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Paralinguistic Phenomena and Their Vocalisations When Reading Aloud in *Winnie-the-Pooh*

Manuel Jobert ♦

Reading aloud to children is an activity parents have always indulged in. Not only are they convinced that this will facilitate the development of their children's imagination, but they also believe it will turn them into eager readers (Ben Soussan, 2006). These middle-class aspirations find a favourable echo in many children's stories that dramatize reading-aloud sessions or at least the leap into the fictional world. *Winnie-the-Pooh* is one of them.

The purpose of this article is to analyse the complex relationship between the written and the spoken media. Written texts always retain traces of the orality of spoken language. This is particularly true of children's narratives in which "orality markers" serve several purposes.

The audio recording of A.A. Milne's text was performed by Alan Bennett, a celebrated author and a frequent reader-aloud. This recording was made in 1984 on cassettes and is now available on CDs and on audio files. This study does not claim to shed light on the reading-aloud process at large as professional readers prepare their reading sessions thoroughly and the final product is assuredly the result of several takes and amendments. In a natural environment, when a parent reads a story to their child, many interruptions or features of non-fluency (hesitations, false starts etc.) are bound to appear. This is not the case in the recording under scrutiny and our scope is *de facto* narrower.

From a phonostylistic perspective, the traditional dichotomy between the written and the spoken media is abolished or, at the very least, qualified. Which is the authoritative text of the story of *Winnie-the-Pooh*? The one on the page that small children do not have access to or the vocal rendition they hear before going to sleep? A text can be either a chunk of *written* discourse or a chunk of *spoken* discourse. Halliday's definition of a "text" is useful here:

♦ Manuel Jobert, *Université Jean Moulin – Lyon 3*.

> When people speak or write, they produce text. The term 'text' refers to any instance of language, in any medium, that makes sense to someone who knows the language. To a grammarian, a text is a rich, many-faceted phenomenon that 'means' in many different ways. It can be explored from many different points of view. But we can distinguish two main angles of vision: one, focus on the text as an object in its own right; two, focus on the text as instrument for finding out about something else. (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 3)

Because of the very *genre* of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, this paper will mainly be concerned with direct speech (DS). Not only is DS omnipresent in children's literature but it also begs to be vocalised (Piaget, 2002). In this respect, both the encoding and the decoding sides are to be considered. An author encodes layers of information in a text and a reader tries to retrieve this information. Regarding fictional speech, Leech & Short (1981: 160) talk of "the ear for conversation of a writer" on the encoding side. Indeed, some writers are more gifted than others for dialogue writing. On the decoding side, Chapman (1994: 15) talks about "the inner-ear" of the reader. Here again, some readers / listeners are more receptive than others. Both the writing and the reading process are therefore involved. This can be summarised in a fashion reminiscent of Jakobson's communication model:



Encoding and decoding paralinguistic phenomena

It does not really matter whether writers and readers form exactly the same phonetic representation of a character's speech. What matters is that the main deviation from unmarked speech should be made clear[1].

The first part of this paper defines Paralinguistic Vocal Features (PVFs) and distinguishes them from their written correlates, Paralinguistic Vocal Markers (PVMs). Part two shows the importance of orality in *Winnie-the-Pooh* and presents how PVMs are used and organised. The final part of this article focuses on certain PVMs and shows how they are processed by the reader.

1 This is also the case of dialect encoding. See Jobert (2018).

From Paralinguistic Vocal Features (PVFs) to Paralinguistic Vocal Markers (PVMs)

Paralinguistic vocal features

The linguistic community has always been torn between two opposite views concerning PFVs. Some reckon they are too versatile to be studied systematically and rigorously, others claim they form an intrinsic part of human communication and that they clearly fall within the remit of linguistics (Jobert, 2014). Brown's (1990: 112) definition of PVFs provides a sound theoretical starting point:

> Paralinguistic features of speech are those which contribute to the expression of attitude by a speaker. They are phonetic features of speech which do not form an intrinsic part of the phonological contrasts which make up the verbal message.

PVFs are clearly different from speakers' permanent features indicating sex, age, sociological or geographical background. They are expressivity markers and convey, willingly or unwittingly, speakers' emotions and attitudes.

Several descriptive frameworks have been put forward to describe PVFs. Crystal (1975: 60-61) resorts to the notion of "a scale of linguisticness" in order to define these various features. It is worth quoting him at length:

> At the 'most linguistic' polarity would be classified those features of utterance most readily describable in terms of closed systems of contrasts, which have a relatively clear phonetic definition, which display evidence of a hierarchical structure… e.g. tone-unit boundaries, nuclear tone type and placement, and other 'prosodic' features […]. At the other, 'least linguistic' end would be placed those features of utterance which seem to have little potential for entering into systemic relationships, which are relatively indiscrete, and which have a relatively isolated function and little integrability with other aspects of language structure, e.g. breathy or raspy vocal effects—effects which are often confused with voice quality characteristics on first hearing.

Depending on what you want to do with PVFs, some frameworks appear more adequate than others. Crystal & Quirk (1964) would be ideal for a minute phonetic description while Poyatos (1993) would be more useful from an anthropological perspective. The following descriptive framework (Jobert, 2014), mostly based on Crystal & Quirk (1964) and Crystal & Davy (1975), was devised to accommodate fictional speech with a sound phonetic anchoring while remaining user-friendly:

Para-prosodic features	Vocal qualifiers	Vocal qualifications
Loudness Pitch Tempo Rhythm Pause	***types of tension*** articulatory precision (precise/ slurred) lip setting (smiling/ pursed) ***types of phonation*** falsetto voice whispered voice creaky voice harsh/husky voice breathy voice ***peripheral modes*** culturally-coded onomatopoeia ("tsk", "tut" etc.) intentional cough / throat clearing etc.	Laughter Crying Sighing

Descriptive framework for PVFs (Jobert,2014)

Paralinguistic vocal markers

Brown (1990) clearly explains that while there are some obvious correlations between PVFs and attitudes, the same PVF may be used to express (or betray) joy or anger, i.e. opposite emotions. In fictional discourse, however, things are often simpler as the interpretative process is often spelt out by the author. When dealing with PVFs, writers can choose to encode either a *phonetic feature* or an *attitudinal feature*. Prototypically, two types of comment may be used:

> […] Rabbit said **in a loud voice** "In you go, Roo!" (p.102) (phonetic feature encoded)
> "Am I," said Pooh **hopefully** (p.43) (attitude encoded)

Both types can of course be associated although, in *Winnie-the-Pooh,* this is much rarer:

> "Did you see me swimming?" **squeaked** Roo **excitedly**. (p.125). (phonetic feature and attitude encoded)

In terms of reception, when the phonetic feature is indicated, the reader has to recover the attitude (1); when the attitude is indicated (2), the reader has to work out some possible PVFs. Finally, when both phonetic and attitudinal features are encoded, the reader has less interpretative effort to make (3). The first two cases are cognitively more taxing and, as a consequence, increase readerly involvement as the reader actively participates in the construction of meaning. This can be summarised as follows:

PVMs	(1) *Rabbit said* ***in a loud voice***	(2) *Said Roo* ***rather sadly***	(3) ***cried*** *Pooh* ***eagerly***
Semantically given	'loudness'	'sadness'	'loudness' 'joy'
Contextually recovered	Eg. 'anger'	Eg. 'slow tempo'	-

Processing paralinguistic vocal features

All these examples are cases of congruence between the PVF (and PVM) and the actual content of the utterance. Sometimes though, in rare cases, the paralinguistic information contradicts the propositional content of the utterance, giving rise to irony (Kohn and Yarbrough, 2010). The most famous case in *WP*, that now appears on mugs and postcards, is the following:

> "Pooh," said Rabbit kindly, "You haven't any brain."
> "I know,' said Pooh humbly. (p.93)

It could be argued that specific syntactic arrangements, unusual word order and such like could imply paralinguistic encoding. In this paper however, only explicit PVMs, what Schötz (2002: 6) calls "paralinguistic lexica", will be considered, especially when they accompany DS. Crystal (1995) establishes there are about 600 possible substitutes for *said* and that twentieth-century novelists use only about 50 of them. The different choices made by different authors are indicative of their "paralinguistic signature"[2].

Foregrounding polyphonic voices in *Winnie-the-Pooh*

A spoken- discourse narrative situation

The spoken medium is foregrounded as early as the introduction. The first sentence is a direct address to the reader / listener. "If **you**[3] happen to have read another book…" (ix). The same technique is taken up again at the beginning of the second paragraph: "**You** can't be in London for long without going to the zoo." (ix). The third paragraph starts with a first-person pronoun: "**I** had written as far as this …" (x). The I / you relationship, suggesting interpersonal interaction, is salient from the start and diverges from traditional narratives.

Similarly, reporting verbs (*call*, *say*, *explain*, *whisper* etc.) are used copiously in the introduction and create an atmosphere of brisk *spoken* interaction this time.

2 This being said, a certain paralinguistic homogeneity may be suspected in children's literature but this empirical impression needs to be confirmed.
3 In this article, bold character indicates my emphasis.

The tension between spoken and written discourse is indirectly alluded to with references to WAYIN and WAYOUT (note the absence of spaces). The narrator remains ambiguous as to the exact meaning of those terms and it is not clear whether they refer to the entrance and exit of the zoo (which they do!) or to the people following the traditional route to see the various animals. In doing so, the narrator adopts the point of view of a child lacking reading proficiency.

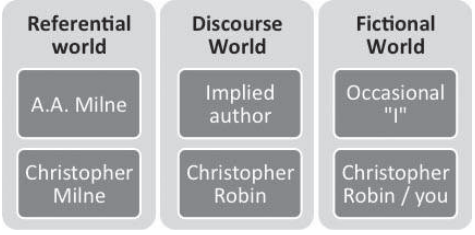
The introduction also establishes clear boundaries between the referential world and the fictional world only to blur them. It is known that Christopher Robin is the fictional counterpart of Milne's own son Christopher. Thwaite (2017: xv) explains:

> The tragedy of Milne's success is that it trapped a real child in that moment like a fly in amber and made it almost impossible for him to become that thing that every child wants to become – a grown up.

The character of Winnie can be traced back to a female bear in the London zoo that Christopher Milne almost certainly met (Thwaite, 2017: 123-125). Eeyore and Piglet, along with Kanga and Roo, were toys bought at Harrods', present in Christopher's nursery. This information is provided in the introduction but somewhat allusively and seems to be based on presupposition, implying previous knowledge. Things start to get blurred when a cuddly toy, Piglet, starts interacting with the narrator:

> I had written as far as this when Piglet looked up and said in his squealy voice, "What about Me?" (x).

This kind of shift from the actual to the fictional is common in children's literature. In this case, however, the cross-over is pretty intricate. The reason for this is that *Winnie-the-Pooh* was first written by A.A. Milne for his son, Christopher. The first chapter foregrounds the I/you relationship and although at the beginning, Christopher is the narrator's addressee, he slowly becomes a character before disappearing to make space for a more generic *you*. A simplified version of the narrative situation, loosely based on Text World Theory (Semino, 1997), can be summarised as follows:



Narrative situation in WP

In chapter 1, the narrator remains a first-person narrator addressing Christopher Robin as *you*. At this stage, Christopher Robin is the listener and he sometimes interacts with the narrator:

> When I first heard [Winnie the Pooh's] name, I said, just as you are going to say, "But I thought he was a boy?"
> "So did I," said Christopher Robin. (p.3)

Progressively, Christopher Robin's interactions with the narrator appear in italics, the status of which is ambiguous as they, by definition, only exist in the written version. To the reader, it suggests a smooth and progressive sliding into the fictional world. This happens precisely after the heavily-loaded expression "Once upon a time" (p.4) is used. This expression, however, is not used traditionally and the author seems prone to breaking the codes of children's narratives:

> Once upon a time, a very long time ago now, about last Friday… (p. 4)

In the same paragraph, Christopher Robin asks a question on behalf of the toy bear accompanying him. A moment later, the bear himself intervenes: "'Now I am', said a growly voice"[4] (p. 5). The problem is that this interaction occurs in the Discourse World, which seems indeed to be slipping in the Fictional World, where cuddly toys can speak. This shift from the Discourse World to the Fictional World is confirmed when Christopher Robin realises he is part of the story:

> And the first person [Winnie the Pooh] thought of was Christopher Robin.
> *("Was that me?" said Christopher Robin in an awed voice, hardly daring to believe it.*
> *"That was you"*
> *Christopher Robin said nothing, but his eyes got larger and larger, and his face got pinker and pinker.)* (p. 10)

At this stage, Christopher's readerly involvement is total and, as a consequence, the child-listener will follow suit, empathise with Christopher and identify with him. The identification process is helped by the almost systematic use of *you* in the rest of the text to refer to Christopher Robin. Thanks to the deletion of the name, the child-listener will identify more readily with and will also fancy himself as a fictional character.

4 We can only speculate as to the enunciative source of this utterance. Is it the narrator assuming a bear voice or, as suggested by Thwaite, Christopher speaking in the bear's stead as children do.

At this stage, the spoken interaction is established; the distinction between the referential and the fictional worlds is abolished: the story may begin.

PVMs and characterisation

PVMs are very adequate tools to maintain the vividness of the various interactions and to increase readerly involvement. They are also used to describe the various characters and highlight moments of tension. These aspects are developed at length in Jobert (2019) and only a couple of examples will be provided here.

The same PVMs may be used both to characterise the various protagonists and to render their emotional states. Although all these markers count as orality markers, they do not serve the same function. Culpeper (2001, 2015) solves this problem by equating voices with personality types. Although this may (or may not) be the case, it does not solve the problem of teasing apart the character's norm and their use of certain PVFs because of some non-permanent psychological state. Sometimes, the narrator clarifies the situation:

> [Piglet] said in **his** squeaky voice (x)

In most cases, however, only a close contextual analysis may clarify the situation. This is, incidentally, no different from what happens in naturally-occurring situations, as Rensky (1966: 98) explains:

> It takes as much as an hour of listening to distinguish the individually stable vocal background of some speakers from modulations with communicative functions.

The case of Roo's mother, Kanga, is interesting as she expresses various emotions and it can very well be thought that her attitude changes with the different situations she finds herself in. Yet, most of them (*soothingly*, *rather severely*, *anxiously* or *reproachfully*) could fall under the umbrella term of "parenting". Culpeper's stance may be valid in such – rare – cases. They therefore are PVFs that are used almost permanently and may become second-nature and part of the character's permanent features. In such cases, these features can be defined as hybrid features (i.e. both permanent and paralinguistic).

PVMs in moments of tension

In most stories and in children's narratives in particular, the plot alternates between moments of preparations, complicating actions and resolutions. This is undoubtedly the case in *Winnie-the-Pooh*. When the various characters are

in (relative) danger or when the story reaches a critical moment, PVFs are used decisively.

The beginning of chapter 2 is a good example of the use of PVMs when the situation gets complicated. Pooh decides to pay Rabbit a visit and the conversational preliminaries[5] are somewhat protracted:

> So he bent down, put his head into the hole, and called out:
> "Is anybody at home?"
> There was a sudden scuffling noise from inside the hole, and then silence.
> "What I said was, 'Is anybody at home?'" called out Pooh **very loudly**.
> "No:" said a voice: and then added, "You needn't **shout so loud**. I heard you quite well the first time."
> "Bother!" said Pooh. "Isn't there anybody here at all?"
> "Nobody" (p.24)

Not only is Rabbit's second part (of the adjacency pair initiated by Pooh) a dispreferred second but it is also an incongruous one. What matters here is that Rabbit should focus on the PFV used by Pooh (loudness), oblivious as he is to the actual content of Pooh's utterance. It takes Pooh quite a while to work out that "Nobody" must have been said by somebody. What follows focuses on the characters' permanent features as Rabbit tries to change his voice (""No," said Rabbit, in a different sort of voice this time." p.25). Yet, Pooh is not fooled:

> "But isn't that Rabbit's voice?"
> "I don't *think* so," said Rabbit. "It isn't *meant* to be. (p.25)

What is striking here is the narrator's meta-paralinguistic awareness. As often, when the resolution occurs, i.e. when Rabbit accepts to reveal his identity to Pooh and to let him in, a sort of paralinguistic harmony seals the restoration of order:

> "But this *is* Me!" said Bear**, very much surprised**.
> "What sort of Me?"
> "Pooh Bear."
> "Are you quite sure? Said Rabbit, **still more surprised**.
> "Quite, quite sure," said Pooh.
> "Oh, well, then, come in." (p. 25)

5 Our general framework for conversational analysis is based on Levinson (1983).

Rabbit uses pre-sequences to delay his acceptation. The pattern is then i) incomprehension, ii) surprise, iii) acceptation. It is not clear whether there is a *quid pro quo* or if Rabbit is just being difficult. What is certain is that PVMs accompany emotionally charged moments. This pattern (with variations) is prototypical of the conversations present in *Winnie-the-Pooh*.

Reading-aloud: a case-study

As seen in the previous sections, *WP* is swarming with orality markers and especially PVMs guiding the reader / listener in the interpretation process. Alan Bennett's reading actually belongs to a very traditional type of audiobooks that gives the impression that one is being read to as opposed to other types that take more liberties with the original. In Alan Bennett's 1984 reading, produced by the BBC Radio collection, there are very few sound effects apart from a short piece of music in between the different tracks[6]. In comparison, the 2002 unabridged version of *The House at Pooh Corner*, with a cast including Stephen Fry, Judi Dench, Geoffrey Palmer, Jane Horrocks and Michael Williams belongs to an entirely different category. A comprehensive contrastive analysis of the two productions would be interesting. Suffice it to say that *The House at Pooh Corner* is much more elaborate and, although the performance is altogether more pleasant to listen to, it is a totally different experience from having a single reader-aloud, who is, at the same time, the narrator and the different characters[7].

Alan Bennett's reading is an abridged version (playing time 1 hour and 5 minutes). Cuts, and sometimes drastic cuts, have been made. For instance, Christopher Robin's already mentioned intervention when the text shifts from the actual to the fictional is altogether lost. Similarly, *you* is replaced by *Christopher Robin* in the spoken text, which (over)simplifies the narrative situation previously discussed.

The question of the reading the PVMs aloud must be addressed. Indeed, as they indicate how the utterances ought to be spoken, they may very well be thought of as superfluous in a spoken version. Yet, they are generally kept by the reader-aloud:

> **WRITTEN TEXT**
> 'It all comes,' said pooh **crossly**, 'of not having front doors big enough.'
> 'It all comes,' said Rabbit **sternly**, 'of eating too much'. (p. 28)

6 See Ouvry-Vial (2011) for a comparison with *Père Castor*.
7 For more on the evolution of audiobooks and the characteristics of each type, see Matthew Rubery (2016), especially, chapter 9.

SPOKEN TEXT
'It all comes,' said pooh **crossly**, 'of not having front doors big enough.'
'It all comes,' said Rabbit **sternly**, 'of eating too much'. (File 3, 0'36")

This exact mapping between the written and the spoken text is by far the most common case. Not only are the PVMs included in the reported clauses, but they are also conveyed vocally. Furthermore, the fact that neither Pooh nor Rabbit is happy with the situation is duplicated by the parallel structure in the DS and in the reporting clause. It could be argued that the same phonetic features are used for both "crossly" and "sternly" and that the spoken rendition is not a faithful one but that would be missing the point as what is conveyed is their mutual dissatisfaction. In the same episode, several similar cases are present:

'How long does getting thin take?" asked Pooh **anxiously**.
[…]
'We'll read to you,' said Rabbit **cheerfully**.
[…]
'A week!' said pooh **gloomily**. (p. 30; File 3, 4'00, 4'10, 4'30)

In such cases, the PVMs are vocalised and their meanings are translated into DS. This semiotic redundancy is obviously helpful to the listening child and contributes to the *texture* of both the written and the spoken texts. Sometimes, though, PVMs disappear from the spoken text but are maintained vocally:

WRITTEN TEXT
"Hooray!" you shouted.
"Isn't that fine?" shouted Winnie-the-Pooh down to you. "What do I look like?"
"You look like a bear holding on to a balloon," you said.
"Not," said Pooh anxiously," –not like a small black cloud in a blue sky?" (p. 14)

SPOKEN TEXT
"Hooray!" ~~you~~ **Christopher Robin shouted**.
"Isn't that fine?" shouted Winnie-the-Pooh down to ~~you~~[8] **him**. "What do I look like?"
"You look like a bear holding on to a balloon," ~~you said~~.
"Not," ~~said Pooh anxiously~~," —not like a small black cloud in a blue sky?" (File 2, 00'29")

8 Passages edited out from the written version have been crossed.

Christopher Robin's loudness (implied by the verb *shout*) is translated vocally. It is a clear case of redundancy as the PVM only confirms what has been encoded vocally. Conversely, although the PVM included in the reporting clause is not spoken, Pooh's words are indeed spoken with anxiety. Although there is no longer any redundancy, the attitudinal message is not lost. This case, which is not the most frequent one, is probably the most logical one, i.e. PVMs are "prose stage directions" and as such they disappear when the text is vocalised.

In the same episode, the PVM is not spoken but surprisingly, it is not compensated by any PVFs:

> **WRITTEN TEXT**
> "Christopher Robin!" he said in a loud whisper. (p. 15)
>
> **SPOKEN TEXT**
> "Christopher Robin!" ~~he said in a loud whisper~~. (File 2, 1'10")

It could have been thought that editing out reporting clauses was simply a question of obtaining a shorter version of the text. Here, not only is the reporting clause obliterated but its meaning is not conveyed vocally (which would not have taken any longer). Contextually, the "loud whisper" is motivated: Pooh does not want to be heard by the bees. Ignoring the PVMs *and* the PVFs, although it does not get in the way of the interpretation process, certainly does not help it. The case is more delicate in the previously discussed interaction between Pooh and Rabbit:

> **WRITTEN TEXT**
> "What I said was, 'is anybody at home?'" called out pooh very loudly. (p. 24)
>
> **SPOKEN TEXT**
> "What I said was, 'is anybody at home?'" ~~called out pooh very loudly~~. (File 3, 0'42")

The PVMs are not spoken, nor are the PVFs conveyed vocally. What is surprising is that the PVM is straightforward (loudness) and underscored ("**very** loudly"). The problem is that Rabbit's comment: "You needn't shout so loud" (p. 24) does not make sense in context and can only be attributed to some psychological disorder, something that the rest of his behaviour seems to confirm. Alan Bennett is elsewhere very able vocally and this deficiency cannot be put down to any lack of vocal dexterity.

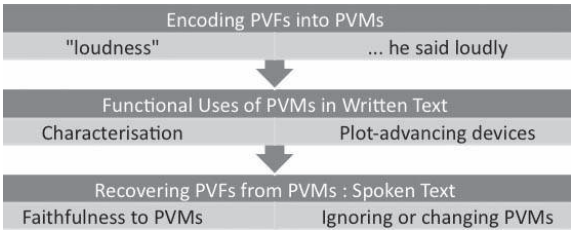
In chapter 4, something different is achieved through the manipulation of PVFs and PVMs. Eeyore has lost his tail and Pooh comes across it at Owl's, the latter having mistaken it for a bell-rope. In this case, the reader-aloud is faithful to the written text and the reporting clause is duly spoken:

> 'Owl,' **said Pooh solemnly**, 'you made a mistake. Somebody did want it.'
> 'Who?'
> 'Eeyore. My dear friend Eeyore. He was—he was fond of it.'
> 'Fond of it?'
> 'Attached to it,' **said Winnie-the-Pooh sadly**. (p. 54, File VI, 3'52")

In Pooh's first turn, there is congruence between the PVM (*solemnly*) and the spoken realisation. In Pooh's last turn however, there is a discrepancy between the PVM (*sadly*) and the PVFs actually used. At the psychological level, Pooh is indeed too dim for *double-entendre* or irony. The written text is therefore in keeping with his character. He is sad because Eeyore has lost his tail and he has to tell Owl about his mistake. Alan Bennett does not follow the indications of the PVM and the vocal dissonance created signals that a non-literal meaning is implied. This is clearly performed to let the child-listener in on the play on words.

Conclusion

Following Jobert (2019), this article studies how PVFs and PVMs are used in *Winnie-the-Pooh.* The first part has presented paralinguistic encoding in the written text while the second part has shown the foregrounding of vocal interactions in the story. It has also given examples of how PVMs are used as characterisation and as plot-advancing devices. The last part has focused on various vocalisations of PVMs in Alan Bennett's 1984 recording of the story. In other words, this article has moved from the way PVFs are encoded to become PVMs before focusing on the functional role of PVMs in the texture of the narrative before showing how PVMs can finally be vocalised. This process or "Paralinguistic Matrix" goes full circle (from oral features to written features back to oral features) and can be symbolised as follows:



The Paralinguistic Matrix

The "Paralinguistic Matrix" is the process whereby phonetic features (i) are transformed into written markers, themselves transformed back into phonetic

features (ii). However, two caveats should be kept in mind. First of all, phonetic features (i) and phonetic features (ii) do not necessarily exactly correspond as some information may have been lost either at the encoding or at the decoding stage. Secondly, in fictional dialogue, phonetic features (i) never existed except in the writer's imagination. However, some news reports sometimes use PVMs to enliven their written transcripts of spoken interviews. In such cases, phonetic features (i) exist. Furthermore, positing that phonetic features (i) never existed goes against the "willing suspension of disbelief". Finally, in the case of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, some of the interactions between the narrator and Christopher may have existed in the referential world.

Although the Paralinguistic Matrix explains the process, it does not account for all the possibilities. Alan Bennett for instance adopts various reading strategies when it comes to PVMs and PVFs. He runs the entire gamut between a faithful rendition to an idiosyncratic – albeit clever – interpretation. Some information on how readers-aloud prepare their readings would be crucial. So far, and despite several requests, nothing has been divulged by audiobook producers. Some choices, like cutting the entire introduction for instance, are meaningful. Others, such as not conveying certain paralinguistic information onto DS may be random phenomena. This study has remained qualitative and a systematic, quantitative study, may shed some light on the way readers-aloud take on board – or not – as the case may be – paralinguistic information and children's literature seems to be a promising field for further studies.

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