Dr. Nemec's papers about the community and talked to him about my research and how different it was to his. In addition I interviewed Jean Marie about her experience of growing up and living in St. Shotts. When I mentioned my anxiety and she reassured me by saying the kids would love me going into the school. She suggested I took some photographs with me of my home and the area where I came from, as they would find this interesting.

I asked her if there were any pitfalls I should be aware of and she laughed and told me that they would try to marry me off to one of the bachelors in the community! At Jean Marie's suggestion I bought a large piece of card on which I mounted some photographs of my house in Wales and the surrounding countryside. At a travel agent in St. John's I found a couple of old brochures about Wales. From these I was able to cut out a map and a few pictures of Welsh castles. The children in both schools were interested in the display and asked questions about it. I also read several books such as

More Than Fifty Percent by Hilda Murray (1979) and A Place to Belong by Gerald Pocius (1991) to gain an alternative perspective on outport life.

This was my first trip south of Bay Bulls, so my friends decided to drive down along the shore and return via St. Mary's Bay to show me what the area was like geographically. On the Tuesday morning I awoke to find a light covering of snow but it was melting quickly so we decided to risk the weather and go as planned.

The further south we drove along the shore road I noticed how the landscape changed from rocky with trees to flat open heath and no trees. I hoped to see a moose on our journey; instead a small herd of caribou crossed the road in front of the car, pausing long enough for a photograph. We met Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Finlay at the school at 1 p.m. when school opened for the afternoon after everyone had returned from their lunch break.

When we arrived at the school Jean Marie introduced us all to Mrs. Finlay who invited us all in for a brief tour of the school and introduced us to the children and her colleagues, Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Hewitt. She asked me some questions about my proposed research and suggested I undertook it with Grades 3, 4 and possibly Grade 2 because there were only three children in the latter group. She seemed very enthusiastic about my research and thought the children would have lots of stories to tell. She asked if I was looking for an urban versus rural dichotomy, but as both groups of children had access to the mass media, especially cable television, I explained I was unsure as to what to expect. I thought the children in St. Shotts might include more traditional stories in their repertoires because of a strong storytelling tradition within the community. Mrs.

Finlay commented that the children knew many local legends and shipwreck stories that they could tell me.

I gave Mrs. Finlay a copy of my proposal, the questionnaire I intended to use, the media diary I wanted the children to keep for two weeks and the parental consent form, which needed signing before I started collecting stories. Before introducing me to Mrs. Martin's class, Mrs. Finlay asked me if I would be prepared to assist a girl who needed some remedial help to which I agreed. Then she asked if I could sing or play the piano. I had to disappoint her on both counts.

Mrs. Finlay took us all into Mrs. Martin's classroom where she introduced us to Mrs. Martin and her class as "folklore students from the university in St. John's." She mentioned I was English and would be coming to the school to collect stories from them as part of my degree. She offered the children the chance to ask us some questions because the children were as curious about us, as we were about St. Shotts. Everyone knew Jean Marie because her family was from the community and ran one of the small community shops. I was asked how to pronounce my name because it was unusual, before I could reply Mrs. Finlay suggested they should call me "Miss Liz," as this would be easier! Another child asked, "What is folklore?" We explained it was about traditions, old and new, such as ballads and stories, including new "stories" such as alligators in the sewers and also about material objects like the ones they had in their museum at the back of the classroom. Some of the children called out to say that in the museum they had created were some old objects from their families which included a piece of old china and a powder horn.

Mrs. Martin showed us the dinosaur models they were making and a special book about the school, made several years ago when Jean Marie was in Mrs. Martin's class. To Jean Marie's embarrassment Mrs. Martin found the page with Jean Marie's story about the excitement of moving to the new school building, where we were visiting, and a poem written by Jean Marie and her sister Michelle.

We agreed I would start after the mid-semester break for the last part of the term. Unfortunately because of the distance from St. John's and my lack of transport it was impossible to go into the school as a volunteer prior to starting my fieldwork. Instead I went into Mrs. Martin's classroom daily and this enabled me to get to know the children and the timetabling differences quickly. The actual time spent in the two schools was about the same but in St. John's it was spread over five months, whereas in St. Shotts it was more intense because I was living in the community and the experience was concentrated into a few weeks. Like Mrs. Coles, Mrs. Martin was prepared to let me conduct my fieldwork in school time.

Before leaving St. Shotts Jean Marie gave us a brief tour of the community, showing us the new community stage and wharf, built about eighteen months before our visit, but still awaiting completion. The massive concrete support blocks for the outer wall were lining part of the road waiting to be moved into their final positions in the harbour. This work was completed while I was living there. There were still some older stages around the wharf, which were used for storage. The new community stage and wharf were at the furthest southerly point of the community. You could stand there and look out to sea, across the bay, or inland at the houses that appeared to "perch" on the

hill. We drove around the headland to the lighthouse at Cape Pine where we met one of the keepers, Jean Marie's Uncle Peter, who invited all of us to climb to the top of the light to see the view around the coast, which was stunning.

Equipment Used

I arranged with the folklore archive to borrow a portable tape recorder, with a microphone, and a camera with which to take black and white photographs. The archive also supplied audiocassettes for the recording sessions, which on my return to St. John's in June I was able to duplicate both for the archive and myself. For a short time I borrowed a transcriber from the archive and on my return to Wales I was able to borrow another one for a short period of time to help transcribe my fieldwork tapes. One problem I encountered with transcribing the narratives was that some of the tapes were stretching as they were played, so I was unable to verify the index numbers.

Research Tools

Questionnaires

As part of my research I intended to use a questionnaire in conjunction with a "media diary" with my informants to gain some insight into the media influences on the children and their own interests. In October, prior to my fieldwork and as preparation for it, I conducted a short questionnaire (see Appendix 1) with a group of folklore students at the university to obtain an idea of the cultural influences I might expect to find. From their answers and by comparing my questionnaire to the one Elizabeth Tucker (1977)

used with her Brownies for their Storytelling Badge. I decided to rewrite mine (see Appendix 2 for the version I used with the children at St. Mary's and Our Lady of Fatima).

While the folklore students completed their questionnaires by themselves, it became apparent this was not feasible with the majority of the children I surveyed. Instead I took the opportunity to sit quietly with each child, before school or during the wet, snowy or icy recesses when they were stuck inside, to complete the questionnaire together, which enabled me to get to know them a little better, especially Mrs. Martin's class. By completing the questionnaires myself I was able to ask further questions and jot down additional notes.

Once I started completing the questionnaires several recreational activities emerged that I had not previously considered: video games, sleepovers which I discuss further in Chapters 4 and 5 and Brownies or Cubs. Because I discovered this at the beginning of the survey I was able to add additional sections to accommodate these questions and answers. The complete listing of the video games they played was compiled from this additional survey data and is found in Appendix 3. Video games emerged as a major form of entertainment, challenging the popularity of the television, and I discuss it in greater depth in the Warrior Narrative section of Chapter 5.

It transpired that most of Mrs. Coles' class belonged to either Brownie troops or Cub packs in St. John's and they were keen to tell me about the badges they were working for, they had achieved or wanted (see Appendix 4). The children in St. Shotts

attended 4H, but by the time I went there, the season was over for the year and they were no longer meeting or participating in any 4H activities.

Media Diaries

Each child was asked to keep a “media diary” for two weeks about their own media exposure and reading habits. Elizabeth Tucker (1977) asked her Brownies to keep a weeklong diary of their daily hours and minutes of reading and television. However, I thought a two-week detailed diary in which they recorded all the television programmes, videos and movies they watched, as well as all the books and story tapes they read or listened to would highlight the popular culture they were regularly exposed to in the media. Some children started recording the Nintendo games they played at home, so after discovering the popularity of video games I suggested they all record these as well in the media diaries.

The diaries were made from scrap lined computer paper, which were personalized with stickers on the front covers. On the first page were instructions for recording the details. To make recording easier a simple key was devised and an example given on how to complete an entry. The key was as follows:

- “T” for television
- “VT” for video recorded television programme
- “V” for video movie (Andrew annotated this with “movie from video store”)
- “F” movie at the theatre
- “S” story cassette you listen to
- “B” books you read (expanded to include books read to you)
- “C” comics you read.

These instructions were discussed fully with each class, as a whole, before the diaries were distributed. Each page was divided into headed columns of “Date” “Key” “Time/Channel” and “Title.” The children only needed to supply the relevant information to complete an entry.

Before the Easter holiday I made four, twenty paged diaries and asked Mrs. Coles if she had any comments or suggestions about them. She pointed out a couple of language differences. For example, whereas I would go to the cinema in England to see a film, in Newfoundland people went to the theatre to see a movie; a film was rented from the video shop. She also suggested the instructions were typed on the first page because it would be easier for the children to read.

Before the end of the Winter Semester both school boards granted their approval for my research in the respective schools. Therefore, as four children were eager to tell me all the stories they knew, I decided to do a trial run and asked them to keep the diaries for the week before the end of semester. This would give me the opportunity to sort out any problems that emerged; such as keeping the diaries up to date, and realizing that some children wanted to impress me by including all the titles of all their books on their bookshelf at home, regardless of whether they had read them.

Before the Easter recess, the four diaries were returned and I discovered, even with large handwriting, twenty pages was too many so the remaining diaries were reduced to twelve pages with the last three pages left blank in case spare pages were needed. Extra diaries were made lest some were lost, used up, or some children who initially did not want to participate in the research changed their mind.

As with the questionnaires, while a few children regularly kept these diaries, it became apparent it was too much for others. Therefore, before school or at recess I took the opportunity help those who found it difficult to complete them and talked about the media and reading material they were exposed to. Certain programmes quickly emerged as strong favourites. Home Improvement was popular among both sexes in St. Mary's, but Saved by the Bell was more popular in Our Lady of Fatima (see Appendix 5 for complete diary listings of television programmes and Appendix 6 for their favourite movies).

The Mary Griffith Bursary

The Mary Griffith Bursary I received enabled me to take advantage of a special Cable Atlantic offer for cable television for three months, from March to May inclusive. This allowed me to watch the same television programmes and films as my informants at St. Mary's. About the same time I was lent a video recorder so I rented some of the children's favourites movies which I had not seen before such as Little Shop of Horrors (1986 Warner Brothers) and Terminator 2: Judgment Day (1991 Tri-Star). At the same time I took the Saturday Telegram newspaper because this issue included a weekly television guide and listing which I kept for further reference. The guide also enabled me to clarify some of the weird names and spellings that were given for television programmes.

The Schools

The obvious urban/rural dichotomy emerged in the style and location of the two schools. The single and multi-grade systems of education were reflected in the contrasting size and design of the school buildings. Not only did the buildings differ but also the locations contrasted enormously. St. Mary's School was situated in an urban environment in a middle class area of St. John's. It was a modern purpose built building with seven classrooms, a library, a large multipurpose hall, special education room, teacher's staff room, secretary's office and Principal's office, and the central corridor was lined with metal lockers. To the side of the school building was a large purpose built wooden ship play area with various ramps. Several ramps led to the back of the school and up to a large playing field where the older children would either play soccer or gather in groups and watch the game. The playground was in close proximity to a modern housing development and there was a big sign saying "Caribou Hill, Community Park". The majority of the Grade 3 children either played on the fixed play area or a group would play a ball game to the side of the building. This game tended to be organized by several of the boys and it was interesting to watch because it gave an indication of the power hierarchy in the classroom.

In contrast to the urban location of St. Mary's School, Our Lady of Fatima is situated in St. Shotts, a small rural fishing community at the southern end of the Avalon Peninsula. When relocation was taking place in the 1950s this small community of people chose to remain where they were as opposed to moving to Trepassey about twelve miles away. At that time there was no paved road so the older children in the community

boarded in Trepassey four days a week so they could attend school there. By the mid-eighties a paved road replaced the gravel surface from the highway to St. Shotts and at the time of my research the older children, Grade 7 and above, travelled daily by the school bus to the high school in Trepassey rather than boarding out four nights a week.

A new school building was erected in the early 1980s, the one Jean Marie wrote about in Mrs. Martin's book. Like its predecessor, the new building was a multi-grade school for children from Kindergarten to Grade 6. With the decline in the school age population in St. Shotts the future of the school was uncertain. No one knew how much longer the Roman Catholic School Board would keep it open and it finally closed in 1996. In September 1994 the three classes were reduced to two classes, Mrs. Finlay retired and Mrs. Martin became Principal.

The noticeable physical difference between the two schools, other than their size, was their respective sites. In contrast to the urban school and formal playground, Our Lady of Fatima was situated at the sea end of the community. One could stand in the playground and look across the bay, out to the community stage where on bad weather days you could see the waves crashing against the walls of the new wharf, or turn and face the community. The playground was part of the large car park that served both the school and the community hall. While I was in St. Shotts the community committee decided to lay a concrete play area, by the school, for the children to play basketball and two nets were erected at the same time, ready for the summer holiday and the new school year.

Unlike St. Mary's there was no large gymnasium. Instead there was a large multi-purpose room that could be divided into two areas by partitions. The Women's Institute regularly rented it one evening a week. There were three classrooms, a small library used by the older children and a visiting community nurse on a Tuesday afternoon, the Principal's Office and a reception and storage area.

Mrs. Coles' St. John's classroom was a busy room. The desks, with separate chairs, were arranged in-groups of four or six, around a small carpeted area where the children would sit for registration, prayers, a story or a discussion about class work. Mrs. Coles also used this area for teaching, especially when she wanted to start a new language theme. She would gather the class together and distribute the workbooks. I noticed when the children sat on the carpet they divided into roughly three groups. There was a group of mainly girls, who liked to sit at the front and pay attention to what was being said. There was a small group of children who regularly tried to sit either at the back or to the sides that would distract each other and certain boys would spend their time tying and retying their fashionably long shoes laces!

Mrs. Coles liked to move the desks around frequently to enable the children to make friends with one another and to prevent strong cliques developing. Some children would ask to sit with friends and depending how they worked she would sanction their sitting together for a while. The children's work, both written and artistic, was displayed around the room. They were encouraged to rewrite good pieces of class work with corrected punctuation and spelling to display on the wall for everyone to see. Mrs. Coles explained to me that the language programme was based on the "Whole Language

Approach” which I discuss further in the following chapter. It used themes for class work, such as whales, Easter, Fairy Tales, and First People, in this instance the Huron. Her displays were frequently changed or additions were made because the children seemed keen, encouraged by Mrs. Coles, to display their work.

Mrs. Martin’s St. Shotts room was equally as busy but at the end of the school year the curriculum for some subjects was completed and there was time for other activities, which did not include sorting out displays. The first noticeable difference between the two classrooms was the furniture. In Mrs. Martin’s classroom, the desks and chairs were a fixed metal-framed unit, which posed some problems for some of the younger and smaller children who seemed to be perched on the edge of their seats to use the desk. Unlike Mrs. Coles’ classroom arrangements these desks were set out in rows facing forward with different rows representing a grade. The first row of three desks to the right of the classroom were for Grade 2, Grade 3 sat in the next two rows and Grade 4 in the last two rows by the window. Another noticeable difference was the shelving unit, which ran the full length of the central corridor wall, in the centre of which was a small altar with a statue of Our Lady of Fatima.

The organization of the school day also differed in the two schools. At St. Mary’s the next lesson or recess was heralded by the ringing of the bell. In addition, a public announcement system was linked through the classrooms in St. Mary’s, which was operated from the secretary’s office. During the winter weather this system was used to tell children and staff whether it was an outside or inside recess. The children at Our Lady of Fatima moved around at the appropriate times without a bell ringing.

At St. Mary's the school timetable was organized on a rotating six-day system. Mornings were generally devoted to mathematics and language work whereas the afternoons were more relaxed with project work and art. There were certain days when the class was timetabled for physical education and music, which left little contact time with Mrs. Coles so we decided I would not go in on these days. This enabled me to prepare for my fieldwork in St. Shotts and carry out any other work that needed to be done. Music and physical education were taught by visiting part-time teachers who came into the school specifically to teach these subjects. In addition to the grade teachers and Principal there were two part-time special education teachers who worked in the mornings. They would withdraw certain children out of the classroom for remedial language work, including reading and mathematics.

At Our Lady of Fatima there were only three teachers for thirty-nine children: the Principal Mrs. Finlay, Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Hewitt. Mrs. Finlay taught the youngest children, including the Kindergarteners who only attended school until 11.30 a.m. and Grade 1. Then Grade 2 joined Grade 1 for the rest of the day at 11.30 a.m. Mrs. Martin was responsible for Grades 2, 3 and 4 until 10 a.m. when the Grade 4 left to join the Grades 5 and 6 taught by Mrs. Hewitt. At 11.30 a.m. Grade 4 returned to the classroom and Mrs. Martin taught Grades 3 and 4 for the rest of the day. There were sixteen children in Mrs. Martin's class: eight children in Grade 4, four boys and four girls, five children in Grade 3, three boys and two girls and three children in Grade 2, two boys and one girl. After the structured six-day timetable in St. Mary's I found the multi-grade system initially confusing with all the class movements.

Again there was no designated Physical Education teacher but a Physical Education lesson was a regular part of the curriculum. Instead of organizing a Physical Education lesson in my first week Mrs. Finlay, Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Hewitt decided to shut the school for the afternoon because the weather was sunny and walk over to where the men were cutting turf that afternoon. All the children came on the walk and many of them were keen to point out local landmarks and tell me various snippets of local folklore about the wrecks along the coast. One child also told me a story about someone's grandmother and friend getting lost in the fog while they were berry picking. The traditional recourse of action to ward off the influence of fairies was for the person or persons to take off their coats and turn them inside out before putting them on again. Sometimes parents would put dry bread in children's pockets before letting them go out berry picking and this was another measure to confuse and ward off fairies. These two ladies resorted to traditional strategies and turned their coats inside out and were able to safely find their way home. As we walked further away from the community I looked back and I could see just how small it was perched on the hill, at the edge of the coast. Looking inland you could see various styles of wood stacks, such as tepees, piled, drying for winter use in the families' wood burning stoves. Some of the children's fathers were cutting turf and loading the truck so they waved as we walked by.

As I mention previously there was no defined playground at Our Lady of Fatima, so the soccer players would stop playing and move aside if a car drew into the community centre car park. Watching the children out playing at recess it became apparent that like the children in St. Mary's, there was a clear division of recess activities

among the age groups and sexes. Nearly all the boys in Grades 5 and 6 preferred to play either basketball or soccer in the car park while most of the younger children either skipped by themselves or joined a large group skipping with a big rope turned by one of the teachers and an older girl. I was surprised to see the ability of the Kindergarten children who regularly joined in the skipping. One girl's younger sister would race across the little footbridge and car park at recess to join in with the skipping, although she was a year too young for Kindergarten. The teachers and some of the older girls would take turns to turn the large skipping rope and everyone joined in chanting the various skipping rope rhymes and number games. While the skipping was taking place some of the girls would play "horses" with the individual skipping ropes which seemed unusual in an area where horses were not kept. The girls would stand one in front of each other, with a small skipping rope going round the front one. The girl behind would hold them like reins and they would run off together making horsy noises around the playground. Some of the younger boys would cycle to school on their bicycles and choose to "whiz" round the available space showing off or chasing one other.

Even the patterns of snacks and lunch varied between the two schools. At Our Lady of Fatima at the start of recess, before the children went out to play, they all had a small carton of milk to drink, either chocolate milk or plain milk which they paid for weekly. Everyone went into the multi-purpose room to collect their milk, which was distributed from the fridge by their class teacher. The children returned to the classroom to drink the milk and then went out to play. I found myself joining everyone else drinking milk at recess. At lunchtime the school closed and everyone, teachers and myself

included went home for lunch. Lunchtimes I found myself eating at different houses, invited by the girls in the school or by Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Finlay, to sample a Jig's Dinner and other favourite lunchtime snacks, like moose soup and baked apple jam. Even children whose parents worked went home with someone for lunch. Various family members would be waiting outside school to collect the children because they only had forty-five minutes for lunch break.

In contrast, at St. Mary's most children brought in a packed lunch and only a few went home. First thing in the morning they were able to order and buy snacks and drinks for recess or lunchtime. Later in the morning these were delivered to the classroom. Most Fridays the school secretary would come round and collect numbers for pizza and the children were able to order slices of pizza for themselves. The teachers had a recess and lunchtime roster, so they took turn patrolling the school and playground at these free times while the rest of them relaxed and chatted in the staff room. I appreciated the tea and coffee in the staff room and enjoyed the teachers' company at lunchtimes. I also found these good times to interact with the children and catch up on documenting their questionnaires, media diaries or observe their play.

Like St. Mary's, the mornings in Mrs. Martin's class were generally devoted to language and mathematics but due to the multi-grade system, Mrs. Martin often taught some language or mathematics for a short period in the afternoon. In both schools I was invited to read a story of my choice to the class. In St. Mary's the book lasted for my entire visit but in Our Lady of Fatima I finished it and was asked to read another one.

Despite the different religious orientation of the two schools there appeared to be no obvious influences on the children's narratives. In St. Shotts I was told several Catholic jokes and I was aware of the Roman Catholic culture of the community with the iconography and prayer cards in the houses and the small altars in each classroom. The daily prayers, at the beginning and ending of the morning and afternoon sessions, reminded me of my own childhood experience in a Roman Catholic Convent school in England.

Another difference between the experiences in the two schools was my transport to the respective schools. In St. John's I travelled by bus across town to St. Mary's. It was my first experience of a Newfoundland winter and although there were no blizzards there were a couple of occasions when the school drive was inaccessible to the school bus and children dependent on the bus missed school on those days. I arranged to travel by taxi from St. John's to St. Shotts. The taxi serviced the small communities along the shore road. People would call to schedule a ride, ask for a parcel to be collected and delivered in St. John's or ask for a parcel to be collected in St. John's and delivered to their home along the Southern Peninsula. Thus people and parcels were collected and dropped off along the way. The taxi was a six-seater cab with a separate enclosed storage space to the rear. Usually I was collected first by the owner and driver, Bruce Hallrahan, about 4 p.m., because I lived on the east side of the city. He would then make his way across to the west side of town picking up parcels and passengers. With all the stops the two-hour journey stretched to four hours; it was a long journey, but in the summer it enabled me to see the small fishing communities and the surrounding countryside. Mr. Hallrahan would

point out local landmarks and chat, and as we drove further down the shore herds of caribou could be seen along the sides of the road, but in the long dark winter evenings the journey seemed to take forever. About half way we would stop for a break, usually a coffee and a snack, which we would consume in the taxi.

On school mornings in St. Shotts I was offered a lift to school with Pete, a boy in Grade 6, who lived next door. In the evenings I would often walk back to Mrs. Myrick's accompanied part of the way by the children who lived nearby. The children were quick to point out local landmarks and answer my questions about the various gardens and woodpiles that could be seen. By the time I went to St. Shotts the winter was over and I no longer needed to wear suitable outer clothing to protect me against the cold and snow as I travelled to school. Nevertheless I was very aware of the weather in St. Shotts. On foggy mornings the foghorn, situated on the headland and in use between April and October, acted as a good alarm clock. On clear days standing on Mrs. Myrick's deck there was a fantastic view of the blue sea and around the bay.

The school day ended in two different ways. At St. Mary's the class packed away their books and anything they were leaving behind in their desks. They would pick up their bags and line up by the classroom door, those that brought in a packed lunch would pick up their lunch boxes as they quietly filed out of the classroom to their lockers which lined the central corridor. Children who were either collected or walked home left immediately but the "bus children" and anyone waiting to be collected returned to the classroom and stayed there until they were collected or the public address system announced the bus was ready to leave.

There were some similarities in Our Lady of Fatima, the children tidied their desks and put away books and equipment they would not be taking home. They would then stand by their desks and say end of the day prayers together. Then the class would stand by the door and Mrs. Martin would dismiss them into the central corridor so they could put on their coats and outside shoes. The children would then leave school in the groups that generally walked home together or they were collected by parents.

At St. Mary's, Mrs. Coles would sometimes work in her classroom after school for about two hours and regular staff meetings were held once all the children were gone. After school Mrs. Martin, Mrs. Finlay and Mrs. Hewitt would sometimes gather for a brief cup of tea to discuss school issues and generally left school earlier. Mrs. Martin sometimes mentioned that she popped into school in the evening to do some work when it was quiet. This was possible because she lived a few seconds walk from the school and her class sizes were smaller. If I stayed after school with them Mrs. Martin would kindly offer me a lift home.

At both schools I was invited to participate in an out-of-school activity. Mrs. Coles' class went on an ice skating trip and invited me to join them. I declined because I could not skate and I wanted to get on with my preparations for going to St. Shotts. In retrospect I regretted this because it offered me the opportunity to get to know the children on a more informal basis. Certainly in St. Shotts I found that the children had lots to tell me about themselves and the community when we were out informally as opposed to our sessions together in the school.

Living in St. Shotts I was received warmly into the community and was invited to visit older members of the community to talk about the past, hooked rug making or England. Saturday afternoons I was invited to mass and introduced to the local Irish priest. It was interesting to see that nearly all the children in the community attended the service with their parents. Some of the older children were servers and others helped in presenting the collection for blessing. The church was a wooden structure slightly apart from other buildings near the sea. It was plain and unadorned, in comparison to some other churches, but it had a wonderful view across the bay and the sea.

Several Saturday nights I was invited to play darts at the community hall where I met many parents. I found the children and their parents were as curious about me and where I came from as I was about living in a Newfoundland outport community. I attended a wedding shower at the community hall for a local girl living and working in St. John's and when the teachers in Trepassey held a leaving party for three nuns, who were moving away to teach in another part of the island, Mrs. Martin invited me to join them for the evening.

To introduce the community to me, on my first Friday after school a group of about ten school girls walked up to Mrs. Myrick's and invited me to join them on a walk. It was a warm sunny afternoon and the community was looking at its best. They wanted to show me their homes and special places, pointing out the various gardens and points of interest, plying me with gossip and folklore as we walked. We ended up on the beach making sandcastles, sand art, paddling and watching some fathers fishing over near the river mouth. If I walked in the evenings I would see the children playing hockey in the

road, or basketball and some of the younger boys from Grade 1 riding their bikes and exploring the ditch near the school.

Concluding the fieldwork in the schools

Concluding the fieldwork in the two schools again emphasized the diverseness of my fieldwork experience. In both cases the completion of my fieldwork and leaving of the school were rather emotional and marked by a small party in the classroom. In addition, at Our Lady of Fatima I attended the Kindergarten Graduation celebrations along with the rest of the community.

When I first went to St. Mary's, Mrs. Coles told me about a colleague and friend who was dying of cancer and the strong possibility of her death before the end of the semester. Several times when I was in the staff room at recess or lunchtime her name would come up and her funeral plans discussed. Sadly she died the afternoon Grade 3 and I said our goodbyes.

Mrs. Coles and the class arranged a surprise leaving party for me. I had thought it would be just a small exchange of gifts; how wrong I was! Each child brought in a "lunch" for the occasion, some parents contributed additional sandwiches and snacks and Mrs. Coles bought a special cake and soda. I was overwhelmed by it all and touched by their generosity. Each child made me a card and some gave me presents. Mrs. Coles and the class gave me a Newfoundland mug. Before the party I consulted Mrs. Coles on a suitable leaving gift for each child. I suggested they might like a copy of one of the photographs of themselves around school. She thought this would be a nice idea and

found some card for me to mount the photographs on. She suggested I write a short note to thank each child and their parents for their help in my fieldwork to accompany the photographs and gave me some envelopes to put the photographs and letters in. Although not all of the children participated and some dropped out of the fieldwork, I decided to give each child a photograph regardless as they had all contributed to my experience and enjoyment. I bought a photograph album for Mrs. Coles and put in copies of the photographs of the children and us with them while I had been with her and the class.

As we were about to pack up the Principal came into the classroom and asked Mrs. Coles to come outside. The atmosphere changed immediately and we all knew what he was going to tell her. Another teacher came into the room and asked the children to sit down at their desks and then she broke the news about the death of her colleague. Although I was forewarned it was a sad and difficult way to end to my fieldwork at St. Mary's. Instead of saying goodbye and thank you I found myself leaving with the children. I felt most disturbed by the whole afternoon's events and I called on a friend on the way home. Over a cup of tea and piece of the cake we sat and talked about the whole experience, putting it into perspective.

In contrast, at Our Lady of Fatima the fieldwork ended with the conclusion of the school year and the Kindergarten Graduation and concert. I became involved with concert rehearsals, helping children learn their lines and watching groups while others were practicing on the stage. One of the nuns who taught at the Primary School in Trepassey found a script for a musical version of The Three Little Pigs, which she used for their Kindergarten graduation and end of semester concert. She invited Mrs. Finlay

and Mrs. Martin, who asked me to accompany them, to go to the graduation and concert in Trepassey. We went over and watched the concert with interest and took notice of how The Three Little Pigs had been produced. It was very successful and enthusiastically received by the children's parents. The nun offered to lend Mrs. Finlay the costumes, scenery and script if she wished to put on a similar production.

Mrs. Finlay, Mrs. Martin and I discussed the performance on our return journey. They were both enthusiastic about the play and thought it would be successful if we had the right children in the leading roles. Mrs. Finlay thought she would let the Grades 1, 2, 3 and 4 perform the play. Those children that would not have a part became part of the chorus. This started an intense period of rehearsals for the younger children. Each school day began with a run through of play in Mrs. Martin's classroom. All the children were either taking part in the main production or performing something on their own or in small groups. The Kindergarten sang their own song and the boys in Grade 1 also performed a song together. One of the girls was going to recite a poem and two girls were going to dance. Grades 5 and 6, with Mrs. Hewitt's help, were busy preparing their own contribution to the concert, which was held in a packed community hall next to the school.

Saying goodbye to Mrs. Martin and all the children in her class was very different experience. Again the friendships, warmth and generosity of the children and friends I had made in the community overwhelmed me. Mrs. Finlay gathered the whole school together in the multi-purpose room and gave me a present from the school, a St. Shotts T-shirt and cookery book along with a copy of the end-of-term concert video. Some of the

children also gave me presents, including two cassettes of local people singing. Mrs. Martin arranged for the children to have a party or a “lunch” in her classroom where we exchanged presents. As with the children in St. Mary’s I gave the children a photograph of themselves from the number I had taken around the school and during rehearsals as a small leaving present.

Breakwater Publishers generously donated some books, which I gave to Mrs. Finlay for the school and she put them in the library. The teachers rarely used the library as it was in rather a chaotic state, so towards the end of the semester I volunteered to tidy the library, and accomplished it with the help of several girls from Grade 6. As we were tidying and organized the books both Mrs. Hewitt and Mrs. Martin were sending down more books to be shelved in the library, thus giving them more space in their classrooms. Mrs. Martin was intending to open the library and lend books to the children during the summer holiday so sorting out the books was beneficial.

On the last day of term Mrs. Finlay, Mrs. Martin, Mrs. Hewitt, Ms. Molloy, a relief teacher, and myself sat down to lunch together in the library. The meal was a planned surprise for Mrs. Finlay. Our menu was rice, chicken wings and fried potatoes, with pork and pineapple, followed by trifle, all cooked by Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Hewitt. We talked about the finished school year, possible changes to come and my involvement in the school. Then the talk turned to the old days in St. Shotts and changes in the Catholic Church over the years. It was a nice relaxing way to end the semester and my time at Our Lady of Fatima.

The end of school year coincided with the annual St. John's Day celebration held on the 24th June. This is the day that John Cabot is supposed to have first sailed into St. John's harbour in 1497. The preparations for the bonfires began several weeks before the event took place. As the days passed, I watched with interest several prospective bonfires growing with an assortment of rubbish scavenged from friends and neighbours. There was a strong element of rivalry between the groups as to who would have the biggest bonfire. When Mrs. Martin was tidying her classroom at the end of the semester she donated several piles of rubbish to her elder son's bonfire. The last bonfire to be lit was the big one on the beach where a barbecue would also be held. Sadly, the last day of the semester was wet and it poured with rain all day. The forecast for the following day was better so bonfire night was postponed to the following night.

This gave me the opportunity to prepare myself for leaving the community. After completing the packing I visited friends for a last cup of tea and chat before I left. For my last day and evening in St. Shotts the weather was kind and improved dramatically. The sun even came out. The children started lighting their bonfires about 5 p.m., leaving the big one on the beach until last. I walked up to the beach where nearly all the children from the school were gathered along with many parents and siblings for the lighting of the bonfire and barbecue. The bonfire was built up in a small gully among the rocks on the beach. Children and parents had been depositing garbage and tyres in this gully for days. It took a good dousing of gasoline to get the fire started. When the tyres finally caught fire a black plume of smoke blew from the shore along the St. Shotts River valley.

and one of the accompanying adults suggested it would be the last time tyres were used judging by the colour of the smoke!

The barbecue was set up on the beach. Once the fire died down parents let the younger children toast hot dogs and marshmallows. By 9.30 p.m. I was tired and cold. Aware I had some last minute packing to complete before I left in the morning, I said goodnight and returned to Mrs. Myrick's.

The following morning I said goodbye to Mrs. Myrick and Pete. Although I was sad to be going I knew I would return in the fall. I was given a lift into St. John's by some friends and dropped at the new apartment where I would live in the fall and would stay for the next few days before I returned to Wales for the summer.

Chapter 3

The Storytellers

Introduction

Watching a short documentary about the Newfoundland fishing industry in the outports, many of Mrs. Coles' students recoiled in horror at the sight of fishermen gutting and preparing fish for salting. Only a few of the children in her class knew the smell of fish that an outport child would never notice. Would this major cultural difference between children in Mrs. Coles' class in St. John's and those in Mrs. Martin's in St. Shotts be reflected in their storytelling?

Mrs. Coles observed that her class' reaction to the film highlighted the cultural difference between these two groups of children. Outport life and the fishing industry were as alien to most of the children living in St. John's as it was to me. This prompted a friend and me to explore the wharfs in St. John's prior to my fieldwork in St. Shotts. A fish smell hung in the air around the stages and flakes where fish were drying. A fisherman was gutting his fresh catch and the seagulls were wheeling over head, fighting and diving for the scraps he was throwing out to them. We talked to him about the salting process and he gave us a sample of fresh codfish to take home for supper. It was just a glimpse of the fishing industry that had built up over the last four hundred years in Newfoundland and gave me an insight into the background of the children in St. Shotts.

The storytellers, their cultural differences and similarities and the source of their narratives are the focus of this chapter. But to collect stories, I needed to find a suitable space in busy schools and determine what my role was as a folklore student in the classroom. Would I be allowed to be a folklore student-researcher from the university or would I have to adopt the more formal student-teacher role, and more specifically how would this affect the collecting process?

The Storytellers

Forty-three children participated in my research, which broke down into twenty-four girls and nineteen boys. Thirty of my informants were from Grade 3 and aged 8 to 9 years old; in addition there were eight children from Grade 4 and three children from Grade 2 and two from Grade 1. At St. Mary's there were twenty-seven children in Grade 3, seventeen girls and ten boys, in an elementary school that ran from Kindergarten to Grade 5.

In contrast, thirty-nine children attended Our Lady of Fatima School, and the number would drop with the departure of Grade 6 to Trepassey in September. Many children were born at the hospital in St. John's but were back home in St. Shotts within forty-eight hours of their delivery. The population of St. Shotts was approximately two hundred and fifty and everyone was Roman Catholic. The extended family was in easy walking distance. The children all knew one another, with siblings and cousins attending the same school and often in the same class. Two of Mrs. Martin's sons were in her class. The children from St. Shotts were from predominantly fishing families, with fathers

working on the boats and some parents were employed at Trepassey at the fish plant before it closed. With the moratorium on the codfish industry and the closure of fish plants, many parents were returning to school through government programmes to complete their education.

In addition, some fathers were studying for various boat qualifications, which would enable them to go back to sea. As part of her schoolwork, Melissa wrote about the difficult circumstances people were experiencing with the moratorium and the narrative is included in Chapter 4 under True Stories. She captures the grimness of the situation, recording how parents are unemployed due to the loss of jobs in related industries; Melissa wrote of the need for something constructive to happen in the job market, summing up the situation this way, “The outlook for St. Shotts and the surrounding communities is very bleak” (a corrected piece of work from Melissa’s writing file). People were concerned about money and young people were looking to St. John’s or other large centres of population in Newfoundland or Canada for employment. One person in St. Shotts passed the comment that the crisis was causing more relocation than the government relocation packages of the mid-1950s.

Many girls were Brownies in Mrs. Coles’ class, mostly the 77th Brownie troupe, and the boys were Cub Scouts. In St. Shotts 4H replaced Brownies and Cub Scouts and most of the children in Mrs. Martin’s class were members. Newfoundland is apparently the only province in Canada to have a junior section. 4H stopped mid-May before I arrived for the summer, thus enabling 4H leaders across Canada to meet at conferences and allow some of the older children to make exchange visits or attend camp together.

Mrs. Martin and several other parents were 4H leaders and the children were divided into small groups among them.

Another feature of the urban/rural dichotomy my informants experienced was access to facilities such as shops, entertainment and medical facilities. Living in St. John's there was easy access to the shops and malls, various theatres and current movies. Local video shops were regularly frequented to rent videos and video games to play at home. Medical facilities were likewise easily accessible. In contrast, the children in St. Shotts accompanied their parents on shopping trips to St. John's for the day with a trip to the theatre at the mall as the final treat, because the journey took about two hours each way. Going into St. John's meant either a day off school or waiting to go in during school holidays. Sometimes there was a weekend trip into town to see friends and relatives.

At that time St. Shotts had a church, a small post office operated out of a private house with its own entrance, and four local village shops competing to sell candy, soft drinks, and immediate necessities. The nearest doctor was in Trepassey. The weekly shopping was done in Trepassey or parents would do a monthly shop in St. John's where it was so much cheaper. If the children wanted to rent a video or video game, the nearest shop was in Trepassey. When games or videos were rented they were often shared among friends for a few days.

Collecting the Stories

Finding a Room for Storytelling

Leading scholars Sylvia Grider and Elizabeth Tucker both collected narratives from adolescents. Elizabeth Tucker (1977) collected the stories from Brownies as part of the Brownie Storytelling Badge. Her informants were all girls, either in the Bluebell or Elderberry troops. In contrast Grider (1976) collected narratives from 6th graders during school hours. Each approach influenced this study.

Sylvia Grider (1976) argued that school is the centre of a child's social life. It is where they learn to become members of the larger society. Her argument is further supported by Jordan and Cowan's (1995) research, and my own observations that boys in Kindergarten quickly learn acceptable behaviour in the classroom. Therefore collecting narratives in the centre of a child's social life should make it easier for the fieldworker.

Yet as both Sylvia Grider (1976) and I found, the recording situation in school is contrived and artificial. She tried to collect stories from the whole class in the classroom and found it difficult. I also tried this technique once, and it proved to be a disaster. Not only was there no spontaneity, once someone started a story others tried to interrupt and correct it, something that both Elizabeth Tucker (1977) and Sylvia Grider (1976) both noted. Sylvia Grider said this happened in particular when she was collecting media narraforms, discussed further in the following chapter, where numerous children had watched the same television programme or film and knew the "correct version" of the

story or they just wanted to fill in the current storyteller's gaps. Conversely some narrators deliberately paused hoping friends would interject with bits they had forgotten.

A further problem of recording in the classroom was the background noise. The recorder picked up all the noise from the other children in the class from coughing and shuffling things on their desks, to fidgeting and whispering. As more children lost interest in the story the noise level increased and the whole situation became frustratingly impossible.

To alleviate this problem Mrs. Coles and Mrs. Martin suggested I withdraw two or three children from the classroom at one time and find somewhere quiet to record stories. But this in itself presented problems: where could we go to be quiet and uninterrupted and yet at the same time be visible to teaching staff.

At St. Mary's the only available "visible" space, except on P.E. days, was in the corner of the large multipurpose hall, with its accompanying echo or in the main school corridor! In the hall we sat on the steps to the stage, with the children taking turns to tell a story and feeling self conscious talking into the microphone. It was not conducive to storytelling and the echo reduced some storytellers to whispering.

In the afternoons we were able to sit outside the classroom, where Mrs. Coles regularly allowed small groups of children to work on a big project; otherwise we used unoccupied rooms such as one of the special education rooms or an empty classroom. Other children took advantage of inside recesses, waiting to catch the school bus or our walks around the community in St. Shotts to ply me with the stories they could never remember at recording sessions. In the classroom I was lucky enough to have the tape

recorder handy to record these stories but out while walking I had to remember those special stories about St. Shotts and prompt the girls at our next recording session to tell them again.

Suitable recording space had to be negotiated again at Our Lady of Fatima resulting in Mrs. Martin suggesting we use either the multipurpose room, or if that was busy, a small windowless storage room off the multipurpose room. Again I took three or four children at one time. Sometimes she would ask me to take the whole grade, which did not amount to many children with Grades 2 or 3, about six in all. Then we would sit around the big table in the multipurpose room which was more comfortable for the larger group.

Storytelling and My Role in the Classroom

Towards the end of April, I began to feel a little panicky about my fieldwork in St. Mary's. The survey questionnaires were almost completed and the children were starting their diaries but I did not seem to be collecting many stories. About the same time, I found out that I was going to be awarded an ISER Bursary. Dr. Paine, from the ISER committee invited me to visit him to answer a few questions, similar to my own anxieties, about my fieldwork. He wondered if I would be better off concentrating on a few children's repertoires, but I was unsure about this as I was experiencing problems collecting any stories at that point! I wondered if I was wrong to divide my time between two schools and if I would collect many stories. Should I have stayed with one group of children? I was aware that taking the children out of the class would interrupt their schooling, but choosing an appropriate moment was not always easy to find. I even

questioned whether choosing a school-based setting was appropriate, but it was the only one that fitted my time schedule.

Mrs. Coles was flexible and began to encourage me to take out those that were completing their work quickly in the mornings and leaving the slower children or those that received remedial help in literacy and numeracy skills to the afternoons. It was impossible to tape stories on rainy lunchtimes in the classroom because of the noise from the other children playing. As I began to organize myself for my trip to St. Shotts in May, I found collecting stories from Grade 3 became easier. As I mentioned previously the “bus children” were happy to tell me stories after school when the classroom was quieter, which reduced the pressure on me to find time for them in the school day.

It proved easier to take each group of children for about twenty minutes, as this did not interrupt their schoolwork so much. Each child was given the opportunity to be recorded three times, if they wanted to participate in the research. Only a few children opted out of the fieldwork and some came only once to see what it was like, while others used these occasions as an escape from the classroom and work. The majority of the children were keen to tell me stories, jokes or read their selection of best schoolwork. A few girls made up stories after school to tell me the following day.

At Our Lady of Fatima’s the composition of the group varied. Quite often I would take the whole of Grades 2 or 3. Grade 4 was larger with four boys and four girls so out of choice they split into single sex groups. Once again it depended on which group of children had finished their assigned work or sometimes Mrs. Martin suggested I take a group, so she could introduce a new concept or go over some work with the other grade.

Initially I thought I would take a participant observer role in the classrooms: instead I quickly found myself drawn into a “student-teacher” role, marking work, reading in class, listening to children read and helping children at their desks, and at times it seemed to dominate the fieldwork. I needed to strike a balance between the student-teacher role and that of the researcher collecting narratives. I was concerned that the children would find it difficult to tell stories in the collecting situation, if they mistook me for a student teacher. Nevertheless due to school protocol I found myself dressing in “suitable” clothes and looking like a student teacher. In his book Interviewing Children and Adolescents John Rich (1960) warns,

The child may think of the adult as a teacher although in fact he is not one. If, therefore, the adult’s behaviour and appearance are too dissimilar from that expected from a teacher, the child will become uneasy, although he would not be threatened by the same behaviour from the same adult if he met them on a beach or in a park (60).

Yet as I spent more time in the classroom and completed the questionnaires, the children started to recount their narratives. They seemed more at ease in the collecting sessions and soon had lots of stories to tell. The student-teacher role persevered in St. Mary’s despite the collecting sessions, as demonstrated when I met one of the children from the class outside school where she seemed a little in awe and unsure of what to say.

The balance between “student-teacher” and “folklore research-student” was easier to find at Our Lady of Fatima’s, mainly due to my fieldwork experience. Living in St. Shotts, I became more immersed in the community, the life of the school and that of some of the children after school hours. In St. John’s, although some of the children saw

each other at Brownies or Cub Scouts. I had no further contact with the class until the next time I went into school.

Source of the Data

The primary data source for this thesis was the schoolwork produced in the School Language Program in conjunction with other sources such as oral narratives and popular culture. In the previous chapter I explained how I used my questionnaires and media diaries with my informants. From my conversations with the children as we completed the questionnaires, I was able to identify where they heard stories and recounted them. It was not until after I started my research that the importance of sleepovers for storytelling amongst my informants emerged, so an additional section was made in the survey questionnaire to enquire about individual sleepover experiences. Sleepovers were so frequent and ritualistic that I devote a whole section to them under Scary Stories section in the next chapter.

School Language Program

The School Language Program was very similar in the two schools with the exception of the use of journals. Although my collecting took place in the Spring Semester the children in both schools wanted to read their “best” pieces of work, whether it was fiction or non-fiction, from the whole school year and some from previous years.

In both schools the School Language Program was organized around specific themes such as Fairy Tales, Deserts and Whales. Other themes related to calendar

customs and were interspersed at the appropriate time of the year Valentine's Day, Easter, Halloween and Christmas are prime examples. For all the themes the children were expected to write prose and poetry. In addition, some themes were accompanied by textbooks and workbooks provided by the school. Themes lasted for approximately one month, although there might be some overlap with calendar customs, which could be for a shorter duration. These themes determined the contents of the children's narratives. For example, the fall Halloween theme generated supernatural narratives that included figures from popular culture which fell into one of my narrative categories.

Another example of theme work was the Easter theme, which Mrs. Coles ran in the last part of the Winter Semester. She bought, through the school, three individual egg incubators and purchased nine fertilized eggs, which she hoped would hatch by the end of the semester. It looked like three small yellow spaceships had landed at the back of the classroom. The class wrote and illustrated daily entries about the developing chicks in their journals. As a precaution, in case none of the chicks hatched, Mrs. Coles arranged for a local chicken breeder to bring in thirty eggs in an industrial incubator for the children to see eggs hatching. The whole school was excited to see new chicks emerging from their eggs just before the start of the Easter.

In addition, Mrs. Coles encouraged each child to produce a piece of written work and a picture related to the current theme, which she would display under a heading on the classroom walls. Whereas Mrs. Martin would often distribute photocopied theme-bordered paper for the children to write on and then display their written work, at St. Mary's some of the children's creative writing was executed in their school journals.

where they could illustrate it. If Mrs. Coles thought a piece of creative writing was particularly good she would ask the child to copy it onto a larger piece of paper, with corrected spelling and an illustration. She would then display it under “Author of the Month” or give it precedence somewhere else on the classroom walls.

The last piece of creative writing for the semester in Mrs. Martin’s class was inspired by a story she read aloud to them. It was a personalized version of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, which incorporated her eldest son’s name into the title and the story. Afterwards Mrs. Martin told the children they were to write a story about another member of the class whom she allocated to each child, leaving the style and content of the story up to the individual writer. This project generated several warrior narratives from the boys, and some retelling of traditional tales by the girls.

Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Finlay were so pleased with the children’s narratives they decided to make a small performance out of the reading of the stories. Grade I and the Kindergarten were invited to join Mrs. Martin’s class and listen to the stories. Each author took it in turn to read their story to the group and presented a typed copy to the named child. All the children thoroughly enjoyed the occasion and it prompted some children in Grade I to write a story about the older children.

Journals

Both groups of children kept journals at school but the style of the book and the contents varied. At St. Mary’s the journal pages included room for pictures and narratives. They were used for creative writing, poetry, a diary of events important to a particular child, like a trip to visit a relative to celebrate Thanksgiving Day, or other

holiday activities. All good work was rewarded with stickers and written comments by Mrs. Coles. The language programme at this point in the children's educational development did not call for the correction of grammar and spelling mistakes. Therefore, unless a child was rewriting a piece for display purposes, mistakes usually went uncorrected. All the written work included in this thesis is as the children wrote it unless otherwise stated.

Journal writing in Mrs. Martin's class differed. The journal itself was a hard covered, lined notebook provided by the child for the year. While there was some creative writing in the journal, it was predominantly a diary that was written weekly about an event, activity, or outing which was important to the individual child but it was rarely illustrated. For example, Stephanie went camping one weekend with her parents:

Dear Mom and Dad,

This weekend was great. Sunday we went to the Goulds we got a camper. Then we went on the Thrill a Whirl and the fire ball I won a teddy bear Krista won a mat had an on the way home We went to pee wee park and trailer park We saw two great big moose a women went up with a video camera and they didn't move.

(Copied from Stephanie's journal)

As with Stephanie's entry, many children directly addressed their writing to their parents. "Dear Mom and Dad" because they were expected to show the journals to their parents who in turn were expected to write something at the end of the piece. For example, after a story Michael wrote, his father replied:

Dear Michael,

I was really impressed by the story you wrote. You have a good imagination and you understand the difference between right and wrong. Also you are doing really well with the computer. You should take your stories, that you did on the computer to school and show them to your teacher. I think she will be impressed. Keep up the good work. Dad.
(Copied from Michael's journal)

One or both parents would respond to the entry. Mrs. Martin collected the journals after the weekend and read them. The children from both schools were keen to read aloud their journal entries, especially those which were rewarded with praise and stickers.

If the children read written work out to me I borrowed their book to copy the narratives or photocopy the relevant pages, which also helped later with the transcribing of the tapes. This way I was able to record some of their illustrations and the original text, which are included in later chapters.

Joke telling was the hardest to record and transcribe because the children would be excited and laughing as they were trying to tell them. I would try to write them down immediately and to my performer's horror make them repeat the joke so I could understand what they said!

The Storytellers as Performers

Leonard Molloy was a renowned storyteller in St. Shotts. Mrs. Martin and several people in the community told me about him. The children at our Lady of Fatima knew him and many had heard his stories, especially the shipwreck ones. I wondered if I would collect any during the course of my fieldwork.

Several of the children's parents played musical instruments such as the accordion or fiddle so storytelling and performance was not new to them. From the questionnaire answers in Mrs. Coles' class, storytelling was something that happened sometimes when my informants went out to their grandparent's cabin. No one mentioned having a musician in the family. It appeared their storytelling experience was more limited than those of children in St. Shotts. Storytelling other than the gossip and joke-telling at school, took place at sleepovers or Brownies and Cubs for the Storytelling Badge.

A further consideration and possible influence on the children's storytelling was the composition of the audience. Unlike Elizabeth Tucker who had a specific group of Brownies taking the Storytelling Badge, the composition of my groups varied depending who was available to come at the time. At St. Mary's, Mrs. Coles encouraged me to take the children who had either completed their work or would find it easy to catch up, to the hall in the morning. The girls tended to finish first and would split into little cliques and it was a clique that would then come together and tell stories. The boys would also want to come together but were quieter and not so forthcoming. This left the slower children and those receiving remedial help in the morning for the afternoon groups, with little choice about who accompanied them. These sessions became mixed-sex groups with mixed-ability children.

At Our Lady of Fatima, the children had a different relationship with each other because for the majority of the children their peer group was comprised of family, either siblings or cousins. They were more at ease with each other, although there could be more rivalry, and at times they would be less tolerant of one another.

As I mentioned in a previous section the collecting situation was not always conducive to storytelling performances. All the children did well, managing to distance themselves from the reality of their situation, be it in the hall or the multipurpose room and tried to make their story into a real performance.

The microphone and its presence was something else the children had to accommodate. The more extroverted children and the majority of the girls quickly forgot its presence and just told their story. The boys were more self-conscious telling or reading their stories and therefore seemed more inhibited by the microphone. The one exception for the boys was joke-telling. It was something the boys enjoyed and they became more relaxed and spontaneous in these sessions. To try to counteract their anxiety about using the microphone, I found a small crocodile clip microphone which helped the shy children, but most were quite happy to hold or use the hand-held microphone. At Our Lady of Fatima, I positioned a mug in the centre of a table and put the hand held microphone in that and this worked well for all the children because they forgot it was there.

Despite the difficulty we faced, good performers emerged from both groups of children. At St. Mary's the girls were generally the better performers of stories, while many of the boys excelled at joke telling. Some of the girls were able to hold their audiences attention well with a good story and by using intonation in their voices. They were able to "read" their audience and used non-verbal cues, some of them were also able to use pauses as a good dramatic effect. The boys were generally more reticent with their storytelling, preferring to read narratives from their journals or class work.

Joke telling differed from storytelling. The girls told clever trick jokes or less risqué versions of the jokes the boys told. For one child receiving remedial help, joke telling was easier for him than storytelling. Many jokes were told with accompanying non-verbal cues, intonation in the voice and audience interaction. Quite often one child telling a joke would spark off a session of jokes amid many giggles and silliness.

In Mrs. Martin's class one boy emerged as a good storyteller of Scary Stories. He quickly engaged his audience and knew about timing with his scary noises, pauses and asides. He played to his audience, making a gross story worse with descriptions of blood and gore, which the rest just loved. Friends would sometimes interrupt with silly suggestions which he incorporated into the story. He would sometimes dominate a recording session but the audience usually tolerated this.

What did stand out were the few poor narrators, who were receiving remedial help with their English and reading. They had serious problems telling any kind of story, lacked many of the skills that good narrators exhibited and would often try to dominate the recording session with a long story. They fell into the trap of trying to tell well known stories from the media such as the Disney movie, Aladdin (1993), thinking they would be safe because they knew the movie. They would start well but then slow down as they tried hard to remember how the plot unfolded. Their audience also knew this type of story or had seen the same movie themselves and would interrupt, attempting to correct the storyteller or "fill in the gaps" in the plot. It became a frustrating experience for narrator and audience alike, often resulting in the storyteller stopping half way through as they realized they had failed and could not remember any more.

A further error the poor narrators made was to try to dominate the sessions with a long story that they made up as they went along. The introduction would be good but mid-story they lost their audience as they tried to make the story more complex or add more details. I could see them struggle to emulate the better storytellers knowing that they were lacking certain skills and could not bring the story to a logical conclusion.

Summary

From Mrs. Coles and Mrs. Finlay's initial comments I expected a cultural difference to emerge in the children's storytelling and performances. It therefore came as a surprise to find that despite the urban/rural dichotomy of their daily life experience, that they were exposed to the same media presentations on cable television, through visits to the movie theatre or by renting movies from the video stores. Likewise both groups of children had easy access to and regularly played video and computer games. In school they both followed the same syllabus, although the teacher presentations differed and work books, such as journals, varied.

My informants and I overcame the contrived settings for storytelling as we got to know each other better. There was no problem accepting me in the classroom as a folklore research-student and by helping Mrs. Coles and Mrs. Martin in the classroom it gave me a better understanding where the children were in their education and what was expected of them at the Grade 3 level.

After all my initial concerns about not collecting any narratives from the children, I suddenly found they had a huge repertoire to share with me. Their repertoires reflected

the variety of influences they were exposed to; from the School Language Program, to playground jokes and jump rope rhymes and stories from their own imagination, and it is this huge narrative corpus that I categorize in the following chapter.

masculinity . . . ‘warrior narratives’ and the discourses of civil society . . . [which are] the basis of school discipline” (728). Their definition of warrior narratives assumes “that violence is legitimate and justified when it occurs in a struggle between good and evil” (728). This definition seemed applicable to my thesis, as the concept is inherent in the popular culture the children are regularly exposed to and appeared in many of the boys’ narratives.

I found Elizabeth Tucker’s broader categories more relevant to my informants’ repertoires, whereas Sylvia Grider’s were more appropriate when analyzing the popular culture content of the supernatural and scary stories in my data. Although Elizabeth Tucker’s (1977) was a meticulous categorization of children’s narratives, some of my data fell outside her categories, which perhaps is inevitable considering the difference in our fieldwork locations. She collected stories from girls in two Brownie troops after school hours, in contrast to my school-based fieldwork with younger boys and girls.

Therefore using her categorization as a guideline, I divided the content of my narrative corpus into the following categories: Scary Stories, Funny Stories, True Stories, Made-up Stories Based on Television Programmes and Films, Made-up Stories Based on Books, Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture and Warrior Narratives. My categorization does not cover the entire narrative corpus because the contents of some narratives fell outside the remit of the thesis and are therefore not pertinent to the discussion. These extraneous narratives are: the prose and poetry generated by the School Language Program, jump rope rhymes which were popular at recess when many of the younger girls joined in with the skipping, a couple of story games and some pop songs.

These exceptions have been noted on the respective tape indexes. Elizabeth Tucker includes an "Other" and Sylvia Grider a "Miscellaneous" section but this seemed unnecessary in this instance.

Scary Stories

There are certain places and circumstances for different types of storytelling and, as Sylvia Grider (1976) argues, school is not generally a location to tell scary or ghost stories; usually they are reserved for sleepovers or slumber parties. Halloween is perhaps the exception when the children were allowed a small fancy dress-up party at school in conjunction with the Halloween language theme.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, sleepovers emerged from the questionnaires as an important ritual and storytelling occasion for all my informants, especially the girls. Therefore, I include a brief discussion about them in this section as it is pertinent to the discussion of Scary Stories.

Sleepovers

Julia Woodbridge Oxrieder calls a "sleepover" a "slumber party" in her paper "The Slumber Party: Transition into Adolescence" (1977), but my informants were adamant that these events were sleepovers, so this is how they are referred to in the thesis. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the importance of sleepovers emerged as I completed the questionnaires with the children. But a sleepover was not just about going over to a

friend's house for the evening and staying the night, it was a quintessential ritual for the participants.

The evening would start with a planned outing, such as a trip to the movie theatre or going to Brownies with one or several friends and then deciding to stay at one of the group's house for the night. Alternatively it evolved from the decision to rent a special video or arranging to play video games for the evening and staying over. Sometimes it was enough just to have a sleepover and play with friends: the girls liked playing Barbies and the boys enjoyed video games. A major component of this ritual was food, because it was "junk food" often banned on normal week nights. The menus varied according to taste, but favourite suppers included pizza, chips, candy, popcorn, hot dogs and soda. Anytime after 10 pm was a fair bedtime but it depended on who was putting the children to bed: parents sent them off earlier than the baby sitter. Once the parents or baby sitter said goodnight and turned the lights out, flashlights were turned on and the storytelling began. Some children said they also liked to have a midnight feast as well as supper.

In her paper, Oxrieder looks at slumber parties as a developmental stage for girls. She says slumber parties are not a new phenomenon, but those of today are a twentieth century creation. During the course of a slumber party Oxrieder says girls tell a variety of folklore genres to each other, ranging from jokes and riddles to the ridiculous, nonsensical out-of-context comments which result in riotous giggles. Oxrieder found younger girls tell ghost stories whereas older girls have a wider repertoire of stories, including supernatural ones. The intimacy of the setting lends itself to the occasion of

telling scary and supernatural stories. Some narrators said they used their flashlights as part of their storytelling performance to heighten the dramatic effect.

Although the sleepover has many attractions, Oxrieder suggests its significance is “the feeling of acting grown-up and being away from parental control” (129). In interviews with my informants, I found that the escape from parental control once they were in bed and the lights were out was significant. One informant said she liked to creep out to the kitchen and raid it for food and goodies when she thought her parents were asleep. They would then try their luck further by putting the television on and watching a video or a late night cable movie.

Children love feeling scared “but not really” (1976 242), Mary and Herbert Knapp argue, and sleepovers provide a more informal, intimate and potentially scary storytelling setting. In the verbal accounts of sleepover storytelling I collected, narrators did all they could to make their stories most gruesome and scary. One of my informants described how they used the flashlights: the narrator would shine the light up under her chin, thus casting an eerie shadow over her face, or shine the light through her hand making it pink, accentuating the scariness of the story and the atmosphere. In the middle of the night strange noises could be heard around the house, such as the central heating clicking on and off, which contributed to the spooky atmosphere. I suspect some of the children were scared of the dark, although many were reluctant to admit this.

Mary and Herbert Knapp suggest one reason for telling scary stories is for the narrator to gain prestige as a storyteller. Children also learn “the confidence in their ability to control and direct others” (242). Tucker (1977) agreed with the Knapps about a

child gaining prestige with this type of storytelling. She found children respected a good storyteller and a child was proud of acquiring a particularly gruesome story, something I noticed in my fieldwork. It was obvious which girls had attended the same sleepover by the stories they told, but only a few could remember the “exact” details. As Tucker said, if a narrator had problems recounting a known narrative then other members of that storytelling group, who knew the story, would interrupt with missed details. Several narrators seemed pleased with their efforts at remembering certain stories.

Like Tucker, I found Scary Stories the most popular group of narratives. Is there, as she suggests, a confrontation in telling scary stories, by addressing fears in a non-threatening way? Tucker refers to Seymour Sarason’s (1960) research with elementary schoolchildren when he said children “are mostly afraid of things that are remote from their own experience” (1977 100). Their fear might resemble that of their parents but in a different context, because fears also vary for different age levels.

The sources for some of these sleepover stories were older siblings and parents. The influence of the mass media is not to be ignored however, because scary figures, such as Frankenstein or Freddy Krueger from The Nightmare on Elm Street film series, were included in some of the narratives. The frequent inclusion of traditional supernatural figures such as ghosts, goblins, vampires, witches and haunted houses suggests these scary figures are taken from the mass media’s interpretation of them rather than the oral tradition.

In her discussion about the role of the media’s influence, Sylvia Grider included comic books and cartoons. She says that it is the graphic and explicit portrayal in the

media that helps to educate children in supernatural beliefs. Media productions included, for example, the perverse and grotesque, violence and pacts with the devil (1976 347) and she also found recurring motifs such as eerie settings, a profusion of fog, darkness, mysterious sounds, the parading of deformed old men and crazy scientists. With the exceptions of the latter and the fog, my informants of these caricatures in their stories. Children's stories, Grider argues, are not just parodies of the supernatural; they recreate it in story form.

Sylvia Grider defined supernatural as "that which is outside the reality of nature as understood by man in terms of his ordinary experience of life on this earth" (1976 xviii). An alternative definition she suggests is "that which is beyond or incompatible with the normal, accepted, natural processes and phenomena of day to day living" (1976 xviii). She suggests a "ghost story" is a general term, used by most people to designate any narrative dealing with the supernatural and horrible creatures or encounters. In addition she says that children learn to tell ghost stories before they are aware of the supernatural beliefs which underlie them.

The scary stories I collected fell into different categories: Halloween Stories written in school and perhaps embellished in the performance of the collecting situation; Made-up Stories for Sleepovers; and Urban Legends told as Ghost Stories. Melissa's Halloween Story called The Addams Family is an example of a Halloween story written for the School Language Program and demonstrates the incorporation of figures from popular culture in a narrative. The title The Addams Family is taken directly from the television programme and she includes as many of the characters as she can remember.

The Addams Family

One night when I went out trick or treating I started [?] house to house. Its doorbell was on the ground and there was blood on the door. So I decided to investigate. I went over to the door and knocked but someone opened it. So I kicked it open. When I went in I saw a kid playing baseball with Melanie's head [twin sister]. So I went up to the kid and asked him "Why are you playing baseball with Melanie's head?"

"Because she stepped on my black cat and killed it."

"Oh, so that's how come. Well I have to leave now, because I've got a whole neighbourhood to go to."

"Couldn't you stay here with me and play?"

"Well, okay. What do you want to do?"

"Well I could show you my family."

"Okay."

So we walked a little ways and I saw his uncle. He was in a machine and his head was between two walls. "Hey uncle, what are you doing?"

"I'm trying to get my head thinner."

"Oh, okay, bye."

"Oh, oh I forgot to ask you, your name, my name's Adam."

"My name is Melissa."

"How old are you Melissa? I'm nine."

"Oh I'm nine too."

[Pause while tries to read her writing]

Now we were to his mother [help from Cathy], and Dad's room and went, went in and his Dad was standing on his head and his thumbs lying down on a nail bed.

"Mom, I would like you to meet my new friend and her name is Melissa."

"That's nice dear. Now run to the store and get another pack of nails."

"Okay Mom."

"Mom, come on. Melissa I'll show you my friend's hand. He is really nice and he loves to play cards."

When we got to Hand's room he was sleeping so Adam went over and pulled on his thumb. "Come on Hand get up."

So hand hopped up and said, "Who's she?"

"Oh, this is my new friend Melissa. Do you want to have a game of cards?"

"No thank you, I have to go home now."

"Oh, well may be next time."

"Okay."

“Okay.”

“Come on Melissa let’s, Come on Melissa let’s go.”

So we went out the door and went to the shop. “Well, I have to go home now Adam.”

“Okay, bye, I’ll see you next Halloween.”

“Okay, I’ll see you then.”

(Our Lady of Fatima [hereafter OLF on the tape indexes] Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13742).

After she told the story she said she got the idea from the television programme.

She remembered that she made a mistake in her story because the dismembered hand which she called “Hand” was “Thing” in the television shows and the films.

An example of made-up stories or those told at sleepovers is a story told by Jennifer [JC] and Maggie [MS] at St. Mary’s called The Graveyard Story which they performed in one of our collecting sessions.

[They made a “scary” noise before they started]

MS - This is a family; this is a family, a mother and father, a teenager and a baby. The mother went to the graveyard, and she went to bury flowers by her mother’s grave.

JC - Um, she was never very nice to her mother, so [giggles] her mother, her mother’s spirit came back with an axe and chopped her head off, and buried her head in one place and buried her body the other.

MS - So the father came looking for his wife. And she, on the way [aside comments to Jennifer], looking for his wife and as she [means he] passed the graveyard, he looked in to see his sister and, and to give, he stopped at the flower shop to get her some flowers.

JC - He put the flowers by his, her grave. He was not very nice to his sister, so he saw the spirit of his sister come back and she killed him and buried him and she became real.

MS - The teenager was looking for his father and as she passed the graveyard [aside], as she passed the graveyard with a couple of friends, she went into the graveyard, to see, her sister which died of a car accident.

JC - She wasn't very nice, to her sister, but she went to the graveyard. Then she got lost and in there and didn't know her way out.

[Pause, while they sorted out the last part of the story]

MS - Then she raised from the dead, and whacked her. And off came her [oooh sounds from Jennifer, Maggie turned and said, "Do you mind?" This interrupted the flow of the story]. Waist down, and her sister, bury, buried her in a grave, where nobody could see him, and her.

JC - Then the baby came looking for her sister. And so she went inside. Her little friend, see, she was running across the street and she was, she got knocked down by a car. So she went to see the spirit of her little friend and then her spirit came back into a real person.

MS - [In the last part Maggie is interrupting with whispers trying to get in and finish the story properly as she does not agree with Jennifer's ending. Jennifer ignored her]

JC - And so they were in a fight and then. Okay, so they were riding their bikes and then they went home. The End.

(St. Mary's [hereafter STM on the tape indexes] Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. 13735)

At Our Lady of Fatima, Janice recounted an urban legend, which she introduced as a ghost story or scary story. It appears to be a version of the "Boyfriend's Death Legend" but she introduces it herself:

I'm going to tell you a ghost story. There once was a girl and a boy, their names were Eileen [the name of the other girl in

Grade 3 with Janice] and Joseph, [pauses again and Eileen giggles] and they were to a dance. They were coming home, just passed a er, station, gas station. And they went, they kept on going, and there was no trees or none down that street where they were [none either in St. Shotts] and, and their car broke down. So then the boy said “I’ll go back and get, go and get some gas to the gas station. I’ll only be a little while.”

So then after three hours the girl fell asleep. And then she woke up, her boyfriend still hadn’t [sic] up. So then she woke up the next time and she heard a scratching on the roof of the car. She didn’t think nothing of it, she just thought it might be a tree, and then, she fell asleep again and then the cops pulled up, by her, and then the cops got the girl out and he said, “Whatever you do don’t turn back.

The girl was wondering what, what happened to her boyfriend. He wasn’t back yet. She wanted to know so bad so she turned around. She saw her boyfriend hanged up from something and he was dead and he was the one that scratched the car.

(OLF Tape 1 Side B, Ref. No. C13740, 398)

Katie Norman told another story that appears to be a combination of two urban legends, which she said, was told to her by her mother. She introduced the story by saying “This is a story about a boy and it’s a scary story” (STM Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13733.) Neither child knew they were telling urban legends but rather thought they were telling a good scary or ghost story, depending on how they interpreted it.

In her categories Tucker included two other types of narratives: Funny Scary Stories and Nasty Stories. My informants recounted a few ghost jokes but no Funny Scary Stories as she describes them so I incorporated these into the general Funny Story category. Interestingly the children did not classify these jokes as either funny or scary; they introduced them as “I’ve got a joke to tell you.” Nasty Stories, she says, was a genre

most likely to be hidden from adults because the children were unsure of the adult reaction. She noticed there were certain non-verbal cues to this kind of narrative such as shyness, confusion, embarrassment, and fidgeting or inordinate boldness. I did not collect any data that fell into this category but I noticed similar non-verbal cues from the children especially when they were about to recount risqué jokes.

Funny Stories

This classification includes jokes, wordplays and parodies of both songs and nursery rhymes. The largest part of this collection was the jokes. They ranged from the risqué, which Mary and Herbert Knapp describe as a “shocker” type joke, through to simple Knock-knock jokes. There were straight ghost jokes and what the Knapps called “tough babies” (245) jokes, such as “The Ghost of One Black Eye” and “The Ghost of Bloody Fingers” which are supposed to encourage the listener to be brave.

Mary and Herbert Knapp suggest children recite “shockers” either as jokes or in rhymes, to briefly escape from social restraint. Therefore reciting shockers becomes a form of ritualized rebellion. They also suggest it gives the child a certain kind of prestige among their peers (179). One boy found it difficult initially to tell a story, so he started his first session with some risqué jokes. Unlike some of the other narrators he gave no verbal introduction to his jokes but after the first couple of shocker jokes it became obvious he was about to tell this type of joke from his facial cues and body language. It seemed he was deliberately testing me. Would I tell Mrs. Coles, thus getting him into trouble for telling a “shocker”? Interestingly, this boy was receiving remedial help for his

language skills and I wondered if he used it as a defence mechanism to protect himself from being embarrassed in a small collecting situation where he was the only boy present receiving remedial help with his reading. Perhaps he was aware of his limitations and thought that joke telling, especially the shocker types, would not affect his status in the group and might even gain him some prestige. It also demonstrated he was able to retell a joke heard somewhere else, a skill some others found difficult.

The immediate response to one of his shocker jokes was embarrassed giggles from the other boys present, followed by Joshua or someone announcing he was going to tell a dirty joke. Perhaps they thought the “shocker” was inappropriate or I might need some protection from such jokes, Joshua did not say, but the joke was a simple one liner. “The cow fell in the mud” (STM Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13735, 384). There was nothing particularly funny about this joke but the audience burst out laughing and it broke the tension in the room. At Our Lady of Fatima, I experienced a similar situation. Here the announced “dirty” joke was, “A woman fell off her horse into the mud” (OLF Tape 1 Side A, Ref. No. C13740, 394 Bradley).

Another common shocker in the boys’ repertoire in both schools was the “Shit, Shut-up and Manners” joke. This is a typical example of this joke:

There was three men, Shit, Shut-up and Manners. Manners fell into a hole and Shut-up ran, ran to the police and said, police, he said, “Manners fell into a hole.”
And he said, “What’s your name?”
“Shut-up.”
He goes, “What’s your name?”
“Shut-up.”
Shit walks in and says, “Come on Shut-up.”
Police says, “What’s your name?”

“Shit on you!”

(OLF Tape 4 Side B, Ref. No. C13743, 053)

Transcribing this joke and other “shockers” caused some difficulty because narrators would often stutter and stumble over words, or rush the telling as fast as possible. It suggests the narrator’s awareness of the risqué material, their daring in front of peers, possible embarrassment at telling the joke and their uncertainty as to its reception. The example cited above did not finish in the conventional manner, perhaps due to the boy’s nervousness but several members of the audience interrupted to try to complete it “properly!” Generally the details of the joke remained similar but the type of accident to Shit and its location varied as exemplified by the two examples in the text.

Several girls admitted knowing the “Shit, Shut-up and Manners” joke at St. Mary’s and in their final collecting session overcame their modesty to tell me their versions. These were very similar but by the performance it was obvious the girls knew the joke was “naughty” or unladylike! In an attempt to reduce the “rudeness” of the joke a couple of girls changed Shit’s name to Poopy or Dog Poop which immediately reduced the shock impact of the joke. For example:

The names are um, are Shut-up, Poopy and Manners. And one day they were driving along and er, um, Poopy opened the window; leaned out, fell out of the window. And Shut-up stopped the car and Manners got out to help him up. And along came a policeman. She, he said, “Hello son, what’s your name?”

And Shut-up said, “Shut-up.”

And the policeman said, [slows down her voice] “Son, where, what’s your name?”

And he said, “Shut-up”

And he said, and policeman said, [slowly and clearly] “Son, what IS [her emphasis] your name?”

And he, Shut-up said, "Shut-up."
And policeman says, "Where are your manners?"
And he said, "Over there picking up Poopy!"
(STM Tape 7 Side B, Ref. No. C13738, 314 Vicky)

The narrator of this version, while still self-conscious, was confident in her ability to tell a good joke and did not rush the telling of the joke, although she was obviously anxious about telling it. In her performance of the joke she captured the indignation in the policeman's voice at Shut-up's reply, and each time the policeman asked him his name both parties became more indignant with each other. It is noticeable the third time the policeman asks Shut-up his name the policeman clearly says "Son, what IS [her emphasis] your name?" No longer does he say, "What's your name?"

Mary and Herbert Knapp argue that shockers help educate children about language and not just about sex, "And, paradoxically, shockers help to reinforce existing social taboos" (179). Shockers, they suggest, are given this label because the rhymes or verses contain taboo words, and in turn these act as a reminder to children that certain words are forbidden (183). As this joke illustrates, shockers are not restricted to "bad" children. There is a wide audience for them. Although Mary and Herbert Knapp suggest the school bus is a good place to share them, where adult supervision is at a minimum, the playground at recess provides another venue and opportunity to share these jokes, because not all children were bussed to school.

In addition to the shocker jokes, Thomas recited the tongue twister "The Pheasant Plucker" without falling into the obvious pitfalls. Again it seemed as if this was a

deliberate confrontation, told to demonstrate his daring to his peers and his verbal ability in saying it correctly.

At Our Lady of Fatima I collected a couple of parodies of the nursery rhyme
“Jack be Nimble,”

Jack be nimble
Jack be quick
Jack jumped over the candlestick and hit his [pauses]
And burnt his arse some red
(OLF Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13741, 346).

As well as this being told for its shock value and daring I did wonder if it was also, as the Knapps suggest, a way of boys coming to grips with their own developing sexuality (181). The Knapps also suggested that parodies of nursery rhymes, by older children, indicate the stage is no longer important to the child and perhaps allows them to demonstrate they have moved on and are more grown up.

Knock-knock jokes were the most common jokes for both sexes. The children either repeated ones they knew or because of the simplicity of the joke found them easy to make up in the collecting situation. Once one person started telling a Knock-knock joke it would generate one or several rounds of them. A simple example being:

Knock-knock,
Who's there?
Boo,
Boo who?
Boo who, don't cry it's only a joke.
(OLF Tape 1 Side B, Ref. No. C13740, 333, Eileen and Janice)

A popular wordplay in the girls' repertoire at St. Mary's was the “vindscreen viper” joke. Alison introduced her version as “I’m going to tell you a haunted story with

a funny bit at the ending" (STM Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13734). Although there were no verbal cues to the joke, the children became considerably excited just before they recounted the joke. It is similar to "The Widow Viper" discussed by Mary and Herbert Knapp. They suggest this type of joke is a story, which verges on a straight joke. The skill was in remembering to say "vindscreen viper" at the end and not collapsing in fits of giggles and missing the play on words. I collected two other forms of this joke. In the first scenario the boy is left home alone and told not to answer the door while his mother goes out to the shops. He keeps receiving telephone calls and each time the caller says he is one block nearer the boy's house. Finally the mother returns and a man arrives at the house saying he is a plumber (STM Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13735, 111, Jennifer and Maggie). In the other version again a boy is left at home alone. This time the man who rings says "I am coming to get you." The twist to the story is the man is coming to fetch the boy's mother to take her to her dental appointment! (STM Tape 7 Side B, Ref. No. 13738, 249, Vicky) I only collected one example of wordplay from Mrs. Martin's class and this was a pun on the word "shingles" - shingles in the medical sense of a disease and in the material sense as roofing shingles (OLF Tape 2 Side A, Ref. No. C13741, 177, Stephanie).

Another popular joke in the girls' repertoire at St. Mary's was what Mary and Herbert Knapp described as the "tough baby" joke. Most of the girls knew a version of "The Ghost with One Black Eye" (motif E338 .1 (g) -Ghosts haunt cellar). In this joke every member of the family, usually the mother, father, older brother and sister goes down to the basement, in turn, to fetch a carton of apple juice from the refrigerator for the

Bless my boyfriend's happy face.
Make [sic] his hands that are so strong
Make them stay where they belong.

(Massachusetts 1968) (171)

And a Protestant example being: "Stand up, stand up for Jesus. /Oh for Christ's sake sit down" (171).

Neither group of children recounted any religious parody, although I was told a couple of religious jokes. Despite the Roman Catholic imagery present in the school and houses in St. Shotts and the daily prayers in school, the only indication of the Catholic belief I found was in a few stories. Mitchell indicated his Catholic background in one of his closing formulas when he said "Thanks be to God, that wasn't real" (OLF Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13741, 413). In one of Melanie's Halloween stories her Catholic background is indicated when the ghost pours the witches brew over the dead children and says "The children became spirits and rose from the dead" (OLF Tape 1 Side A, Ref. No. C13740, 084).

True Stories

Andrew Levitt, in his doctoral research on children's personal experience narratives, describes storytelling as an "oral activity that yields segments of discourse intended and identified by children as stories" (1978 6). He says that storytelling is a shared event or exchange among peers. Thus when children engage in this kind of storytelling they are concerned with their relationship to each other (7).

Elizabeth Tucker divides this category into two parts: Frightening Legends Told as True and Personal Experience Stories. She refers to Ilona Dobos' (1954) classification of personal experience narratives, which Dobos subdivides into two categories: childhood: Love and Suffering, and Narratives of Other's Experience: such as family stories, funny anecdotes, erotic, obscene and even scary stories. Tucker (1977 200) says she found the contents of stories she collected were dependent on the stimulus. Consequently she proposed the following categories: inexplicable occurrences; frightening encounters (especially with the opposite sex); and exotic happenings.

I found Ilona Dobos' personal experience categories of childhood and narratives of others' experience, that is, family stories more applicable to my narrative corpus, yet agree with Elizabeth Tucker that the children's stories depended on the stimulus and the occasion. While some of the anecdotes were funny, the categories of love and suffering, erotic and obscene did not emerge. As with the Knock-knock jokes, once one person in the collecting situation told a personal experience narrative it generated a round of such stories. At times there was some rivalry as to who could tell the most outrageous or silly story about themselves or their family, quite often a sibling.

More noticeably at Our Lady of Fatima, perhaps because of the isolation of the community and its position at the end of the Avalon Peninsula, I collected more narratives about the environment, in particular about fishing and wrecks. Tucker suggests personal experience narratives are an indication or an insight into the concerns of the child (1977 201) which I agree with. In the childhood category, the contents of the

narratives were diverse and ranged from sleepover details to baby stories, personal injury accounts and environmental narratives.

At Our Lady of Fatima, the shipwreck of the S. S. Cruie [the local spelling] was the focus for environmental narratives. From what I understood it was wrecked at the beginning of the 20th century and the metal hull was lying on its side on the beach in St. John's Bay, a bay west of St. Shotts. It acted as a magnet for children of all ages who wanted to explore it, despite parental warnings about the dangers of the wreck. On the school walk to Peatlands, several children pointed to the path down to the wreck and told me of their adventures on the ship. Corey recounted his experience:

I went over on the hill one time, I went over to see the shipwreck and there was a whole bunch of rocks over there on the right, right, it used to go right down, it's like a slide, and you can fall, if you falls in you probably drown going down into the water. And we saw the shipwreck and we went down it and saw the metal was very sharp, and er, I cut, cut with it, and then we went home.

(OLF Tape 1 Side B, Ref. No. C13740)

Uncle Leonard Molloy, now deceased, was famous in St. Shotts for his shipwreck stories. Many children and adults alike had heard them over the years. Bradley recounted a story about his Uncle Leonard's bravery.

There's, my Uncle Leonard and his friend. A, a schooner hove up on the beach and everybody was afraid to go in it. And my Uncle Leonard and his friend went in there, and the table was set, and the beds were made up, and nobody was in there and er, let me see, these was five or six coins under [the mattress] and Leonard and his friend picked them up. Everybody was afraid it was haunted and it wasn't. It was an old schooner.

(OLF Tape I Side A, Ref. No. 13740, 416)

Fishing-related personal experience narratives were common at Our Lady of Fatima's. In one story, Cordell's father's engine caught fire while he was out at sea, but he managed to extinguish it and return to shore safely. In another story, the child's father and uncle touched the back of a whale while out fishing. One fishing story I collected was also tied into a belief legend. This child claimed his father and some others had found dead people on the shore and they thought that if they removed the rings and watches they would be dead in their beds by the morning (OLF Tape I Side A, Ref. No. C13740, 476 Cordell).

Dr. Nemec (1974 8) describes the stretch of coastline around St. Shotts as "The Graveyard of the Atlantic". Everyone knew shipwreck stories, and as I mentioned previously, and Mrs. Martin's class had created a small "museum" at the back of the classroom earlier in the semester with objects rescued from the beach. Consequently, I anticipated collecting many stories of this genre from the children. On my visits in the community, adults would tell me their shipwreck stories about people being wrecked on the beach and staying over night in the community before traveling to Trepassey the following day. One family adopted some children who were orphaned as a result of a shipwreck and they stayed and married locals.

Mrs. Martin recorded some of her Uncle Leonard's stories while he was still alive and gave me a copy of some of them. In several of the stories Leonard Molloy refers to lumber washing up on the beaches around St. Shotts from wrecks. At the end of one story he mentions there was a saw-mill, water powered from Walsh's Gully, on St. Peter's

River back in 1915, which would possibly explain why there were so many wrecks with lumber in the area. But not all the wrecks were lumber; they were many and varied from coal, and iron to livestock such as horses, cattle pigs and hens, to Black Horse Beer. The lumber was not wasted, because he says, "I can assure you my friends that many buildings were erected, as the results of this lumber." In another story he says some poplar, a soft wood, was washed ashore from a ship called the "White Sea" and many of the logs were taken round to St. Shotts. There the logs were sawn by two men in a saw-pit for several days into planks seven or eight foot long by ten inches wide. The planks were then distributed in the community and he finishes saying "in fact my good friends, this is how my home was built" (Molloy 1978). In addition, many older wooden houses in the community were partially constructed or repaired with wood gathered from wrecks. Some families had treasured possessions which were artefacts washed up in the sea such as furniture. Since the introduction of radar and the siting of a foghorn off Eastern Head, St. Shotts the number of shipwrecks has declined enormously in the area.

I was not surprised to collect this type of personal narrative in an isolated rural community, such as St. Shotts, because of history of the community's relationship with the sea and fishing industry. Many fathers were fishermen and one or both parents worked at the fish processing plant in Trepassey before it closed. Melissa wrote a short piece for her schoolwork about the decline in the fishing industry:

The fishery was the main industry in St. Shotts. The men got up at 5:00 and spent just about all day at the fishing grounds. It was late at night when they arrived home to their families. The fishermen did really well with the fish but this summer the men

went out and got very little. The fishery has been closed down for two years.

While the men were busily involved in the fishery, their wives were working at the fish plant in Trepassey. Last year the fish plant closed down and most of the people here are out of work. The outlook for St. Shotts and surrounding communities looks very bleak.

[This piece of work was corrected by Melissa and stored in her writing file.]

Returning to Tucker's classification for this section, I collected a couple of "true stories" about a haunted house in Shea Heights in St. John's, but the narrator did not give his source and he seemed uncertain whether to believe them. At Our Lady of Fatima, I asked the children out at recess one day if there were any haunted houses in the community. One of the older girls said there were two empty houses but they were not really haunted.

While walking round St. Shotts, I was accompanied by a group of girls from school and shown some of their special play areas: their homes and gardens around the community, sites of previous summer bonfires, flakes for drying fish and old stone walls. I collected two examples of fairy stories on this tour. The girls said when they were in Kindergarten they were told the stories by a reliable adult with some standing in the community. In retrospect, I think the stories were designed to act as a warning about the perils to young children of going off alone berry picking. In both stories an adult got lost while berry picking, they took off their coat, turned it inside out and then put it back on again thus breaking the fairy spell. This advice is common knowledge throughout Newfoundland and is just one of the ways to break fairy spells when out berry picking. I

collected another version of this advice from a Newfoundland folklore student in her early twenties from the Harbour Grace area. She said her mother would send a sibling and herself berry picking with bread in their pockets and an item of clothing worn inside out to protect them from the fairies. I asked my informants, then in Grade 4, and the others in that storytelling session, what they thought about fairies and if they believed in them. The girls were thrown into a quandary by these two questions. They did not completely denounce fairies as fictitious, instead they talked about fairies as being like Tinkerbell, and portrayed in the popular Walt Disney animated film, *Peter Pan* (1953).

One last family story I would like to mention in this section was from a girl at Our Lady of Fatima. It was a belief warning passed from her grandmother to her mother who in turn had told girl about not cricking your neck when you are put into the grave, the consequence of such action is that the hands of the dead will stick out of the grave. The hand coming out of the grave is a common folklore motif, which appears in many horror and ghost stories. It was a recurrent motif in the scary stories I collected and I will discuss it further in the next chapter.

Made-up Stories Based on Television Programmes and Films

Seven stories fell into this category: Melissa's The Addams Family included in the Scary Story category because it seemed more appropriate there; three Star Trek: The Next Generation stories; Christopher's story loosely based on the film Universal Soldiers (1992 Tri-Star); Suzanne's Ariel story more appropriately discussed with the other

traditional narratives; and a final one about the evil villain Freddy Cougar (sic) from the Nightmare on Elm Street series of films.

This genre can be further divided into two distinct types: fanzine-type stories with favourite characters taken from popular culture or the media, and new narratives written about them, and media narraforms. Sylvia Grider (1977) created the term “media narraform” to describe narratives taken directly from a mass media production. This type of narrative, exemplified by the latter three stories in this group, she says seems easy to tell but can be difficult for a storyteller, as some of my informants found. When conducting her research, she found that the informant who was telling this type of story would regularly be interrupted with plot corrections or omitted details by the audience.

Two of the Star Trek: The Next Generation stories were written prior to my arrival and the boys chose to read them aloud to me in a collecting session. Tommy in Grade 1 knew I was collecting stories and wrote his Star Trek story for me. Of the three stories, his is the hardest to understand in both the written and oral texts, partly because his writing was hard to decipher and his spelling was uncorrected, and partly because his accent was difficult to understand when transcribing the tape recording of his oral performance. As he read his story to me, Tommy experienced similar difficulties to the other children when reading a piece of written work, and it appears that he changed the text where he could not understand his writing or remember what he wrote. I have therefore transcribed the oral text, using his written text to fill in some of the narrative gaps. Where I have not understood what he’s said, I have left “. . .” for that word or phrase. Nevertheless it was the longest, most detailed of the three stories, incorporating

the then new enemy “The Borg,” into it as the “baddies.” He made the story into a “book” form and illustrated each page. I discuss this story in greater depth in Chapter 5.

Star Trek the final frontier, these are the voyages of the starship Enterprise. These are the mas’ . . . of the starship Enterprise. The commanding of the Enterprise . . . to Jean Luc Picard and, and all his good men because and the best soldiers ever in space Leslie Crusher is working for Data. Data comes in Crusher can you go fire off the gas missiles sure, okay, Crusher, I need to, um. do meet Jean Luc Picard at the elevator, bye. Just when he gets there the Borg jumps out of the emergency plane and grabs him. When, when, Data goes back, gets Jean Luc Picard, um they start waiting for him. At the Enterprise Worf goes to his room I am part of the Klingon family so I need to find my brother in the firing radar dish he should be with firing one of [plate wars]

Crusher I’ll go get Riker and Data

After he found them he asked them Data said I know where he is at the gas missiles but he was there for five hours now.

Something must have happened to him. It must go do it deactivate the ship said Riker; he saw the Borg’s ship. To the transport room Data called will we be going there? So we can help Crusher out of the trap. Wesley Crusher saw them hiding in the box they said Worf when they got there they were in the basement. They went upstairs and hid in a box and then they saw Crusher. Worf’s brother Quodo, the Klingon and tried to stop them. Worf went and freed Crusher. Riker stopped the ship and to take. When the ship was stopped they all took down them. The ship when stopped they all took their guns and fired. Borg’s men he has . . .

Worf and Riker killed Borg’s ship Data called Dr. Crusher passed the . . . the traction portal room opened they all went home.

(STM Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13736, 020)

Christopher’s Universal Soldiers is an example of a poor media narraform. He incorporated the fundamental part of the film plot that soldier casualties in Vietnam were being brought back to life as half human and half machine robots, with no memory of themselves as humans, so they could be mindless killers. At the beginning of the film the

hero's memory starts returning in a series of flashbacks but Christopher's story ended here. The story is so brief it is included here.

Universal Soldiers

It's the year 1995 in the war. the wars ofer. buby no it not bang
[he decorated this word with a jagged pattern around it in his
text] you shot me. its the year 1996 1 year ladder. all the good
guys are robots because they died and they are bad except one.

(STM Christopher 1993 copied from his journal, uncorrected.

It appears Christopher ran out of time and was unable to complete his story, which sometimes happens in school. When he read the story to me no one interrupted him or tried to add any further details, despite his omission of the end of the story. This was unusual because whenever a child thought they would be clever and take the easy option of starting a "media narraform" they inevitably gave up after losing their way with interruptions and the stress of trying to remember the correct order of the plot. Perhaps no one else had seen the film!

Bradley tried hard with his telling of his Nightmare on Elm Street story but it was confused and difficult to understand, especially as I had never watched any of these films. Another informant explained that he thought Bradley's story was a combination of several movie plots. Like other informants narration of media narraforms, Bradley gave up with the narrative.

Made-up Stories Based on Books

Tucker (1992) suggests the suitability of reading material is of great concern to the parents and teachers. In both classrooms, books were readily available and the children were encouraged to read at school and at home. Mrs. Coles regularly rotated the book selection and kept a small collection of books, both fiction and non-fiction, related to the current language theme which the children were expected to read. According to their two-week diaries everybody read some books, with the girls reading more than the boys at St. Mary's. But from a few mothers' comments and looking at the original book listings it appeared some children listed every book they had at home and all those in class related to the current Language Programme theme.

There were only a few stories in this group and the narrators were reluctant to admit the source of their ideas. The comic strip cartoon "Calvin and Hobbs" was an inspiration for one narrative. In Mrs. Coles' classroom there was a reading book called Jenny Greenteeth and the heroine, Jenny Greenteeth was a water witch who never cleaned her teeth, hence their green colour and her name. Heather took the character and her name but wrote her own story using this character. She read her story to me and I copied it from her written text but have corrected her spelling and some punctuation.

The Three Little Girls and the Water Witch

One beautiful summer day a little girl went out looking for a friend. As she walked she met another little girl. Then they both walked down the road together. When they met another little girl. The first little girl's name was Cindy, the second little girl's name was Erin and the third little girl's name was Heather. They decided to be friends. Then they needed a

mother. They walked, then they met a water witch her name was Jenny Greenteeth. They asked, "Will you be our mother." Jenny Greenteeth said, "Yes."
So they walked home. When they got [there], they were all tired so they went to bed. The next morning the three little girls were all happy to have a mother. The End.
(STM Tape 4 Side B, C13735, 190 Heather)

Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture

As a community, St. Shotts had a reputation for good storytellers, so I thought I might collect a few traditional stories from the children. Mrs. Finlay suggested to the children on my first visit to St. Shotts that I might like to hear some of the shipwreck stories, as told by Uncle Leonard Molloy. I knew that Newfoundland had rich source of fairy folklore and I hoped to collect some fairy stories. When my informants were asked about their favourite oral stories they said they really enjoyed listening to their grandparents and parents telling them "old" stories about the sea, their youth and growing up, or about adventures at the family cabin, which would realistically fit into the True Stories category. It appears that these kind of traditional stories are ones to be listened to and not shared with friends. Possibly the children were hearing similar stories from their respective parents and grandparents, so there would be nothing exciting or of any current concern to share with their friends.

Tucker (1977) argued that orally-transmitted tales, children's books and the mass media significantly influence children's imaginary processes. Since she wrote her thesis, I would suggest a change in her ranking, putting the mass media first before the other two. In the intervening twenty years, the development of mass media means that nearly

all children have access to a television, video recorder and videotapes, or DVDs of films regardless of the possible suitability of the latter. Many children in my study played either their own video games or those of older siblings or friends.

In a culture such as Newfoundland's, with a rich history of orally transmitted folktales, I would expect it to maintain some influence on children's narratives and hoped it would emerge through my research. I was unsure as to how influential children's books were, hence this category in the two-week diary because although certain books were read in school, I was unable to ascertain exactly how many children read out of school hours. Looking through the diary listings, I suspect the mass media had a higher priority for some children despite their parents' supervision.

Elizabeth Tucker said it was difficult for the researcher to identify all the influences on children because of the wide variety and numerous sources, but some are rather obvious. Instead she suggests it is more important to assess the significance of the narrative as a whole, noting the changes in style and whether the narrator is remembering details from books, films and other sources (1977 258).

In her definition of the framework for this category, Tucker says certain traditional tales from Grimms' *Kinder-und-Hausmarchen* are more influential than the mass media. Twenty years later I would dispute this point because of the more readily-available media sources by such production studios as Disney.

While agreeing that the stories collected in this group owe their framework to Grimms' tales, I would ask from what or whose version of Grimms' tales? Today they are available in a multitude of forms from the traditional printed texts to animated films,

such as the classic Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937 Walt Disney) and other subsequent folktale films, including numerous cheap video and DVD versions. Disney Studios are regularly using computer animation to speed up the film production process. Recent films are released on video format for the home market within four to six months of their general release in film theatres, and some sequels such as Lion King II (1998 Walt Disney) and Pocahontas II (1998 Walt Disney) are released directly on video and DVD.

There is also the influence of the School Language Program's Fall Fairy Tale theme to consider. In her paper, "The Misuses of Enchantment" (1985), Kay Stone asks why so many male informants were unable to recall reading or having heard fairy tales in comparison to women. She suggests fairy tales were "apparently female dominated tales . . . [which] fail to retain the interest of male readers as they mature" (1985 131). Unable to decide why men failed to remember fairy tales, she suggested the stories were either girls' stories or the choice of story depended "on the basis of passivity or aggressiveness of the protagonist rather than strictly on the basis of gender" (1985 131).

This raised some questions for me. Would my male informants remember any stories from the School Language Program Fairy Tale theme? So then what stories would they remember? What stories had appealed to them?

Through the influence of the Fairy Tale theme and Mrs. Martin's creative writing exercise, I collected several traditional tales and narratives based on them which contained popular culture. The incorporation of popular culture into traditional tales in Newfoundland, and I suspect elsewhere, is not a new phenomenon. Through the 1980s

the Roman Catholic School Board published annual collections of elementary school children's writing under such titles as, The Magic Potion (1985) and In A Far Away Land (1986). In these books, traditional folk and fairy tales regularly appear "modernized." This is probably a result of the School Language Program's Fairy Tale theme; for example, The Three Hollyberries, which is a Christmas version of The Three Little Pigs. The modernized traditional tales and some of the other stories contain popular culture that fitted my categories and analysis.

Certain fairy tales and folktales were required reading followed by the children rewriting the story in their own words. Several of Mrs. Coles' class chose to read their versions of The Three Billy Goats Gruff, written in the Fall Fairy Tale unit. Many of the children's story lines closely adhered to the traditional narrative or the one they read in school, but the endings were somewhat embellished. Mrs. Coles gave the class examples of traditional closing formulas and suggested the children create their own. For example, Vicky ended her story (using her punctuation and spelling),

And the troll said "WHO'S THAT TAMPPING OVER MY BRIDGE." "IT IS I THE BIG BILLY GOAT GRUFF. And I am going to put your eyes out thout your ears and smash you to bits. And that's what he did. And the three goats lived happple ever after. and got fat. (Copied from her journal)

Some of the other narratives in this section, including a version of Aladdin by Jennifer called Aladdin and Jasmine, owed more to the Walt Disney version of the story than the traditional text. For example she starts the story, "A long time ago there was a castle. In this castle there was a princess named Jasmine. Jasmine was bored one day. She walked to the market-square and met a boy named Aladdin." The story continues along

the line of the film version with Aladdin being captured by the guards, thrown into a dungeon and meeting a little old man who is really Jaffar, the wizard in disguise. The old man even asks Aladdin to “go to the sand tiger and get me a treasure.” At this point in the narrative Jennifer changes the story; she says Aladdin finds the treasure but there is no mention of the oil lamp or genie. instead the treasure is Jasmine and they live the rest of their lives together. At the beginning of the story it sounds like Jennifer is writing a media narraform but like other narrators she makes it her own story.

Suzanne’s Ariel story was a version of Hans Christian Andersen’s The Little Mermaid. It is another media narraform to emerge in this narrative corpus and shows its source as being the Walt Disney film The Little Mermaid (1989) and the spin-off animated television series, as opposed to the original folk tale, supporting Elizabeth’s Tucker’s observation that videos are, or can be, a starting point for children’s narratives (1992). Another child tried to tell me Beauty and the Beast, but he struggled to remember the Walt Disney (1991) film version and just gave up, it was too difficult.

Very few children in Mrs. Martin’s class chose to read their stories from the Fall Fairy Tale theme. Instead, they read all their stories from the last creative piece of writing which was inspired by Mrs. Martin’s version of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, which she read aloud to the class. This was part of a series of fairy tales offered by a publisher to incorporate the name of “your” child into the story. The child had no role other than that of a passive observer but the children found it exciting. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, Mrs. Martin asked each child to write a story about another child in the class, leaving the style and content up to each author. The contents of these traditional stories

owe more to the influence of popular culture than to the brothers Grimm. Perhaps the story Jonathan and the Three Little Pigs by Michael Martin, at Our Lady of Fatima, is the best example of this. He acknowledged that the pop song by the group Green Jelly was the inspiration behind his story and illustrations (see Appendix 10 for the transcription of the pop song by his older brother).

One day Jonathan and the three little pigs went to Hollywood.
The first little pig decided to make his house out of straw.
Jonathan helped him make it. Then one day the big bad wolf came, he said, "Little pig, little pig, let me in."
And Jonathan and the little pig said, "Not by the hair of our chinny chin chins."
So the big bad wolf said, "Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down."
So Jonathan and the first little pig ran to the second little pig's house. He made his house out of garbage! Then one day the big bad wolf came and said, "Little pig, little pig, let me in."
And they said, "Not by the hair of our chinny chin, chins."
The wolf said, "Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down."
And they ran to the third little pig's house. His Daddy was a rock star. Then one day the big bad wolf came and said, "Little pig, little pig, little pig, let me in."
And they said, "Not by the hair of our chinny chin, chins."
"Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down."
The third little pig said, "The house is made out of cement."
Then Jonathan called 911 like any little boy would and they sent out Rambo! Rambo said, "Ha, wolf face it, do you want a piece of me man!"
Then Rambo got his machine gun and killed the wolf. From now on Rambo and Jonathan were heroes and got a million dollars each and lived happily ever after.

(Copied from Michael's corrected story - June 1993)

Michael was also participating in the performance of the Three Little Pigs at the Kindergarten Graduation Concert so it would have been fresh in his mind. After the successful performance and reception of these tales in Mrs. Martin's classroom in front of

the Kindergarten, Grades 1, 2, 3 and 4, some children wanted to repeat their presentation and read the stories in the following storytelling session. In all there were two versions of The Three Little Pigs, two of Jack and the Beanstalk, two Little Red Riding Hood stories, and one Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Jonathan and the Three Little Pigs also overlapped with the Warrior Narrative category because of its contents.

Warrior Narratives

This category did not appear in Elizabeth Tucker's classification of Brownie narratives as it did not apparently emerge from her female informants. Jordan and Cowan's research identifies this as a recurrent theme in boy's narratives. Stephanie was the only girl who contributed a Warrior Narrative to the narrative corpus, which I include in this section. This category is important in the discussion of possible gender difference in children's narratives as a whole. It raises the obvious question: Do girls use warrior narratives in their storytelling? I will address this in the next chapter.

Ellen Jordan's and Angela Cowan's definition of warrior narratives is pertinent to this thesis as it was a recurrent theme in many of my male informants' narratives. They argue there is a long tradition of such narratives, citing examples dating back to Hercules and Beowulf through to Superman and the film Dirty Harry (1971). From the numerous examples available to them they created a description of the typical male hero:

he is depicted as the warrior, the Knight errant, the super hero, the good guy (usually called "goodie" by Australian children), often supported by brothers in arms, and is always opposed to some evil figure such as a monster, a giant, a villain, a criminal, or, very simply, in Australian parlance, a "baddie" (1995 728).

This hero figure is readily available to both sexes before they even start school but it seems the boys identify with it and incorporate it into their fantasy world.

Jordan and Cowan suggest there is a link between these narratives and sports which have become a modern physical expression of masculinity. Further, Ellen Jordan describes sport as a “highly ritualised warrior metaphor” (1996 in private correspondence). They argue that “the mantle of the warrior is inherited by the sportsman” (1995 729). This emerges in some of the boys’ narratives, where famous sporting heroes such as the hockey player Wayne Gretzky and the basketball player Michael Jordan, are included. As I mentioned in Chapter 2 these were two popular sports played in St. Shotts.

From their research, three types of warrior narrative emerge in the children’s stories: the traditional warrior, the superhero and the sporting hero. An example of the traditional warrior is given in Peter’s The Magic Sword (STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13734). “Puney Catepillar” in Robert’s The Longest Journey exemplifies the superhero, although he is perhaps lacking in some of the characteristics attributed to this type of hero, such as being a “goodie,” larger than life, and protecting the weak and innocent against the baddies (STM Tape 6 Side A, Ref. No C13737 156). Robin Hood is just one of the many examples of this type of hero found in legends and popularised by the mass media. The final type is the sporting hero as seen in Justin’s Sports Island, where the protagonist is able to defeat the most skilled and famous of sporting athletes (OLF corrected story June 1993).

Jordan and Cowan suggest that boys entering the Kindergarten quickly learn that the physical acting out of warrior narratives is not permissible in the classroom, which I would concur with from my own experience of volunteering in my youngest son's Kindergarten class. They found that after only a few weeks the boys were learning to hide warrior narrative play, which they previously tried to act out in different corners of the classroom. Referring to Hebdige, Jordan and Cowan argue these warrior narratives seemed to go underground "and became part of a 'deviant' masculine subculture with the characteristic 'secret' identity and hidden meanings" (736). Thus the boys were quickly learning that warrior narratives are unacceptable and "can only be experienced symbolically as fantasy or sport" (729).

What happens to these physical warrior narratives if they are suppressed and pushed underground? In correspondence with me about this question Ellen Jordan wrote that she found they emerged in paintings and stories. "It appears the more freedom boys are given to choose their topics the more strongly they figure" (1996). Before the current resurgence in creative writing she heard teachers comment "that no matter what topics they were set the boys managed to introduce Star Wars or something similar" (1996), another example of the mass media emerging in children's narratives. Thus it seems boys learn to suppress the physical warrior narrative play in the classroom. Instead they find alternative legitimate avenues of expression and in the data I collected, it was through their written and oral narratives in school time and in their free play out of school.

Some of the narratives in this category overlap with Scary Stories and Traditional Stories, for example, Cordell's One Scary Night (OLF Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13742,

054), in which he includes traditional supernatural figures and Peter's The Magic Sword (STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13734). Consequently, the popular culture in the warrior narratives is discussed in the appropriate content category and warrior narratives are discussed as a whole regardless of the content.

A further potentially strong influence on warrior narratives only emerged as the children, especially the boys, completed their questionnaires. This influence was home video games and a limited number of computer games. Each child either had a video game machine at home to play or had access to one through a friend. When analyzing this collection of stories, it appeared that there was a possible influence in both the style and contents of some narratives from this media source. Video and computer games are a multimillion dollar industry, with a growing impact on the toy industry and they are better discussed in depth with the analysis of this category in the following chapter.

Summary

This is a broad classification of the data I collected based upon Elizabeth Tucker's categories (1977). Some of her categories were condensed, such as Funny Scary and Funny Stories while others, like Nasty Stories were omitted because they were inappropriate for the data. New categories, such as Warrior Narratives, were introduced for some stories which fell outside her categorization. The discussion about popular culture and the influence of the mass media and the School Language Program was deliberately ignored in this chapter as it appears in several categories and it is more fitting that it is all analyzed together in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Popular Culture in the Children's Narratives

Introduction

“Suddenly a bony hand popped out of the grave.”(STM Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13734, 301, Vicky). This is an image that adults and children are all familiar with in both popular culture and the oral tradition and just one of the examples of popular culture that emerged in four of the storytelling categories identified in the previous chapter: Scary Stories, Made-up Stories based on Television Programmes and Films, Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture and Warrior Narratives. In this chapter I shall examine the popular culture that emerged in these four categories and attempt to identify whether it came from the oral tradition or mass media. Further, in the Warrior Narrative category I will include a brief discussion about video games and some game scenarios because these emerged as another media source of influence. Also relevant to this thesis, during the course of my research I noted professionals and parents alike were expressing considerable concerns about the mass media's gender stereotypes that children are exposed to as consumers of popular culture. Finally, instead of the anticipated urban/rural dichotomy emerging in the narrative corpus, a more significant gender difference appeared in the style and content of the children's stories which I will briefly discuss at the end of chapter.

Elizabeth Tucker (1977) analysed the popular culture content as a whole in her informants' narratives; she argued it was impossible to trace the origin of popular culture. While accepting her premise, I would argue that in some instances the mass media is an obvious and influential source of popular culture on children's creativity and storytelling.

For the purpose of this chapter I am going to begin the discussion with the Warrior Narratives because, in addition to standing as a separate category containing popular culture, these narratives were identifiable in the other three sections.

Warrior Narratives

All the narratives discussed in this category are of the action/adventure style as defined by Jordan and Cowan, with the children's protagonists fitting one of the three types of heroes: the traditional warrior, superhero and sporting hero. With one exception. Stephanie's story Super Dana, all the narratives in this category were written by boys (OLF Grade 2, June 1993). Stephanie's heroine Dana fits Jordan's and Cowan's definition of the "superhero," so this text is included in the analysis.

Before analysing this group of narratives it is important to look at video games, which are an increasingly popular form of home entertainment and appear influential in the style and contents of some of these stories. Therefore, I propose to draw on the research and findings of Eugene Provenzo Jr. in his book Video Kids (1991) and Dan Fleming's Powerplay (1996) when analysing this potential influence.

Video Games

It seems that video game creators, like children, could be described as “scavengers” of our culture because, as both Dan Fleming (1996) and Eugene Provenzo (1991) say, all areas of the mass media - sport, history and folklore - are raided for ideas, characters and themes. Fleming, like Provenzo, finds there is little originality in the games. He argues that while the games may be exciting for the player, for the non-player, it is merely a boring repetitive variation of “a basic game format of beating the opponents and progressing through various stages or levels of complexity in terms of eye brain co-ordination challenges” (57). Further, the play space could be better used to provide a richer meaning to the player and be less tied into a “rigidly ... simplistically projected male identity” (57). Patricia Marks Greenfield found the visual appeal of video games was related to a game’s popularity (99), as well as liking the active control of playing a video game (102).

Eugene Provenzo Jr. also examined the video game market, its role within the toy industry, the popularity of games and the composition of some of the top games. He argues that video games are value-laden and “provide important insights into the values we hold as a culture” (99). The contents of a game, he suggests, reveal much about societal attitudes to violence, technology, minority groups and women (99). He refers to social psychologist, Philip Zimbardo’s comment, “Eat him, burn him, zap him is the message rather than bargaining and co-operation. Most games tend to feed into masculine fantasies of control, power and destruction” (qtd. in Dominick 1984 136. Provenzo 50).

At the time of Provenzo's research, in the late eighties, Nintendo was the dominant leader in the video games market. However, Sony with the Play Station II and Microsoft with the Xbox are now serious contenders in the market place by expanding video gaming into a billion dollar industry. Game titles are released concurrently in some or all three of these platforms. In addition, the industry has expanded its appeal to reach primarily male adults, while still holding the youth interest, by offering games like Desert Storm, a war game, for the Xbox, sophisticated car racing in Midtown Madness and flight simulation games. With each new generation of game machine the sophistication of the graphics improves. These companies are also trying to tap into the interests of young girls with Barbie games, but I return to that later.

A retail listing of the top selling thirty toys in the United States of America for February 1989 said, "twenty-five were either video games or video game equipment" (13). Nintendo's popularity was apparent in my research because most of the games the children played were produced by Nintendo. (See Appendix 3 for a listing of the games the children played.) In the introduction to his book Provenzo said there were "19 million Nintendo game playing machines in the United States. The overwhelming majority of these game machines are owned by children" (Provenzo ix).

Provenzo said a spokesperson for Nintendo reported that they deliberately targeted boys aged between 8-15 years. In a follow-up survey "Playthings Retail Survey of Best Selling Toys" Provenzo found Nintendo's success was confirmed because primary users were found to be boys aged between 8-11 years (14). Fleming contributes to this discussion saying that some of today's video games "visually echo" the 1920s and

1930s illustrated science fiction magazines such as Amazing Stories which were directed at adolescent males (169). “This impressionable age is deliberately targeted by producers of popular culture,” says Tom Panelas a researcher in communication and media. Panelas suggests “Products such as video games are culturally and socially appropriated . . . taking on symbolic value among their users” (Panelas 52). Thus Provenzo argues it is not surprising to see the marketing and advertising of popular video games in other markets such as food, clothing, lunch boxes and posters. But this type of marketing is not restricted to Nintendo and other video game producers.

Disney and other major film companies frequently exploit consumers with the range of products produced to promote their films. Additionally, fast food restaurants regularly offer children’s meals with a toy linked to the latest movie release. At the time of my research Jurassic Park (1993 Universal/Amblin) was released and shops were flooded with Jurassic Park merchandise. The transient nature of this kind of popular culture becomes evident when advertisements appear on television for new products and children request their purchase because they no longer want to be seen with the “unfashionable” lunch box, even though it is perfectly adequate for its purpose. In private correspondence Jordan said that some schools in Australia were not allowing children to wear clothing or use lunch boxes which were the result of such merchandising because of the warrior narrative texts they represented.

Provenzo also found that Nintendo successfully linked their games to other popular areas of the mass media. For example, the 1950s Disney comic book series Duck

Tales was transferred to the television as a cartoon to reach a wider audience and subsequently formatted into a video game.

Famous sporting figures are used to front sports games, such as Magic Johnson's Fast Break, a non-violent basketball game, and Mike Tyson's Punch Out! a boxing game (18). The player is invited to take on these famous sporting opponents to see if they can beat them. An example of this influence is perhaps seen in Justin's story Sports Island (June 1993) where the hero, Mark, is magically transported to an island in a cloud of rainbow smoke. There he meets two trolls called Justin and Bradley, using the names of two of Mark's friends, who tell him this is called Sports Island. He runs off to explore the island and meets and plays the hockey player Wayne Gretzky and the basketball player Michael Jordan. The story continues:

Then Mark ran off and had a game of hockey with Wayne Gretzky. Mark played blindfolded, he won 100 to 0. Then Mark played basketball with Michael Jordan. Mark played with his legs tied together, he won 110 to 108. Then Mark said, "I want to go home." Then Mark was back with the animals again. Mark said, "I will never forget this adventure (Justin Grade 4, June 1993).

The impossible happens and Mark defeats two world class sportsmen. In Justin's story he has become a sporting hero of the same stature as the other two athletes.

In the same way popular series and sports are reformatted into games, games are subjected to the same reformatting treatment. For example, Super Mario Bros. started as a game; it was transferred to the small screen as a half-hour children's programme with human presenters and a Super Mario cartoon. Then in 1993 it became a full-length feature film with Bob Hoskins in the leading role as the older of the two Mario brothers.

Similarly, popular films aimed at the youth market are quickly adapted into video games such as RoboCop and Back to the Future. Over the last ten years this marketing and advertising ploy has expanded. Consumers are bombarded with advertising for spin-off products. For example, in October 2004 the film The Incredibles (2004 Disney Pixar) was released concurrently with electronic games for the Gamecube, PlayStation2, Xbox, PC and Game Boy platforms with accompanying cheat manuals, games, toys, action figures and a McDonald promotion in their Happy Meals. Likewise, television serials are subjected to similar treatment; thus Star Trek and Star Trek: The Next Generation are now available as video games and assortment of toys.

With the expansion of the home computer industry and reduction in price of the CD-ROM, many video games are also released concurrently for this format. Since my fieldwork was undertaken, the video game industry has expanded rapidly; how this technological development will affect the video games market remains to be seen. At the time of my research most children were playing home video games and only a few had access to home computer games. Regardless of the format, the popularity of individual video games is transient, quickly superseded by more up-to-date versions or something new to play.

Because video games were so popular and played daily by my informants, it is important to look at a few of the game scenarios the children were playing to gain a further understanding of this media. In a listing of the top ten video games published by

Nintendo in a bimonthly magazine in December 1989, five games were played by the children. In descending order the top ten games were: Zelda II - The Adventure of Link*¹ (Nintendo); Super Mario Bros. 2* (Nintendo); Ninja Gaiden* (Tecmo); Mega Man II (Capcom); Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* (Ultra Software Corp.); The Legend of Zelda* (Nintendo); Double Dragon* (Tradewest); Double Dragon II* (Tradewest); RoboCop (Data East) and Bad Dudes* (Data East). Out of this listing five of the games were based on marshal arts, three were of the fantasy adventure type and RoboCop was based on the film. Recurrent themes in the games include violence, “damsels in distress” needing rescuing and magical elements. Since this listing was compiled, new games and updated versions have become available such as Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles which has gone through several reincarnations over the years and remains popular. The market is now flooded with choices compared to the time of my fieldwork.

Video Game Scenarios

Of this top ten listing five games were regularly played by the children: Super Mario Bros. 2*; Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*; The Legend of Zelda*; Double Dragon*; Double Dragon II*. Here is a brief synopsis of each of these games.

¹ *All starred games have damsels in distress needing the hero to rescue them.

Super Mario Bros. 2

Mario has a strange dream in which he is invited into the World of Dreams and the land of Sub-Con to fight the evil ruler Wart and bring back peace (Provenzo 43). There are four possible characters for the player to choose from: the magical, flying Princess, Luigi, Mario and Toad, each one possessing different skills and abilities, which ultimately affect the way the game is played and the possible ending.

The Legend of Zelda

This game was first released in July 1987 for the Classic NES (Nintendo Entertainment System) game system. Provenzo says this is an "Adventure quest game that includes the use of magic and fighting" (129).

The object of the game is to recover the eight missing pieces of Triforce of Wisdom. Ganon . . . is the game's nemesis and has kidnapped the Princess Zelda. Players must find the Triforce pieces . . . hidden in the underground caverns of Hyrule - caverns guarded by an assortment of evil creatures. Ganon awaits the player as part of a final confrontation at Death Mountain. (Provenzo 83).

The game player is Link, a boy and young adventurer who becomes the hero in this and all the subsequent Legend of Zelda games, of which there are now fourteen.

The following three games are martial arts based. In many of these games there is one nemesis that needs to be destroyed to win the game, but to succeed the player has to destroy numerous, anonymous, impersonal Ninja fighters with their assortment of powerful weaponry over a set number of levels. While conducting his research Provenzo

found many children had a vast knowledge of Ninja weaponry, but little understanding of the philosophy of Ninja as a form of martial art (125).

Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles

This game is based on a Japanese comic series, which was adapted as a cartoon for television (1987) and made into a film with human actors (1990). Like other Nintendo products “turtle” merchandise was available at the time the film was released. The heroes are four human size turtles, named after four Renaissance artists Raphael, Donatello, Michelangelo and Leonardo. Their mentor, Splinter, once human but now a rat, has taught them Japanese Ninja techniques. Their enemy, Shredder, captured their human friend, a woman reporter called April. The scenario continues:

Emerging from their home in the sewers below Wall Street in New York City, they set out to rescue April and eliminate Shredder. In addition they hope to capture Shredder’s Life Transformer Gun, with which they can transform their friend Splinter from a rat back into a man (Provenzo 83).

There are five levels of play in the game; each turtle has his own powers and pizza, like spinach to Popeye, renews the Turtles’ strength and is available at different points in the game for them to eat (Provenzo 83).

Double Dragon

This violent marshal arts game is about revenge and rescuing the player’s girlfriend who was punched in the stomach by a group of thugs and carried away unconscious, in post nuclear war New York City. The player takes the identity of Billy

Lee, a martial arts expert, and his task is to defeat every opponent using various martial arts skills. There is a final confrontation with the “Shadow Boss” in an attempt to recover the girlfriend, “sweet” Marian (Provenzo 84).

Double Dragon II

In this sequel, Billy and his brother Jimmy Lee, a former rival, pair up to avenge the death of Marian. The game starts with them entering the neighbourhood controlled by the Black Shadow Warriors, and again they have to fight their way through an assortment of powerful opponents. Eventually they reach the Mansion of Terror for the finale and presumably discover that Marion is still alive.

Dan Fleming says there is a format to the video text; abrupt beginnings, an extended middle and remote finales. If the game ends abruptly before the finale, provided the game is “saved,” the player can return to the last saved version and complete the game from there (172). How does all this affect the child? Do these games with their overt violence and value-laden messages affect the children’s narratives? If, as Grider argues, the child or adolescent is able to create their own media narraform from supernatural and horror stories, can they also produce an equivalent video game text?

From these brief descriptions it becomes apparent that the player is drawn into a fantasy world. In Understanding Media (1964) Marshal McLuhan argues that games, like fairy tales, can bring meaning to life; they can also create “an artificial paradise,” a fantasy world, something similar to Disneyland. Although many folk tales contain a deeper metaphysical exploration of life, Provenzo suggests part of the popularity of video

games, is that they are perceived to be an escape from reality, like folk tales. Unlike the performance of a folk tale the playing of a video game is not a public event, even if it is played in a video arcade. Usually games are designed for one or two players. As the storyteller takes the listener into the fantasy world, so the game player is lured into the world of the game that Provenzo calls a "microworld." He suggests that video games appeal to children because they "systematically tap into the children's need for fantasy and imagination" (47) and once the children have learned to play the game they are able to control the electronic environment.

The Children's Warrior Narratives

Perhaps a good example of McLuhan's concept of a fantasy world or Provenzo's microworld is found in Robert's The Longest Journey (STM Tape 6 Side A, Ref. No. C13737 156) and to a lesser extent Christopher's (STM Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13734) untitled adventure story. Both boys illustrated their stories, which added to the feel of the microworld. In Robert's story the superhero, Puney Catepillar, decides to go on a journey. (Robert's spelling of caterpillar varies through his text; I will use this spelling for his name and Robert's spelling when quoting from his text.) In the following extract Robert describes the journey and takes his audience into his microworld:

he crawled over a hi mountain he crawled into a deep valley he
crawled around a humongous castle . . . Then he got to the gait.
The little caterpillar went into the front garden. he saw a
monster with wheels. The monster was black" (copied from the
text of Robert's story).

In contrast, Christopher's hero is walking down the street when he sees his microworld and enters it. "I saw a forest in the metal of the street the woods. I went in. There was trees alive they were throwing apples at me" (copied from Christopher's text).

In many fantasy games there are several levels of play, each one becoming harder and more demanding thus enticing the player to continue playing. The "life" of a game depends on the length of time it takes for the player to develop the skills to complete all the levels of the game. Usually the appeal of the game only lasts until the player reaches the hardest level; alternatively many players give up if they find it too difficult. There are several resources to assist players: the Nintendo phone-help line, cheat manuals specific to one game, general game magazines, numerous "cheat" sites on the internet and some children's television programmes, such as Super Mario Bros., which are video game orientated and give playing hints.

It is difficult to pinpoint the direct influence of the video game on these narratives because Robert and Christopher were exposed to other cultural influences and they were friends, at one point sitting next to each other, but some generalisations are possible. At the time Christopher started writing his story Robert started writing his Puney Caterpillar sequels and interestingly Christopher included a caterpillar in his story. The progressively difficult levels of play in a video game are reflected in Robert's story in the way that each one of Puney Caterpillar's enemies is increasingly more difficult to defeat, but this can also happen in fairy tales as well. Robert's enemies are insects or animals which are potentially dangerous or life threatening to other animals and humans, such as the wasp, the scorpion and the cobra. Each one needs a different and more sophisticated weapon to

destroy them. For example, “he hit the scorpion with a rock in his face and escaped. Then he met the cobra. He picked up a rock and threw it. It didn’t hurt the cobra snake. “Gulp” said the caterpillar. Then he took out a Bazooka and blew him up.”

Similarly, although Christopher’s protagonist’s enemies are different and some come from space, he needs a heavier arsenal of weaponry to defeat each one of them. It could be argued, having completed the Fairy Tale part of the School Language Program, this too could also be an influence on the narratives, but in neither boys’ story is there a magical reward for defeating the enemy. Their weapons are instantly available to them, unlike the game player or the hero in a fairy tale who have to work for the reward of better weaponry.

Similarly, in the boy’s narratives the protagonist makes a friend who takes on the “brother-in-arms” role. Puney Catepillar met a friend after a refreshing night sleep, “It was another caterpillar so they kept on crawling,” and together they take on the enemy. There is no explanation as to why the enemies are attacking the two heroes; perhaps they are simply in the wrong place at the wrong time, because neither protagonist was rewarded for his action. But this type of story line is not new or restricted to fantasy video games.

In Robert’s stories the Puney Catepillar and his friend are able to defeat the enemy. In contrast, Christopher’s protagonist is defeated by the enemy at the end of the first attack, in the first story. Similarly an inexperienced video game player may be defeated until they gain enough experience and learn the winning moves. Again, in fairy tales, the protagonist usually undergoes a series of adventures before he defeats the

enemy and claims his reward. In the return confrontation Christopher's protagonist and his helper, with the aid of a bazooka, are able to destroy the enemy base, which seems to be the equivalent of "winning the game!"

In addition to the fantasy world, many traditional fairy tale elements, as described by Holbek, appear in video games. These range from the "rescue the princess" scenario to the martial arts type of game. As seen from the above game synopsis, the protagonist is sent on a quest to rescue the heroine or destroy the evil being. On his way he meets the equivalent of Holbek's "marvellous beings" (1989 740) from whom he obtains advice or gifts, such as a cloak of invisibility, powerful weapons, or healing and resuscitation salves. However, neither Puney Catepillar or Christopher's hero were rewarded in this way for their actions.

Hyperbole, a feature found in fairy tales, is evident in many video games and is also present in many of the Warrior Narratives, such as Justin's Sports Island, where Mark is able to beat Michael Jordan with his legs tied together and Wayne Gretzky with his eyes blindfolded. In the violent games where no women need rescuing, the protagonist who slays the various monsters and baddies is rewarded with gifts such as extraordinary powers, food or lives, thus enabling him to move on to the next level of the game. Here the obstacles to overcome increase in severity, often the game speeds up so the player has less decision making time, and the player needs the rewards from the previous levels to advance through the game. Violence becomes acceptable and an inevitable necessity to win the game, as Jordan and Cowan say in their definition of warrior narratives. But Provenzo, like others, is concerned about the potential for games

to distort the child or adolescent's understanding of violence and man's inhumanity to man (Provenzo 121), an issue that concerns other researchers.

Violence in Warrior Narratives

At the outset of the discussion about warrior narratives, Jordan and Cowan said that violence was justified and legitimate in the triumph over good and evil, arguing this struggle has been evident for at least a hundred years. Violence can be anticipated in warrior narratives because of the action/adventure style of the stories. In video game scenarios this ethos is perpetuated. As Jordan and Cowan say, it has become the norm and is an accepted part of young boys' perception of masculinity. In my fieldwork, I could not directly link violence in video games to the children's narratives. It might have been more apparent in their free play; however, I saw none in the little free play I witnessed.

Yet, parents are concerned about the violence in video games. This concern is represented in an article about video games in the Evening Telegram; journalist John Tompkins (1993) interviewed the parents of two children wanting a Super Nintendo for Christmas. The children's parents were very aware of the transient nature of video games and were reluctant to purchase a new video game system to replace older and obsolete systems. The family was lent a new system with an assortment of games to try for the weekend and followed up by Tompkins for an evaluation of the games and system. Among the games lent to the family was the contentious game Mortal Combat, based on the video arcade version. It was also a feature film on general release at the time of the

interview. Prior to its release on the home video game market Nintendo altered the game by reducing its violent content, although the Sega Genesis version was released unchanged, but the object of the game, which was to kill the opponents, remained the same. These parents, like many others, were highly critical and extremely concerned about the violence in Mortal Combat. They expressed concern about the possible influence of the game on impressionable children, raising the question of the possibility of the children identifying with a violent character.

Patricia Marks Greenfield suggests there could be a link between violence and solitary video game playing (104). Referring to research by Huston and Wright, she says the appeal of television programmes and video games is the action and not the violence. She says Huston and Wright found some children, especially girls, were alienated from violent video games which generally had a higher appeal to boys (104).

Kay Stone points out that violence in storytelling is not a new phenomenon. She explains how the original Märchen contained violence, something which Rob Baum also comments on. Over the years the Märchen have been subjected to considerable censorship and editing, firstly by the Grimm brothers and then successive authors. Like these and other fairy tales, mass media texts and products are criticised for being disturbing and promoting violence, yet when the narratives are edited the new versions are then criticised for being romanticised and unfaithful to the unspecified “original” text. Stone found informants were bored with laundered versions of fairy tales (1981 239). In the same way she found her three-year-old son preferred the original endings to fairy

tales as opposed to the toned-down versions that were intended not to frighten children. Perhaps traditional folktales become meaningless if the endings are tampered with.

There is no simple answer to this problem, but it is important to recognise there are some children who are disturbed by the uncensored contents of both the Märchen and mass media products such as films, games and television programmes. However, for the participants in this research, it appears that the media violence they were exposed to is clichéd and as such was an acceptable part of the story.

My fieldwork showed that a good storyteller managed to incorporate as much gore and the grotesque as they could bring into their scary or warrior narratives. For example, Mitchell tries hard to gross out his audience in an untitled scary story

When I found Justin [older brother] a dog was eating the on the dead and all I could see was their skull and their eye ball. Yuck. that was a gross night. But, I found Mark, in the, in his bedroom with a knife through his head, that was bad. There was blood on the bed. (OLF Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13741)

How far could spurting blood spread? Who would be covered by it? This type of description in the stories brought a strong reaction from the small audiences in the collecting situation, and some children like Mitchell revelled in it.

There was one violent hero role model from the media that appeared in this collection of narratives, and that was Rambo. By the time of my research the film First Blood (Orion 1982) was eleven years old and available on video. I suspect that Michael included Rambo in his story because the pop group Green Jelly used it in their song. The name Rambo conjures up a macho persona. In the film the character was played by Sylvester Stallone, who is known for playing this type of macho role. Rambo is a

Vietnam, Green Beret veteran. He arrives in a small town where the sheriff makes it plain he is unwanted and sends him on his way. Rambo, upset by the death of his brother-in-arms from the war, objects to this treatment, returns to the town and is forced into a defensive position. In the sequels to this film Rambo's character changes into what has been described as a "Super Killing Machine," and as such he is an ideal figure to kill the wolf for the three little pigs in Michael's story Jonathan and the Three Little Pigs.

As with the supernatural details, it appears that media violence is a given in our society and as such has become stereotyped and clichéd by the mass media. This does appear in some of the warrior narratives, for example the Puney Catepillar prepared himself for danger in the sequel story "he loded his rocket launcher for safety" with the anticipation of possibly needing to use it. When Puney Catepillar comments about an attack on one of his enemies he says "he blew him to kingdownm come."

In Peter's The Magic Sword (STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No C13734) there is a bad dragon called Thresher for Sirae, the hero, to fight. If Sirae kills the dragon he can reclaim his stolen, magic sword. In this and other traditional stories of this genre, violence is necessary to kill the evil dragon. Dragons are frequently portrayed as large, fire breathing, smelly creatures, protecting their hoards of stolen gold, silver, gems and other valuables. They raid towns and villages for livestock to feed on. A young woman, usually a virgin is offered as a sacrifice to save her community, tied to a stake at an agreed neutral boundary, where the dragon can come and get her without harming the rest of the village. By accepting this sacrificial virgin, the dragon leaves the community alone for another agreed period of time. This genre dates back into Greek mythology and

beyond. Saint George, the English patron saint, was a Roman soldier who killed the dragon and rescued a young woman from such a fate. Thresher the dragon appears to be this type of dragon, from the brief description that Peter gives about the dragon's lair. "Bones were scattered around the mouth of the cave." Another indication that this is not a good dragon is his two slaves, one of whom stole Sirae's magic sword. Peter's protagonist prepares himself for his fight with the dragon by making protective armour and a special sword. Dragons are renowned for being difficult to kill; their scales are excellent protection from swords and other piercing weapons. Sirae further prepares for his fight with the dragon by making a trap. His initial attack does not work, but aided by his trap Sirae creates time to rescue his magic sword and with its powers he is able to defeat the dragon. In a similar manner to Robert's and Christopher's stories, Sirae has to attack more than once before he kills the dragon. There is no woman to rescue but Sirae is happy to take his sword as his reward for this quest.

Another superhero reminiscent of the Superman type character is found in Stephanie's Super Dana and Mitchell's Super Matthew stories (OLF June 1993). Super Matthew hears someone crying for help and dives into the ocean and kills a shark. When a whole group of sharks try to attack the girl again, he dives back into the ocean and kills them all. Super Dana rescues her younger sister from being chased by four older boys who were named after four boys from Grades 3 and 4. In superhero style Dana says "My work is done for today," after the four boys run off. Stephanie concludes her story by saying "from that day on Dana was called/Super Dana (her spacing). Here the hero and

heroine are superheroes because regardless of their sex, they are able to rescue the weak against all odds, from mighty or bad adversaries.

Interestingly, the boys at Our Lady of Fatima's frequently incorporated their male siblings, cousins and friends in their narratives as buddies or brothers in arms. It was not something I noticed in St. Mary's and I wondered if it was something to do with being in a small, relatively isolated fishing community where for the majority of the time these boys only associated with this peer group. Perhaps it would be different if they were bussed to school in Trepassey and had a wider peer group.

Scary Stories

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this was the largest of the four categories containing characters, figures and motifs from popular culture. Halloween and sleepover storytelling is one which everyone associates with weird, unexplainable, scary and supernatural contents. The more frightening a story the better the audience perceives it. A good frightening story is quickly assimilated into everyone's repertoires, hence the repetition and variations of some stories.

Similarly modern producers of popular culture have not restricted their creativity to such contemporary creations as Freddy Krueger and Chucky. Characters like Mary Shelley's Frankenstein from her novel of the same name written in 1818, or the traditional vampire personified in Bram Stoker's Dracula (1897) have been taken out of their original literary context and interpreted in numerous cinematic versions by

filmmakers. Consequently many children may be unaware of the literary origin of the character.

In the same way supernatural elements, figures and motifs from the oral tradition are embellished and presented to children in the media; elements like the settings of haunted houses and graveyards have become stereotyped and accepted as the norm because of the influence of shows like the cartoon Scooby Doo (CBS) which was first aired in 1969.² In the programmes the “baddie” is often characterised as a ghost or monster to scare off prying eyes or would-be detectives, which chases the children through the setting they are supposed to be investigating. Media images of these settings are so well known, some children do not deem it necessary to describe them in any detail; it is enough to give the setting and the audience automatically knows what to expect. For example in Cordell’s One Scary Night he starts the story “One scary night a boy came to a haunted house” (OLF Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13735, 054). Sylvia Grider (1976) also found this in some of the supernatural stories she collected. She argues the media representations are so well known, such as the creaking staircase in a haunted house, that they have become clichés and stylised icons which are reinforced by comic books, party decorations and advertisements.

The haunted house is frequently portrayed as a dark, gloomy, gothic, slightly dilapidated mansion or large clapboard house, with high brick walls in disrepair and often closed wrought iron gates, which lead up the drive to a big wooden front door. It is a

² http://www.characterproducts.com/info/character_histories/scooby_doorway.htm

regular motif in such cartoons as Scooby Doo. In Chan's story, the haunted house is not physically described; instead he says it's haunted because of the monsters in it: "Once upon a time there was a haunted house. It was haunted because there were witches, ghosts and goblins in it" (STM Tape 2 Side A, Ref. No. C13733).

Only one child in the whole group said he knew of a haunted house and told a local legend to validate his belief (STM Tape 6 Side A, Ref. No. C13737, 042 Thomas). Several children in both schools set stories in haunted houses, but did not elaborate on details. When the children in St. Shotts were asked if there were any haunted houses in the community, they all said there were none in the area. But considering it was such a close community and everybody knew everyone and their house I did not really expect there to be one except perhaps in a house that had been empty for a long time. Now with the changes in the fishing industry resulting in families moving away for work, and houses being left empty for long periods of time, perhaps children might imagine some were haunted. The storytellers were more concerned with the characters doing the haunting and the detail of the narrative. Other examples of haunted house stories are Joshua's The Haunted Mansion, a fear test story (STM Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13735, 205); and Gregory's and Justin's joint, untitled story (OLF Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13735, 192).

Another common setting for scary stories is the graveyard. Halloween or the fall period are the regular clichés and stereotypes used for graveyard settings by the mass media, when there are no leaves on trees so they cast eerie shadows. Often the time of day is dusk or around the traditional witching hour of midnight, necessitating some kind

of illumination, which casts long eerie shadows. Most of these graveyards are in an urban setting, with low-lying billowing fog showing the tops of the graves and adding to the eeriness. In addition, the graveyard is often neglected with overgrown vegetation and large old trees for someone or something to conveniently hide behind. A good example of this type of stereotype in popular culture, and one well known to the children, would be the video of Michael Jackson's song "Thriller." These stereotypes of the scenario, together with the background music, help to create a spooky atmosphere and were well known to the children at the time. The graveyard in St. Shotts strongly contrasted to this imagery. Driving into the community it was on the left-hand side of the road, and driving out it was the last visible marker of the community, standing alone and well away from any of the residential area. There were no trees or shady spots, and all the gravestones and memorials were well maintained. Graveyards in St. John's were bigger and generally well maintained. There were a few trees and shrubs but they looked nothing like New England counterparts. Graveyards are archetypically frightening because this is where the dead are laid to rest. Graveyards conjure up scary images, which is reflected in the narratives in this category, such as the hands of the dead coming out of the graves.

As I said at the beginning of this chapter, a recurring motif that straddles both the oral tradition and modern popular culture is the arm or hand rising from the grave. Harold Schechter traced this motif back to the Grimm's short story The Willful Child. It was a recurrent theme in my informants' stories so I have included it here. Interestingly, none of my informants knew of this story but many knew of films, such as Carrie (1976

Redbank Films), and television programmes which used the motif (AT E411.0.1 - Hand of Sinner sticks out of the grave).

The Willful Child

Once upon a time there was a child who was willful, and would not do what her mother wished. For this reason God had no pleasure in her, and let her become ill, and no doctor could do her any good, and in a short time she lay on her death-bed. When she had been lowered into her grave, and the earth was spread over her, all at once her arm came out again, and stretched upwards, and when they had put it in and spread fresh earth over it, it was all to no purpose, for the arm always came out again. Then the mother herself was obliged to go to the grave and strike the arm with a rod, and when she had done that, it was drawn in, and then at last the child had rest beneath the ground (Grimm 1992 662).

Another reference to a hand appearing above the grave of a sinner is found in Iona Opie and Moira Tatem's A Dictionary of Superstitions (1989) which has a reference to a Scottish legend, from Clackmannan, of a Laird striking a monk and his hand appeared above the grave after his death (186).

In the narrative corpus it was not the hand of the sinner rising out of the grave, but the hand or hands of the dead to mete out punishment on the living either for killing the deceased person or for breaking the sanctity of the grave. For example, in Vicky's sleepover story Graveyard Mansion she says, "Suddenly a bony hand popped out of the grave" followed by the mother's body (STM Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13734, 301). Variations of this story were narrated but only Vicky's contained this motif. In the other retellings of this story the whole person reappeared to kill the visitor.

There are two examples of the consequences of breaking the sanctity of the grave. The hand emerges from the grave in response to a girl performing a “fear test.” For example, in Alison’s untitled story a girl is dared to dig a knife into the grave. As she digs the knife in, a hand comes out of the grave “and then a few hands come out of the grave. And then they all pulled her down into the ground. And then um, she came back up and she was dead . . . she died of fright (STM Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13736, 004).”

In a similar kind of story, Janice’s heroine in a Ghost Story is dared to perform a “trick” by placing a dollar on the headstone (OLF Tape 1 Side B, Ref. No. C13740, 470). The hand should emerge from the grave and take the dollar. Instead the deceased occupant appears to take revenge on the girl for disturbing its resting-place by chasing her. The next day the boyfriend returns to the graveyard and finds his dead girlfriend’s body lying by the grave.

There are other media interpretations of this motif available to the children. Several of the boys at St. Mary’s School said Terminator 2: Judgement Day (1991) was one of their favourite movies; coincidentally it was being shown on the cable movie channel at the time of my research. This film ends with Arnold Schwarzenegger, as the reprogrammed cyborg Terminator, being lowered into a vat of boiling substance to destroy the computer chip within him, and the last image of the Terminator in the film is his hand holding onto the lowering device.

A further hand image in the media, known to and referred to by the children, is found in the black and white, then colour television series and two spin-off films The Addams Family (1991 Paramount) and Addams Family Values (1993 Paramount). In this

instance there is a dismembered hand called “Thing.” It is not malicious, but is a member of the family and runs around on its fingers. In one of the films, it is seen running along the floor and opening doors. As I have already mentioned Melissa makes a reference to it in her Halloween story, The Addams Family (OLF Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13742. 257).

The last reference to something coming up out of the ground in this category is found in Alison’s second story called The Pig (STM Tape 6 Side B, Ref. No. C13737). In this narrative rather than an arm coming out of the ground, a body emerges which Alison describes as a “Frankenstein-like” monster.

The influence of the media and popular culture is not limited to the stereotyping of supernatural settings; it is evident in the storyteller’s choice of characters and falls into two groups: folk tale scary figures from the oral tradition, such as witches, goblins, ghosts, vampires and werewolves, and the modern popular creations already mentioned: Frankenstein, Dracula, Chucky and Freddy Krueger. This differentiation of scary figures into traditional and modern monsters is one that I identified; it was not one that the children made.

Any study of children’s narratives must include recognition of tales from the popular media which carry traditional motifs, because children today can not be isolated from media influence. The children storytellers regularly included four of these traditional scary figures: witches, ghost, goblins and vampires. Thus it is important to compare them to their media counterparts.

Witches

Of all the scary figures in the narrative corpus only the witches are female. As with the children's lack of description about haunted houses and graveyards, there was little physical description of a witch. Their reputation and imagery goes before them, and in the same way this applied to all the scary characters in this category.

Sylvia Grider (1976) says witches are anthropomorphic, supernatural creatures. In children's narratives she argues they are an amalgamation of the Disney influence and the traditional image of witch attributes. She suggests there are three types: eccentric old women of the neighbourhood; hags who ride broomsticks; and Samantha in the television programme Bewitched (347). Examples of these three types are commonly found in the media and popular culture.

Traditionally witches are bad figures and in many cases witchcraft is seen as a pact with the devil resulting in ill-doing. Perhaps the most famous evil witches with malicious intent from the media that my informants would know were the Queen in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937 Disney) who takes the form of a crone or hag figure, bent over with a hooked nose to disguise herself, "The Wicked Witch of the West" played by Margaret Hamilton in the The Wizard of Oz (1939 US), and lastly the bad fairy in Disney's Sleeping Beauty (1959) who wore black robes and attempted to kill the princess.

Moving away from this style of witch is Bette Middler in the Halloween story Hocus-Pocus (1993 Disney). Instead of wearing stereotypical black garb, she is dressed in supposedly seventeenth century conventional dress, and her role has a comical side to

it. Nevertheless she is still “evil,” seeking children’s bodies for the preservation of herself and the two other witches.

Another and more modern interpretation of an evil witch is portrayed in the film The Witches (1990 Warner/Lorimar), based on the book by Ronald Dahl. Like the witch in Hansel and Gretel, these witches do not like children and ultimately want to rid the world of them. At a witches’ convention in England the film shows how a locked room full of “normal” looking women, at the instigation of their leader, divest themselves of their wigs, shoes and gloves to reveal bald heads and pointed noses, some with warts on, toeless feet and disfigured hands and fingers.

The Grand High Witch, played by Angelica Houston, exemplifies Grider’s description of a witch in children’s narratives. This witch neatly fits her second definition, and the use of special effects allows the filmmakers to make the witch more disgusting than the Disney studio’s caricature in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Before she reveals her true self, the Grand High Witch looks like a tall young woman with good posture wearing a black, low cut dress with a matching “v” neckline at the back, long black gloves, adorned with silver jewellery, and black shoes. Her straight black hair is shoulder length, but it is not until you get a close up of her eyes that you see they are different. As her wig is slowly removed an almost bald, misshapen head is revealed. Simultaneously she starts peeling off her skin at her hairline, to reveal her true self - an old crone. This imagery is reminiscent of Disney’s transformation of the evil queen into an old hag just before she goes into the forest to find Snow White. But here the imagery differs to Disney, because the queen concealed her body in a long black robe

and hood whereas in The Witches the dress emphasises her age and misshapen body.

This image seems quite incongruous with that of the young woman who first walked into the room.

In contrast to these bad witches are the good ones in the television shows such as Samantha in the series Bewitched³ which ran for eight years from 1964, and Jeannie in I Dream of Jeannie⁴ which ran for five seasons from 1965 through to 1970. These two characters were inspired by the film I Married a Witch (1942), which was a romantic comedy. Disney gave us a good witch, Miss Eglantine Price in Bedknobs and Broomsticks (1971), taken from the two stories Magic Bed-knobs (1943) and Bonfire and Broomsticks (1957) by Mary Norton. Miss Price fosters and befriends three evacuee children, and together they have various adventures riding on a magical brass bedstead. Another magical good person was Mary Poppins in Disney's 1964 film of the same name. Mary Poppins was a nanny in Edwardian London who came help Jane and Michael Banks, who were rather naughty children, and through her magic, Mary Poppins, taught them and their family how to have fun and help others.

Having examined the array of witches to choose from, the children preferred to incorporate the bad witch stereotype into their narratives. She is more in keeping with evil and nasty things that happen in scary stories around Halloween, than the good witch stereotype of Samantha in Bewitched who is always trying to put things right.

³ <http://www.bewitched.net>

⁴ http://www.tvtome.com/tvtome/servlet/ShowMainServlet/showid-608/I_Dream_of_Jeannie/#info

There is one exception in Janice's A Ghost Story, but the good witch is not as powerful as the bad one (OLF Tape 4 Side B, Ref. No. C13743, 317). Janice has three witches in this narrative; two females, a good and a bad one, and one male witch. The bad witch is the most powerful and is able to manipulate the good one, which in itself is unusual because good usually conquers evil in fairy tales. The story seems to be inspired by the fairy tale, The Frog Prince. Janice uses the names Stephanie and Michael for two witches, using the names of two children in Grade 2. (It was sometimes inferred by their peer group that they were girl and boyfriend, or that Stephanie would like Michael to be her boyfriend.) Janice says, "They loved each other very well. They used to go on rides, together on their broom." Later in the story when Michael goes off with another witch, Dana (the name of a girl in Grade 1), Stephanie wants him back and puts a spell on him saying, "Witches, hiss, that kind of thing. I will turn him into a toad. Abracadabra, abracadabra, I want to turn you into a toad." Michael turns into a toad but Stephanie is not finished with her evil scheme for revenge; she turns Dana into a snake that kills Michael the toad, then she turns Dana back into herself and the two female witches go off as friends!

In Justin's Halloween story the boys entered the witch's house and when they were all inside the witch said, "I'm going to put a curse on you," and they all ran outside and never returned (OLF Tape 1 Side A, Ref. No. C13740, 127). This is just the kind of stereotyped phrase one would expect a witch to say. Melanie, in her story, says the witch needed the three children's bodies for her brew, something that the Bette Middler

character needs for her brew in Hocus-Pocus (OLF Tape 1 Side A, Ref. No. C13740, 084).

Goblins

Goblins appear in the boys' stories and live up to their reputation in the oral tradition of being bad. In Katherine Briggs A Dictionary of Fairies (1976), she says goblin is "a general name for evil and malicious spirits, usually small and grotesque in appearance" (194). Only Cordell captures the essence of goblins in his story. They have killed his father, so Cordell kills all of them in revenge. Goblins as soldiers appear in Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings, where they are part of the army for the dark side. Although Cordell might not have read the trilogy, the film version of The Lord of the Rings (1978 Fantasy) was a part-animated film and was available on video at that time.

Ghosts

Another supernatural figure, commonly associated with Halloween, is a ghost. The media and popular culture's portrayal of ghosts varies enormously. There are the friendly, helpful ghosts such as the cartoon figure of Casper, the Friendly Ghost, who first appeared in 1945. In 1949 he became a comic book character with a name and in the early fifties he gained his family the Ghostly Trio, Casper's uncles, who were more malevolent ghosts always after making trouble (Markstein 2001⁵). There are the

⁵ <http://www.toonopedia.com/casper.htm>

dangerous ghosts that are humorously captured and animated in Ghost Busters (1984 Columbia/Delphi), and ghosts which are spirits unable to rest because of ill deeds performed in their lifetime or the circumstances of their burial.

Sylvia Grider found many children were afraid of ghosts, because they were unsure whether they were real or not and “one way they try to rationalise this fear or at least to keep it under control is to keep it as superficial as possible.” and they developed techniques to do this (1976 215). For example, they avoided prolonged, gruesome, descriptions that conjured up frightening or explicit images. Quite how frightening or gruesome she does not say; it is interesting that almost two decades later, gruesome and frightening imagery are graphically presented to children in such video games as Mortal Combat. In addition she suggested that fear of ghosts could be interpreted as fear of the unknown and unexplained malevolent happenings (1976). Some of the children in my survey reported how they liked to describe the most gruesome images when they told stories at sleepovers, but as with the children in Grider’s fieldwork their reaction at times was comic relief, amusement, giggles and laughter to dissipate some of their unspoken fears. Generally Sylvia Grider found her informants preferred humorous ghost tales to “real” or disturbingly frightening stories (1976 233). They were less afraid of characters they knew or if they were able to identify the source of their fear.

The children’s interpretations of ghosts do not fit the classic definitions or descriptions of ghosts, for example the Collins English Dictionary (1988) defines a ghost as “the disembodied spirit of a dead person, supposed to haunt living as a pale or shadowy vision (639). In all the stories I collected, ghosts were mentioned as frightening

figures, and in several stories they were malicious. In Melanie's story, the ghost kills the three children for the witches' brew. At the end of the story it tries to make some reparation by pouring the brew over the children thus making them into spirits who haunt the city (OLF Tape 1 Side A, Ref. No. C13740, 084). In one of Mitchell's stories "millions and millions of ghosts" chase him but he comes to no harm (OLF Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13741, 413). In Chad's "fear test" story the ghost taunts the old lady by saying "I'm going to kill you; I'm going to kill you" (OLF Tape 2 Side A, Ref. No. C13733). Jacy captures the concept of ghosts being without substance, and therefore impervious to physical harm, when she says the father tried to shoot the ghost "but the ghost. . . didn't die, cause the bullet went right through him" (STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13734). In Maggie's and Jennifer's story called The Ghost, they demonstrate the way ghosts walk through walls and can not be locked up or shut out (STM Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13735, 148). An example of "speaking ghosts" (A/T 326) can be found in Jacy's text when the kind ghost says, "I'm your real father" (STM Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13736).

Vampires

The last example of traditional scary figures I wish to discuss is Dracula the vampire, who is the most famous in the mass media. W. C. Hazlitt says belief in vampires can be found as early as the twelfth century in Great Britain, and suggests it came via Germany and the north, yet ancient Greeks had a similar superstition. He gives a brief description of a vampire.

It was supposed to be a wicked man, whose remains, though buried with the customary forms, did not suffer dissolution . . . and the man's spirit, or some demon, entered into it, and at night the dead man left his grave and walked about the streets and knocked at peoples' doors, and always called by name, some person in the house (61).

If the named person answered the call, they were nearly always found dead the following day. Sometimes, he says vampires pursued their wanderings in the daytime which contrasts to the media image of the vampire roaming around at night looking for victims and needing to be back in their coffin or somewhere dark out of the daylight (611).

This description contrasts to the popular culture stereotypes in the media. Sylvia Grider (1976) suggests the media's favourite monster is the vampire Dracula, who is often linked with Transylvania in movies and comics. Dracula and vampires in the media are generally portrayed as preying on and ravishing beautiful women. The now cult Hammer horror films of the sixties and early seventies provide good examples of this.

Vampires personified by Dracula are the traditional scary figure and overlap with the modern scary monsters. Grider suggests children are as familiar with Dracula as Mickey Mouse or Uncle Tom and quickly learn to recognise him. She says as a scary figure, Dracula is part of our 'cultural baggage' and associations with this name and others come from the mass media and not oral narratives (1976 397). In the children's stories she found he merely had "walk-on" parts and were not the focus of the narrative cycle (1976 397). She also found Dracula was not as popular with children, although it was a stock figure at Halloween costume parties, though she did not specify with which

sex it was popular. Only one girl told stories that included a vampire, yet it was a recurring figure in the boys' stories (STM Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13733 Stephanie).

For these children Dracula and vampires are definitely scary monsters. Stephanie recounted two vampire stories early in our collecting sessions. In her first story she tried to rationalise her fear and make the vampire go away by repeating several times "there is no such things as vampires." but to no avail (STM Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13733). She did not appear to know the traditional ways to repel Dracula like holding or wearing a crucifix or garlic, or that to become a vampire you have to be bitten by one. Instead Stephanie says she was touched by the vampire's blood and thus became one. This was something that Sylvia Grider also found with her informants. In the second story Stephanie shows her knowledge of what a vampire should look like when the heroine Polly says, "Um I know you're not a real vampire because you don't has, have those long teeth" (STM Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13733).

Grider (1976 441) suggests the scariness of Dracula is being reduced by the use of the character in advertising, cartoons and in different media images. For example, in the children's programme Sesame Street there is Count Dracula, a lavender coloured Muppet dressed in the stereotyped cape, white shirt and with fangs. He is called "The Count" (441) and used to help the children count and deal with numbers. This image contrasts strongly to that in the late night horror films. Brian Murphy (1972) suggests this use of scary, yet familiar figures as puppets and cartoons in television programmes, helps children with their fears and fantasies, "these monsters presumably show children that

even their awful fantasies are good, are part of us, can be, and shall one say, assimilated” (36). It seemed to have little impact on the stories from my informants.

Media Scary Figures

Scary characters such as Freddy Krueger, from the Nightmare on Elm Street series of films (1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, and 1989), Frankenstein and Dracula often appear in the same child’s scary story, yet these are all leading characters from films and literature. For example, in Gregory’s and Justin’s joint Scary Story they list the “bad guys” as “Frankenstein, Freddy Krueger and Chucky;” Chucky is the evil doll from the 1988 movie Child’s Play and its 1990 sequel Child’s Play 2 (OLF Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13742, 190). Another example of the listing of characters in a scary story is found in Cordell’s story called One Scary Night where he mixes modern horror characters with traditional scary figures. He starts the story:

One scary night a boy came to a haunted house. There were goblins, vampires, and blood on the walls. Frankenstein came out of nowhere and was running after me. I was scared then a skeleton fell on top of me. I turned around; a goblin was going at me. (OLF Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13742, 054)

At Our Lady of Fatima the children there knew of these scary figures, as they were included in this walk-on style list of monsters in Halloween or scary stories. A good example is found in Bradley’s short story A Spooky Halloween (OLF Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13743). As with the mass media, Bradley uses a dramatic flash of lightning to announce the arrival of the monsters in his story, “flash of lightning and the Addams Family came out of their graves. Monsters, vampires, goblins and witches, got out of

their graves,” which is reminiscent of the Michael Jackson video made for his song Thriller. To make this short story more horrifying for his audience Bradley continued “the vampires pulled off a kid’s head and [pause], and drank his blood,” as opposed to just biting a child’s neck and drinking their blood.

Another scary figure that the children listed in their stories was Frankenstein. The nearest monster or ogre motif is reference number G377. - - “Monster made from parts of corpses of animals and vivified.” Perhaps it is important to remember that the original figure created by Mary Shelley was a sad, deformed creature that attracted much sympathy. It was not the horrific figure portrayed all too often by the mass media, and as such contrasts to Dracula.

Of all the stories which include Frankenstein, Alison’s second story called The Pig is the only one which attempts to describe a monster similar to Frankenstein (STM Tape 6 Side B, Ref. No. C13737, 158). She says two men Tom and Paul were sitting in the potato patch at midnight, and “they saw a thing come up from a patch of potatoes and then the thing had a white shirt on, and suspenders. You couldn’t see its face because it was too dark out. But he sort of looked like, his arms were all out, he sort of looked like Frankenstein.” She explains on the third night the men got to see more of this monster, “his eyebrows were down and he showed his really, really, really sharp teeth.” The story ends a few nights later when the two men return to look at the monster again, because they did not believe it was a ghost, and Tom touches it. Tom dies, and “then Paul said, when he died he looked just like the thing.”

The characterisation of Frankenstein, Grider says, has made it into a popular culture icon (393). It has become a profitable market with dolls, masks and at the time of her writing, two film parodies were released: Mel Brooks' Young Frankenstein (1974) and Andy Warhol's Frankenstein (1974) where Dr. Frankenstein is a necrophiliac. Generally my informants do not appear to differentiate between the supernatural scariness of Frankenstein and Dracula. They are lumped together with Freddy Krueger, Chucky and goblins, all of which are frightening and bad, and it seems the list is given in personal preference of scariness.

One possible media narraform emerged in this collection of narratives and this was one of Bradley's scary stories (OLF Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13743 081). The story is brief; no one interrupted or commented when he was talking, no one tried to add additional material. It could be a summary to the first film or a compilation of the Nightmare on Elm Street films.

Once there was a man called Freddy Krueger. Whenever anybody dreamed about him the next morning they would be blown up in the room dead. Two children used to dream about him but before he could to their houses he, they used to wake up. So one night, he visit when their parents were away. He locked all the doors. They ran and ran away from him. He used to pop up everywhere, some, they got and burnt. Soon they decided they threw water around but they didn't stop it. They decide the only thing that could kill him was fire. They trick, they got, they lured him into the woods, the basement and locked him down there and threw matches. He died very soon but soon. But everybody knows that he can never die. He'll be back soon. The End.

Christopher Case (1996) in his movie guide gives a brief synopsis for the film, "A group of teenagers whose parents were all molested by Freddy Krueger find him showing

up in their dreams which become increasingly real” (469). In another couple of films, he shows up in dreams and tries to kill or possess his victims. From this synopsis I would suggest that Bradley told a brief media narraform, but there did not appear to be any more of this genre in the narrative corpus.

Made-up Stories Based on Television and Films

There are three Star Trek: The Next Generation stories in this category written by three boys who were fans of the television programme. Although the stories are simple and brief, they are not media narraforms because they do not attempt to retell an episode. Instead they are made-up stories using the authors’ favourite characters. Nor do these stories fit into the two main genres written by adult female fans as described by Camille Bacon-Smith in Enterprising Women (1992). These two genres Camille Bacon-Smith defines are stories dealing “with women’s places in social and/or occupational relationships with men and other women” (52) and “stories concentrating on men’s social and/or occupational relationships with each other” (53). Instead the boys’ stories, along with many others written by Star Trek fans fit the “action-adventure format” as described in the Warrior Narratives category (54).

Henry Jenkins says fans who write texts are drawing on materials from the dominant media and employing them in ways that serve their interests and facilitate their pleasures (1992 214). Fan texts, he argues, do not give any pure “authentic” or immediate access to personal interpretative activities of individual fans. He describes fandom as a “scavenger culture” built from poached fragments of many different media products and

woven together into a coherent whole through the meanings the fans bring to these fragments and uses they make of them, rather than by meanings generated from the primary texts (252).

Jenkins' (1992) arguments about fandom as a scavenger culture are not restricted to these three stories. They are applicable to all the narratives discussed in this chapter because the popular culture content is mixed and varied, coming from a variety of sources in the television and film industry and incorporated into stories. For example, in Alison's first story called The Pig a rich man dares a poor farmer to stay in a haunted house for three nights (STM Tape 6 Side B, Ref. No. C13737, 112). The man and his pig survive the first night. On the second night a girl with machine guns attacks the man and the pig and she says "Asta la vista baby," just before she goes to attack them. This phrase is spoken by the cyborg Terminator, played by Arnold Schwarzenegger, in Terminator 2 (1991 Tri-Star) just before it attacks.

Henry Jenkins (1992) says adult Star Trek fan writing is predominantly a female response to the mass media. The majority of fanzines are edited and written by women for a largely female readership. This is in direct contrast to the three stories in this section, which were all written by boys. Like some of the female fanzine authors, the focus of the boys' stories is on the leading male characters, primarily the Captain of the Enterprise, Jean Luc Picard. They differ though because they are of the "action-adventure format," as described by Camille Bacon-Smith, (54). The authors notably ignore all female characters that appear in the different incarnations of the Star Trek series; specifically, such as the Senior Security Officer, Tasha Yar in the first Star Trek: The

Next Generation series who was replaced by the Klingon, Lieutenant Worf in the subsequent series, Beverly Crusher, the doctor or Deana Troy the ship's counsellor.

Thus the three authors of the Star Trek: The Next Generation stories bring their own interpretation into the texts, while incorporating some of the formulaic style from the primary text. For example, Tommy and Joshua attempt to reproduce the formulaic textual introduction into their stories. Each week the television programme starts with a voice-over monologue from the Captain of the Enterprise, Jean Luc Picard, played by the actor Patrick Stewart, he says "Space, the final frontier. These are the voyages of the Starship Enterprise. Its continuing mission: to explore strange new worlds; to seek out new life; new civilisations; to boldly go where no one has gone before!"⁶ Tommy starts his narrative with, "Star Trek the final frontier, these are the voyages of the starship Enterprise," and Joshua begins his story, "Spac the fanul fronter thees are the vagages, of the star ship antpris to seek out now live and new sicaliszatnon. to bale go wear noone hass gone befor" (copy of his text in Appendix 9).

The three stories reflect the themes which regularly appear in the television programmes. For example, Tommy's and Joshua's plots are about fighting aliens, whereas Andrew's is about something alien and unexplained affecting the crew. In the three narratives the major male characters appear as heroes in the never ending struggle between good and evil. In this instance good is represented by the Federation with

⁶ <http://www.tvtome.com/tvtome/servlet/ShowMainServlet/showid-137/>

Captain Jean Luc Picard as its “knight in shining armour” leading the fight against an “evil,” often something alien or unknown such as the Borg.

In Series Three a new type of alien appears in the form of the Borg, a collective of assimilated people. They capture Captain Jean Luc Picard and start to assimilate him. Despite the efforts of the Federation, the Borg are initially invincible. It takes the ingenuity of crew of the Enterprise to work out a way of defeating the Borg and recapturing Captain Picard. This motif reoccurs in the eighth film First Contact (1996). Tommy picked up on the threat of the Borg using it in the plot of his narrative. In his story it takes the combined efforts of the leading male characters First Officer William Riker, Leslie Crusher who is the doctor’s son and youngest crewman on the Enterprise, the Klingon warrior Lieutenant Worf and Lieutenant Data the android, to defeat them. Joshua’s narrative is very brief and just mentions fighting aliens again. In contrast, Andrew’s story describes how something unexplained affects the captain and the crew. He writes that it’s a “gloomy day” the captain is “out of this world,” and he concludes, they all “came to their senses.” Again he followed a well-established genre STM Tape 3 Side A. Ref. no. C13734)

Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture

The majority of storytellers in this category show a knowledge of the traditional narrative whether written, oral or cinematic version. Harold Schechter argues that many films are merely updated folk tales; for example, he says War Games (1983) is really a modern version of the Sorcerer’s Apprentice from the Disney film Fantasia (1940). The

technology is updated; the wizard a new kind of master, but the story essentially remains the same. In this instance the “Apprentice,” is a young boy who dabbles with powers beyond his control by hacking into a supposedly infallible military computer system and thus threatens the security of the world. The potential catastrophe is avoided by the timely appearance of the master computer programmer who rescues the lad and saves the world (14).

The traditional formulaic structure is combined with Henry Jenkins’ (1992) concept of a “scavenger culture” as they incorporate other things into the narratives or modernise the story. The stories are condensed into what the child considers to be the major action. In some instances the children merely changed the names such as, Jason and his Mother for Jack and the Beanstalk. There is some evidence of modernising the texts; for example in Jennifer’s story, Mitchell and the Beanstalk, where a car replaces the cow. In Melanie’s version of Little Red Riding Hood, Eileen becomes the protagonist, and her friends are also included in the story. The girls stuck passively to the more original versions, whereas the boys, again, opted for more action/adventure stories.

Michael’s story Jonathan and the Three Little Pigs is also a warrior narrative, and as such I discussed it in that section, but it is also based on a popular folk tale, which has been rearranged several times into other popular songs this century. The song was part of the children’s subculture. It was a favourite with Michael’s older brothers, played around the house and in the car whenever they went out. The story follows the traditional format until the end when the little pigs dial 911, the telephone number for the emergency services in the U. S. A., and ask for Rambo (also in the song) to come and kill the wolf

for the piggies. Obviously, this is where the story digresses from the folk tale.

Traditionally it is through the ingenuity of the third little pig that the wolf is either outwitted or killed, depending on the version you read. By asking for Rambo's aid the songwriter and Michael make it more appealing to the children. Throughout Michael's story Jonathan is a passive observer to all the action and just follows in the wake of the little pigs.

In Michael's story, Jonathan and the three little pigs run away to Hollywood. In Mitchell's story in this category, Super Matthew (June 1993), "Super Matthew went to Hollywood. He was a star in Hollywood." Going to Hollywood is also mentioned in several other children's stories in the narrative corpus. At a time when the Newfoundland fishing industry was in severe crisis, there was Hollywood with its glamorous, successful and wealthy imagery. Was it seen as equivalent to the medieval perception of the streets of London in the folktale Dick Whittington? From the children's perception Hollywood seems an escape from the harsh reality of loss of jobs and financial problems in a small fishing community.

Yet the story does not end there. As with other folk tales, once the hero has performed his deed he is rewarded with untold wealth, quite often a princess and the promise of living happily ever after. Rambo and Jonathan are not forgotten for their help in this crisis but are both rewarded. Michael says, "From now on Rambo and Jonathan were heroes and got a million dollars each and lived happily ever after."

Steven modernises the original Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs in his Meet Janice and the Three Dwarfs (OLF Grade 4 June 1993). He replaces the forest with the

city, there are only three dwarves not seven, and they live in a skyscraper as opposed to a small cottage. Unlike Snow White, Janice is not running away from a wicked witch who wants to kill her, instead she wants money to buy herself a house. Usually the heroine in fairy tales improves her social position or maintains it at the end of the story. For example, she is either a poor girl improving her status or a princess marrying the hero prince. It appears that Janice goes against convention by becoming a maid for the three dwarves. But for everyone in Steven's story, it ends happily as he finishes with the traditional closing formula of "they lived happily ever after (OLF Grade 4 written story June 1993)."

Peter's story, The Magic Sword, overlaps with the Warrior Narratives category because it is of the action adventure type, yet its content is of a traditional folk tale as opposed to a media influenced story (STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13734). There is further influence from the mass media in the way that the hero kills the dragon. As with traditional folk tales, the hero is unable to kill the dragon at the first attempt. He has to make several attempts to conventionally kill the dragon before he remembers the power of the magic sword, which again is not dissimilar to the different levels in the video game.

Gender Issues that Arose in the Narrative Corpus

These are issues which are perhaps best discussed here, although they are applicable to the analysis of the narrative corpus. Provenzo tackles the issue with regard to video games and Fleming comments on the gender difference in a toy store. Other

forms of potentially influential mass media attract criticism such as the film industry and television. Gender roles, Provenzo argues, are portrayed negatively in the games. Women are submissive, accepting of their fate and waiting to be rescued by the “hero,” who in this instance is the game player, thus potentially socialising children into the idea of dominant men and weak women. A large percentage of games base their story line on this theme and contain considerable violence for the player to win the game by rescuing the woman, as seen in the scenarios above. In many instances the heroine is not even given a name, she is merely referred to as “Princess” or “girlfriend”, and Provenzo questions this stereotyping of genders within games. Fleming found the girls’ aisle in a toy store contained passive toys such as Barbie dolls, whereas the boys’ aisles reinforced action adventure narratives with science fiction and action toys. Further, the girls’ aisle was a quiet pink area where no boys ventured and girls browsed the Barbies. In contrast, girls and boys both looked at toys in the boys’ territory (173).

Folklorist Kay Stone (1975) is highly critical of Walt Disney productions that negatively portray gender roles. Even in the more modern Disney creations, the heroine is still portrayed as a damsel in distress, in need of rescuing, usually by a prince or a man of higher status than her. For example Mulan, in Disney’s 1998 film of that name, defeats the enemy, but is humiliated once it is discovered that she is merely a woman. It takes the young prince to rescue her and restore her standing as a heroine. But this criticism is not restricted to the modern film industry. In her analysis of folk tales, Kay Stone finds passive heroines who let atrocious things happen to them. For example, in The Frog Prince (AT 440), the girl is forced by her father to accept a gross suitor and in

Rumpelstiltskin (AT 500), the girl is forced to marry a greedy king (1975 43). She adds that if heroines are passive in Grimm, some are barely alive in Disney versions, referring to Sleeping Beauty, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs and Cinderella. These images reinforce the stereotype of the passive, pretty victim unable to take control of her life.

One major difference between fairy tales and video game narratives is that in a survey of forty-seven games Provenzo found no heroines who equated to heroes. Dan Fleming cites the video game Alien, loosely based on the film Alien 3 (1992) as an example of a female heroine on the video game market. He says the scenario is, “the female hero must rescue human prisoners from the nightmarish, slime dripping, skeletal eponymous aliens” (53) who run a penal colony in space. Fleming says, the version of the game released for the home market, took “the male at the control console as the norm; its mode of address locates him out there” (53). Since Provenzo’s research some strong female characters have emerged in games and in the spin off films, such as Lara Croft. Japanese anime is attempting to redress this problem with strong female leads and girls taking control of their destiny, for example Kiki, from Kiki’s Delivery Service (1989 Hayao Miyazaki). As part of her witch’s training, the thirteen year old Kiki leaves home to live independently for a year. She sets up her own delivery service and despite several set backs, including losing her magic she rescues a boy she befriended when he is involved in a dirigible accident; thus reversing the damsel in distress role.

In contrast Kay Stone (1975) found that several heroines in control of their own destiny and others around them had become the “hero” with all his associated attributes. She found examples in Ozark tales collected by Vance Randolph and some British

examples, such as an unusual version of the Twelve Dancing Princesses where the heroine rescues the prince from nocturnal fairies and cures the beautiful step-sister, deformed by the heroine's jealous mother (1975 45).

The hero of the fairy tale and the hero of the video game share many attributes. Stone says of heroes, "Heroes succeed because they act, not because they are" (1975 45). Most important is their ability to overcome obstacles, not like women who are judged by their appearance or sweetness of their nature such as "Sweet Marian" in Mortal Combat. In contrast she says the heroine, for example Cinderella, is perfect from the outset and thus does not need to develop.

As the children's repertoires were categorised, the anticipated urban/rural dichotomy did not arise in the manner that Mrs. Coles had suggested. Instead a gender division emerged in the style and content of the narratives across the whole group of informants. As mentioned throughout the analysis, the boys tended to write or tell action/adventure stories, whereas the girls used a more passive and descriptive tone. In the girls' stories action often took place in the dialogue between the characters as opposed to a graphic description in the boy's stories. This gender difference in repertoires is something that other researchers have found and commented on in their work. For example, Bengt Holbek (1989) found it in his research into the Danish fairy tale oral tradition. Jordan and Cowan, commenting on warrior narratives, said that in kindergarten girls showed no interest in this genre. Girls, they said, demonstrated their perception of power in the powerful female roles they observed in the home and in the outside world, such as playing the mother, a teacher or a female shopkeeper (Jordan and Cowan 732).

Boys they suggest “have built these narratives [warrior] into their conceptions of the masculine” (732). Fleming also suggests that a video arcade “is a miniature version of the male world - - relatively few girls venture into its shadows, and when they do they know they are on boys’ territory (which can have its own very real transgressive pleasures, of course)” (53).

At the Redlands, California, Town and Gown “Whodunit?” evening, held at Redlands University on 9th February 2000, one of the speakers, Jean Swanson, referred to this continuing male/female dichotomy of style and content in the mystery writing genre. It appears that having learnt acceptable places to produce warrior narratives, boys and men continue with them. As with Stephanie’s narrative there are exceptions with some women writers crossing the boundaries into this predominantly male genre. A current popular example of this is J. K. Rawlings’ Harry Potter series. The author is a woman, but when she began writing these stories she thought they would be more appealing to boys if she used her initials as opposed to having “Joanna Rawlings” printed on the front cover. She seems to have found a successful niche for herself in this warrior narrative genre, with a proposed further two books taking Harry to the end of his school career, three completed and successful films with a fourth one currently in production and possibly film rights for the remaining three stories.

There appeared to be little gender difference in the style of narration. Harold Schechter agreed with Brunvand that performers of popular culture still need skill and polish as any traditional storyteller would and continues “carefully orchestrated . . . gestures, eye movements and vocal inflections” not for arts’ sake but for getting the

stories across effectively especially with some urban legends (12), which again is something Elizabeth Tucker also discussed. As I have mentioned throughout the thesis, a good narrator was one who could hold the audience and knew how to play to them by using their voices for suspense and scariness. It appeared that confidence in repertoires was reflected in the storytelling ability. To some extent, showing off to friends also influenced how a story was told; hence some of the silliness at times. Further, joke telling was something the boys seemed better at than girls and Thomas, although he was not a good storyteller, told good jokes and was able to hold his audience.

Reading through the questionnaires, some gender differences were apparent in the favourite films and books, whereas video games seemed more androgynous in their viewing or playing; from the top ten listing there were no overt girl electronic games such as Barbie. At that time, Barbie was only a doll. Video games, such as Super Mario Bros. 2, were readily accessible to my informants, even though they belonging to older or younger siblings. Games were also swapped and lent amongst friends. There was probably less adult censorship with these than with television viewing, hence the vast range played.

With television viewing the children were young enough to be censored by their parents, and the programmes they listed as favourite were before the adult 9 p.m. prime time watershed. A small urban dichotomy arose in the favourite television shows. Tim

Allen's Home Improvement⁷, first aired in 1991, was a favourite of Mrs. Coles' class whereas Saved by the Bell, which first began its run on cable's The Disney Channel as Good Morning Miss Bliss, was a favourite in Mrs. Martin's class. After 13 episodes, the show changed its name to Saved by the Bell and moved to NBC as part of the Saturday morning fall line up in 1989⁸. I did wonder if this difference was possibly due to the recreational pattern of the children, an important factor to consider at that time of year. In St. John's when I was conducting research at St. Mary's during February and March; there was snow in many yards and the children might not have been able to go out and play like the children in St. Shotts. Several adults commented that St. Shotts didn't have much snow that winter. Listening to conversations, it seemed that in St. John's organised activities such as Brownies and Cubs were acceptable weekday evening activities, after homework and playing at friends' houses. Not many children were seen out playing hockey and basketball on the streets.

Despite the fears of people such as Kay Stone and Alanna Mitchell regarding the negative stereotyping of women and the possible influence on school age children through the mass media, this group of informants seemed unaware of gender stereotyping and it did not emerge in their narratives or our conversations. Perhaps they were too young and were more concerned with the issues that immediately concerned them, such as friendships.

⁷ <http://www.morepower.com/homeimpr.html>

⁸ <http://homepage.mac.com/ijball/SbtB/Home.html>

The male narrators were more interested in action and adventure with their male friends, a reflection of real life games and play. There was one exception in Bradley's story, Chad Super Star where Eileen is brought into the story and fits the passive female stereotype as described by Provenzo (OLF Grade 3, June 1993). She seems to fit the "April" character in Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles and is excluded from any of the action and adventure in the story.

Stephanie's story, Super Dana, as I mentioned in the introduction, is the one exception in the Warrior Narratives collection (OLF Grade 2, June 1993). Not only does a girl write this story; she creates an action/adventure narrative with a female heroine who displays all the superhero characteristics, and from my research this is quite unusual. Here the hero, regardless of the sex, is able to rescue the weak against all odds from mighty and bad adversaries; it is reminiscent of Superman, originally a comic book hero and later transformed to a film hero. This demonstrates Kay Stone's idea that "heroes succeed because they act" (1975 45) is applicable to both sexes.

A Ghost Story, written by Janice, is another story that could be incorporated into this discussion, (OLF Tape 4 Side B, C13743, 317). Although it was analysed with the Scary Stories because of its contents, it was written by a girl, with a girl as a protagonist who seemed able to control her own life and did not need rescuing, but she was no a superhero. Thus in both stories the heroine is able to take control, overcome the obstacles and win the day, although whether one appreciates Stephanie's method of dealing with infidelity is another matter.

Returning again to video games, besides the negative female roles, Provenzo also found the cover artwork of the games was quite sexist, with powerful images of men shielding weak defenceless women. But, as Provenzo says, video games are not the only form of media that portray women negatively; other media including television, film, popular magazines and radio do the same, but the games are more flagrant. Would these images influence the children's stories? Looking at Christopher's and Robert's illustrations they do depict the fighting in their stories. But is this a result of playing video games? It is perhaps more in keeping with the narratives and the action/adventure format of the story. Ten years after Provenzo's book the role of women in video games is no different. The three major video game companies have moved into the female market, trying to attract younger girls to games by offering the negatively stereotyped Barbie as a heroine. I do not know how successful this lure is as both the Sony and Nintendo have produced "action adventure" themes. Sony released Barbie Explorer⁹; a game aimed at the 6 years+ age group with what the internet reviewer says "offers young gamers a Tomb Raider-esque arcade adventure." Notice the "young gamers" reference, not girls, which is interesting because from my own experience with my sons they would not dream of playing a "Barbie" game.

⁹ <http://psx.gamezone.com/gamesell/p19164.htm>

Summary

Warrior Narratives, Scary Stories, Made-up Stories based on Television Programmes and Films and Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture were the four categories I identified that contain popular culture. While agreeing with Elizabeth Tucker, who said it was impossible to pinpoint the origin of the popular culture, I have endeavoured to examine not only possible sources from the oral tradition but also those available to the young storytellers through the media. It would appear that despite their exposure to the oral tradition in Newfoundland, the mass media was most influential in these children's narratives and reflected in the style of characters they used in their Scary Stories, thus supporting Sylvia Grider's findings in her research into supernatural storytelling.

Warrior Narratives was not a category identified by Elizabeth Tucker or Sylvia Grider, but Jordan and Cowan said they were a predominantly male genre which my research would support. Warrior Narratives appeared in the other three categories in this chapter, but I only collected one from a girl. Video game playing was an alternative media presentation that I explored in this chapter, and there does seem to be an indication that it has the potential to affect the content and style of narratives. Although there is a set formula for folk tales, video game story developers have taken it and expanded the premise. No longer does the hero only have to undertake three tasks to win the princess; now it seems that there is a limitless number of tasks and levels for the protagonist to undertake before he gets to the final scenario and has to defeat the intimate baddie, evil

king or wizard, a formula structure which I found reflected in Robert's Puney Caterpillar story.

The three Star Trek: The Next Generation stories overlapped with Warrior Narratives, but were a good example of young people being able to take characters from their favourite media and incorporate them into their own narratives. Like the older fans that Camille Bacon-Smith (1992) interviewed and writes about, and the fan culture that Jenkins (1992) explores, these children are able to act as scavengers and by using bricolage techniques create their own narratives.

Folk tales, as I mentioned, are a theme in the Canadian School Language Program. Both groups of children were exposed to new or different versions of folk tales and traditional endings which, as with previous Newfoundland school children, they were able to creatively rewrite by incorporating popular culture into them.

Finally, I briefly looked at the gender division of male and female narrative patterns which arose in the course of collecting the narrative corpus. There was a definite division between male and female style of narratives, perhaps best exemplified by Warrior Narratives. On the whole, the girls' narratives were passive as were their heroines. Even in the Scary Stories, although there was the potential for an action adventure story, the language and dialogue the girls used did not generate a Warrior Narrative. This reinforces Jordan and Cowan's (1995) research and again raises questions about style of communication between the same sexes. Further, there is a body of material by researchers and professionals about negative stereotyping in the media; and its potential influence on children. From the narratives I collected, this did not seem to be

an issue, but there is the potential for it emerging at a later point in the children's school career. Parents have also contributed to this debate. Some of the television programmes my informants watched are still being shown, or variations of them such as Scooby Doo. Princesses still need to be rescued and Zelda is still being caught and unable to save herself; whereas Link, the hero has matured and acquired new skills and stature in each new game. The popularity of martial arts games has decreased, but this style of violent game is still popular in whatever guise it appears.

Conclusion

Examining a corpus of narratives collected in two Newfoundland elementary schools on the Avalon Peninsula afforded the opportunity to look for evidence of influence from the mass media or the inclusion of popular culture into children's narratives. Because one school was in urban St. John's and the other in rural St. Shotts, I theorized an urban/rural dichotomy could emerge in the narratives.

Rurality suggests a greater isolation and therefore a stronger folk corpus, an idea commonly associated with Newfoundland as a whole. However research from such folklorists as Peter Narváez (1986, 1986, 1991, 1992, 1997) Gerald Pocius (1986, 1991) Neil Rosenberg (1991), Philip Hiscock (1984, 1991) and Michael Taft (1981) proves it had a strong relationship to mainland popular culture and mass media. Narváez found that new technology and culture are regularly adapted and incorporated into the culture. Pocius found that far from being isolated members of small communities visited by boat round to the next bay and farther a field. Michael Taft found in his research that the movie-man regularly travelled around the island in a boat, then a truck or car when roads were established, with a projector, film and prior to electricity, a generator, to show popular films such as westerns and war films. He also discovered that children inspired by these movies regularly played Cowboys and Indians and made-up war games. Likewise folklorists such as Elizabeth Tucker (1977), Sylvia Grider (1973, 1976) and John Niles (1980) have found evidence of children incorporating popular culture into their narratives. Henry Jenkins (1988, 1992) and Camille Bacon-Smith (1992) found Star

Trek fans were textual poachers, taking characters from their favourite media texts and writing new narratives in fanzines and books with these characters. What this shows is a history of popular culture frequently merging, with elements or whole corpuses of folk culture.

Over the years children have been presented with what adults deem as suitable texts for their consumption. Rob Baum (2000) researched the Grimm brothers and read their field note books. She says certain stories, they thought unsuitable for women and children, were omitted from the collection. Equally Jack Zipes (1994) and Marina Warner (1995) found the same thing happened in 17th century French court literature. This censorship continues today in both literary sources and the mass media. Jacqueline Rose (1984) argues these texts are created for children by adults, purchased by adults and in some cases then presented to the children with adults reading them; the child taking the passive role of consumer, product and receiver.

The children who participated in my fieldwork came from two contrasting areas of the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland. St. Mary's Elementary School was an urban single grade Protestant school in St. John's, with all the amenities of the city available to the children and their parents. The outport was something alien and for many children not within their experience. In contrast, for the children attending Our Lady of Fatima, a small Roman Catholic multi-grade, three class, school in St. Shotts at the tip of the Avalon Peninsula, an area of the island identified as the "Graveyard of the Atlantic" by Dr. Nemec (1974, 1991), city life was something they experienced at the weekend or in the holidays, visiting family, accompanying their parents on shopping trips and going to

the movie theatre as a treat. Renting a video or video game required a trip into Trepassey twelve miles away. Children in St. John's attended Brownie Troops and Cub Packs whereas in St. Shotts there was a similar organization for rural communities, 4H, which offered a comparable programme to which many of my informants belonged.

Sleepovers were a huge ritual for my informants in both communities, and they were special occasions for storytelling. As my interviews progressed it emerged that the ritual dictated the type of food they ate, the games they played and bedtimes. Further, the sleepover rituals were consistent in both groups of children. An unforeseen media influence emerged from the survey and that was video games. The children all played and had access to video games; from our conversations in the morning when we were filling in the media diaries, it became apparent that after completing their homework most of my informants played one or more of these games. Further, some reported not watching television, preferring to play a game instead, with what free time they had left for the evening.

Cable Television came to St. John's in the seventies and arrived at St. Shotts two years prior to my research, although some people had access to satellite television before they had cable, and so the children in both schools had the access to the same mass media. From a small two week diary I was able to identify all the programmes they watched and identify their favourite ones.

There were a few problems to overcome in school such as negotiating space, but having established myself in the classroom as a helper and researcher the children accepted my presence and were happy to ply me with stories, both made-up and taken

directly from the School Language Program, which was similar in the two schools. My informants deemed every piece of work praised and rewarded with stickers suitable material for my fieldwork.

Categorizing the corpus of narratives, I found, like Elizabeth Tucker, many were emic categories with individual narrators introducing their own story and classifying it themselves. For example, by saying, "it's a scary story!" Sylvia Grider categorized the supernatural stories she obtained from her 6th Grade informants and created a new narrative category the "Media Narraform" (1981), which was a narrative based on a media story. While she found this was something that her informants could recount well with some help from their audience, I found it that was used more by the children whose narrating skills were limited. On these occasions I found the storyteller would flounder, would often be interrupted with corrections, omissions filled and finally the storyteller would become despondent and give up mid-story. Using some of Tucker's already established categories for my own narratives, I added Warrior Narratives based on the research of Jordan and Cowan (1995) and created some of my own. Having divided the narrative corpus into eight categories four emerged as containing popular culture: Scary Stories, Made-up Stories based on Television Programmes and Films, Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture and Warrior Narratives.

I discussed Warrior Narratives first because their action adventure characteristics overlapped with the other three narrative categories, yet the stories in this group did stand on their own because of their content. All three categories of Warrior Narrative identified by Jordan and Cowan (1995) were collected in this section.

In the discussion about Warrior Narratives, I included a section on video games. They were a source of media influence that emerged during the course of the surveys and media diary completion. There was and is considerable discussion as the harmful effects of the texts this media employs, in particular the negative portrayal of women, apparently always in need of rescuing by a “hero,” and the amount of violence included in some games. Some teachers and educators felt that all forms of media detracted children from reading and education; in contrast there were others who thought that the media could be used as a spring board for a child’s creativity, which folklorists Elizabeth Tucker and Sylvia Grider agreed with.

Many of the popular games were of the “Eat him, burn him, zap him...” style. Two boys’ narratives seemed to be of a similar style of text, with their protagonists needing more and more sophisticated weaponry to defeat a series of enemies, leading up to the destruction of the super enemy, very reminiscent of the video game scenario. Each level ends with the defeat of a boss, each level demands more skill of the player until finally at the last level the boss is extremely difficult to defeat. Interestingly at this point in these children’s development the issue of stereotyping women in video games and in other media texts, such as Saturday morning television programmes, was not evident.

I explored some of the traditional definitions of the scary figures the children included in their Scary Stories, because of the history Newfoundland’s oral tradition, before looking at the media content of the narratives. Were my informant’s definitions of scary figures coming from the oral tradition or mass media? By examining some of Katherine Briggs’ (1979) and W.C. Hazlett’s (1995) definitions and comparing them to

the descriptions in the children's narratives it is obvious that the oral tradition is not the reference point for young storytellers. Because, like Grider's informants, these children watched the mass media texts of programmes like Scooby Doo and took their definitions from there. Therefore, to describe a house as "haunted" required no further description because of the stereotype perpetuated by such programmes. The same applied to witches, ghosts and goblins. When narrating a scary story the storyteller would often list the scariest characters they could think of from both the oral tradition and modern popular culture. Hence, Frankenstein, Dracula, Chucky and Freddy Kruger were listed alongside ghosts, goblins and witches.

The Made-up Stories Based on Television and Film category contained three Star Trek Next Generation Stories. Unlike Camille Bacon-Smith's (adult female) informants these texts were all written by boys who chose their heroes from the series; Captain Picard, William Riker, Data, Leslie Crusher and the Klingon warrior Worf to lead the battle against the aliens. The stories were written in the boys' journals presumably after watching the programme of which the three were fans. They knew nothing about fanzines or of being textual poachers; it was just a fun exercise for school. The overlap with the warrior narratives came because of the action adventure style and content of the text.

The last category, Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture, was inspired by Mrs. Martin reading the story about her son and Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. The girls enjoyed writing these stories. They had experienced the Fairy Tale theme in the School Language Program and consequently knew some of the stories well, such as Little Red Riding Hood. Like Mrs. Martin's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs story which

incorporated her son into it, the child included in the story was a passive bystander. The most outstanding narrative from this collection was the Jonathan and the Three Little Pigs. It was taken from the song by the band Green Jelly which was a favourite of his brother's and himself. This story also overlapped with Warrior Narratives.

The pronounced urban/rural dichotomy that I theorized emerged in truncated form. There was a lack of traditional stories from the children in St. Mary's. They told no traditional stories, with topics such as fairylore or shipwrecks. However some did know traditional formulaic closing sentences for fairy tales, perhaps through the Fairy Tale Theme at school. Most of my informants' stories from St. Mary's were made-up, ones they knew from sleepovers or came from the language programme. In contrast, I collected a couple of shipwreck stories from the children at Our Lady of Fatima and several pieces of fairylore.

Additionally a gender division emerged in the children's narratives, a straight split between the boys and the girls in the two schools. The boys preferred the action adventure stories or Warrior Narratives and the girls constantly used passive and descriptive language, even in potential warrior narratives. Only one girl used a super hero and told an identifiable Warrior Narrative.

Narrating skills varied according to ability and, it seemed, literacy skills. A good narrator held the interest of the audience with their narrative and performance skills with such attributes as intonation and inflection in their voice and some gesticulation. Poor narrators tried hard to emulate the better storytellers; they seemed to know when they were losing their audience but were unable to rescue themselves and their audience

showed no mercy. One exception in this group was Thomas, a boy receiving help with his literacy skills; he proved to be a good joke teller, and his audiences enjoyed listening to him. He enjoyed telling risqué jokes and attained the standing of a good story teller because he was able to tell his joke well and carry his audience with him.

By examining a corpus of narratives in this thesis I have tried to demonstrate that that my informants were exposed to the same mass media influence, predominantly through cable and satellite television and video games, despite their different geographical locations on the Avalon Peninsular of Newfoundland. Although these young storytellers, especially those from rural St. Shotts, were aware of the oral tradition, it was not their point of reference for their narratives. Like others before them, my informants were able to accommodate influences from popular and mass media and like Jenkins' "textual poachers", incorporate this influence into their narratives.

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Saved By The Bell NBC, 1991-1993.

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Star Trek: The Next Generation NBC, 1987-1994.

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Appendix 1

Folklore Student Questionnaire

This is a pilot study for my graduate thesis about oral and traditional narrative in relation to literacy skills. Please would you complete the questionnaire as best you can.

Name:

Date of Birth:

Gender: Male ____ or Female ____.

Religion:

Place where born:

Would you be willing to be interviewed? YES ____ or NO ____.

Contact telephone number:

Schools: [please include town or village name & province]

Grade school:

Junior High:

High School:

What position child are you in the family? e.g.. 1st. 2nd. 3rd.

What age did you learn to read?

Do you read outside your courses? YES ____ or NO ____.

If yes please indicate:

BOOKS: MYSTERY [] SCIENCE FICTION [] CRIME [] FANTASY []
ROMANCE [] BIOGRAPHY [] OTHER: (please list)

MAGAZINES:

NEWSPAPERS:

PART 1. Oral and Traditional Narrative

1. What was your favourite oral children's story?

2. What did you like about this story?

3. Was the protagonist male _____ or female _____?

4. Who told this story?

5. Was this person known in your family for storytelling?

 If yes, who else knew or listened to this persons' stories?

6. Was this person known in your community for storytelling?

 If yes, who else knew or listened to this persons' stories?

7. What place or places were you told stories?

8. What time or times of day were you told stories?

PART 2. Reading Stories

9. What was your favourite written children's story?

10. Was the protagonist male _____, female _____, male & female _____?

11. What did you like about this story?

12. How did you learn of this story first?

13. What was your favourite children's book?

14. Was the protagonist male _____, female _____, male & female _____?

15. What did you like about this book?

16. What times in the day did you read to yourself?

17. Where did you like to read?

18. Did you ever read to anyone? YES _____ or NO _____?

If yes: who did you read to?

_____ what did you read to them?

19. What comics, if any did you read as a child?

20. Who was your favourite comic character?

PART 3. Radio and Television

21. Did you listen to the radio as a child? YES _____ or NO _____?

If yes, what were your favourite programs?

22. When did your household get a television?

23. What television programs did you watch?

24. As a child when did you watch television?

25. What choice was available?

26. Do you tell stories now? YES _____ or NO _____?

If yes please answer the following questions:

When do you tell stories? _____ To whom do you tell stories?

What type of stories do you tell?

Where did you learn these stories?

27. Are there people in your family who unable to read? YES _____/NO _____

If yes approx. what age are these people (please circle):

5-18yrs, 18-35yrs, 35-50yrs, 50-80yrs, 80+yrs

Thank You

Appendix 2

Survey Questionnaire for Fieldwork

Name:

Age: _____ Grade:

How long have you lived in St. John's/ St. Shotts?

1. Do you like to listen to stories? Y/N Why:

2. What is your favourite oral story? [M/F protagonist]

3. What do you like about this story?

4. Who told you this story?

5. Is this person known in your family for storytelling?

If yes, who else knew or listened to this persons' stories?

6. What places are you told stories?

7. What time of day are you told stories?

READING

1. What is your favourite book?

2. M/F or M&F protagonist?

3. What do you like about this story?

4. What comics do like to read?

5. Who is your favourite comic character?

TV & FILMS

1. What are your favourite TV shows?

2. What is your favourite movie?

NINTENDO GAMES

What Nintendo games do you regularly play?

TELLING STORIES

1. Do you like telling stories?

2. Where do you learn stories?

TV shows _____ Movies _____

Comics _____ Brownies/4H _____

Beavers/Cubs _____ Friends _____

Relatives' _____ Teachers _____ Others _____

3. What kind of stories do you like best?

4. When is your favourite time to tell stories?

5. Do you ever tell stories?

at school _____ at home _____

at Brownies/4H _____ at Beavers/Cubs _____

at camp _____ at sleepovers _____

other places (where)? _____

SLEEPOVERS

i) What activities or games do you play?

ii) What special food do you eat?

iii) What special drinks do you have?

iv) What happens at bedtime?

Do you have a favourite story or joke you like to tell?

If so what is it? _____

Appendix 3

Video Games Survey

N. B. The titles of the games are as the children told me and corrected where possible. The games are classified according to the children's descriptions of them.

Table A3.1 Nintendo Games

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Super Mario 1	save the princess	3	4	4	2
Super Mario 2	Sequel/ save princess	3	0	3	2
Super Mario 3	Sequel/ save princess	1	4	4	5
Super Mario 4	Sequel /save princess	0	1	0	0
Dr. Mario	Save the Mushroom Kingdom	2	0	0	0
Pro Am	Car racing	0	0	0	1
Hudson's Adventure Island	Rescue game		0	3	2

Table A3.2 Martial Arts

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles	Rescue April	1	0	0	1
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles 2	Rescue Splinter	0	0	0	2
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles 3	Rescue April	0	0	0	2
Double Dragon	Karate and martial arts	0	0	0	1
Double Dragon II	Karate and martial arts	0	0	0	1
The Master Ninja	kill to get into castle	0	1	0	0

Table A3.3 Bart Simpson Games

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Bartman Meets Radioactive Man		0	0	1	1
Bart's Nightmare		0	0	0	1
Bart Simpson		0	0	0	1

Table A3.4 Sports Games and Car Racing

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
World Cup Soccer		1	0	0	0
Ice Hockey		1	0	0	0
Baseball Stars	non-violent sports game 0	3	0	0	
Blades of Steel	violent hockey game	0	0	1	
Mike Tyson's Punch Out!	Boxing Game	0	0	3	
Breaktime	Pool Game	0	0	0	2
Magic Johnson's Fast Break	basketball	0	0	0	1
Baseball Stars	non-violent sports game 0	0	0	0	1
California Games	non-violent sports game	0	0	0	2
Rollerblade Racer	racing		0	0	1
Proam	car racing		0	0	1
Rad Racer	car racing	0	0	0	1
Big Foot	truck racing	0	0	1	0
Turbo Racing	cars			1	0
Pin Ball		0	1	0	0
Motor cycle games		0	0	0	1

Table A3.5 Space and Aliens

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Xurves	fighting alien robots	0	1	0	0
Star Fox	space	0	1	0	2

Table A3.6 Fighting games (not already listed)

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Total Recall	Fighting on Mars	0	1	0	1
Defender 2	Fighting aliens	0	0	0	1
War Games	no women	0	1	0	0
Darkman	fight	0	1	0	0

Table A3.7 Other games (not already listed)

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Anticipation		2	0	0	0
Kirby Dreamland	Rescue stolen sparkling stars	1	0	0	0
Super Scope 6	Shooting with gun	1	0	0	0
Road Runner In Death Valley Rally		0	2	0	0
Festers Quest		0	1	0	0
Back to the Future		0	1	0	1
Merial Paint		2	0	0	0
Treasure Islands 2		0	0	1	0
Pac Mac		0	0	0	1
8 Eyes		0	0	0	1
Duck tales		0	0	2	1
Iouish	matching game	0	0	0	0

Table A3.8 Sega Games

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Sega	release animals	1	0	0	0
Wonder Boy		0	2	0	
Shinobi	martial arts	0	0	1	0
Rampage	guerrilla/saving girl	0	0	1	1
Motor cycle games		0	0	0	1
Rambo		0	0	1	0
Golden Axe	saves girl	0	0	1	0

Table A3.9 Game Boy

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Tetris		3	1	0	0

Table A3.10 Computer Games

Game	Description	STM		OLA	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Midnight Rescue		1	0	0	0
Treasure		1	0	0	0
Out Numbered (math)		1	0	0	0
Wheel of Fortune		0	0	1	1
Jeopardy		0	0	1	0
Class of Concentration		0	0	1	0
Colouring Disk		0	0	1	0

Appendix 4

Brownie and Cub Sixes and Badges

Table A4.1 Brownie Troops

Brownie Troop	Number in Six
Pixies	0
Fairy	2
Gnomes	2
Sprite	2
Elf	2

Table A4.2 Brownie Badges

Some Brownies could not remember all their badges.

Badges	# badges	Badges	# badges
Collectors: Stickers, rocks, shells, pins, stamps, space			
Jesters	2	Skaters	2
Swimming	2	Writers	4
Camp	4	Housekeepers	2
Athlete	2	Winter Adventure	2
Baking	2	Friends of Birds	2

Table A4.3 Some of the badges Brownies wanted to collect

Pet Keepers	Astronomers	Readers
Working out	Craft	Book Lovers
Animal Lovers	Bright ideas	Snow Shoeing
Riders	Outdoor activities	Skiing
Hostess	Gymnastic Badge	Art
Singing	Holiday	Nutrition
Bead Worker	Cook	Toy maker

Table A4.4 Cub Packs

Colour	#	Colour	#	Colour	#
Brown	2	Grey	0	Tawny	0

Table A4.5 Cub Badges (earned)

The Cub badges the boys said they had

Badge	#	Badge	#
Black Star understanding nature and birds, of trees and fishing)	2	Collectors (fossil collection –trilobites, hockey cards)	2
Fisherman's badge (ice hole fishing)	2		
Team players	2		

Table A4.6 Cub Badges (wanted)

Cub badges the boys wanted to collect.

Reading badge	Sportsman	Artist
Handyman badge	Pet keeper	Housekeeper

Appendix 5

Media Diary Listing of Television Programmes Watched for Two Weeks.

Table A5.1 St. Mary's Grade 3

Programme	Girls	Boys
ABC TV for Kids	1	0
Adventures in Wonderland	4	1
Barney and Friends	3	1
Baseball	2	2
Batman (cartoon)	2	2
Black Stallion	4	1
The Bugs Bunny and Tweety Show	5	3
Casper the Friendly Ghost	0	1
Chips	1	2
Circle Square	2	1
Count Duckula	3	0
Deke Wilson's Mini Mysteries	2	1
Different World	3	1
Digby in the Dog House	2	2
Dog City	5	3
Friendly Giant	2	0
Getting By	3	2
Ghostbusters	2	2
Ghost Writer	5	3
The Golden Girls	6	0
Hercules	0	2
Jungle Book	4	1
Kids Incorporated	4	0
Lamb Chops Play Along	4	0
Living in the Land of the West	6	6
Mad Luck	2	0
M.A.S.H.	1	1
Mickey Mouse Club	6	1
Much Music	3	1
Muppet Babies	4	3

Programme	Girls	Boys
My Pet Monster	7	2
Nickelodeon Arcade	6	5
Muppets	2	2
Murphy Brown	2	1
Mr. Rogers' Neighbourhood	1	1
Partridge Family	4	0
Picture Pages	2	0
Road to Avonlea	2	0
Rocky and Bold Winkel	3	0
The Roots of Goofy	1	0
Rupert	3	1
Saturday Afternoon	1	0
Scientists of the Century	1	0
Secret Service	3	1
The Simpsons	12	5
The Smoggies	5	2
Spiderman	1	1
Star Trek 2	0	
Star Trek: Deep Space Nine	2	1
TGIF	3	1
Three's Company	8	3
Tiny, Tiny	2	0
WCW Wrestling	0	1
Where I Live	2	2
What You Can't Do That On TV	7	1
Manic Mansion	7	4
Married With Children	2	2

Table A5.2 Television shows watched by the children at St. Mary's and Our Lady

Programme	STM	STM	OLF	OLF
	girls	boys	girls	boys
Astro Boy	0	1	0	1
Addams Family (cartoon)	7	5	2	2
America's Funniest Home Video	8	4	1	4
America's Funniest People	8	3	1	4
Another World	2	1	0	1
Batman (series)	2	2	0	1
Beetle Juice	6	5	2	3
Beverly Hills 90210	5	4	0	3
Blossom	8	3	4	4
California Dreams	3	1	2	5
Care Bears	5	2	1	5
Chip and Dale	4	2	0	1
The Cosby Show	9	2	1	0
Dark Wing Duck	4	3	0	2
Denise the Menace	8	3	0	1
Duck Tales	4	3	0	1
Empty Nest	4	1	2	1
Family Matters	10	9	3	4
Family Ties	3	2	4	6
Family Feud	2	2	1	1
Fresh Prince of Bel Air	7	3	5	5
Full House	15	5	3	7
Garfield and Friends	4	0	1	0
General Hospital	1	1	1	1
Goof Troops	3	4	1	5
Home Free	1	2	1	1
Home Improvements	8	5	2	0
Inspector Gadget	3	1	0	2
Jeopardy	2	0	3	4
Little House on the Prairie	5	1	1	0
Murder She Wrote	1	1	1	1
News	2	1	1	0
Reading Rainbow	3	2	0	1
Rescue 911	10	5	0	2
Saved by the Bell	7	3	3	5
Scooby Doo	2	0	1	0
Sesame Street	4	0	0	1

Programme	STM	STM	OLF	OLF
	girls	boys	girls	boys
Shining Times Station	5	2	3	4
Stanley Cups Play Offs (hockey tournament)	1	0	1	5
Star Trek: The Next Generation	3	7	1	0
Step by Step	8	5	2	0
Super Dave	1	5	0	2
Super Mario Bros.	4	2	1	0
Tail Spin	4	3	0	4
Teddy Ruxpin	4	3	1	1
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles	3	1	1	4
The Price is Right	8	4	0	2
Tiny Toons	13	4	3	6
Unsolved Mysteries	5	3	0	2
Where in the World is Carmen San Diego?	7	2	3	3
Who's the Boss?	9	2	5	3
WKRB in Cincinnati	1	1	1	1
WWF Wrestling	0	3	1	0
You Bet Your Life	9	0	1	0
The Young and the Restless	0	1	1	2

Table A5.3 Our Lady of Fatima Grades 2, 3, and 4

Programme	OLF girls	OLF boys
All My Children	1	1
Almost Home	1	1
Basketball	0	2
Captain Planet	0	1
Hanging with Mr. Cooper	1	0
Cowboys of Moo Mesa	0	2
Days of Our Lives	1	0
Dinosaurs	2	3
Disney Afternoon	1	1
Doogie Howser	0	1
Edison Twins	0	1
Eye Witness Video	0	1
Fancy This	0	1
Frame-up Blues	0	1
Grassy High	0	1
Guiding Light	1	0
Guts	1	0

Programme	OLF girls	OLF boys
Hanging in with Mr. Cooper	1	6
Here and Now	0	1
Knight and Warrior	0	1
Land of the Lost	0	2
Life Goes On	1	1
Mad About	0	1
My Little Mermaid	2	0
My Little Pony	1	0
News from 200s	0	1
Nurses	1	1
Ren and Stimpy	0	2
Roseanne	1	0
Sports Desk	0	1
Top Cops	0	2
Wheel of Fortune	1	4
Wings	2	0
Wonder Years	0	2

Appendix 6

Favourite Movies

St. Mary's Elementary

Table A6.1 Movies Watched by Grade 3

*The movies are identified as the children described them
(c) = comedy (a) = action (h) = horror*

Title of Movie		girl	boy
Abbot and Costello		1	1
Annie		1	0
Alien 3	h	1	0
Anne of Green Gables		1	0
Armed and Dangerous	(c)	1	0
Beauty and the Beast		2	0
BIG		1	0
Chucky	h	1	0
Chucky 2	h	1	0
Chucky 3	h	1	0
Death Becomes Her	c	1	0
Ernest Goes to Jail	c	1	1
Ernest Saves Christmas	c	1	0
Fart the Movie	c	1	0
Ghost Busters	c	1	0
Home Alone	C	3	1
Honey I Shrunk the Kids		2	1
Hot Shots	c	1	0
K2	a	1	0
Mary Poppins		2	0
Mighty Ducks	c	1	0
Mount Pearl School of Dance Recycle		1	0
Nightmare on Elm Street	h	1	0
The Radio Flyer		1	0
The Rescuers Down Under		1	0
3 Ninjas		2	1
Rock with Barney		1	0

Title of Movie		girl	boy
Sister Act	c	1	0
Stormy, the Wild Sea Horse (from the Disney Little Mermaid series)		1	0
What About Bob?	c	1	0
Wayne's World	c	1	0
Who Framed Roger Rabbit	c	1	0

Table A6.2 Movies Watched by the boys in Grade 3

Each movie was watched by one boy unless otherwise stated

Movie		Movie	
Aladdin		Hook	a
American Tale		The Little Mermaid	
Back to the Future	c	Mac and Me	
Batman Movie		The Magnificent 7	a
Beethoven		Peter Pan	
Beetlejuice	c	The People Under the Stairs	
Black Beauty (cartoon)		Rambo	a
Buttons and Rusty		Rapid Fire	
Disney Sing Along Songs		Red Skeleton	c/h
Drop Dead Fred	c	Rogue Stallion	
Edward Scissor Hands		The Sandlot	
ET		Short Circuit	a
The Fisher King		Sleeping With The Enemy	
Friday 13th		Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle Heroes III	a 3 boys
Fried Green Tomatoes		Terminator 2	a
The Girl From Mars		Total Recall	a
The Golden Child			

Our Lady of Fatima

Table A6.3 Movies Watched by Grades 2, 3, 4

Their descriptions: (c) = comedy (a) = action (h) = horror

Film		girls	boy	Film		girl	boy
Batman II	a	0	1	Hot Shots 2	c	3	0
Child's Play 3	h	1	0	Kindergarten Cop	a	1	0
Cliff-hanger	a	1	0	Nightmare on Elm Street	h	3	1
Chuckie	h	2	0	Naked Gun 2 ½	c	1	0
Don't Touch My Daughter		0	2	Problem Child 2	c	1	0
Don't Tell Mom the Babysitter's Dead	c	0	1	<u>Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle Heroes</u>	a	1	0
Edward Scissor Hands		1	0	<u>Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle Heroes 2</u>	a	1	0
Hillbillies	c	0	1	<u>Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle Heroes 2</u>	a	1	1
Home Alone 2	c	1	0	Terminator	a	1	0
Honey I Blew Up the Kids	c	3	1	Terminator 2	a	2	0
Honey I Shrunk the Kids	c	0	1	What About Bob?	c	0	1
Honeymoon in Vegas		0	1	3 Ninjas		4	5

Appendix 7

Warrior Narratives

N.B. where the children have emphasised a word in their narration it is typed in capital letters in the story text for all four categories.

Acc. No. 93-256 St. Mary's (hereafter STM)

STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13734

Peter Mallam - School Work: made up and written in Grade 2

Once upon a time there was a Chinese fighter. He lived in a castle. One night somebody stole the magic sword. This magic sword had powers to do anything. When the Chinese fighter, named Sirae, heard the news he knew it was a slave working for a dragon named Thresher.

He made steel armour and a steel sword and a copper suit. He was going to get the magic sword back! He started out the next day. He travelled for many days. One day he saw Thresher's lair. Bones were scattered around the mouth of the cave. The cave was on a high hill. He set a trap. He took eight logs and piled them on top of the cave. He found a rope. He tied one end to a log that was placed in the middle, so that when he pulled the other end of the rope, the logs would fall down. The next thing he did was to throw rocks in the cave. That instant two slaves ran out of the cave. Each of them had a staff. Sirae cut their staff in two and chopped their heads off. Then he heard Thresher coming out of the

cave. When Thresher saw Sirae he breathed fire at him. He managed to dodge it. He threw his sword at him. It bounced off his scaly skin. Sirae didn't know what to do. Then he remembered the trap. Sirae ran to the rope. He pulled it. The logs fell down. Sirae jumped away. The logs tripped up Thresher. He fell down off the hill. Sirae thought that was the end of Thresher. But then he remembered that Thresher had wings. He looked and Thresher was flying up. Sirae ran in the cave. He picked up the magic sword and ran out of the cave and pointed it at Thresher. Sirae used the magic sword and magic powers and killed Thresher. He walked home and he lived happily ever after.

[Copied from the school magazine The Bugle published in February 1992]

STM Tape 5 Side A, Ref. No. C13736

O65 Chad Hann - Warrior Narrative [Copied from his written school work]

Once upon a time, long time ago there was an evil emperor who treated everyone like garbage. The emperor is very ugly, no one could look at him. he is very rich. If anyone ever looked at him they'd have to throw up 'cause he had a big pimple on his nose [pause]. And he had huge glowing eyes and, and he only had one eye, one of his eyes had a patch on it, and one of his arms had a saw. But one day Tarzan came along and they had a fight on top of a building, Tarzan stabbed him, and the evil emperor fell off the top of the building and everyone lived happily ever after. The End.

STM Tape 6 Side A, Ref. No. C13737

156 Robert Stanley - Warrior Narrative [Robert wrote this in Grade 1 – copied from his written text. This is not in the order it was recorded because Robert read the first part of the story last.]

The Longest Journey in the World

Dedicated to my family

One day as the sun went up a puney caterpillar said to himself I'm going on a long journey he crawled over a hi mountain he crawled into a deep valley he crawled around a humongous castle then he wanted to do something dangerous so he jumped off the littlest flower. he landed with a kerthump But he was all right so he kept on crawling. Then he got to the gait. The little caterpillar went into the front garden. he saw a monster with wheels. The monster was black. He was freaked out so he kept on walking. Then he came to a monster with four wheels again. but the puney caterpillar kept on crawling. Then came trouble. He saw a scorpion and the scorpion saw him. "Whip" the scorpion Whipped but he missed. His powerfull tail swung around quickly. He picked up a rock and threw it. "Whip" he hit the scorpion in the face with the rock and ran as fast as he can. Finally he got away then he crawled and crawled and he crawled and he crawled. Then came more trouble - a cobra snake. He picked up a rock and threw it. It didn't hurt the cobra snake. "Gulp" said the caterpillar. Then he took out a Bazooka and blew him up. It was only a robot so he kept on crawling and he crawled again. Then he stood on His hind legs. He smelled something somebody dropped a pie so the puney caterpillar crawled over and ate the pie. "yum, yum, yum, yum, yum, yum, yum" that pie was good.

So he kept on crawling. Then the puney caterpillar went to s-l-e-e-p-. then came the next day. he woke up when trouble was there. It was a giant monster. He got an army tank and blew it up and the monster was just a robot besides the cobra. So he kept on crawling. then he met a friend. It was another caterpillar so they kept on crawling. So they lived happily ever after. But then turned into butterflies together. The End.

[Robert told me he got the idea for this story from a book called The Longest Journey in the world but it was totally different. The hero didn't grow up. Robert read this story out to me from his written version. This is a copy of the written version. Apart from a couple of additional bits of punctuation, such as the comas in yum, yum the text is as he wrote it.]

STM Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13734

Robert Stanley - Warrior Narrative [written in Grade 3, copied from his uncorrected text]

The Longest Gerny in the world Part 2 some ward things

Once upon a time if you remember that small Catapiler that went threw that big garden. well he's back! in his bigis avencher yet. One day he sa a park. he got very kyoreis so he went off for a avencher. On his way he saw a ramtkentrollcar. The ramtkentrollcar came after him. he toke out a masergun and blou off its wheels. He repared it and got in it and drov away. Then he got out and walked away. He sa a scary

face but it was onley a blon whith a face panted on it. He found a mach and marsmalos. He let fire and rosted marshmalos and the he waked on. he walked for half an hower. He want under a lefe and took a rest. Then he wokup it was night time he hered a noese. He loded he's rocket launcher for safety. Then he sa a deadly trasala and fired He missed again. Then the deadly trasala came after him. He loded up his last rocket he fire he hit the trasala and blew him up. He was feling prod of him self. Tow wins alredy. He found a jeley ball. He tried to clim over it. he got stuck. so he melted it down with his flam throwere. He was feling stickey after so he washed off in a podel. And he crald on. Then he meet his frind snale. Snale gave him extra amuo. then the peune little catapiller cralled on. Then he saw a frmillyer face. It was the scorpin. He was back! he new this ment danger. He could see the evil glem in the scorpins eye's. The scorpein tried to claw him and sting him with he's tail but he missed. Then he got in a arme hellacopter and blew him to kingdom come. then his frined snail came out he ask do you want a ride home he saide Yes and drov him home and then he got out and went for a walk in the gardin. The sqorpin was ther. He wanted to be frinds. He told me Evrey thing I dastrod was a robot Exsept for him. He told me that the boss was a wasp. But the wasp is supersrong. He's At least 10 times stroger then the other robots. He allso tolled me that his stinger shoots. He soods skary Mr. pune catapiler saide. Try to hit him in the ??? hit him wher Mr. pune catapiller saide. I don't know saide the scorpein. Try Evrey where. You can call me Quickshot saide Mr. pune Catapiller. And you can call me slash saide the scorpin. It's time for me to go home saide Quickshot. Do you want to come with me. Yes saide slash. Sundenley the wasp aperd. Vao saide slash Vao saide Quick. HELLP they yealled. He

soat a lazer out of his eye. But they daged it. Then I hit him with a hand gernade. But it did not heat him. Then slash saide he was belt by a black widow spider to conecer the bug world. Just then slash whent up to him and shit him weth his tail. He started to crak then a Quickshot tock out a hand gun I soat him and at that instint he scated to bets. then the bug world was safe agin. THE END.

Part 3 The Enemy Retens!

The little catapiller was felling tiered after his last avencher so he was sitting on a leaf getting a suntan. Then he heard something. He thaut it was the wind. Then he hard it agin. He new the enemy was gone so he just lid there but just, incase he got a gernaide ready. Then a bettle jumped out and went uoga buoga. Mr. Catapiller just about lafht hiself to death. So he pulled out the key and throu it. But the bettle just walked out of the flame undamiged. Then he shot at Mr. catapiller. But he bloked it with his shild. Then he tock out a Lazer zapper and bleu him up. It was just another robot. But where did he come from all the robots where blone up. The enemy must have reternd. But Mr. Catapiller saw him he blew that piace of garoeg up. Mabe his program disk didn't get blone up. Just then a ginte ant aprotched with lazer sooting eyes and a fire breathing mouth. Then he jumped in his army tank and started sooting. But he just soot rigt back agin. But the enemy was getting damiged. He wasn't going to take it any longer. He took out a Basuka and blew him up. He was feeling a little bit tirred so He went to bed. When he woke up he had two unfendly gests wating outside. Sence it was no fear to agenst one. He thout it would be fun to test out his new invenchin. So he jumped in it and went

outside. They started backing off. Then Mr. catapiler started sooting at them. Then the enamys started shooting at him then he hit him one more time and blew him up. It was a robot as usawal. After that he went down to the store and bout choclet bar for a snak later. Then a gint flame throwing giant bee came. Mr. pune catapiller said stay back or else. But he dien't lisen he just throw a gigantik. Flame ate hem. And Mr. puney catapiller reached for his cocklet bar and it was hot chocklet. Then he tooock out a freez ray a blasted him. Once the freez beam went into the bee's flame throer he blew up. After that he was feling like some real avencer, so He went to Hornet point. When he got there, he saw 5 Hornets they started to atack him. [Unfinished]

STM Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13734

Tyler McGrath - Warrior Narrative [oral story]

Once, one afternoon I had a nightmare. It was about a ghost on a hill. He was all white with red eyes. I [gone] was sleeping all afternoon and night. In the morning he was under my bed. I bounced on him to squat him, but he was still alive. I had a water gun under my pillow, I shot him, he was still alive. So I took a machine gun, and fired away and he was still alive. So I had a bazooka in my drawer. I blew him up. He was still alive. So I jumped on him. The ghost was gone, I'm glad I jumped on him.

Christopher Simms - Warrior Narrative [copied from his written text, in his journal, using his spelling and punctuation.]

One day I was walking down the street and I saw forest in the metel of the street the woods. I want in. There was trees alive they were thowing appls at me. I ran and I saw a wiad best and he caet me he braing me to his master he thow me in the danshin I resht out and I got the key. and all the moters were after me thare was looooo of thaim. fanle I got to a lading I want in I want to the top and it clasp and roit want it hit the grand I jummp and I was safe but all the moter cane charging after me and I saw a candy house and I want in to rest and waen I wolk up I was in a poet it was a watch is house I ran as fast as I could and I chat I hart my nee a halk help me he bramg me to his nest. I saw a big spaceship it chrid to take the egg but I take out a hand gun and blow it away but it sard the halk and nakt me over and there was sharks dowe there so I poot on my raes boots I didt know haw to ues tham and fal to spece than thay ran out I fall on the nast that was a nather space shad so I take out a handgun and bolw it away. and riet wann I soht ham he soht me. but I had a rack the bulit soht the rack and I was o.k. I want for a walk. I saw sun I walk closer I was out of the bacd plaec. I thow a bome in thare it blow up and than a catapiler came out he had a big gun it was an ak47 and a 5 c callavr and a handgernade. We becam good frinds. that day we want on a boat we were lost there was a big storm we got shap ract we had to maek a house and find our food the catepiler wood take care of that. it was the night we aet all the food we had to go to bed the next day we got in to a fight the next day we went for a walk we found a secrit base it was a bar I talkt to him he sied lets fight come on than in the ring. ding, ding, ding. I'm going to kill you

fat so baeig you hit I took out a handgun and blow him away. but just then a girit waspe
caem and tore off my wing and I hit the ground I was trelloy hurt. he tried to hit me but
he mast he tried once agin he hit me. I could only live for ten secos 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5,
4,3,2,1,0, the bad guys won this time.

PART 2 the good guys rueturn

We took out tose good guys didnt we me and catapler were hiding in the bashas
the bad guys [hard to see] ore gal we jummp out we followd the bad guys to a base. there
was a chrap we fell down a hole the walls were caving in on us. me and the catopiler and
I took out a baska and blow up the swich. When we got out there was a monster. but not a
big monster. So we just used our secrit wepen and he ran away. That was fun

Warrior Narratives Our Lady of Fatima

OLF Tape 1 Side A, Ref. No. C13740

127 Justin Finlay: Scary Story /Warrior Narrative [oral narrative]

This is Justin Finlay [pauses], Halloween

One night when I was, one night, when it was Halloween my, my pals and I went
out. We started out the road. We, when we got most of the houses, when we heard a
weird noise. We turned around, we saw nothing. We were all scared but then I said, "Are,
are we men or are we mice?"

They said, "Men."

So we went on trick or treating. After another while we heard someone saying "Booo" [he draws out the "oo" sound].

So Mark said, "Let's, let's see who, whose doing this." [put a quaver in his voice]

I said, "It must be a ghost."

Then Corey said, "There's no such thing as a ghost."

I said, "You've got a point there."

Then we all looked at each other. We said it must be the witch's house. So we went to the rest of the houses. When we were, when we were done, I said, "Do you want to go to the witch's house?"

Corey said, "Yes."

Mark said, "Yes."

Bradley said, "Yes."

Mitch said, "No." [His younger brother]

"I guess its four against one."

So we went. Then Mitch said, "Wait up."

When we went, when we got to the witch's house, I said, "Who is going in first?"

Corey said, "I will go in first."

So we, so we went in behind Corey. We got up to the door, Corey opened it. We went into the witch's house. When we got to the first door we heard the witch, we went in. She said, "I'm going to put a curse on you."

We ran as fast as we could. When we saw the door we came through, I said, “Run faster.”

When we got out of the witch’s house we ran home and never went to the witch’s house again.

OLF Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13741

413 Mitchell Finlay: Scary Story /Warrior Narrative [oral narrative]

Hello this is Mitchell again, two days in a row I’m talking to you...[introduces us all. the date, the class]

This is about a slumber party. I used to go into Mark’s when they used to have a party. We had a lot of fun. But one night when I went in there was no one there. I looked around no one there. I went in, I saw a cat. She looked at me and her eyes started to glow. I ran, I bumped into a ghost. And, when I got almost outside, the doors was looked and there was dogs chasing me everywhere. I was afraid. There was millions and millions of ghosts around me. I tried to run but they used to scare me mad. I crawled in under them and they used to chase me. I ran up [stairs, I couldn’t get the door open [pause]. I jumped down one ghost. I heard a pop, BOOM, BANG, crash. It was a scary night. When I found Justin [older brother] a dog was after eating on the dead and all I could see was their skull and their eyeballs. Yuck, that was a gross night. But, I found Mark, in the, in his bedroom with a knife through his head, that was bad. There was blood all over the bed and when I went to find Michael there was milk squirted E V E R Y W H E R E [draws out he word

everywhere], white, chocolate, anything. And, when I saw Bradley he had squirted milk all over the room. And, Michael started to get [old?] but he like Frankenstein. Bradley got up, he squirted milk at Michael, then Michael squirted milk at them. They had a milk fight. They said, "who, who could have milked er... er..."[stumbled over this sentence as he was trying to sort out quickly where the story was going]. Then they used [plaster]. So I went down to find Justin. He turned into a Freddy Krueger and I was scared. he chased me, he had blood squirting everywhere [the bed for break time rings at this point]. Then the bell rang and it was only a dream in school. Thanks be to God, that wasn't real. The end. This is scary stuff off Mitchell, thank you.

OLF Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13742

054 Cordell Molloy [a corrected piece of written school work]

One Scary Night

One scary night a boy came to a haunted house. There were goblins, vampires, and blood on the walls. Frankenstein came out of nowhere and was running after me. I was scared and then a skeleton fell on top [pause, reading his writing] of me. I turned around a goblin was going at me so I put on a suit like a goblins and then he never saw me. I went home and I went in my room and it was scary nobody was home. There was blood on the walls; goblins were dead on floor. My socks, shorts and tops were all over

the place and I looked in my Dad's room and I saw my Dad dead on his bed. My mom came out of nowhere and said, "The goblins killed our Dad."

So I killed them. Some of them got away but then something came in and they were, the goblins run and said, "Two of them worked together."

They were dead on the floor and there was no more goblins.

OLF Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13742

190 Gregory Molloy [GM] & Justin Finlay [JF]: Scary Story/Warrior Narrative [the two boys made this story up as they told it to me]

GM - One dark and scary night Justin and I went to a haunted house

JF - And when we got in there walked up the stairs, and we start, the stairs started to slide down and we slid down with it. When we got to the bottom...

GM - We saw skeletons, ghosts and blood on the wall. We were very scared. We tried to run up the stairs but we couldn't so...

JF - So me and Greg decided to have, to make a plan. The plan was to...

GM - To kill the bad guys...

JF - And then we could make a run for it, but first we had to get all the bad guys. There were Frankenstein, Freddy Krueger, Chucky and,...

GM - And a witch. They all had blood on them. There was goblins and ghost and next thing we know we started going down. There was a crack in the floor. Then...

JF - Then when we got to the bottom all we saw was blood, we were floating, and we saw monsters like they never, then Greg started to throw up from all the blood. And he started to ah [making a small sobbing noise], aah, "I'm going to cry."...

GM - We found a door and ran to it. Before Justin could open it he, he smacked his head. But we escaped. That day we ran home as fast as we could. We never went back to that haunted house.

OLF Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13743

020 Mitchell Finlay: Scary Story /Warrior Narrative [oral narrative]

Hello [making echo's] I'm going to tell you a ghost story. I hope it will be good. It might be a bit disgusting, but its going to be good, I hope it don't make you throw up [sick noise provided by the audience]. Okay, ready, ready set here I go.

One night when I was in to Bradley's when [missed this word] couldn't find Justin. I found Bradley in his mother's closet with blood coming out through his mouth and blood coming out of his whole body. Its all over the floor [pause] AND when he got up, he was like Frankenstein. Er... and when I went to find Mark there was a knife stabbed through his back and there was a knife stabbed through his guts, and a knife stabbed through his head and when I took them out there was blood garbage [sound effect from the audience in the background], all over him. And when I went to find Michael there was oohey and gooey, and milk all over him [sound effect - audience]. And when I went to find Stephanie there was a man on top of her, jumping, playing, jumping and

there was knives going through the ground from her, from, from him, stabbed her in the head. And then the man cut off her nose, cut off her arms and legs. It was a scary night and he chased me. I got matches, threw them at him and he blew up into a great big ball of ooohy, gooey slime. And, [?] when I found him again he was the MILKY WAY. I found Mark and Bradley and when, when I found Justin he was turned into Freddy Krueger. When I found Mark and Bradley again they were gone to hell. Then, then he came after me with the milk squirting everywhere. He got me, he choked me and then I tricked him, then he blew up into big balls of milk. Then he stank, I spit out all over him and he blew up into big overgrown pieces. And I went back home and the robber was going to strike my house next. I waited for him. It was dark. I had a knife and when he came in I stabbed him in the head, and then I got the robber, threw him outside and the dogs mauled, werewolves started to eat him. This is my Mitchell stuff, of scary stuff ooohh.

[Everyone joined in with special effect noises]

Stories from Mrs. Martin's final creative writing exercise

[The children wrote these stories in a draft form in the classroom. I then typed them up correcting obvious spelling and some punctuation errors so the authors could read the narratives and present the typed copy to the child in the story. Mrs. Martin invited Mrs. Finlay and her class in to hear the narratives being read.]

Bradley Hayward

The Super Star Chad

One day Chad and his friend Matthew and Adam and Chad's two dogs Rambo and Codey, when a van pulled up by the house. A man got out and said "How would you like to be in a movie, it's called Three Ninja and Two Dogs?" Before the movie Chad and his friends were treated like kings. They were given their parts. They studied them for two hours, then Chad said, "Can we call our parents?" They came right away. They were mad but they soon forgave them. The director said, "Let's get this movie going." Then he shouted, the first scene was Chad riding his dogs off a 5000 foot building and landing in a garbage truck. Chad thought it was fun. The next scene was the three of them fighting robbers; it was a perfect scene. Chad and his friends won. When the movie was over, it was a big hit and they got a million dollars each. The End

Gregory Molloy

Bradley The Hockey Star 93

One day Bradley and his two friends, Justin and Mark, were playing hockey. Justin and Mark were on teams. They were Boston, Justin was the captain. Bradley was by himself, he was Toronto. Bradley got first ball. Bradley went around Justin, Mark was in net. Bradley was on a break away and he decked him out. Brad scores its one nothing

for Bradley. Mark said they were going to earn it back. Justin went up, Brad took it on his own, a break away again and he got top corner. It's two nothing for Bradley.

Justin went up and went around Bradley he scored. Bradley went up to Justin, took it and scored again. They went into overtime. Brad scored Bradley won. Brad shook hands and went home. The score was 3-2 for Brad and that's how he became the Hockey Star.

Cordell Molloy

Michael and The Ninja Turtles

Michael fought a lot with the Ninja Turtles. He drew a lot of pictures of his friends Eileen and Mitchell. Scooter and Patches fought like cats and dogs, which they are. Scooter and Patches were fighting a lot, because they wanted to fight like the Ninja Turtles, Michael (Splinter), Mitchell (Shredder), and Eileen (April). Splinter and Shredder fought a lot and most of the time Splinter won.

One time Mitchell made a radar to find the Ninja Turtles, Scooter and Patches. He found Scooter and Patches but when he found them the batteries went. By the time he got the batteries working again Scooter and Patches got away. He got something else on the radar; he found a picture that had been drawn by Michael. He went on his way again and he found the Ninja Turtles. The Ninja Turtles got the radar out of Mitchell's hand and it fell into the water. Then Mitchell threw a stink bomb on the ground and got a get away. That was the end of Mitchell.

Mitchell Finlay

Super Matthew

One day Super Matthew heard a person shouting, "Help, help, help." He followed the voice, he found the person. A shark was almost going to bite his bottom off. Super Matthew dived into the ocean and killed the shark he saved the girl. She kissed Super Matthew he saved the day. Then he saw a million sharks coming towards him. He dived into the ocean and he killed the sharks. Then Super Matthew went to Hollywood. He was the star in Hollywood. Then he went to Boston. He stayed there for five months, then he had to go home. He had a lot of fun in Hollywood and Boston. He had to fly 400 hours. He had fun in Hollywood and Boston. When he got home everybody gathered around him, he got a lot of pictures. The End

Grade 1 Boy

Super Mark

One day Super Mark was flying around the world when he heard a scream. It was a boy named Matthew. He was going to be ate by a shark when Super Mark came down and beat up the shark and then he lifted him up, out of the water and then they went home. And the next day Matthew was in trouble again. This time he was going to be beat

up by a big boy so Super Matthew [Mark] came down again and stopped the big boy to beat up Matthew. The End

Stephanie Molloy: Warrior Narrative

Super Dana

One day Dana was jumping rope when she heard a cry, it began to get closer and closer. Finally she saw Caitlin running from Bradley, Justin, Mark and Corey. Dana stopped them and said, "That's my sister you're running after."

Corey said, "Duh-h-h." I punched him out.

Justin said, "Watcha do that for?"

Dana said, "Because I wanted to."

Mark came back with Snoopy on his leg. Dana said, "Eat him Snoopy." So Snoopy bit him. Mark jumped out of his skin and back in, then he ran home calling, "Mama."

Dana said, "My work is done here for today," and went in her house. Caitlin went out. Bradley went to the phone, to phone Justin. Justin phoned Mark but Mark said, "I can't because I'm afraid of Snoopy."

Snoopy fell down the toilet and guess what, Dana became a millionaire and Bradley got half of it.

From that day on Dana was called

Super Dana. The End.

Appendix 8

Scary Stories

St. Mary's Elementary

STM Tape 2 Side A, Ref. No. C13733

Chad Hann: Fear Test Story [oral narrative]

Once upon a time there was a haunted house. It was haunted because it had witches, ghosts and goblins in it. One day an old lady went there because she went to stay for three nights. If she stayed there for three nights she would get a million dollars, and her husband was sick and she needed the money to buy medicine. So she said she would stay for three nights. So the first night she, she stayed, she heard someone coming down the stairs [pause]. It was a witch. The witch had a knife. She said, "I'm, I'm going to kill you. I'm going to kill you."

So she went back upstairs, where she met a man with a gun, who said, "On the third night you will be dead."

So the second night she stayed, she, she heard someone coming down the stairs to, it was ghosts. The ghost said, "I'm going to kill you, I'm going to kill you."

And they went back upstairs. They had guns. They came back down the stairs with guns, so then said, "On the third night you will be dead."

They went back upstairs. The third night, you see, she heard someone else coming down stairs. It was goblins. They had a whole bunch of guns [pause]. And they said, "I'm going to kill you. I'm going to kill you."

So they shot at her. She found the ketchup bottle, she squirted ketchup at herself and pretended that she was dead, and they went upstairs. That morning she went back to her house. A man came with a million dollars and gave her the money and then she went out and bought medicine for her husband. Then she was feeling better and her husband was feeling a lot better. The End.

STM Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13733

Katie Norman a combination of two urban legends [oral narrative]

This is a story about a boy and it's a scary story. [Her introduction]

Okay, um. Once there was this boy and he was driving along in this car with his Mom, and when they, when the car stopped. When, when they stopped at a red light the um, mother, the mother said, "I hear some banging."

So the mother got out of the car, she said, "There's something banging on the top of our car." Then she went back, she went to get some help. Then when the little boy, then the little boy, um, got out of his car and started to walk down the street. Then he came to a man. The man said, "It's raining, I'll give you a drive home. Where do..."

And they talked for a little while. Then when he, then he said, "Here put on this, my old sweater, put this on."

Then he dropped him off at his house. His mother was there, she said "I couldn't do anything; we'll get the car in the morning."

The man, and the man said, "I'll come and pick this one up tomorrow."

So the next day he went back, and he, he said to the, he knocked on the door and the lady answered the door. She said, she said, "Hello."

"Is Jim at home?"

And then she said, "I'm sorry, I've a son named Jim, it must be the wrong house he died a year ago." [A little confusing this sentence]

The man felt very sad and walked back and walked back, back to his car. He drove to the graveyard and when he, and walked through graveyard. Then he saw a grave with Jim's name on it and his sweater was lying across the front.

[Katy said her Mum told her the story.]

STM Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13733

Stephanie Simms: [oral narrative]

Once upon a time there was this little puppy and she didn't, have er, her owner and she was just out on the street. And, and then this girl came up and said "Hello, little puppy do you want to come home with me?"

[Aside to the audience - This is a scary story]

And so, and then the puppy went "woof" [gave a little bark] like that. And so the little girl picked it up, picked the puppy up and bought, and she bought the puppy home.

And when her Mom saw the puppy, she said, "Jessica, why did you bring home this old dirty puppy?"

And Jessica said, "Mommy, this puppy isn't dirty, she's really nice puppy."

And so the Mom said, "Well some day if that dog does anything to our house, I'm going to throw her, throw her out onto the street again."

Jessica said, "Okay Mom, I'll keep a good eye on her."

And, and then one day, when Jessica was at school. Um, she went back home and she said, "Mommy, where's my puppy?"

And her Mom said, "I'm sorry Jessica, your Dad just took the puppy out and he sold her."

And then Jessica started to cry. And her Mom said, "Well, its up to you, do, do you want to get the puppy back?"

And Jessica said, "Yes."

And so, she was walking down the street and she met her Dad. And, and she said, "Are you my Dad?"

And he said, "Yes, Jessica, I'm your Dad."

But he didn't really know the girl. And then she said, "You don't look exactly like my Dad. My Dad has brown eyes and you have, have blue."

And he said, "Well I'm your Dad for sure."

And she said, "Where did you get my name?"

And he said, "Well I saw it in the telephone book."

And she said, "Then why would have to look in the telephone book for my name?"

And he said, "I don't know."

And then he picked up girl and he tied her up and put her in the car. And, and she said, "Where's my puppy? Do you have her?"

And he said, "Yes."

And she said, "I know where you got my name. You got it from the puppy's collar."

And, and [pause], and, and, he said, "Yeah, that's right."

And she said, "What are going to do with me?"

And he said, "I'm going to put, put you in the graveyard and I'm going let all the vampires kill you."

And she said, "You can't do that, there are no such things as vampires."

And he said, "Oh, oh yes there are. You're going to see your puppy dog. I turned her into a vampire."

And she said, "Oh, right, then where's your magic wand?"

And he pulled out this blood thing, with blood rolling down. And when the blood touched her, she turned into a vampire."

STM Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13733

Stephanie Simms: [oral narrative]

Okay, um, it's sort of a funny story but it has ghosts and goblins in.

Once there was this boy and his name was Gregory. And he had this little sister, and her name was Polly. And some people called her Pollyanna, I don't know why, but they just called her that, most of the grown ups called her Pollyanna, because that was her real name. But all her friends called her Polly. And so, one day Polly was walking down the street and she met Gregory. And Gregory said, "I thought you were back at the house."

And she said, "I thought you were back at the house cleaning your room."

And Gregory said, "Well, no I wasn't."

And she said, "What are you looking for?"

And he said, "I was looking for my girlfriend."

And she said, "What's your girlfriend's name?"

And Gregory said, "Pollyanna."

And she said, "Well, that's my name."

And he said, "No she, no it isn't."

And then she said, "You're really weird. I've got to go back home and tell Mom this."

And then she ran all the way home and Gregory was trying to catch up to her. But, er, um he couldn't, and he always thought he was faster than her. And so she got home. She said, "Mommy, Mommy, Gregory has a girlfriend her name is Pollyanna."

And her mother said, "Oh, isn't that nice. I always knew your brother loved you."

And then Polly said, "Well, it's well its not; it's not me that he loves."

And then there's this knock at the door and this ghost came to the door. And she pushed open the door and he said, "Polly, Polly, Polly."

Then Polly's Mom disappeared. She said, "Mom, where are you?"

And then her Dad, and then her Dad's voice said, "I'm going" [faintly].

And then she didn't hear anything more. And the ghost came in. he said, "What are you doing there Pollyanna? You have to get married."

And she said, "I thought you were a bad ghost."

And he said, "No."

And she said, "Well, I met you in school and you said that you were bad."

And he said, "Well, I guess I was lying."

And then, and then she said, "Well you said that you had a girlfriend Polly. Pollyanna too."

And then the ghost said, "Yes everyone in the whole wide world has a girlfriend named Pollyanna."

And Polly was kinda, um, she was kind of confused, because she didn't know what the ghost was talking about. And then this vampire came in. He said, "I saw you at school too."

And Pollyanna said, "I saw you too."

And Polly, the ghost, the vampire [corrects herself] was just about to say "I've got a girlfriend and her name is Pollyanna." Until Polly said, "Yup I know what you're going to say. You're going to say, "I've got a girlfriend. Her name is Pollyanna."

And then the vampire said, "How did you know that?"

And she said, "Well I heard everyone saying that. Gregory did, the ghost did, and a couple more people at my school did and I didn't understand it."

And then the vampire said, "Well."

And then Polly said, "Um, I know that you're not a real vampire because you don't has, have those long teeth."

And he said, "Of course there's not, there's no such things as vampires."

And um, and then he said, and then Pollyanna said, "I'll tell you, how old I am and my family's name and everyone I know."

And the vampire said, "Why do I want to know that?"

And she said, "Well if, well, what's your name?"

And he said, "Black [pause - interruption as someone entered the room]"

And he said, "Black Eye."

And she said, "Well guess what I'm three, and my Mom and Dad are thirty one."

And then he said, "Well guess what, I know what your brother's real name is."

And she said, "What."

And he said, "Black Eye number two."

And she said, and Pollyanna said, "Well, you know, that couldn't be true because my brother's name is Gregory."

And then Gregory walked, walked into the room and he said, "Twin brother."

And then the ghost costume disappeared, then there was this twin standing there. And Pollyanna almost fainted she was so surprised. And she said, "Gregory where did you get that brother?"

And he said, “Well our names is Two Black Eye and, and Two Black, the Two Black Eyes and I’m not really your brother.

And she said, “Guess what, I’ve got someone else to join your group.”

And um, and, and the vampire said, “Someone else, oh no. Sorry Gregory but, but I don’t. don’t wanta be your brother anymore if she’s going to add someone. Also I’m scared of other people.”

And then the vampire disappeared and Gregory was left there. and he said, Oh no. now I’ll only have one black eye.”

And she said, “What do you mean?”

And he said, “When me and the vampire were brothers we both have two black eyes.”

And, and then she said, “Two black eyes. Oh gosh you two must have been hit by a baseball bat or something.”

And he said, “Now I’ll only have two, one black eye.”

And she said, “You aren’t blue, they don’t have big blue marks round them.”

And he said, “I know that.”

And she said, “Guess what Gregory, if you want two black eyes I’ll give you some.” And then she punched him in the eye and she said, “Is that what you wanted?”

And he said, “No Polly.”

[There seems to be elements of The Ghost of One Black Eye joke incorporated into this narrative. Stephanie knew the joke.]

STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13734

Jacy Green: [oral narrative]

Okay, there was this girl right, there was a little girl. And one night she was lying in her bed, with her eyes closed and a ghost, came, came through the window. And scared the little girl, and the girl, and the little girl screamed to her Mom and the Mom came into the room and she fainted. So the little girl screamed out to her father. And her father came in with a gun but he shot the ghost, but the ghost, the ghost um, didn't die, cause the bullet went right, right through him. And the girl, the girl just like went out of her bed and ran, ran out of the house and the ghost chased her. Um, the girl went to her friend's house and told, told her friend she saw a ghost. And her friend didn't believe her. And um, then er, the, the ghost went through the door and saw the two little kids and took, took the kids and, and brought them er, them where he lived and that's the end of the story.

[Jacy said she got the story from her parents but one of the group suggested that she got it from a Calvin and Hobbs story.]

STM Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13734

Stephanie Simms: [oral narrative]

This is Stephanie. The Green Ribbon

Once upon a time there was a girl and her name was Jenny. And in her class there was this boy named Alfred. And Alfred liked Jenny and Jenny liked Alfred. But there

was one thing about Jenny that Alfred didn't understand. "Jenny," he said, "why do you wear a green ribbon around your neck?"

And she said, "Alfred I can not tell you."

Alfred and Jill, [corrects herself], Alfred and Jenny got older and they soon got married. Alfred said, "Jenny, now that we are married can you tell me why you wear that green ribbon round your neck?"

Jenny said, "No Alfred. not until the time comes."

Jenny and Alfred got old. Soon Jenny became sick. The doctor said she was dying. Jenny said, "Alfred now you can see why I wear the green ribbon. Alfred untie, Alfred untie the green ribbon."

Alfred untied it and Jenny's head popped off.

[Stephanie said she made up part of the story and got the rest from a book. Mary and Herbert Knapp refer to a similar story but the woman wears a black ribbon round her neck]

STM Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13734

Stephanie Simms: [oral narrative]

This is Stephanie. The Very Long Teeth

I was walking home from school and I saw this man. I asked him, "Do you know what time it is?"

He lit a match and he looked at his watch. "It is 8.15," he said.

And he smiled at me; the teeth were three inches long. I ran, and when I saw a man he said, "Why are you running?"

I said, "I just saw a man and his teeth were three inches long."

And he said, "Look at my teeth." They were five, they were five inches long.

And when he [mixes up the sex of the protagonist throughout this story] saw his teeth he ran. And then, he, then a man stopped him and said, "Little boy why are you running?"

And he said, "I just saw a man and his teeth were five inches long, and before that I saw a man and his teeth were three inches long."

The man said, "What's so big about that?"

And he smiled at the boy. And his teeth were two feet long. The boy shrieked and ran all the way home. When he got home, he said, "Mom, Mom. Mom, I saw a man and that had teeth three inches long. Then I saw a man and had teeth that were five inches long. Then I saw a man whose teeth were two feet long."

And his mother said, "Don't be silly."

And I said, "But Mom, it was true."

And then she said, "Go upstairs and get ready for bed."

And I said, "What about my homework?"

And she said, "You have homework?"

And I said, "Yes."

And she said, "Well hurry up and do it."

When I was done my homework, I said, "Mom, it's still light out. could I go outside and call on my friend [pause] George?"

Mom said, "Well are you sure you wont go on with any of that long TEETH stuff?"

And I said, "Sure Mom." So, and so I said, "Mom, where's my bike?"

And she said, "Out in the back porch, porch."

I walked to get my bike and then I saw the, the teeth three inches long. He said, "What are you doing?" [Scary voice]

And I said, "Going to get my bike. What do you want?"

And he said, "Nothing, just wanted to show you my teeth AGAIN."

And I said, "I'm not scared of your teeth. I saw a man with teeth that are five inches long and a man with teeth that are two feet long."

And he said, "Oh, so."

Then I said, "What time is it?"

And he said, "It's twelve o'clock."

And I went back to my Mom and said, "What time is it?"

And she said, "Its twelve o'clock."

And I said, "But Mom, a minute ago it was 9.30."

And your Mom said, "Dear you must have gone crazy. What did you ask me a minute ago?"

I said, "If I could go outside and play."

And she said, "Yes, and you also said, Mom it's still light out."

I said, "Right Mom."

And so she said, "I know that it's twelve o'clock but I forgot to turn, turn my head back, turn my clock back one hour." And so she turned her clock back one hour. It was, actually she turned it back five hours. And she said, "Now that's the proper time."

And so we went outside. When we got out, outside, and he was riding his bike up to George's house, he met the man that had teeth, er, five inches long. And he said, and, and the boy said, "What do you want?"

And he said, "I came to scare you with my teeth."

And he said, "What's so big about that?" And he took off his book bag and knocked the guy on the head.

And he said, "You leave me alone or I bite you with my teeth."

And the boy said, "What's so big about that? I'm going to call my friend George and his Dad is a policeman and he'll get you in jail."

And he said, "So what, I can bite him to pieces."

And the boy said, "You have more to say than the guy who has teeth three inches long."

And he said, "So, my teeth are five inches long."

And he said, "So what, I saw a man with teeth five, er, two feet long."

And he said, "Show me him."

And the man that had teeth five inches long was really a ghost. And the guy with the teeth, three inches long was a vampire, and the guy with that had two feet long teeth was a monster. And so the man with the five inches long teeth didn't tell him that he was

a ghost. And so he said, "Come here with me I think I know what you are talking about."

[Pause]

And so he led the boy into this dark, dark woods and the boy saw the most frightening thing - his father. His father had died many years ago and he said, "Father, father, father I thought you were at home."

And his father said, "No. I died many years ago." [Slowly]

And then the boy was so upset, that he screamed. He ran all the way home. When he got home he told his Mom everything. And when his Mom went back to that same forest, that boy was left home alone. And the Mom never came back and the boy was never seen again. And people say that house is still haunted.

STM Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13735

028 Maggie Sparling [MS] & Jennifer Cahill [JC]: A sleepover narrative. [oral narrative]

[I introduced the two of them telling me a joint story. They spoke alternately.]

The Graveyard Story [spoken together]

[Scary noise by both of them before they start]

MS - This is a family; this is a family, a mother and father, a teenager and a baby. The mother went to the graveyard, and she went to bury flowers by her mother's grave...

JC - Um, she was never very nice to her mother, so [giggles] her mother, her mother's spirit came back with an axe and chopped her head off, and buried her head in one place and buried her body the other...

MS - So the father came looking for his wife. And she, on the way [aside comments to Jennifer], looking for his wife and as she [means he] passed the graveyard, he looked in to see his sister and, and to give, he stopped at the flower shop to get her some flowers...

JC - He put the flowers by his, her grave. He was not very nice to his sister, so he saw the spirit of his sister come back and she killed him and buried him and she became real....

MS - The teenager was looking for his father and as she passed the graveyard [aside], as she passed the graveyard with a couple of friends, she went into the graveyard, to see, her sister which died of a car accident...

JC - She wasn't very nice, to her sister, but she went to the graveyard. Then she got lost and in there and didn't know her way out...

[pause while they sorted out the last part of the story]

MS - Then she raised from the dead, and whacked her. And off came her [oooh sounds from Jennifer, Maggie turned and said, do you mind! This interrupted the flow of the story]. Waist down, and her sister, bury, buried her in a grave, where nobody could see him, and her...

JC - Then the baby came looking for her sister. And so she went inside. Her little friend, see, she was running across the street and she was, she got knocked down by a car. So she went to see the spirit of her little friend and then her spirit came back into a real person...

[In the last part Maggie is interrupting with whispers trying to get in and finish the story properly as she does not agree with Jennifer's ending. Jennifer ignored her]

JC - And so they were in a fight and then. Okay, so they were riding their bikes and then they went home. The End.

[They learnt this story at a sleepover]

STM Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13735

148 Maggie Sparling [MS] & Jennifer Cahill [JC] [oral narrative]

[They spoke alternately]

The Ghost [spoken together]

MS - oooh, how scary.

JC - There were once these two children, Maggie and Jennifer. Maggie was sleeping over to Jennifer's house and they heard something walking up the street [aside comments]. He knocked on the door, the he came in... [pause and giggles from the two of them]

[It was really difficult to work out who was speaking in the next section; they were trying to alternate, so I have not listed the narrator]

Then,

Then,

he

got

a

fright

oh [giggles]

the [both girls together]

girls

us [lots of giggles and whispers]

[Maggie asked me what point we had reached in the story: The man had gone into the house...]

MS - He got a big fright from the girls. He thought, thought that um, was his house. But the girls said, "This is our house now..." [Pause to sort out next part of story]

JC - He was a ghost but he thought he was still alive. So the girls, got up, the man got up and got really mad at the girls... [More giggles]

MS - So he called the police, but the police couldn't hear him because he was a ghost...

JC - So the girls got up and...

MS - Called their mother, up, awake...

JC - She got mad at the ghost...

MS - But she didn't know who the ghost was so she threw him out...

JC - The ghost came back again...

MS - Through the window without opening it...

JC - So the mother got up again and she put him in jail...

MS - But he got out through the bars, without anybody looking at him by turning himself invisible...

JC - He came back to the house...

MS - So they moved out, in fright...

JC - So the ghost moved in...

MS - To the house...

JC - And lived there for the rest of his life...

MS - Then he went to the graveyard and seen his grave.

STM Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13735

205 Joshua Moir: Fear test narrative [oral narrative]

This story is called The Haunted Mansion

One day a group of Brownies was out camping in the woods. And the leader said that the night, that, um, tomorrow night we are going to the mansion, the haunted mansion in the woods to get er, see if we can get our courage badge. And so all the girls that night they tried to get to sleep but they found it really hard because they were so excited about getting their courage badge. So the next night they went down to the old mansion, and they found these little crosses that said, and er, um, there were graves under it. And the scientists had tried, tried to figure out what had happened to them. But anyways after a while they found out, is that these kids used to go into the man, go next to the mansion and throw rocks at the window. So the man would go out and slaughter

them. So, um, after that they were, were these girls, but the first girl went in. She went in there for an hour. And, and she came out and she, er, the leader handed her the courage badge. and she said, and the leader asked, "How was it?"

And she said, "I was really scared. I heard footsteps going around and everything."

So then the next girl went in. And she heard the same thing. There was footsteps, and er, just about, when the hour had just come, there was these footsteps getting louder and louder but she made it out. And then the third girl the same thing happened to her. And the same for the fourth and the fifth. But then the sixth girl went in, and er, was about to go in, and there was this old lady came out and said, "Don't let her go in or, er, or, she'll come like me or she wont come out at all." [He spoke in a small quivery voice for the old lady]

But the lady had long white hair and YELLOW eyes. But, so the, but the leader didn't pay any attention to her. So she, the girl went in and two, one hour passed, and two hours passed and then she came out with really long white hair, and the next, and she got her courage badge. And she was so scared, she said, that she almost, that she was so frightened that, um, there was this thing that came up and there was something in his hand. Okay. But then, they, okay, but then the old lady said again [speaking in a quivery voice], "Don't let the next girl go in or she'll come out like me or she wont come out at all."

But, then, so, the leader didn't listen and they went, so the girl went in and gone, gone, went in, stayed for er, stayed in for two hours. One hour passed, then two hours,

then it came another hour. So, okay then she came out, she came out with yellow eyes and she, she said that the, the same thing that the girl before her had said. But then the last girl went in. And the old lady said, [speaking in a quivery voice] "Don't let her go in or she'll come out like me or she won't come out at all."

But, but the leader didn't listen and sent the girl in and the, then, one hour passed, then two hours passed, three hours, six hours passed, seven hours, eight, nine, ten hours passed, eleven hours passed and on the twelfth hour she came out [slows down voice to give dramatic emphasis] with long white hair and yellow eyes. And she, she, she was scared to death, and she, um, she barely got out alive. The End.

STM Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13735

282 Richard Dower: [oral narrative]

This story is called the Haunted Horseman.

It all began when, there is this young horseman riding in the rod', rodeo. And there is this ghost, this ghost horseman coming in behind him. And he shouted, the ghost man, horseman, shot a gun and his head flew off and then he couldn't see and rammed into a wall and his arms fell off. Eventually he got plastic arms and golf ball head. [pause] Then when he started, er, riding the rodeo again, it, there was voices, and it wasn't from the people, or a' guardians, it's the rodeo people that were riding before. And he heard footsteps coming up beside him. So he went as fast as he could and he rammed into, it into the thing again. He said that he needed glasses but her, er, but he didn't know how to steer anymore, 'cause it had been such a long time. So, then when he

banged into the thing that time, the legs, the horse's legs fell off and he had er, to get a new horse [pause]. Well it didn't turn out to be a horse, it turned out to be a starfish but after a while he got used to it but it was kind of slow. He didn't, it, the starfish couldn't see, the starfish couldn't see, after a while and he had to get a turtle. The turtle, er, was so slow he had to, er, er, use a whip to get him go faster by the time he passed the finish line everybody was, er, there with their er horses and blue, and the first place winner was the headless. er, the er, winner was [pause before slowly accentuating the name] the ghost man. Then when he got there, the ghost man said, "Hey golf, er, hey golfee, how's you doing?"

He said, "Who are you?"

He got glasses before but he didn't recognise him and he, er there's everybody there had a golf ball on their head. And, er, plastic arms, but NO ONE, but only one person, that didn't complete er, that jumped off his horse before he got to shoot the gun, er when he shot the gun, didn't hit him. And then he er, but then he rammed into the ground and his head popped off and he never did get a head again. The End.

STM Tape 4 Side B, Ref. No. C13734

171 Andrew Smith: [oral narrative]

The Ghost of Jacob [his introduction]

About ten years ago there was a baseball player named Jacob. He was playing baseball. He was probably the fourth, forty-fifth game of the season. It was the second

innings. The pitcher was flick, flicking the ball and the batter batted it so hard that it went through Jacob's head. And people say Jacob is still, at that ball park haunting it and trying to get revenge on the base, at that, on that batter. Gotcha yer...

STM Tape 4 Side B, Ref. No. C13734

301 Vicky Beresford: sleepover narrative [oral narrative]

Graveyard Mansion

Once upon a time there was a family of four and they lived in St. John's, Newfoundland, in a mansion with twenty nine rooms, twelve bathrooms, all the rest of the rooms were bedrooms, better get on with the story. One day the mother went down to the old graveyard where her mother had been buried. Suddenly a bony hand popped out of the grave and then came the rest of her mother's bony body. Then the mother said, "Mother."

Then her mother said, "Yes, it is me, you have killed me, so it's time for me to kill you."

And before the girl could say a word her mother took out an axe handle, boom, smack, the girl fell to the ground, dead. Then the father came along and visited his, his father who'd also been killed. Then, er, to give him some flowers. But he would, have stayed home if he had known what was about to happen, to him. Suddenly his father jumped out of the grave and had a pistol behind, in his hand, behind his back. And that is if he had a back. The two fathers started talking for a while. And after a while the father's

father said, [changes her voice for the older father, making it deeper] "Um, so who was it that killed me?"

And his father said, "Oh, I don't know."

And he said, "Well, it better not be you, because your fortune is about to come to you."

And he took the pistol out of his hand, from behind his back, if he had one, and pointed it at him. And he pointed it at the other father. And he said, "See you later."

And killed him. And then the fourteen year old girl came along, she wanted to borrow, visit her friend, um, in the graveyard And she said, um, she said, "Now where is that grave?"

She was running around the graveyard looking for her, um, her friend's grave. And all of a sudden she found it and her friend popped out of her grave and they talked for a while and then the same thing happened to her. And, and the baby was starting to get worried, where, where, where, were his parents and his big sister. So he said, "I'm going down to the graveyard while I'm waiting for my family to come back and see my cousin, three year old cousin."

So he went down there and he said, "Hum, is that, is that grave, [grave] over there?"

So he picked some daffodils and laid on the grave. And his three year old cousin popped out of the ground and said, "Hi, kid, what you doing?"

And he said, "Oh nothing, just visiting you."

And he said, "Okay, let's talk for a while."

And he said, then he said, "It was, who was it that really killed me - do you know?"

And he said, "No, not really."

And so he said, "It better not be you cause I'm going to kill you now."

And baby said, "Oh be quiet, come on, go fly a kite."

STM Tape 5 Side A, Ref. No. C13736

189 Holly Wareham: based on a story game [oral narrative]

The Four Girls

One cold night four girls were going for a walk in the woods. They were sisters. They were gone for a long time. Their parents were worried. Their parents didn't know where they were. The four girl's names are Nicole, Maggie, Alison and Holly. We got lost in the woods we walked for a long time. There were no houses around at all. There was a lot of trees and we walked further and we seen a shack. So we went closer it looked very old and it had bones on the outside and dead rats hanging from the windows and snakes tongues on the door handle. It looked like no one lived there and we went in. Maggie said, "I hope people don't live here."

Alison said, "Let's go."

There was someone home but we did not know. We went up 2000 stairs we went in the room Holly turned on the light. No lights worked. Alison and Maggie went in a room up 3000 steps. There was a man standing there but Alice [she uses a different name

ere but in the fow of the story it should be Alison] and Maggie never saw him. He said, “Come here.”

He took Maggie and Alice [Alison] and tied Alice [Alison] and Maggie to a table and cut Maggie’s arms open put sand in and covered it up. Then he put Alice [Alison] and Maggie in the closet and locked the door and went down stairs to find Nicole and Holly. Nicole said, “I hear a noise downstairs.” We ran out of the house the man ran after us. Alice [Alison] and Maggie got out of a hole in the wall and went out the window Maggie slipped on the roof Alison grabbed Maggie by the arm and got down and ran home. Their parents said, “Where were you?”

“We were lost in an old house and a man cut open my leg and put sand in it.”

But their mother did not believe them. She said, “Where is Holly and Nicole?”

“I don’t know we were stuck in the room.”

Nicole and I were not home yet, three hours later their Mom and Dad poured some hot Cocoa and the old man saw their house. And their Mom looked out the window. “Dad,” she said, “Who’s that outside the door?”

Maggie, Holly, Alice [Alison] and Nicole too looked out the window. They said, “I know, let’s hide.”

“Why?” said their parents.

“He’s the man who filled us with sand.”

“I will get him,” said their father and he did. And the mother and father and four girls moved to Florida and never had any troubles.

STM Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13736

004 Alison Ferguson: [oral narrative]

Okay, now, there once were these, um, sort of like group of a people and they were having a party. And there was two girls and five boys. And they, the house they were having the party in was right next to the graveyard. So the boys and one girl asked, the, the other girl to er, go out into the graveyard and dig a knife into one of the graves and they double dared her, dared her. And she says, "Okay, I'm not scared."

And then she went out into the graveyard and she dug a knife into one of the graves and then a hand came out of the grave. And then a few hands came out of the grave. And then they all pulled her down into the er, ground. And then, um, she came back up and she was dead. She didn't die of hurts she died of fright.

STM Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13736

Jacy Green: [oral narrative]

Once upon a time there were three, three little boys and a, there was a girl, girl with them. They, they were poor and they didn't have a family, like a mother and father. They went to a place where they would get a room to stay in free. They went in, and they saw a man there who was really old. And er, the, the man, the children asked the man if they have any rooms left. And the man said, "Yes."

And the children and the man said, "Room four."

And they went upstairs to Room Four and the man who was really old and went back in bed, 'cause he was really sick. And then next day the old man died, and the children went downstairs and saw his ghost. And they ran out of the house. The next morning they came back and saw his ghost again. So they went outside and started to think about this, should they tell the police or something or should they stay there and keep looking at him? And the children went back; saw the ghost and they said, "Yes, we are really seeing him."

The police came to the house and didn't see anything. The children went back in the house, saw, saw the ghost. The ghost told them not to run and said, "I'm your real father."

And the children didn't believe him and then he said again, in a real spooky voice. The children went upstairs, got dressed and came back down again. And they said, "Are you really our father?"

And he said, "Yes."

And they lived happily ever after.

STM Tape 6 Side B, Ref. No. C13737

112 Alison Ferguson: fear test narrative [oral narrative]

This is Alison, the story is called The Pig. [pause] Once upon a time there was an old farmer and he had a pig. His name was Chester. They were very, very poor. One day they met a man who was very rich. The rich man said to the poor man, "If you can stay in a haunted house for three nights you get one thousand dollars."

The man said "Okay, but can I bring my pig?"

The rich man said, "Yes."

So that night he went into the haunted house and at midnight there was a knock at the door. The man said, "Let me in or I will kill you."

So the farmer went to the door. When the bad man came in the pig bit him and the bad man fell to the floor. The farmer got a knife and put it in his heart, he died! Then the poor man went down to the city hall where the rich man lived and he told the rich man that he stayed in the haunted house for the night.

The rich man said, "Impossible, how could you stay in that house?"

And, er, the poor man said, "I am going to stay in it for two more nights."

So he went back to the house and when he went back he went shopping for a bit. When he got back, well it was night-time. So he sat down on a chair with his pig. And then there was another knock on the door and a girl said this time, "Let me in or I will kill you."

So, [pause] they opened the door and the girl came in. She had guns, machine guns, and she said, "Asta la vista baby" [a phrase used in the film Terminator].

But then the man, [corrects self] the pig. The girl didn't see the pig, and um, it bit the girl and as she fell to the floor and the man had the knife and the man dug it into the girl's [pause for a moment] head. And she died. And then he went down to the city hall the next morning and the [rich] man said, "How did you do that? That is impossible. People stayed there, tried to stay there, for three nights but they died or they got hurt."

But the man said, "Um, didn't happen to me."

So he went shopping again for, um, just looking around and when he came back, he, it was night time and then um he heard another knock on the door and it was sort of like a group, and they all said at the same time, [deepens voice, slows speed and says each word clearly and slowly] "Let us in."

So the man let them in and there was all kinds of people who had knives, guns, all kinds of stuff, in, um, their hands. And then they saw the pig, but the guns and the knife were too powerful for the big pig to bite them, so the man said, "You are not going to kill me!"

And they said, "Oh yes we are."

And then they killed him. Then the rich man said, "Ha, ha, ha, I knew that would happen I was one of the men that killed them."

STM Tape 6 Side B, Ref. No. C13737

158 Alison Ferguson: Frankenstein story [oral narrative]

This story is called The Pig and is told by Alison Ferguson

Once there was two men named Paul and Tom. They were pretty old. They always sat by er, um, on a bench by the post office. Across the road there was a potato patch. They usually sat there at night and talked, and talked, talked and talked, and talked till er, about midnight. And they were, they went out in the potato patch and saw a thing come up from a patch of potatoes and then the thing had a white shirt on, and suspenders. You couldn't see its face because it was too dark out. But he sort of looked like, his arms were all out, he sort of looked like Frankenstein. And then he, the, man that they saw

went right across the road, the thing. And then he disappeared. So the next night they went out again and the same thing happened. The sort of like Frankenstein went out on the road. They got to them but he disappeared again. And then the third night um, he come right to them. And he, his eyebrows were down and he showed his really, really, really sharp teeth. And then they ran, and they ran, and they ran. And then Paul, Tom said, "I don't think that was a ghost or any, I think that was just a robot to scare people."

So they went back and they um, Tom went back and he sort of looked at the thing and the thing looked at him. So um, they touched and the Tom felt really sick when he touched him. So then a few nights later on, in his house he died. And then Paul said, when he died he looked just like the thing.

STM Tape 6 Side B, Ref. No. C13737

235 Alison Ferguson: variation of Bloody Hands story [oral narrative]

On a windy night in October a little girl was playing in her house, when she heard a voice and it said, "I am three streets away. I am Bloody Hands."

She went up in her bed and she heard the voice again. It said, "I am two streets away."

And then she locked the door on her bedroom. Then she heard the voice again. It said, "I am one street away."

And then she heard footsteps, it came up and went into the bedroom, my bedroom and saw, and killed me but I was a ghost. I killed my Mom and Dad. One day I was out in the graveyard when I saw a hand come out of the grave. I got it and took it, took it off,

then all hands came out of the ground. I couldn't, I could not get out. And I got one hour later. I went home and went into my bedroom and someone was looking into the hole in my door, when he opened the door and a man came in. I killed him, but some other men came in and I killed them to. So I lived ghostly ever after.

STM Tape 6 Side B, Ref. No. C13737

371 Heather Stacey: [oral narrative]

Once a little boy was home alone because his parents went out to a dance. He was in bed when a voice came from the, the closet. "Timmy come here."

So he got out of bed and started walking towards the closet. And he said, "Timmy come closer."

And so he went closer. Then he said, "Come closer."

And he went closer. Timmy looked in his closet and there was a butcher's knife. First the butcher's knife cut off his two arms, then two legs, then his head. And then he left a ransom note on Timmy's bed for when the parents came home. And he said, "If you want Timmy go to the graveyard by the old oak tree."

There the parents found two of his arms hung on a branch, two branches, two of his legs hung on branches and his body laying on the floor and his head on top of the tree.

Our Lady of Fatima Scary Stories

OLF Tape 1 Side A, Ref. No. C13740

084 Melanie Molloy: [oral narrative]

This is Melanie Molloy (she then goes straight into the story)

One dark and stormy night a little boy went to get his mother. When he went into his friend's house he saw a ghost with a knife. The ghost stabbed him in the heart and when his friends got home they saw a trail of blood leading right down the road. As they went and followed the trail of blood they found the same ghost again. He stabbed them and put them into a grave. They sent out a search party to look for the missing children. As the search party went down they saw a haunted house and they decided the children must have gone in there to have a game of "Hide and Go Seek." So as they went in they saw a witch and that's just what the witch needed for her brew, [slight pause] THREE PEOPLE. So she put them in and killed them. And then she gave it to the ghost and the ghost poured it over the children. The children became spirits and rose from the dead and haunted every house in the city. The End.

OLF Tape 1 Side A, Ref. No. C13740

127 Justin Finlay: Scary Story /Warrior Narrative [oral narrative]

This is Justin Finlay [pauses]. Halloween

One night when I was, one night, when it was Halloween my, my pals and I went out. We started out the road. We, when we got most of the houses, when we heard a weird noise. We turned around, we saw nothing. We were all scared but then I said, "Are, are we men or are we mice?"

They said, "Men."

So we went on trick or treating. After another while we heard someone saying "Booo" [he draws out the "oo" sound].

So Mark said, "Let's, let's see who, whose doing this." [he put a quaver in his voice]

I said, "It must be a ghost."

Then Corey said, "There's no such thing as a ghost."

I said, "You've got a point there."

Then we all looked at each other. We said it must be the witch's house. So we went to the rest of the houses. When we were, when we were done, I said, "Do you want to go to the witch's house?"

Corey said, "Yes."

Mark said, "Yes."

Bradley said, "Yes."

Mitch said, "No." [his younger brother]

"I guess its four against one."

So we went. Then Mitch said, "Wait up."

When we went, when we got to the witch's house, I said, "Who is going in first?"

Corey said, "I will go in first."

So we, so we went in behind Corey. We got up to the door, Corey opened it. We went into the witch's house. When we got to the first door we heard the witch, we went in. She said, "I'm going to put a curse on you."

We ran as fast as we could. When we saw the door we came through, I said, "Run faster."

When we got out of the witch's house we ran home and never went to the witch's house again.

OLF Tape 1 Side B, Ref. No. C13740

006 Bradley Hayward: [oral narrative]

One time there was a stormy, er, night and two fishermen went out fishing in a great big storm and the lightening struck the boat and killed them. The boat was turned over and if you ever goes fishing again on a stormy night the people goes out and finds you strangled in your nets, [pause for dramatic effect] killed.

OLF Tape 1 Side B, Ref. No. C13740

398 Janice Molloy: a variation of "Boyfriend's Death Legend" which she describes as a "ghost story" [oral narrative]

I'm going to tell you a ghost story. There once was a girl and a boy, there names were Eileen and Joseph. [she pauses again and Eileen giggles] and they were too a dance. They were coming home, just passed a er, station, gas station. And they went, they kept

on going, and there was no trees or none down that street where the were [none either in St. Shotts] and, and their car broke down. So then the boy said "I'll go back and get, go and get some gas to the gas station. I'll only be a little while."

So then after three hours the girl fell asleep. And then she woke up, her boyfriend still hadn't up. So then she woke up the next time and she heard a scratching on the roof of the car. She didn't think nothing of it, she just thought it might be a tree, and then, she fell asleep again and then the cops pulled up, by her, and then the cops got the girl out and he said "Whatever you do don't turn back. The girl was wondering what, what happened to her boyfriend. He wasn't back yet. She wanted to know so bad so she turned around. She saw her boyfriend hanged up from something and he was dead and he was the one that scratched the car.

OLF Tape 1 Side B, Ref. No. C13740

470 Janice Molloy [with hand motif]: [oral narrative]

This is Janice again, back again, again.

There once was these two people named, Eileen and Bradley [names of two other children in Grade 3]. They loved each other very dearly. They found out, they read in a book, that there was a trick. If you put a loonie on a, a grave and you dance around it seven times, a hand will come up and pick it, take it off the [pause] headstone. So the girl was so, wanted to find out so bad, that she went by herself in the dark, and she went in. She did it. BUT the hand came up, but it didn't take the dollar. It came up, after her, and chased her. Then the next thing you know, her boyfriend, came up after her the next day

'cause she didn't come home. So then, [pause] he found her, by a grave KILLED. The End.

OLF Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13741

138 Janice Molloy: [oral narrative]

This is Janice Molloy again and she's going to tell a ghost story [pause].

There was once a graveyard with lots of people buried. There was one hundred and two buried, so then, one time, a girl, she hated going to the graveyard, but she had to go up and visit her Nanny. So she went up with her Mom, holding her hand as tight as possible. Her Mom's hand turn red because she was squeezing it so tight. So then, she just wandered off, because she wasn't scared anymore, and then she was just playing by her Nanny's grave. But her Nanny [mother] looked up, there was no sign of the little girl, she went looking around but she couldn't find her. So then she went home and told her husband what happened. Her husband said, [sounding off hand] "Oh, she's okay, she's out picking berries or something like that, she'll be fine."

But then five days passed. She didn't come back. Then two weeks passed, she still didn't come back. This time her mother was bound to get her little girl back. And she was heard, [speaks very slowly and leaves a little pause between each word] "I promise. I promise, I'll never, ever, ever, ever, take my little girl up to the graveyard again."

But that didn't work. And the little girl, they found her a few days later, the cops did. And she died, she got strangled by something, they never knew what, they always thought it was a mystery.

OLF Tape 2 Side B, Ref. No. C13741

413 Mitchell Finlay: Scary Story /Warrior Narrative [oral narrative]

Hello this is Mitchell again, two days in a row I'm talking to you...[introduces us all, the date, the class]

This is about a slumber party. I used to go into Mark's when they used to have a party. We had a lot of fun. But one night when I went in there was no one there. I looked around no one there. I went in, I saw a cat. She looked at me and her eyes started to glow. I ran, I bumped into a ghost. And, when I got almost outside, the doors was looked and there was dogs chasing me everywhere. I was afraid. There was millions and millions of ghosts around me. I tried to run but they used to scare me mad. I crawled in under them and they used to chase me. I ran up [stairs, I couldn't get the door open [pause]. I jumped down one ghost. I heard a pop, BOOM, BANG, crash. It was a scary night. When I found Justin [older brother] a dog was after eating on the dead and all I could see was their skull and their eyeballs. Yuck, that was a gross night. But, I found Mark, in the, in his bedroom with a knife through his head, that was bad. There was blood all over the bed and when I went to find Michael there was milk squirted E V E R Y W H E R E [draws out everywhere], white, chocolate, anything. And, when I saw Bradley he had squirted milk all over the room. And, Michael started to get [old] but he like Frankenstein. Bradley got up, he squirted milk at Michael, then Michael squirted milk at them. They had a milk fight. They said, "who, who could have milked er... er..."[stumbled over this sentence as he was trying to sort out quickly where the story was going]. Then they used [plaster]. So

I went down to find Justin. He turned into a Freddy Krueger and I was scared. He chased me, he had blood squirting everywhere [the bed for break-time rings at this point]. Then the bell rang and it was only a dream in school. Thanks be to God, that wasn't real. The End. This is scary stuff off Mitchell, thank you.

OLF Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13742

123 Steven Martin: [oral narrative]

This is Steven.

One night Frankenstein went out trick or treating. Dracula told him to bring back two thousand cans of Pepsi, two thousand packs of Doritos, and one thousand gallons of dip. He brought them home to Vampire; he wanted more junk food to eat. Frankenstein gathered up all the Pepsi, Doritos and dip he could possibly find. Then two kids spotted the scary sight on Pine Street [a street in St. John's]. They screamed. Then Frankenstein saw them; he didn't waste his time on the kids. The kids were scared stiff, they knew if they saw him again they would be torn to shreds. In a while the kids got over Frankenstein. But look out, Frankenstein he will be back next year.

OLF Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13742

054 Cordell Molloy: a corrected piece of schoolwork - Scary Story/Warrior Narrative

One Scary Night

One scary night a boy came to a haunted house. There were goblins, vampires, and blood on the walls. Frankenstein came out of nowhere and was running after me. I was scared and then a skeleton fell on top [pause, reading his writing] of me. I turned around a goblin was going at me so I put on a suit like a goblins and then he never saw me. I went home and I went in my room and it was scary nobody was home. There was blood on the walls; goblins were dead on floor. My socks, shorts and tops were all over the place and I looked in my Dad's room and I saw my Dad dead on his bed. My mom came out of nowhere and said, "The goblins killed our Dad."

So I killed them. Some of them got away but then something came in and they were, the goblins run and said, "Two of them worked together."

They were dead on the floor and there was no more goblins.

OLF Tape 3 Side B, Ref. No. C13742

190 Gregory Molloy [GM] & Justin Finlay [JF]: Scary Story/Warrior Narrative [oral narrative. The two boys seemed to make this up as they recounted the narrative]

GM - One dark and scary night Justin and I went to a haunted house

JF - And when we got in there walked up the stairs, and we start, the stairs started to slide down and we slid down with it. When we got to the bottom...

GM - We saw skeletons, ghosts and blood on the wall. We were very scared. We tried to run up the stairs but we couldn't so...

JF - So me and Greg decided to have, to make a plan. The plan was to...

GM - To kill the bad guys...

JF - And then we could make a run for it, but first we had to get all the bad guys. There were Frankenstein, Freddy Krueger, Chucky and....

GM - And a witch. They all had blood on them. There was goblins and ghost and next thing we know we started going down. There was a crack in the floor. Then...

JF - Then when we got to the bottom all we saw was blood, we were floating, and we saw monsters like they never, then Greg started to throw up from all the blood. And he started to ah [making a small sobbing noise], aah, "I'm going to cry."...

GM - We found a door and ran to it. Before Justin could open it he, he smacked his head. But we escaped. That day we ran home as fast as we could. We never went back to that haunted house.

OLF Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13743

020 Mitchell Finlay: Scary Story/Warrior Narrative [oral narrative]

Hello [making echo's] I'm going to tell you a ghost story; I hope it will be good. It might be a bit disgusting, but its going to be good, I hope it don't make you throw up [sick noise provided by the audience]. Okay, ready, ready set here I go.

One night when I was in to Bradley's when [missed this word] couldn't find Justin. I found Bradley in his mother's closet with blood coming out through his mouth and blood coming out of his whole body. Its all over the floor [pause] AND when he got up, he was like Frankenstein. Er... and when I went to find Mark there was a knife stabbed through his back and there was a knife stabbed through his guts, and a knife

stabbed through his head and when I took them out there was blood garbage [sound effect from the audience in the background], all over him. And when I went to find Michael there was ooohy and gooey, and milk all over him [sound effect - audience]. And when I went to find Stephanie there was a man on top of her, jumping, playing, jumping and there was knives going through the ground from her, from, from him, stabbed her in the head. And then the man cut off her nose, cut off her arms and legs. It was a scary night and he chased me. I got matches, threw them at him and he blew up into a great big ball of ooohy, gooey slime. And, [?] when I found him again he was the MILKY WAY. I found Mark and Bradley and when, when I found Justin he was turned into Freddy Krueger. When I found Mark and Bradley again they were gone to hell. Then, then he came after me with the milk squirting everywhere. He got me, he choked me and then I tricked him, then he blew up into big balls of milk. Then he stank, I spit out all over him and he blew up into big overgrown pieces. And I went back home and the robber was going to strike my house next. I waited for him. It was dark. I had a knife and when he came in I stabbed him in the head, and then I got the robber, threw him out and the dogs mauled, werewolves started to eat him. This is my Mitchell stuff, of scary stuff ooohh.

[Everyone joined in with special effect noises]

OLF Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13743

256 Michael Martin: A corrected piece of schoolwork. [He read his corrected, written version but changed the ending because he was not happy with it.]

One day we got a pumpkin, then we carved it. But there was some magic in the pumpkin. Do you know how I knew there was some magic in the pumpkin? First a ghost came out, second a witch came out, third a goblin came out; fourth Frankenstein came out, fifth the Addams Family came out [a giggle to himself]. One night Frankenstein went out on, on Halloween and he got some Pepsi and Doritos. Then a vampire popped out in surprise and saw four children. Then he cut their heads off and sucked their blood out of their heads. Then Frankenstein he came over, bashed the living guts out of the vampire and eat his Doritos and drank all his Pepsi.

OLF Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13743

081 Bradley Hayward: Possibly a media narraform based on one or several of the Nightmare on Elm Street films [oral narrative].

Once there was a man called Freddy Krueger. Whenever anybody dreamed about him the next morning they would be blown up in the room dead. Two children used to dream about him but before he could to their houses he, they used to wake up. So one night, he visit when their parents were away. He locked all the doors. They ran and ran away from him. He used to pop up everywhere, some, they got and burnt. Soon they decided they threw water around but they didn't stop it. They decide the only thing that could kill him was fire. They trick, they got, they lured him into the woods, the basement and locked him down there and threw matches. He died very soon but soon. But everybody knows that he can never die. He'll be back soon. The End.

OLF Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13743

113 Bradley Hayward: [oral narrative]

A Spooky Halloween

It all started on Halloween night. I got lots and lots of goodies. They were all having a good time until there was a flash of lightening and the Addams Family came out of their graves. Monsters, vampires, goblins and witches, got out of their graves. They all sneaked around. The vampires pulled off a kid's head and [pause], and drank his blood. The next, then, the kids never went out on Halloween night again after. The End.

OLF Tape 4 Side A, Ref. No. C13743

317 Janice Molloy: Scary Story designated a ghost story by Janice. [oral narrative]

There once was a witch and her name was [pause here to think of name] Stephanie, and she loved this man witch and his name was Michael. They loved each other very well. They used to go on rides, together on their broom. They used to kiss in the moonlight. She used to love being with him. But one day he broke he broke up with her and went off with another girl named [strong emphasis on named followed by a pause] Dana. But then that witch Stephanie wanted to get him back to bad that she said, "I'm going to put a spell on him, so he'll turn into a TOAD." So one day Stephanie got into a room with him, had a whole bunch of stuff in her room. She started to go, "Witches, hiss, egg, that kind of thing and I will turn him into a toad. Abracadabra, abracado, I want to turn you into a toad."

Then poof Michael turned into a toad. Then his lovely witch Dana came into the room and said, "Where is my lovely handsome."

But then before Dana could say the last word. Dana, Stephanie said, "The frog."

"What. a frog? He's not a frog. The beautiful, beautiful witch."

"Not anymore. Look, I'll show him to you."

Then Stephanie held out a cage and there was a toad, all green, yucky, with slime. And then, she sang out, "aaaaaaaaaaaaahhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh."

Then Stephanie said, "Ha, ha. I wanted to get him back so bad and the thing I'm going to do is even worse, I'm going to turn you into a snake."

And then, she turned her into a snake, put them both into the same, same room, and they, and they kissed, they loved each other. But then Dana killed him and then Stephanie turned her back into a person. And then both of them were happy ever after, and they were all friends, 'cause Michael was gone, that old poor toad. The End.

Appendix 9

Made-up Stories based on Television Programmes and Films

St. Mary's Elementary School

STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13734

Andrew Smith: Television Story - Star Trek: The Next Generation [A written piece of schoolwork that was not corrected, so it is copied as he wrote it].

Star trek - the Next Generation

It was a gloomy day on the star ship enterprise even Daita wasnt taking very much but not the captain he was as wild as a gorila he was out of this world or shud I say out of this soler sestem. Then everyone came back to there sences. When Daita joned the party he said captin I think this will be a very enjoyable time what are you saying daita said the captin then Daita said I`m trying to say let`s party.

[Read from his journal, so this is copied from the journal and the spelling and punctuation are as Andrew wrote it.]

Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13736

020 Tommy Fushue: Television Story: Star Trek: The Next Generation Story [This is the story Tommy wrote for me. It was not a corrected piece of work. He found it difficult to read his writing so as he read the story he changed what he couldn't read. Tommy's Newfoundland accent was difficult for me to understand. I tried to transcribed the narrative and used his written text to fill in some of the gaps.]

Star Trek the final frontier, these are the voyages of the starship Enterprise. These are the mas' . . . of the starship Enterprise. The commanding of the Enterprise ... to Jean Luc Picard and, and all his good men because and the best soldiers ever in space Leslie Crusher is working for Data, Data comes in Crusher can you go fire off the gas missiles sure, okay, Crusher, I need to, um, do meet Jean Luc Picard at the elevator, bye. Just when he gets there the Borg jumps out of the emergency plane and grabs him. When, when, Data goes back, gets Jean Luc Picard, um they start waiting for him. At the Enterprise Worf goes to his room I am part of the Klingon family so I need to find my brother in the firing radar dish he should be with firing one of [plate wars]

Crusher I'll go get Riker and Data

After he found them he asked them Data said I know where he is at the gas missiles but he was there for five hours now. Something must have happened to him. It must go do it deactivate the ship said Riker, he saw the Borg's ship. To the transport room Data called will we be going there. So we can help Crusher out of the trap. Wesley Crusher saw them hiding in the box they said Worf when they got there they were in the basement. They went upstairs and hid in a box and then they saw Crusher. Worf's brother Quodo, the Klingon and tried to stop them. Worf went and freed Crusher. Riker stopped

the ship and to take. When the ship was stopped they all took down them. The ship when stopped they all took their guns and fired. Borg's men he has . . .

Worf and Riker killed Borg's ship Data called Dr. Crusher passed the . . . the traction portal room opened they all went home.

It is very difficult to understand exactly what Tommy is saying. He originally wrote and illustrated the story and then read it out to me. He had problems reading his own work so that he changed the story where he couldn't understand what he's written. I have therefore transcribed the oral text, using the written text in a couple of places if it seemed to fill in some of the narrative gaps. Where I have not understood what he's said, I have left . . . for that word or phrase.

(Tape not rewinding very well so numbers out)

Joshua Moir: Television Story - Star Trek: The Next Generation Story [uncorrected piece of schoolwork, in his journal. Joshua read it to me so I copied his text].

Star text the Naxt Gnrasan

Spac the fanul frauter thees are the vo.ages, of the star ship antrpris to seek out new live and new socaliszathon to bale go wear noone hass gown befor.

Capten we are aproching bace 5532 of the frange there seems to be one one there. I always knew they were out to lunch. wate a mnit wate's that over there. not a frange ho no were going to hav to fat them for the 5000 time.

[Copied from Joshua's journal, keeping his punctuation and spelling.]

Christopher Simms: Television /Film Story/possible media narraform [Loosely based on the film Universal Soldier. Uncorrected piece of written schoolwork, copied from Christopher's journal, keeping his punctuation and spelling.]

Universal Soldiers

it's the year 1995 in the war. the wars ofer buby no it not BAING you shot me. its the year 1996 I year ladder. all the good guys are robots because they died and they are bad except one.

Our Lady of Fatima

OLF Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13742)

Melissa Molloy: Television Story/Scary Story [corrected piece of written schoolwork]

The Addams Family

One night when I went out trick or treating I started [?] house to house. Its doorbell was on the ground and there was blood on the door. So I decided to investigate. I went over to the door and knocked but someone opened it. So I kicked it open. When I went in I saw a kid playing baseball with Melanie's head [twin sister]. So I went up to the kid and asked him "Why are you playing baseball with Melanie's head?"

"Because she stepped on my black cat and killed it."

“Oh, so that’s how come. Well I have to leave now, because I’ve got a whole neighbourhood to go to.”

“Couldn’t you stay here with me and play?”

“Well, okay. What do you want to do?”

“Well I could show you my family.”

“Okay.”

So we walked a little ways and I saw his uncle. He was in a machine and his head was between two walls. “Hey uncle, what are you doing?”

“I’m trying to get my head thinner.”

“Oh, okay, bye.”

“Oh, oh I forgot to ask you, your name, my name’s Adam.”

“My name is Melissa.”

“How old are you Melissa? I’m nine.”

“Oh I’m nine too.”

[Pause while tries to read her writing]

Now we were to his mother [help from Cathy], and Dad’s room and went, went in and his Dad was standing on his head and his thumbs lying down on a nail bed.

“Mom, I would like you to meet my new friend and her name is Melissa.”

“That’s nice dear. Now run to the store and get another pack of nails.”

“Okay Mom.”

“Mom, come on. Melissa I’ll show you my friend’s hand. He is really nice and he loves to play cards.”

When we got to Hand's room he was sleeping so Adam went over and pulled on his thumb. "Come on Hand get up."

So hand hopped up and said, "Who's she?"

"Oh, this is my new friend Melissa. Do you want to have a game of cards?"

"No thank you, I have to go home now."

"Oh, well may be next time."

"Okay."

"Okay."

"Come on Melissa let's, Come on Melissa let's go."

So we went out the door and went to the shop. "Well, I have to go home now Adam."

"Okay, bye, I'll see you next Halloween."

"Okay, I'll see you then."

Melissa said she got the idea for the story from the television programmes The Addams Family. She admitted she made a mistake because "Hand" should be called "Thing" which is a hand.

Appendix 10

Traditional Stories Containing Popular Culture

St. Mary's

STM Tape 3 Side A, Ref. No. C13734

Stephanie Roberts: Traditional Story. [A corrected piece of schoolwork rewritten for School magazine "The Bugle" published in February 1992. Written when she was in Grade 2 and copied from school magazine The Bugle.]

Once upon a time, long, long ago, around Christmas time, a little princess was thinking of what she should have for Christmas. "Mum, do you know what I should have for Christmas?" she asked.

"I know what you should have. A nutcracker doll," her mother said.

"Ya, mum, I want that" the princess said.

She went over to her little corner, writing down what she wanted for Christmas. A few weeks later it was Christmas Eve. Everyone was hanging up their stocking, and most of all they were excited. That night the princess was dreaming about her nutcracker. She got up and she went downstairs and she got some nuts from the kitchen drawer.

"Mommy, Daddy, St. Nick has come!" she said.

"We must go down at once," said her mother.

"O. K." said her father.

So they all went downstairs. First father, mother and then princess. When princess opened her present, lying there was a beautiful shining nutcracker. Her mother got three dresses, one that looked as gold as the sun, second was as silver as the moon, third one glittered like the stars. She loved them so much that she put on the third one. Princess played with the nutcracker all the time. And at night she put it in her cupboard. That morning when she woke up her nutcracker was gone. She went to her Mom's bedroom and said, "Mum, my nutcracker is gone, will you help me look for it?"

"Yes I will," said her mother.

They looked for it until her mother said, "We must look outside."

"O. K." said the princess.

The first place they looked was under the tree, and there it was. So from that day on she slept with it.

STM Tape 4 Side B, Ref. No. C13735

203 Jennifer Cahill: [corrected piece of written schoolwork from the Fairy Tale theme].

Aladdin and Jasmine

A long time ago there was a castle. In this castle there was a princess named Jasmine. Jasmine was bored one day. She climbed over the castle wall. She walked to the market square and met a boy named Aladdin. He took her to his house. He lived in a shed. They stayed there for a visit. The guards from the castle took Aladdin away. Jasmine was upset with the guards for doing this. The guards took Aladdin to the

dungeon in the castle. Aladdin met an old man who was a prisoner too. The old man asked, "Little boy, please go to the sand tiger and get me a treasure." Aladdin escaped from the castle and found the treasure for the old man. The treasure was Jasmine! Jasmine was happy to see Aladdin. She loved him and Aladdin loved her. They spent the rest of their lives together. The End.

STM Tape 5 Side A, Ref. No. C13736

131 Catherine Thomas: [oral narrative]

Once upon a time there was an old man and an old lady and they lived on a farm. One day the farmer went out to plant some seeds, potato seeds, and, um, and he found this big, gigantic potato seed and he planted it and then when he was done all the rest he went to bed. Then next day when he woke up, there was, it, he went out to pick up the potatoes and so, when he got to the big seed he, he tried to get it out but he couldn't. So he asked the old lady to come and help him and so, they tried to get it out, and they tried to get it out but they still couldn't get it out. So then the grandmother called for the granddaughter and, and so they all tried to get it out but still it wouldn't come out. Then the, er, little girl called for her brother and they all tried to get it out but still it didn't come out. And so then, then the boy called er, his pet dog. And so the dog, dug, dig while they try to get it out but it still wouldn't come. And so they, and so then the dog called for the cat and the cat, the cat clawed at it but they all still couldn't get out, get it out. And so then the cat called for the mouse and then the mouse said, "I can get this big potato out all by myself."

And all of them says, "Oh can you now?"

And so, um, and so they er, left the mouse to try and get it out and so the mouse tried and he tried and the third tug he got the potato out. And in the night they all, what they all had for supper was potato. The End.

STM Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13736

Jacy Green: Schoolwork/Traditional Story

The Three Little Pigs

[I introduced her]

There once was three little pigs, they didn't have any houses. The first little pig built his house out of straw. And he said, when he was finished, he said; "Now I can play all day."

And he kept playing and playing and he didn't do any hard work with his house. Then the second brother said that he would build his house out of br', wood, so he built his house out of wood and when it was done he said, "This wasn't that much, this wasn't that much work."

And then he said he would play all day and he kept on playing. And the third little pig said that he's going to build his house out of bricks. And he built his out of bricks, house out of bricks and, and he said, said, "This was, this was lots of work and that's why I took my time and did everything I could to keep this house up."

And then the wolf came and knocked on the first little pig's house and said, "Let me in, er me in."

And the pig said, "Not by the hairs on my chinny chin, chin."

And the wolf blew the house down and, and tried to catch the pig but the pig ran to the second little pig's house and knocked on the door and said, and said to his brother, "Brother, brother let me in the wolf has chasing me, the wolf is chasing me."

The second little pig let the pig in, pig in. And the wolf knocked on the door and said, "Pigs, pigs let me in."

And the pigs said at the same time, "Not by the hairs of our chinny chin, chin."

And he blew the house down.

The two little pigs ran to their brother's house, the smartest pig and they knocked the door, on the door to their brother's house. They said, "Brother, brother let us in, the wolf is chasing us."

So the brother, the last little brother let them in. And, and he didn't hear them, so, so he opened the door and didn't let the pigs in, and, and then they said again, "Little, the wolf is chasing us."

So the brother let the little pigs in and the wolf knocked on the door and said, "Little pigs, little pigs let me in."

And the pigs said, at the same time, "Not by the hair of our chinny chin, chin."

And the wolf couldn't blow the house down. He tried and he tried but at one, one, at the last blow he ran out of breath and the pigs opened the door and the wolf was dead on the floor.

STM Tape 6 Side A, Ref. No. C13737

293 Suzanne Lee: [copied from her uncorrected schoolwork]

Three Billy Goats Gruff

Once upon a time a long time ago there lived three Billy goats. And they saw a big hill of grass but how can they get to it because the big ugly troll lived under the bridge. So they had idea. This was the idea. The idea was that the smallest wout go over the brieg first and the troll wout come up, and the small billy goat wout say, "wait for the middle size billy goat to come he is much bigger" "aga then said the troll"

So then the middle size came: and then the troll came up and said, "ho is that stompping over my brieg" so the middle size billy goat said "it is me the middle size billy goat" So the troll said "I am going to eat you up" he said. So then the middle size billy goat said "wait for larg billy goat" so he did and then he came. The troll said "ho is that walking over my brieg" "it is me the large billy goat" Then it hapend the large billy goat tore him to bits and then he went over to eat the grass. and never herd of him agin. And they ate so much that they had to drag there stumics. and there was harley any grass left.

STM Tape 6 Side B, Ref. No. C13737

032 Suzanne Lee: possibly a media narraform of the Little Mermaid Disney Film [oral narrative]

Once upon a time there was a little mermaid. Her name was Ariel. Her father was the sea king. She had seven sisters. One night she went up to the surface. She saw humans. Her father told her and all of her sisters to never go near humans, 'cause [whispered aside for help], 'cause, humans might capture her. She met a prince named Eric. She, she went to his palace 'cause the wicked queen took her voice away [whispered help from someone else present]. And when she found him on the shore he said he saw her singing to her [him] and where she never heard the voice she couldn't say she was the one who sang to him that night. So she, so she went to his palace and slept there and she was going to marry. The wicked queen who took her voice, and the wicked queen turned herself into a pretty young woman and said, and almost married her [means him] but eels came up and almost killed her. And, and little mermaid got her voice back and her father turned her into a human and they got married and lived happily ever after.

[Based on the popular 1989 Walt Disney film The Little Mermaid and spin off cartoon series. The source material for the film was the Hans Christian Andersen tale.]

Our Lady of Fatima

The following narratives come from Mrs. Martin's final creative writing exercise. All the children were reading from their corrected texts.

OLF Tape 5 Side B, Ref. No. C13744

172 Melanie Molloy:

Little Red Riding Hood

One day there was a girl named Eileen. Her mother made a basket of goodies for her to bring to her grandmother. Eileen put on her new red cape. On her way she saw her friends Jennifer and Michael. She stopped to talk to them. Then she was on her way again. She picked some wild flowers for her grandmother. A big bad wolf was watching her. He ran to grandmother's house and locked grandma in the closet. He put on grandma's cap and gown. Eileen said "Grandma what big eyes you have." The wolf said, "The better to see you with my dear." Eileen said, "Grandma what a big nose you have." The wolf said, "The better to smell the goodies with my dear." Eileen said, "Grandma what big teeth you have." The wolf said, "The better to eat you with my dear," and he jumped out of the bed. He chased Eileen all around the house. A woodcutter came in and killed the wolf. Eileen let Grandma out of the closet. They ate the goodies that Eileen gave to Grandma. They lived happily ever after.

Steven Martin:

Meet Janice and the Three Dwarfs

Once upon a time there was a girl named Janice. One day she came across a skyscraper. Janice was curious so she went in. Inside she saw three dwarfs. Their names

were Dopey, lazy and Cranky. There were living in the skyscraper all their life and they were getting kind of bored with it. Janice asked them if they wanted to live with her for a while. Besides she was getting kind of lonely living in a house by herself. But the three dwarfs said no and that they would find a house by themselves. Janice wanted to help, so she looked in the newspaper and found a perfect place for the dwarfs to live in. The house was fit for a king. Then she looked at the price it said only \$100,000,000. Janice said where in the world am I going to get that kind of money, she thought and thought. Then she looked at the newspaper again. it said, "wanted" three waiters for Devereaux's Restaurant, \$1,000,000 a day. So that meant 100 days of waitering for the dwarfs. They took the job and earned the money. They bought the house and hired Janice for their maid and they lived happily ever after.

Janice Molloy:

Little Red Riding Hood

There once was a girl named Holly. She had a grandmother and a few friends and of course a mother. One day Holly's mother told her to give a snack to her grandmother so off went Holly. On the way to grandmother's house she met her friends Kayla, Janice, Stephanie and Dana [friends in St. Shotts]. So Holly said "hello" then she went on walking. When she was away from her friends she saw a fox, and the name of the fox was Chantal. Chantal said, "Where are you going?"

"I am going to grandmother's house."

Then she went on walking but the fox knew a short cut. The fox went to grandmother's house and swallowed her and then Holly walked in. Holly said, "My, what a big nose you have," and the fox said "All the better to smell you with my dear."

"My, what big eyes you have."

"The better to see you with my dear."

"What big teeth you have."

"All the better to EAT you with." With that the fox jumped up and chased Holly. Holly yelled, a woodcutter came in and saw the fox and hit him in the belly and grandmother jumped out.

Jennifer Gibbons:

Mitchell and the Beanstalk

Once upon a time there was a boy named Mitchell. Mitchell loved to eat, every second of the day he was eating. His mother and him had very little food, so Mitchell's mother gave him a car to sell. While Mitchell was on his way a little man stopped him. He said, "Where are you going little fellow?"

"I am going to sell my car because my mother and I don't have much money."

"Oh, I can buy your car. I will give you these magic beans."

Mitchell thought and thought about this and then he finally said, "OK" He took the beans and went home. When he got home he told his mother and his mother threw him and the beans out the door. That night Mitchell slept in the barn. When he woke next morning he saw a very long beanstalk going up in the sky. So he said to himself, "I think

I am going to climb this beanstalk." So that's what he did. Soon he reached the top. He saw a castle. He went in, a giant was sitting in a chair counting his money, soon he fell asleep. Mitchell crept into the room. The giant woke up, he said "Fe, fi, fo, fum, I smell the blood of an Englishman."

Mitchell jumped in the oven until he was gone and jumped out of the oven and took all the money. He ran out of the door and went down the beanstalk. He showed his mother and they lived happily ever after. The End.

Michael Martin:

Jonathan and the Three Pigs [heavily influenced by the pop song by Green Jelly]

One day Jonathan and the three little pigs went to Hollywood. The first little pig decided to make his house out of straw, Jonathan helped him make it. Then one day the big bad wolf came, he said, "Little pig, little pig, let me in."

And Jonathan and the little pig said, "Not by the hair of our chinny chin chins."

So the big bad wolf said, "Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down."

So Jonathan and the first little pig ran to the second little pig's house. He made his house out of garbage! Then one day the big bad wolf came and said, "Little pig, little pig, let me in."

And they said, "Not by the hair of our chinny chin chins."

The wolf said, "Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down."

And they ran to the third little pig's house. His Daddy was a rock star. Then one day the big bad wolf came and said, "Little pig, little pig, little pig, let me in."

And they said, "Not by the hair of our chinny chin chins."

"Then I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house down."

The third little pig said, "The house is made out of cement." Then Jonathan called 911 like any little boy would and they sent out Rambo! Rambo said, "Ha, wolf face it, do you want a piece of me man!"

Then Rambo got his machine gun and killed the wolf. From now on Rambo and Jonathan were heroes and got a million dollars each and lived happily ever after.

Grade 1 girl:

Jason and His Mother

Once upon a time there was a boy whose name was Jason. He had no friends. One day his mother said to him to sell the cow to get some food to eat. Jason ran off to sell the cow. He met an old man. The man said to Jason, "I see you have a cow. I would like to have one."

"What will you give me?" said Jason.

"I will get you some magic colorful beans."

Jason took the magic colorful beans. He brought them home. His mother was not so happy. She threw them out the window. The next day Jason woke up. He looked out of the window and he saw a big magic beanstalk. He cried, "Mother come up here."

His mother came up she did not know what it was. "What is it?" she said.

"It is a beanstalk," he said.

"Go up it," said his mother.

"OK" said Jason.

He went up the beanstalk. He saw a big house. He knocked and knocked, a giant's wife answered the door. She said, "Come in here. I will give you something to eat."

The giant's wife heard the giant coming in the house. "Hide in the closet."

The giant came in. The giant cried, "Get me my supper."

The giant's wife got his supper. The giant said, "Fee, fi, fo, fum. I smell the blood from a little boy. If he's in my house I'll eat him alive for my supper."

The giant's wife said, "There's no boy in this house. I would not let a boy in this house, it must be the boy you ate for your dinner. When the giant went out Jason went home to tell his mother.

The next day he went back to the giant's house. He knocked again. The giant's wife said, "I see you are back. What do you want?"

"I want some gold for me and my mother, we are poor."

"Go in the back room, you will see the gold," said the giant's wife. "Now go home."

Jason said "I want a hen that lays golden eggs for me and my mother."

"Go to the second room." Jason went into the second room. Jason went home and showed his mother. His mother said, "Never go up there again." The End

Shelf No: C13747 Tape 8 Side 1

000 Green Jelly song: [This song was the inspiration behind Michael Martin's story and transcribed for me by his older brother. I checked the transcribing with the Sanyo Memo Scribe TRC8070A.]

The Three Little Pigs

Then one day he bought a guitar,
He moved to Hollywood to become a star,
Living on the farm he knew nothing of the city
Built his house out of straw, what a pity
Then one day, jamming on some cords
Along came the wolf, knocking on his door

Chorus

"Little pig, little pig, let me in."
"Not by the hair of my chinny chin, chin."
"Well I'm huffing, I'm puffing, I'll blow your house in
Huffing, puffing, blow your house in
Huffing, puffing blow your house in

I'm Huffing, I'm puffing, I'll blow your house in."

Well the second little piggy

Well he was kind of a joking

Spent his most of his days in the garden just smoking

Hopping and a bopping down on Venice Beach

Getting paid money for religious speech

Built his shelter from the garbage pics

Mostly made up of old cans and sticks

Then one day he was cranking up a marley

Along came the wolf on his big bad Harley

Chorus

"Little pig, little pig, let me in."

"Not by the hair of my chinny chin, chin."

"Well I'm huffing I'm puffing, I'll blow your house in

Huffing, puffing, blow your house in

Huffing, puffing, blow your house in

Huffing, I'm puffing, I'll blow your house in."

Well the third little piggy, was a grade A student

His Daddy was a rock star named Pig Newget
Earned his master's degree and Harvard College
Built his house from his architect knowledge
A dry level mansion, Hollywood Hills
Daddy's rock stardom, paid for the bills
Then one day, came the old house smasher
The big bad wolf, the little piggy slasher.

Chorus

"Little pig, little pig let me in."
"Not by the hair of my chinny chin, chin."
"Little pig, little pig let me in."
"Not by the hair of my chinny chin, chin."
"Well I'm huffing, I'm puffing, I'll blow your house in
Huffing, puffing, blow your house in
Huffing, puffing, blow your house in
Huffing, I'm puffing, I'll blow your house in."

Well the big bad wolf, well he huffed and he puffed all that he could
And low and behold little piggy's house stood
"It's made out of concrete," the little piggy shouted

The wolf just frowned, as he pouted
So they call 911, like any piggy would
They sent out Rambo, just as fast, as they could
“Yo, wolf face I’m your worst nightmare, you ass is mine”

Now the wolf fell dead as you can plainly see
And that’s The End of the story, for you and me
But still give a listen, you just may hear the big wolf
The little pig say, “Little pig, little pig, let me in,”
“Not by the hair on my chinny, chin, chin.”
Little pig little pig

[I think the last two lines are repeated but the tape recording cuts out here].



