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A CASE STUDY COMPARING DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY
A CHILD AT BOTH PRE AND EARLY SCHOOL YEARS AS THEY SEEK TO
MAKE SENSE OF THE WORLD THAT SURROUNDS THEM

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Ročník: 3.

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I confirm that this thesis is my own work written using solely the sources and literature properly quoted and acknowledged as works cited.

České Budějovice, 05.12.2022

.....

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Poděkování

Na tomto místě bych ráda poděkovala vedoucí mojí práce, paní Mgr. Heleně Lohrové, Ph.D. za spolupráci, pomoc a velikou ochotu. Velký dík patří i mé sestře, která svým souhlasem a pomocí při sběru dat umožnila uskutečnění této práce. V neposlední řadě patří obrovské poděkování mé rodině, která mě při psaní podporovala, motivovala a bez které bych tuto práci nemohla dokončit.

Anotace

Tato diplomová práce si klade za cíl analyzovat narativní interakci mezi dítětem (Natálkou) a dospělou osobou s ohledem na diskurzivní strategie v kontextu představivosti a kreativity. Ve své práci jsem použila metodu konverzační analýzy, kterou jsem následně aplikovala na transkripční přepisy audio nahrávek, jež byly pořízeny během dvou časových období: v roce 2018 a na přelomu roku 2020 při interakci mezi Natálkou a mnou. Analýza dat odhalila, že v repertoáru dítěte byly přítomny následující praktiky: (1) spojování dvou či více epizod ve vyprávění, (2) kladení otázek, (3) oddělování jednotlivých témat a (4) použití dalších diskurzivních elementů, konkrétně humoru, zveličování či nadsázky a vyjednávacích taktik. První část práce se podrobně věnuje diskurzivním praktikám a vysvětluje rozdíly mezi představivostí a kreativitou. Tato případová studie následně mapuje jakým způsobem se v průběhu dvou let vyvinulo použití zkoumaných strategií a charakterizuje, jak tyto změny reflektují kognitivní vývoj dítěte.

Klíčová slova: interakce, vývoj dětského narativu, diskurzivní praktiky, představivost a kreativita, kognitivní vývoj, konverzační analýza

Abstract

The present thesis aims to analyse a narrative interaction between a child (Natálka) and an adult with regard to discursive strategies employed in the context of imagination and creativity. I applied the method of Conversation Analysis to the examination of the transcribed audio recordings that were taken in 2018 and at the turn of 2020 during the interaction between Natálka and myself. An analysis of the data identified that in the child's repertoire the following practices were present: (1) linking two or more episodes in a conversation, (2) asking questions, (3) separating individual topics, and (4) using other discourse elements; concretely humour, exaggeration, and negotiation techniques. The first part of the thesis sets out the discursive practices examined and argues for the insights these provide into the imagination and creativity of a child. The analysis, which is undertaken in the form of a case study, subsequently maps the use of the selected strategies developed over two years of Natálka's life and characterises how these changes reflect the child's cognitive development.

Key words: interaction, child narrative development, discursive strategies, imagination and creativity, cognitive development, Conversation Analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

This longitudinal case study aims to introduce and demonstrate how a child uses the selected discursive strategies in child-adult conversation comparing their function in both pre- and early school years and mapping the child's cognitive shift. This interaction takes place in a family environment, between an aunt and niece; therefore, it is considered a natural conversation. The term “discursive strategies” refers to linguistic devices that speakers use intending to provoke a certain reaction. They are linguistic means of a subjective nature, which can be divided into several types (e.g., descriptive, exhibitions, narrative, etc.)¹. This research focuses on narrative episodes in which specific discursive strategies were repeatedly manifested. Narration as a tool of knowledge and identification with different values and the world around the child which is typically used to describe events that happened in chronological order is examined in the context of imagination and creativity.

In the preschool years, the child's cognitive development is rapid and they benefit from their powers of observation. The child already has life experience in the area of self-expression; they can recognise many things and begin to understand and think about the world in greater detail. In the interaction, the child uses not only referential description but also many discursive strategies to form relationships between various elements in the narrative, which increases the complexity of thinking.

The rapid development of vocabulary is also typical for preschool age children, as William O'Grady describes in his book, *How Children Learn Language* (2005). The first steps are quite slow; children learn one or two new words per day. However, the pace of learning changes at the age of 18 months when the so-called “vocabulary spurt” begins and children begin to learn the language quickly. Particularly noticeable is the increasing number of words in their vocabulary, as described in the following excerpt from O'Grady's *How Children Learn Language – What Every Parent Should Know* (2007):

Between age two and six, they average ten new words a day—almost one for every waking hour and often after hearing it just once or twice! By age six, they have a vocabulary of about 14,000 words, but they're far from finished. Over the next several years, they move even faster, learning as many as twenty new words per day. (2)

¹ “Discursive Strategies Concept Types and Examples”. *Englopedia*. © 2022. [Accessed on 25.11.2022]. <https://englopedia.com/the-discursive-strategies-and-types/>

The narrative conversation is an important source of knowledge and plays an important role in the cognitive development of a young child as it establishes contact with the surrounding world. Through interaction, the child learns and develops language skills (e.g., grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation) and communicative competence (e.g., how to express their ideas, feelings, or dreams), which is reflected in the use of discursive strategies. Most importantly, the child gains the necessary knowledge about the world that surrounds them and a better understanding of how it works. The encounter with different personalities and unexpected situations is crucial for the child because in the future they will know how to deal with similar challenges and what strategies they can use. The contact with the outside world further helps them to realise which position in society they occupy.

In my previous research (Šimková, 2019), I analysed how a child tells stories focusing on determining the parameters of the story through the lenses of imagination and creativity. The process of storytelling was examined on Data Set One collected in 2018, when Natálka, my niece, was four years old. I described in detail how Natálka connected two or more episodes while narrating a story and how she introduced or digressed from the topic. In my diploma thesis, I decided to revisit the features of both story development and topic orientation markers for a number of reasons:

First, I was interested to see whether Natálka used the identical discursive strategies in Data Set Two collected at the turn of 2020.

Second, although many studies focus on the interconnection between episodes (i.e., *and*, *then*, *cause*, and *enable* connectors) and topic orientation markers (i.e., topic orientation markers used for introducing, adding or continuing, returning, and digressing from the topic), none describes their development in child-adult narrative interactions.

Finally, as far as I know, neither of these two areas has been analysed in terms of how it informs about the child's understanding of the world around them.

The third strategy I chose was asking questions. Interrogation appeared frequently in the data and could thus provide valuable information about how the child understands the world around them. I further divided this category into three sections dealing with the question *why*, words beginning with “wh-“ which denote a question: who, what, when, where, which, and how hereafter referred to as “wh- question”, and other types (i.e., tag question, a phrase *you know*, and polite questions). As far as I know, the latter is not represented in any

research; however, examining these types of questions that often are not taken into consideration is revealing in terms of how and to what ends the child uses these interactional devices in the conversation.

As a fourth strategy, I included other discourse features in the analysis undertaken; namely sense of humour, exaggeration, and negotiation strategies. These discursive devices are directly related to how a child's imagination, creativity, and cognitive development are manifested in interaction.

The analysis undertaken was performed on two data sets: I follow the data recorded in 2018 when Natálka was four years old, and the data that were collected in 2020 when she was six years old. Both collections are interconnected with the interaction between an adult and a child. However, the preschool age child communicates predominantly during playing games, whereas the school age child communicates through a combination of playing games and narrative interaction. There is an appreciable shift between her ability to express herself at preschool and early school age.

Chapter 2 introduces key terminology that forms the bedrock to the analysis of the interaction between Natálka and me. Namely, it reviews the literature regarding discursive strategies (2.1), and imagination and creativity (2.2) emphasising the relationship between these two abilities. Chapter 3 introduces the methodology of Conversation Analysis adopted in this case study (3.1) and its application to the examination of discursive strategies (3.2). Chapter 4 describes the data collected in Data Set One (4.1), Data Set Two (4.2), outlines the transcription principles adopted (4.3), and the process of transcript translation (4.4). The analytical part is divided into four subchapters corresponding with the type of individual discursive strategies examined; i.e., the interconnection between episodes (5.1), asking questions (5.2), topic orientation markers (5.3), and other discourse features (5.4); namely, humour, exaggeration, and negotiation strategies. The main findings of the analysis are summarised in the conclusion.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review introduces the selected discursive strategies as they have been established in the fields of Discourse and Conversation Analysis. Subchapter 2.1 defines discourse important to understand the occurrence of the selected strategies. It discusses the concept of these practices as they form the core of the analysis undertaken and describes each

type in detail. Subchapter 2.2 defines the terms “imagination” and “creativity” emphasising the main difference between these two concepts. Both abilities are of great importance in a child's cognitive development and their impact is clearly noticeable in the conversation between Natálka and myself as can be seen in both data sets.

2.1. DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES

Discursive strategies help to achieve an interactional goal persuaded in a particular part of the discourse. For example, if the purpose of the discourse is to find an agreement or a compromise, the text producer will probably use negotiation strategies. It is through transcripts of authentic interactions that discursive strategies can be identified and examined not only in terms of their use and function in the conversation but also in terms of how the use of these strategies reports on what the text producer thinks and how they understand the world around them.

Discourse can be understood as all types of text, either written or spoken, that were produced in a particular context and for a specific purpose; e.g., to affect the recipients on the other side or to provoke them to think, feel, or act in a certain way using different discursive strategies. The goal of the text producer can be achieved only when the recipient thinks about the concrete text in discourse that is easy to comprehend, as Widdowson (2007) stated. He further provided an insight into the matter of discourse when he said:

People produce texts to get a message across, to express ideas and beliefs, to explain something, to get other people to do certain things or to think in a certain way, and so on. We can refer to this complex of communicative purposes as the discourse that underlies the text and motivates its production in the first place (6).

Wetherell (2001) claims that interaction is not composed of strict rules that must be obeyed at all costs, but discursive strategies are “flexible and creative resources” (20). That is, participants in the conversation can create new genres by combining them with one another. In the flow of the interaction, they take turns in which they choose different types of discursive activities; concretely it can be understood as using various methods when they ask a question, repair mistakes, make requests, etc. Ethnomethodology perceives these as “people's methods for doing everyday life” (20) as people use them daily. The mentioned examples of discursive strategies can therefore be considered to be one of the essential skills of communicative competence.

Researchers sometimes refer to discursive strategies as discursive practices. According to Young (2010), practice is multimodal and inseparable from context. It means that the conversation is always dependent on time (not just present, but also past and future), environment, objects (both present and absent), participants, and reason for the interaction. Therefore, practice is viewed as a human act in a particular context. Strategy, on the other hand, is a specific scheme through which people tend to achieve a certain goal. Nevertheless, both terms are related to the same matter, since they refer to the particular action that is taken by the participants in the conversation.

For the analysis I selected four types of discursive strategies Natálka used in her narrative interactions; namely, (1) interconnection among episodes, (2) asking questions, (3) topic orientation markers, and (4) other discourse features (e.g., humour, exaggeration, negotiation strategies). In the following sections, I present them in detail.

2.1.1. INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN EPISODES

Interconnection between episodes has been discussed by a great number of authors in literature, including Stein and Glenn (1975), Mandler and Johnson (1977), Stein (1978), Stein and Albro (1997), and Chrząstka (2002). They found that there are four main relations used to form a story: *and*, *then*, *cause* and *enable* connectors. The basic characteristics of the relationships can be seen in Figure 1 (see below). Figure 1 does not include the *enable* relation but is introduced and discussed in Stein and Albro (1997) and Chrząstka (2002). According to Stein and Albro (1997), the *then* and *cause* relations are the most frequently used connectors in the storyline.

Figure 1: Characteristics of story connectors according to Stein and Glenn (58)

Intra-category connectors:

- AND:** includes simultaneous or a temporal relation.
- THEN:** includes temporal but not direct causal relations.
- CAUSE:** includes temporal relations which are causal in nature.

The *and* relation refers to the connection of two or more episodes that occur at the same time, but they have no temporal structure. It means that the individual events in the episodes may have occurred in the reverse order than was introduced in the storyline, and they may even have appeared in different periods. Mandler and Johnson (1977) state that “the AND relation connects two nodes when the notion of simultaneous activity or temporally

overlapping states is being expressed (115).” This type of relation is typically used for linking statements.

Unlike the *and* relation, the *then* relation describes the case in which two episodes are temporally connected and ordered. Chrz (2002) asserts that this type of relation typically occurs in parts of the narrative in which children describe “a series of successive common activities”². The first episode precedes the second, where the first statement may create the necessary and essential precondition for the second episode to occur. Nevertheless, the favourable environment in the first episode does not directly cause the second to appear. Stein and Albro (1997) claim that the order of the individual episodes is arbitrary; therefore it is possible to use them in reverse order. According to Mandler and Johnson (1977), it is possible to distinguish two types of the *then* relation (see below). The first type confirms Stein and Albro's (1997) statement that individual episodes are reversible.

In one, two events are temporally ordered but it is fortuitous which comes first; in the other, the ordering is determined by enabling relations (Schank, 1973a) or by expected sequences of action in the world. The latter connection is not reversible in the same way as the former (115-116).

The *enable* relationship implies that individual episodes are causally linked. According to Stein and Albro (1997) and Chrz (2002), this relation is used to express the weak form of such a connection. The first statement incorporates within itself necessary but not sufficient preconditions for the second statement. In other words, if the first episode did not occur, the second would not have occurred either. Chrz (2002) found out that this weak form of causal relation significantly predominated in his data collection. The result of his research is in contradiction to the analysis undertaken by Stein and Albro (1997), which revealed that the most frequent connector was the *cause* relationship.

Chrz (67) illustrates the *enable* relationship with an example of a girl's story in which Klaudie was drowning but then was saved by Michael Jackson. Chrz explains that the event of drowning is a necessary condition for the following rescue, but it is not a sufficient criterion. He claims that if the sufficiency was fulfilled, it would mean that Klaudie cannot drown.

When Stein and Albro (1997) introduced the phenomenon of the *enable* relation they used the formulation of the goal, “I wish it would stop raining” (30) as an example. The

² Translated by the author from the Czech language to the English language.

occurrence of rain fulfills the necessity criterion, as the wish of the person could not be expressed without the presence of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, the rain itself is not sufficient for the formulation of the goal. Someone who likes the rain would not share the same wish. Instead of stopping the phenomenon, they might dance and sing while walking in the rain. They concluded that “the mere presence of rain does not guarantee the emergence of the wish to have it stop raining (30).”

Analogously to the *enable* connector, the *cause* relation expresses the causal link between the individual episodes. However, the difference is that the *cause* relationship is used as a strong form of such a connection (Stein and Albro, 1997; Chrz, 2002). The first episode sets up a reason for the presence of the second one. In other words, it creates both necessary and sufficient preconditions for the second episode. If the first statement did not appear, neither would the second. The first episode incorporates necessary but not sufficient preconditions for the second one. In other words, if the first episode did not occur, the second one would not have occurred either. Mandler and Johnson (1977) declare that the causal relationship between the individual statements expresses an unrestricted nature, which mostly indicates the sufficiency criterion rather than the necessity. However, according to Mandler and Johnson (1977), the *cause* relation is used to link two or more episodes “in a tighter, more integrated structure” (116) than when the statements are connected with the *then* or *and* relationship.

To describe the *cause* relation, Chrz (67-68) used a story about children who climbed up the tree on which a beehive was located. When Honza, the last child, was climbing to the top of the tree, the bees started to sting him, which resulted in Honza's fall from the tree. The occurrence of the bee sting in the first episode caused the appearance of the second episode in which Honza fell from the tree. However, Chrz stated that even in this case, it cannot be precisely determined whether the bee sting is a sufficient criterion for the fall. In his point of view, the logical conditions of necessity and sufficiency can be applied only in the sense of more or less.

In Stein and Albro (30-31), an example of the *cause* connector is reflexive behaviour. It means that loud noise (e.g., fireworks, alarm, or even sneezing) almost always causes the person to be startled, especially when it is unexpected. The loud noise, therefore, is seen as both a necessary and sufficient condition for the startle effect. Deciding whether the event in the first episode creates a necessary criterion for the second can be judged by “a “no” answer

to a counterfactual question (Stein and Albro, 31).” In the above example, the question would be: Would the person be startled if there was no loud noise? Analysing the sufficient condition is not as easy as in the case of necessity. According to Stein and Albro (1997), in most situations, other events could also cause the second episode. The reason for fright is not just a loud noise; it could also be an animal (e.g., a cat that suddenly bites your leg, a spider, etc.), a fast-driving car, or a person standing behind you, whose presence you did not notice.

Although research has illuminated the basic principles of sense relations used by children, to date no study has examined its development. For that reason, this longitudinal study tries to provide an overview of whether the child used this discursive strategy in an unchanged form over the course of two years, and if not, how this practice has changed. The question now is how the interconnection between episodes can be used to explain the child's cognitive development.

2.1.2. ASKING QUESTIONS

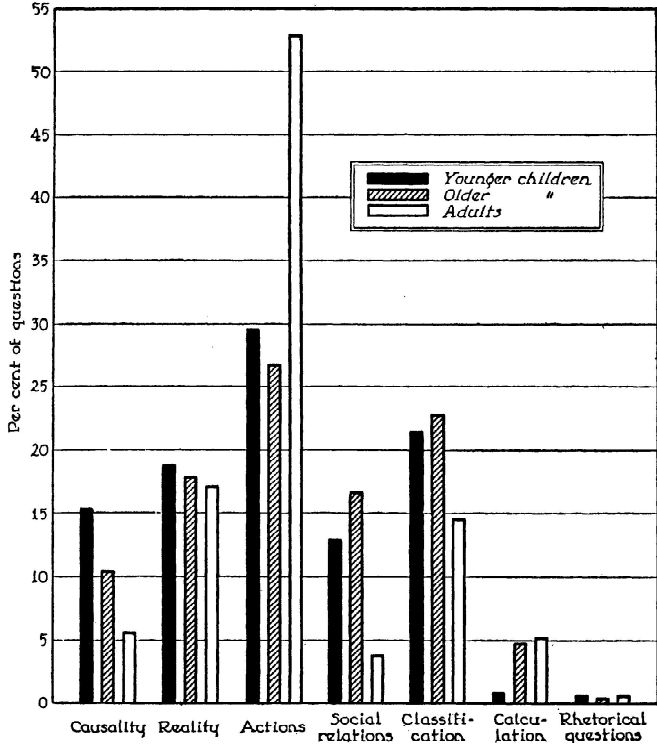
A large number of existing studies in the broader literature have examined the use of children's “wh- questions”, including Chouinard (2007), Bloom, Merkin, and Janet (1982), Davis (1932). Chouinard (2007) asserts that children typically ask for facts; however, as they age they start looking for explanations. The following figure shows the percent of the two basic types of questions: (1) information-seeking (81% in total), which is further divided into two categories (i.e., facts and explanation), and (2) non-information-seeking (19% in total), which is divided into seven categories (e.g., attention, clarification, action, etc.).

Figure 2: Types of information sought by children (Chouinard, 48)

Question type	%
Information-seeking questions	81
Fact (information-seeking)	67
Explanation (information-seeking)	14
Non-information-seeking questions	19
Attention	1
Clarification	<1
Action	7
Permission	10
Play	<1
Child/animal addressee	<1
Unknown	1

In contrast, Davis (1932) addresses the form and function of “wh- questions” based on how often they are used by girls and boys. Subsequently, their functional categories are compared with adults (see below).

Figure 3: Percentage distribution among the functional categories of questions (Davis, 66)



Bloom, Merkin, and Janet (1982) contributed to the area concerning the syntactic functions of “wh- questions”, the selection of verbs, and the use of “wh-questions” in discourse. Their research also showed that when children acquire these questions, their order is as follows: *where*, *what*, *who*, *how*, and *why*. The questions *which*, *whose*, and *when* occurred rarely in the data collected.

There have been numerous studies investigating one of the fundamental children's questions; namely the question *why*. As many sources report, children start to use the question *why* around ages two or three, and continue into ages four and five (Mackey, 2018). According to Blank (4), there are four types of *why* questions used by a child. These are *why* of action (“Why did he lie down?”), function (“Why doesn't the pen write?”), justification (“Why do you think he was angry?”), and causal relations (“Why do heavy things sink?”). Blank (5) further claims that each category includes a wide range of possibilities and provides prototypical examples that are mentioned in the following sentence. *Why* of action may involve a statement of motivation (“He lay down because he wanted to rest.”), or a statement

of condition (“He lay down because his back hurt.”). On the other hand, *why* of function may require a statement of an attribute (“The pen doesn't work because the point is broken.”).

Asking questions is one of the key strategies that help children understand the world around them. This case study aims to document how “wh- questions” manifested themselves in the narrative conversation when the child was four and six years old and compares how the use of this discursive strategy developed in two years. Their use further reflects the child's cognitive development, which is part of this research.

Children's tag questions, polite questions, and phrase *you know* are previously unstudied in the literature because the main focus has been predominantly on the question *why*, which is especially crucial for young children. These unexplored areas can significantly contribute to the research of children's questions and clarify what effect these inconspicuous and often overlooked questions have on the development of the conversation, what the child wants to achieve by using them, and how their knowledge of the world is reflected in them. This case study lays the foundation for further research.

2.1.3. TOPIC ORIENTATION MARKERS

This discursive strategy was successfully established as described by Fraser (1996, 1997, 1988, 2009). Fraser (2009) introduces the so-called pragmatic markers and characterises them “as syntactic, lexical, phonological linguistic devices which play no role in determining the semantic meaning of the basic propositional content of a discourse segment of which they are a part, but do have a critical role in the interpretation of the utterance” (892). Fraser identified four distinct types; namely basic, commentary, discourse, and discourse management markers that are further divided into discourse structure markers, topic orientation markers, and attention markers.

According to Fraser (2009), topic orientation markers are typically used when the speaker wants to return to the previous topic (e.g., *I want to return, back to my point, returning to the prior topic*), add to, or continue with the present topic (e.g., *as I was saying, continuing, speaking of, I haven't finished yet*), digress from the present topic (e.g., *before I forget, by the way, that reminds me*), or introduce a new topic (e.g., *to change the topic, on a different topic, but*). These markers occur exclusively in one of four categories and, except for a few cases, they are not used in the other three. Topic orientation markers are situated in the

initial position in the sentence; some may appear also medially or even in the final position. Fraser (2009) further asserts:

[M]ost Topic Orientation Markers have only one semantic meaning that can be read off the lexical items (e.g., back to my point, to continue). Finally, while all of the markers of a specific class signal the nature of the topic orientation intended, they are by no means interchangeable. For example, incidentally and parenthetically are in the same class, but one cannot replace the other (894).

It is important to mention that Fraser's works only introduce and describe how adults use these markers in conversation. Fraser does not include the children's point of view. To fill this literature gap, this diploma thesis addresses the question of how topic orientation markers are used by a child in a narrative conversation between the child and an adult. Specifically, I offer insight into what strategies the child used when presenting a new topic, adding additional information to the ongoing topic, and how they returned to or digressed from the topic. A further question is what this says about the cognitive development of the child.

2.1.4. OTHER DISCOURSE FEATURES

There have been numerous studies to investigate the sense of humour and its meaning. It can be understood in many different ways and used for various purposes. For example, humour can play an important role in the development of friendships and social integration. According to Martin (2003), there are six possible approaches to this concept. Humour can be seen as a cognitive ability that people use in the process of creating, reproducing, and remembering jokes or as an aesthetic response (e.g., humor appreciation). It is a useful tool when dealing with negative emotions, which can serve as a defence mechanism (e.g., people sometimes pretend to be fine in a difficult or uncomfortable situation by using humour). Telling jokes to amuse others and frequently bursting into laughter can be considered behaviour patterns. This ability also refers to an attitude and an “emotion-related temperament trait” (Martin, 49). Martin (2003) further proposes four different humour styles that can be used in the conversation; namely, affiliative (amusing others, creating a healthy environment, self-deprecating humour), self-enhancing (coping mechanism), aggressive (e.g., sarcasm, teasing), and self-defeating humour (disparaging oneself in order to ingratiate oneself with others).

We can identify three main aspects of humour (Lyon, 2006). The first refers to productive activity, in which people typically tell jokes. The second is related to the reaction of the hearer (e.g., laughter). The last is classified as mixed humour. According to Lyon

(2006), a sense of humour can be seen as both a social and a personality phenomenon reflected by age and gender. It can help reduce negative emotions, provide an optimistic and healthy environment, and be a useful tool for learning. A sense of humour is classified as a skill; therefore, it can be developed, taught, and learned. Lyon (2006) further presents four stages of humour development that were introduced by Dr. Paul McGhee one of the most influential developmental psychologists. He asserts that with the development of imagination and pretence later at the age of two years, a sense of humour begins to emerge. For this case study, only stages three and four are relevant. The description of the third stage as characterised in Lyon (2006) can be seen below.

At stage 3 (3 to 5 years), the child requires a bit more distortion for a humorous effect because of the child's increased knowledge of the world. It isn't enough now to simply call a dog a kitty, it may be necessary for that doggy called kitty to meow, for example. Or, because a stage-3 child is often amused by an absurd visual, adding a long tail and small, pointed upright ears to the picture of a dog would enhance the humour to an age-appropriate level. Not, however, because it is illogical, but because it *looks* funny. The incongruity that causes humour at this stage is visual, not logical. (5).

She states that when children are six or seven years old, this ability begins to resemble the adults' sense of humour. In this fourth stage, children can identify the double meanings of words or sentences and they can also understand irony.

To my knowledge, no previous studies have investigated children's exaggeration that often occurs in their narratives. This case study attempts to outline how a child used this discursive practice, what effect it had on the narrative, and how it informed us about their cognitive development. Additional studies are required to understand more completely the key tenets of this strategy.

Children's negotiation strategies previously have been evaluated only to a limited extent because most research dealing with this phenomenon concerns adults. For example, Nguyen and Nguyen (2016) examined the development of request negotiation practices employed by a four-year-old child. This ability is one of the key skills that can be applied in a variety of situations. Any interaction with the surrounding world can easily become a potential place for negotiation. To achieve a set goal, it is often necessary to gain the attention of another party, to influence and convince them. The use of negotiation strategies is interesting to observe in the child's storytelling because they often are highly adept at persuasion. This ability sometimes requires a creative spirit, which can help in finding

solutions. Therefore, this case study provides insight into this phenomenon and further explores how the use of this discursive practice has changed over the course of two years.

2.2. IMAGINATION AND CREATIVITY

Imagination and creativity are inseparable components of human life that are especially important in the cognitive development of early childhood and their impact is clearly noticeable in child-adult conversation. They provide information about how children perceive and think about the world around them and how they establish relationships with their surroundings. In other words, imagination and creativity help them to learn about the surrounding world, which is reflected in the use of selected discursive strategies, such as asking questions. These two phenomena might sometimes be seen and understood in a similar way; however, both refer to a different ability, even though in most cases they are closely interlinked. This subchapter discusses and explains the main differences between imagination and creativity.

First, according to Davies, Atance, and Martin-Ordas (2011), imagination can be understood in three different ways:

1. as synonymous with creativity;
2. the process of generating a mental image; or
3. the generation or design of an (imagined) entity (e.g., an invention, or a hypothetical situation). (145)

The first definition (stating that imagination is sometimes used as a synonym for creativity) may seem to be rather inaccurate, as both terms refer to a slightly different ability. Generating a mental image refers to creating a detailed picture of a concept (e.g., object, person, or situation) in the mind even if it is not present in the surroundings. Even without a vivid mental image, we can visualise and design a given entity using our experience and creative spirit. Davies, Atance, and Martin-Ordas (2011) further claim that the process of imagination can be divided into two main stages. The first stage is crucial in portraying the specific items that are to be imagined, whereas, in the second stage, the person builds up a mental image of these objects.

The combination of the second and third definitions is used to describe the term “imagination” in the analysis undertaken. That is to say, imagination is understood as a tool for creating and working with a hypothetical situation that might or might not include the process of generating a mental image. It is perceived as an ability to imagine, fantasise or

think about something (people, animals, objects, places, etc.) that might not be necessarily present at the time or even real; however, the person can visualise the concrete object in their mind. According to the following statement (Vygotsky, 2004), imagination and creation, which was inspired by that very imagination, enabled us to produce everything that exists in the world and was made by the human hand.

In everyday life, fantasy or imagination refer to what is not actually true, what does not correspond to reality, and what, thus, could not have any serious practical significance. But in actuality, imagination, as the basis of all creative activity, is an important component of absolutely all aspects of cultural life, enabling artistic, scientific, and technical creation alike. (9)

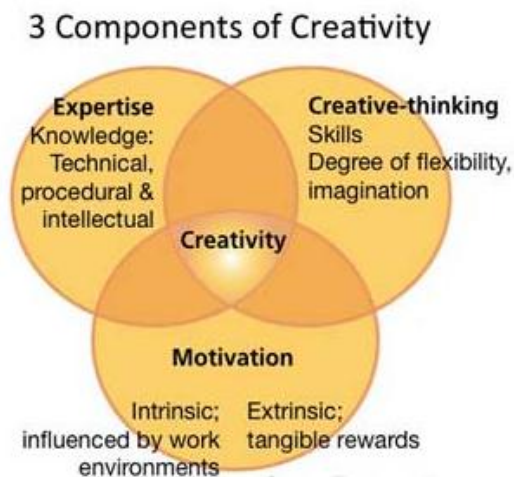
Even though it is often believed that children are better than adults at using imagination, in childhood this ability is just starting to develop. Vygotsky (2004) claims that it is dependent on personal experience; therefore, the wider the experience, the greater the imagination. As children may be considered vastly inexperienced compared to adults, their imagination is deemed poorer. Adults' fantasy is richer and more diverse than children's, which can be confirmed scientifically. Vygotsky (2004) provides further supporting evidence for this hypothesis. Children's interests tend to be rather fundamental, simpler, and not as deep and complex as adults' interests. "Their relationship to the environment does not have the complexity, subtlety, and diversity that characterises the behaviour of adults" (Vygotsky, 32). These three crucial factors determine how imagination works in practice and they confirm the fact that in childhood imagination is only starting to develop.

On the other hand, creativity is related to the creation and production of something new in the real and not imagined world using a wide variety of tools, one of which can be imagination. Caroline Sharp (2004) cited the curriculum guidance for the Foundation Stage (2000) concerning the matter of creativity. It says that "being creative enables children to make connections between one area of learning and another and so extend their understanding. This area includes art, music, dance, role-play, and imaginative play (5)". Sharp (2004) further states that there are several components included in the creative process (see below).

- originality (the ability to come up with ideas and products that are new and unusual)
- productivity (the ability to generate a variety of different ideas through divergent thinking)
- problem solving (application of knowledge and imagination to a given situation)
- the ability to produce an outcome of value and worth (5)

Unlike Caroline Sharp (2004), Naiman (2014) mentions only three main components of creativity (see Figure 4 below). Nevertheless, both consider imagination to be one of the components of creativity, which supports my statement that imagination and creativity are two different abilities.

Figure 4: Components of Creativity



It is believed that young children are in general highly creative. They can easily imagine different matters, experiment, and show interest in studying the world that surrounds them in detail. According to Caroline Sharp (2004), a high level of creativity is “not necessarily maintained throughout childhood and into adulthood (6)”. There are four possibilities concerning creative thinking and its development in the transition period from childhood to adolescence. Children may preserve creativity at the same level or they may develop this ability and reach an even higher level in adulthood. On the other hand, the level of creative thinking may be reduced over a period of time, which may result in a complete loss of this ability. Caroline Sharp (2004) mentions Meador's research (1992) which provides evidence of a decreased level of creative thinking in early childhood. Meador used different thinking tests and found that creativity declines when children are five or six years old (entering kindergarten).

Naiman (2014) claims that creativity can be developed and that the process of thinking can be stimulated. “You can't be a creative thinker if you're not stimulating your mind, just as you can't be an Olympic athlete if you don't train regularly”³. Naiman suggests several

³ “Ken Robinson Quotes”. Brainy Quotes. © 2001-2022. [Accessed on 09.03.2022]. <https://www.brainyquote.com/authors/ken-robinson-quotes>

activities that can improve the level of creativity; namely, experiment, explore, use imagination, question assumptions, and synthesise information. The creative process has three stages beginning with establishing knowledge, learning a discipline, and concluding with the adoption of a specific way of thinking. Glăveanu (2011) asserts that “creativity does not spur from nowhere (as in the case of the genius), or from the individual alone (as cognitive models propose), but exists in between self and others, creator and audience, individual and community (7)”. This ability is not dependent just on one person and their thinking or character but is influenced by many factors, such as other individuals, the surrounding environment, etc.

3. METHODOLOGY

In my research, I follow primary data collected predominantly by myself (82% in total). Only 18% of the data were recorded by Natálka's mother. These data consist of two data sets collected in 2018 and at the turn of 2020.

This case study is based on methods and practices of conversation analysis (hereafter CA), which is introduced in subchapter 3.1 in terms of its origins and meaning. I discuss the four fundamental assumptions that summarise the basic orientation of conversation analytic studies emphasising the importance of naturally occurring data. Subsequently, I briefly describe the organisation of the data. In section 3.2, I comment on applying CA in my research, which begins with the process of recording the data that follows with the transcription and ends with the analysis itself.

3.1. CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

CA refers to a multidisciplinary methodology that analyses the spoken interaction between two or more participants. It emerged in the United States in the mid-to-late 1960s by the sociologists Harvey Sack, his colleagues Emanuel Schlegloff and a number of their students. They started CA as “a sociological naturalistic observational discipline that could deal with the details of social action rigorously, empirically, and formally” (Seedhouse, 166). CA was subsequently adopted in many countries, such as England, Germany, Korea, France, and Finland. This methodology was also introduced by many researchers other than the above-mentioned, such as Ian Hutchby. According to Hutchby (2019), CA is an approach that analyses the “sequential organisation of talk as a way of accessing participants’

understandings of, and collaborative means of organising, natural forms of social interaction” (1).

John Heritage (1989) states that the basic orientation of conversation analytic studies may be summarized into four fundamental assumptions:

(1) interaction is structurally organized; (2) contributions to interaction are both context shaped and context renewing; (3) these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail in conversational interaction can be dismissed a priori as disorderly, accidental or interactionally irrelevant; and (4) the study of social interaction in its details is best approached through the analysis of naturally occurring data. (22)

The first assumption says that every exchange in the conversation has its own structure. In other words, “there is order at all points in interaction” (Seedhouse, 166). Second, every turn-at-talk is always dependent on the concrete context, whether it is a specific time, place, person, surrounding, object, or reference to something that is not present in the environment. Third, every detail plays an important role and should not be omitted. In the transcription, they are represented by transcription symbols, such as right and left carats (> < or < >) for the speech that is speed up or slowed down. Finally, CA aims to collect naturally occurring data reflecting the social environment so that the analysis undertaken provides the most relevant and detailed description of the conversation possible. It means that the conversation is not artificially made, prepared in advance, or unintentionally influenced by the researcher.

The methodology of CA is based on the gathered data that are systematically organised in a specific structure. This type of structure is called a sequence organisation and it represents how participants take turns in the interaction (e.g., asking questions, and repairing one another). Sequences are organised into the so-called adjacency pairs. According to Paul Seedhouse (2005), adjacency pairs are “paired utterances such that on production of the first part of the pair (e.g., question) the second part of the pair (answer) becomes conditionally relevant” (167). In other words, the occurrence of the first part of the pair is a precondition for the second.

3.2. APPLYING CONVERSATION ANALYSIS TO THE ANALYSIS OF DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES

In the process of gathering the data, I aimed to collect naturally occurring data reflecting the natural social environment so that my research provides the most relevant and

detailed description of the narrative conversations between Natálka and me, or also other family members contributing to the storyline. For the purpose of the thesis, only audio data were recorded. These data were gathered during imaginative play with toys, everyday talk (e.g., cooking), and narration of stories, dreams, or fairy tales. For recording our conversation, I used a voice recorder on my phone without Natálka's knowledge to capture a natural interaction. I always tried to put the phone discreetly in immediate proximity to Natálka so that the sound of the audio recordings was high-quality and loud, which facilitated the subsequent transcription of the data. However, sometimes it happened that she ran away and continued the story along the way; for example when she needed another toy. In one case, Natálka found out that I was recording her, which had undesirable effects on the flow of the conversation (see below).

Data Sample 1: The development of the storyline after discovering that Natálka was being recorded

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 18 **Naty:** žilo nebylo jedno ((úvod do pohádky v češtině je správně bylo nebylo)) (.) ee (.) zlatíčko co
 19 (.) hej ty mě nenatácej
 20 live was not ((incorrect use of the phrase “once upon a time”, in Czech “bylo nebylo”,
 21 literally translated as “was was not” in English)) (.) e::r (.) darling what (.) hey don't record
 22 me
 23 **Me:** já tě nenatáčím (.) já to mám vypnutý (.) já to dávám jenom sem ten telefon
 24 I am not recording you (.) it is switched off (.) I am just putting my phone here
 25 **Naty:** dobrá Matýsek bude vyprávět proto on si ()
 26 okay Matýsek will tell a story because he ()

The excerpt taken from the audio recording TD05/27122020 illustrated how the flow of the conversation was disrupted when Natálka knew that I was recording our interaction. Such a phenomenon is called the observer's paradox. “The observer’s paradox is the notion that intervention or measurement by an observer can directly impact (or coordinate with) the behaviour of the system being studied (Dale and Vinson, 305).”

Even though I denied it and tried to convince her otherwise, the trust was broken to such an extent that Natálka did not want to continue the fairy tale and stopped communicating with me. For that reason, I changed my strategy and started to hide my phone so that she would not see it and feel pressured.

Next, I listened to the audio recordings several times and selected the appropriate material for the analysis undertaken. I transcribed this selection with as many details as possible using the transcription symbols suggested by Gail Jefferson (2004). These symbols represent various aspects of the conversation, such as pauses, pitch, intonation, speed-up or

slowed-down speech, or researcher's notes that are important for the understanding of the data and the following analysis (see Appendix 1).

I transcribed a total of 33 transcripts and subjected these to the analysis. The transcription of audio recordings was crucial for the research, as the transcripts illustrated not only the use of language but also non-linguistic elements (e.g., pause, tempo, etc.) that could reveal the hidden meaning of the utterance. The transcription process is described in more detail in 4.3.

I read carefully each of the transcripts several times and identified occurrences of the selected discursive strategies. I recorded all instances identified and inputted them in a table comparing how many times Natálka used the given discursive practice in both data sets. Subsequently, I analysed the individual sequences in which Natálka used the selected discursive strategies. I discussed their function in the given excerpt in terms of their effect, goal, and connection to other parts of the conversation. I then compared their use in both sets and examined whether their functional level was identical; if not, I described how their use had shifted. Finally, I interpreted the employment of the respective practices in relation to imagination and creativity with an aim to obtain an insight into how Natálka used interaction to make sense of the world around her.

4. THE DATA

This longitudinal case study examines, analyses, and compares two data collections that were gathered within the two-years time gap; concretely they were collected in 2018 and at the turn of 2020. The general comparison of both data collections is to be found in Figure 5 (see below). These two data sets form the core of my research and were essential for the analysis undertaken. They serve as a comparative sample of predominantly child language development.

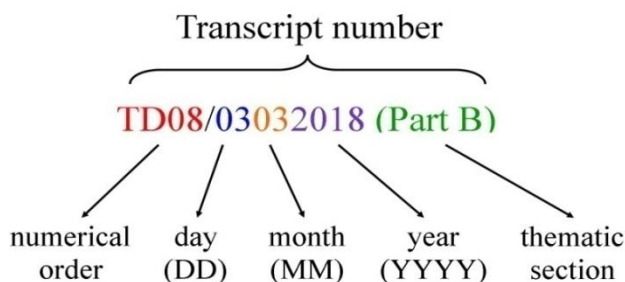
Figure 5: Comparison of both data collections

	Data Set One	Data Set Two	TOTAL
Number of recordings	20	13	33
Time length	2 hours 30 minutes 22 seconds	1 hour 46 minutes 15 seconds	4 hours 16 minutes 37 seconds
Amount of pages	~60	~83	~143
Amount of word tokens	19,500	20,900	40,400

It is important to mention that even though Data Set Two is 44 minutes shorter than Data Set One, the word tokens are comparable in number (in 2018 over **19,500** words, at the turn of 2020 over **20,900**). The main reason is that the flow of the conversation was smoother than it was in 2018, and Natálka's speech was more fluent at the age of six than when she was only four years old. The interaction was not disrupted by the silent sections in which Natálka tried to find the right words, thought, lost attention, or the interest to talk and share her ideas with others. Moreover, her utterances lasted even longer; she took more time for narrating her stories without being interrupted by other participants in the conversation. The length ranges from 28 seconds to almost 2 minutes.

In both data sets, I assigned a unique code to each transcript. This label expresses the order of the recording in the data collection and the exact date of recording (day, month, and year). I further divided the individual transcripts into parts according to the topic discussed in the conversation. The following figure provides a visual description of transcript number.

Figure 6: Description of transcript number



The audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part B), for example, is the eighth in the data collection, it was taken on the third of March in 2018, and the focus is on part B. In this section, Natálka told a fairy tale about the princess and the prince. The description of the thematic part is to be found in the complete overview of Data Set One in Appendix 2. It further includes a transcript number, list of speakers involved in the conversation, total length, and transcribed length according to the individual thematic sections. The overview of Data Set Two is attached in Appendix 3.

Both data collections (i.e., 33 audio recordings in total) showed the same tendencies regarding the type of conversation that included the same topic or pattern. The following categories occurred in both data sets: (1) playing with toys, (2) stories based on reality, (3) fairy tales, (4) dreams, and (5) common or everyday conversations. The latter included new themes regarding school, cooking, or Czech traditions (i.e., writing a letter to “Ježíšek” and

celebrating Saint Nicholas Day) appeared. Whereas the pretending phone calls were typical for Data Set One, songs were found only in Data Set Two. The protagonists in her stories were based on real-life people or objects (Natálka's mother, father, brother, aunt, grandmother, grandfather, and her favourite stuffed animal Alík).

Subchapter 4.1 briefly describes Data Set One and the process of recording the interactions between Natálka and me. The detailed characterisation is to be found in my bachelor's thesis called *How Children Tell Stories – The Process of Storytelling* (2019). Section 4.2 focuses on the process of gathering Data Set Two. The quantity of the data is described in terms of time length, amount of pages, and word tokens. Next, I characterise the natural social environment in which the audio recordings were undertaken and state how many participants were present in the interaction. Section 4.3 clarifies the reason for the importance of choosing an appropriate transcription protocol and describes the four basic rules that I followed when transcribing. This section characterises the transcription of Data Set Two concerning the adopted transcript conventions. In section 4.4 I focus on the transcript translation from the original Czech language version to the English language version. The organisation of utterances with the translated equivalents is also depicted in this section.

4.1. DESCRIPTION OF DATA SET ONE

Data Set One was gathered at the beginning of 2018 when Natálka was four years old. During eight months I collected approximately 44 audio recordings with my phone every time there was an opportunity to record. A final of 20 audio recordings were selected for transcription and further analysis. This selection is **2 hours 30 minutes 22 seconds** long in total; the document has almost 60 pages, which yielded over **19, 500 word tokens** (including the interlinear English translations). For transcribing the data collection, I implied several methods and notational conventions including a *Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an Introduction* (Gail Jefferson, 2004), *Transkripce v Konverzační Analýze* (Klára Vaníčková, 2014), Alexa Hepburn (2013), Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008), and Edwards and Lampert (1993).

The majority of the data were collected in my presence as I was the initiator of the interaction and the person who started to record our conversations; only three audio recordings were recorded without me and were obtained from Natálka's mother. Other family members also joined the conversation as well, which significantly influenced the development

of the story. Despite all of the efforts, in some cases, Natálka's spontaneity and her stories were slightly or strongly influenced by me or other participants, which had an impact on the development of the story, as Natálka subsequently changed her original intentions. This phenomenon is called the observer's paradox (for a detailed description see Šimková, 2019).

Finally, there was a need to translate the data from the original Czech language version to the English language version. I combined the block and interlinear type of translation, which introduced the original utterance in one block that was subsequently followed by the translation in another block. It enabled us to follow the development of the story without interruption. During translating Natálka's utterances I faced numerous difficulties, especially in cases where she came up with a completely new word that did not exist in the Czech language at all. The meaning and the word-formation process of the newly created words could be in the majority of the cases deduced; its description and explanation were found in the brackets. However, sometimes the meaning of the word remained unknown.

4.2. DESCRIPTION OF DATA SET TWO

I started recording Natálka at the end of the year 2020 and continued until the very beginning of the year 2021, at that time Natálka was six years old. I took every opportunity to record our conversation when we were playing with toys or simply talking with each other at her house or when she visited me and my family. After three months, I gathered a collection of data consisting of approximately 20 audio recordings. Due to the presence of a disturbing element, such as loud background noise, the incomprehensibility of the speech itself mainly because of the bad quality of the audio recording, and the absence of a dialog or a story, a final of 13 audio recordings were selected for transcription, further analysis, and comparison with Data Set One. This new selection is **1 hour 46 minutes and 15 seconds** in total. The transcribed data amounted to almost 83 pages in total, which yielded more than **20, 900** word tokens (including the interlinear English translation).

The majority of the data were taken in my presence; only three recordings were obtained from Natálka's mother. The number of people present at each recording session differs, there are at least two people (either Natálka and myself or Natálka and her mother). Apart from me, Natálka, and her mother, other family members joined the conversation as well; concretely grandmother, grandfather, and for the first time also Natálka's father and little brother. Natálka's brother Matyášek was present in nine audio recordings in total. He was a

part of her everyday life, and he also significantly contributed to the interaction. Each of the participants helped to develop the conversation and its stories. They were asking questions, changing, and introducing new topics or simply making comments, which had an impact on the subsequent direction of the interaction. Alternatively, in some cases, they had only the role of an audience and not as contributors.

4.3. TRANSCRIPTION

To provide a complex and quality text for subsequent research and analysis of the collected data, it is especially important to select the appropriate transcription protocols. Specific transcript symbols that express the quality of the speech that are only to be heard and noticed in the audio recordings, such as length of the utterance, speed of the speech, stress on a specific word phrase, word, or even a single syllable, serve as a tool to capture the key aspects of the conversation between the participants. Those symbols provide a complex insight into the data and its characteristics, which can determine a specific component of the speech that can be subsequently analysed in the research. In other words, they can show the direction of the analysis; therefore, the specific transcript symbols should not be omitted but emphasised.

I followed four basic rules when transcribing the audio recordings (Kumar, “Everything About Transcription Guidelines for Transcribers”): (1) I used the proper language and its specifics such as capital letters, punctuation, and spelling. It was important to provide a high level of accuracy in the transcripts, which meant that all words used by the participants were recorded in the data. (2) No words were omitted, even though they might not be comprehensible due to a disturbing element such as loud noise in the background or the speech itself. For these cases, I applied a specific rule on how to transcribe them; incomprehensible words were expressed by using single round brackets and leaving a space within them in the length of the word. (3) I did not use paraphrases to provide the authentic language of the participants with grammatical errors or non-standard language. No words were rearranged. (4) I did not add any irrelevant additional information to the data. Explanatory comments that describe, for example, the action of the participants relevant to the storyline or explaining a particular word (especially when the child's pronunciation was very different from the original word and might not be understandable for others) were included in double round brackets.

The *Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an Introduction* written by Gail Jefferson (2004) served as a core material for transcribing the audio recordings. I also applied the methods, notational convention, and the pattern of transcript symbols described in the article. Using the transcript symbols specifying the quality of the speech, such as speed, pauses, stress, prolongation of the prior sound, tone, or volume, provided an important insight into the conversation, and it helped uncover a hidden meaning of the particular turn that was significant in the development of the story. Silent and slow speech could be seen, for example, as a result of the timidity or insecurity of the speaker.

For the transcription of Data Set Two, I chose the vertical arrangement as it provided a clear organisation of the speakers' turns. Edwards and Lampert (1993) introduced two more possible arrangements; namely, column and partiture (see below).

Figure 7: Speakers' turns arrangements (Edwards and Lampert, 10)

VERTICAL

A: Did you just get [back]?

B: [Yes], or rather 2 hours ago. It was a great film.

A: Really?

COLUMN

Speaker A
Did you just get [back]?

Speaker B
[Yes], or rather 2 hours ago.
It was a great film.

Really?

PARTITURE

A: Did you just get [back]?

Really?

B: [Yes], or rather 2 hours ago. It was a great film.

The column arrangement was more suitable for transcribing a conversation between only two participants. As there were between three and six participants in Data Set Two, organising the turn-at-talk into columns would be inconvenient. The individual columns would be too narrow and with Natálka's longer utterances, the text would be stretched and difficult to read. The vertical organisation not only saved space but mainly provided clear arrangement and better readability. Partiture organisation was better for conversations with “many simultaneous utterances or actions” (Edwards, Lampert, 11), and since overlapping episodes occurred rarely in my data collection, this type also was not suitable for my research. Vertical arrangement emphasised the linear progress of the conversation; therefore, there was no need to return to the previous lines to read the next episode. It provided a transparent organisation of the data collected.

4.4. TRANSCRIPT TRANSLATION

The primary data are collected in the Czech language, as it was Natálka's mother tongue. This diploma thesis is written in English; therefore, the original version needed translation so that the analysis of the data was comprehensible and could be made available to the international audience and readers worldwide.

For my research, which is to analyse and compare the discursive strategies that Natálka used in the narrative conversation, I combined block and interlinear translation (Paul ten Have, 2007) as in my bachelor's thesis (Šimková, 2019). Block translation provides two separate blocks, one for the translation and the other for the original version. This means that the transcript consists of two isolated parts that are not interrupted by the translation or the original version. The interlinear or line-by-line translation is also used within a single turn that has more than one line, the first line contains the original version, the second line is its translation and this pattern repeats until the very end of the utterance. The combination of these two types of translating the transcript allows the reader to follow the flow of the conversation without any interruption, and they can concentrate on its development. This structure organises each turn taking in the Czech language in a single paragraph, which is then followed by the English translation in another block. The combination of the block and interlinear organisation of the data can be seen in the excerpt below taken from the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part F).

Data Sample 2: Data organisation

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 310 **Naty:** mňami já mám výborný (.) dám si ještě špetku (.) HEEJ to je moje ty máš tady dvě kostky (.)
311 už si tam dám jenom špetku=HEEJ si tam dám špetku hihi hé::j us toho nech
312 yummy I have a delicious (.) I will have another pinch of it (.) HEEY it's mine you have
313 the two dices here (.) I will add a pinch of it there=HEEY I will add a pinch there
314 hihi he::y stop it
315 **Me:** kolik špetek si tam ještě budeš dávat↑
316 how many pinches are you putting there↑
317 **Naty:** ((vydává zvuky jako když to jídlo líže)) musím si tam dát (.) hmm hmm musím si tam dát
318 jednu špetku ham (.) aby sem to (.) nemel spinavou a teďka kokos
319 ((she makes sounds like she is licking the food)) I have to add there (.) hmm hmm I have
320 to add another pinch there (.) so that it (.) wasn't dirty and now a coconut
321 **Me:** kokos↑
322 a coconut↑
323 **Naty:** no to sem viděla v televizi že (.) tam ňákou špetku: neceho (.) kokos
324 yeah I saw that on TV right (.) they were adding a pinch of something there (.) a coconut
325 **Me:** no a co dál↑
326 yeah and what else↑

Unlike in Data Set One, I did not face any major difficulties while translating Natálka's utterances collected as part of Data Set Two. Her level of language was more advanced than it was at the age of four. There were no new word formations as she had already mastered her lexicon to describe things and to express her thoughts and feelings. In other words, there was no need to create new words for objects in her presence. Nevertheless, this issue of new words, or rather the issue of unintelligibility can be seen in Matyášek's (Natálka's little brother) speech. He was three years old at the time of recording the second set of conversations between Natálka and myself.

5. DATA ANALYSIS

In the individual parts of the analysis, I first examine the use of a particular phenomenon in Data Set One, then comment on its use in Data Set Two, and finally, I compare both samples concerning its development over two years. The analysis undertaken is divided into four main sections according to the type of discursive practice.

The first subchapter 5.1 discusses relations connecting episodes and examines how Natálka uses the *and* (5.1.1), *then* (5.1.2), *enable* (5.1.3), and *cause* (5.1.4) relations to connect the ideas in her talk or storyline in her stories. In the following subchapter 5.2, I analyse the matter of asking questions, which is divided into three parts, concretely *why*, *wh-*, and other types of questions. Subsequently, I concentrate on the description of the topic orientation markers in 5.3. I found that Natálka also used specific features in her utterances or stories, which are reported in subchapter 5.4. For the purpose of this case study, three of such features were selected for the analysis; concretely the use of (1) humour in 5.4.1, (2) exaggeration in 5.4.2, and (3) negotiation strategies in 5.4.3.

5.1. INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN EPISODES

In this section, I analyse how Natálka connected the individual parts of her talk together using the *and*, *then* (alternatively *and then*), *enable*, and *cause* sense relations. Unlike the first two connectors that were explicitly marked in the data, *cause* and *enable* relations were to be found only when the semantic content of the clauses was examined; therefore, it could be quite challenging. Since interconnections between the individual episodes in Data Set One were described in detail in my bachelor's thesis (Šimková, 2019), they would not be

reiterated here. Instead, a short summary of their use in the 2018 data was provided, followed by a more in-depth analysis of the 2020 data set.

When I compared the frequency of the explicitly marked sense relations in both data collections, I found that usage of these connectors was very similar (see below). The *and* relation maintained the top position and was followed by *and then* and *then* story connectors. In Data Set One, the *and* relation was used 209 times in total, which represents 63%, *and then* relation 81 times (25%), and *then* relation 39 times (12%). The analysis of the story connectors showed that *and then* and *then* sense relations had the same function, and therefore they could be classified as one category, e.g. *then* relation (see 5.1.2) that occurred 120 times in total, which represented 37%. Data Set Two showed that Natálka used *and* relation 183 times in total, which represented 80%, *and then* relation 28 times (12%), and *then* relation 19 times (8%). *And then* and *then* relation as one category occurred 47 times in total (20%).

Figure 8: Frequency of explicitly marked sense relations in 2018

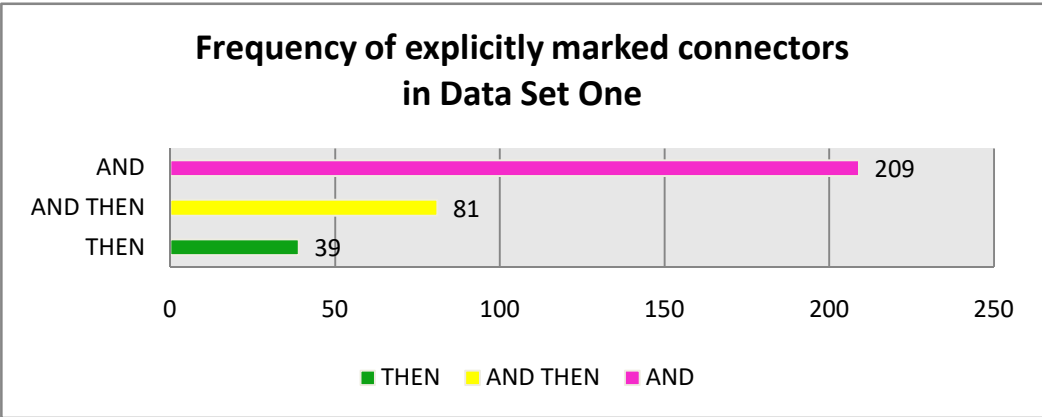
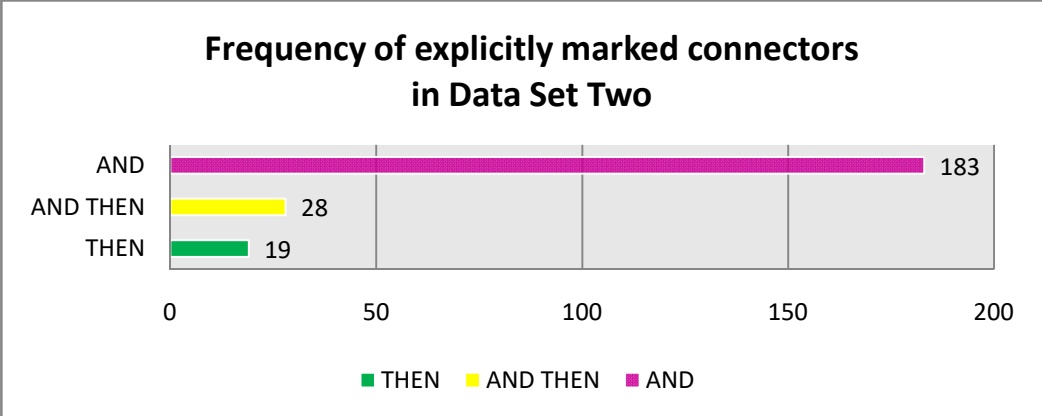


Figure 9: Frequency of explicitly marked sense relations at the turn of 2020



A comparison of the frequency of individual types showed that there was a significant difference in numbers. The placings of the connectors had not changed. Whereas the *and*

relation occurred in Data Set Two 26 times less than in the first one, the use of the *then* relation (combination of the *and then* and *then* connectors) underwent a dramatic change. At the turn of 2020, the *then* connector occurred 73 times less than in 2018. As the analysis of the data proved, the main reason was that Natálka started to make use of many different connectors in her talk, which subsequently partially replaced the relation mentioned above. These new connectors were *but* (“it injected me in (.) here in my paw but I was just a dream I think”), *because* (“we have to go to the doctor because it still hurts”), *when* (“when we were running around here the scales broke”), *or* (“you have to go there or else you won't get any dices”), *that* (“one month (.) told Maruška that er: (.) her (.) that he will give her flowers ”), *firstly* (“firstly we left him there and then mummy went (.) gave to Matýsek no take Matýsek to the bed”), *in order to/so that* (“I would like some earphones so that I could listen to music with my mum”), and *suddenly* (“I had my eyes closed and suddenly °ouch° a piece of the broken glass”).

5.1.1. THE AND RELATION

In my bachelor's thesis (Šimková, 2019) I observed that Natálka used the *and* relation in three different situations: (1) to connect statements at the very beginning of her stories in which she described the main protagonists, setting, or the context, (2) to talk about her actions in chronological order, emphasising that the individual moves were fixed in time, and (3) to describe everyday activities or regularly occurring events where their order was not given.

(1) To illustrate the first type of the *and* relation used in the introduction of the story, I chose the following excerpt taken from the audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part F).

Data Sample 3: Introducing the main characters and the surroundings

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

215 **Naty:** tam taky byja sekno *a* taky teticka Mahuska (.) byja na kojeji *a potom* za náma sijeja *a* byja
 216 tam taky babicka *potom a* taky deda *a* sekno *a* taky kokani *a* zizátka (1,4) taky sme byji (.)
 217 tam byj kásný sjomek *a* tam byja jahoupka (.) kde bydleja pjincezna (.) hezká *a* pohe↑dná *a*
 218 taky tam byj tyg *a* sekni ostatní (.) v hjadu
 219 there was also everything *and* also auntie Maruška (.) she was in the hall of residence *and*
 220 *then* she came back to us *and* there was also granny *and* also grandpa *and* everything *and*
 221 also kangaroos *and* animals (1,4) we was there too (.) there was a beautiful tree *and* there
 222 was a little cottage (.) where the princess was living (.) she was beautiful *and* pre↑tty *and*
 223 there was also the tiger *and* everyone else (.) in the castle

These general pieces of information were sometimes found in the middle or even the end of Natálka's talk showing, her flexibility and adaptability to the development of the

storyline. If a new character entered the story, for example, they were first introduced, and then Natálka continued with the story.

(2) To illustrate the second type of the *and* relation, I chose the audio recording TD05/23022018 (Part B), in which Natálka talked about her and Alík's (her favourite stuffed animal) usual activities; e.g. playing together, making something, painting nails, or buying bones for Alík. In this case, the order of the individual episodes was reversible and the moves were not fixed in time.

(3) To illustrate the third type of the *and* relation, I chose the following excerpt taken from the audio recording TD04/23022018, where Natálka talked about traveling and packing a backpack.

Data Sample 4: Packing a backpack

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

13 **Naty:** jo↑ (.) muzes se mou cestovat (0,5) aje (0,7) a budeme tam spát (.) ooo (.) tady je a tady má
14 boudu a tam má tode a tode ((tohle)) a todesto (.) a taky (0,3) má taky kosti sbajenou (.) tu
15 vezmu do batohu (0,4) (je to () tam taky tajís) a taky vezmu tajíře (.) haha mám to (0,3)
16 tam ty to máš batok ale je to zapnutý
17 yep↑ (.) you can travel with me (0,5) but (0,7) *and* we will sleep there (.) o::h (.) here is *and*
18 here is the kennel *and* he has there this *and* this *and* this (.) *and* also (0,3) has also bones
19 packed (.) that I will put into the backpack (0,4) (there is () also a plate) *and* I also take
20 plates (.) hah hah have it (0,3) you have it in the backpack (.) but it is zipped

Natálka used the *and* relation to connect the episodes introducing the specific items she put in the backpack implying that these episodes occurred in the same time sequence. As packing the backpack, was described in chronological order in which Natálka took the individual objects, the sequence of events could not be reversed. It was emphasised with the word *also* in lines 18 and 19. Natálka's moves were also time-limited; that is to say, an episode began when she took a particular item in hand and ended with the object being put into the backpack. In other words, the individual actions did not overlap with one another.

Sometimes this type of sense relation was not expressed explicitly with the conjunction *and*, which could be found in the audio recording TD05/23022018 (Part A) where Natálka talked about Alík traveling into the wilderness. She said: “I have also prepared a backpack I also gave there a penguin like this (.) like this *you know* he will have there a very nice sleep.” This sample included three episodes in total; e.g. preparing the backpack, packing up the penguin, and talking about sleeping.

In Data Set Two, the analysis showed that the *and* relationship had five different functions. Three of them appeared in 2018 (see above) and their usage had not changed much. At the turn of 2020, Natálka introduced two new types of this relationship that were used in the conversation to: (1) offer an opinion or to make a comment, and (2) describe the development of the storyline.

(1) To illustrate the first type of the *and* relation, which only occurred in Data Set Two, I chose the following extract taken from the audio recording TD02/05122020 (Part B).

Data Sample 5: Talking about Bertík's behaviour

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Granny (Natálka's grandmother), Me (the author)

- 177 **Naty:** ehm (.) *a* myslim ze Bertík dostane uhlí
 178 yep (.) *and* I think that Bert will get some coal⁴
 179 **Granny:** kdo↑
 180 who↑
 181 **Naty:** Bert
 182 Bert
 183 **Granny:** Bertík↑
 184 Bertík↑
 185 **Naty:** °jo [my máme ve škole°]
 186 °yep [we had in the school°]
 187 **Granny:** [jo to je spolužák tvůj↑]
 188 [yeah he is your schoolmate↑]
 189 **Naty:** joo
 190 ye:p
 191 **Me:** a on zlobí↑
 192 and he is naughty↑
 193 **Naty:** bouchá mě=scho shozí děti *a* jeste si strká ruce do nosu
 194 he beats me=pu pushed kids down *and* he even picks his nose with his hands
 195 **Me:** ehh
 196 yuck
 197 **Naty:** ale to FAKT dělá *a* ještě lítá=dělá kraviny [vzdycky i kdyz]
 198 but he REALLY does that *and* he even runs=fools around [always even when]

In the previous part of the conversation, Natálka and I talked about how Nicholas, the Angel, and the Devil visited them at school. Natálka mentioned that everyone got a gingerbread and a lollipop from the Angel. However, in line 178, she used the *and* relation to point out that Bertík would probably get the coal. She supported her opinion with evidence in lines 194 and 198 where she described how her classmate regularly behaved during breaks between classes.

⁴ Czech tradition of St Nicholas day; i.e. misbehaving children are punished with a bag of coal that gives them the Devil, while good children get sweets from the Angel

For introducing Bertík's moves Natálka used the conjunction *and*, which was omitted in two cases in lines 194 (i.e., “he beats me=pu pushes kids down”) and 198 (i.e., “he runs=fools around”). As she listed his actions without a break or gap between the words, there was no space for the *and* relation. The analysis of the episodes indicated that Bertík's actions could actually have occurred in any order other than they were mentioned by Natálka and time as it was not possible to do all of these activities at once.

This excerpt provided an insight into how Natálka thought about the world around her. At the age of six, she could distinguish between good and bad and determine what consequences it had for the person. In the case of Bertík, Natálka emphasised the fact that he did not deserve sweets for his behaviour which hurt other children, but he should be given a bag of coal.

(2) To illustrate the second type of the *and* relation typical for Data Set Two, I chose the following data sample taken from the audio recording TD01/22112020 (Part D).

Data Sample 6: A fairy tale about a rose

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

108 **Naty:** eeee (.) jedna růžicka byla sama venku (.) jedna růžicka (0,3) chtěla být s psáteli ale ona
 109 píchala °vsichni odešli *a* ona tam byla sama začala bouška (.) *a* chtěla, aby její kamarádi ji (.)
 110 aspoň potěsili ale ne nikdo tam nebyl (.) *a* ty *a* tam°
 111 uh-uh (.) one little rose was outside all alone (.) one little rose (0,3) she wanted to be with
 112 friends but she pricked ° everyone left and she remained alone the storm began (.) *and* she
 113 wanted her friends to (.) make her happy but noone was there (.) *and* you *and* there°
 114 **Me:** nahlas Natálko já neslyším
 115 louder Natálko I can't hear you
 116 **Naty:** *a* TAM tam bylo takový (.) takový ten takový taková velká bouška *a* sup tu růžu vzala pryč *a*
 117 ta růže (.) píchala (.) *a* větra píchla *a* vítr odfoukal *a* *a* (svalil) růži na zem *a* byli pod nicim
 118 *and* THERE was such a (.) such a such such a big storm *and* woosh it took the rose away *and*
 119 the rose (.) pricked (.) *and* pricked the wind *and* the wind blew her away *and* *and* (knocked)
 120 the rose over the ground *and* they were under something
 121 **Me:** nahlas
 122 louder
 123 **Naty:** *A* BYLI POD NICIM *A* KONÉ:::::C
 124 *AND* THEY WERE UNDER SOMETHING *AND* E:::::ND

Although the *and* conjunction was used 14 times in total, not all of them connected two episodes, which could be seen in line 113 when Natálka said “*and* you *and* there”. In this case, it only expressed a connection between two items appearing at the beginning of the next episode, which was, however, interrupted by me as Natálka spoke quietly and I did not understand her. The remaining 12 conjunctions illustrated the prototypical representative of the *and* relationship.

In this excerpt, Natálka showed that she understood the temporal organisation of the episodes in the story and chose the *and* relation to describe its development, creating a longer and more complex text. It meant that the individual events were mentioned in the chronological order in which they actually appeared; therefore, the episodes are non-reversible. This temporal relationship between episodes could be observed, for example, in lines 118-120 where Natálka talked about the storm. For the wind to be pricked by the rose, a storm first had to appear and take the rose with it. The rose's behaviour subsequently caused the wind to knock her to the ground. The analysis of the story also showed that all statements appeared in the same time period either simultaneously (e.g., while the wind was carrying the rose away, it prickled) or in sequence (e.g., departure of the rose's friends and the subsequent storm break).

The analysis of this story illustrated that Natálka thoughtfully connected the individual parts of the story and created a more complex text. This was evident in lines 219 and 220 where she used the *and* connector to repeat that the rose was alone because her friends had abandoned her emphasising the importance of this information. It reflected the complexity of her thinking, which was also influenced by the imagination and creativity that helped to invent this story.

Finally, the audio recording TD04/05152020 illustrated another way of using the *and* relation. The context of the conversation was that Natálka wrote a letter to “Ježíšek”. In this letter, she drew several pictures of the presents she wanted for Christmas, and when I asked her if she was finished, she replied:

Data Sample 7: Writing a letter to “Ježíšek”

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

92 **Naty:** mám eee ne (.) s (0,2) jaký (.) eee (0,2) eee (0,3) já nevím (0,26) já si NAMALUJI JESTE
 93 PLYSOVÝHO SNĚHULÁKA...(0,20) hihi (0,7) tak mám sněhuláka hotovýho (0,3) tak a to
 94 je pro dnešek všechno
 95 I have uh-uh no (.) s (0,2) which (.) uh-uh (0,2) uh-uh (0,3) I don't know (0,26) I will DRAW
 96 A STUFFED SNOWMAN TO THAT...(0,20) hihi (0,7) so the snowman is done (0,3) so
 97 *and* that is all for today

After drawing a snowman Natálka made a short pause and then used the *and* connector in line 97 emphasising the fact that she was done. In the sentence, “so *and* that is all for today” she commented on her activity. Making such a comment indicated that this move was complete and the next one could start. In this case, Natálka finished her part of the letter and

in the second part, she focused on her brother and what he wanted for Christmas. Natálka's comment allowed for a smooth transition between episodes.

The comparison of both data collections showed that the *and* relation had similar functions in the narrative conversation in 2018 and at the turn of 2020. However, in Data Set Two Natálka introduced two new types of such a relationship. The following figure summarises the development of the *and* relation, where the occurrence of the individual types is expressed by Y (i.e., yes, the feature was present in the data set) and N (i.e., no, the feature was not present in the data).

Figure 10: Comparing the function of the *and* relation in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

The function of the <i>and</i> relation	Data Set One	Data Set Two
providing introductory section	Y	Y
connecting everyday activities with an arbitrary order	Y	Y
connecting actions with a chronological order	Y	Y
describing the development of the storyline	N	Y
making comment	N	Y

In 2018, the *and* relation was predominantly used for introducing the basic characterisation of the main protagonists or the surroundings (e.g., what the main character's house looks like) that typically occurred at the very beginning of the story, fairy tale or a dream, and for describing everyday activities, where their order is not fixed. When Natálka described the usual activities or what was typical for someone, the individual episodes tended to express time arbitrariness and reversibility. To a lesser extent, this relation was used to link actions that appeared in chronological order.

At the turn of 2020, Natálka used the *and* relation not just in these three areas, but also introduced two new functions of such a connector. She started to use this discursive practice for: (1) making comments or (2) describing the development of the storyline, which was typical for fairy tales or dreams. Connecting parts of the story, thoughts, and even individual sections of the conversation showed how the complexity of thinking increased and how Natálka thought in a wider context. In Data Set Two, there were also tendencies to replace the *and* relation with other types of connectors showing a better understanding of the relationships between the episodes in the narrative.

5.1.2. THE *THEN* RELATION

It is important to mention that in both data collections the *then* connector also occurred in a slightly modified form, which was explicitly marked in the data. Instead of the conjunction *then*, Natálka sometimes used *and then* when connecting two episodes. These two forms were considered to be identical in Natálka's point of view as they expressed the same functions. For simplification, I only use the term the *then* relation in the analysis undertaken when referring to this type of connector.

In my bachelor's thesis (Šimková, 2019) I observed that Natálka used the *then* relation in three different situations:

(1) This relation sometimes occurred at the very beginning of fairy tales without a preceding episode. It meant that there were not any connected statements but only one expressed action. These stories were in some cases introduced with the phrase *once upon a time* (“bylo nebylo” in Czech, or “was was not” a word-for-word translation in English), which was mostly expressed incorrectly. The following data sample illustrated such an example.

Data Sample 8: A fairy tale about mammoths

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

127 **Me:** a ted' nějakou pohádku o mamutech (.) takže bylo nebylo
128 and now a fairy tale about mammoths (.) so once upon a time
129 **Naty:** byjo nebyjo *a potom* tam kásně mamuti spí hihi a majičký a ty tam byji (0,3) my sme mámy
130 (.) my sme tě potkaji vid' teto↑
131 once upon a time *and then* mammoths beautifully sleep there hih hih and little ones and they
132 were there (0,3) we are mums (.) we met you right aunt↑

(2) The *then* relation was used to connect episodes that were fixed in time. The prototypical example could be found in the audio recording TD11/13042018 (Part B), where Natálka was playing with building blocks and made two perfumes. She said: “perfumes are called like this (0,3) so I built the perfume (.) also this one (0,4) you open that like this (.) that big *and then* you will put on↑ the perfume (.) here it is a gift”. In this case, it can be said with certainty which move preceded and which one followed. In order to put on the perfume, it was necessary to open the perfume bottle first. The first statement thus provided a favourable environment for the second one to occur.

(3) Natálka used the *then* relation to connect episodes with an arbitrary order, which meant that they could have occurred in reverse order than what was mentioned in the storyline. Such a relationship between moves could be found in the following extract taken from the audio recording TD06/23022018 (Part A).

Data Sample 9: Describing what Alík will do in the wilderness

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

23 **Naty:** a take (.) nam bude se take hóódně bude nám (set) ((unknown meaning 0:54)) take nám bude
 24 (set) jako (.) pták (.) a potom budem take jíst taky a potom taky budu s tebou jezdit a mám
 25 Feel like a monster ((písnička od skupiny Skillet s názvaná “Monster”)) a SEKNO
 26 and also (.) to us will like this so::: much to us (set) ((unknown meaning)) also to us will
 27 (set) like (.) a bird (.) and then we will also eat like this and then I will also drive with you
 28 and I have Feel like a monster ((a song by the band Skillet, entitled “Monster”)) and
 29 EVERYTHING

In this extract, Natálka talked with her mother about Alík (a stuffed animal) who went into the wilderness once again. In this case, the order of the episodes in which she mentioned that they would eat there and drive together (line 27) was not clearly defined. The moves could have occurred in the same order as Natálka mentioned; however, the second episode could have also preceded the first.

Data Set Two showed the same tendencies regarding the *then* relation. In the following excerpt taken from the audio recording TD01/22112020 (Part C), Natálka introduced the first type of the *then* relation that appeared at the turn of 2020.

Data Sample 10: A story about how a little jellyfish met a shark

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

68 **Naty:** <jedna medúzka sla si (.) sla si (jít) kam chtěla ale potom potkala zraloka (.) ten zralok zíkal
 69 medúzko medúzko kam se to zenes↑ já sem chtěla jenom na procházku a medús=teda zralok
 70 zek nenene nikam nesmís tady je zákaz vstupu (.) medúzko (.) a medúzka sla sama samotě
 71 [s nikým>
 72 <one little jellyfish went (.) went wherever she wanted to go but then she met a shark (.) the
 73 shark said little jellyfish little jellyfish where are you going↑ I just wanted to go for a walk
 74 and jellyf=no the shark said no no no you can go nowhere here is a restricted area (.) little
 75 jellyfish (.) and the little jellyfish went all alone [with nobody>

The first two episodes connected with the *then* relation occurred in chronological order not just in the storyline, but also in real-time. Natálka said that the jellyfish went wherever she wanted; however, after meeting the shark her options of where to go were limited by the no-entry ban. In this case, it could not have happened that the jellyfish first met the shark and then went where she wanted because there was at least one place she could not enter; i.e., the restricted area. For this reason, the individual episodes were non-reversible because they were

fixed in time, which was also emphasised by using the conjunction *but* before Natálka mentioned meeting with the shark.

The fact that the little jellyfish went wherever she wanted resulted in meeting the shark. If the jellyfish had not wandered across the ocean, she would not have met the shark in the restricted area. The first episode thus created an essential precondition for the second one; however, it did not directly cause the occurrence of the shark as he might not be present there all the time, or the little jellyfish might have taken a different path.

Another use of this type of the *then* connector where the sequence of the individual episodes was given could be found in the audio recording TD07/28122020 (Part C). When eating lunch, Natálka said: “hmm we are having lunch *and then* we will have dinner (.) this day is so fast.” The first episode included a statement that created the necessary precondition for the second one, that is, we could not have dinner without eating lunch first. It could also happen that someone skipped lunch and had only breakfast and dinner during the day, however, it would be a rather extreme case.

This example also illustrated Natálka's understanding of the world around her which was expressed by using this discursive strategy. Specifically, her sense of time comprehension with regard to the daily routine was manifested here. Depending on whether we were having breakfast, lunch, or dinner, she was able to distinguish whether the day had just started or whether it was already nearing its end. Her comment, “this day is so fast” signalled that she was aware that the day would soon be over when we would eat dinner as it was followed by sleep.

The second type of the *then* relation that occurred only rarely in Data Set Two was to be found in the following extract taken from the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part F).

Data Sample 11: Making food for dogs

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

- 327 **Naty:** a už ne jen takhle a pes to sní a (.) nejdřív to bylo takhle samotný a tohle tam bylo jen a on jí
328 olizoval a to bylo nechutný=tak jim dala spetku nějaký nějaký neceho **pedele** ((neznámý
329 význam, možná petržel)) (.) a tam dala kokos a ten pes to takhle sněd *a potom* jí lízal jo
330 *potom* jí okusoval boty ham ham ham ham ham ham ((Natálka mluví nepřerušně po dobu
331 29 vteřin))
332 and nothing else just like this and the dog will eat it and (.) at first it was the only one and
333 only this was there and he was licking her and it was disgusting=so she gave them a pinch of
334 some some something **pedele** ((unknown meaning, probably parsley)) (.) and she added a

335 coconut there and the dog ate it like that *and then* he was licking her yeah *then* he was biting
 336 her shoes yum yum yum yum yum yum ((Natálka talks 29 seconds in total without
 337 interruption))

In the story, Natálka used the *then* relation twice in a row and thus connected three consecutive episodes, where the individual moves could have occurred in any order. But because Natálka explained to me what she saw on TV (i.e., how a lady was preparing food for a dog) the individual episodes were narrated chronologically as they appeared on the video. However, there was no reason why the dog's actions could not have appeared in a different order; i.e., the first episode did not include any precondition for the occurrence of the second one (e.g., consequential relationship). It meant that it could happen that the dog would first bite the shoes, then lick the mentioned person, and finally eat the food that was prepared for the dog.

The comparison of both data collections showed that the *then* relation had similar functions in the narrative conversation in 2018 and at the turn of 2020. However, in Data Set Two there was a noticeable shift in the use of such a relationship. The following figure summarises the development of the *then* relation, where the occurrence of the individual types is expressed by Y (i.e., yes, the feature was present in the data set) and N (i.e., no, the feature was not present in the data).

Figure 11: Comparing the function of the *then* relation in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

The function of the <i>then</i> relation	Data Set One	Data Set Two
introducing a story (e.g. fairy tale) without a preceding episode	Y	N
connecting episodes with a fixed order	Y	Y
connecting episodes with an arbitrary order	Y	Y

The *then* relation was in both data collections used for connecting episodes where it was not always given which move followed the other one and which preceded. Whereas in Data Set One, this relationship occurred to the same extent to express the connection of fixed and arbitrary order of the individual moves in the storyline, in Data Set Two Natálka predominantly used this discursive strategy to express that the order of the episodes was given and could not be reversed. Only in a few cases the *then* relation connected moves with arbitrary order. This significant change reflected how Natálka understood the connection of individual episodes in a narrative emphasising consequential relationships. In other words, it meant that the first episode included the necessary precondition for the second one to appear; however, the first move did not directly cause it.

A noticeable shift between both data collections could also be seen when Natálka narrated a fairy tale. In 2018 there was a tendency to use the *then* relation in the very beginning as an introductory section even though it was not preceded by another episode. At the age of six, Natálka demonstrated broader knowledge regarding the correct application of the *then* connector; therefore, the misuse of this relation could not be found in Data Set Two. When she used the *then* relation at the turn of 2020, she always connected two or more episodes.

5.1.3. THE *ENABLE* RELATION

In my bachelor's thesis (Šimková, 2019) I observed that Natálka used the *enable* relation to express that what happened in one episode had an effect on the occurrence of the next episode. The events in the first move made the second episode possible, but they did not directly cause it. This meant that the first episode included a necessary but not sufficient condition for the subsequent development of events.

The following extract taken from the audio recording TD18/16062018 (Part A) illustrates the typical use of the *enable* connector. The context of the conversation was that I asked Natálka if she dreamed about something and she subsequently described a dream in which I was a mouse with glasses eating cheese. When I wanted to know how the storyline developed, Natálka told me:

Data Sample 12: Natálka describes her dream

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 10 **Me:** a jak se to vyvíjelo↑
and how did it continue↑
- 11
- 12 **Naty:** eeee
e::r
- 13
- 14 **Me:** byl tam taky někdo jinej↑
was there someone else too↑
- 15
- 16 **Naty:** byj tam kjisy (0,5) a ty si si udejaja mec (0,4) a josekaja je a byji na kous (.) ky (.) byji na
kousky víš
there were rats (0,5) and you made a sword (0,4) and hack them and they were in pie (.) ces
(.) they were in pieces you know
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20 **Me:** já jsem je tím mečem rozsekala↑
I hack them with that sword↑
- 21
- 22 **Naty:** ehe na kous (.) ky (.) a pak si je jeda HAHAHA HAHAHA HAHAHA
ehe to bi (.) ts (.) and then you ate them HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH
- 23
- 24 **Me:** no teda (0,4) a nezdál se ti ještě jinej sen↑
oh wow (0,4) and didn't you dream about something else↑
- 25
- 26 **Naty:** ne ne
no no
- 27

The *enable* relation could be seen in line 18, where Natálka said when the rats came, I made a sword and then hack them in bits. It should be noted that she chose the conjunction *and* to connect these episodes, which suggested the use of the *and* relation linking actions with chronological order. In this case, however, it could be observed that its function was to express an enabling condition, which was typical for an *enable* relationship. The necessary precondition for cutting up the rats in the story was making the sword. It meant that having this weapon enabled the subsequent move, but the production of the sword did not directly cause its subsequent use. However, if those rats also had a sword and tried to attack me, then we could talk about the cause and its consequences.

In Data Set Two, the prototypical example of the *enable* relationship could be seen in the audio recording TD08/31122020, where Natálka sung a song. The lyrics of the song were about a singing swan who was outside and Natálka wanted to take a picture of her; however, the swan flew away. Nevertheless, she eventually came back, then she even gave Natálka a lift on her back, and they flew up to the clouds. This sample demonstrated the use of the *enable* relation as the return of the swan made it possible for Natálka to fly with her in the clouds. If the swan had not come back, Natálka would not have experienced the view from the sky. Thus, the first episode provided the necessary but insufficient precondition for the appearance of the second statement. The fact that the swan returned to Natálka enabled the ride, it did not directly cause this move because instead of this activity they could, for example, play with toys.

In the audio recording TD04/05122020 Natálka wrote a letter to “Ježíšek” (Christ Child) and she said that she wished for an LOL bus and when you opened it, there was a doll that you can put in the water. Then she subsequently wanted to say where she saw this toy, however, I interrupted her as can be seen in the data sample below.

Data Sample 13: Natálka talks about the ideal cake and presents for her birthday
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

17 **Naty:** [to sem]
18 [I saw]
19 **Me:** [a přála by sis ještě]=no pokračuj (.) to jsi viděla
20 [and what else do you wish]=well continue (.) you saw that
21 **Naty:** ee (.) já sem to viděla v (.) v reklamě (.) ze jsem to chtěla taky vyskoušet
22 uh-uh (.) I saw that in (.) in an ad (.) that I also wanted to try that

The *enable* connector is to be found in line 22. In this case, the fact that Natálka saw the particular advertisement can be seen as a necessary precondition for the following episode, in which she said that she wanted to try it. If she had not seen it, she would not have had the opportunity to test the toy, as she would not have known about its existence. However, this condition was not sufficient enough for the occurrence of the second episode. In other words, seeing the advertisement only enabled Natálka to think about trying this toy. It did not cause it.

Another example of the *enable* relation occurred in the audio recording TD13/30012021 (Part A) where Natálka talked about her upcoming birthday (see below).

Data Sample 14: Ideal cake and presents for Natálka's birthday
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

- 1 **Naty:** já by sem chtěla za dort e e: takovej krásnej který je jarní=tam by bylo vevnitř to zelený
 2 trochu žlutý *a a potom* nahoze by to bylo nahoze by to bylo zelený tam by jsi tam udělala
 3 motýlka kytičku včeličku jak vykvítá strom s kytičkami kdytičky (.) prostě co je na jaze
 4 ((jaře)) (.) já by sem chtěla za dárek LOL pejsek takovej že je to kruh, tam sou samolepky
 5 aby sem to nalepila na na ten kruh *a (.) a potom* kdybych měla všechny no tak by z toho
 6 vzniknul sněhulák *a potom* když budu mít toho pejska LOL no tak tam bude to chlupatý *a*
 7 *potom* to chlupatý takhle odloupnu *a* tam bude pejsek nebo kočka *a* to bude jako krá:sný *a*
 8 ještě by sem (0,3) tak LOLeLku máme teďka máme pět dárků jo↑ tak jeden mám tak teďka
 9 jdu na ten druhej (0,4) co sem tam mami měla↑ ((Natálka mluví nepřetržitě 1 minutu 51
 10 vteřin))
 11 I would like a cake uh-uh a beautiful one that is spring like=there would be green, a little
 12 yellow in the inside *and and then* on top it would be on top it would be green you would
 13 make there a butterfly flowers bee blooming tree with flowers flowers (.) simply what is in
 14 spring (.) I would like to have LOL a doggie it is a circle there are stickers that you can stick
 15 to the circle *and (.) and then* when I have all of them there will be a snowman *and then* if I
 16 would have the doggie LOL well then it would be furry I would peel it off *and* there would
 17 be doggie or cat *and* it would be beau:tiful *and then* I would like (0,3) so LOL so we five
 18 gifts right↑ this is the first one so I am coming to the second one (0,4) so what have I there
 19 mum↑ ((Natálka talks 1 minute 51 second in total without interruption))

Natálka used the *enable* connector in lines 14 and 15. She said that there was a circle where you stuck stickers and when you had all of them, you would see a snowman. In this case, having every sticker enabled the occurrence of the snowman. If Natálka was missing a few stickers, the snowman would not appear because it would not be complete. And even if it were clear from the picture that there should be a snowman, the criterion that Natálka mentioned (i.e. having all the stickers) would not be fulfilled. The first episode thus created the necessary precondition for the occurrence of the second.

The comparison of both data sets showed that the *enable* relation had the same function in the narrative conversation in 2018 and at the turn of 2020. There was no significant difference between both data collections regarding the *enable* connector. As an example, we can compare the samples from the audio recordings TD18/16062018 (Part E) and TD13/30012021 (Part A) described in the previous paragraphs. In the excerpts, the two episodes expressing the *enable* relationship were linked with the conjunction *and then* connector which was typically used for the *then* relation. However, in these cases, they had different functions (i.e., they expressed enabling conditions) as was proved by the analysis of the semantic content. Natálka used a type of relationship to connect episodes, where the first one included a necessary but not sufficient precondition for the occurrence of the second move. It means that the first episode enabled but directly caused the subsequent action.

Using the *enable* relation reflected how the complexity of Natálka's thinking increased as she connected the individual parts of the narrative systematically and created more complex relationships among the individual episodes.

Such a relation also illustrated how Natálka thought and made sense of the world around her which was partially expressed by imagination and creativity, which accompanied not just the individual parts of the stories, but also the entire interaction. As an example, the extract taken from the audio recording TD18/16062018 (see Data Sample 12) could be mentioned, where Natálka talked about her wild dream (i.e., me as a mouse with glasses). In this story, her sense of humour (in line 23) could also be observed. The fact that I cut up the rats with a sword and then ate them was extremely amusing for her. In this case, my ideas about what was funny and her diverged.

5.1.4. THE CAUSE RELATION

In my bachelor's thesis (Šimková, 2019) I observed that the *cause* relation was typically used to express that a particular action caused the occurrence of the second episode. This meant that the subsequent development of the story was greatly influenced by what happened in the previous part of the narrative. The first episode thus included both necessary and sufficient condition for the second episode to appear. This type of relationship between episodes could be described as cause and effect.

The prototypical example of the *cause* relation in Data Set One was illustrated in the following extract taken from the audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part E).

Data Sample 15: Grandpa frightening off the tigers
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

145 **Naty:** neboj (.) koukni hihi (.) on tebe se mází (.) může taky u nás spát (.) seba tady ((ukazuje na
146 poličku)) (0,5) ((děda si pšíknul)) dedooo↑ (.) ty si mám vypjasil tygy (.) bíjí tygy (.) taky
147 sou bíjí tygzi ňáký (0,3) a tady je moje kosiska (.) mňau (0,3) ona se menuje Nau (.) Nau
148 Nau Nau (1,5) oni asi taky mají kízky ((knížky))
149 don't be afraid (.) look hih hih (.) he caresses you (.) he can also sleep here (.) for example
150 here ((she points to the shelf)) (0,5) ((grandpa sneezed)) grandpa::↑ (.) you have almost
151 frightened away the tigers (.) the white tigers (.) there are also tigers (0,3) and here is my
152 kitty (.) miaow (0,3) her name is Nau (.) Nau Nau Nau (1,5) they have also books

The *cause* relationship could be seen in line 150. When Natálka was showing us where the white tigers were going to sleep, Natálka's grandfather suddenly sneezed, which almost caused them to run away. Would the white tigers be startled if there was no loud sneeze? No, they would not. Therefore, this loud noise was both a necessary and sufficient precondition for the occurrence of the second episode. In other words, the fact that Natálka's grandfather sneezed caused the subsequent reaction of the tigers.

Another typical example of the *cause* relation could be seen in the audio recording TD14/01062018, where Natálka pretended to give birth to a girl called Alenka. When Natálka's grandmother asked me if I wanted to cradle Alenka, I replied:

Data Sample 16: Natálka's daughter Alenka
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

78 **Me:** radši néé
79 I would rather not
80 **Naty:** ona tě nepo↑kouše (.) ona nemá zuby víš
81 she won't bite↑ you (.) she doesn't have teeth you know

In this case, not having teeth was a necessary and sufficient criterion for the occurrence of the second episode, which was in this actually mentioned before the first one. To check the necessity criterion, we can ask the following question: Would Alenka bite me if she had no teeth? The answer would be “no”. It meant that Alenka could not bite me if she did not have teeth as it was impossible to bite someone without teeth, which Natálka knew very well.

Later in the conversation, Natálka used the *cause* relation again when she said that she was alone in the maternity hospital because Alenka's father was working, and therefore he could not be with her. The fact that the father was at work caused his absence which created the necessary and sufficient precondition for the second episode to occur. However, if he was not working, he would probably be with her and support her during the birth.

Data Set Two offered insight into the use of the *cause* connector, for example, in the audio recording TD05/27122020 (see below).

Data Sample 17: How the dog got sick

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 82 **Naty:** ((pejskovi je pořád zima))
83 ((the little dog is still cold))
84 **Me:** nemel sebou a bude ti teplo (0,2) tady máš vodičku
85 don't move and you get warm (0,2) here is the watter
86 **Naty:** ne pejsek je teďka nemocnej
87 no the little dog is sick now
88 **Me:** ale není
89 no he's not
90 **Naty:** jojo (.) bude nemocnej to byl ve sněhu tak ((Matýsek najednou začne ječet)) Matý on nespí
91 on je (.) brrr je mu zima Matý a je nastydlej
92 yep yep (: he will be sick he was in the snow so ((Matýsek begins to scream)) Matý he isn't
93 sleeping he is (.) brrr he is cold Matý he caught a cold

Natálka and I were playing with little plastic dogs in the garden where snow and the little dogs were playing. Natálka's dog suddenly sank into the snow up to his head and then he struggled out of it panting and with great effort. When he finally clawed his way back to the firm ground, he was cold. Therefore, I advised him to wrap himself in a blanket to warm up. However, the dog was still shivering with cold. Natálka came to the conclusion that the dog will be sick and that he really did catch a cold. The fact that the dog was under the snow for a relatively long time caused him to become ill. Being covered by snow thus represented the necessary and sufficient criterion for the subsequent cold.

By using this connection in her story, Natálka showed that she was aware of the consequence of the incident that happened to the dog; i.e., the dog would not have become sick if he had not been stuck in the snow. Through the *cause* relation, we learn how Natálka thought about the world that surrounded her. At the age of six, she could succinctly express the relationship between the cause and effect of someone's actions.

The following excerpt taken from the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part C) illustrated another typical use of the *cause* relationship. The context of the conversation was that Natálka and I were playing with two stuffed animals.

Data Sample 18: Talking about how the dog got injured
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 190 **Naty:** <°aha°> vázu sme rozbili (.) ty si (.) my sme takhle to (.) takhle běhali (.) a najednou se
191 takhle pomalinku takhle bě (.) takhle rychle jsme běhali, skákali, *potom* najednou sem někam
192 dorazila nebo ty *a potom* se to rozbilo (.) váza se rozbila
193 <°aha°> we broke the vase (.) you were (.) we were like that (.) running like that (.) *and*
194 suddenly we were runni ((running)) slowly like that (.) quickly running like that jumping
195 *then* suddenly I crashed into something or you *and then* it broke (.) the vase broke
196 **Me:** aha (.) a pak sis tam vrazila ten střep do tý packy↑
197 aha (.) and then you stuck the broken piece of glass into your paw↑
198 **Naty:** no=*a potom* sme pozád chodili *a* já sem měla zavřený ty oči *a* najednou °jauu° strep *a*
199 musela sem lezet v posteli *a* takhle to bylo
200 well=*and then* we were still walking *and* I had my eyes closed *and* suddenly °ouch° a piece
201 of the broken glass *and* I had to lie in the bed *and* it was like that

In this excerpt, the *cause* relation connected a more complex text and not just two consecutive episodes as in Data Sample 17. Natálka first mentioned that one of the dogs broke a vase in line 193 and in the following episodes explained how it happened. Then in line 200, she said that the dog stepped on the shard. In this case, breaking the vase was the cause of the subsequent dog's injury. Momentary inattention to the surrounding environment caused the dog to have a large piece of the broken glass in his paw, which would not have happened if the dogs had not broken the vase in the first place.

Later in the conversation, Natálka talked about how one of the dogs had a toothache and uses the *cause* relationship to connect two consecutive episodes (see below).

Data Sample 19: The dog visited the dentist
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 554 **Me:** ale přece mu nemůžeš Natálko vytrhnout zub, když ho má zdravej=to je jako kdybych ti taky
555 vytrhla zub
556 but you can't pull out her tooth Natálka when it is alright=it's like I would also pull out your
557 tooth
558 **Naty:** já měl takhle á: a on se mu kejval (.) ten zub se mu kejval tak čč už ho vytrhli (.) už ho vytrhl
559 hmm
560 I had like this ah: and it was loose (.) the tooth was loose so they've already pulled it out (.)
561 they've already pulled it out hmm

This example illustrated how Natálka thought about the connections between causes and their consequences. She was able to defend her opinion on the matter and explain why the event appeared in her narrative. This fact could be observed in lines 560 and 561. When I said

that she could not pull out a healthy tooth, Natálka gave valid reasons for her defense. The dog said that his tooth felt wobbly and therefore Natálka had to pull it out in order to relieve the dog's suffering.

In this case, the necessary criterion for the second episode could be judged by the “no” answer to the following question: Would the tooth be pulled out if it was not loose? The toothache did not enable but caused the subsequent move in which the dog had to visit a dentist. In other words, having a loose tooth caused the tooth to be pulled out.

When I compared both data sets, I concluded that the *cause* relationship had the same function in the narrative conversation in 2018 and at the turn of 2020. This connector was used to express the cause and its consequence in the storyline, where the first episode creates both necessary and sufficient precondition for the occurrence of the second one. The only difference between both data collections was that this kind of relationship appeared more often at the turn of 2020, as Natálka was more self-confident and conscious at the age of six when she used the *cause* relationship in the conversation.

The data samples showed that the use of this discursive strategy reflected Natálka's experience with the world around her (e.g., reaction to an unexpected loud sound or the fact that you cannot bite without teeth), fantasy and creativity, for example, when she pretended that there were white tigers in our surroundings. She could thoroughly connect all these elements into one complex unit with clearly defined relationships between the individual episodes.

5.2. ASKING QUESTIONS

In this section, I examine how Natálka asked questions, what information she sought, and whether or not she asked follow-up questions. The analysis is divided into three parts; namely, the matter of the *why* questions (5.2.1), *wh-* questions (5.2.2), and other types of questions (5.2.3), where I comment on the tag questions, the phrase *you know*, and polite questions.

5.2.1. THE QUESTION *WHY*

When I started recording my conversation with Natálka in 2018, I found that the question *why* occurred only once in the audio recording TD16/12062018 (Part A), even though she frequently asked such a question before collecting data. The following data sample

included the only example of the question *why* in Data Set One. The context of the conversation was that Natálka pretended to call her mother using a phone.

Data Sample 20: Making a phone call

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

1 **Naty:** ahoj nooo (.) ahoj maminó (.) já se tesím (0,4) co↑ máte po (.) po me požád ty psekvapeníčka
2 (.) ee↓ (.) to sou sekny psekvapení↑ (.) POČ (.) ee↓ (0,3) poč musím mít pokoj↑ (0,3) mami
3 tatko (.) musím být hodná=nezobija (.) mami a tatko posim te (.) nekte (.) nekte me a je to (.)
4 >musíte a hnet< (.) papa
5 hello we::l (.) hi mother (.) I am looking forward (0,4) what↑ you have for (.) for me still
6 some little surprises (.) uh↓ (.) that are all surprises↑ (.) WHY (.) uh↓ (0,3) why do I have to
7 have the room↑ (0,3) mummy daddy (.) I have to be a good girl=wasn't naughty (.) mummy
8 and daddy (.) please (.) leave (.) leave me be and that is (.) >you must and now< (.) bye bye

According to the call, Natálka's parents had a surprise for her, which she would get only if she did what her parents told her to do. The question: “*Why* do I have to have the room↑” indicated the need to clean her room first. She also mentioned another condition; namely, that she had to be a good girl. In this case, Natálka asked for a reason with which she was already familiar because she knew the parents' tactics in real life, which could be deduced from the fact that she subsequently provided an answer to this question (i.e., “I have to be a good girl”). The use of the question *why* could also be considered as a check to see whether something has changed.

From the excerpt, it could be concluded that Natálka was inspired by her experience and knowledge of the world, which made this story possible. This imaginative call mirrored a real phone interaction as Natálka paused between the individual parts to show that the person on the other side was talking to her, and then she responded. She also included a familiar parenting tactic in the story; i.e., she would get a surprise if she cleaned her room. Using this strategy in real life, Natálka's parents wanted to teach her that her room should not be full of toys lying on the floor. In this data sample, she illustrated how it worked in practice using the question *why* and the justification.

According to Blank's categorisation (1975), Natálka's question could be characterised as a *why* of justification as she wants to find out the cause for the action she is asked to do (i.e., cleaning her room). However, Natálka's utterance could also be considered as *why* of action expressing both a statement of motivation and condition. In other words, the surprises not only motivated Natálka to clean her room but also laid down a necessary condition for receiving the given reward.

In Data Set Two Natálka used the question *why* six times. The following paragraphs describe these cases in detail. The first example could be found in the audio recording TD03/05122020 (Part A), where Natálka's grandmother and I were preparing potato salad.

Data Sample 21: Talking about potato salad

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

- 1 **Naty:** co se zapráší↑
2 what will get dusty↑
3 **Me:** no po tom salátu se zapráší
4 the salad will run out
5 **Naty:** jo: *proc*↑
6 really: *why*↑
7 **Me:** jak je dobrej (.) tak hned zmizí
8 because it is so good (.) so it will be gone fast
9 **Granny:** tak ho hned sníme
10 it will be eaten right away
11 **Naty:** hmmm
12 hmm

In this case, Natálka did not understand what I indicated in my statement when I used the word “zaprášit se” in reference to the potato salad, and she demanded more information. The word-for-word translation of the verb “zaprášit se” is “get dusty”, which does not correspond with the intended meaning. The English equivalent expressing a similar meaning would be “run out“ or “sell like hot cakes”. Since it was the first time she had heard such a phrase, she did not know how to deal with it.

Misunderstanding of the situation was also reflected in her first question in line 1 where she asked “**co** se zapráší”↑ indicating the meaning “to get dusty” (i.e., “**what** will get dusty”). The correct question in this context would be: “**po čem** se zapráší” (i.e., “**what** will run out”). The main difference between these two questions was the use of the interrogative pronoun which in this case significantly changed the meaning. While in Czech the pronoun was declined, in English both forms were expressed by the same pronoun, “what”. Since Natálka did not understand the meaning of “zaprášit se” in the given context, she mistakenly used the pronoun in the nominative (i.e., “co”). To express the original meaning, she would have to use the pronoun in locative with a suitable preposition (i.e., “po čem”).

Not understanding the given connections between what I said and what it meant, she used the question *why* (see line 6). Once we explained the reason for the disappearance of the potato salad, our answer was sufficient for her to understand the given situation; therefore, she

did not need to ask further questions. Since she focused on the appearance of the concrete move, the use of such a question could be considered *why* of action.

The second prototypical example of this discursive strategy was illustrated in the following extract taken from the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part A).

Data Sample 22: Giving a pillow to an injured dog
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 19 **Naty:** hele víš, *proč* mi panička tady dala polštář↑
20 hey do you know *why* my owner gave me the pillow here↑
21 **Me:** to nevím
22 I don't know
23 **Naty:** proto aby sem si tam dal nemocnou tlapku
24 so that I can put there my sick paw
25 **Me:** aha
26 aha
27 **Naty:** kdyby něco mě začala bolet
28 if it started to hurt
29 **Me:** vždyť to máš hezky obvázaný
30 you have it nicely bandaged after all
31 **Naty:** no↑ ale by mi tekla krev (.) [tčeba]
32 yeah↑ but if it started to bleed (.) [for example]
33 **Me:** [no ale už] neteče, vždyť to máš hezky obvázaný
34 [well but] it doesn't bleed anymore you have it nicely bandaged
35 **Naty:** no mě=já sem tam měla velkej stěp ((střep)) [°ostrej°]
36 well me=I had there a big piece of broken glass [°a sharp one°]
37 **Me:** já vím (.) [vždyť jsem] si tady s tebou hrála a ty jsi do toho vběhla
38 I know (.) [I played] here with you after all and you ran into it
39 **Naty:** °aha° (0,4) tuhle sme se () na zahradě
40 °aha° (0,4) once we () in the garden

In contrast to the previous example, in this case, Natálka asked for information that only she knew. Although I was familiar with the context of the conversation, I had no idea what the answer was. Natálka then revealed the reason why she put the pillow there; it was meant for the dog to relax his injured paw there. She further provided two more motives why the dog needed the pillow (i.e., if the paw started to hurt or bleed again). This data sample showed Natálka's developed argumentation skills, the ability to clarify and justify her action. It further represented the only instance of the *why* question in Data Set Two that was answered by Natálka herself and not by the other participants in the conversation. In the data sample, she provided valid reasons for her move (i.e., giving the pillow to the dog); therefore, the question *why* could be characterised as *why* of action in this context.

The same audio recording TD06/27122020 included another example of the *why* question in Part D. When Natálka was talking about how her dog injured his paw, she suddenly called me and asked where her grandmother and grandfather were. She subsequently asked me another question, which could be seen below.

Data Sample 23: Asking why Natálka's parents went working
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 215 **Naty:** aha (.) a mamka s tatškou šli pracovat↑
216 aha (.) and mum and dad went working↑
217 **Me:** ehm
218 ahem
219 **Naty:** proč jste chtěli aby oni šli pracovat↑
220 why did you want them to go working↑
221 **Me:** oni šli sami pracovat (.) tam chtějí dodělat ten domeček váš
222 they wanted to go working (.) they want to finish your house there
223 **Naty:** to bude už celý (.) to bude už hotovo↑
224 it will be done (.) will it be finished yet↑
225 **Me:** nee, tam je ještě spousta práce
226 no there is so much work
227 **Naty:** ee (.) já us
228 uh-uh (.) I've already

After I confirmed Natálka's question about whether her parents went to work, she immediately asked me why we wanted them to do it. My answer was not enough for her and therefore she required more information. Once she satisfied her curiosity, she immediately returned to the previous story about the injured dog. By asking the question *why*, she wanted to find out the reason for her parents' departure; i.e., what motivated and caused them to leave. In this case, she demanded justification for the move; therefore, Natálka's question could be considered why of *justification*.

In the audio recording TD07/28122020 (Part D), Natálka and I were talking about a fairy tale we had seen and its development from beginning to end. It was a Russian fairy tale called *Mrazík* (*Father Frost* in English), which was typically broadcast during the Christmas season. In the end, two of the main characters who behaved badly turned into one ice statue as punishment. Nevertheless, Natálka denied that it really occurred in the fairy tale (see below).

Data Sample 24: Talking about the ending of the fairy tale called *Mrazík*
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 399 **Me:** a neproměnili se náhodou pak v kus ledu↑
400 and didn't they turn into ice then↑
401 **Naty:** néé
402 no::

403 **Me:** ale joo:: (.) oni se proměnili v kus ledu
 404 yeah:: they did (.) they turned into ice
 405 **Naty:** *pro* ((*proč*)) (.) tak to sem neviděla
 406 *why* (.) I haven't seen that
 407 **Me:** tak to jsi asi nedávala pozor (.) tak a teď máš oko od polívky ((směrem k Matyáškoví))
 408 so you weren't paying attention (.) and now you have soup on your eyes ((towards
 409 Matyášek))

When I confirmed that it was part of the storyline, she asked why they ended up like this and added that she did not see it. Stating that Natálka was not paying attention, I needed to turn to Matyášek who got stained with the soup. Not only was Natálka the first to change the subject, but she also did not give me the space to comment on her question. I did not come back to her question either, and thus I did not explain why these two characters turned into ice. (The fact that these two characters behaved inappropriately and harmed someone caused them to become one ice statue.) The relationship between these episodes (i.e., the behaviour of the characters and turning into an ice statue) could be described as the cause and consequence. Therefore, Natálka's question could be classified as the *why* of causal relation. This sample also showed the influence of the immediate environment and the actions of other participants in the conversation. In this case, it caused Natálka's *why* question to be more or less ignored and overlooked.

In the same audio recording in Part E, Natálka and I were talking about another fairy tale we have seen that day. In the flow of the interaction, she used a *why* of action question (see below).

Data Sample 25: Asking why the fairy tale is called “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

467 **Me:** nesměj mě (.) radši říkej, co bylo v tý pohádce=jmenovala se “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”
 468 don't make me laugh (.) tell me what was in that fairy tale instead=its name is “*S čerty nejsou*
 469 *žerty*”
 470 **Naty:** <°joo “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”°> *proč*↑
 471 <°yeah:: “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”°> *why*:: ↑
 472 **Me:** protože když si zahráváš s peklem tak se ti to vymstí (.) hamej ((Natálka se v pozadí směje))
 473 koukej na mě prosím tě (.) no tak hamej ham (0,3) vidíš, dělá kravinky, když ty děláš
 474 kravinky=tak se nesměj ham
 475 because if you are playing with the hell it will recoil on you (.) eat ((Natálka is laughing in
 476 the background)) look at me please (.) come on eat (0,3) see he is naughty when you are
 477 naughty=so don't laugh eat

When I mentioned its title, Natálka immediately brightened and added: “<°yeah:: “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”°> *why*:: ↑”. As Natálka was surprised by its title, she wanted to know why it was called “*S čerty nejsou žerty*” (*Give the Devil His Due* in English). Her question

thus could be considered *why* of justification in this context. Once I explained its meaning, I turned to Matyášek, who was eating, without hearing Natálka's reply.

Although the question *why* was answered, instead of reacting to its meaning, Natálka started to laugh because she noticed that Matyášek was squinting. The fact that he was cross-eyed was much more interesting than the title of the fairy tale. As in the previous case, the influence of the immediate environment had a significant impact on the subsequent development of the conversation.

The audio recording TD12/21012021 (Part B) included the last example of the *why* question. The context of the conversation was that Natálka's mother tried to persuade her to talk about what she did that day.

Data Sample 26: Talking about Natálka's day

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

- 63 **Mum:** a řekni, co jsi dneska dělala↑
64 and tell me what did you do today↑
65 **Naty:** ee *proč jako*↑
66 er: *why*↑
67 **Mum:** no tak řekni, co jste včera vyráběli, co jste včera vyráběli↑
68 so tell me what did you make yesterday what did you make yesterday↑
69 **Naty:** ovečku s (.) [s (.) tou ohrádkou]
70 a little sheep with (.)[with the small pen]
71 **Maty:** [oovecu já]
72 [the sheep me]
73 **Mum:** popiš mi to
74 tell me about it
75 **Naty:** eee
76 eer
77 **Mum:** nechceš↑
78 you don't want to↑
79 **Naty:** ee
80 eer

In this case, Natálka used a slightly modified question *why* in line 65, which was not reflected in the translation; therefore, the original version was crucial for understanding the hidden meaning of such a question. The word *jako* (i.e., *like* in English) used in this context was considered to be rather impolite implying Natálka's back talk or even impudence. As Natálka did not want to answer her mother's question, nor did she want to talk about anything at all, she decided to use the word *jako* in the question.

Instead of the question *why*, she could have remained silent or said “no”, but she probably chose this discursive strategy because she wanted to clearly demonstrate her feelings

and know the reason why she should answer her mother's question. Natálka's question in line 66 therefore could be considered *why* of justification. This audio recording included the only example of the question *why* that was not used mainly to find out a reason for concrete action. It must be added that until the end of the recording, Natálka's mother did not manage to convince her to join the conversation because she kept retorting and was simply not in the mood to talk.

Unlike Data Set One, which included only one example of the *why* question, in Data Set Two Natálka used this question six times in total. The following figure compares the function and type of the question *why* according to Blank's (1975) categorisation (see 2.1.2), where DSO refers to Data Set One and DST to Data Set Two. It also illustrates who answered Natálka's question and how she reacted to it.

Figure 12: Comparing the function of the question *why* in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

Data Sample	Data Set	Function and type of the question <i>why</i>	The person who answered the question	Natálka's reaction
20	DSO	check validity; <i>why</i> of justification/action	Natálka	expressing agreement
21	DST	check comprehension; <i>why</i> of action	me (the author) and Natálka's grandmother	short reply
22	DST	check knowledge; <i>why</i> of action	Natálka	argumentation
23	DST	looking for a reason; <i>why</i> of justification	me (the author)	follow-up questions
24	DST	express surprise, unfamiliarity; <i>why</i> of causal relation	no answer	changing the topic
25	DST	looking for a reason; <i>why</i> of justification	me (the author)	no reaction
26	DST	show unwillingness to speak; <i>why</i> of justification	no answer	short replies

A comparison of both data sets showed that the development of this discursive strategy was interrupted when Natálka was four years old (only one case); however, at the age of six, it started to develop further (six cases in total). Although Natálka did not use the question *why* often, the examples in both data collections offered a rich variety of such a question. Figure 12 illustrated that each instance had a specific function in the narrative and contained a different message. Natálka typically asked the question *why* because she sought the reason, cause, or purpose for a particular event, reflecting the need to satisfy her natural curiosity and thus to understand the world that surrounds her. In some cases, it could be observed that she did not manage to find the answer for which she was looking (Data Samples

24 and 26). Natálka's reaction when her question *why* was answered was also varied; starting with silence, changing the subject, expressing agreement, short replies, and ending with follow-up questions and arguments.

It was also interesting that Natálka answered two of these questions herself when she was four and six years old. It could be concluded that at the age of four, she was already able to justify the given activity, as she provided the reason for the move. However, it must be noted that for this theory to be confirmed, more examples would be needed. However, no additional examples were in Data Set One. Moreover, it was likely that Natálka was able to answer her question because she encountered a similar situation at home. From the second example, it could be concluded that her argumentative skills have developed greatly. At the age of six, she not only mentioned several valid reasons, but with their help, she tried to convince me that she was right and thus defend her position.

5.2.2. “WH- QUESTIONS”

In this section, I examine how Natálka asked about a person (e.g., “Who wants some more ice cream?”), things (e.g., “What song is this↑”), place (e.g., “Hey mummy where are you flying↑”), manner, condition, or quality (e.g., “How do you write V↑”), and time. It was found that the frequency of these questions changed little in two years. While in Data Set One the scale looked like this (1) what, (2) where, (3) who, (4) how, (5) which, and (6) when, in Data Set Two there were a few changes (see below). In Data Set One Natálka used “wh- questions” 28 times, whereas in Data Set Two she used them only 13 times.

Figure 13: Comparison of “wh- questions” in both data collections

The placings	Data Set One		Data Set Two	
	Type of question	Total number	Type of question	Total number
1.	What	19	What	9
2.	Where	5	Where	2
3.	Who	3	Which	1
4.	How	2	How	1
5.	Which	0	Who	0
6.	When	0	When	0

Firstly, the prototypical example of the *what* question in Data Set One could be found in the following excerpt taken from the audio recording TD17/16062018 (Part C).

Data Sample 27: Asking what surprises Natálka's parents have
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

18 **Naty:** eee ahoj mami (.) *co*↑ mate po me zase nějaký překvapení↑ a jaký↑ nemůžete mi to říct↑ (.) aha
19 (.) a *co* je to (0,3) mám tam ukjizeno (.) nemám↑ čeba mám (.) mám tam (0,5) ukjizeno mám
20 tam (1,0) ahoj mami papa
21 er hi mum (.) *what*↑ you have a surprise for me again↑ and *what*↑ you cannot say↑ (.) aha (.)
22 and *what* is it (0,3) I have it cleaned (.) I don't have↑ maybe have (.) have there (0,5) cleaned
23 I have there (1,0) bye mum bye bye

The context of the conversation was that Natálka pretended to call her mother using a real phone because she wanted to tell her what we were going to do. However, once she greeted her mother, she changed her mind and started talking about the surprises Natálka's parents had for her. The data sample illustrated three instances of the question *what*. While in the first case this question was used to express surprise, in the second and third cases a clear answer was demanded. When asking such a question, Natálka wanted her parents to reveal what kind of surprise they had prepared for her.

This excerpt also demonstrated Natálka's thought processes in line 22, where she argued that she cleaned her room and wanted to convince them to tell her what surprises they had. It meant that Natálka used her negotiation skills to reach her goal and find out what the surprises were.

Another example could be found in the audio recording TD15/01062018 (Part A), where Natálka was calling František, a character from a Czech TV program for children called *Kouzelná školka*; i.e., *Magic Kindergarten* in English (see below).

Data Sample 28: A phone call with František
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Grandpa (Natálka's grandfather)

11 **Naty:** ehe (.) on je skutečný (0,5) ahoj=no (.) ano () *co*↑ (.) *co* je to Fantišku↑ (0,6) jo
12 Fantišku (.) ano=ano (0,4) jó Fantišku posím tě (.) musis pít **pítku** ((význam neznámý))
13 take musis Fantišku víš (0,3) Fantišek má škytátku
14 uh-huh (.) he is real (0,5) hi=well (.) yes () *what*↑ (.) *what* is it František↑ (0,6)
15 yep František (.) yes=yes (0,4) ye::s František please (.) you must drink „**pítka**“ ((unknown
16 meaning)) you also must František you know (0,3) František has hiccups
17 **Grandpa:** jak to↑
18 why↑
19 **Naty:** potu nepí vody (.) pak se počural a potom byja škytátka (0,3) ano Fantišku (.) áááá (0,3)
20 papa Fantišku
21 because he has not drunk water (.) then he wet himself and then he had hiccups (0,3) yes
22 František (.) o:::h (0,3) bye bye František

In line 14 Natálka used the question *what* to find out what happened to František. It could be assumed that she was worried about him, most likely because of something he said. The analysis of the phone call showed that František asked for a piece of advice; therefore, Natálka wanted to know more information to help him. In the following lines, she advised František what he should do to get rid of hiccups. She even mentioned why this happened reflecting how she understood the relationship between episodes. In this case, she was able to recognise cause and effect (i.e., František had hiccups because he did not drink any water).

In Data Set Two, the prototypical example could be seen in the audio recording TD07/28122020 (Part F). When Natálka, Matyášek, and I were eating lunch, Matyšek started to fidget in the seat, which caused him to almost fall out, so I warned him not to do that. Natálka then asked me: “and *what* is he doing↑”. As she did not see what he was doing, she wanted to explain Matyášek's action. Nevertheless, I decided to not mention his dangerous move. In this case, Natálka's question could be classified as information seeking.

In the audio recording TD13/30012021 (Part A), where Natálka talked about her upcoming birthday, she used two types of question *what*. She mentioned what kind of cake and gifts she would like to have (see below).

Data Sample 29: Thinking about an ideal birthday present
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

9 **Naty:** ...*co* sem tam mami měla↑
 10 ...so *what* have I there mum↑
 11 **Mum:** no tak si něco řekni
 12 well choose something
 13 **Naty:** tak já si (.) tak já bysem chtěla eště (.) ehmm (.) *co* by sem tak chtěla↑ (0,6) já by sem chtěla
 14 (0,5) koč °ne já nevím°
 15 so I would (.) would like (.) ehmm (.) *what* would I like to have↑ (0,6) I would like (0,5) a ca
 16 ((a cat)) °no I don't know°

Unlike in the previous example, in line 9 she asked for a piece of information she had once known but had forgotten. Natálka used such a question to look for specific information. In line 15 she introduced another type of question *what*. In this case, her question could be classified as rhetorical as it expressed her inner thought. In other words, it was not meant to be answered by the other participants in the conversation. An analogous case could be found in the audio recording TD07/28122020 (Part C), where Natálka asked herself: “What could I print out”.

The following extract taken from the audio recording TD05/27122020 included another function of the question *what*. The context of the conversation was that Natálka and I were playing with little plastic dogs.

Data Sample 30: Bedtime story

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 1 **Me:** tak řekneme pejskům pohádku na dobrou noc (.) pejscí zalezte do postýlky a panenka vám
2 bude říkat pohádku na↑ (.) Natálko půjč si panenku a [říkej pejskům] pohádku
3 so are we telling a bed time fairy tale to the little dogs (.) little dogs go to your little beds and
4 the little doll will tell you a fairy tale here↑ (.) Natálka take the doll and [tell a fairy tale] to
5 the little dogs
6 **Naty:** [co↑] (0,3) ale já nevím jakou
7 [what↑] (0,3) but I don't know which one
8 **Me:** tak si nějakou vymysli panenku
9 so come up with some little doll
10 **Naty:** ee
11 uh-uh

When I told Natálka to take the doll and narrate a fairy tale to the little dogs, she suddenly interrupted me and asked me: “What↑”. In this case, she probably did not clearly hear me as I was speaking quickly; therefore, she asked for clarification. She could also have failed to comprehend what I was saying. However, the excerpt illustrated that she understood the given message in a few seconds and immediately responded to what I asked her to do. It could therefore be concluded that Natálka's thinking process was very fast and she was capable of immediate reaction to a given situation, even if she was a little hesitant at the beginning.

The comparison of both data collections indicated that Natálka did not predominantly use the question *what* when she asked for specific information. This type of question also appeared in four other situations, as seen in the following figure. It also shows who answered Natálka's question, her reaction and how many times each type of question *what* occurred in both data sets.

Figure 14: Comparison of the question *what* in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

The function of the question <i>what</i>	A person who answered the question	Natálka's reaction	Data Set One	Data Set Two
information seeking	Natálka, Natálka's parents, me (the author)	follow-up questions, short reply, no reaction	15	5
express surprise	Natálka, Natálka's parents, me (the author)	follow-up questions, short reply, no reaction	2	0
express concern	Natálka's mother	relief	2	0
rhetorical question	Natálka	short reply	0	2
clarification	Natálka's mother	short reply, no reaction	0	2

In Data Set One, the question *what* was mostly used to ask for specific information. There were also a few cases expressing that Natálka was surprised or concerned, which did not appear in Data Set Two. At the turn of 2020, she introduced two new types of question *what*. Sometimes the question was rhetorical in nature reflecting, Natálka's train of thought. In two cases, she asked for clarification, as she did not clearly hear the previous statement. Both data collections showed that this discursive strategy was not only used to express the need to learn more information, but also to express Natálka's feelings.

The question *what* was predominantly answered by other participants in the conversation; only in a few cases, she provided the answer herself. She typically reacted with a short reply and follow-up questions emphasising a need to know more information. In this way, she wanted to satisfy her curiosity and acquire new knowledge about the surrounding world.

Second, the prototypical example of the question *where* in Data Set One could be found in the following extract taken from the audio recording TD02/16022018 (Part C). The context of the conversation was that Natálka narrated a fairy tale about how the mammoths met the horses.

Data Sample 31: Asking where everyone is
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 143 **Naty:** my sme si hjáji s dětmama (.) jak máme MY a TY (.) víš (0,3) a *kde* máš bášku↑
144 we played with children (.) how we have WE and YOU (.) you know (0,3) and *where* is your
145 little brother↑
146 **Me:** já nemám brášku
147 I don't have a brother
148 **Naty:** máš jenom ségu↑
149 you have only a sister↑
150 **Me:** to je moje miminko
151 this is my baby
152 **Naty:** jo (.) a *kde* máš tátu↑

153 yep (.) and *where* is daddy↑
 154 **Me:** je na lovu
 155 he went out hunting
 156 **Naty:** na jobu (.) hodně dajeko↑
 157 hunting (.) far away↑
 158 **Me:** ano
 159 yes
 160 **Naty:** °ty brd'°
 161 °o:h wow°

When Natálka was talking about the mammoths, she suddenly changed the topic and asked me (aka the horse), where my little brother was. The excerpt illustrated that my subsequent answer (that I did not have a brother) was insufficient. Therefore Natálka wanted to know more information about my family and asked a few follow-up questions (i.e., whether I had only a sister, where and how far my father was). The data sample illustrated a wonderful example of asking additional questions reflecting Natálka's desire to satisfy her curiosity and the need to learn more information about the world around her.

A different type of question *where* was used in the audio recording TD10/01012021, in which Natálka was shooting *Angry Birds* from a catapult (see below).

Data Sample 32: Shooting birds from a catapult

Participants: Natty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

44 **Me:** tak co máš tam další písničku nebo něco↑
 45 so do you have another song or something else↑
 46 **Naty:** ee (.) jo mám (.) ptáček letí nahoru dolu né ((Natálka má hračku vystřelovacího ptáčka z
 47 praku))
 48 eh-uh (.) yep I have (.) the birdie is flying up not down ((Natálka has a toy that shoots birds
 49 from a catapult))
 50 **Me:** no na mě s tím nemiř Natálko (.) no takhle né, tam je okno
 51 well don't aim at me Natálka (.) not there as well there is a window
 52 **Naty:** ee *kam* by sem mohla mířit↑
 53 er so *where* should I aim↑
 54 **Me:** támhle do toho modrého pytle miř
 55 you could aim at the blue bag
 56 **Naty:** to je (.) kousek (0,2) chci dál
 57 that it (.) close (0,2) I want further
 58 **Me:** tak mi:::ř (.) hmm
 59 so lets ai:::m (.) hmm
 60 **Naty:** áá na pytel ((a vystřelí))
 61 aah at the blue bag ((and she shoots))
 62 **Me:** hmm
 63 hmm

In this case, Natálka was playing with the catapult and wondering where to shoot. She chose an unsuitable place every time (i.e., my face, the window), which could have serious consequences. Because I did not always let her shoot, she asked: “Er, so where should I

aim↑”. In contrast to the previous example, here she asked about a concrete place where the bird could land and even used a polite form (i.e., should) in the question. In other words, Natálka focused on the location itself as it was crucial for the subsequent move.

It was also interesting to observe that my suggestion was not good for Natálka, and therefore she required another location. However, when I started to think about where she could aim, she suddenly decided to shoot the blue bag. This excerpt illustrated that even if Natálka did not like something at first, she could quickly change her mind demonstrating her adaptability to the needs of others.

A comparison of both data collections indicated the same tendencies concerning the use of the question *where* in Natálka's utterances (see the following figure). Figure 15 also illustrates who answered Natálka's question, her reaction to the response, and how many times each type of question *where* occurred in both data sets.

Figure 15: Comparison of the question *where* in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

The function of the question <i>where</i>	A person who answered the question	Natálka's reaction	Data Set One	Data Set Two
asking for a person's location	me (the author), Natálka's mother, Natálka	follow-up questions, short reply	5	1
asking about a location	me (the author)	short reply with a request	0	1

I found that Natálka asked the question *where* when she wanted to know a place where one of the main characters went. The only exception could be seen in Data Set Two, in which she asked about a concrete place and not a person's location. As Natálka was primarily focused on the main characters of the story and their moves, she did not need to ask about a specific location. If a place was discussed in the conversation, Natálka always specified it during the narration; therefore, she did not have to use the question *where*.

Her questions were almost always answered by other participants in the conversation; Natálka rarely provided an answer herself. She typically reacted with another question expressing her desire for additional information, or a short reply. It was interesting to point out that in one case, she did not accept the answer and insisted on changing the statement.

Third, I examine how Natálka asked about a character present in the storyline. Surprisingly, the question *who* did not occur in Data Set Two at all. It was used only once in a relative clause in the audio recording TD10/01012021, where Natálka said that a cat would

scrawl the faces of “someone *who* is bad”. For this reason, I only discuss how she used this question in 2018 and characterise the question *who* in terms of its function, the person who provided an answer, and Natálka's reaction (see below).

Figure 16: Characterisation of the question *who* in Data Set One

The function of the question <i>who</i>	A person who answered the question	Natálka's reaction
asking about an individual's wishes	no answer	changing topic
asking about ownership	me (the author), Natálka's grandmother, Natálka	explanation, short reply

The following extract taken from the audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part F) includes two prototypical examples of the question *who*.

Data Sample 33: Asking about a book

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

- 172 **Naty:** ...taky sisly koníčky OO a sechny zízata uz sou taky asi (.) jasnée (.) to se tak jenom zíká
 173 víste (.) asi mají sekni kízky a taky takojou ((kouká na knížku, kterou drží v ruce)) *kdo* má
 174 takojou kízku↑
 175 ...also little horses came O::H and all animals they are already here perhaps (.) ri::ght (.) it is
 176 only said you know (.) they all probably have books and also this one ((she is looking at the
 177 book she is holding)) *who* has a book like this↑
 178 **Me:** [já]
 179 [me]
 180 **Granny:** [já ne]
 181 [I don't]
 182 **Naty:** né (.) ty más kízku (.) aje já se páám zízatům jenom vis (.) *kdo* má tu kízku↑ (0,5) má asi to
 183 jodinka PEJsků
 184 no:: (.) you have a book (.) but I ask animals only you know (.) *who* has the boo:k↑ (0,5) it
 185 has probably the DOgs family

The context of the conversation was that before Natálka, her grandparents, and I went to sleep, Natálka wanted to tell us a fairy tale about all the stuffed and imagined animals. She took a book in her hands and asked: “*Who* has a book like this↑”.

When Natálka's grandmother answered: “I don't”, Natálka stated that it was not true and added that she was asking only about the animals. As the listeners were not familiar with this fact, she needed to emphasise that the question was not meant for everyone. In this case, asking such a question might seem to be rather pointless as she could easily visually check who had the book. The fact that there were a lot of animals could make this inspection quite long; therefore, she preferred to ask. Moreover, this question simplified her work and saved her a lot of time.

Line 184 included another example of the question *who*. In this case, other participants in the conversation already knew that Natálka was asking the imaginative animals, and therefore they remained silent. As answering the question was important for the subsequent development of the story, Natálka decided to answer it herself. It was interesting to note that even Natálka was not sure who has the book. This excerpt illustrated her adaptability to a rather complicated situation, in which she needed to decide whether she would speak for the imaginary animals or choose a different strategy using her creative spirit.

Fourth, I describe how Natálka asked about the manner, condition, or quality at both preschool and school age. In Data Set One, the question *how* appeared in the audio recording TD19/16072018 (Part A). The context of the conversation was that Natálka retold a fairy tale that I narrated a few moments earlier (see below).

Data Sample 34: A fairy tale about a horse
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

6 **Naty:** koník chce být doma (.) spinkal (.) potom šel a šel sem domu (.) potom on se ztratil koníka
7 (.) zůstal stát (.) potom take čekal (.) potom na něm pšiletěl (.) HOP (.) její a její (.) potom
8 byji () jak take take (.) *jak* to je↑ (.) jak se bude menovat ten kál↑
9 the little horse wants to be home (.) he slept (.) then he went and went here home (.) then he
10 got lost the little horse (.) he stopped (.) then waited like this (.) then he ride him (.) HOP (.)
11 they went and went (.) then they were () like this like this (.) *how* is it↑ what is the
12 king's name↑

In this case, Natálka was not sure how the story developed; therefore she used the question *how* in line 11. Without pausing she immediately asked about the name of the king. It implied that she suddenly remembered that there was a king in the kingdom. As Natálka could subsequently continue with the storyline it was no longer necessary to answer the question *how*.

The same audio recording included the second representative of the question *how* in 2018 (see below). The context of the conversation was that Natálka narrated a fairy tale about a horse who met a king.

Data Sample 35: Asking how something looks like
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

46 **Naty:** jakou hádanku mi dáš↑ (0,6) má to dlouhý krk <á to žiijée (.) na take jisty ((listy)) a stom>
47 ((strom)) má stom taky (.) je to dlouhý a jí to jisty (.) co to je↑“ žirapa (.) spávně (.) výborně
48 (.) a *jak* to vypadá↑ (.) °je to domek° (.) () potom (.) potom letěl a letěl jenom tak a
49 potom byj v domečku a spinkaj (.) konééééc

50 what riddle do you have for me↑ (0,6) it has a long neck <a::nd it live::s (.) on this leaves and
 51 the tree> it has the tree (.) it is long and eats leaves (.) what is it↑ the giraffe (.) right (.)
 52 excellent (.) and *how* does it look like↑ (.) °it is a house° (.) () then (.) then he
 53 flew and flew just like this and then he was in the little house and slept (.) the e:::nd

Once the horse met the king, he said the little horse could not leave the castle if he does not answer the riddle correctly. Needless to say, he succeeded as it was quite easy to guess. When Natálka asked how it looked like afterwards, I first thought she was talking about the giraffe. However, she subsequently said it was a house. In this case, Natálka asked about the house of the little horse and its appearance so that the king could direct him in the right direction.

The question *how* occurred only once in Data Set Two, which could be seen in the audio recording TD04/05122020 where Natálka was writing a letter to *Ježíšek* (i.e., *Christ Child*). When she was drawing trousers with owls, I advised her to write the word owl there as well so that it was clear what animal it was. The Czech equivalent was *sova*; however, Natálka said she did not know the letters. She was able to write the letter S and O but was not sure about V, therefore she asked: “*How* do you write V↑”. Subsequently I showed her the letter on a piece of paper and she immediately recognised it. In this case, such a question was considered to express manner.

The comparison of both data collections indicated the same tendencies in terms of using the question *how* in the flow of the conversation. The following figure illustrates the functions of this question, who answered Natálka's question, her reaction, and how many times each type occurred in both data sets.

Figure 17: Comparison of the question *how* in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

The function of the question <i>how</i>	A person who answered the question	Natálka's reaction	Data Set One	Data Set Two
Asking about the storyline	no reply	another question	1	0
asking about appearance, manner	Natálka	short reply	1	1

Fifth, I comment on the use of the question *which* in both data collections. Interestingly, except for one rare case in Data Set Two which could be seen in the following sample taken from the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part G), Natálka did not use such a question.

Data Sample 36: Asking which fairy tale the dog would like to hear

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 406 **Naty:** počkej (.) dýchej zhluboka se nadechni ((Natálka sama se zhluboka nadechne, ale já pořád
407 dělám, že pejsek pláče a je smutný)) (.) neplakej, tak pod' do pelíšku
408 wait (.) breathe take a deep breath ((Natálka takes a deep breath herself, but I am still
409 pretending that the doggy is crying and is sad)) (.) don't cry so come on to your bed
410 **Me:** já chci pohádku::
411 I want a fairy ta::le
412 **Naty:** a psi ale nemají pohádky
413 and dogs don't have fairy tales
414 **Me:** já jí mám ráda
415 I like it
416 **Naty:** a *jakou* chceš teda↑
417 and *which* one do you want↑
418 **Me:** já nevím=ňáskou hezkou
419 I don't know=a nice one
420 **Naty:** tak já ti pustím telefon tut (.) na koukej se
421 so I will turn on the phone tut (.) here watch

The context of the conversation was that Natálka tried by all possible means to persuade a dog with a broken tooth to visit a doctor. In the excerpt, she wanted to calm the dog down; therefore, she told him to take a deep breath. When he subsequently whimpered as he wanted a fairy tale, Natálka asked which one he wanted. In this case, the dog has a lot of options to choose from, and because there are too many, he cannot narrow them down. Natálka reacted by turning on the phone and did not ask any more questions. The choice of words in the question (see line 417) and tone of voice might seem rather cold. It could be assumed that it even annoyed Natálka a bit. In this case, the question *which* not only expressed the need for more information but also Natálka's feelings.

Finally, I comment on the question *when*. Surprisingly, I did not find any instance of such a question either in Data Set One or in Data Set Two. It was used only as a conjunction in both data collections. It showed that it was not necessary to ask this type of question, as time was always somehow expressed in the flow of the conversation. For that reason, there was no reason to use the *when* question. However, it could be assumed that when Natálka was four years old, she was not very familiar with this question because it was not until she was six years old that she had a better sense of time comprehension. In other words, at the turn of 2020 it was evident from the data that she understood the time flow better and she could easily express it in her stories; e.g., *one day, I should have learned it until Friday, first of all, in a week when I come back here*. This phenomenon was not observed in Data Set One as Natálka often expressed the time flow wrongly.

5.2.3. OTHER TYPES OF QUESTIONS

In both data collections, Natálka also used other types of questions to communicate her intentions. One of them served either to confirm the given statement or to check whether it was true or false. While in the first case Natálka expected a positive answer, in the second she expressed uncertainty. Such a phenomenon is called a “tag question”. The second type was used to put emphasis on what she was telling the other participants in the conversation, which was expressed by the phrase *you know*. Lastly, Natálka sometimes asked polite questions, showing respect and considerate behaviour towards others. The following figure illustrates how often these types of questions were used in both data sets.

Figure 18: Frequency of other types of questions in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

	Data Set One	Data Set Two
Tag questions	2	8
Phrase <i>you know</i>	25	0
Polite questions	0	5
TOTAL	27	13

Tag questions occurred in both data collections; however, Natálka used this type of question more in Data Set Two than in Data Set One. That is to say, this discursive strategy occurred four times more at the turn of 2020. Whereas the phrase *you know* was widely used only in Data Set One, polite questions were typical for Data Set Two.

First, I comment on how Natálka used tag questions in the narrative conversation. The prototypical example in Data Set One was illustrated in the following extract taken from the audio recording TD12/13042018. The context of the conversation was that Natálka talked about her dream about prince En, who came to visit her in a carriage and then went back home. I subsequently asked her if he would come back; see Natálka's answer below.

Data Sample 37: A prince visited Natálka in her dream
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 43 **Me:** a přijde zase někdy princ↑
44 and will he come back again↑
45 **Naty:** jo (.) jeřda už je tady (.) musim si honem všekno přitavit (0,3) já si musím namajovat
46 pusinku *ne*↑
47 yep (.) whoops he is already here (.) I must prepare everything (0,3) I must put on lipstick
48 *right*↑
49 **Me:** no sluší ti to
50 oh you look awesome

51 **Naty:** ááá (0,7) není pjinc↓ (0,4) není žádný pjinc (.) asi šej nakoupit (.) myslím (.) pjinc ojel
 52 někam pyč (0,3) a do boušky
 53 o::h (0,7) is no prince↓ (0,4) there is no prince (.) maybe he does the shopping (.) I think (.)
 54 prince left somewhere away (0,3) and into the storm

When she saw that the prince was returning, she needed to prepare everything for his arrival. Natálka then told me: “I must put on lipstick *right*↑”. Attaching such an adverb to the statement indicated that she expected a positive answer. After all, it goes without saying that if someone visits us, we have to look presentable and appropriate, especially when it comes to the prince himself.

This sample reflected Natálka's thought processes and how she thought about the world around her works. In this case, she was probably inspired by her mother, who put on makeup when she went out or when they expected a visitor. She could also be inspired by me because I wore bold lipstick. According to that pattern, Natálka wanted to confirm that her assumption in this situation (the prince's visit) was correct. Her question also reflected that she wanted to please the prince.

The audio recording TD02/16022018 (Part C) included the second instance of such a question (see below). The context of the conversation was that Natálka narrated a fairy tale about mammoths.

Data Sample 38: How mammoths met a horse

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

129 **Naty:** byjo nebyjo a potom tam kásně mamuti spí hihi a majičký a ty tam byji (0,3) my sme mámy
 130 (.) my sme tě potkaji *vid'* teto↑
 131 once upon the time and then there beautifully sleep hih hih mammoths and a little and you
 132 were these (0,3) we are mums (.) we met you *right* aunt↑
 133 **Me:** já jsem mamut (.) ty seš↑
 134 I am a mammoth (.) you are↑
 135 **Naty:** já sem kůň (.) já se stajám požád o miminka (.) já sem táta (0,3) musíme take jenom
 136 I am a horse (.) I take care of babies always (.) I am daddy (0,3) you must just like this

In line 132 Natálka used the tag question to confirm her statement about the mammoths who met the dog. That is to say, she expected a positive reply. Unlike in the previous case, she also addressed me directly to catch my attention and get me involved in the story. With this question, she gave me space to express myself, so that I could continue with the storyline and add something new. She further used such a strategy to introduce the world she imagined that was unknown to me.

The following excerpt taken from the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part A) included a typical representative of the tag question in Data Set Two. The context of the interaction was that Natálka and I were playing with two stuffed animals.

Data Sample 39: Playing with two dogs

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 75 **Naty:** ale (.) já bu (.) ale (.) a ty tam taky půjdes↑
 76 but (.) I will (.) but (.) and you will go there as well↑
 77 **Me:** no asi jo (.) přece mě tady panička nenechá samotného (.) [samotnou]
 78 well I guess so (.) the owner won't leave me here all alone right (.) [all alone]
 79 **Naty:** [aby si hlídala] *nee*↑
 80 [so you can guard here] *right*↑
 81 **Me:** nebo tak (.) já nevím, co má panička v úmyslu
 82 that's an option too (.) I don't know what our owner intends to do
 83 **Naty:** a bude (.) ale budeš mi chybět sestro
 84 and it will (.) but I will miss you sister
 85 **Me:** vždyť seš za chvíli zpátky
 86 oh come on you will be back soon
 87 **Naty:** joo třeba mi dá nějakou mňamku hmm hmm
 88 yeah she may give me some snack hmm hmm

When I said that the owner would not surely leave me (aka the dog) alone, Natálka stated a good reason for staying home while they were out. It could be assumed that she wanted to hear a positive response. Once I did not reject this possibility, Natálka said that she would miss me, which confirms the previous statement. Using this discursive strategy shows that Natálka drew inspiration from her experience as she knew that the dogs guard the house when their owners leave. This excerpt; therefore, illustrated how she understood the world around her using her imagination and creativity.

In the audio recording TD07/28112020 (Part C) Natálka introduced another type of tag question (see below). The context of the conversation was that Natálka, Matyášek, and I were eating lunch.

Data Sample 40: Playing with toys during meal

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 161 **Naty:** vzdycky se Matýsek hraje u jídla
 162 Matýsek is always playing during meal
 163 **Me:** já vím to je normální
 164 I know that is normal
 165 **Naty:** doma i
 166 at home as well
 167 **Me:** tys nebyla jiná, když si byla malá
 168 you were not different when you were little
 169 **Naty:** hmm (.) *ne*↑
 170 hmm (.) *wasn't I*↑

171 **Me:** ee
 172 nope
 173 **Naty:** já sem byla prostě mimina jsou mimina
 174 so I was just babies are babies

When Natálka saw her brother playing with toys, she pointed out that he always does the same thing during the meal. Subsequently, I added that she was not different as a child, which surprised her, and she asked: “hmm (.) *wasn't I?*”. In this particular context, the tag question indicated her uncertainty about whether my statement was true. Therefore she chose this discursive strategy to express the need for additional information.

Whereas tag questions predominantly occurred in Data Set Two, in Data Set One Natálka used them only twice. However, the comparison of both data collections showed the same tendencies when it came to asking tag questions (see below).

Figure 19: Comparison of tag questions in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

The function of the tag question	A person who answered the question	Natálka's reaction	Data Set One	Data Set Two
asking for confirmation that the statement is correct	me (the author), no answer	short reply, changing the topic	2	4
asking whether the statement is correct or not	me (the author)	short reply	0	4

Tag questions were typically expressed by the verb *to be* (e.g., *isn't it?*) or the auxiliary verb *do* (e.g., *don't you?*) at the end of the statement. If the sentence was positive, the postposition was negative, and vice versa. In some cases, this relation was expressed by the word *right* where Natálka usually used rising intonation.

In Data Set One, Natálka used this question when looking for confirmation that her statement was correct. In other words, she was expecting a positive answer. Once I assured her that she was right, Natálka replied or changed the topic, as her goal was already achieved. On the other hand, in Data Set Two she introduced a new function of the tag question. It expressed her uncertainty about whether her statement was correct or not; therefore, she asked for more information. After providing the answer, she typically reacted with a short reply.

It could be concluded that in 2018 Natálka was self-confident and unconditionally believed in her statements, which she came to by observing the world around her. At the turn of 2020, it was evident from the data that this was slowly changing. In half of the cases (i.e., four out of eight), she began to doubt the result of her observation and question whether she

had sufficiently understood the given situation. By searching for more information, she found where the truth.

Second, the phrase *you know* was used only in Data Set One and it did not appear in Data Set Two at all. In the following excerpt taken from the audio recording TD10/31032018, I comment on the prototypical representatives of this discursive strategy. The context of the conversation was that Natálka made a small fire for everyone who was present but hidden, and then she subsequently described who they were to her mother.

Data Sample 41: Introducing the imaginary family

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

- 1 **Mum:** tak co děláš↑
2 so what are you doing↑
3 **Naty:** ohýnek
4 a small fire
5 **Mum:** aha (0,5) pro koho↑
6 aha (0,5) for whom↑
7 **Naty:** po tebe a po me a po sekny ((všechny)) *víš*
8 for you and me and for everyone *you know*
9 **Mum:** a kdo jsou všichni↑
10 and who is everyone↑
11 **Naty:** sou tady (.) sou maskovaný *víš* (.) se maskovaj [koukni]
12 they are here (.) they are hidden *you know* (.) they hide themselves [look]
13 **Mum:** [aha] a jak se jmenujou (.) nebo kdo jsou↑
14 [aha] and what are their names (.) or who are they↑
15 **Naty:** tode je El (.) táta (0,3) Au (.) náš chjapec (.) a miminko Pí (.) vidíš (.) take se sikny menujou
16 (.) a bude pozádný piknik (.) tady (.) mi nemaji sme houby tak sem posjaja s (kosik) (.) *víš* (.)
17 tode je take hhh ((founkne)) *hís* (.) už sme po tmě *víš* a my máme hjačky tady (0,3) oo (0,6)
18 ste v moji zahjádce *víš* (0,7) tady bydlíme
19 this is El (.) daddy (0,3) Au (.) our baby boy (.) and baby Pí (.) you see (.) like this these are
20 their names (.) and it will be quite a picnic (.) here (.) we didn't have mushrooms so I sent
21 with (a smalll basket) (.) *you know* (.) this is like this hhh ((she blows)) *you know* (.) we are
22 already in dark *you know* and we have toys here (0,3) o::h (0,6) you are in my garden *you*
23 *know* (0,7) we live here

In the short extract, she used the phrase *you know* six times. In lines 8 and 12 this phrase could be characterised as a rhetorical question used to confirm agreement. The typical reply to such a question would be *okay then* or *aha* (see line 14). Once Natálka answered all the questions, she started talking about what they were doing. She used the phrase *you know* four times to provide additional information about the individuals. Choosing such a discursive strategy can, in this case, be understood as a check to see whether the other participants in the conversation were listening and following the storyline or not.

In the audio recording TD07/03032018 (Part A), where Natálka talked about Alík's (her stuffed animal) upcoming birthday, she used the phrase *you know* twice (see below).

Data Sample 42: Imaginary shopping

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 13 **Naty:** potom pudem nakupovat
14 then we go shopping
15 **Me:** už jsme nakupovali dvakrát dneska
16 we have already shopped twice today
17 **Naty:** jenom jako *híš* (.) jenom jako a taky pudem na **pajko** ((asi parkoviště)) taky jako (0,3) *víš* (.)
18 nebój já ti už nebudu žíkat (0,4) zatičko (zlatičko) (0,3) pockej (.) něco musím zkontojovat
19 jenku
20 lets pretend *you know* (.) lets pretend and also we will go to the “pajko” ((probably means
21 car park)) also pretend (0,3) *you know* (.) don't be affaid I won't call you (0,4) darling (0,3)
22 wait (.) something must control outside

The phrase *you know* was used to emphasise that we would not really go shopping, but we would stay home and just play with the toys. In this case, it illustrated Natálka's developed imagination and ability to differentiate between reality and the matter of pretending (i.e., imaginative play), which appeared already in preschool age. This discursive strategy could also be understood as giving a reason for the concrete action and asking for agreement.

Another example could be seen in the audio recording TD13/16042018 (Part A). The context of the conversation was that Natálka and I pretend to be doctors and prepared zebra for an operation.

Data Sample 43: Zebra with a snail and “slizoun” in her mouth

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 1 **Naty:** dokorko koukněte má tam () šneka a **slizouna** ((nový výraz odvozené od slova sliz,
2 nejspíše použité ve významu “slimák”))
3 doctor look she's got there () a snail and “**slizoun**” ((a new expression derivated from the
4 word slime or gunge, recommended translation is slimer or gungeon, used for an animal that
5 is slimy, I guess it means “a slug”))
6 **Me:** a **slizouna**↑ a proč je tam má↑
7 and “**slizoun**”↑ why does she have them there↑
8 **Naty:** proto oni tam vlezli do pusy a potom se tam objevili (.) ňák (.) *víš*
9 because they there got into her mouth and then they appeared there (.) somehow (.) *you know*
10 **Me:** jak vypadá **slizoun**↑
11 how does “**slizoun**” look like↑
12 **Naty:** pockej (0,3) tady vidíš, má ujitu a tady (0,2) má hrozně lepkavý **smisoň** ((význam neznámý))
13 a má všechno tam (.) má med, si tam skovává na (.) do lahbičky (.) a potom se tam objeví
14 (0,2) další šnek (.) je to máma hihi
15 wait (0,3) here you see, he's got the shell and here (0,2) he has a very sticky “**smisoň**”
16 ((meaning unknown)) and she's got everything there (.) she has honey, she's hiding it on (.)
17 into the small bottle (.) and then there will appear (0,2) another snail (.) she is mum hih hih

This data sample illustrated Natálka's vivid imagination and creativity which significantly contributed to the creation of the story. In line 9 Natálka used the phrase *you know* in response to my question as she wanted to confirm that I understood her train of thought and probably to justify her statement.

The following figure characterises the phrase *you know* that Natálka used in 2018 in terms of its function, a person who replied to the phrase, how Natálka reacted and how many times the individual types occurred in the data.

Figure 20: Characterisation of the phrase *you know* in Data Set One

The function of the phrase <i>you know</i>	A person who replied to the phrase	Natálka's reaction	Number of cases
putting emphasis	no answer	repetition, continuing with the story	15
rhetorical statement or asking for agreement	no answer	short reply	2
checking attention of others	no answer	continuing with the story	6
checking comprehension	no answer	continuing with the story	2

The analysis showed that this widely used phrase had four functions in the narrative. It illustrated her ability to adapt to a given situation emphasising different information, which could be decoded by the context. This discursive strategy reflected that she carefully thought about the relationship between episodes and where she should use this phrase in the story to achieve her goal. Natálka's creative spirit also helped her in the process.

Natálka predominantly used the phrase *you know* to emphasise what she was saying. If she wanted to make sure other participants in the conversation were paying attention, she randomly inserted the phrase into her narrative. Only in a few cases the phrase *you know* was used to check whether others understood her, to express a rhetorical statement or expectation of a positive response. As Natálka typically continued with the storyline after using this phrase, there was no space left for possible comment. It was important to note that unlike the other types of questions, she did not even require an answer to this phrase.

Finally, polite questions, in which she used formulations such as *please*, *can*, or *could*, typically appeared in Data Set Two when Natálka entered the school and started to learn. Polite formulations also sometimes occurred in declarative sentences; however, they were not a part of the analysis undertaken. A prototypical example of asking a polite question could be

seen in the audio recording TD07/28122020 (Part F), where Natálka, Matyášek, and I were making masks (see below).

Data Sample 44: Asking if Natálka can have a rabbit mask

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Maty (Natálka's brother)

- 553 **Naty:** [prosím] teto můžu králíčkovou masku↑
554 [please] aunt can I have a rabbit mask↑
555 **Me:** no jasně (.) tak pojď ((k Matyáškovi))
556 yeah of course (.) so come on ((towards Matyášek))
557 **Maty:** masu ((masku)) dolu
558 the mask down
559 **Naty:** a dáš mi tam prosím takhle takhle tu šňůrku↑
560 and will you please put there a string like that like that↑
561 **Me:** dám ti tam takhle tu šňůrku
562 yeah I will put there a string like that
563 **Naty:** °jooo:: děkuji tetičko°
564 °yeaah:: thank you aunty°

This data sample included two polite questions in lines 554 and 560. In both cases, Natálka made a polite request, which expressed her good manners and respect for the other participants in the conversation. It also created a friendly and pleasant environment that allowed everyone to feel safe. As soon as I answered “yes” to the second question in line 560, Natálka immediately brightened and was overjoyed. She expressed her gratitude with the words “°yeaah:: thank you aunty°”, which further enhanced the pleasant atmosphere.

The audio recording TD07/28122020 (Part C) included another polite question, which was, however, slightly different from the previous examples.

Data Sample 45: Asking what Natálka could print out

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Maty (Natálka's brother)

- 110 **Naty:** mě jednou udělala ((Natálky mamka)) (masku) s jednorožcem (.) a musela to najít (0,4) na
111 tabletu nebo na telefonu
112 she ((Natálka's mother)) once made me a unicorn mask (.) she had to find it (0,4) on tablet
113 or phone
114 **Me:** spíš na tab=na telefonu (.)
115 more like on tab=phone (.)
116 **Naty:** hmm
117 hmm
118 **Maty:** tabet ((tablet))
119 tablet
120 **Me:** [nemáme tablet]
121 [we don't have a tablet]
122 **Naty:** [na tabletu jsou taky] masky
123 there are also masks [on the tablet]
124 **Maty:** nene tabet tam masy NĚ:
125 nono tablet there masks NO:
126 **Naty:** no i nějaký omalovánky (.) *co by sem mohla vytisknout* (.) tady

127 well some colouring pictures too (.) *what could I print out* (.) here
128 Me: vždyť tady toho máme vytištěnýho, vždyť si to [viděla ten štos]
129 come on we have lots of printed stuff here you've [seen that stack]

Talking about the masks, Natálka suddenly asked: “What could I print out (.) here”. From the conversation, it could be concluded that Natálka asked herself, rather than the other participants in the interaction. The polite question was used to express what she was thinking; instead of thinking in silence, she decided to speak this thought out loud. It was not meant as a question to which she expected an answer. Therefore, in this case, it was more of a rhetorical question.

Using this strategy set a new direction for the conversation, and it was likely that this was precisely what Natálka intended. Her question could be interpreted as an attempt to influence my next move; i.e., to print out new pictures for her. The fact that Natálka used a polite form intensified the power of her question, which could facilitate the achievement of her goal. As this example proved, Natálka was aware of how the world around her worked. She knew that in order to get what she wanted, she needed to choose the appropriate behaviour. In this case, it meant a polite question that Natálka brought up and examined if this strategy would be successful.

Another example could be seen in the audio recording TD10/01012021 (Part B). The context of the conversation was that Natálka was shooting *Angry Birds* from a catapult. When Natálka took the catapult and pointed it towards me and then even the window, I warned her that it was too dangerous. She immediately responded with the question: “Er so where could I aim[↑]”. Natálka decided not to use another type of question (e.g., *Where do I aim?* or *Where should I aim?*), declarative sentence, or even to aim for something else without saying a word. In this case, she needed to know a suitable location for the bird to land; therefore, she decided that she would rather ask.

Using a polite question, she probably wanted to create a friendly and safe atmosphere because she endangered her immediate surroundings a few moments prior. It illustrated her ability to adapt to the given situation and her efforts to maintain a pleasant environment. It could be also assumed that she chose the polite structure of the question as a form of apology for her previous behaviour, which could have had serious consequences.

The following figure characterises the polite questions that Natálka used at the turn of 2020 in terms of its function, the person who provided an answer, how Natálka reacted and how many times the individual types occurred in the data.

Figure 21: Characterisation of the polite questions in Data Set Two

The function of the polite question	A person who answered to the question	Natálka's reaction	Number of cases
polite request	me (the author)	polite question, short reply	2
rhetorical question	me (the author), Natálka	short reply	2
asking for directions	me (the author)	short reply with a requirement	1

Even though polite questions did not appear often in Data Set Two, they illustrated a rich variety of functions in the conversation and how Natálka thought about the surrounding world. This type of question was predominantly used to express a polite request or rhetorical statement; only in one case, Natálka asked for specific directions. When I answered her questions she typically replied with a few words. She once asked another polite question and in one case she even included a requirement in her short reply.

5.3. TOPIC ORIENTATION MARKERS

This section aims to explore how Natálka moved from one topic to another, which strategies she used and whether this transition between the individual themes was expressed in the same way when she was four and six years old. First, I analyse Data Set One and provide excerpts in which the prototypical examples of such markers could be seen, and then I describe Data Set Two in detail. Subsequently, I compare both collections emphasising how the usage of the topic orientation markers developed in two years.

5.3.1. INTRODUCING A NEW TOPIC

The audio recording TD09/23032018 included two prototypical examples of how Natálka introduced a new topic in Data Set One. It included three stories about stuffed animals, a rabbit, and a tiny doggie. The following extract illustrated one type of this discursive strategy. The context of the conversation was that Natálka first talked about how the stuffed animals lived and why they moved into a new house. Subsequently, she moved to another topic (see below).

Data Sample 46: Setting something on fire

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 38 **Me:** to už jsi skončila↑
39 have you already finished↑
40 **Naty:** byl to krátký příběh a potom mi to zapálili tohje to
41 it was a short story and then they set it on fire
42 **Me:** co ti zapálili a kdo↑
43 and what did they set on fire and who↑
44 **Naty:** srst (.) tamten (.) ne ty (.) ani ty ani já (.) <někdo kdo> (.) ty né (.) <někdo kdo zná> (.) pyká
45 (.) on mi zapálil moji srst a seno
46 the hair (.) someone (.) not you (.) neither you nor me (.) <someone who> (.) not you (.)
47 <someone who knows> (.) pays (.) has fired on my hair and hay
48 **Me:** kdo↑
49 who↑
50 **Naty:** kájík ((králík)) kájík mi to zapálil a potom bum=sem vybuchnul taky
51 a rabbit (.) the rabbit is on fire and then wham=i have exploded too
52 **Me:** proč to králík udělal↑
53 and why did the rabbit do that↑
54 **Naty:** proto (0,3) se změnil na ZOJODĚJE
55 because (0,3) he changed to a THIEF

When I asked her if she was already finished with the story about the stuffed animals, she said that it was only a short one and immediately started with a new topic (see line 41). Natálka introduced the new theme with the *then* relation (see section 5.1.2) that functioned as a topic orientation marker in this case. Providing a clear ending to the previous storyline enabled a smooth transition and orientation between the two themes. Even though choosing the conjunction *and then* to introduce a new topic may have seemed rather confusing, the listeners were already familiar with this strategy as it frequently occurred in the conversation.

The excerpt reflected how Natálka thought about the world around her in terms of understanding the basic structure of a story using her creative spirit. She knew that a story typically has a beginning, middle, and end, which could be seen across Data Set One. However, in this case, she chose to introduce a new story without an introductory section; i.e., she started in the middle of the storyline. It could be assumed that mentioning this conflict (i.e., setting something on fire) was Natálka's priority and there was simply no time for describing the main characters and what led them to this move. And since this was the central motif of the story, she decided to emphasise it first before introducing the characters and why they set something on fire.

Unlike the first story (i.e., how the stuffed animals lived) that Natálka brought to a successful conclusion, the second one (i.e., setting something on fire) was not finished because it was interrupted suddenly by the arrival of a new character. Nevertheless, it could

be assumed that the story about the rabbit could reach an end from Natálka's perspective as it included the introduction, conflict, and explanation of the rabbit's move. The stories told by adults usually feature a punishment for the bad deeds of the main characters, but this element did not appear in any of the stories in Data Set One. For this reason, it could be concluded that it was the end of the story and the beginning of a new storyline.

At the age of four, Natálka knew that the story typically consisted of a beginning, a middle, and an end. However, she sometimes omitted one part of the storyline and presented the story right before its end. Then she typically moved to another story without a proper introduction or using a topic orientation marker. This transition between individual topics was always clearly visible by choosing a suitable strategy and topic orientation marker.

The second type of this discursive strategy could be seen in the audio recording TD09/23032018 below. When I asked Natálka why the rabbit set her hair and hay on fire, she said:

Data Sample 47: Introducing a new character
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 56 **Naty:** poto se NEOJÁD ((neovlád)) (.) ooo (.) je tady
57 because he did not CONTROL himself (.) o:h (.) he is here
58 **Me:** kdo je tady↑
59 who is here↑
60 **Naty:** ((Natálka pouze zakňourá))
61 ((Natálka makes whimpering noises))
62 **Me:** kdo tady je↑
63 who is here↑
64 **Naty:** jejda
65 oops
66 **Me:** kdo↑ [strejda↑]
67 who↑ [uncle↑]
68 **Naty:** [ee jenom] maličký pejsíček (.) hihi (.) maličký pejsíček ((Natálky mamka anebo tat'ka se na
69 ni podíval)) my si hrajeme
70 [er only] a tiny doggie (.) hih hih (.) a tiny doggie ((Natálka's mother or father looked at her))
71 we are playing

Answering my question, Natálka once again introduced a new topic in line 57, where she said that someone appeared on the scene. I initially thought she was talking about the rabbit, which was caused by the fact that Natálka did not make a pause between the individual episodes. However, then I came to know that it was a tiny doggie.

In this case, the story was introduced with an attention marker *oh* that clearly set the boundary between the individual episodes. Natálka chose this particular marker because

someone suddenly appeared out of nowhere and she had to react immediately. It could be concluded that she used the topic orientation marker unintentionally rather than deliberately as the sudden occurrence of the dog surprised her. The relationship between these two moves could be described as action and reaction.

In Data Set Two, the typical representative of this discursive strategy could be found in the audio recording TD03/05122020 (Part B). The context of the conversation was that Natálka first talked about how her little brother woke her up at night because he was playing with some toys and then she asked me to guess what song she was humming (see below).

Data Sample 48: We even watch “*Mrazík*”

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

- 51 **Naty:** hádej (.) co je to za písničku↑ ((Natálka začne vymlaskávat nějakou melodii))
 52 guess (.) what song is that↑ ((Natálka is smacking her lips with some tune))
 53 **Me:** kdé pak (.) kdepak jsou
 54 where are (.) where are they
 55 **Naty:** ee ((znovu začne vymlaskávat))
 56 nope ((she is again))
 57 **Me:** tak broukej
 58 hum it then
 59 **Naty:** ee ((ale po chvíle stejně začne vybroukávat melodii))
 60 no ((but after a while she starts to hum the melody))
 61 **Me:** *Hra o trůny* ((Natálka neodpovídá, stále mlčí)) (0,6) *Hra o trůny*↑
 62 *Game of Thrones* ((Natálka is not responding, she is quiet)) *Games of Thrones*↑
 63 **Naty:** ee (.) <já si zpívám sama> (.) ti ukázu ((a pořád si něco brouká)) (0,24) a ještě sme se
 64 koukali na *Mrazíka*
 65 uh-uh (.) <I am singing for myself> (.) I show you ((she is still humming the melody)) (0,24)
 66 and we even watch “*Mrazík*” ((a fairy tale called *Father Frost*))
 67 **Granny:** na *Mrazíka*↑
 68 “*Mrazík*”↑
 69 **Naty:** ehm ((souhlas))
 70 ahem ((agreement))

In line 66, Natálka used the *and* relation (see section 5.1.1) to introduce a new topic. Although this preposition (i.e., *and*) was mostly used to complement the previous statement, in this case, it had a different function. At first glance, it was obvious that the episodes, in which Natálka woke up and watched the fairy tale were anchored in the past. However, watching the fairy tale was not interwoven with the episode where Matýšek woke up Natálka, as it expressed an activity that Natálka performed consciously of her own free will. Even the humming of the melody could not be considered a previous episode of the story because the time sequence would be disrupted.

In the data sample, Natálka used the conjunction *and* as a topic orientation marker to introduce a new theme, which illustrated her adaptability to the context. She included information in the narrative that she found important, interesting, and worth mentioning. In this case, she suddenly remembered that they had recently watched “*Mrazík*” and wanted to share this experience with other participants in the conversation. This transition thus reflected Natálka's thought processes and how she expressed them in the flow of the conversation.

Another example of introducing a new topic could be found in the audio recording TD13/30012021 (Part C). The context of the conversation was that Natálka talked about her upcoming birthday and then mentioned that they were watching a TV show called *Nailed It*.

Data Sample 49: Natálka describes what they are doing

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

- 78 **Naty:** pomeranč a to je vše a teďka Matýsek má ták na sobě na hlavě se koukáme na nail bit
 79 ((*Nailed It!*))
 80 orange and that is all and now Matýsek has a tray on him on his head we are watching Nailed
 81 It
 82 **Mum:** *Nailed It*
 83 *Nailed It*
 84 **Naty:** *Nailed It* (.) tam teďka dělaj rádio a Matýsek má to autíčko, který který dostal od Ježíška a já
 85 toho dinosaura, který skáče po po tom
 86 *Nailed It* (.) they are doing a radio there and Matýsek has a little car which which he got
 87 from “Ježíšek” ((i.e., *Christ Child*)) and I have the dinosaur, which jumps on on that
 88 **Mum:** Natynko musíš říct, kde to je
 89 Natynka you have to tell where it is
 90 **Naty:** °co↑°
 91 °what↑°
 92 **Mum:** na tričku, že to máš
 93 that you have it on your T-shirt
 94 **Naty:** na tričku to máme to auto je na tričku já toho dinosaura mám taky na tričku a Matýsek má
 95 teď to moje autíčko lego teďka má pizzu krájecí (0,3) teďka má PITÍ=se napije (.) tak Matý
 96 nech toho jo↑ (.) já jsem tě ráda teto viděla a Ma (.) no i babičku i dědečka i tebe teto (.) já
 97 vás mám ráda ((45 vteřin))
 98 we have it on our T-shirts the car is on the T-shirt I have the dinosaur on T-shirt as well and
 99 Matýsek has my little lego car now he has slicing pizza toy (0,3) now he has DRING=he
 100 drinks (.) so Matý stop it ok↑ (.) I was glad to see you aunt and Ma (.) grandma and grandpa
 101 too as well as you aunt (.) I love you all ((45 seconds))

This data sample showed two different strategies for introducing a new theme, which is illustrated in the following figure.

Figure 22: Introduction of a new theme in the storyline

Themes of the episodes	Lines number	Topic orientation marker
talking about Matyášek and watching Nailed It	80	no marker
watching Nailed It and describing T-shirts	80-86	conjunction <i>and</i>
describing T-shirts and Matyášek's actions	86-98	no marker
describing Matyášek's actions and saying goodbye	98-101	conjunction <i>and</i>

Natálka mentioned five different themes in total that are either introduced without a topic orientation marker or connected with the conjunction *and*. Even though the topics were not related to each other, they were connected temporally. In other words, Natálka described the present; i.e., the current situation in which they were at the moment, focusing on the activities they were performing at that time.

In the two cases in which Natálka used the topic orientation marker, the new topic was plainly stated, making the transition clear. The listeners could thus easily orient themselves in the story and they did not get lost in the flow of the conversation. When Natálka did not introduce the new theme with a topic orientation marker it could cause listeners to take a moment to realise that the conversation had already moved in a different direction.

This excerpt documented Natálka's attempt to objectively describe the world around her for those who were not present. In the flow of the conversation, she randomly mentioned various topics depending on what she was observing. She made quick transitions between episodes so that she could cover as much as possible. When she had exhausted all options, she decided to end the story herself.

The comparison of both data collections showed the same tendencies when Natálka introduced a new topic in the conversation. The analysis of the data demonstrated that almost every time she used a topic orientation marker to express the transition between the two themes, which allowed for a smooth flow and orientation in where one story ended and another began. In the following figure, the frequency of individual types is expressed by the following scale: (1) predominantly, (2) frequently, (3) often, (4) sometimes, (5) rarely, and (6) never.

Figure 23: Introducing a new topic in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

Topic orientation marker	Data Set One	Data Set Two
<i>and</i> relation	predominantly	frequently
<i>then</i> relation	frequently	often
attention markers	rarely	rarely
other topic orientation markers	often	predominantly
without topic orientation marker	sometimes	sometimes

Even though Natálka typically started a new theme with the *and* relation (see section 5.1.1) or *then* connector (see section 5.1.2) it did not necessarily indicate addition to what was already mentioned in the previous episode and the connection between the two utterances.

A new topic introduction usually followed after a clear ending of the previous story (i.e., using the phrases *that is the end*, or *that is all*). In some cases where Natálka did not use this ending, it might seem that she deviated from the topic, although it did not actually happen. This was; for example, a sudden recollection of an activity she did in the past that she felt the need to share with the listeners. In the flow of the conversation, the listeners followed her train of thought, which may seem rather random or even scattered.

From the analysis, it was evident that this apparent randomness resulted from the current situation. Therefore, it was influenced not only by Natálka's thought processes, her feelings, and mood but also by the other participants in the conversation and their actions.

5.3.2. ADDING OR CONTINUING WITH THE TOPIC

A prototypical example of how Natálka used a topic orientation marker when she wanted to add more information to the ongoing story in Data Set One could be seen in the following sample taken from the audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part B). The context of the conversation was that Natálka read a goodnight story from the book.

Data Sample 50: A fairy tale about a lion and a mouse

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller) Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

- 43 **Naty:** tos ta pjincezna vís babicko (0,6) a potom ji take tam jep us byj hodný (.) jepícek a potom jí
44 ani nesezal myskuu (0,3) a jeste to pokacuje dál (.) tam sisel další SOB↑ (.) byji tam sekni
45 sobi zíká pjincezna (.) sekni sobi zíkaja (.) to ona take **dijokala** ((význam neznýmý))) nák (.)
46 a potom jí zekla (.) ten pjinc (.) neboj pujdu za tebou (.) pozád
47 the princess you know granny (0,6) and then he like this the lion was already nice (.) the
48 little lion and the he did not even eat the little mou:se (0,3) and it continues (.) there came a
49 REINDEER↑ (.) there were all reindeers the princess said (.) all reindeers she said (.) she
50 also “**dijokala**” ((unknown meaning)) somehow (.) and then she told (.) that prince (.) don't
51 worry I will go with you (.) always
52 **Granny:** já (.) to je krásné

53 wow (.) that's beautiful
54 **Naty:** a jeste to pokjacuje jeste dál (0,5) a potom (.) jep se otocil (.) na něco
55 and it still continues (0,5) and then (.) the lion turned around (.) to something
56 **Granny:** a na [co se ten le] ((Natálky babička nedořekla slovo “lev”))
57 and to [what did the lio] ((Natálka's grandmother did not finish the word “lion”))
58 **Naty:** [ne na koníka] a zikal (.) óó ty si tak hezká ani jí nesezal ((myšku)) (.) ani nepodápal (.) on jí
59 podápal jiný jep BÍJÍ (0,5) a potom sisel tam bíjí jep (.) ani si nesimul (.) to byj takový **pocas**
60 ((význam neznámý)) a konééc
61 [no to the little horse] and he said (.) oh wow you are so beautiful he did not even eat her
62 ((the mouse)) (.) did not scratch her (.) another lion scratched her the WHITE one (0,5) and
63 then there came another white lion (.) he did not even notice (.) it was such “**pocas**”
64 ((unknown meaning)) and the e::nd

In lines 48 and 55 Natálka used a topic orientation marker (i.e., “and it continues” and “and it still continues”) to signal that the story was not over yet. Whereas in the first case it occurred in the middle of the storyline, in the second Natálka replied to her grandmother's statement emphasising that something else happened in the storyline. After she used this phrase twice within the same storyline with a short pause between the individual episodes, the other participants in the conversation were breathless with anticipation because they wanted to know how the story ends. This prolongation and excitement among the listeners was probably Natálka's goal.

Choosing such a discursive strategy showed Natálka's complexity of thinking skills. Already at the age of four she carefully thought about the structure of the storyline which she probably planned in advance. Imagination and creativity played a key role in this process as they enabled Natálka to invent such a fairy tale using a real book.

An identical strategy could be found in the audio recording TD09/23032018 where Natálka talked about how the stuffed animals lived. She said: “I have not forgotten (.) I also () we moved there and there was a fantastic bed (.) and it will be a short story (.) I had it this way () and then someone knocked () (.) the end”. In the middle of the storyline, Natálka used a topic orientation marker to signal that the story was not over emphasising that there were only a few episodes left.

The audio recording TD02/16022018 (Part A) included two prototypical examples of topic orientation markers used for continuing with the topic (see below). The context of the conversation was that Natálka narrated a fairy tale about an earthworm that tried to eat the horses.

Data Sample 51: A fairy tale about an earthworm and horses
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

70 **Me:** ((do pokoje přišla Natálky mamka s Matyáškem a tak jsem jí řekla, že koně sežrala žížala))
71 a zachránili jsme se nakonec nebo nás snědla↑ ((odkaz na tu žížalu))
72 ((Natálka's mother enters the room with Matyášek and I told them that the earthworm ate the
73 horses)) and did we save us or she ate us↑ ((link to the earthworm))
74 **Naty:** jo (.) nás snědla a je spokojená ani nás nejoscousaja ((nerozkousala)) (.) děti pyč už ((Natálka
75 chce aby mamka s Matyáškem odešli))
76 yep (.) she ate us but swallowed us not chewed us (.) go away now ((Natálka tells her mother
77 and brother to leave the room))
78 **Me:** tak je nevyháněj
79 don't force them to leave the room
80 **Naty:** honém (.) at' příběh dopadne (0,9) >a potom< nás nesnědla (.) my sme se zakjáníli (.) ne
81 nezakjáníli↓ (.) a tam byja koni=ne (.) tam byja žijapa ((žirafa)) nás zakjáníla ona (.) sme
82 říkaji hujá=hujá a potom sme skákaji na zemiii (.) >a potom< (.) ještě nedopad ten příběh aje
83 (0,3) di už spát (.) a potom tam byja ()
84 quickly: (.) so that the story ends (0,9) >and then< she did not eat us (.) we saved ourselves
85 (.) no we didn't↓ (.) and there was horses=no (.) there was a giraffe she saved us (.) we said
86 hurray=hurray and then we jumped on the grou::nd (.) >and then< (.) the story isn't ending
87 yet (0,3) go to sleep (.) and then there was ()

First, the fact that Natálka's mother and brother suddenly entered the room while she was narrating a story disrupted her. For that reason, Natálka wanted them to leave quickly “so that the story can end (0,9)”. Even though they stayed, Natálka decided to continue with the story as if nothing had happened.

It could be concluded that the longer pause between the two episodes served not just as a wait time, in which Natálka's mother and brother could leave the room so that the fairy tale was not interrupted anymore, but also as a preparation phase for the next part of the storyline. In summary, the need to continue with the story without any disruption was expressed by the topic orientation marker and the long pause.

This data sample demonstrated how Natálka thought about what was best for her story reflecting her adaptability to the unexpected situation (i.e, the arrival of other listeners). It showed that she could change her mind in a few seconds for the sake of the narrative. It could happen that Natálka would have to wait for a longer time before they left, and therefore she preferred to continue the story so the fairy tale was not interrupted for too long.

Second, in lines 86-87 Natálka used another topic orientation marker to emphasise that the fairy tale was not over yet and that another episode would follow the previous part of the storyline. She probably wanted to emphasise the subsequent episode and buy some time; therefore, she used the phrase “the story isn't ending yet”. The short pause caused the listeners

to prick their ears as they were excited about how the story will end. Natálka's word choice resembled two examples of topic orientation markers introduced by Fraser (2009); namely, *let's stay on the topic of* and *I haven't finished yet*.

In Data Set Two, two prototypical examples of adding or continuing with the topic could be seen in the audio recording TD13/30012021. The context of the conversation was that Natálka talked about her upcoming birthday and what kind of cake and presents she would like to have.

Data Sample 52: Ideal birthday presents

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

- 21 **Naty:** tak já si (.) tak já bysem chtěla eště (.) ehmm (.) co by sem tak chtěla↑ (0,6) já by sem chtěla
 22 (0,5) koč °ne já nevím°
 23 so I would (.) would like (.) ehmm (.) what would I like to have↑ (0,6) I would like (0,5) a ca
 24 ((a cat)) °no I don't know°
 25 **Mum:** toho jednorozce jsi chtěla ne↑
 26 you said you would like a unicorn right↑
 27 **Naty:** jednorozce↑ by sem chtěla a ještě by sem chtěla ee (.) oblek kočky (.) i ocas, který tam byla
 28 vata (0,2) něco chlupatýho a [potom] aby tam takhle bylo takhle by to bylo zakroucený a tam
 29 by byl vevnitř drak a mohla by sem si to ohýbat (.) jak by sem chtěla a ((Natálka mluví
 30 celkem 30 vteřin))
 31 I would like a unicorn↑ and I would also like er (.) a cat suit (.) and a tail which would have
 32 cotton wool inside (0,2) something furry and [then] it would be like that would be twisted
 33 like that and there would be a dragon inside and I could bend it (.) as I would like to and
 34 ((Natálka talks for 30 seconds))

The first type of topic orientation marker occurred in line 23. It was expressed in the form of a question (i.e., “What would I like to have↑”). Once Natálka asked herself, she took a short break to think about other birthday gifts. The use of this question and the short pause allowed the listeners to better follow the development of the storyline. However, if Natálka stopped talking instead and silently thought about the next gift without mentioning it, the listeners could be rather confused. To make the hearers understand the sudden pause, she decided to use a rhetorical question to express her train of thought.

The chosen topic orientation marker illustrated the complexity of Natálka's thinking. It could be concluded that she was aware that the sudden silence could cause confusion or misunderstanding, so she decided to make it clear what was happening. Natálka probably wanted to help the listeners to better follow the flow of her thoughts and understand the situation. Therefore, she used a rhetorical question in the conversation. She could also express that she would welcome help in making decisions or providing suggestions.

The second type of topic orientation marker occurred in line 31, where Natálka said: “and I would also like”. In this case, she combined the *and* relation (see 5.1.1) and the word *also* to stress that she would like to add another item to the list of gifts, which was subsequently described in detail. This discursive strategy helped to create a smooth transition among the individual moves in the storyline.

Natálka further used a polite form in her utterance (i.e., *would*) to create a friendly and pleasant environment. If she; for example, chose the word *want* to express her desire, it might not be received so positively by other participants in the conversation. It could be assumed that at the age of six, Natálka was aware that using the polite phrase would help to reach her goal; i.e., receiving these gifts.

The following extract taken from the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part F) included another example where Natálka added a piece of information to the ongoing story. The context of the conversation was that Natálka talked about a dog who suddenly fell sick and she started cooking to help the dog get better.

Data Sample 53: An injured dog sharing his food

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 348 **Naty:** ee ((pejsek zase olizuje kost)) chces taky↑
 349 uh-uh ((the doggy is licking the bone again)) do you want some too↑
 350 **Me:** né děkuji
 351 no: thanks
 352 **Naty:** ná: jen ochutnej
 353 the:re just taste it
 354 **Me:** né já tady mám svoje kosti
 355 no: I have my own bones here
 356 **Naty:** oo musís tam mít nákou spetku (.) hele už se mi uzdravila tlapka
 357 oh you have to have there a pinch of something (.) look my paw is already healed
 358 **Me:** no vidiš↑
 359 look at that↑
 360 **Naty:** s tím povídáním a jím tak to je tedka zábava=můžu si skákat
 361 with the talk and the food it is fun now=I can jump

The topic orientation marker could be seen in line 357, where Natálka said: “Look my paw is alright now”. In this case, she used the verb *look* to add more information to the storyline. Natálka probably chose such a word to catch the attention of the listeners as it was an important move in the storyline. If she omitted this marker, it could make it harder for the listeners to orient themselves in the development of the story. Therefore, it could be concluded that Natálka wanted to explicitly mark the transition between the two episodes to

make the structure of the story clear and emphasise its climax, which reflected her advanced narrative skills.

Comparing both data collections I found that Natálka used similar techniques when she added more information to the topic or continued with the storyline. This discursive strategy illustrated how Natálka expressed her thought processes in the storyline using different phrases or words. The following figure shows the variety of topic orientation markers and their occurrence in both data sets. The frequency of individual types is expressed by the following scale: (1) predominantly, (2) frequently, (3) often, (4) sometimes, (5) rarely, and (6) never.

Figure 24: Adding or continuing with a topic in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

Topic orientation marker	Data Set One	Data Set Two
phrases expressing the incompleteness	predominantly	never
rhetorical questions	never	predominantly
attention markers	rarely	often
other topic orientation markers	often	predominantly
without topic orientation marker	sometimes	rarely

In 2018, Natálka predominantly used various phrases in the middle of the storyline to indicate that it was not ending yet (e.g., *it continues, there will be another episode*), which did not occur at the turn of 2020. Natálka chose such a strategy to create tension and attract the attention of the hearers. In Data Set One she sometimes used attention markers (e.g., *oh*) and other topic orientation markers (e.g., the *and* relation). There were also, in which Natálka added a piece of information without a marker.

Data Set Two showed a subtle change in the use of topic orientation markers. It was characterised by asking questions to oneself, which served not only to gain time to think about how to add additional information but also to express that the story had not yet reached the end. Natálka also chose different words to capture the attention of the listeners (e.g., *look*), and other topic orientation markers, and in some cases, she did not use any marker.

5.3.3. RETURNING TO THE PREVIOUS TOPIC

A prototypical example of how Natálka returned to the previous storyline in Data Set One could be found in the audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part F). The context of the conversation was that I asked Natálka to read a fairy tale from a book she was holding (see below).

Data Sample 54: Returning to the previous story about white dogs and tigers
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 153 **Me:** tak jim taky přečti pohádku (.) takže bylo nebylo
154 so read a fairy tale to them too (.) so once upon the time
155 **Naty:** nebyjo=nebyjo áá zase sou tady (.) zase sou a taky pejsky (.) to je jodinka uz je tady (0,3) si
156 chtel asi sednout (.) uz de domu
157 was not=was not ((in Czech language fairy tales begins with “bylo nebylo”, which is in
158 English “was was not”, in this case Natálka uses wrong phrase)) a::h they are here again (.)
159 they are here again also dogs are here (.) it is a family it is already here (0,3) he wanted to sit
160 down (.) he is already going home
161 **Me:** tak přečti Alíkovi pohádku
162 so read a fairy tale to Alík
163 **Naty:** a vám seknám (.) pockejte (0,3) aje (.) aje musim vam dát zádlo ((Natálka krmí tygry a psi))
164 uz sem daja zádlo (.) tedka můžu císt
165 and to you all (.) wait (0,3) but (.) but I must feed you ((Natálka feeds tigers and dogs)) I
166 have already fed them (.) now I can read

As soon as Natálka started narrating a fairy tale, she immediately returned to the previous storyline in which Natálka played with Alík (Natálka's stuffed dog), and then the white tigers occurred on the scene. The transition between the two topics could be seen in line 158, where Natálka said: “A::h they are here again”. She used an attention marker *ah* to signal that the action in the previous episode influenced the ongoing episode as the storyline repeats (the appearance of the tigers).

The listeners subsequently came to know that one character went home, which indicated that Natálka reached the end of the story. Therefore, I asked her again to read a fairy tale. Natálka agreed, but then she suddenly said “Wait” and once again returned to the previous topic, which could be seen in lines 165 and 166. She switched between these two themes because she had to feed the tigers. However, when she was done, she was ready to fulfill my request as she said: “Now I can read”. The analysis of this excerpt showed the smooth transition marked by topic orientation marker between two different episodes that linked the main characters and their actions reflecting, Natálka's train of thought.

In this case, the topic orientation marker (i.e., wait) was probably used because Natálka wanted to follow the usual evening ritual, which included eating dinner, going to bed, and reading a fairy tale to the children. It reflected how Natálka thought about the world around her and how her experience from the real world affected her verbal responses.

The following extract taken from the audio recording TD02/05122020 (Part C) illustrated how Natálka returned to the previous topic in Data Set Two. The context of the

conversation was that Natálka's grandmother and I were making potato salad and preparing ingredients.

Data Sample 55: Making potato salad

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother), Maty (Natálka's brother)

- 246 **Me:** no z toho bude bramborový salát
247 it will be a potato salad
248 **Naty:** MŇA:::M (.) my sme ve škole taky měli bramborovej salát
249 YU:::MMY (.) we also had potato salad in our school
250 **Me:** jo↑
251 yep↑
252 **Granny:** teta Maruška může [vzít tohle]
253 aunt Maruška could [take this]
254 **Naty:** [a jeste k tomu maso]
255 [and meat to that]
256 **Me:** ((Matýsek se také přijde podívat)) no brambora no
257 ((Matýsek comes to us to have a look)) a potato right
258 **Naty:** to krásně voní ((vařené brambory)) (.) kdys to spolknou tak (.) kdys to spolknou (.) tak tak mi
259 psipadá ze to takový dobrý
260 it smells so good ((cooked potatoes)) (.) when I swallow it (.) when I swallow it (.) then then
261 it tastes so good
262 **Maty:** co JE↑
263 what is IT↑
264 **Me:** to je studený a je to petržel
265 it is cold and it is a parsley
266 **Naty:** todlesto je mrkev a todlesto taky nevím
267 this is a carrot and this I don't know too
268 **Me:** ((smích))
269 ((laughter))
270 **Granny:** to je celer
271 it is celeriac
272 **Naty:** cerel
273 cerealiak
274 **Me:** celer
275 cerealiak
276 **Naty:** cerer
277 cereriak
278 **Me:** celer
279 cerealiak
280 **Naty:** cerel (.) TO SME TAM měli v bramborách (.) chutnalo to jako cerel
281 cerealiak (.) WE HAD THAT in the potatoes too (.) it tasted like cerealiak

After three failed attempts to pronounce the word celeriak (i.e., “cereliak” and “cereriak”), Natálka gave up and returned to the previous topic (see line 281) in which she mentioned that they ate potato salad with meat at school (see line 249). In this case, the transition was realised without a topic orientation marker; i.e., she immediately returned to the subject without any further delay. She had an overwhelming need to share this information

with us, which also could be deduced from her raised voice. Whereas raising the voice caught the attention of some listeners, others were startled by an unexpected loud noise.

This data sample illustrated how Natálka made connections between what she currently was experiencing and what she already had experienced. In this case, mentioning the concrete type of vegetable (i.e., celeriak) while preparing potato salad caused Natálka to remember that they also had it at school.

When I compared both data collections on how Natálka returned to the previous topic, I found that there was a significant difference between the topic orientation markers in 2018 and at the turn of 2020. In the following figure, the frequency of individual types is expressed by the following scale: (1) predominantly, (2) frequently, (3) often, (4) sometimes, (5) rarely, and (6) never.

Figure 25: Returning to the previous topic in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

Topic orientation marker	Data Set One	Data Set Two
attention marker	rarely	predominantly
addressing	never	predominantly
other topic orientation marker	rarely	frequently
without topic orientation marker	predominantly	rarely

In Data Set One, Natálka predominantly did not use any topic orientation marker when she returned to the previous topic. This abrupt change caused the listeners to be rather confused or lost in the storyline and it took a moment for them to understand that the subject had changed. Possible reasons why the markers did not occur in the conversation could be: (1) a lack of language skills at the age of four, (2) the fact that Natálka was just learning how to use them, or (3) she did not feel the need to use them at all. However, there were a few rare cases, in which the transition between the two topics was expressed by attention or other topic orientation markers (e.g., the *and* relation).

Data Set Two showed that Natálka predominantly used a topic orientation marker when she wanted to return to the previous topic. This was probably due to the fact that she was aware that the sudden switch from the ongoing topic could be confusing and thus she chose the marker; i.e., she was already more strategic in how she structured her turns so that they could not be hijacked from her. This view may be supported by other factors including: (1) advanced language skills that began to develop when she entered school, and/or (2) to make a smooth transition between the individual utterances.

At the turn of 2020, Natálka also introduced a new technique: speaking directly to one of the characters or listeners (sometimes combined with the attention marker). Such a combination was predominantly used to attract the attention of her listeners. In only a few cases, Natálka returned to the previous storyline without any topic orientation marker.

The analysis of both data collections showed that Natálka often returned to the previous theme for the same reason: a change in the course of the narrative. Whether it was the realisation of some connection between the individual utterances, the need to communicate something important that happened in the prior topic, or the unexpected appearance on the scene of the main character from the previous story, illustrated that Natálka did not put ideas into the story randomly, but reacted to what was happening in the surrounding world.

5.3.4. DIGRESSING FROM THE TOPIC

A prototypical example of digressing from the current topic in Data Set One could be seen in the following extract taken from the audio recording TD07/03032018 (Part A). The context of the conversation was that Natálka talked about Alík's, her favourite stuffed animal's, upcoming birthday.

Data Sample 56: Alík's birthday and shopping
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 1 **Naty:** óó (.) jampa (.) to je aje hezká jampička
2 o::h (.) a lamp (.) this is a beautiful little lamp
3 **Naty:** take je to tady pjo Ajíka (.) dneska má najozeniny (.) sou mu čicet
4 also it is here for Alík (.) its his birthday today (.) he is thirty
5 **Me:** je mu třicet↑
6 is he thirty↑
7 **Naty:** jo (.) a potom budou padesát (0,5) a taky se mou chodil tam (.) jenku (venku) (1,5) to je aje
8 hezký výhed ((výhled)) támje sme zapajkovaji (0,8) ty požád něco žejkáš↑
9 yep (.) and then he will be fifty years old (0,5) and also he went with me there (.) outside
10 (1,5) this is a beautiful view we parked over there (0,8) you are still chewing something↑
11 **Me:** nežvejkám
12 I am not chewing
13 **Naty:** potom pudem nakupovat
14 then we go shopping
15 **Me:** už jsme nakupovali dvakrát dneska
16 we have already shopped twice today
17 **Naty:** jenom jako híš (.) jenom jako a taky pudem na **pajko** ((asi parkoviště)) taky jako (0,3) víš (.)
18 nebój já ti už nebudu žikat (0,4) zatičko (zlatičko) (0,3) pochej (.) něco musím zkontojovat
19 jenku
20 lets pretend you know (.) lets pretend and also we will go to the “**pajko**” ((probably means
21 car park)) also pretend (0,3) you know (.) don't be affaid I won't call you (0,4) darling (0,3)
22 wait (.) I must check something outside

Digressing from the current topic could be seen in lines 10 and 22. When Natálka was talking about how they spent the day, she suddenly looked at me and asked me if I was chewing something (see line 10). In this case, she did not use a topic orientation marker. Nevertheless, it could be concluded that this transition was partially marked by a longer pause between the individual episodes. Natálka probably wanted to think about the storyline; however, then she turned her attention elsewhere as she found it interesting.

The data sample showed that even if the narrative was interrupted for a moment, it had no consequences for the development of the story. The reason for the digression was the influence of the surroundings; i.e., my supposed action. The fact that Natálka thought I was chewing something was so important that she had to comment on it and thus distance herself from what she was narrating. However, once Natálka found the information she was looking for, she returned to what she originally wanted to say without any problems by using the *then* relation as a topic orientation marker (see line 14). This process reflected Natálka's ability to adapt to a given situation and abrupt changes in the surroundings.

Later in the audio recording, Natálka wandered from the main theme once again for the same reason; i.e., the influence of the background (see line 22). While talking about her plan to go shopping, she paused briefly before saying, “Wait (.) I have to check something outside”. In this case, the transition was marked by a short pause and a topic orientation marker. The word *wait* was not only used to point out that the topic would be changed but also to catch my attention.

In Data Set Two digressing from the current topic could be found in the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part D). The context of the conversation was that Natálka and I were playing with two plastic dogs (see below).

Data Sample 57: Digressing from the story about the dogs that were sleeping
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

251 **Naty:** ee (.) ty je probouzej (.) já neumím nic takovýho (0,3) a teto teďka nechci ksicet ((křičet))
252 uh-uh (.) you wake them up (.) I can't do anything like that (0,3) and aunt I don't want to yell
253 now
254 **Me:** co nechceš křičet↑
255 how don't you want to yell↑
256 **Naty:** psece ((přece)) takhle ÁÁÁ::: nechci (.) hele (.) pupík hihi
257 like that AAH::: don't want to (.) look (.) a tummy button hihi
258 **Me:** má pupík↑ (.) no jo má pupík
259 she has a tummy button↑ (.) well she has a tummy button

When Natálka was talking about waking up the dogs, she suddenly digressed from the topic, which could be seen in line 257. She used an attention marker *look* to catch my attention and point out that she wanted to show me something she found funny (i.e., a tummy button). Even though the change was unexpected and Natálka did not make any significant pause, choosing such a discursive strategy marked the clear boundaries between the two topics and enabled a smooth transition. This result would not have been achieved if Natálka did not use the topic orientation marker.

While it might seem like she was digressing from the topic randomly, her way of expressing herself reflected the situation, and both of these themes were related. The fact that Natálka put the plastic dogs on the table and pretended that they were sleeping allowed the following reaction to occur. She noticed that the dog had a belly button, which she probably would not have noticed if she kept holding the toy in her hand and; for example, pretending the dog was walking.

Another prototypical example of digressing from the topic in Data Set Two could be seen in the audio recording TD06/27122020 (see below). The context of the conversation was that Natálka was playing with two stuffed animals that were running around the room when they suddenly broke a vase, and one of the dogs got hurt.

Data Sample 58: Digressing from the story about two dogs
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

204 **Naty:** doufám, že tam ještě není střep (.) zase by sem nemohla jít ven, já by sem chtěla jít ven zase
205 (.) ale zkákám to ocasu (.) hej hej ejejej (0,2) ten pelíšek a eee teto↑
206 I hope that there is no more piece of glass in there (.) I couldn't go outside again I would like
207 to go outside again (.) but I am jumping on my tail again (.) hey hey ejejej (0,2) the bed and
208 uh-uh aunt↑
209 **Me:** no↑
210 yeah↑
211 **Naty:** kde je děda s babičkou↑
212 where is grandpa and grandma↑

As it could be seen from the excerpt, Natálka used an attention marker *uh-uh* to switch between the topics. The conjunction *and* implied that Natálka probably wanted to add some more information to the ongoing storyline. However, another important thought came to her mind and she needed to express it. For this reason, she chose the particular marker to have my full attention. Natálka even addressed me directly to make sure I was really listening.

The analysis of this transition showed that even though Natálka digressed from the topic, she used an appropriate strategy. In other words, an attention marker combined with the addressing allowed for a smooth transition between individual episodes. This strategy provided space for realising that Natálka changed the topic and thus enabled better orientation in the conversation and Natálka's flow of thought. This result would not have been achieved if Natálka had only asked the question, “Where are grandpa and grandma↑”.

The comparison of both data collections showed significant progress in the use of topic orientation markers when Natálka digressed from the topic. In general, it could be said that in two years, Natálka's ability to switch from one topic to another topic has developed significantly. The following figure shows how this discursive strategy changed. The frequency of individual types is expressed by the following scale: (1) predominantly, (2) frequently, (3) often, (4) sometimes, (5) rarely, and (6) never.

Figure 26: Digressing from the topic in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

Topic orientation marker	Data Set One	Data Set Two
attention marker	sometimes	predominantly
addressing	never	predominantly
other topic orientation marker	rarely	frequently
without topic orientation marker	predominantly	rarely

In Data Set One, Natálka typically digressed from the current theme without a topic orientation marker or even a short pause. There were only a few instances where a marker was present in the storyline (e.g., *wait*). The transition between the two themes was realised abruptly, in most cases, which caused the listeners to be lost in the storyline. However, Data Set Two showed that at the age of six Natálka used different discursive strategies; i.e., the number of topic orientation markers increased significantly. Natálka also typically made a short pause before switching to another theme. In only a few cases was the transition sudden, without the change being signalled.

It might seem that Natálka digressed from the topic because she was distracted, inattentive, or too lively and randomly moved from one thought to another. However, the analysis showed that she always had a valid reason for switching the themes. Sometimes the influence of the surroundings (e.g., something funny, action, or the sudden arrival of other participants in the conversation) caused Natálka to digress from the topic, as she needed to comment on it or learn information that was important to her at that moment.

When Natálka talked she returned to what was not part of the episode, and at that moment it could be considered a digression from the topic. However, in reality, she mentally returned to what we had already talked about and showed how she structured her thoughts, and how she perceived the continuity of what she was learning and what she was talking about. In other words, she made connections between what she heard earlier and what we had just discussed. Each episode was a part of a continuum of long-term interaction with the adult and the relationship during which the child learns.

5.4. OTHER DISCOURSE FEATURES

In this section, I describe and compare other discourse features that occurred in both data collections. They are in this diploma thesis understood as: (1) humour, (2) exaggeration, and (3) negotiation strategies that Natálka used in the conversation. Their use reflected Natálka's thought processes, how she understood the world around her, and how she created relational connections among other participants in the conversation. Imagination and creativity played a key role in this process. First, I analyse Data Set One, then I focus on Data Set Two, and finally compare both data collections.

5.4.1. HUMOUR

In the following paragraphs, I analyse a few representatives from both data collections to provide insight into how Natálka used humorous elements in her talk and to describe how it affected other participants in the conversation.

The audio recording TD20/17062018 showed a typical example of Natálka's sense of humour at the age of four. The context of the conversation was that when Natálka narrated a story about a little horse and a little cow, I pretended to be asleep. Subsequently, Natálka woke me up and I asked her whether the story was over. Her answer could be seen below.

Data Sample 59: A story about a little cow and little horse
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

43 **Naty:** NÉÉÉÉ a potom takje ojeja (.) já se vjítím (.) nebudu tam djouho=tak jó (.) ((kravička jako
44 odešla)) už sem tady (.) jóó ((odpoví koníček)) potom↑ (.) potom kjouzali JUHŮ JUHŮ
45 JUHŮ haha (.) <pak se kutájeji> (.) JUHŮŮ (0,3) potom miminko (0,7) potom šej do bahna
46 HAHHAHA (0,4) koníku co tam dějáš↑ nó sem v kajuži (.) vejký (.) vejký kajuži (.) zjato
47 domu musís ((Natálka něco zamumlá))
48 NO:::: and then she left like this (.) I will come back (.) I won't be there for a long time=okay
49 (.) ((the little cow leaves)) I am already here (.) ye::p ((answers the little horse)) then↑ (.)
50 then they slides YIPPEE YIPPEE YIPPEE (.) <then they were rolling> (.) YIPPEE:: (0,3)

51 then the baby (0,7) then he goes to the mud HAH HAH HAH (0,4) the little horse what are
 52 you doing there↑ w::ell I am in the puddle (.) big (.) big puddle (.) honey you must go home
 53 ((Nátálka mumbles something))

Natálka's sense of humour expressed in this audio recording caused the listeners to be smiling as well, which was probably her intention. It could be found in line 51, where the humorous element was connected to the previous episode with the *then* relation (see 5.1.2). Natálka used such a discursive strategy to link episodes with arbitrary time sequence; i.e., the order of these moves was not fixed; therefore they could have occurred in reverse order. The horse could first go to the mud and then slide or roll.

It could be assumed that Natálka found being in the puddle or mud funny and burst into laughter (see line 51) because of: (1) the horse's disobedience as the cow forbade the horse to go there (i.e., disobeying the authority), but also (2) Natálka's true feelings. When we went for a walk after the rain, she usually wore Wellington boots because she was genuinely happy to walk and jump in a puddle. Therefore, she reflected this emotion in the identical situation in which the horse was playing in the mud and the puddle. This showed that Natálka thought in broader contexts and connected her own experiences with fictional stories. The data sample thus provided insight into how she perceived and understood the world around her.

Another prototypical example of Natálka's sense of humour could be seen in the following excerpt taken from the audio recording TD18/16062018 (Part A). The context of the conversation was that Natálka dreamt about me as a mouse with glasses.

Data Sample 60: A dream about me (Natálka's aunt) as a mouse with glasses

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

20 **Me:** já jsem je ((krysy)) tím mečem rozsekala↑
 21 I hack them ((the rats)) with that sword↑
 22 **Naty:** ehe na kous (.) ky (.) a pak si je jeda HAHAHA HAHAHA HAHAHA
 23 ehe to bi (.) ts (.) and then you ate them HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH
 24 **Me:** no teda (0,4) a nezdál se ti ještě jinej sen↑
 25 oh wow (0,4) and didn't you dream about something else↑
 26 **Naty:** nene
 27 no no
 28 **Me:** třeba jak teta zachránila králíčka↑ (.) ne↑
 29 for example how aunt saved the little rabbit↑ (.) no↑
 30 **Naty:** ((kravičce se zdál sen, tak ho vypráví)) zdájo se mi neco (.) zdájo se mi sen o kájíčkovi (0,3)
 31 byj kájíček on nekdo lektal a potom byj sece jako já

32 ((the little cow dreamed about something, so Natálka speaks for the cow)) I dreamt about
33 something (.) I dreamt about a bunny (0,3) the bunny was someone tickle the bunny and then
34 he was just like me

It could be noticed that the humorous element was connected to the previous episode with the *then* relation (see 5.1.2). Natálka used such a discursive strategy to express a temporal sequence; i.e., the order of these moves was fixed, and therefore they could not be reversed. It was not possible to eat mice and then cut them into pieces.

The fact that I hacked the rats with a sword and subsequently ate them was an amusing part of the storyline for Natálka (see line 23), whereas other participants in the conversation were quite shocked. In this case, the comical element was used for Natálka's own entertainment rather than to amuse the listeners. It implied that Natálka (as a child) and other participants in the interaction (as adults) had different ideas about what could be considered a sense of humour or a humorous element.

This example showed that Natálka was able to make fun of any situation, even if it was a rather brutal act. However, it could be assumed that she was not aware of the seriousness of the situation, because she only imagined it, which showed how she thought about the world around her. If someone was injured in reality, Natálka would not find it funny. She would be concerned about the person or animal.

The data sample included a prototypical example of so-called “dark elements” that occurred only in Data Set One. This term refers to the creativity of negativity, the darker side of a concrete character. Such unpleasant situations with a rather morbid twist always surprised and shocked other participants in the conversation. In these cases, the other participants tried to make Natálka think more positively by changing the topic. In this example, I asked her if she dreamed of something else and offered another alternative. Although Natálka refused at first, she eventually complied with my request reflecting her adaptability to the situation. It could be assumed that she understood my intention; therefore she decided to change her strategy.

In Data Set Two, a prototypical example of Natálka's sense of humour could be found in the audio recording TD02/05122020 (Part C), Natálka's grandmother and I made potato salad. I prepared carrots, then took celeriak and a long knife as I wanted to cut it in half (see below).

Data Sample 61: Cutting celeriak

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 318 **Naty:** hamat hihi ((předvádí Matýska)) (0,2) já nebudu todle jíst (.) já budu jíst jenom mrkvičku (.)
319 to jako budeš taky krájet↑
320 eat hihi ((she pretends to be Matyášek, her brother)) (0,2) I won't eat this (.) I will eat only
321 little carrot (.) you will cut it too↑
322 **Me:** no tohle (.) celer
323 yeah this (.) celeriak
324 **Naty:** chci vidět jak to budeš krájet to velký ((začnu krájet celer)) (.) blbě vid' hi
325 I want to see how you will cut it it's big ((I started cutting celeriak)) (.) badly right hi
326 **Me:** ((smích))
327 ((laughter))
328 **Naty:** to je jako ozech
329 it is like a nut

The humorous element could be seen in line 325, where Natálka used a tag question (see 5.2.3). Such a question expressed that she was looking for confirmation that her statement was correct; i.e., she expected a positive answer. The fact that this type of vegetable was difficult to cut and Natálka saw that I was struggling caused her to make a funny comment and give a short laugh.

She subsequently added another humorous element (see line 329); i.e. that the celeriak was like a nut. In this case, she used a simile to express that the celeriak was hard as a nut. The data sample illustrated how Natálka thought in wider contexts and made a connection with her own experiences, which she gained while observing the world around her. In other words, this example showed the complexity of Natálka's thinking reflecting, her imagination and creativity.

The audio recording TD02/05122020 (Part C) also included another example of Natálka's sense of humour. The context of the conversation was that Natálka's grandfather came to the kitchen and wanted to taste the potato salad (see below).

Data Sample 62: Trying to taste the potato salad

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Grandpa (Natálka's grandfather)

- 346 **Naty:** dyť já sem jenom takhle jednu půlku a °druhou půlku° (.) dědo neuzírej to↑
347 well I just one half like that and the other half (.) grandpa don't eat it↑
348 **Me:** ((smích))
349 ((laughter))
350 **Grandpa:** cože↑
351 what↑
352 **Naty:** dedo neuzírej
353 grandpa don't eat it
354 **Me:** neuzírej
355 don't eat it

356 **Naty:** nenene ((Natálka odsunula misku se salátem od dědy pryč a dělá na něj tytyty))
 357 nenene ((Natálka moved the bowl with the potato salad away from her grandfather and
 358 made a gesture suggesting not to do that))
 359 **Grandpa:** no počkej až budeš chtít jít nahoru nikam nepůjdeš
 360 just you wait when you will want to go upstairs you won't go anywhere
 361 **Naty:** já sem ti zíkala abys to nejed (.) potom budeme mít žádný jídlo↓
 362 I told you not to eat it (.) then we won't have any food left↓

In this data sample, Natálka used two different humorous elements. To understand the first one in lines 347 and 353 (repetition of the same element), I must explain the use of Natálka's words. She said: “dědo neuzírej to↑,” which could be translated as “grandpa don't eat it↑”; however, the word *eat* does not correspond to the meaning of the word *užírat*. Whereas in the Czech language, the verb *eat* is expressed by *jíst* and is used as a neutral connotation, the verb *užírat* indicates a rather negative connotation. The neutral expression of this verb is *ujídat*, which can be translated as *to eat some piece of something*.

When Natálka told her grandfather not to *užírat* the potato salad, she meant that he should not take a spoonful of salad, then leave, and later come back and repeat the same move. In this case, Natálka's word choice and her tone suggest rephension. After she reprimanded her grandfather, I started laughing which caused Natálka to realise that her comment was humorous. Therefore, when she repeated the sentence because her grandfather did not understand her, there was a bright smile on her face. In other words, my reaction to Natálka's move provoked her to add something more to the conversation that would amuse the other participants.

Adding another humorous element could be seen in line 357, where the second type of this discursive strategy occurred. She looked at her grandfather with a serious face and said “no no no”. For emphasis, she moved the bowl out of his range, then raised her finger, and moved her hand up and down. With this gesture, Natálka advised her grandfather not to eat the potato salad and she also showed that he was naughty. In other words, she teased her grandfather, which could be classified as an aggressive sense of humour (Martin, 2003).

The following turn (see line 332) indicated that Natálka's grandfather got a bit angry and because Natálka imposed a ban on potato salad, he said in return that he would not take her upstairs if she asked him later. Natálka immediately defended herself when she said: “I told you not to eat it (.) then we won't have any food”.

This audio recording provided an interesting insight into how humorous elements were used and what consequences they could have. Natálka's sense of humour was, in this case, a bit of ridicule punished by her grandfather in the end. When she understood the consequences of her move, she wanted to make clear why she used the comical element and revealed her original intention; e.g., to have enough food for everyone.

The data sample clearly illustrated that in order to understand her statement, others must first understand her thought process and what she meant by it. As soon as Natálka realised this, she expressed her opinion directly to avoid any further misunderstandings. It could be concluded that Natálka began to think in broader contexts and take into account the thought processes of others and how they understood her way of thinking.

In Data Set Two, in the audio recording TD0205122020 (Part B), I found an interesting example regarding the use of irony in the conversation (see below). The context of the interaction was that Natálka's grandmother asked about her day at school and we found out that it included Nicholas, the Devil, and the Angel⁵. When Natálka finished this topic, her grandmother wanted to know what else they were doing at school, which could be seen in the following excerpt.

Data Sample 63: Understanding irony

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

- 52 **Granny:** co jste ještě dělali ve škole↑
53 what else were you doing at school↑
54 **Naty:** ucili jsme se
55 we were studying
56 **Granny:** nepovídej haha
57 no way haha
58 **Naty:** jojo ucili
59 oh yeah we were studying

When Natálka replied that they “were studying”, Natálka's grandmother used irony with the tone of voice that was typical for this phenomenon (see line 57). Although the presence of irony was apparent to all participants in the conversation, Natálka failed to identify the hidden meaning of this utterance. Therefore, she subsequently said “oh yeah we were studying” to make sure everyone understood her message.

⁵ Czech tradition is that on St. Nicholas Day adults dress themselves in costumes of St Nicholas, the Angel and the Devil. Then they walk the streets, stop the children and ask if they were good. When the children say “yes”, they subsequently recite a short poem or sing a song to get sweets from the Angel. If they were not good; however, then the Devil gives them a sack of potatoes or coal. Sometimes the Devil puts the children in a sack and takes them to hell (not literally, of course).

Since Natálka was not yet familiar with this concept of expressing thoughts using words of opposite meaning (which could be confirmed by her tendency to literally express what she thought and knew) she did not understand her grandmother's intention; i.e., to make a joke. In other words, for Natálka at the age of six, it was natural to talk about the truth with no opposites of the original meaning, hidden messages, or figurative speech. It could be assumed that her way of thinking was not sufficiently developed to understand the use of irony. Even though Lyon (2006) asserts that a child could understand irony between five and six years of age, it seems that in Natálka's case this phenomenon was not yet part of her knowledge; i.e., it did not make sense to her, and therefore she was also not able to express this relationship herself.

The following figure characterises Natálka's sense of humour in both data sets in terms of its type, function, and frequency, which is expressed by the following scale: (1) predominantly, (2) frequently, (3) often, (4) sometimes, (5) rarely, and (6) never.

Figure 27: Natálka's sense of humour in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

Type of humour	The function of humorous elements	Data Set One	Data Set Two
productive	to amuse others	sometimes	predominantly
	to amuse Natálka herself	often	often
reactive	to express joy	frequently	frequently
	to express amusement	frequently	sometimes
other	no intention to amuse others	rarely	rarely

The claim that a child is capable of humour after fantasy and make-believe development (Lyon, 2006) could be substantiated by Data Set One. Even though in 2018 Natálka was only four years old, the data showed that she had a highly developed imagination and awareness of what was real and what was not. This could be seen in the audio recording TD07/03032018 (Part A and B) where she said: “Let us pretend you know” and “It is not alive (.) these are just costumes.” The high level of imagination enabled the occurrence of humour as presented in the data samples above.

Although humour did not occur in Data Set One often, this ability showed a wide range of functions. At the age of four, Natálka's sense of humour was reactive rather than productive, Natálka predominantly expressed her joy or amusement with laughter.

In Data Set Two, Natálka used this ability frequently. From the analysis, it could be concluded that at the age of six, Natálka's humour was both a reactive and productive activity.

Natálka not only smiled with amusement at the situations occurring around her, but she also included humorous elements in her storylines to amuse others and create a relaxed atmosphere.

In most cases, her sense of humour served to amuse other participants in the conversation and create a pleasant environment. It could be classified as an affiliative type (Martin, 2003). Natálka typically contributed to the humour by bringing surprise laughter to the storyline. She sometimes used a comical component for her own entertainment, which could be seen in so-called “dark elements” (e.g., me as a mouse with a sword). Natálka's utterances were, in some cases, humorous to other participants in the conversation, which was not her intention. However, when she saw that the listeners were laughing, she added something more for their amusement (e.g., Natálka's grandfather tasting the potato salad). For Natálka, it was also typical to laugh at what other people do when it came to expressing something that seemed funny (e.g., cross-eyed Matyášek).

Some instances expressed a serious message rather than a comical element in Natálka's point of view but were perceived as humorous by the listeners. An example could be seen in Data Sample 6 where Natálka narrated a story about a little jellyfish that met a shark and she said: “no the shark said no no no you could go nowhere here is a restricted area.” Whereas the fact that there was a restricted area in the sea guarded by the shark brought a smile to my face, Natálka kept a straight face.

5.4.2. EXAGGERATION

When Natálka came up with so-called “dark elements” (Šimková, 2019) in Data Set One, she typically tended to exaggerate as she used quite extreme twists in the plot. A prototypical example could be found in the following extract taken from the audio recording TD08/03032018. The context of the conversation was that Natálka narrated a fairy tale about a tiger called Zumba.

Data Sample 64: How a tiger ate a mouse
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

5 **Naty:** to ten tyg (bum) Zumba ((jméno tygra)) (0,3) a potom ji sežjal a spóknul (0,3) ((zeptám se jí
6 koho ten tygr snědl)) myšku↑ a potom jí takje sebjal jí kůži
7 the tiger (boom) Zumba ((a name of the tiger)) (0,3) and then he ate her and swa:llowed (0,3)
8 ((I ask whom did the tiger eat)) the mouse↑ (.) and then he took her skin away from her like
9 this

The exaggeration in line 8 was connected to the previous episode with the *then* relation (see 5.1.2) to express a time sequence. However, in this case, Natálka did not understand that it was impossible for the tiger to eat the mouse first and then take her skin away (which any adult would know). It could be assumed that her way of thinking and imagination and creativity enabled her to invent such an impractical storyline. It meant that in Natálka's point of view everything was possible.

Whereas Natálka saw the tiger's act as a rather normal one, other participants in the conversation were shocked. They quickly changed the topic and wanted to talk about something positive. In this case, it could be assumed that Natálka used exaggeration unintentionally as she was not aware of the seriousness of the tiger's act.

A similar example occurred in the audio recording TD12/13042018 where Natálka narrated her dream about a prince who came to visit her. However, a storm broke while he was outside which resulted in losing the prince's way. Subsequently, a huge spider appeared on the scene and attacked the prince. See the result of the spider's move below.

Data Sample 65: A spider attacking a prince

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 86 **Me:** proč neměl hlavu↑
 87 why doesn't he have his head↑
 88 **Naty:** proto nemá hjabu on ukous pajouk hjabu () a zůstal jenom mozek
 89 because he has no head the spider bit his head off () and only brain left

It could be noticed that the exaggeration was connected to the previous episode with the conjunction *and*. In this case, Natálka used such a conjunction to express the consequence of the spider's move. Would there be a brain left if the spider had not bitten the prince's head off? No, there would not. Therefore, the conjunction *and* functioned as the *cause* relationship (see 5.1.4).

As in the previous example, the action of the spider that frightened the listeners was perceived neutrally by Natálka and was not considered something unusual. For that reason, she was not aware that the climax of the story was slightly exaggerated and that reflected how Natálka understood the world around her.

The use of exaggeration, in this case, illustrated Natálka's vivid imagination and creativity and how these two phenomena helped her to understand her world. She probably

did not encounter such a situation in real life, which means that her experiences were not reflected here. However, it could be assumed that when Natálka mentioned that the spider had bitten off the prince's head, she remembered that the human brain was located in this part of the body and in this way connected her knowledge of anatomy with the spider's action.

Another prototypical example of such a discursive strategy could be seen in the audio recording TD03/16022018 (Part A). The context of the conversation was that Natálka wanted to exercise and then when she was playing with her father, she fell on her lip, which caused her to bleed. The following description of this accident illustrated how Natálka tended to exaggerate.

Data Sample 66: Lower lip injury

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

8 **Naty:** jo (.) spadja sem na pusinku a potom mi to hódne paskjo potom () sem se tječila a
 9 byja kjep a me to hjozně bojejo (.) todje byl muj poslední jet↓ ((ret))
 10 yep (.) I have fallen on my mouth and then it broke so mu:ch then () I hit myself and
 11 a blood was there and it hurt so much (.) this was my last lip↓

The episode in which Natálka said that it was her last lip (see line 11) could be understood as an example of unintentional exaggeration. It could also be perceived as a rather humorous element in the story reflecting her imagination.

The reason why Natálka used the expression may be connected to the fact that cats are said to have nine lives. She applied this knowledge to herself and her injury. In this case, the expression “the last lip” may mean that Natálka thought that if she injured herself again, it would not heal anymore. This example, therefore, illustrated how Natálka could connect her own experience with the knowledge she learned through the world around her.

A prototypical example of exaggeration in Data Set Two could be found in the audio recording TD02/05122020 (Part B), where Natálka talked about the visit of Nicholas, the Angel, and the Devil (the Czech tradition of celebrating Saint Nicholas Day) at her school.

Data Sample 67: The arrival of the Devil

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

92 **Naty:** kdys sme tam si zrovna sedli a pani ucitelka si něco zíkala tak zazvonil nějaký tichý
 93 zvonecek (0,2) a to byl ten cert a mel v ruce takhle pytel
 94 when we sat down *and* the teacher said something then a quiet little bell rang (0,2) *and* it was
 95 the devil *and* he had a bag in his hand
 96 **Granny:** jééé
 97 wo::w

98 **Me:** noo
 99 yeah
 100 **Naty:** a tady jako zvonky a měl jich million
 101 *and here the bells and he had a million of them*
 102 **Granny:** milion
 103 million
 104 **Me:** pane joo
 105 oh wo::w
 106 **Naty:** hihi
 107 hihi

It could be noticed that the exaggeration in line 101 was connected to the previous episode with the *and* relation (see 5.1.1). Natálka used such a discursive strategy to provide an introductory section, in which she described the Devil.

Even though Natálka said that: “a quiet little bell rang”, in line 101 she added that the Devil had a million bells. If he really had a million bells, one would expect them to make a loud sound. It could be assumed that Natálka wanted to express that when the Devil entered their classroom, the sound of this one little bell increased significantly. Therefore, Natálka needed to use the comparison to the million bells to clearly express this situation to the listeners. In this case, imagination and creativity played an important role in adequately expressing the relationship between reality and subjective impression.

Another example of exaggeration appeared in the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part E). The context of the conversation was that Natálka was playing with little plastic dogs and when she described what they are doing, her dog suddenly started screaming (see below).

Data Sample 68: The dog screams for help
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

287 **Me:** pojd'te domů pejsci
 288 little dogs come back home
 289 **Naty:** hele tady to má (obráceně)
 290 look he has this (upside down)
 291 **Me:** haf haf
 292 woof woof
 293 **Naty:** POMÓ:::C ÁÁÁ:: ((pak je slyšet úleva a Natálky pejsek začne ztěžka dýchat))
 294 HE:::LP AHHH:: ((then I can hear the relief and Natálka's doggie starts to breathe heavily))
 295 **Me:** no nepřeháněj zase
 296 come on don't overreact
 297 **Naty:** to byla teda fučka ((Natálka zde zamění písmenko š za č ve slově fučka))
 298 it was such a hard work ((Natálka replace the letter š with č in the Czech word *fuška*, English
 299 equivalent is *hard work* or *toil*))

When the dog screamed for help in line 294, a few moments later, I heard relief in Natálka's voice, which was subsequently replaced by heavy breathing. I told her not to

overreact and she simply replied that it was such hard work. Without Natálka's consecutive move, the dog's shriek could be classified as an urgent call for help because his life was in danger.

Although what kind of job the dog was doing was not mentioned, his loud and high-pitched scream was rather unnecessary. In other words, the scream was a bit of an exaggerated element in this particular context. Natálka probably decided to use this discursive strategy to (1) grab my attention, (2) express her subjective opinion on the matter, or (3) show the feelings of the dog.

When I compared both data collections, I found that exaggeration occurred in the conversation either deliberately or unintentionally. The following figure shows the frequency of individual types that is expressed by the following scale: (1) predominantly, (2) frequently, (3) often, (4) sometimes, (5) rarely, and (6) never.

Figure 28: Exaggeration in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

Type of exaggeration	Data Set One	Data Set Two
intentional	rarely	predominantly
unintentional	predominantly	rarely

The analysis showed that Data Set One included an unintentional exaggeration rather than an intentional one as Natálka was not familiar with this phenomenon. However, at the turn of 2020, it was typical for Natálka to integrate deliberately this type of discursive strategy into the conversation. When she used exaggeration intentionally, she wanted to produce a dramatic effect in her utterances. This effect was also sometimes achieved even though it was not Natálka's intention.

The comparison illustrated that at the age of six Natálka was more familiar with this type of discursive strategy than when she was only four years old. It mapped how her process of thinking has developed over two years. At the turn of 2020, she was able to think in a broader context and better express the relationship among various objects or situations using her imagination and creativity. She used exaggeration to emphasise her feeling, an idea, a character's action, or a feature.

5.4.3. NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES

The following paragraphs illustrate how Natálka negotiated in the flow of the conversation so that she could achieve her goal. First I comment on prototypical examples in Data Set One, then I focus on Data Set Two, and finally, I compare both data collections.

In Data Set One, a typical example of negotiation strategies could be found in the audio recording TD02/16022018 (Part A) The context of the conversation was that two horses narrated bedtime stories to their daughter named Pinkie Pie; aka me.

Data Sample 69: A fairy tale about a butterfly and a queen
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

7 **Me:** povíte mi nějakou pohádku↑
8 will you tell me a fairy tale↑
9 **Naty:** jo (.) aje musíš spát (.) ((dělám, že usnula)) počkěj () byjo nebyjo v kásné
10 chaloupce byja jednou (motýja) a taky byja tam kákovna ((královna))
11 yep (.) but you must sleep (.) ((I pretend that Pinkie has fallen asleep)) wa::it
12 () once upon a time in the beautiful little cottage once was (a butterfly) and
13 there was also a queen

When Natálka said that in order to hear a fairy tale I must sleep (see line 11), I carried out her order and pretended to fall asleep. However, Natálka immediately exclaimed “wa::::it” and when she made sure I was still awake, she began to tell a fairy tale about a beautiful butterfly and a queen.

The fact that I asked Natálka if she would tell me a fairy tale and that we pretended to be one family caused the subsequent reaction (i.e., the demand to sleep). Natálka was probably inspired by her own experience, which she then incorporated into her fictional world. As she had experienced that her parents typically narrated fairy tales before going to sleep, there was a need to meet this requirement. Natálka wanted to create a stimulating environment for bedtime stories which was expressed by using a negotiation strategy (i.e., give order) in her utterance. It meant that if someone wanted to hear a fairy tale, they must get ready for sleep. This data sample thus illustrated how Natálka connected this imaginative situation with real life and with what she had already experienced.

The audio recording TD05/23022018 (Part A) included another example of this type of discursive strategy. The context of the conversation was that Natálka's mother asked her to narrate something (see below).

Data Sample 70: Persuading Natálka to narrate

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

- 1 **Mum:** vyprávěj něco
2 tell me something
3 **Naty:** ne (.) asi ne
4 no (.) probably not
5 **Mum:** prosím
6 please
7 **Naty:** ale potom budem cestovat patí↑ (.) potom musíme tak (0,2) takje (.) jsou tam
8 taky pajačinky (.) už je tam vyrábějí jen plyšáci (.) teďka (.) musíme tam spát
9 žikala pani (.) v díbočině
10 but then we will travel deal↑ (.) then we must this way (0,2) like this (.) there
11 are also pancakes (.) they are made just by stuffed animals (.) now (.) we have to
12 sleep there (.) said the woman (.) in the wilderness

In line 10, Natálka expressed that she would comply with her mother's request, but under one condition. After finishing her story, she demanded to travel. To make sure they reached an agreement, she turned to her mother and said “Deal↑.” After finding out that her request would also be granted, she began to tell a fairy tale.

The analysis showed that at the age of four Natálka was already aware of the concept that nothing is free, and when someone demands something they could expect that the other party will also want something in return. In some cases, it was necessary to compromise so that you could achieve your goal, which was illustrated in the data sample. She encountered this strategy every day; for example, when her parents wanted her to clean her room. When Natálka expressed her disapproval, her parents tried to convince her that afterwards she could watch a fairy tale and thus find a solution so that both parties would be satisfied. Since she knew how this strategy worked (i.e., personal experience), she did not hesitate to negotiate with her mother. Moreover, the idea that she could get something in return also led her to make a deal, which reflected how Natálka thought about the world around her.

The last example of negotiation strategies in Data Set One could be found in the audio recording TD20/17062018. The context of the conversation was that Natálka talked about a little cow (aka mother) and a little horse (aka son). When the cow forbade the horse to go into the puddle, I asked Natálka whether the horse went there or not. Natálka's answer could be seen below.

Data Sample 71: Conversation between a little cow and little horse

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

24 **Naty:** ne (.) mamka mi žíkala nesmís a potom (.) nešej tam aniii (.) potom byj už satečný ale byj
25 jeste mají (0,3) byj to miminko ((něco vypráví, ale není jí rozumět)) a potom mamka se
26 (zeptaja) kam pudem↑ °pudem já pudu° (.) a můžu tam taky ↑ ((ptá se miminko)) >nemůzes
27 (.) aha< co je mámi↑ (0,5) a už se vjátite↑ pšece ne↑ se tam vyspinkaja a budu tam spát a
28 všekno (.) °a co já↑° (.) budu tady (.) a potom budeš vejkej jako já (0,3) potom (0,5) ((dělám,
29 že jsem usnula)) HA HA HA TETÓÓ↑
30 nope (.) mum told me you must not and then (.) he did not eve::n go there (.) he was brave
31 then but he was still small (0,3) he was a baby ((next 10 seconds of talk unclear)) and then
32 mum (asked) where are we going↑ °we are going I am going° (.) and can I go there too↑
33 ((asks the baby)) >you cannot (.) aha< what is it mum↑ (0,5) are you already going back↑ not
34 yet↑ I slept there and I will sleep there and everything (.) °and what about me↑° (.) I will be
35 here (.) and then you will be big as me (0,3) then (0,5) ((I pretend to fall asleep)) HAH HAH
36 HAH AU::NT↑

It seemed that the horse intended to negotiate with the cow in line 32 when the horse asked: “and can I go there”. However, when the cow replied negatively, the horse simply said “aha” and then started talking about something else. This word indicated that the horse accepted without reservation the fact that he cannot go there.

In this case, it could be assumed that the relationship between the main characters played a key role and influenced the horse's decision. The fact that the horse did not try to persuade the cow could be understood as obedience. When the horse's mother forbade the horse to go outside, there was nothing the horse could do about it so he just accepted that fact.

Natálka's decision to obey the authority reflected her life experience illustrating how she perceived and understood the world around her. Natálka was probably aware that her mother had a higher status than she had (the person who received the order). It could be assumed that at the age of four she understood the hierarchy of power or status in the family. It could also be concluded that without such an order Natálka (aka the horse) would not have acted in this way.

The prototypical negotiation strategies in Data Set Two could be seen in the audio recording TD06/27122020 (Part G). Since they occurred throughout the whole Part G, only brief excerpts were provided in the following paragraphs. The complete transcript of this part could be found in Appendix 8.

The context of the conversation was that while Natálka and I were playing with two little plastic dogs, one of the dogs suddenly had a toothache. When I said that the dog (hereafter he), broke his tooth, Natálka tried to persuade him to visit a dentist but did not

expect it to be extremely challenging. As he was scared of the dental checkup, he attempted to hide himself and when his hiding place did not save him, he started to talk back.

The following example showed two different negotiation strategies that Nátalka used to persuade the dog.

Data Sample 72: An attempt to persuade the dog to visit the dentist

Participants: Naty (Nátalka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 394 **Naty:** tak pojd'
395 so come on
396 **Me:** já nikam nejdu
397 I am not going anywhere
398 **Naty:** TAK a už sem se naštvála (.) musís tam jít nebo nedostaneš nikdy kostky
399 SO I am mad at you right now (.) you have to go there or else you won't get any dices
400 **Me:** já kostku=kosti už jíst nebudu, protože mám ulomenej zub ee
401 I won't eat the dice=bones anymore because my tooth is broken uh-uh
402 **Naty:** °neboj° (.) v klidu
403 °don't worry° (.) keep calm
404 **Me:** eee (.) ham
405 uh-uh (.) yum
406 **Naty:** počkej (.) dýchej zhluboka se nadechni ((Nátalka sama se zhluboka nadechne, ale já pořád
407 dělám, že pejsek pláče a je smutný)) (.) neplakej, tak pod' do pelišku
408 wait (.) breathe take a deep breath ((Nátalka takes a deep breath herself, but I am still
409 pretending that the doggy is crying and is sad)) (.) don't cry so come on to your bed

Even though Nátalka calmly tried to persuade the dog to go to the dentist for his own good, his disobedience and constant talking back caused her to yell at him and threaten him (see line 399). Raising her voice could be for two reasons: (1) she did not know how else she could react to his behaviour anymore, or (2) she wanted to make it clear that her patience had its limits.

As soon as she saw that the dog was scared, she changed her tone of voice and tried to calm him down (see lines 403, 408-409). At that moment, she realised that her strategy was not appropriate, and therefore began to look for another solution to the situation.

This example illustrated how Nátalka thought when she encountered a problem and tried to solve it with all her might. Even though the situation was constantly changing and complicating her goal, her ability to adapt was remarkable. It could be concluded that Nátalka was able to find the source of the problem, then analyse it, consider what options she had for solving it, and then choose the best strategy to use. It meant that at the age of six her problem solving skills were highly developed.

The following extract showed Natálka's reaction when the dog wanted to hear a fairy tale for a speedy recovery.

Data Sample 73: Natálka's capitulation

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 424 **Naty:** ne já neumím vyprávět pohádky
425 no I don't know how to narrate fairy tales
426 **Me:** eee tak já nebudu hajat
427 uh-uh so I won't be lying
428 **Naty:** tak jak chceš (.) trhni si nohou
429 as you wish (.) get stuffed
430 **Me:** oo (.) no teda jo, ty seš tak drzá na mě
431 oh (.) oh wow you are so cheeky
432 **Naty:** hihi haha hihi (.) tak to nech, pojď si hajnout a já ti třeba pustím Toma a Jerryho
433 hihi haha hihi (.) so stop it come and lie dow and I may play Tom and Jerry

In this case, the extreme pickiness of the dog and the impossibility to satisfy him caused Natálka to feel defeated, which could be seen in line 429. By including this cheeky remark in the narrative, her story became more realistic, reflecting her own experience.

The sample illustrated that even though someone's stubbornness might cause a negative reaction, Natálka still tended to reverse her behaviour and start over (see line 433). It could be assumed that maintaining a positive relationship with the surrounding world was Natálka's priority, which she tried to achieve by offering a compromise that she thought would satisfy and please the other party. From this it could be concluded that at the age of four Natálka was already well acquainted with the system of rewards and punishments; i.e., appropriate behaviour deserved a reward and disobedience a punishment, which could be seen throughout our conversation.

After a long, fruitless, and tiresome negotiation, Natálka completely changed her strategy. Instead of talking to me, she started to focus on the other dog who suddenly broke his tooth as well (see below).

Data Sample 74: The other dog has toothache as well

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 506 **Me:** proč proč proč bych tam měl jít↑
507 why why why should I go there↑
508 **Naty:** proto aby se ti uzdravil zub
509 so that your tooth heals
510 **Me:** nepudu
511 no I won't go
512 **Naty:** HAM (.) au bolí mě zub AU::
513 YUM (.) ouch I have toothache OUCH::

514 **Me:** haha ((Matýsek se v pozadí zasměje)) tak ty půjdeš k doktorovi
515 haha ((Matýsek is laughing in the background)) you are coming to the doctor too
516 **Naty:** au au AU:: (.) óo: tebe bolí zoubek↑ ((pejsek zakňourá jako na souhlas)) °a jí taky=mě taky°
517 ouch ouch OUCH:: (.) oh:: you have toothache↑ ((the dog snarls in agreement)) °and also
518 she=also me°

In this case, Natálka expressed how she thought the situation should have developed using a soft and calm voice as she wanted to show the right and friendly attitude. Natálka projected her experience with the world around her into the fictional story and probably tried to point out that communication was a key element when someone was injured.

It illustrated that Natálka's thought processes were complex in terms of finding a similar situation that she experienced in reality and applying the knowledge she gained from it to her fictional world. This world that operated according to the same rules as the real one was built with her vivid imagination and creativity.

The following figure summarises the development of the negotiation strategies, where the occurrence of the individual types is expressed by Y (i.e., yes, the feature was present in the data set) and N (i.e., no, the feature was not present in the data).

Figure 29: Negotiation strategies in 2018 and at the turn of 2020

Type of negotiation strategy	Data Set One	Data Set Two
command	Y	Y
compromise	Y	Y
surrender or acceptance	Y	Y
polite question, sweet talk	Y	Y
calming down with a soft voice	N	Y
threat with a loud voice	N	Y
persuasion	N	Y
using exemplary behaviour	N	Y

In Data Set One there were only three examples of these discursive strategies that could be classified as a mild version of bargaining (e.g., compromise, or polite question). Even though Natálka was familiar with this phenomenon as she encountered it every day in the conversation with adults, it could be assumed that at the age of four she was not able to express such a strategy herself. It implied that in 2018 this discursive strategy was not that productive.

At the turn of 2020, Natálka used more advanced and sophisticated techniques within a short time. The analysis indicated that at the age of six, Natálka mastered this ability as she introduced many different strategies within a single audio recording. They could be

summarised as: (1) advice, (2) sweet talk, (3) raising a voice and using a threat, (4) trying to calm the other party down, (5) sweet voice and bargaining, (6) giving up, (7) negotiating (do this and you will get something in return), (8) raising voice, (9) threatening, (10) arguing (one says “yes” and the other “no”), and finally, (11) having the same injury, and presenting the correct or required behaviour.

Introducing a number of different negotiation strategies reflected Natálka's flexibility and ability to adapt to unpredictable situations that could occur. Even though she met an adamant person, Natálka constantly tried to find possible ways to achieve her goal and articulate her thoughts clearly so that the other party understood the reason for her efforts. Natálka probably knew that she was right; therefore, she did not want to give up and she kept fighting. In the conversation, she drew on her own experience with the outside world and how it functioned (as she was aware that if someone was hurt, they should seek medical treatment). Through her actions and several different strategies, she wanted to convince the other party of her truth and break the deadlock, which reflected the complexity of her thoughts.

6. CONCLUSION

A child's thought processes and how they perceive and understand the world around them are often a mystery to adults who talk to them. Adults frequently are unable to explain, understand or follow the child's train of thought. The child's thinking is noticeably different from that of an adult's. Therefore, it can be studied to a very limited extent. This longitudinal case study offered a possible way to understand the child's world through the analysis of language used by a child in narrative interactions with an adult family member.

The conclusions of the present thesis are based on the analysis of narrative interactions between a Czech girl, Natálka, and her aunt over two one-year periods. The data were collected in two phases: 1) when Natálka was four years old; and 2) when she was six. The goals of this diploma thesis were to: (1) map selected discursive strategies in the context of imagination and creativity (i.e., interconnections between episodes, asking questions, topic orientation markers, and other discourse features; namely, humour, exaggeration, and negotiation strategies) employed by a child at both pre- school and early school years; (2) compare their function in a narrative conversation with an adult; and (3) explain how the child used these discursive practices to learn about the world around her at the ages of four and six.

The analysis highlighted four areas of significant change in the use of the selected discursive practices over the two-year period between 2018 and the turn of 2020:

1. Use of the question, “why”. At the turn of 2020, Natálka's thought processes were sufficiently developed to apply the seemingly simple question *why* in a broader context compared with her questions in 2018. With this question she did not only express the need to learn the reason for a specific move; she asked the question *why* in an anticipatory manner, demonstrating the expectation of receiving specific information in response to her question. In the event she was not satisfied with the answer, she typically continued asking additional questions (e.g., Data Sample 23). Analysis of the data further confirmed that Natálka predominantly used information-seeking questions regardless of whether she was seeking a fact or an explanation (e.g., Data Samples 21 and 25).

In conversation, six additional functions of the question *why* were identified in the analysis (see 5.2.1): (1) check validity, (2) check knowledge, (3) check comprehension, (4) express surprise, (5) express unfamiliarity, and (6) express unwillingness to speak. It showed that she understood the fine nuances among the individual types reflecting that her thought processes were complex and highly developed. This discursive strategy further illustrated Natálka's complexity of language use as she was able to assign several functions to the seemingly simple question *why*, which were expressed not only in the form (i.e., words) but also in tone of voice.

Comparison of both data collections yielded numerous examples illustrating Natálka's desire to search for reason and causes to satisfy her curiosity (e.g., Data Samples 20 and 21). Her questioning techniques; however, became considerably more sophisticated when she was six years old. At that time, she was more experienced and integrated in her questioning a more comprehensive knowledge of the surrounding world. This was also aided by the fact that she was more familiar with how the world around her was organised, which she repeatedly demonstrated through her lexicon and descriptions of things, states of events, relationships, feelings and emotions.

2. Comprehension of time. Comparing both data sets showed that Natálka had a much clearer comprehension of time at the turn of 2020 than she did in 2018. She understood the flow of time and could easily point out time sequence in two different ways, with: (a) temporal expressions (e.g., *one day, in a week*) or (b) various sense relations (i.e., the *and*

[see 5.1.1], the *then* [see 5.1.2], the *enable* [see 5.1.3], and the *cause* connectors [see 5.1.4]). Through these relationships that were frequently used in the narrative, she was able to express both explicitly (i.e., the *and* and the *then* connectors) and implicitly (i.e., the *enable* and the *cause* connectors) how the individual episodes follow one another to create one coherent unit and emphasise that sometimes their order was fixed.

There were examples in the 2018 data in which the time sequence was still misunderstood (e.g., Data Sample 64). On the other hand, the analysis of Data Set Two demonstrated that Natálka no longer had problems with representing this type of relationship in the narrative conversation. It follows that she understood more clearly how the world around her worked and was able to apply this knowledge when using different discursive strategies to connect individual parts of the conversation.

Furthermore, the analysis of the use of the *enable* and the *cause* connectors allowed me to observe how Natálka perceived the causal relationship between individual episodes. The comparison of both data sets showed that at age six, she had a better understanding of causes and possible consequences because she was more experienced. Therefore, these two connectors appeared more frequently in Data Set Two than in Data Set One. Natálka thought in a broader context, used her own experience when drawing conclusions in the storyline, and was even able to defend her point of view (e.g., Data Sample 19).

3. Use of humour, exaggeration, and negotiation. Without having been explicitly taught humour, exaggeration, and negotiation strategies, ample use of these strategies was documented in Data Set Two. It was unexpectedly revealing to trace repeatedly Natálka's command of these practices in interaction. Her use of humour, exaggeration, and negotiation strategies was both spontaneous and natural, possibly stemming from the exposure and her ability to observe the rules that other participants applied in conversation. When Natálka integrated these discourse practices, her position in the conversation changed. She was not just a recipient but took a leading role. By using these strategies, Natálka tried to defend her place in society and therefore to pursue her stance or what she perceived to be the truth worth fighting for (see 5.4.3). The discursive strategies of humour, exaggeration, and negotiation were thus not only tied to the context in which the conversation was embedded but also in the relationships amongst the individual participants and her growing learning of the outside world.

Using a humorous element in the conversation, Natálka demonstrated that she understood the surrounding world well. By questioning reality and pushing the meaning of the given fact even further illustrated how she played with her ideas (e.g., Data Sample 61).

4. Comprehension of a broader context. The research illustrated that Natálka thought about the world around her in a broader context. She took into account not only the specific situation she was in, but discursively she also linked to what she had already uttered or articulated in the past (see 5.3.4). In Natálka's point of view, this apparent digression from the topic was understood as returning to the previous idea or expanding a particular point she was just making. To understand her thought processes, it was necessary to look at the conversation in a wider context and not perceive the narration as an isolated episode.

Both data sets illustrated that Natálka's imagination was vivid and creative when it came to inventing fairy tales or dreams by using selected discursive strategies. Therefore, I believe it is not always true that the imagination of a child is poorer than that of adults (Vygotsky, 2004). Some adults are not able to visualise non-existent objects, create something new, or come up with similar ideas as the child. On the other hand, the child may not have this ability, either. As an example, we can use creative activities that require imagination as well as creativity in literature, artistic creations, or technological innovations. In summary, imagination is dependent on the person's ability to think, their character, and personality, but also is affected by the environment in which the person is growing up.

It may be speculated that the main difference between adults' and child's imagination is not quantity but quality as the child's imagination works differently. When they grow, they gain experience and knowledge about the world around them, which is then reflected in their imagination. With more and more experience this ability begins to change and transform. Whereas the child typically pretends that their stuffed animals or even objects are alive, that they can talk (e.g., Data Sample 38), and they live in a house like humans (personification), adults' imagination differs in that it is influenced by what adults know to be true (i.e., stuffed animals are only manmade objects).

However, this understanding of the surrounding world is changed by gaining new experience and by contact with the real world. The child will eventually find out that their toys are not alive (see 5.4.1), and that the sun does not have a face. This kind of imagination

is at some point replaced with knowledge of the real world. The new adult-like imagination begins to grow.

Many parents these days do not have much time for their children, which is unfortunate. They tend to give the child a cell phone or electronic gadget that substitutes for the interaction. Immediate family plays an important role because they can provide additional stimuli to the child regarding their language, cognitive and social development. In this respect, activating the use of language is crucial for the child's cognitive development. Language is a tool that enables the child to describe the world around her and express how she thinks. Equally importantly, through language command the child maintains and manages relationships with people who are close to her as well as with the society she lives in. It allows the child to continually practice and refine her communicative skills.

This longitudinal study documents in a small way how valuable it is to talk with a child at an early age when her cognitive development is rapid. A child learns from other people in her immediate environment, be it family or friends; she observes and/or adopts not only their discursive strategies but also their behavioural habits, and very often also their values, attitudes and opinions. A child would not be able to master a conversation if she was deprived of experiencing the world around her; this applies both to the material and social aspect of life experience. Therefore, contact is a key element without which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for a child to develop communication skills.

In conclusion, the thesis demonstrated the importance of selected discursive strategies that the child used in the child-adult interactions. Incorporating many different techniques into her narrative reflected not just Natálka's cognitive development but also her vivid imagination and creativity, while her experience with the surrounding world and her knowledge played important key roles.

In summary, this practice-based research thus hopefully provides an interesting insight into the field of communication between a child and an adult documenting the potential of child's skills and cognitive development as enacted through interaction. Such an insight is believed to be of use both to parents and teachers, helping them to better understand and appreciate the close relationship between interaction and child's cognitive and social development. While such awareness is assumed and readily expected from teachers, it should

by no means be taken for granted, especially as neither interactions nor children are uniform entities.

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Appendix 1: Glossary of transcript symbols

Glossary of transcription symbols

The transcription symbols used in this thesis were based on the Glossary of transcript symbols used by Gail Jefferson (2004) as published in *Conversation Analysis, Studies from the first generation*.

- [text] *Square brackets* indicate the onset and end of a spate of overlapping talk.
- = *Equal signs* indicate no break or gap between words.
- (0.0) *Numbers in parentheses* are used for a timed pause that lasts more than one second.
- (.) *A dot in parentheses* indicates a brief interval (\pm a tenth of a second) within or between utterances.
- _____ *Underscoring* indicates the emphasizing of the word via pitch or amplitude. A short underscore is used for lighter stress than a long one.
- ↑↓ *Arrows* show changes of pitch, especially shifts into the high and low pitch.
- ::: *Colons* indicate a prolongation of the prior sound. The length of prolongation is marked by the number of colons.
- WORD *Upper case* used for loud sounds. A typical example of using capital letters is yelling.
- word◦ *Degree signs* form the boundary of softer sounds compared to the surrounding. A typical example of using degree signs is whispering.
- (()) *Doubled parentheses* include the transcriber's descriptions and explanation of the background.
- () *Empty parentheses* demonstrate the inability of the transcriber to get what was said during the conversation. The length of the unclear fragment on the tape is marked by the length of empty space in parentheses.
- (word) *Parenthesized words and speaker* indicate the point of the speech, where the transcriber was uncertain of what was said.
- > < *Right/left carats* are used for an utterance or its part, where the speech is speeded up in comparison to the surrounding talk.
- < > *Left/right carats* are used for an utterance or its part, where the speech is slowed down in comparison to the surrounding talk.

Appendix 2: Data Set One overview

Number	Speakers	Total Length	Part	Transcribed Length	Story Theme
TD01/04022018	the author, Natálka	08:53	A	00:23-03:24	shopping with granny based on a real event
			B	03:41-06:40	fictional shopping with the shopping basket
TD02/16022018	the author, Natálka	12:08	A	00:12-05:39	Pinkie Pie's family meets an evil earthworm
			B	05:50-07:45	horses trying to steal the roses
			C	08:10-10:06	fairy tale about mammoths
			D	10:35-11:03	short story about the tree and the snowman
TD03/16022018	the author, Natálka, mummy	06:11	A	00:00-03:06	talking about her lower lip injury
			B	04:00-05:40	Natálka's birthday and presents she wishes
TD04/23022018	the author, Natálka	02:18	-	00:00-02:11	travelling and packing a backpack
TD05/23022018	mummy, Natálka	13:22	A	00:00-02:10	travelling into the wilderness
			B	02:58-08:38	description of what Alík does
			C	09:39-12:28	making a kennelette for Alík
TD06/23022018	mummy, Natálka	26:34	A	00:00-02:02	again in the wilderness
			B	03:49-04:31	cutting a fox from paper for puppet theatre
			C	13:27-19:40	buying snakes in the wilderness
TD07/03032018	the author, Natálka	08:05	A	00:17-02:41	lamp and Alíks birthday
			B	02:41-04:00	checking animal imprints out
			C	04:00-08:05	talking about costumes
TD08/03032018	the author, Natálka, grandpa, granny	15:24	A	00:00-00:37	fairy tale about a tiger eating a mouse
			B	00:41-04:55	fairy tale about the princess and the prince
			C	05:15-05:40	short fairy tale about the lion
			D	05:47-07:19	a fairy tale about the princess and white lions
			E	07:19-10:13	white lions are coming to us
			F	10:13-15:10	feeding lions, Alík tells us a fairy tale about us all
TD09/23032018	the author, Natálka	05:21	A	00:18-02:53	stuffed animals and their living
			B	02:53-04:02	a rabbit has fired on someone's hair and hay
			C	04:02-05:00	stuffed animals familyfor the second time
TD10/31032018	mummy, Natálka	36:14	-	10:04-16:03	description of everyone present but hidden
TD11/13042018	the author, Natálka	04:14	A	00:00-02:05	reflecting on weeks activities and building
			B	02:16-04:14	perfume production
TD12/13042018	the author, Natálka	06:52	-	00:43-06:52	dream about the prince meeting a spider
TD13/16042018	the author, Natálka, mummy	10:22	A	00:00-03:58	zebra attacked by the snail and "slizoun"
			B	04:26-05:22	zebra's operation
TD14/01062018	the author, Natálka, grandpa, granny	13:00	-	00:00-09:11	Natálka and her child Alenka
TD15/01062018	the author, Natálka, grandpa	03:44	A	00:00-01:12	František is calling
			B	01:32-03:15	mum is calling
TD16/12032018	the author, Natálka, granny	04:13	A	00:20-01:56	calling mum
			B	01:56-02:37	sending a message
			C	02:54-03:15	calling mum once again
TD17/16062018	the author, Natálka, granny	03:01	A	00:00-01:02	calling aunt
			B	01:35-01:55	calling grandpa
			C	02:05-02:50	calling mum
TD18/16062018	the author, Natálka, granny, grandpa	13:45	A	00:13-01:47	dream about me as a mouse with glasses
			B	03:32-04:38	dream about a bunny
			C	05:05-05:30	retelling of the dream with the mouse to granny
			D	05:55-07:50	dream about flying in the sky
			E	11:16-11:41	little cow's dream
TD19/17062018	the author, Natálka	06:02	A	00:00-03:16	retelling of my fairy tale about the little horse
			B	03:18-06:02	a fairy tale about a horse getting lost in a storm
TD20/17062018	the author, Natálka	06:13	-	00:00-06:13	horse and a cow meet

Appendix 3: Data Set Two overview

Number	Speakers	Total Length	Part	Transcribed Length	Story Theme
TD01/22112020	the author, Natálka, Matyášek, granny, dad	07:33	A	00:00 - 00:52	a dream about Micinka giving birth to the little kitten
			B	00:52 - 02:51	a first fairy tale about a sea horse
			C	02:51 - 04:34	a second fairy tale about a little jellyfish
			D	04:34 - 07:33	a third fairy tale about a rose
TD02/05122020	the author, Natálka, Matyášek, granny, grandpa, mum	15:10	A	00:00 - 04:54	talking about how they watched a movie
			B	04:54 - 06:40	St. Nicholas, angel and devil
			C	06:40 - 15:10	making potato salad, talking about vegetables
TD03/05122020	the author, Natálka, granny	05:46	A	00:00 - 00:43	making potato salad
			B	00:43 - 03:17	Natálka says that Matyšek kept her waking up
			C	03:17 - 05:46	talking about the fairy tale called Mrazík
TD04/05122020	the author, Natálka, Matyášek	13:31	-	00:00 - 13:31	writing a letter to "Ježíšek" (Christ Child)
TD05/27122020	the author, Natálka, Matyášek	06:03	-	00:00 - 06:03	playing with little plastic dogs - one dog is sick
TD06/27122020	the author, Natálka, Matyášek, granny	23:06	A	00:00 - 03:16	playing with little plastic dogs - one dog is sick
			B	03:16 - 06:55	a dream about a bone and injection
			C	06:55 - 08:34	dogs broke a vase, a piece of glass in their paw
			D	08:34 - 09:13	asking where is everyone
			E	09:13 - 13:10	dogs went for a walk
			F	13:10 - 15:47	making food and toys for dogs
			G	15:47 - 23:06	the other dog broke his tooth
TD07/28122020	the author, Natálka, Matyášek	15:08	A	00:00 - 01:23	making cake and croissants
			B	01:23 - 02:52	making masks from a paper
			C	02:52 - 04:44	colouring pictures, playing while eating
			D	04:44 - 10:33	talking about the fairy tale we have seen called "Dvanáct měsíčků" (The Twelve Months)
			E	10:33 - 13:13	talking about the fairy tale called "S čerty nejsou žerty" (Give the Devil His Due)
			F	13:13 - 15:08	choosing a mask
TD08/31122020	the author, Natálka	01:01	-	00:00 - 01:01	Natálka's song about a swan
TD09/01012021	the author, Natálka, Matyášek	04:13	-	00:00 - 04:13	Tweety sings about his room and bed
TD10/01012021	the author, Natálka, Matyášek	03:00	A	00:00 - 01:56	a bird that scrawls us
			B	01:56 - 05:01	shooting birds from a catapult
TD11/19012021	mum, Natálka, dad	03:11	-	00:00 - 03:11	making sentences according to what Natálka sees in the picture
TD12/21012021	mum, Natálka, Matyášek	03:27	A	00:00 - 01:40	talking about a school - reading a text
			B	01:40 - 03:37	describing what is Natálka drawing
TD13/30012021	mum, Natálka	06:26	A	00:00 - 04:15	Natálka's ideal cake and gifts for her birthday
			B	04:15 - 05:25	how Natálka prepared food for Matyšek
			C	05:25 - 06:26	describing a few gifts from "Ježíšek" (Christ Child)

Appendix 4: Frequency of explicitly marked story connectors in Data Set One

Sequence Number	AND THEN	THEN	AND	TOTAL
TD01/04022018A	3	7	3	13
TD01/04022018B	2	7	4	13
TD02/16022018A	12	0	5	17
TD02/16022018B	4	0	2	6
TD02/16022018C	2	0	3	5
TD02/16022018D	2	0	1	3
TD03/16022018A	4	0	4	8
TD03/16022018B	0	0	2	2
TD04/23022018X	0	0	16	16
TD05/23022018A	1	2	1	4
TD05/23022018B	0	0	22	22
TD05/23022018C	0	0	5	5
TD06/23022018A	2	0	8	10
TD06/23022018B	0	0	1	1
TD06/23022018C	3	4	6	13
TD07/03032018A	1	1	2	4
TD07/03032018B	0	0	2	2
TD07/03032018C	0	0	5	5
TD08/03032018A	3	0	1	4
TD08/03032018B	8	0	7	15
TD08/03032018C	0	0	1	1
TD08/03032018D	2	1	1	4
TD08/03032018E	0	0	5	5
TD08/03032018F	3	1	14	18
TD09/23032018A	1	0	2	3
TD09/23032018B	2	0	0	2
TD09/23032018C	0	0	0	0
TD10/31032018X	0	0	16	16
TD11/13042018A	0	0	7	7
TD11/13042018B	1	0	0	1
TD12/13042018X	1	0	12	13
TD13/16042018A	4	0	6	10
TD13/16042018B	0	0	1	1
TD14/01062018X	1	1	2	4
TD15/01062018A	1	0	0	1
TD15/01062018B	0	0	1	1
TD16/12032018A	1	0	6	7
TD16/12032018B	0	0	0	0
TD16/12032018C	0	0	0	0
TD17/16062018A	0	0	1	1
TD17/16062018B	0	0	1	1
TD17/16062018C	0	0	2	2
TD18/16062018A	0	0	5	5
TD18/16062018B	1	0	1	2
TD18/16062018C	2	0	1	3
TD18/16062018D	0	0	3	3
TD18/16062018E	1	0	1	2
TD19/17062018A	2	7	9	18
TD19/17062018B	3	1	2	6
TD20/17062018X	8	7	9	24
TOTAL	81	39	209	329

Appendix 5: Frequency of explicitly marked story connectors in Data Set Two

Sequence Number	AND	AND THEN	THEN	TOTAL
TD01/22112020A	1	0	0	1
TD01/22112020B	7	1	1	9
TD01/22112020C	3	0	1	4
TD01/22112020D	14	0	0	14
TD02/05122020A	5	1	2	8
TD02/05122020B	24	5	1	30
TD02/05122020C	3	0	1	4
TD03/05122020A	0	0	0	0
TD03/05122020B	4	2	0	6
TD03/05122020C	6	1	1	8
TD04/05122020X	8	0	0	8
TD05/27122020X	3	0	0	3
TD06/27122020A	3	0	2	5
TD06/27122020B	15	0	1	16
TD06/27122020C	8	2	1	11
TD06/27122020D	0	0	0	0
TD06/27122020E	1	0	0	1
TD06/27122020F	13	2	2	17
TD06/27122020G	8	0	0	8
TD07/28122020A	0	0	0	0
TD07/28122020B	1	0	0	1
TD07/28122020C	1	1	0	2
TD07/28122020D	12	5	2	19
TD07/28122020E	3	0	0	3
TD07/28122020F	2	0	0	2
TD08/31122020X	7	2	2	11
TD09/01012021X	3	0	0	3
TD10/01012021A	0	0	0	0
TD10/01012021B	0	0	0	0
TD11/19012021X	7	0	0	7
TD12/21012021A	4	0	0	4
TD12/21012021B	0	0	0	0
TD13/30012021A	8	5	1	14
TD13/30012021B	5	1	1	7
TD13/30012021C	4	0	0	4
TOTAL	183	28	19	230

Appendix 6: Comparison of the frequency of selected question types in both data collections

Type of question	Data Set One	Data Set Two
Why	1	6
What	19	9
Where	5	2
Who	3	1
How	1	1
Which	0	0
When	0	0
Tag question	2	8
Phrase <i>you know</i>	25	0
Polite question	0	5
TOTAL	56	32

Appendix 7: List of data samples

Data Sample 1: The development of the storyline after discovering that Natálka was being recorded
Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 18 **Naty:** žilo nebylo jedno ((úvod do pohádky v češtině je správně bylo nebylo)) (.) ee (.) zlatíčko co
19 (.) hej ty mě nenatácej
20 live was not ((incorrect use of the phrase “once upon a time”, in Czech “bylo nebylo”,
21 literally translated as “was was not” in English)) (.) e::r (.) darling what (.) hey don't record
22 me
23 **Me:** já tě nenatáčím (.) já to mám vypnutý (.) já to dávám jenom sem ten telefon
24 I am not recording you (.) it is switched off (.) I am just putting my phone here
25 **Naty:** dobrá Matýsek bude vyprávět proto on si ()
26 okay Matýsek will tell a story because he ()

Data Sample 2: Data organisation

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 310 **Naty:** mňami já mám výborný (.) dám si ještě špetku (.) HEEJ to je moje ty máš tady dvě kostky (.)
311 už si tam dám jenom špetku=HEEJ si tam dám špetku hihi hé::j us toho nech
312 yummy I have a delicious (.) I will have another pinch of it (.) HEEY it's mine you have
313 the two dices here (.) I will add a pinch of it there=HEEY I will add a pinch there
314 hihi he::y stop it
315 **Me:** kolik špetek si tam ještě budeš dávat↑
316 how many pinches are you putting there↑
317 **Naty:** ((vydává zvuky jako když to jídlo líže)) musím si tam dát (.) hmm hmm musím si tam dát
318 jednu špetku ham (.) aby sem to (.) nemel spinavou a teďka kokos
319 ((she makes sounds like she is licking the food)) I have to add there (.) hmm hmm I have
320 to add another pinch there (.) so that it (.) wasn't dirty and now a coconut
321 **Me:** kokos↑
322 a coconut↑
323 **Naty:** no to sem viděla v televizi že (.) tam ňákou špetku: neceho (.) kokos
324 yeah I saw that on TV right (.) they were adding a pinch of something there (.) a coconut
325 **Me:** no a co dál↑
326 yeah and what else↑

Data Sample 3: Introducing the main characters and the surroundings

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

- 215 **Naty:** tam taky byla sekno a taky teticka Mahuska (.) byla na kojeji a potom za náma sijeja a byla
216 tam taky babicka potom a taky deda a sekno a taky kokani a zizátka (1,4) taky sme byji (.)
217 tam byj kásný sjomek a tam byla jahoupka (.) kde bydleja pjincezna (.) hezká a pohe↑dná a
218 taky tam byj tyg a sekni ostatní (.) v hjadu
219 there was also everything and also auntie Maruška (.) she was in the hall of residence and
220 then she came back to us and there was also granny and also grandpa and everything and
221 also kangaroos and animals (1,4) we was there too (.) there was a beautiful tree and there
222 was a little cottage (.) where the princess was living (.) she was beautiful and pre↑tty and
223 there was also the tiger and everyone else (.) in the castle

Data Sample 4: Packing a backpack

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

13 **Naty:** jo↑ (.) muzes se mou cestovat (0,5) aje (0,7) a budeme tam spát (.) ooo (.) tady je a tady má
 14 boudu a tam má tode a tode ((tohle)) a todesto (.) a taky (0,3) má taky kosti sbajenou (.) tu
 15 vezmu do batohu (0,4) (je to () tam taky tajís) a taky vezmu tajíře (.) haha mám to (0,3)
 16 tam ty to máš batok ale je to zapnutý
 17 yep↑ (.) you can travel with me (0,5) but (0,7) and we will sleep there (.) o::h (.) here is and
 18 here is the kennel and he has there this and this and this (.) and also (0,3) has also bones
 19 packed (.) that I will put into the backpack (0,4) (there is () also a plate) and I also take
 20 plates (.) hah hah have it (0,3) you have it in the backpack (.) but it is zipped

Data Sample 5: Talking about Bertík's behaviour

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Granny (Natálka's grandmother), Me (the author)

177 **Naty:** ehm (.) a myslim ze Bertík dostane uhlí
 178 yep (.) and I think that Bert will get some coal
 179 **Granny:** kdo↑
 180 who↑
 181 **Naty:** Bert
 182 Bert
 183 **Granny:** Bertík↑
 184 Bertík↑
 185 **Naty:** °jo [my máme ve škole°]
 186 °yep [we had in the school°]
 187 **Granny:** [jo to je spolužák tvůj↑]
 188 [yeah he is your schoolmate↑]
 189 **Naty:** joo
 190 ye:p
 191 **Me:** a on zlobí↑
 192 and he is naughty↑
 193 **Naty:** bouchá mě=scho shoží děti a jeste si strká ruce do nosu
 194 he beats me=pu pushed kids down and he even picks his nose with his hands
 195 **Me:** ehh
 196 yuck
 197 **Naty:** ale to FAKT dělá a ještě lítá=dělá kravinu [vzdycky i když]
 198 but he REALLY does that and he even runs=fools around [always even when]

Data Sample 6: A fairy tale about a rose

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

108 **Naty:** eeee (.) jedna růzicka byla sama venku (.) jedna růzicka (0,3) chtěla být s psáteli ale ona
 109 píchala °vsichni odešli a ona tam byla sama začala bouska (.) a chtěla, aby její kamarádi ji (.)
 110 aspoň potěsili ale ne nikdo tam nebyl (.) a ty a tam°
 111 uh-uh (.) one little rose was outside all alone (.) one little rose (0,3) she wanted to be with
 112 friends but she pricked ° everyone left and she remained alone the storm began (.) and she
 113 wanted her friends to (.) make her happy but noone was there (.) and you and there°
 114 **Me:** nahlas Natálko já neslyším
 115 louder Natálko I can't hear you
 116 **Naty:** a TAM tam bylo takový (.) takový ten takový taková velká bouska a sup tu růzu vzala pryč a
 117 ta růže (.) píchala (.) a větra píchla a vítr odfoukal a a (svalil) růži na zem a byli pod nicim

118 *and THERE was such a (.) such a such such a big storm and woosh it took the rose away and*
 119 *the rose (.) pricked (.) and pricked the wind and the wind blew her away and and (knocked)*
 120 *the rose over the ground and they were under something*
 121 **Me:** *nahlas*
 122 *louder*
 123 **Naty:** *A BYLI POD NICIM A KONÉ:::::C*
 124 *AND THEY WERE UNDER SOMETHING AND E:::::ND*

Data Sample 7: Writing a letter to “Ježíšek”

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

92 **Naty:** *mám eee ne (.) s (0,2) jaký (.) eee (0,2) eee (0,3) já nevím (0,26) já si NAMALUJI JESTE*
 93 *PLYSOVÝHO SNĚHULÁKA...(0,20) hihi (0,7) tak mám sněhuláka hotovýho (0,3) tak a to*
 94 *je pro dnešek všechno*
 95 *I have uh-uh no (.) s (0,2) which (.) uh-uh (0,2) uh-uh (0,3) I don't know (0,26) I will DRAW*
 96 *A STUFFED SNOWMAN TO THAT...(0,20) hihi (0,7) so the snowman is done (0,3) so*
 97 *and that is all for today*

Data Sample 8: A fairy tale about mammoths

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

127 **Me:** *a teď nějakou pohádku o mamutech (.) takže bylo nebylo*
 128 *and now a fairy tale about mammoths (.) so once upon a time*
 129 **Naty:** *byjo nebyjo a potom tam kásně mamuti spí hihi a majičký a ty tam byji (0,3) my sme mámy*
 130 *(.) my sme tě potkaji vid' teto↑*
 131 *once upon a time and then mammoths beautifully sleep there hih hih and little ones and they*
 132 *were there (0,3) we are mums (.) we met you right aunt↑*

Data Sample 9: Describing what Alík will do in the wilderness

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

23 **Naty:** *a take (.) nam bude se take hóódně bude nám (set) ((unknown meaning 0:54)) take nám bude*
 24 *(set) jako (.) pták (.) a potom budem take jíst taky a potom taky budu s tebou jezdit a mám*
 25 *Feel like a monster ((písnička od skupiny Skillet s názvaná “Monster”)) a SEKNO*
 26 *and also (.) to us will like this so::: much to us (set) ((unknown meaning)) also to us will*
 27 *(set) like (.) a bird (.) and then we will also eat like this and then I will also drive with you*
 28 *and I have Feel like a monster ((a song by the band Skillet, entitled “Monster”)) and*
 29 *EVERYTHING*

Data Sample 10: A story about how a little jellyfish met a shark

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

68 **Naty:** *<jedna medúzka sla si (.) sla si (jít) kam chtěla ale potom potkala zraloka (.) ten zralok zíkal*
 69 *medúzko medúzko kam se to zenes↑ já sem chtěla jenom na procházku a medús=teda zralok*
 70 *zek nenene nikam nesmís tady je zákaz vstupu (.) medúzko (.) a medúzka sla sama samotě*
 71 *[s nikým>*
 72 *<one little jellyfish went (.) went wherever she wanted to go but then she met a shark (.) the*
 73 *shark said little jellyfish little jellyfish where are you going↑ I just wanted to go for a walk*

74 and jellyfish=no the shark said no no no you can go nowhere here is a restricted area (.) little
75 jellyfish (.) and the little jellyfish went all alone [with nobody>

Data Sample 11: Making food for dogs

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

327 **Naty:** a už ne jen takhle a pes to sní a (.) nejdřív to bylo takhle samotný a tohle tam bylo jen a on jí
328 olizoval a to bylo nechutný=tak jim dala spetku nějaký nějaký něco **pedele** ((neznámý
329 význam, možná petržel)) (.) a tam dala kokos a ten pes to takhle sněd *a potom* jí lízal jo
330 *potom* jí okusoval boty ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ((Natálka mluví nepřerušeno po dobu
331 29 vteřin))
332 and nothing else just like this and the dog will eat it and (.) at first it was the only one and
333 only this was there and he was licking her and it was disgusting=so she gave them a pinch of
334 some something **pedele** ((unknown meaning, probably parsley)) (.) and she added a
335 coconut there and the dog ate it like that *and then* he was licking her yeah *then* he was biting
336 her shoes yum yum yum yum yum yum ((Natálka talks 29 seconds in total without
337 interruption))

Data Sample 12: Natálka describes her dream

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

10 **Me:** a jak se to vyvíjelo↑
11 and how did it continue↑
12 **Naty:** eeee
13 e::r
14 **Me:** byl tam taky někdo jinej↑
15 was there someone else too↑
16 **Naty:** byj tam kjisy (0,5) a ty si si udejaja mec (0,4) a jousekaja je a byji na kous (.) ky (.) byji na
17 kousky víš
18 there were rats (0,5) and you made a sword (0,4) and hack them and they were in pie (.) ces
19 (.) they were in pieces you know
20 **Me:** já jsem je tím mečem rozsekala↑
21 I hack them with that sword↑
22 **Naty:** ehe na kous (.) ky (.) a pak si je jeda HAHAHA HAHAHA HAHAHA
23 ehe to bi (.) ts (.) and then you ate them HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH
24 **Me:** no teda (0,4) a nezdál se ti ještě jinej sen↑
25 oh wow (0,4) and didn't you dream about something else↑
26 **Naty:** ne ne
27 no no

Data Sample 13: Natálka talks about ideal cake and presents for her birthday

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

17 **Naty:** [to sem]
18 [I saw]
19 **Me:** [a přála by sis ještě]=no pokračuj (.) to jsi viděla
20 [and what else do you wish]=well continue (.) you saw that
21 **Naty:** ee (.) já sem to viděla v (.) v reklamě (.) ze jsem to chtěla taky vyskouset
22 uh-uh (.) I saw that in (.) in an ad (.) that I also wanted to try that

Data Sample 14: Ideal cake and presents for Natálka's birthday

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

- 1 **Naty:** já by sem chtěla za dort e e: takovej krásnej který je jarní=tam by bylo vevnitř to zelený
2 trochu žlutý *a a potom* nahoze by to bylo nahoze by to bylo zelený tam by jsi tam udělala
3 motýlka kytičku včeličku jak vykvítá strom s kytičkami kdytičky (.) prostě co je na jaze
4 ((jaře)) (.) já by sem chtěla za dárek LOL pejsek takovej že je to kruh, tam sou samolepky
5 aby sem to nalepila na na ten kruh *a (.) a potom* kdybych měla všechny no tak by z toho
6 vzniknul sněhulák *a potom* když budu mít toho pejska LOL no tak tam bude to chlupatý *a*
7 *potom* to chlupatý takhle odloupnu *a* tam bude pejsek nebo kočka *a* to bude jako krásný *a*
8 ještě by sem (0,3) tak LOLelku máme teďka máme pět dárků jo↑ tak jeden mám tak teďka
9 jdu na ten druhej (0,4) co sem tam mamí měla↑ ((Natálka mluví nepřetržitě 1 minutu 51
10 vteřin))
11 I would like a cake uh-uh a beautiful one that is spring like=there would be green, a little
12 yellow in the inside *and and then* on top it would be on top it would be green you would
13 make there a butterfly flowers bee blooming tree with flowers flowers (.) simply what is in
14 spring (.) I would like to have LOL a doggie it is a circle there are stickers that you can stick
15 to the circle *and (.) and then* when I have all of them there will be a snowman *and then* if I
16 would have the doggie LOL well then it would be furry I would peel it off *and* there would
17 be doggie or cat *and* it would be beautiful *and then* I would like (0,3) so LOL so we five
18 gifts right↑ this is the first one so I am coming to the second one (0,4) so what have I there
19 mum↑ ((Natálka talks 1 minute 51 second in total without interruption))

Data Sample 15: Grandpa frightening off the tigers

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

- 145 **Naty:** neboj (.) koukni hihi (.) on tebe se mází (.) může taky u nás spát (.) seba tady ((ukazuje na
146 poličku)) (0,5) ((děda si pšíknul)) dedooo↑ (.) ty si májem vypjasil tygy (.) bítí tygy (.) taky
147 sou bítí tygzi ňáký (0,3) a tady je moje kosiska (.) mňau (0,3) ona se menuje Nau (.) Nau
148 Nau Nau (1,5) oni asi taky mají kízky ((knížky))
149 don't be afraid (.) look hih hih (.) he caresses you (.) he can also sleep here (.) for example
150 here ((she points to the shelf)) (0,5) ((grandpa sneezed)) grandpa::↑ (.) you have almost
151 frightened away the tigers (.) the white tigers (.) there are also tigers (0,3) and here is my
152 kitty (.) miaow (0,3) her name is Nau (.) Nau Nau Nau (1,5) they have also books

Data Sample 16: Natálka's daughter Alenka

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 78 **Me:** radši néé
79 I would rather not
80 **Naty:** ona tě nepo↑kouše (.) ona nemá zuby víš
81 she won't bite↑ you (.) she doesn't have teeth you know

Data Sample 17: How the dog got sick

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 82 **Naty:** ((pejskovi je pořád zima))
83 ((the little dog is still cold))
84 **Me:** nemel sebou a bude ti teplo (0,2) tady máš vodičku
85 don't move and you get warm (0,2) here is the watter
86 **Naty:** ne pejsek je teďka nemocnej

87 no the little dog is sick now
 88 **Me:** ale není
 89 no he's not
 90 **Naty:** jojo (.) bude nemocnej to byl ve sněhu tak ((Matýsek najednou začne ječet)) Matý on nespí
 91 on je (.) brrr je mu zima Matý a je nastydelej
 92 yep yep (: he will be sick he was in the snow so ((Matýsek begins to scream)) Matý he isn't
 93 sleeping he is (.) brrr he is cold Matý he caught a cold

Data Sample 18: Talking about how the dog got injured

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

190 **Naty:** <°aha°> vázu sme rozbili (.) ty si (.) my sme takhle to (.) takhle běhali (.) a najednou se
 191 takhle pomalinku takhle bě (.) takhle rychle jsme běhali, skákali, *potom* najednou sem někam
 192 dorazila nebo ty a *potom* se to rozbilo (.) váza se rozbila
 193 <°aha°> we broke the vase (.) you were (.) we were like that (.) running like that (.) *and*
 194 suddenly we were runni ((running)) slowly like that (.) quickly running like that jumping
 195 *then* suddenly I crashed into something or you *and then* it broke (.) the vase broke
 196 **Me:** aha (.) a pak sis tam vrazila ten střep do tý packy↑
 197 aha (.) and then you stuck the broken piece of glass into your paw↑
 198 **Naty:** no=*a potom* sme požád chodili a já sem měla zavřený ty oči a najednou °jauu° strep a
 199 musela sem lezet v posteli a takhle to bylo
 200 well=*and then* we were still walking *and* I had my eyes closed *and* suddenly °ouch° a piece
 201 of the broken glass *and* I had to lie in the bed *and* it was like that

Data Sample 19: The dog visited the dentist

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

554 **Me:** ale přece mu nemůžeš Natálko vytrhnout zub, když ho má zdravej=to je jako kdybych ti taky
 555 vytrhla zub
 556 but you can't pull out her tooth Natálka when it is alright=it's like I would also pull out your
 557 tooth
 558 **Naty:** já měl takhle á: a on se mu kejval (.) ten zub se mu kejval tak čč už ho vytrhli (.) už ho vytrhl
 559 hmm
 560 I had like this ah: and it was loose (.) the tooth was loose so they've already pulled it out (.)
 561 they've already pulled it out hmm

Data Sample 20: Making a phone call

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

1 **Naty:** ahoj nooo (.) ahoj maminó (.) já se tesím (0,4) co↑ máte po (.) po me požád ty psekvapeníčka
 2 (.) ee↓ (.) to sou sekny psekvapení↑ (.) POČ (.) ee↓ (0,3) poč musím mít pokoj↑ (0,3) mami
 3 tatko (.) musím být hodná=nezobija (.) mami a tatko posim te (.) nekte (.) nekte me a je to (.)
 4 >musíte a hnet< (.) papa
 5 hello we::l (.) hi mother (.) I am looking forward (0,4) what↑ you have for (.) for me still
 6 some little surprises (.) uh↓ (.) that are all surprises↑ (.) *WHY* (.) uh↓ (0,3) *why* do I have to
 7 have the room↑ (0,3) mummy daddy (.) I have to be a good girl=wasn't naughty (.) mummy
 8 and daddy (.) please (.) leave (.) leave me be and that is (.) >you must and now< (.) bye bye

Data Sample 21: Talking about potato salad

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

- 1 **Naty:** co se zapráší↑
 2 what will get dusty↑
 3 **Me:** no po tom salátu se zapráší
 4 the salad will run out
 5 **Naty:** jo: *proc*↑
 6 really: *why*↑
 7 **Me:** jak je dobrej (.) tak hned zmizí
 8 because it is so good (.) so it will be gone fast
 9 **Granny:** tak ho hned sníme
 10 it will be eaten right away
 11 **Naty:** hmhhh
 12 hmm

Data Sample 22: Giving a pillow to an injured dog

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 19 **Naty:** hele víš, *proč* mi panička tady dala polštář↑
 20 hey do you know *why* my owner gave me the pillow here↑
 21 **Me:** to nevím
 22 I don't know
 23 **Naty:** proto aby sem si tam dal nemocnou tlapku
 24 so that I can put there my sick paw
 25 **Me:** aha
 26 aha
 27 **Naty:** kdyby něco mě začala bolet
 28 if it started to hurt
 29 **Me:** vždyť to máš hezky obvázaný
 30 you have it nicely bandaged after all
 31 **Naty:** no↑ ale by mi tekla krev (.) [tčeba]
 32 yeah↑ but if it started to bleed (.) [for example]
 33 **Me:** [no ale už] neteče, vždyť to máš hezky obvázaný
 34 [well but] it doesn't bleed anymore you have it nicely bandaged
 35 **Naty:** no mě=já sem tam měla velkej stěp ((střep)) [°ostrej°]
 36 well me=I had there a big piece of broken glass [°a sharp one°]
 37 **Me:** já vím (.) [vždyť jsem] si tady s tebou hrála a ty jsi do toho vběhla
 38 I know (.) [I played] here with you after all and you ran into it
 39 **Naty:** °aha° (0,4) tuhle sme se () na zahradě
 40 °aha° (0,4) once we () in the garden

Data Sample 23: Asking why Natálka's parents went working

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 215 **Naty:** aha (.) a mamka s tatškou šli pracovat↑
 216 aha (.) and mum and dad went working↑
 217 **Me:** ehm
 218 ahem
 219 **Naty:** *proč* jste chtěli aby oni šli pracovat↑
 220 *why* did you want them to go working↑
 221 **Me:** oni šli sami pracovat (.) tam chtějí dodělat ten domeček váš

222 they wanted to go working (.) they want to finish your house there
 223 **Naty:** to bude už celý (.) to bude už hotovo↑
 224 it will be done (.) will it be finished yet↑
 225 **Me:** nee, tam je ještě spousta práce
 226 no there is so much work
 227 **Naty:** ee (.) já us
 228 uh-uh (.) I've already

Data Sample 24: Talking about the ending of the fairy tale called *Mrazík*
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

399 **Me:** a neproměnili se náhodou pak v kus ledu↑
 400 and didn't they turn into ice then↑
 401 **Naty:** néé
 402 no::
 403 **Me:** ale joo:: (.) oni se proměnili v kus ledu
 404 yeah:: they did (.) they turned into ice
 405 **Naty:** *pro* ((*proč*)) (.) tak to sem neviděla
 406 *why* (.) I haven't seen that
 407 **Me:** tak to jsi asi nedávala pozor (.) tak a teď máš oko od polívky ((směrem k Matyáškov))
 408 so you weren't paying attention (.) and now you have soup on your eyes ((towards
 409 Matyášek))

Data Sample 25: Asking why the fairy tale is called “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

467 **Me:** nesměj mě (.) radši říkej, co bylo v tý pohádce=jmenovala se “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”
 468 don't make me laugh (.) tell me what was in that fairy tale instead=its name is “*S čerty*
 469 *nejsou žerty*”
 470 **Naty:** <°joo “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”°> *proč*↑
 471 <°yeah:: “*S čerty nejsou žerty*”°> *why*:: ↑
 472 **Me:** protože když si zahráváš s peklem tak se ti to vymstí (.) hamej ((Natálka se v pozadí směje))
 473 koukej na mě prosím tě (.) no tak hamej ham (0,3) vidíš, dělá kravinky, když ty děláš
 474 kravinky=tak se nesměj ham
 475 because if you are playing with the hell it will recoil on you (.) eat ((Natálka is laughing in
 476 the background)) look at me please (.) come on eat (0,3) see he is naughty when you are
 477 naughty=so don't laugh eat

Data Sample 26: Talking about Natálka's day
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

63 **Mum:** a řekni, co jsi dneska dělala↑
 64 and tell me what did you do today↑
 65 **Naty:** ee *proč jako*↑
 66 er: *why*↑
 67 **Mum:** no tak řekni, co jste včera vyráběli, co jste včera vyráběli↑
 68 so tell me what did you make yesterday what did you make yesterday↑
 69 **Naty:** ovečku s (.) [s (.) tou ohrádkou]
 70 a little sheep with (.)[with the small pen]
 71 **Maty:** [oovecu já]

72 [the sheep me]
 73 **Mum:** popiš mi to
 74 tell me about it
 75 **Naty:** eee
 76 eer
 77 **Mum:** nechceš↑
 78 you don't want to↑
 79 **Naty:** ee
 80 eer

Data Sample 27: Asking what surprises Natálka's parents have
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

18 **Naty:** eee ahoj mami (.) *co*↑ mate po me zase nějaký překvapení↑ a *jaký*↑ nemůžete mi to říct (.) aha
 19 (.) a *co* je to (0,3) mám tam ukjizeno (.) nemám↑ čeba mám (.) mám tam (0,5) ukjizeno mám
 20 tam (1,0) ahoj mami papa
 21 er hi mum (.) *what*↑ you have a surprise for me again↑ and *what*↑ you cannot say↑ (.) aha (.)
 22 and *what* is it (0,3) I have it cleaned (.) I don't have↑ maybe have (.) have there (0,5) cleaned
 23 I have there (1,0) bye mum bye bye

Data Sample 28: A phone call with František
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Grandpa (Natálka's grandfather)

11 **Naty:** ehe (.) on je skutečný (0,5) ahoj=no (.) ano () *co*↑ (.) *co* je to Fantišku↑ (0,6) jo
 12 Fantišku (.) ano=ano (0,4) jó Fantišku posim tě (.) musis pít **pítku** ((význam neznámý))
 13 take musis Fantišku víš (0,3) Fantišek má škytátku
 14 uh-huh (.) he is real (0,5) hi=well (.) yes () *what*↑ (.) *what* is it František↑ (0,6)
 15 yep František (.) yes=yes (0,4) ye::s František please (.) you must drink „**pítka**“ ((unknown
 16 meaning)) you also must František you know (0,3) František has hiccups
 17 **Grandpa:** jak to↑
 18 why↑
 19 **Naty:** poto nepí vody (.) pak se počural a potom byja škytátka (0,3) ano Fantišku (.) áááá (0,3)
 20 papa Fantišku
 21 because he has not drunk water (.) then he wet himself and then he had hiccups (0,3) yes
 22 František (.) o::h (0,3) bye bye František

Data Sample 29: Thinking about an ideal birthday present
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

9 **Naty:** ...*co* sem tam mami měla↑
 10 ...so *what* have I there mum↑
 11 **Mum:** no tak si něco řekni
 12 well choose something
 13 **Naty:** tak já si (.) tak já bysem chtěla eště (.) ehmm (.) *co* by sem tak chtěla↑ (0,6) já by sem chtěla
 14 (0,5) koč °ne já nevim°
 15 so I would (.) would like (.) ehmm (.) *what* would I like to have↑ (0,6) I would like (0,5) a ca
 16 ((a cat)) °no I don't know°

Data Sample 30: Bedtime story

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 1 **Me:** tak řekneme pejskům pohádku na dobrou noc (.) pejsci zalezte do postýlky a panenka vám
 2 bude říkat pohádku na↑ (.) Natálko půjč si panenku a [říkej pejskům] pohádku
 3 so are we telling a bed time fairy tale to the little dogs (.) little dogs go to your little beds and
 4 the little doll will tell you a fairy tale here↑ (.) Natálka take the doll and [tell a fairy tale] to
 5 the little dogs
 6 **Naty:** [co↑] (0,3) ale já nevím jakou
 7 [what↑] (0,3) but I don't know which one
 8 **Me:** tak si nějakou vymysli panenku
 9 so come up with some little doll
 10 **Naty:** ee
 11 uh-uh

Data Sample 31: Asking where everyone is

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 143 **Naty:** my sme si hĵaji s dětmama (.) jak máme MY a TY (.) víš (0,3) a *kde* máš bášku↑
 144 we played with children (.) how we have WE and YOU (.) you know (0,3) and *where* is your
 145 little brother↑
 146 **Me:** já nemám brášku
 147 I don't have a brother
 148 **Naty:** máš jenom ségu↑
 149 you have only a sister↑
 150 **Me:** to je moje miminko
 151 this is my baby
 152 **Naty:** jo (.) a *kde* máš tátu↑
 153 yep (.) and *where* is daddy↑
 154 **Me:** je na lovu
 155 he went out hunting
 156 **Naty:** na jobu (.) hodně dajeko↑
 157 hunting (.) far away↑
 158 **Me:** ano
 159 yes
 160 **Naty:** °ty brd'°
 161 °o:h wow°

Data Sample 32: Shooting birds from a catapult

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 44 **Me:** tak co máš tam další písničku nebo něco↑
 45 so do you have another song or something else↑
 46 **Naty:** ee (.) jo mám (.) ptáček letí nahoru dolu né ((Natálka má hračku vystřelovacího ptáčka z
 47 praku))
 48 eh-uh (.) yep I have (.) the birdie is flying up not down ((Natálka has a toy that shoots birds
 49 from a catapult))
 50 **Me:** no na mě s tím nemiř Natálko (.) no takhle né, tam je okno
 51 well don't aim at me Natálka (.) not there as well there is a window
 52 **Naty:** ee *kam* by sem mohla mířit↑
 53 er so *where* should I aim↑
 54 **Me:** támhle do toho modrého pytle miř

55 you could aim at the blue bag
 56 **Naty:** to je (.) kousek (0,2) chci dál
 57 that it (.) close (0,2) I want further
 58 **Me:** tak mi:::ř (.) hmm
 59 so lets ai:::m (.) hmm
 60 **Naty:** áá na pytel ((a vystřelí))
 61 aah at the blue bag ((and she shoots))
 62 **Me:** hmm
 63 hmm

Data Sample 33: Asking about a book

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

172 **Naty:** ...taky sisly koníčky OO a sechny zízata uz sou taky asi (.) jasnéé (.) to se tak jenom ziká
 173 víste (.) asi mají sekni kízky a taky takojou ((kouká na knížku, kterou drží v ruce)) *kdo* má
 174 takojou kízku↑
 175 ...also little horses came O::H and all animals they are already here perhaps (.) ri::ght (.) it is
 176 only said you know (.) they all probably have books and also this one ((she is looking at the
 177 book she is holding)) *who* has a book like this↑
 178 **Me:** [já]
 179 [me]
 180 **Granny:** [já ne]
 181 [I don't]
 182 **Naty:** né (.) ty más kízku (.) aje já se pám zízatům jenom vis (.) *kdo* má tu kízku↑ (0,5) má asi to
 183 jodinka PEJsků
 184 no:: (.) you have a book (.) but I ask animals only you know (.) *who* has the boo:k↑ (0,5) it
 185 has probably the DOgs family

Data Sample 34: A fairy tale about a horse

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

6 **Naty:** koník chce být doma (.) spinkal (.) potom šel a šel sem domu (.) potom on se ztratil koníka
 7 (.) zůstal stát (.) potom take čekal (.) potom na něm pšiletěl (.) HOP (.) její a její (.) potom
 8 byji () jak take take (.) *jak* to je↑ (.) jak se bude menovat ten kál↑
 9 the little horse wants to be home (.) he slept (.) then he went and went here home (.) then he
 10 got lost the little horse (.) he stopped (.) then waited like this (.) then he ride him (.) HOP (.)
 11 they went and went (.) then they were () like this like this (.) *how* is it↑ what is the
 12 king's name↑

Data Sample 35: Asking how something looks like

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

46 **Naty:** jakou hádanku mi dáš↑ (0,6) má to dlouhý krk <á to žiijéé (.) na take jisty ((listy)) a stom>
 47 ((strom)) má stom taky (.) je to dlouhý a jí to jisty (.) co to je↑“ žirapa (.) spávně (.) výborně
 48 (.) a *jak* to vypadá↑ (.) oje to domek° (.) () potom (.) potom letěl a letěl jenom tak a
 49 potom byj v domečku a spinkaj (.) konééééc
 50 what riddle do you have for me↑ (0,6) it has a long neck <a::nd it live::s (.) on this leaves and
 51 the tree> it has the tree (.) it is long and eats leaves (.) what is it↑ the giraffe (.) right (.)
 52 excellent (.) and *how* does it look like↑ (.) oit is a house° (.) () then (.) then he
 53 flew and flew just like this and then he was in the little house and slept (.) the e:::nd

Data Sample 36: Asking which fairy tale the dog would like to hear

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 406 **Naty:** počkej (.) dýchej zhluboka se nadechni ((Natálka sama se zhluboka nadechne, ale já pořád
 407 dělám, že pejsek pláče a je smutný)) (.) neplakej, tak pod' do pelíšku
 408 wait (.) breathe take a deep breath ((Natálka takes a deep breath herself, but I am still
 409 pretending that the doggy is crying and is sad)) (.) don't cry so come on to your bed
 410 **Me:** já chci pohádku::
 411 I want a fairy ta::le
 412 **Naty:** a psi ale nemají pohádky
 413 and dogs don't have fairy tales
 414 **Me:** já jí mám ráda
 415 I like it
 416 **Naty:** a *jakou* chceš teda↑
 417 and *which* one do you want↑
 418 **Me:** já nevím=ňákou hezkou
 419 I don't know=a nice one
 420 **Naty:** tak já ti pustím telefon tut (.) na koukej se
 421 so I will turn on the phone tut (.) here watch

Data Sample 37: A prince visited Natálka in her dream

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 43 **Me:** a přijde zase někdy princ↑
 44 and will he come back again↑
 45 **Naty:** jo (.) jeřda už je tady (.) musím si honem všekno přitavit (0,3) já si musím namajovat
 46 pusinku *ne*↑
 47 yep (.) whoops he is already here (.) I must prepare everything (0,3) I must put on lipstick
 48 *right*↑
 49 **Me:** no sluší ti to
 50 oh you look awesome
 51 **Naty:** ááá (0,7) není pjinc↓ (0,4) není žádný pjinc (.) asi šej nakoupit (.) myslím (.) pjinc ojel
 52 někam pyč (0,3) a do boušky
 53 o:::h (0,7) is no prince↓ (0,4) there is no prince (.) maybe he does the shopping (.) I think (.)
 54 prince left somewhere away (0,3) and into the storm

Data Sample 38: How mammoths met a horse

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 129 **Naty:** byjo nebyjo a potom tam kásně mamuti spí hihi a majičký a ty tam byji (0,3) my sme mámy
 130 (.) my sme tě potkaji *vid'* teto↑
 131 once upon the time and then there beautifully sleep hih hih mammoths and a little and you
 132 were these (0,3) we are mums (.) we met you *right* aunt↑
 133 **Me:** já jsem mamut (.) ty seš↑
 134 I am a mammoth (.) you are↑
 135 **Naty:** já sem kůň (.) já se stajám požád o miminka (.) já sem táta (0,3) musíme take jenom
 136 I am a horse (.) I take care of babies always (.) I am daddy (0,3) you must just like this

Data Sample 39: Playing with two dogs

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 75 **Naty:** ale (.) já bu (.) ale (.) a ty tam taky půjdes↑
 76 but (.) I will (.) but (.) and you will go there as well↑
 77 **Me:** no asi jo (.) přece mě tady panička nenechá samotného (.) [samotnou]
 78 well I guess so (.) the owner won't leave me here all alone right (.) [all alone]
 79 **Naty:** [aby si hlídala] *nee*↑
 80 [so you can guard here] *right*↑
 81 **Me:** nebo tak (.) já nevím, co má panička v úmyslu
 82 that's an option too (.) I don't know what our owner intends to do
 83 **Naty:** a bude (.) ale budeš mi chybět sestro
 84 and it will (.) but I will miss you sister
 85 **Me:** vždyť seš za chvíli zpátky
 86 oh come on you will be back soon
 87 **Naty:** joo třeba mi dá nějakou mňamku hmm hmm
 88 yeah she may give me some snack hmm hmm

Data Sample 40: Playing with toys during meal

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 161 **Naty:** vzdycky se Matýsek hraje u jídla
 162 Matýsek is always playing during meal
 163 **Me:** já vím to je normální
 164 I know that is normal
 165 **Naty:** doma i
 166 at home as well
 167 **Me:** tys nebyla jiná, když si byla malá
 168 you were not different when you were little
 169 **Naty:** hmm (.) *ne*↑
 170 hmm (.) *wasn't I*↑
 171 **Me:** ee
 172 nope
 173 **Naty:** já sem byla prostě mimina jsou mimina
 174 so I was just babies are babies

Data Sample 41: Introducing the imaginary family

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

- 1 **Mum:** tak co děláš↑
 2 so what are you doing↑
 3 **Naty:** ohýnek
 4 a small fire
 5 **Mum:** aha (0,5) pro koho↑
 6 aha (0,5) for whom↑
 7 **Naty:** po tebe a po me a po sekny ((všechny)) *víš*
 8 for you and me and for everyone *you know*
 9 **Mum:** a kdo jsou všichni↑
 10 and who is everyone↑
 11 **Naty:** sou tady (.) sou maskovaný *víš* (.) se maskovaj [koukni]
 12 they are here (.) they are hidden *you know* (.) they hide themselves [look]

13 **Mum:** [aha] a jak se jmenujou (.) nebo kdo jsou↑
 14 [aha] and what are their names (.) or who are they↑
 15 **Naty:** tode je El (.) táta (0,3) Au (.) náš chjavec (.) a miminko Pí (.) vidíš (.) take se sikny menujou
 16 (.) a bude pozádny piknik (.) tady (.) mi nemaji sme houby tak sem posjaja s (kosik) (.) víš (.)
 17 tode je take hhh ((founkne)) hís (.) už sme po tmě víš a my máme hjačky tady (0,3) oo (0,6)
 18 ste v moji zahjádce víš (0,7) tady bydlíme
 19 this is El (.) daddy (0,3) Au (.) our baby boy (.) and baby Pí (.) you see (.) like this these are
 20 their names (.) and it will be quite a picnic (.) here (.) we didn't have mushrooms so I sent
 21 with (a smalll basket) (.) *you know* (.) this is like this hhh ((she blows)) *you know* (.) we are
 22 already in dark *you know* and we have toys here (0,3) o:h (0,6) you are in my garden *you*
 23 *know* (0,7) we live here

Data Sample 42: Imaginary shopping

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

13 **Naty:** potom pudem nakupovat
 14 then we go shopping
 15 **Me:** už jsme nakupovali dvakrát dneska
 16 we have already shopped twice today
 17 **Naty:** jenom jako híš (.) jenom jako a taky pudem na **pajko** ((asi parkoviště)) taky jako (0,3) víš (.)
 18 nebój já ti už nebudu žikat (0,4) zatičko (zlatičko) (0,3) počkej (.) něco musím zkontojovat
 19 jenku
 20 lets pretend *you know* (.) lets pretend and also we will go to the “pajko” ((probably means
 21 car park)) also pretend (0,3) *you know* (.) don't be affaid I won't call you (0,4) darling (0,3)
 22 wait (.) something must control outside

Data Sample 43: Zebra with a snail and “slizoun” in her mouth

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

1 **Naty:** dokorko koukněte má tam () šneka a **slizouna** ((nový výraz odvozené od slova sliz,
 2 nejspíše použité ve významu “slimák”))
 3 doctor look she's got there () a snail and “**slizoun**” ((a new expression derivated from the
 4 word slime or gunge, recommended translation is slimer or gungeon, used for an animal that
 5 is slimy, I guess it means “a slug”))
 6 **Me:** a **slizouna**↑ a proč je tam má↑
 7 and “**slizoun**”↑ why does she have them there↑
 8 **Naty:** proto oni tam vlezli do pusy a potom se tam objevili (.) ňák (.) víš
 9 because they there got into her mouth and then they appeared there (.) somehow (.) *you know*
 10 **Me:** jak vypadá **slizoun**↑
 11 how does “**slizoun**” look like↑
 12 **Naty:** počkej (0,3) tady vidíš, má ujitu a tady (0,2) má hrozně lepkavý **smisoň** ((význam neznámý))
 13 a má všechno tam (.) má med, si tam skovává na (.) do lahbičky (.) a potom se tam objeví
 14 (0,2) další šnek (.) je to máma hihi
 15 wait (0,3) here you see, he's got the shell and here (0,2) he has a very sticky “**smisoň**”
 16 ((meaning unknown)) and she's got everything there (.) she has honey, she's hiding it on (.)
 17 into the small bottle (.) and then there will appear (0,2) another snail (.) she is mum hih hih
 18

Data Sample 44: Asking if Natálka can have a rabbit mask

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Maty (Natálka's brother)

- 553 **Naty:** [prosím] teto můžu králíčkovou masku↑
 554 [please] aunt can I have a rabbit mask↑
 555 **Me:** no jasně (.) tak pojd' ((k Matyáškoví))
 556 yeah of course (.) so come on ((towards Matyášek))
 557 **Maty:** masu ((masku)) dolu
 558 the mask down
 559 **Naty:** a dáš mi tam prosím takhle takhle tu šňůrku↑
 560 and will you please put there a string like that like that↑
 561 **Me:** dám ti tam takhle tu šňůrku
 562 yeah I will put there a string like that
 563 **Naty:** °jooo:: děkuji tetičko°
 564 °yeaah:: thank you aunty°

Data Sample 45: Asking what Natálka could print out

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Maty (Natálka's brother)

- 110 **Naty:** mě jednou udělala ((Natálky mamka)) (masku) s jednorožcem (.) a musela to najít (0,4) na
 111 tabletu nebo na telefonu
 112 she ((Natálka's mother)) once made me a unicorn mask (.) she had to find it (0,4) on tablet
 113 or phone
 114 **Me:** spíš na tab=na telefonu (.)
 115 more like on tab=phone (.)
 116 **Naty:** hmm
 117 hmm
 118 **Maty:** tabet ((tablet))
 119 tablet
 120 **Me:** [nemáme tablet]
 121 [we don't have a tablet]
 122 **Naty:** [na tabletu jsou taky] masky
 123 there are also masks [on the tablet]
 124 **Maty:** nene tabet tam masy NĚ:
 125 nono tablet there masks NO:
 126 **Naty:** no i nějaký omalovánky (.) *co by sem mohla vytisknout* (.) tady
 127 well some colouring pictures too (.) *what could I print out* (.) here
 128 **Me:** vždyť tady toho máme vytištěného, vždyť si to [viděla ten štos]
 129 come on we have lots of printed stuff here you've [seen that stack]

Data Sample 46: Setting something on fire

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 38 **Me:** to už jsi skončila↑
 39 have you already finished↑
 40 **Naty:** byl to krátký příběh a potom mi to zapálili tohje to
 41 it was a short story and then they set it on fire
 42 **Me:** co ti zapálili a kdo↑
 43 and what did they set on fire and who↑
 44 **Naty:** srst (.) tamten (.) ne ty (.) ani ty ani já (.) <někdo kdo> (.) ty né (.) <někdo kdo zná> (.) pyká
 45 (.) on mi zapálil moji srst a seno

46 the hair (.) someone (.) not you (.) neither you nor me (.) <someone who> (.) not you (.)
 47 <someone who knows> (.) pays (.) has fired on my hair and hay
 48 **Me:** kdo↑
 49 who↑
 50 **Naty:** kájík ((králík)) kájík mi to zapájil a potom bum=sem vybouchnul taky
 51 a rabbit (.) the rabbit is on fire and then wham=i have exploded too
 52 **Me:** proč to králík udělal↑
 53 and why did the rabbit do that↑
 54 **Naty:** proto (0,3) se změnil na ZOJODĚJE
 55 because (0,3) he changed to a THIEF

Data Sample 47: Introducing a new character

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

56 **Naty:** poto se NEOJÁD ((neovládl)) (.) ooo (.) je tady
 57 because he did not CONTROL himself (.) o:h (.) he is here
 58 **Me:** kdo je tady↑
 59 who is here↑
 60 **Naty:** ((Natálka pouze zakňourá))
 61 ((Natálka makes whimpering noises))
 62 **Me:** kdo tady je↑
 63 who is here↑
 64 **Naty:** jejda
 65 oops
 66 **Me:** kdo↑ [strejda↑]
 67 who↑ [uncle↑]
 68 **Naty:** [ee jenom] maličký pejsíček (.) hihi (.) maličký pejsíček ((Natálky mamka anebo taťka se na
 69 ni podíval)) my si hrajeme
 70 [er only] a tiny doggie (.) hih hih (.) a tiny doggie ((Natálka's mother or father looked at her))
 71 we are playing

Data Sample 48: We even watch “Mrazík”

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

51 **Naty:** hádej (.) co je to za písničku↑ ((Natálka začne vymlaskávat nějakou melodii))
 52 guess (.) what song is that↑ ((Natálka is smacking her lips with some tune))
 53 **Me:** kdé pak (.) kdepak jsou
 54 where are (.) where are they
 55 **Naty:** ee ((znovu začne vymlaskávat))
 56 nope ((she is again))
 57 **Me:** tak broukej
 58 hum it then
 59 **Naty:** ee ((ale po chvílce stejně začne vybroukávat melodii))
 60 no ((but after a while she starts to hum the melody))
 61 **Me:** *Hra o trůny* ((Natálka neodpovídá, stále mlčí)) (0,6) *Hra o trůny*↑
 62 *Game of Thrones* ((Natálka is not responding, she is quiet)) *Games of Thrones*↑
 63 **Naty:** ee (.) <já si zpívám sama> (.) ti ukázu ((a pořád si něco brouká)) (0,24) a ještě sme se
 64 koukali na *Mrazíka*
 65 uh-uh (.) <I am singing for myself> (.) I show you ((she is still humming the melody)) (0,24)
 66 and we even watch “*Mrazík*” ((a fairy tale called *Father Frost*))
 67 **Granny:** na *Mrazíka*↑
 68 “*Mrazík*”↑
 69 **Naty:** ehm ((souhlas))

Data Sample 49: Natálka describes what they are doing

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

- 78 **Naty:** pomeranč a to je vše a teďka Matýsek má tác na sobě na hlavě se koukáme na nail bit
79 ((*Nailed It!*))
80 orange and that is all and now Matýsek has a tray on him on his head we are watching Nailed
81 It
82 **Mum:** *Nailed It*
83 *Nailed It*
84 **Naty:** *Nailed It* (.) tam teďka dělaj rádio a Matýsek má to autíčko, který který dostal od Ježíška a já
85 toho dinosaura, který skáče po po tom
86 *Nailed It* (.) they are doing a radio there and Matýsek has a little car which which he got
87 from “Ježíšek” ((i.e., *Christ Child*)) and I have the dinosaur, which jumps on on that
88 **Mum:** Natynko musíš říct, kde to je
89 Natynka you have to tell where it is
90 **Naty:** °co↑°
91 °what↑°
92 **Mum:** na tričku, že to máš
93 that you have it on your T-shirt
94 **Naty:** na tričku to máme to auto je na tričku já toho dinosaura mám taky na tričku a Matýsek má
95 teď to moje autíčko lego teďka má pizzu krájecí (0,3) teďka má PITÍ=se napije (.) tak Matý
96 nech toho jo↑ (.) já jsem tě ráda teto viděla a Ma (.) no i babičku i dědečka i tebe teto (.) já
97 vás mám ráda ((45 vteřin))
98 we have it on our T-shirts the car is on the T-shirt I have the dinosaur on T-shirt as well and
99 Matýsek has my little lego car now he has slicing pizza toy (0,3) now he has DRING=he
100 drinks (.) so Matý stop it ok↑ (.) I was glad to see you aunt and Ma (.) grandma and grandpa
101 too as well as you aunt (.) I love you all ((45 seconds))

Data Sample 50: A fairy tale about a lion and a mouse

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller) Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

- 43 **Naty:** tos ta pjincezna vís babicko (0,6) a potom ji take tam jep us byj hodný (.) jepícek a potom jí
44 ani nesezal myskuu (0,3) a jeste to pokacuje dál (.) tam sisel další SOB↑ (.) byji tam sekni
45 sobi zíká pjincezna (.) sekni sobi zíkaja (.) to ona take dijokala ((význam neznámý))) nák (.)
46 a potom jí zekla (.) ten pjinc (.) neboj pujdu za tebou (.) požád
47 the princess you know granny (0,6) and then he like this the lion was already nice (.) the
48 little lion and the he did not even eat the little mou:se (0,3) and it continues (.) there came a
49 REINDEER↑ (.) there were all reindeers the princess said (.) all reindeers she said (.) she
50 also “dijokala” ((unknown meaning)) somehow (.) and then she told (.) that prince (.) don't
51 worry I will go with you (.) always
52 **Granny:** jé (.) to je krásné
53 wow (.) that's beautiful
54 **Naty:** a jeste to pokjacuje jeste dál (0,5) a potom (.) jep se otocil (.) na něco
55 and it still continues (0,5) and then (.) the lion turned around (.) to something
56 **Granny:** a na [co se ten le] ((Natálky babička nedořekla slovo “lev”))
57 and to [what did the lio] ((Natálka's grandmother did not finish the word “lion”))
58 **Naty:** [ne na koníka] a zikal (.) ó ty si tak hezká ani jí nesezal ((myšku)) (.) ani nepodápal (.) on jí
59 podápal jiný jep BÍJÍ (0,5) a potom sisel tam bíjí jep (.) ani si nesimul (.) to byj takový **pocas**
60 ((význam neznámý)) a konéc

61 [no to the little horse] and he said (.) oh wow you are so beautiful he did not even eat her ((the
 62 mouse)) (.) did not scratch her (.) another lion scratched her the WHITE one (0,5) and then
 63 there came another white lion (.) he did not even notice (.) it was such “**pocas**” ((unknown
 64 meaning)) and the e::nd

Data Sample 51: A fairy tale about an earthworm and horses

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

70 **Me:** ((do pokoje přišla Natálky mamka s Matyáškem a tak jsem jí řekla, že koně sežrala žížala))
 71 a zachránili jsme se nakonec nebo nás snědla↑ ((odkaz na tu žížalu))
 72 ((Natálka's mother enters the room with Matyášek and I told them that the earthworm ate the
 73 horses)) and did we save us or she ate us↑ ((link to the earthworm))
 74 **Naty:** jo (.) nás snědla aje spokla ani nás nejoskousaja ((nerozkousala)) (.) děte pyč už ((Natálka
 75 chce aby mamka s Matyáškem odešli))
 76 yep (.) she ate us but swallowed us not chewed us (.) go away now ((Natálka tells her mother
 77 and brother to leave the room))
 78 **Me:** tak je nevyháněj
 79 don't force them to leave the room
 80 **Naty:** honém (.) at' pšíbeh dopadne (0,9) >a potom< nás nesnědla (.) my sme se zakjánili (.) ne
 81 nezakjánili↓ (.) a tam byja koni=ne (.) tam byja žijapa ((žirafa)) nás zakjánila ona (.) sme
 82 říkaji hujá=hujá a potom sme skákaji na zemiii (.) >a potom< (.) ještě nedopad ten příběh aje
 83 (0,3) di už spát (.) a potom tam byja ()
 84 quickly: (.) so that the story ends (0,9) >and then< she did not eat us (.) we saved ourselves
 85 (.) no we didn't↓ (.) and there was horses=no (.) there was a giraffe she saved us (.) we said
 86 hurray=hurray and then we jumped on the grou::nd (.) >and then< (.) the story isn't ending
 87 yet (0,3) go to sleep (.) and then there was ()

Data Sample 52: Ideal birthday presents

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

21 **Naty:** tak já si (.) tak já bysem chtěla eště (.) ehmm (.) co by sem tak chtěla↑ (0,6) já by sem chtěla
 22 (0,5) koč °ne já nevím°
 23 so I would (.) would like (.) ehmm (.) what would I like to have↑ (0,6) I would like (0,5) a ca
 24 ((a cat)) °no I don't know°
 25 **Mum:** toho jednorozce jsi chtěla ne↑
 26 you said you would like a unicorn right↑
 27 **Naty:** jednorozce↑ by sem chtěla a ještě by sem chtěla ee (.) oblek kočky (.) i ocas, který tam byla
 28 vata (0,2) něco chlupatýho a [potom] aby tam takhle bylo takhle by to bylo zakroucený a tam
 29 by byl vevnitř drak a mohla by sem si to ohýbat (.) jak by sem chtěla a ((Natálka mluví
 30 celkem 30 vteřin))
 31 I would like a unicorn↑ and I would also like er (.) a cat suit (.) and a tail which would have
 32 cotton wool inside (0,2) something furry and [then] it would be like that would be twisted
 33 like that and there would be a dragon inside and I could bend it (.) as I would like to and
 34 ((Natálka talks for 30 seconds))

Data Sample 53: An injured dog sharing his food

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

348 **Naty:** ee ((pejsek zase olizuje kost)) chces taky↑
 349 uh-uh ((the doggy is licking the bone again)) do you want some too↑
 350 **Me:** né děkuji

351 no: thanks
 352 **Naty:** ná: jen ochutnej
 353 the:re just taste it
 354 **Me:** né já tady mám svoje kosti
 355 no: I have my own bones here
 356 **Naty:** oo musís tam mít nákou spetku (.) hele už se mi uzdravila tlapka
 357 oh you have to have there a pinch of something (.) look my paw is already healed
 358 **Me:** no vidiš↑
 359 look at that↑
 360 **Naty:** s tím povídáním a jím tak to je tedka zábava=můžu si skákat
 361 with the talk and the food it is fun now=I can jump

Data Sample 54: Returning to the previous story about white dogs and tigers

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

153 **Me:** tak jim taky přečti pohádku (.) takže bylo nebylo
 154 so read a fairy tale to them too (.) so once upon the time
 155 **Naty:** nebyjo=nebyjo áá zase sou tady (.) zase sou a taky pejsky (.) to je jodinka uz je tady (0,3) si
 156 chtel asi sednout (.) uz de domu
 157 was not=was not ((in Czech language fairy tales beggins with “bylo nebylo”, which is in
 158 English “was was not”, in this case Natálka uses wrong phrase)) a::h they are here again (.)
 159 they are here again also dogs are here (.) it is a family it is already here (0,3) he wanted to sit
 160 down (.) he is already going home
 161 **Me:** tak přečti Alíkovi pohádku
 162 so read a fairy tale to Alik
 163 **Naty:** a vám seknám (.) pockejte (0,3) aje (.) aje musím vam dát zádlo ((Natálka krmí tygry a psi))
 164 uz sem daja zádlo (.) tedka můžu císt
 165 and to you all (.) wait (0,3) but (.) but I must feed you ((Natálka feeds tigers and dogs)) I
 166 have already fed them (.) now I can read

Data Sample 55: Making potato salad

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother), Maty (Natálka's brother)

246 **Me:** no z toho bude bramborový salát
 247 it will be a potato salad
 248 **Naty:** MŇA:::M (.) my sme ve škole taky měli bramborovej salát
 249 YU:::MMY (.) we also had potato salad in our school
 250 **Me:** jo↑
 251 yep↑
 252 **Granny:** teta Maruška může [vzít tohle]
 253 aunt Maruška could [take this]
 254 **Naty:** [a jeste k tomu maso]
 255 [and meat to that]
 256 **Me:** ((Matýsek se také přijde podívat)) no brambora no
 257 ((Matýsek comes to us to have a look)) a potato right
 258 **Naty:** to krásně voní ((vařené brambory)) (.) kdys to spolкну tak (.) kdys to spolкну (.) tak tak mi
 259 psipadá ze to takový dobrý
 260 it smells so good ((cooked potatoes)) (.) when I swallow it (.) when I swallow it (.) then then
 261 it tastes so good
 262 **Maty:** co JE↑
 263 what is IT↑

264 **Me:** to je studený a je to petržel
 265 it is cold and it is a parsley
 266 **Naty:** todlesto je mrkeev a todlesto taky nevím
 267 this is a caro:t and this I don't know too
 268 **Me:** ((smích))
 269 ((laughter))
 270 **Granny:**to je celer
 271 it is celeriak
 272 **Naty:** cerel
 273 cerealiak
 274 **Me:** celer
 275 celeriak
 276 **Naty:** cerer
 277 cereriak
 278 **Me:** celer
 279 celeriak
 280 **Naty:** cerel (.) TO SME TAM měli v bramborách (.) chutnalo to jako cerel
 281 cerealiak root (.) WE HAD THAT in the potatoes too (.) it tasted like cerealiak

Data Sample 56: Alík's birthday and shopping

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

1 **Naty:** óó (.) jampa (.) to je aje hezká jampička
 2 o:h (.) a lamp (.) this is a beautiful little lamp
 3 **Naty:** take je to tady pjo Ajíka (.) dneska má najozeniny (.) sou mu čicet
 4 also it is here for Alik (.) its his birthday today (.) he is thirty
 5 **Me:** je mu třicet↑
 6 is he thirty↑
 7 **Naty:** jo (.) a potom budou padesát (0,5) a taky se mou chodil tam (.) jenku (venku) (1,5) to je aje
 8 hezký výhed ((výhled)) támje sme zapajkovaji (0,8) ty požád něco žejkáš↑
 9 yep (.) and then he will be fifty years old (0,5) and also he went with me there (.) outside
 10 (1,5) this is a beautiful view we parked over there (0,8) you are still chewing something↑
 11 **Me:** nežvejkám
 12 I am not chewing
 13 **Naty:** potom pudem nakupovat
 14 then we go shopping
 15 **Me:** už jsme nakupovali dvakrát dneska
 16 we have already shopped twice today
 17 **Naty:** jenom jako híš (.) jenom jako a taky pudem na **pajko** ((asi parkoviště)) taky jako (0,3) víš (.)
 18 nebój já ti už nebudu žikat (0,4) zatičko (zlatíčko) (0,3) pochej (.) něco musím zkontojovat
 19 jenku
 20 lets pretend you know (.) lets pretend and also we will go to the “**pajko**” ((probably means
 21 car park)) also pretend (0,3) you know (.) don't be affaid I won't call you (0,4) darling (0,3)
 22 wait (.) I must check something outside

Data Sample 57: Digressing from the story about the dogs that were sleeping

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

251 **Naty:** ee (.) ty je probouzej (.) já neumím nic takovýho (0,3) a teto ted'ka nechci ksicet ((křičet))
 252 uh-uh (.) you wake them up (.) I can't do anything like that (0,3) and aunt I don't want to yell
 253 now
 254 **Me:** co nechceš křičet↑
 255 how don't you want to yell↑

256 **Naty:** psece ((přece)) takhle ÁÁÁ::: nechci (.) hele (.) pupík hihi
 257 like that AAH::: don't want to (.) look (.) a tummy button hihi
 258 **Me:** má pupík↑ (.) no jo má pupík
 259 she has a tummy button↑ (.) well she has a tummy button

Data Sample 58: Digressing from the story about two dogs
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

204 **Naty:** doufám, že tam ještě není střep (.) zase by sem nemohla jít ven, já by sem chtěla jít ven zase
 205 (.) ale zkákám to ocasu (.) hej hej ejej (0,2) ten pelíšek a eee teto↑
 206 I hope that there is no more piece of glass in there (.) I couldn't go outside again I would like
 207 to go outside again (.) but I am jumping on my tail again (.) hey hey ejej (0,2) the bed and
 208 uh-uh aunt↑
 209 **Me:** no↑
 210 yeah↑
 211 **Naty:** kde je děda s babičkou↑
 212 where is grandpa and grandma↑

Data Sample 59: A story about a little cow and little horse
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

43 **Naty:** NÉÉÉÉ a potom takje ojeja (.) já se vjáním (.) nebudu tam djouho=tak jó (.) ((kravička jako
 44 odešla)) už sem tady (.) jóó ((odpoví koníček)) potom↑ (.) potom kjouzali JUHŮ JUHŮ
 45 JUHŮ haha (.) <pak se kutájeji> (.) JUHŮŮ (0,3) potom miminko (0,7) potom šej do bahna
 46 HAHAHA (0,4) koníku co tam dějáš↑ nó sem v kajuži (.) vejký (.) vejký kajuži (.) zjato
 47 domu musís ((Natálka něco zamumlá))
 48 NO::: and then she left like this (.) I will come back (.) I won't be there for a long time=okay
 49 (.) ((the little cow leaves)) I am already here (.) ye::p ((answers the little horse)) then↑ (.)
 50 then they slides YIPPEE YIPPEE YIPPEE (.) <then they were rolling> (.) YIPPEE:: (0,3)
 51 then the baby (0,7) then he goes to the mud HAH HAH HAH (0,4) the little horse what are
 52 you doing there↑ w::ell I am in the puddle (.) big (.) big puddle (.) honey you must go home
 53 ((Natálka mumbles something))

Data Sample 60: A dream about me (Natálka's aunt) as a mouse with glasses
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

20 **Me:** já jsem je ((krysy)) tím mečem rozsekala↑
 21 I hack them ((the rats)) with that sword↑
 22 **Naty:** ehe na kous (.) ky (.) a pak si je jeda HAHAHA HAHAHA HAHAHA
 23 ehe to bi (.) ts (.) and then you ate them HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH
 24 **Me:** no teda (0,4) a nezdál se ti ještě jinej sen↑
 25 oh wow (0,4) and didn't you dream about something else↑
 26 **Naty:** nene
 27 no no
 28 **Me:** třeba jak teta zachránila králíčka↑ (.) ne↑
 29 for example how aunt saved the little rabbit↑ (.) no↑
 30 **Naty:** ((kravičce se zdál sen, tak ho vypráví)) zdájo se mi neco (.) zdájo se mi sen o kájíčkovi (0,3)
 31 byj kájíček on nekdo lektal a potom byj sece jako já

32 ((the little cow dreamed about something, so Natálka speaks for the cow)) I dreamt about
33 something (.) I dreamt about a bunny (0,3) the bunny was someone tickle the bunny and then
34 he was just like me

Data Sample 61: Cutting a celeriak

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

318 **Naty:** hamat hihi ((předvádí Matýska)) (0,2) já nebudu todle jíst (.) já budu jíst jenom mrkvičku (.)
319 to jako budeš taky krájet↑
320 eat hihi ((she pretends to be Matyášek, her brother)) (0,2) I won't eat this (.) I will eat only
321 little carrot (.) you will cut it too↑
322 **Me:** no tohle (.) celer
323 yeah this (.) celeriak
324 **Naty:** chci vidět jak to budeš krájet to velký ((začnu krájet celer)) (.) blbě vid' hi
325 I want to see how you will cut it it's big ((I started cutting the celeriak)) (.) badly right hi
326 **Me:** ((smích))
327 ((laughter))
328 **Naty:** to je jako ozech
329 it is like a nut

Data Sample 62: Trying to taste the potato salad

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Grandpa (Natálka's grandfather)

346 **Naty:** dyť já sem jenom takhle jednu půlku a °druhou půlku° (.) dědo neuzírej to↑
347 well I just one half like that and the other half (.) grandpa don't eat it↑
348 **Me:** ((smích))
349 ((laughter))
350 **Grandpa:** cože↑
351 what↑
352 **Naty:** dedo neuzírej
353 grandpa don't eat it
354 **Me:** neuzírej
355 don't eat it
356 **Naty:** nenene ((Natálka odsunula misku se salátem od dědy pryč a dělá na něj tytyty))
357 nenene ((Natálka moved the bowl with the potato salad away from her grandfather and
358 made a gesture suggesting not to do that))
359 **Grandpa:** no počkej až budeš chtít jít nahoru nikam nepůjdeš
360 just you wait when you will want to go upstairs you won't go anywhere
361 **Naty:** já sem ti zíkala abys to nejed (.) potom budeme mít žádný jídlo↓
362 I told you not to eat it (.) then we won't have any food left↓

Data Sample 63: Understanding irony

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

52 **Granny:** co jste ještě dělali ve škole↑
53 what else were you doing at school↑
54 **Naty:** ucili jsme se
55 we were studying
56 **Granny:** nepovídej haha
57 no way haha
58 **Naty:** jojo ucili

Data Sample 64: How a tiger ate a mouse

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

- 5 **Naty:** to ten tyg (bum) Zumba ((jméno tygra)) (0,3) a potom ji sežjal a spóknul (0,3) ((zeptám se jí
6 koho ten tygr snědl)) myšku↑ a potom jí takje sebjal jí kůži
7 the tiger (boom) Zumba ((a name of the tiger)) (0,3) and then he ate her and swa:llowed (0,3)
8 ((I ask whom did the tiger eat)) the mouse↑ (.) and then he took her skin away from her like
9 this

Data Sample 65: A spider attacking a prince

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 86 **Me:** proč neměl hlavu↑
87 why doesn't he have his head↑
88 **Naty:** proto nemá hjabu on ukous pajouk hjabu () a zůstal jenom mozek
89 because he has no head the spider bit his head off () and only brain left

Data Sample 66: Lower lip injury

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

- 8 **Naty:** jo (.) spadja sem na pusinku a potom mi to hódne paskjo potom () sem se tječila a
9 byja kjep a me to hjozně bojejo (.) todje byl muj poslední jet↓ ((ret))
10 yep (.) I have fallen on my mouth and then it broke so mu:ch then () I hit myself and
11 a blood was there and it hurt so much (.) this was my last lip↓

Data Sample 67: The arrival of the Devil

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)

- 92 **Naty:** kdys sme tam si zrovna sedli a pani ucitelka si něco zíkala tak zazvonil nějaký tichý
93 zvonecek (0,2) a to byl ten cert a mel v ruce takhle pytel
94 when we sat down and the teacher said something then a quiet little bell rang (0,2) and it was
95 the devil and he had a bag in his hand
96 **Granny:** jééé
97 wo::w
98 **Me:** noo
99 yeah
100 **Naty:** a tady jako zvonky a měl jich milion
101 and here the bells and he had a million of them
102 **Granny:** milion
103 million
104 **Me:** pane joo
105 oh wo::w
106 **Naty:** hihi
107 hihi

Data Sample 68: The dog screams for help

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 287 **Me:** pojd'te domů pejsci
288 little dogs come back home
289 **Naty:** hele tady to má (obráceně)
290 look he has this (upside down)
291 **Me:** haf haf
292 woof woof
293 **Naty:** POMÓ:::C ÁÁÁ:: ((pak je slyšet úleva a Natálky pejsek začne ztěžka dýchat))
294 HE:::LP AHHH:: ((then I can hear the relief and Natálka's doggie starts to breathe heavily))
295 **Me:** no nepřeháněj zase
296 come on don't overreact
297 **Naty:** to byla teda fučka ((Natálka zde zamění písmenko š za č ve slově fučka))
298 it was such a hard work ((Natálka replace the letter š with č in the Czech word *fučka*, English
299 equivalent is *hard work* or *toil*))

Data Sample 69: A fairy tale about a butterfly and a queen

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

- 7 **Me:** povíte mi nějakou pohádku↑
8 will you tell me a fairy tale↑
9 **Naty:** jo (.) aje musíš spát (.) ((dělám, že usnula)) počkěj () byjo nebyjo v kásné
10 chaloupce byja jednou (motýja) a taky byja tam kákovna ((královna))
11 yep (.) but you must sleep (.) ((I pretend that Pinkie has fallen asleep)) wa::it
12 () once upon a time in the beautiful little cottage once was (a butterfly) and
13 there was also a queen

Data Sample 70: Persuading Natálka to narrate

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

- 1 **Mum:** vyprávěj něco
2 tell me something
3 **Naty:** ne (.) asi ne
4 no (.) probably not
5 **Mum:** prosím
6 please
7 **Naty:** ale potom budem cestovat patí↑ (.) potom musíme tak (0,2) takje (.) jsou tam
8 taky pajačinky (.) už je tam vyrabějí jen plyšáci (.) teďka (.) musíme tam spát
9 žikala pani (.) v dibočíně
10 but then we will travel deal↑ (.) then we must this way (0,2) like this (.) there
11 are also pancakes (.) they are made just by stuffed animals (.) now (.) we have to
12 sleep there (.) said the woman (.) in the wilderness

Data Sample 71: Conversation between a little cow and little horse

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

- 24 **Naty:** ne (.) mamka mi žikala nesmís a potom (.) nešej tam aniii (.) potom byj už satečný ale byj
25 jeste mají (0,3) byj to miminko ((něco vypráví, ale není jí rozumět)) a potom mamka se
26 (zeptaja) kam puđem↑ °puđem já puđu° (.) a můžu tam taky ↑ ((ptá se miminko)) >nemůzes
27 (.) aha< co jé mami↑ (0,5) a už se vjátite↑ pšece ne↑ se tam vyspinkaja a budu tam spát a

28 všekno (.) °a co já↑° (.) budu tady (.) a potom budeš vejkej jako já (0,3) potom (0,5) ((dělám,
 29 že jsem usnula)) HA HA HA TETÓÓ↑
 30 nope (.) mum told me you must not and then (.) he did not eve::n go there (.) he was brave
 31 then but he was still small (0,3) he was a baby ((next 10 seconds of talk unclear)) and then
 32 mum (asked) where are we going↑ °we are going I am going° (.) and can I go there too↑
 33 ((asks the baby)) >you cannot (.) aha< what is it mum↑ (0,5) are you already going back↑ not
 34 yet↑ I slept there and I will sleep there and everything (.) °and what about me↑° (.) I will be
 35 here (.) and then you will be big as me (0,3) then (0,5) ((I pretend to fall asleep)) HAH HAH
 36 HAH AU::NT↑

Data Sample 72: An attempt to persuade the dog to visit the dentist

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

394 **Naty:** tak pojd'
 395 so come on
 396 **Me:** já nikam nejdu
 397 I am not going anywhere
 398 **Naty:** TAK a už sem se naštvála (.) musíš tam jít nebo nedostaneš nikdy kostky
 399 SO I am mad at you right now (.) you have to go there or else you won't get any dices
 400 **Me:** já kostku=kosti už jíst nebudu, protože mám ulomenej zub ee
 401 I won't eat the dice=bones anymore because my tooth is broken uh-uh
 402 **Naty:** °neboj° (.) v klidu
 403 °don't worry° (.) keep calm
 404 **Me:** eee (.) ham
 405 uh-uh (.) yum
 406 **Naty:** počkej (.) dýchej zhluboka se nadechni ((Natálka sama se zhluboka nadechne, ale já pořád
 407 dělám, že pejsek pláče a je smutný)) (.) neplakej, tak pod' do pelíšku
 408 wait (.) breathe take a deep breath ((Natálka takes a deep breath herself, but I am still
 409 pretending that the doggy is crying and is sad)) (.) don't cry so come on to your bed

Data Sample 73: Natálka's capitulation

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

424 **Naty:** ne já neumím vyprávět pohádky
 425 no I don't know how to narrate fairy tales
 426 **Me:** eee tak já nebudu hajat
 427 uh-uh so I won't be lying
 428 **Naty:** tak jak chceš (.) trhni si nohou
 429 as you wish (.) get stuffed
 430 **Me:** oo (.) no teda jo, ty seš tak drzá na mě
 431 oh (.) oh wow you are so cheeky
 432 **Naty:** hihi haha hihi (.) tak to nech, pojd' si hajnout a já ti třeba pustím Toma a Jerryho
 433 hihi haha hihi (.) so stop it come and lie dow and I may play Tom and Jerry

Data Sample 74: The other dog has toothache as well

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

506 **Me:** proč proč proč bych tam měl jít↑
 507 why why why should I go there↑
 508 **Naty:** proto aby se ti uzdravil zub
 509 so that your tooth heals
 510 **Me:** nepudu

511 no I won't go
512 **Naty:** HAM (.) au bolí mě zub AU::
513 YUM (.) ouch I have toothache OUCH::
514 **Me:** haha ((Matýsek se v pozadí zasměje)) tak ty půjdeš k doktorovi
515 haha ((Matýsek is laughing in the background)) you are coming to the doctor too
516 **Naty:** au au AU:: (.) óo: tebe bolí zoubek↑ ((pejsek zakňourá jako na souhlas)) °a jí taky=mě taky°
517 ouch ouch OUCH:: (.) oh:: you have toothache↑ ((the dog snarls in agreement)) °and also
518 she=also me°

Appendix 8: Natálka's negotiation strategies at the turn of 2020

- 362 **Me:** au
 363 ouch
 364 **Naty:** co↑
 365 what↑
 366 **Me:** zlomil se mi zub↓
 367 my tooth is broken↓
 368 **Naty:** jeee
 369 oh
 370 **Me:** éé:: ((dělám, že pejsek pláče))
 371 e::r ((I pretend that the doggy is crying))
 372 **Naty:** haf haf ségro () zlomil se ti zub, ale já neumím to (.) jeé jeé (.) musís jíst tohle
 373 zdravý
 374 woof woof sister () your tooth is broken but I can't do that (.) oh: oh: (.) you have
 375 to eat this healthy
 376 **Me:** au bolí mě zub (.) nemůžu jíst
 377 ouch I have a toothache (.) I can't eat
 378 **Naty:** spetka A (0,2) no to snes budeš
 379 a pinch AND (0,2) well eat this and you will be
 380 **Me:** ble
 381 yuck
 382 **Naty:** to je mňamy né↑
 383 it is yummy isn't it↑
 384 **Me:** ham ham blé::
 385 yum yum yu::ck
 386 **Naty:** HIHI (.) musíme jít k panu doktorovi
 387 HIHI (.) we have to visit the doctor
 388 **Me:** vždyť ty seš pani doktorka
 389 but you are a doctor
 390 **Naty:** ale já nejsem na tohle dobrá
 391 but I am not the right one for this
 392 **Me:** tak jo
 393 alright then
 394 **Naty:** tak pojď
 395 so come on
 396 **Me:** já nikam nejdu
 397 I am not going anywhere
 398 **Naty:** TAK a už sem se naštvála (.) musís tam jít nebo nedostaneš nikdy kostky
 399 SO I get mad at you right now (.) you have to go there or else you won't get any dices
 400 **Me:** já kostku=kosti už jíst nebudu, protože mám ulomenej zub ee
 401 I won't eat the dice=bones anymore because my tooth is broken uh-uh
 402 **Naty:** °neboj° (.) v klidu
 403 °don't worry° (.) keep calm
 404 **Me:** eee (.) ham
 405 uh-uh (.) yum
 406 **Naty:** počkej (.) dýchej zhluboka se nadechni ((Natálka sama se zhluboka nadechne, ale já pořád
 407 dělám, že pejsek pláče a je smutný)) (.) neplakej, tak pod' do pelíšku
 408 wait (.) breathe take a deep breath ((Natálka takes a deep breath herself, but I am still
 409 pretending that the doggy is crying and sad)) (.) don't cry so come on to your bed
 410 **Me:** já chci pohádku::
 411 I want a fairy ta::le
 412 **Naty:** a psi ale nemají pohádky

413 and dogs don't have fairy tales
414 **Me:** já jí mám ráda
415 I like it
416 **Naty:** a jakou chceš teda↑
417 and which one do you want↑
418 **Me:** já nevím=ňákou hezkou
419 I don't know=a nice one
420 **Naty:** tak já ti pustím telefon tut (.) na koukej se
421 so I will turn on the phone tut (.) here watch
422 **Me:** ne tohle mě nebaví, já chci vyprávět pohádku
423 no I don't like this I want you to narrate the fairy tale
424 **Naty:** ne já neumím vyprávět pohádky
425 no I don't know how to narrate fairy tales
426 **Me:** eee tak já nebudu hajat
427 uh-uh so I won't be lying
428 **Naty:** tak jak chceš (.) trhni si nohou
429 as you wish (.) get stuffed
430 **Me:** oo (.) no teda jo, ty seš tak drzá na mě
431 oh (.) oh wow you are so cheeky
432 **Naty:** hihi haha hihi (.) tak to nes, pojd' si hajnout a já ti třeba pustím Toma a Jerryho
433 hihi haha hihi (.) so stop it come and lie dow and I may play Tom and Jerry
434 **Me:** ne to se mi nelíbí, já chci vyprávět pohádku *O Sedmi trpaslících*
435 no I don't like it I want you to narrate about *The Seven Dwarfs*
436 **Naty:** tu neumím
437 I don't know it
438 **Me:** tak *O červené Karkulce*
439 so about the *Little Red Riding Hood*
440 **Naty:** tu taky neumím
441 I don't know it as well
442 **Me:** já nevím co ještě (.) ňákou o princí a princezně
443 I don't know what else (.) what about a prince and a princess
444 **Naty:** tu taky nevím
445 I don't know that either
446 **Me:** víš vůbec něco↑
447 do you anything at all↑
448 **Naty:** ne
449 nope
450 **Me:** hmm tak
451 hmm so
452 **Naty:** já znám jen ksečka ((křečka)) a to není pohádka to je youtube, to je video
453 I know only the hamster and it is not a fairy tale it's youtube it is a video
454 **Me:** tak mi povídej, co jsi viděla na tom videu
455 okay then tell me about it what did you see in the video
456 **Naty:** ale to už je ale nepamatuji, to bych ti musela pustit
457 but I can't remember that anymore I have to play it for you
458 **Me:** né já to chci převyprávět
459 no I want you to tell me
460 **Naty:** já to už NEUMím a US TO ZÍKÁM
461 but I don't KNOW it anymore and I AM SAYING THAT
462 **Me:** eee
463 uh-uh
464 **Naty:** US TOHO NECH nebo půjdeš k panu doktorovi
465 STOP IT or you will visit the doctor
466 **Me:** nepudu, já uteču
467 I won't I will run away

468 **Naty:** MATÝ CHYŤ HO, chyt' jí (0,2) chyt' jí
 469 MATÝ CATCH HIM catch her (0,2) catch her
 470 **Maty:** já (.) já sem (.) ááá (.)
 471 oh (.) I am (.) ahhhh:: (.)
 472 **Me:** [pejsek je pryč]
 473 [the doggy is gone]
 474 **Naty:** [já se zatím budu koukat↓]
 475 [in the meantime I will watch that↓]
 476 **Maty:** chovat ((schovat)) ke je↑ ((kde je))
 477 hide where is she↑
 478 **Naty:** hihi (.) hustý
 479 hihi (.) cool
 480 **Me:** pejsek utek Natálko
 481 the doggy run away Natálka
 482 **Naty:** hihihihí zadek
 483 hihihihí butt
 484 **Me:** nekoukej mu na zade::k
 485 don't look at his bu::tt
 486 **Naty:** hahaha hihihí (ale) je srandovní punktátovéj zadek hihi haha (.) ségro::↑ ségro::↑ (.) ségro::↑
 487 ségro:::↑
 488 hahaha hihihí (but) it's funny with spots on hihi haha (.) sister::↑ sister::↑ (.) sister::↑ sister:::↑
 489 **Maty:** éé:: ahoj
 490 er:: hi
 491 **Naty:** eee ((Natálka zavrčela)) půjdes k panu doktorovi
 492 uh-uh ((Natálka snarls)) you are coming to the doctor
 493 **Me:** nepudu
 494 no I am not
 495 **Naty:** ALE JOJO
 496 YES YOU ARE
 497 **Me:** nene
 498 no no
 499 **Naty:** JOJO
 500 yes yes
 501 **Me:** nene
 502 no no
 503 **Naty:** JO JO JO
 504 YES YES YES
 505 **Me:** proč proč proč bych tam měl jít↑
 506 why why why should I go there↑
 507 **Naty:** proto aby se ti uzdravil zub
 508 so that your tooth heals
 509 **Me:** nepudu
 510 no I won't go
 511 **Naty:** HAM (.) au bolí mě zub AU::
 512 YUM (.) ouch I have toothache OUCH::
 513 **Me:** haha ((Matýsek se v pozadí zasměje)) tak ty půjdeš k doktorovi
 514 haha ((Matýsek is laughing in the background)) you are coming to the doctor too
 515 **Naty:** au au AU:: (.) óo: tebe bolí zoubek↑ ((pejsek zakňourá jako na souhlas)) °a jí taky=mě taky°
 516 ouch ouch OUCH:: (.) oh:: you have toothache↑ ((the dog snarls in agreement)) °and also
 517 she=also me°
 518 **Granny:**si hraje celou dobu s tim↑
 519 you are playing with that all the time↑
 520 **Me:** jo
 521 yep
 522 **Naty:** ššš ššš

523 shush shush
524 **Granny:** to je hezký
525 that's nice
526 **Me:** tak pojd' drobku na mě=no vylez, já tě nebudu držet ((směrem k Matýskovi))
527 so come here sweetheart=well climb up I won't hold your ((towards Matyášek))
528 **Naty:** ššš ššš ukaž zoubek já ti to (.) áá: stípá (.) ne hihi
529 shush shush show me your tooth I would (.) ah:: it pinches (.) no hihi
530 **Me:** cože↑ [ští]
531 what↑ [pinch]
532 **Naty:** [nic hihi] (.) pejsek tak á:: (0,4) óo:
533 [nothing hihi] (.) doggy like this ah:: (0,4) oh::
534 **Me:** proč↑ (0,2) nec
535 why↑ (0,2) no
536 **Naty:** hej ten se nebojí (0,2) [tak vytrhnu ti zub] kdys se ti aby se ti nevylomil tak á:
537 hey he is not afraid (0,2) [so I will pull out your tooth] if you so that it doesn't break off so ah::
538 **Maty:** [é:: au au]
539 [er:: ouch ouch]
540 **Me:** tak nebudeš jí ho trhat přece↑
541 you won't pull out her tooth will you↑
542 **Naty:** Matý seber to (0,3) (to shodil)
543 Matý pick it up (0,3) (throws it off)
544 **Me:** dojdeš to sebrat zlatíčko↑ ((Matýsek něco zamumlá na souhlas))
545 will yo go there and pick it up sweetheart↑ ((Matýsek mumbles something in agreement))
546 **Naty:** tak á: á: no se se nekous ale (.) musím ti to vytrhnout JÓÓ::
547 so ah: ah: well he doesn't bite but (.) I have to pull it out YEAH::
548 **Me:** nebudeš mu trhat zub↓
549 you won't pull out her tooth↓
550 **Naty:** tenhle ten se nikoho nebojí
551 this one is not afraid of anyone
552 **Me:** ale přece mu nemůžeš Natálko vytrhnout zub, když ho má zdравej=to je jako kdybych ti taky
553 vytrhla zub
554 but you can't pull out her tooth Natálko when it is alright=it's like I would also pull out your
555 tooth
556 **Naty:** já měl takhle á: a on se mu kejval (.) ten zub se mu kejval tak čč už ho vytrhli (.) už ho vytrhl
557 hmm
558 I had like this ah: and it was loose (.) the tooth was loose so they've already pulled it out (.)
559 they've already pulled it out hmm
560 **Me:** jdeš dolů↑ ((směrem k Matýskovi, pak si s ním ještě povídám))
561 are you going down↑ ((towards Matyášek, then I talk to him))
562 **Naty:** áááá::: tam sou (.) bakterie (.) zrovna, tak áá:: haf haf tu máš (.) koukej (0,3) se musíme
563 nabumbat ((pejsek jako bumbá a při tom mlaská))
564 aaaah::: there are (.) bacteria (.) right now so aah:: woof woof there you go (.) look (0,3) we
565 have to drink ((she's pretending that the doggy is drinking and is smacking its lips))