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HOW CHILDREN TELL STORIES – THE PROCESS
OF STORYTELLING

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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.

Anotace

Tato bakalářská práce si klade za cíl analyzovat strukturu a vývoj vypravování. Nedílnou součástí vypravování je také kreativita a představivost, protože hrají důležitou při rozvoji každého příběhu. Kreativita se projevuje tvorbou nových slov, které se v českém jazyce nevyskytují, zatímco představivost dovoluje Natálce zahrnout do děje takzvané tmavé motivy jako je například rozdrčení krysy. Ve své práci jsem použila metodu konverzační analýzy, kterou jsem následně aplikovala na transkripční přepisy audio nahrávek, jež byly pořízeny při interakci mezi mnou a Natálkou.

Klíčová slova: vyprávění, příběh, kreativita, představivost, konverzační analýza

Abstract

The aim of this bachelor thesis is to analyse the structure and development of storytelling. Creativity, as well as imagination, are integral to the storytelling because they play an important role with regard to the progress of the story. Creativity is presented as the newly created words, which do not exist in the Czech language at all, whereas Natálka's imagination enables her to include the dark elements, such as crushing the rats. In the thesis, I apply the method of Conversation Analysis to the examination of the transcribed audio recordings that were made during the interaction between me and Natálka.

Key words: storytelling, story, creativity, imagination, Conversation Analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

This bachelor thesis explores narrative in child-adult interactions, particularly when the child is telling stories spontaneously. Creativity, imagination, structure and the development of storytelling from the perspective of a child present the focus of the analysis undertaken. In this case, conversations between Natálka, a four-year-old girl, and her close relatives are examined and discussed in detail. The thesis thus presents a case study of how one child develops their story-telling ability, creativity and imagination that they employ in their evolving world of learning.

The inspiration for choosing this topic was my niece Natálka who always surprises me with new stories and how she expresses them. I tried to find out how it is possible that she is telling me a story rich with complexity and ideas. How can she come up with such a story and from where does she draw inspiration? I asked myself. I was interested in how her stories are gradually developing, changing and become more complicated. Similarly to the mother tongue that we learn for many years, the ability to tell a story is also acquired in the course of life. Natálka is four years old, which means that she is at the beginning of this process, she starts to learn that a story has its own structure and parameters.

The interaction between the teller and the hearer is the cornerstone for storytelling development. The act of the hearer asking additional questions enables the teller to continue working on the storyline, which may include adding a character, replacing the bad things that happened with a good one or designing the beginning or the end of the story. An integral part of storytelling is imagination, which is constantly developing, changing and forms one of the basic elements for creating new and more sophisticated stories. Imagination is also based on life experiences. Hence, every day an individual has a greater range of experiences to draw on. In storytelling, children draw inspiration from various sources in combination with creativity and already mentioned imagination. The environment in which children live provides the perfect conditions for creating a story with an engaging theme or even a shocking storyline.

In Chapter Two, I deal with the description of the most crucial terms. Central to these is the idea of what a story is in order to determine the focus on analysing children's storytelling. In sub-chapter 2.1 I provide the building blocks a story, starting from a basic to a more sophisticated structure that builds on three conditions without which a story cannot

work at all. In sub-chapter 2.2 I explain the reasons why storytelling is important for children's development, such as for creating their own identity. Finally, in sub-chapter 2.3 I focus on the role of imagination in telling stories. Imagination is interwoven with storytelling as well as with creativity and together the three elements create an inseparable triplet. Chapter 3 introduces the methodology of Conversation Analysis that I adopted for the analysis of Natálka's storytelling. I set out the data and explain the process of recording, transcription and transcript translation.

The main part of this bachelor thesis is the analysis of Natálka's stories undertaken in Chapter 4. In sub-chapter 4.1 I determine the parameters of storytelling and showing that not everything what Natálka says is a story in the true sense of the term, even though she thinks so. Section 4.1.2 analyses the story connectors or relations that Natálka uses to put the storyline together. These are *and*, *then*, *enable* and *cause* connectors, where each of them is used in different conditions, as well as context. The analysis studies how Natálka uses these relations and to what effect. In section 4.1.3 I study the matter of a new topic or theme, which is highly significant in each story. One of the points I deal with is the process of progressing to a new topic and digression from the main theme mentioning which tools Natálka uses and how she manages this transition as described in 4.1.3.1. Exchange of elements whether deliberate or not plays an important part in the storyline and this process is examined in 4.1.3.2.

In sub-chapter 4.2 I examine creativity in the stories, predominantly the process of creating a new word that does not exist in the Czech language at all. I focus on how these new expressions are formed in terms of grammar, morphology, similarity, and relation between the object and the new word. Sub-chapter 4.3 analyses imagination with regard to its expression, development and child conception of the world. This includes symbolic play, which is, for example, pretending to be an animal, to have a child or to see something hidden and play with it. In this section, I also mention the source of inspiration for Natálka's stories, such as a book, film, fairy tale, her experiences, everyday life, stories of others or of her own mind. The principal findings from the undertaken analysis are summarized in a conclusion.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. WHAT IS A STORY

As the focus of this bachelor thesis is the analysis of storytelling, it was necessary to explain the term story first in terms of taking a close look at its structure as well as the definition. However, determining only one sufficient description or characterization is not possible because a story is a broad term that covers a lot of areas. Therefore, I list three different perspectives. The Oxford Learner's Dictionary describes a story as “an account, often spoken, of what happened to somebody or of how something happened; or an account of past events or of how something has developed,” nevertheless not every series of events which follow one another is a story. A story can be a fiction, made up, created at a point in time. It does, however, have structure. As Aristotle (ca. 335 BC) described this issue in *Poetics*, it has a unified plot including three main parts - a beginning, a middle, and an end. He also provides a brief definition of these parts whose presence is necessary for the story to make sense. The following excerpt describing the matter of a unified plot is taken from Richard McKeon (1941), who translated and collected the basic works of Aristotle (the title of his book), including *Poetics*.

A beginning is that which is not itself necessarily after anything else, and which has naturally something else after it; an end is that which is naturally after something itself, either as its necessary or usual consequent, and with nothing else after it; and a middle, that which is by nature after one thing and has also another after it. A well-constructed plot, therefore, cannot either begin or end at any point one likes; beginning and end in it must be of the forms just described. (1462)

Nevertheless, Aristotle's definition of the unified plot is rather simple and when applied to children's narrative not sufficient because for children a story does not necessarily include a beginning, a middle and an end. Children do not find it strange to omit the beginning and then go to the point with ease, as in the case of Natálka. Once when the author asked her to tell a story, she replied with: “and then °there was a little tree and then there was a snowman°...” Natálka considers these thirteen words as a story, which is really crucial in terms of understanding how she imagines a story in general. Nancy L. Stein and Elizabeth R. Albro (1997) examined the development of a story concept and maintain that “To the young child, a story may be any piece of discourse that involves an important topic the child wants to talk about.” (8). Children tell what happened in the past, what is happening now, and what will happen in the future. The story of their own is not necessarily based on reality, often stories are invented through imagination, in other words, they create

something that never happened. Imagination draws ideas, whereas creativity is the choice of words and phrases and in how these are delivered and bring the story to life.

Unlike Aristotle, who delimited the borders of a story in a rather simple way and described it more in general terms, Nancy L. Stein and Elizabeth R. Albro (1997) provide a broad and satisfactory definition of the concept from the adult's point of view. They render the term's specification that was made by Stein and Glenn (1979) and Mandler and Johnson (1977). Nancy L. Stein and Elizabeth R. Albro come to an agreement that a good story includes and refers to the four features either directly or indirectly. The first of them is that the main character, a human being as well as a personified thing or an animal, can make a decision on their own, their action and behaviour have always an aim, basically, everything is done on purpose. Whatever the main character does, he or she does it deliberately, functionally and willfully. Secondly, a story must necessarily and clearly express what the protagonist is trying to do in the development of the story, in other words, the narrator makes the hearer familiar with the wishes, dreams, and goals of the central character. Third, the "overt actions" (Stein, Albro, 1997) serve as a tool with respect to the realization or fulfilment of the main character's wishes, desires, and goals. The last feature to mention is that the story must provide the result if the aims were achieved or not. In a story, the main character acts purposely, where each step makes his or her intentions as well as wishes, that are shared with the hearer, possible. The storyline ends with saying if the main character was successful or not.

However, there is also another point of view in terms of the building blocks of a story. As Vladimír Chrz claimed in *Struktura vyprávění příběhů u dětí mladšího školního věku* (Structure of Children's Stories at Pre-school Age, 2002), a story is based on three conditions that create it and without these conditions, we cannot speak about the story at all. First of all, at least one event in the series occurs on the grounds of an acting character who had produced or made it. In other words, the character is the creator of one or more parts of a story. Secondly, events have an affiliation with one another, one follows from the other and vice versa. Finally, the last condition is that these "causally connected events"¹ are one united complex. A story consists of events that are produced by the main character sharing the connection with each other and creating one unit.

¹ translated by the author from the Czech language to the English language

2.2. WHY IS STORYTELLING AN IMPORTANT ISSUE IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Speaking as well as storytelling holds an important position in each individual life, where both concepts are something we have to learn. As human beings, we have a unique predisposition to acquire a language, including the ability to express abstract notions, which is what distinguishes us from animals. In other words, speaking and storytelling are not innate abilities. In fact, they are a matter of practice that takes place through interaction. On the account of storytelling, Martha Hamilton and Mitch Weiss (2007) put forward an idea that “Stories are the way we store information in the brain.” By implication, the information is easily remembered if it has a form of narration. Although storytelling does not originate in the genes, it exerts influence over children and their development. Martha Hamilton and Mitch Weiss (2007) further assert that when people want to be successful in their lives, they have to have high-level communication skills, where “communication is, at its most basic level, the ability to tell a story well, whether to one person or to a group”. Sociation and interaction are thus very important constituents of children’s learning and language acquisition.

Storytelling occupies an important position with regard to understanding human life. According to Vladimír Chrz (2002) this concept “helps us to realize that life is a coherent and meaningful story.” In fact, life is a story that constantly develops and at times individual experiences are incoherent and do not make sense. Stories are used to make some sort of sense of the experiences without due regard to social norms or the physical constraints of what can, in fact, occur in an ordered world.

In addition to that, Vladimír Chrz imagines storytelling as a useful and valuable tool in terms of introducing people to the society, “to the world of tradition, values, history and culture.”² Through narrating, humans create their own identity. Basically, everything is based on telling a story, whether it is thinking, speaking, writing or acting. With storytelling children are creative, which helps to improve their imagination and their way of thinking. Moreover, this process develops language and literacy skills. At the website virgin.com Anastasia Haralabidou quoted Albert Einstein who once said, “Imagination is more important than knowledge. For knowledge is limited to all we now know and understand, while imagination embraces the entire world, and all there ever will be to know and understand”.

² translated by the author from the Czech language to the English language

This statement can be applied to Natálka's good night story, which is narrated in audio recording TD19/17062018 (Part B). It is about a little cow and horse who get lost in a storm, but at the end of the story, a magic drop will get the little horse back home. In real world, however, there is no supernatural element transporting animals or people from point A to point B. It is exclusively through imagination that a child can create such a relation, i.e., a magical drop can bring an animal to life.

Storytelling is a useful, efficient and easy way to show and share feelings, emotions, and experiences. Telling stories helps to make relationships stronger. As a process, it is enabled through sharing personal memories, hopes, fears for the future and daily routines. It follows that the hearer can also learn from the experiences of a person who is telling their story. According to Steve Killick and Maria Boffey (2012), stories "can also create and reinforce perceived differences (27)". Moreover, stories can be an important way of building memories.

2.3. IMAGINATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE

The Oxford Learner's Dictionary states that imagination is "the ability to create pictures in your mind; or the ability to have new and exciting ideas." Through imagination, we can visualize things in the world as an abstract unit in the invisible space that is hidden somewhere in the head. It means to picture something that is not real at all, it goes beyond the reality and therefore, according to the Vygotsky (2004), it "could not have any serious practical significance (9)." Nevertheless, everything in the world of a human being was created in compliance with imagination and moreover this phenomenon also helps to create something extraordinary, for example, one can come up with a new idea, like invent an unusual product, make a film, write a book, draw a supernatural creature and so on. In the case of Natálka, she once pretended that she invented the machine in the form of a dog and she used this robot to go under the ground because she wanted to watch the earthworms. Vygotsky (2004) claims that "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)" Through imagination children can picture almost everything in their minds as an abstract unit, which is of great importance to their development.

What is storytelling without imagination? Storytelling does not work without this ability. It is necessary to have just a little bit of imagination if you want to create or invent

a new story. Without imagination there will be no storytelling, these two abilities are interwoven with each other. They cannot be separated because they create one unity and they work well only together, like yin and yang. Children have an unrestrained imagination as their imagination is also without borders because they live in their own world, they are not influenced by the outside world (in the meaning of the society) and general knowledge.

As people grow up and the demands of their environment change, their imagination becomes more constrained. They start to figure out, for example, that the sun is not green or blue, but yellow, trees are green, and that people cannot fly or be an animal like a dog because they are human beings, but it could still be the start of a great story. Although the ability to think creatively is highly prominent during our childhood, it can happen that we will lose this little genius inside ourselves as our grasp on reality strengthens. At the website brainquote.com the author found that Albert Einstein once said: "Imagination is everything. It is the preview for life's coming attractions." In the case of Natálka, being able to picture issues she might have never experienced before or heard about them is what prepares her cognitively for future situations, when she may face and will have to deal with these for the first time. The loss of a family member, a friend or a partner, for example, is reflected in several stories narrated by Natálka. This kind of training, which is not intentionally undergone, makes dealing with the difficult situation easier. In the storytelling of children, the imagination seems to be at the climax and is reflected in the variety and intricacy of the stories children are able to produce.

3. METHODOLOGY

Sub-chapter 3.1 focuses on the data, as these form an important part of this bachelor thesis and were essential for the analysis undertaken. Section 3.1.1 called Gathering the data examines the process of recording the interactions between Natálka and the author. I describe the quantity of the data, the number of the present participants in the interaction as well as a natural social environment in which they were recorded mentioning the observer's paradox as analysed in 3.1.1.1. Section 3.1.2 characterizes the transcription of the data with regard to transcription conventions adopted and the choices made, methods and organizing speakers turns in a suitable arrangement. Specifically, I address the issue of translating transcripts from the Czech to the English language; I describe the methodology employed with respect to the

clear arrangement and readability of the data; I also mention the difficulties encountered when translating some specific instances of spontaneous children's speech.

The research is based on methods and practices of conversation analysis (CA), which are introduced in sub-chapter 3.2. In section 3.2.1 I define its development that involves a year in which CA was established, its founders and focus of analysis. Section 3.2.2 takes a close look at the process of conversation analysis step by step beginning with recording the data, through transcription and ending with analysis. Section 3.2.3 describes the sequence organisation as the method of CA. This part determines the term sequence organisation, sequence and mentioned the importance and necessity of the context. In this section in 3.2.3.1 are further specified the parts of such organisation, which are called adjacency pairs and in 3.2.3.2 I comment on repairs that can appear in a storyline.

3.1. THE DATA

3.1.1. GATHERING THE DATA

I started recording my niece Natálka at the beginning of the year 2018. Every time there was an opportunity to record her storytelling I took my phone and I turned on the voice recorder. After a period of eight months, I gathered a collection of data consisting of approximately 44 audio recordings. However, some recordings were difficult to understand, whether it was disturbing sound in the surroundings of the phone or the incomprehensibility of the speech itself, in others, there were simply no stories to analyse. In the end, 20 recordings were selected for transcription and further analysis as these contained core elements of storytelling. This selection has 2 hours 30 minutes 22 seconds in total. The transcribed data amounted to almost 60 pages in total, which yielded over 19 500 word tokens (including the inter-linear English translations).

The overwhelming majority of the data were taken in my presence, three recordings I obtained from Natálka's mother. The number of people present at each recording session and apart from Natálka it was possible for the other family members as well as myself to join in. Each of the participants, who joined the conversation, helped to create a story, this includes the story or character development, asking questions, working with the storyline. Alternatively, in some cases, they have the role of an audience.

In the sequence starting in line number 58 and ending with Turn 64 there is one object changed, due to the author's "breaking into" Natálka's storyline. Natálka said that the little horse wet something, however, she did not mention what it was. The author found that important and, therefore she asked: "what did he wet?". Natálka answered "the clothes", which was rather unintelligible leaving the author slightly confused and uncertain. For that reason, the author asked if it was the clothes that the little horse wet, nonetheless this time Natálka said: "nope (.) the puddle". The exchange of the object might be caused by the author's doubts if she heard it right, which in turn could have provoked uncertainty or hesitance in Natálka.

The observer's paradox can be also found in Turn 70 (Turn 69 in the original version), where the aim of the author is to end the story, which is an intentional intervention in storytelling. When the author said "and then they live happily (.) right?", Natálka answered "ever after=THE E:::ND", which means that the author's intent is in the end achieved. Changing elements in the storyline according to the author's entrance into the narrating whether unintended or deliberate is further examined in detail in section 4.1.3.2.

3.1.2. TRANSCRIPTION

Selecting the appropriate transcription protocols for the recorded data is important in order to capture the key aspects of the dialogue and the use of the voice (intonation, pauses, etc). It is highly significant with respect to providing much more information than that of the transcribed word. Sert and Seedhouse (2011) quote Heritage who asserts that "no order of detail can be dismissed a priori as disorderly, accidental, or irrelevant" (2). These elements or details are, for example, pauses (in tenths of seconds), stress, high or low pitch, prolongation of the prior sound, the onset, and end of the overlapping talk, speeded up and slowed down utterances.

For the transcription of oral storytelling I chose the *Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction* written by Gail Jefferson (2004), I then applied her methods, notational convention and I followed a pattern of transcript symbols she describes in the article. In addition, the article *Transkripce v konverzační analýze* (Transcription in Conversation Analysis) written by Klára Vaničková (2014) was especially useful while transcribing the recorded data in terms of the specifics of the Czech language. I also drew inspiration from Alexa Hepburn (2013), Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008), and Edwards and Lampert (1993).

According to Edwards and Lampert (1993), there are three possible organisations of the speaker turns in a transcription, these arrangements are vertical, column and partiture (see below).

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.

Figure 1: Organizing speaker's turns, according to Edwards and Lampert (1993, 11)

The vertical format is most common and widely used, which means that the utterances of speakers are organized in lines one below the other depending on how speakers enter the conversation. The column format creates for each speaker one column, where their utterances are organized in lines. As Edwards and Lampert (1993) claim, this format is especially “useful in highlighting asymmetries among interactions” (11) – not the object of the present analysis. The partiture arrangement gives each speaker one line for their utterances. Edwards and Lampert (1993) point out that this format “is highly efficient for capturing stretches of interaction that involve many simultaneous utterances or actions” (11). I chose the vertical format because I found it the most suitable for the purposes of my research: it has clear arranged speakers' change and it also enables the reader to follow the conversation easily.

3.1.3. TRANSCRIPT TRANSLATION

The primary data collected are in the Czech language. Nevertheless, by writing the thesis in English, there is a need to provide a translation from the original language of the data into English. The data and my research thus become available to international audience and readers worldwide. This can potentially initiate a more fruitful and informed debate in areas that are under-researched in local or not so widely represented languages. Paul ten Have (2007) points out that the methodological literature of Conversation Analysis does not take into consideration the matter of translation, which is seen in its variations among researchers and their publications. Nevertheless, he addresses this issue and asserts

that there are only three acceptable options. One of them is to provide two separate blocks of text below each other, where the first is a translation in the language of the publication and the second is the original version (the order of blocks is arbitrary). The second option is to translate the data interlinear or line by line, which means that first comes the original language and then the translation in the language of the publication. The last option is used, when the two languages differ very much. That is to say, the researcher has to provide one more line with “morpheme-by-morpheme gloss” (Paul ten Have, 2007), where the original language is translated with respect to grammar. This extra line is added to the interlinear translation, so the final structure is the original version, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and a free translation.

For the purposes of my research, that is to analyse the development of Natálka’s story-telling ability, creativity and imagination, I combined the block and interlinear translation and I came up with a new category. The most suitable is to translate every single utterance separately immediately below each other. This means that in the cases, where a statement takes up more than one line, I leave the original version in a paragraph and then I provide the translation in another block. Although this format might be rather confusing, the separate translation of utterances enables the readers to follow the storyline without interruption and they are still able to keep an eye on the translation.

Sometimes it was difficult to find the right words, especially in the cases where Natálka came up with a completely new word or a phrase that does not exist in our mother tongue. One of the cases is the expression “sedinka”, which Natálka derived from the verb “sednout si” (to sit down) and she created a noun, that most probably means a place where one can sit down. She later in the conversation confirms that I guessed it right by saying that “můžete sednout” (you can sit down). In other cases, Natálka did not provide any explanation or potential clues in the storyline, therefore I am not able to determine the true meaning of the word, such as “tezenka”, “dijokala” or “smisoň”. Nevertheless, she invented meaningful words, specifically diminutives, such as “spinečká” (diminutive of to sleep or to be in beddy-byes) or “smějíčkuje” (diminutive of to laugh), however predominantly this includes expressions with rather complicated meaning. For that reason, I use the original version in the Czech language and then I describe the meaning of the newly created word.

3.2. CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

3.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The development of Conversation Analysis (CA) is dated to the early 1960s, when it was introduced by sociologist Harvey Sacks and his colleagues Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, who came up with the transcription system not only for English language but for all languages in general which becomes the gold standard for transcription all over the world (Lerner, 2004). CA is a method that is used for studying spoken social interactions between human beings. Already from the term, CA follows the focus of that discipline, that is to say, the main source for the analysis is naturally occurring conversation of all kinds. According to Tim Rapley (2007) into this categorization belongs “official documents, statutes, political debate, all type of media outputs, casual conversations, talk in workplaces, interviews, focus groups, ethnography, Internet chat rooms” (1).

3.2.2. APPLYING CONVERSATION ANALYSIS TO THE ANALYSIS OF STORYTELLING

The first step in every research based on the methods and principles of CA is to collect the data and then further work with them. In other words, the process starts with recording the conversation in the form of audio or eventually video record which is especially crucial in terms of non-verbal elements, such as gesture, body language or face expression. Dialogues and experiments are used by researchers in most cases. The next step is to transcribe the recordings including the transcript symbols, which plays a crucial part. They mark for example pauses, intonation, stress, overlaps or differences in articulation, like a prolongation of the sound. The final step is to undertake the analysis of the transcribed data and find there the phenomenon on which the research is based.

CA operates with four essential assumptions (Heritage, 1989) that create the cornerstone for conversation analytic studies. First of all, every single talk, interaction or dialogue between people has its own structure which is systematized. That implies they can be studied from the point of view of “conventionalized or institutionalized structural organisations” (22), according to John Heritage (1989). Every turn-at-talk, the point where the conversation partners change their role from the speaker to the hearer and vice versa, is organized, for example, question-answer and greetings sequence with particular rules and its own organisation.

Secondly, statements made by participants are dependent on the context which creates the borderline for the talk and it forms the contributions of the speakers. It also implies that a statement has a meaning in one particular context and if the context changes, the meaning is also transformed or modified. A sequence cannot be completely understood, if the context of the conversation is not known, therefore there is the need in the research to give an insight into the situation in which the interaction takes place. In addition to that, interaction is “context renewing” (22), which means that every utterance will create an appropriate environment (context) for the ensuing move unfolding of the talk or in this case storyline. Natálka, for example, told me “you have it in the backpack (.) but it is zipped,” it follows my utterance to unzip that backpack and then Natálka reacted with the words “you unzip it like this and here you have the horses.” If I had not asked her to unzip the backpack, we would not have discovered that the horses were inside it. The context is of great importance in the understanding of utterances. As John Heritage (2010) claims “context elaborates the meaning of utterances” (209). Moreover, each contribution thus unfolds from the previous one and shapes what is to be said next.

Third, every single detail in conversation is significant, relevant and crucial for the research, therefore particulars cannot be excluded. Details are presented in the transcript in the form of transcript symbols, such as right and left carats (> <) symbolizing the increase in speech tempo. That kind of speech has several meanings, either enthusiasm for something that happened (a strong emotional experience), which implies the need to tell it as fast as possible, then nervousness, insecurity or an awkward situation that need to be expressed faster. Examining the particulars in detail attaches great importance to the purposes of the research as their use is providing a way to accomplish one’s goal in the conversation.

Finally, the naturally occurring data are the key to the analysis of the interaction in a social environment. The most crucial for the researcher is to “capture how people use language in ‘natural’ circumstances (301),” as Cynthia Gordon (2013) states. It follows that for gaining the true cases of the required phenomenon there is the need to create a natural social environment without any changes, encroachment or made up conditions. If this requirement is not fulfilled, it would lead to the disruption of the data purity. In the case of my research, I was with Natálka at places and with people whom she knows well and the fact that I am her close relative makes it easier to follow the conditions. Naturally occurring data are

crucial in terms of reaching the most general, suitable and natural cases of the examined phenomenon.

3.2.3. SEQUENCE ORGANISATION

The method of CA is an analysis based on sequence organisation. As Emanuel A. Schegloff (2007) claims, this arrangement is a type of sequential organisation, which is the more general term used for reference to any sort of arrangement that takes into consideration the relative positioning of replicas or utterances. Turn-taking and overall structural organisation are also embodied in the sequential organisation. Schegloff (2007) asserts that the aim of the sequence organisation is the arrangement “of courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk – coherent, orderly, meaningful successions or “sequences” of actions or “moves (2).” Sequence organisation is in the spotlight of the conversation analysis.

The building blocks of a sequence, such as its meaning and requirements, are described by Roubínková, Jurka, and Martinková (2014). According to them, a sequence is a specific unit of the conversation containing one or more replicas, in the meaning of the utterance, which provides the minimum necessary context that is required for the research. Context is the most crucial part of an analysis in terms of understanding the narrative as a whole unit and complex. The minimum necessary context in which an individual utterance is found is understood as the turn-at-talk that is immediately preceding (Heritage, 2010). Moreover, sequences serve as tools for reaching the end of an activity, in other words through them is some action accomplished or finished. A sequence consists of at least one replica providing the context that the analysis needs.

3.2.3.1. ADJACENCY PAIRS

Sequences are organized into adjacency pairs which are connected with each other. Adjacency pairs are, for example, greeting-greeting (A: Hello. B: Hi.), question-answer (A: How are you? B: I'm fine, thank you.), invitation-acceptance/declination (A: Will you go to the cinema with me? B: Yes/No), complaint-account (A: It's awfully cold in here. B: Oh, sorry, I'll close the window). The parts of an adjacency pair are connected with each other, it means that each part is dependent on the second one or in other words the first part of the sequence restricts the area of possibilities for the second one. Adjacency pairs form the parts of a sequence, where each pair has an affiliation with the second one.

Several types of os anomaly may occur in the adjacency pairs (Jurka, Martinková, Roubínková; 2014) and they can lead to misinterpretation. The first anomaly arises when one of the participants understands the first part of the pair in a different way than it is actually meant by the one who said it and responds with an inappropriate reaction. Such misinterpretation created an anomalous pair, for example, speaker A complains that her friend does not visit her for a long time, which speaker B misunderstands as an invitation to visit and confirms they would like to. After A's response it is clearly understood that B's reply was clearly a mistake.

A: Why don't you come and see me some[times.
B: [I would like to
A: Yes but why don't you

Figure 2: Misinterpretation of a turn at the talk, according to Heritage (2010; 212)

The second anomaly is the situation where the second pair will even not occur, then we cannot speak about a pair at all. That happens, for example, when speaker A enters the room and says hello to his or her friend, however, the friend does not reply with the expected greeting, which in most cases would normally follow. Speaker B rather says: "What are you doing here?" or the speaker even leaves the room without saying a word. The last type of anomaly is occurring in the situation, in which a triplet arises from the adjacency pair. A triplet is, for example, when someone answers on a question with a question (A: Why did you want to see me again? B: Why did you come?).

3.2.3.2. REPAIR

Repairs and overlaps are also a part of a sequence or an adjacency pair. According to Hoey and Kendrick (2017), a process of repair consists of three basic components. First one is a trouble source, such as an unfamiliar word, wrong use of a personal name or social status, for example, Natálka is talking to the author, however, suddenly she calls the author mummy or even daddy instead of aunt. The second component is a repair initiation, in other words signalling that there is something wrong and the process of the repair begins, such as the author's confusion of being called mummy or daddy. The last component is a repair resolution, when the source of trouble is solved, for example, the unfamiliar word is rephrased or the wrong used name or personal status is replaced by the right one. In the case of Natálka, after she realized that she called the author mummy or daddy, she began to laugh

with the words “I made a mistake, aunt”. The repair in an adjacency pair thus comprises three key elements, namely a trouble source, a repair initiation and a repair solution.

Initiators of a repair procedure can be either the speaker itself or the recipient. When a repair is commenced by the speaker itself, it means that the speaking person realized the source of trouble and provided the repair independently, for example, Natálka says to the author “I miss you, mummy, er, daddy, er, aunt, I made a mistake”. Such repair is called self-initiated self-repair. When a repair is commenced by the recipient, the speaker is not able to see the trouble in the conversation. However, the recipient noticed the problem, initiates the procedure of a repair and the speaker will provide the solution. In the case of Natálka, she called the author mummy and she did not realize she was wrong, however the author's question “What?” caused Natálka's reaction to correct herself. Such repair is called other-initiated self-repair. There are two types of repairs, it is either self-initiated self-repair or other-initiated self-repair.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

The aim of my research is to analyse the structure and the development of storytelling from the perspective of a child focussing on the aspects of imagination and creativity. Sub-chapter 4.1 discusses story structure, I contrast different perspectives: firstly, Natálka's enactment of a story structure, that is, a perspective of a four-years-old Czech girl, and secondly, an adult's take on story structure, that is, the conventional and through genre established concept of a story. In this Sub-chapter focussing on the parameters of a story, I examine building blocks of a story, story connectors and digressing from the topic while narrating. In section 4.1.1, I show that not everything that Natálka says is a story in the true sense of the term, even though she thinks so. Then in section 4.1.2, I describe how Natálka puts the storyline together and to what effect. Finally, in the last section 4.1.3, I examine how Natálka progresses to a new topic and how some elements in the storyline may be flexibly replaced with alternative ones. I discuss how Natálka manages this transition linguistically.

Sub-chapter 4.2. focuses on the imagination with regard to its manifestation in stories, development and child conception of the world including the play. I focus on the storyline and the dark elements inside the stories. The term dark elements refer to not so pleasing development of the storyline because of using rather frightful, dreadful and vicious elements, such as sudden death, stealing someone's skin or burning someone's hair. In addition to that, I

attempt to describe the sources of inspiration for Natálka's stories. Sub-chapter 4.3 focuses on examining creativity, predominantly I analyse the process of creating a new word. The word-formation is examined with respect to grammar, morphology, the similarity of the words, and the relation between the object and the new word.

4.1. DEFINING THE PARAMETERS OF A STORY

The most crucial part of the storytelling analysis is to know, where the boundaries of the story lie. The building blocks of the story are described on the basis of Aristotle (1941) and Vladimír Chrz (2002). That is a story must have a beginning, a middle, and an end, where a character works with the events that are on the one hand connected with each other and on the other they create one unit. J. R. Rayfield (1972) sought the answer to the question what a story is and he cited Fischer, who sets out the minimal requirements as:

To be classified as a folktale, a narrative must be dramatic in the sense that it states some sort of conflict which is eventually resolved...There is always at least one defined object of conflict, which may involve either the relationship between the parties or their access to a third party or to some material object. (1089)

There are several different definitions of a story containing the minimal requirements and elements that should be included in every type of story. One has to pay attention to many factors inclusive of its structure, development or style of narration. Nevertheless, even a clear distinction between what could be considered a story and what not, is not always sufficient. The next chapter provides an insight into these difficulties.

4.1.1. THIS IS NOT A STORY – YES IT IS!

In the audio recording TD02/16022018 (Part D), I found one example of a fairy tale that is remarkable because it does not at all fit into the categorization of a story as defined by adults. In other words, we cannot speak about the story from an adult's point of view. The short fairy tale composing of ten words in the original version (thirteen in English) is narrated in a single turn, specifically in Turn 173 (original version) or in Turn 174 (translation). Its content is that somewhere there was a little tree and a snowman, which is basically the whole storyline, the turn will be presented shortly below. For Natálka this brief description of the main protagonists constitutes a story because it contains a theme she is interested in, the Christmas Day and winter. Furthermore, as she argued, that it was only a short story. As Stein and Albro (1997) assert "in some children's concepts of a story, however, the story ends after the description is given" (10). The following short fairy tale

serves as an example of difficulties with respect to determining the typical representative of a story.

When we are talking about a story, we must take into consideration two points of view, the first one is the adult's understanding of the concept and the second one the child's realisation of a story. Each of them understands the concept very differently in terms of the parameters, the structure, its parts as well as the length of the storyline. First of all, I concentrate on the analysis of this short story from an adult's point of view mentioning the parameters and the typical elements required by them. The next step is to examine this fairy tale once more, however from the child's perspective in order to see where the boundaries of the story lie taking into consideration two different conceptions.

While recording the interaction, Natálka and I were playing with stuffed animals. I had Pinkie Pie, a daughter, and Natálka had two little horses, Pinkie's parents that tell fairy tales. For Natálka playing with toys means fun, where she can do whatever she likes and wants, which becomes one of the most important things in her life. According to Jeffrey Goldstein (2012), children acquire several benefits, namely social (for example increase of empathy and compassion, improvement of nonverbal skills), physical (such as stress, fatigue and depression reduction, increase range of motion, agility or coordination) and emotional-behavioural (creating joy, increase of self-esteem, adaptability and ability to deal with surprise or change, reduction of fear or anxiety, improvement of emotional flexibility and openness).

Every time Pinkie's parents have ended a fairy tale, I asked for another one and Natálka started from the beginning. The first one was about an earthworm that ate everyone around, the second about the horses that wanted to steal a rose and the third one about a mammoth. After the mammoth fairy tale I asked again, however, Natálka told me that this time it will be only a short story. See below for the result of her effort.

70 **Me:** aha a ještě nějaký příběh mi povíš
71 aha and tell me one more story
72 **Naty:** kátkej (0,5) *a potom* °tam byj stomek *a potom* tam byj sněhuják° a (.) to byj jenom
73 short (0,5) *and then* °there was a little tree *and then* there was a snowman° and (.) it was only
74 **Me:** a to byl jenom co↑
75 and it was only what↑
76 **Naty:** kátkej příběh
77 a short story
78 **Me:** to nebyl příběh
79 that was not a story
80 **Naty:** byj kátkej
81 it was a short one

Data Sample 2: This is not a story! Yes, it is.

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

Even though Natálka considers this story as a short one, the fairy tale cannot be classified as a story according to conventional genre criteria. Each story has its own structure that is divided into three main parts, according to Aristotle (1941), these are a beginning, a middle and an end. The storyline containing complication or conflict is graduated until it reaches its climax, where the main characters try to fulfil their wishes and they act with intention. In this case, the fairy tale does not fit into this category because first of all, her fairy tale lacks the beginning, that is, it has no introductory session with the main protagonist and the supporting characters. This so-called “story” starts only with the words “and then”, which is not the typical opening phrase for a fairy tale. Moreover, it does not have any conclusion, it is rather a middle part of a story where the context of the fairy tale is not explained making it more difficult for the listener to understand what is occurring.

In fact, the fairy tale is not making any progress, which means that it does not achieve its climax and also it does not include any conflict or a problem to solve. In other words, this is not a complex story at all, it only tells us that there was somewhere a little tree and a snowman which is basically what Natálka said. On the one hand, Natálka at her age cannot be expected to be aware of particular story features or dimension, therefore there are no limitations constraining her imagination about a fairy tale. On the other hand, adults may not be able to understand her perception of a story because they have already accepted a conventional story structure. The issue is that there is a certain system or critical components in a storyline increasing its complexity (see below), which adult narrators have learned to and tend to adopt. Following Stein and Albro (1979), a diagram of a conventional story progression may be represented as below:

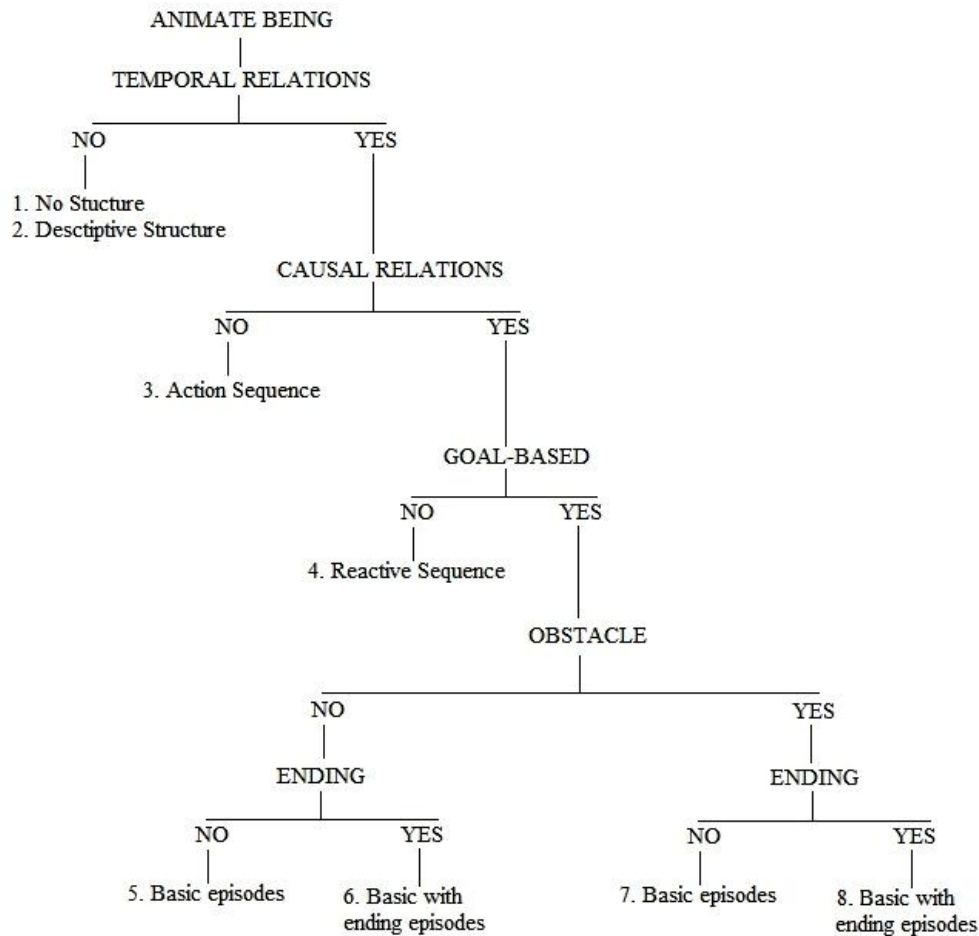


Figure 3: Concept of a story diagram, reproduces from Stein and Albro (1997, 9)

The story diagram shows the structure of a well-constructed story, where the narrator has several ways of how to realize a story. The main protagonist is always an animate being, even though the story is narrated by a stuffed animal or a thing, these are personified, which means that the characteristics of the living entities are transferred to inanimate objects or concepts. The tree branches into five dimension (temporal relations, causal relations, goal-based, obstacle, and ending), which are either included in the story or not giving two possible alternatives for each of them. The more dimensions a story contains, the more complex it is. In the case of the above mentioned short fairy tale (see Data Sample 2), the story does not include temporal relations, it serves only as an introductory section. It follows that the fairy tale belongs to the second category, which is a descriptive sequence describing personality traits or habitual actions.

A story, where several activities and events connected with temporal but not causal relation take place, is called an action sequence. Stein and Albro (1997) claim that “children

are quite good at telling stories that are quite long but are primarily script-based, with only temporal connections between adjacent clauses” (17). This statement can be applied to the story excerpt that is to be found in Data Sample 3 (see chapter 4.1.2.1). In a reactive sequence occur events linked with both temporal and causal relations, which makes the story more complex. However, the goal of the main protagonist remains unknown. If the goal of the protagonist as well as its attainment or failure is included in a story, then we speak about the basic episodes. The ending sequence makes a story at the level 6. (basic with ending episode) even more complex, furthermore this part is always included in adult narratives. The levels 7. and 8. represent a storyline with an obstacle causing the protagonist to face a challenge and reevaluate his or her new situation. These last two dimensions are considered a prototypical “good” stories as defined by adults.

In contrast to the above-mentioned adult’s perception of a story, children understand the concept in a different way. Nancy L. Stein and Elizabeth R. Albro (1997) claims that for children a story may be practically everything, which includes a topic they are interested in and they want to tell us more about it. They can with ease start at the beginning of the story and then continue to its climax. In the case of Natálka, her fairy tale only mentions the tree and introduces the main character, which is the snowman. She takes an interest in these two objects because the theme was suitable for her at that time. Her fairy tale lacking storyline may possibly be a way for her to signal the author not to ask for a story any more or an experiment with the style of narration, that is to say, encourage the puzzled adult listener to finish the story by themselves. In my opinion, the little tree led Natálka to Christmas and then she quite logically added the snowman because this creature is embodied in the tradition.

Mentioning the tree and the snowman is sufficient to make a story on its own because their presence will most probably raise an image of Christmas, which means that Natálka does not have to add anything more. A story will continue in the heads of the listeners. Nancy L. Stein and Elizabeth R. Albro (1997) assert that „even very young children realize that they can attract the attention of an audience by holding forth and pretending to tell a story.” (8) This statement can be also applied in the case of Natálka’s short fairy tale, she might just pretend to tell a story as well. Natálka is very creative in the way she perceives the parameters of a story, in fact, it seems that she does not realize or take into consideration the possible borders defining each fairy tale. For Natálka, everything can become a story, she believes in what she says, she believes she is telling the author a fairy tale.

In the examined excerpt consisting of a request and question-answer adjacency pairs a short fairy tale is to be found, which cannot be considered a story from an adult's point of view. The story lacks the dimensions that are required by them in every story. Moreover, as J. R. Rayfield asserts "a story is intuitively rejected if its structure is too simple, too complex, or confused in some way" (1087). Nevertheless, Natálka contends that this is a short story, which makes it even more interesting. For her, any type of narration that includes a theme she wants to talk about is a story, even though it does not meet the conditions described earlier. In other words, for her, a story does not necessarily have a beginning, end or a problem to solve. This short fairy tale would be rejected as a complete story but may be accepted as a fragment of a story. Nevertheless, as Stein and Albro (1997) claim

Even when children produce simply crafted stories, however, they are conscious of many aspects of human agency and provide personal information about their characters, as well as a description of these characters' habitual actions. (10)

Contrary to the above-mentioned short fairy tale in Data Sample 2, which was deemed as an example of a story by Natálka, yet, not really following the structure of a well-constructed story, in the audio recording TD08/03032018 (part C) the narrator's and the listener's opinions are exchanged. The context of the conversation is that Natálka reads several fairy tales from a book, where the last one is about a lion, that lived a long time ago. The lion was very nice and it did not devour anything this time. After Natálka finished, her grandmother said: "well what a fairy tale" referring to the fact, that the fairy tale was very short, 15 words in total in its original Czech version. However, at the end of the narrating, the fairy tale is rejected as a story by Natálka herself, who actually states that "this was not a fairy tale". Data Sample 3 follows:

69 **Naty:** ((jiná pohádka)) takojáje sece o jovi (lvovi) (0,6) zil dábnó jísek (lviček) tak nesel (.) tam
70 byj hodný jísek (.) tedka (.) a tedka (.) nic nesezal (.) konééc (.) oou
71 ((another fairy tale)) this one is about a lion (0,6) long time ago there lived a little lion so it
72 did not come (.) there was a good lion (.) now (.) and now (.) it did not eat anything (.) the
73 e::nd (.) oh
74 **Granny:** no to byla rychlá (.) no to byla pohádka
75 that was a fast one (.) well what a fairy tale
76 **Naty:** >to nebyja<
77 >it wasn't<

Data Sample 3: This was not a fairy tale

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

The fairy tale starts with the conventionally accepted opening section, concretely with "a long time ago there lived a little lion", where the main character is introduced to the

listeners. The story then continues with the characterization of the little lion and a rather problematic situation, in which it did not eat anything. When Natálka emphasises in Turn 72 “now (.) and now”, she prefaces what she finds important in the story: the fact that the lion was this time really nice and he could control himself. That is to say, this animal did not eat anyone as in the preceding fairy tales, which were also about a little lion. It follows that the character has either the capacity to change or develop and to become more aware of its acts in terms of good and bad behaviour. In terms of a conclusion, the fairy tale closes with an ending section, specifically with the words “the end”. Unlike the short story in Data Sample 2, this fairy tale observes some of the conventionally accepted criteria of the story genre. Nevertheless, seems to be of no importance to Natálka as she herself refuses to categorise her narrative as an example of a good night story. This may document that the story concept imposes little constraints on her storytelling as it is most likely not consciously considered by her at all at this age. Instead, she experiments with her narratives and through interaction discovers which story features work best in the delivery of her stories.

4.1.2. STORY CONNECTORS

Stories of two or more episodes can be linked together with several types of connectors that contribute to the coherence and cohesiveness. To describe the connection between events and other story elements, the types and criteria suggested by Stein (1978), Stein and Albro (1997) and Chrząstka (2002) are used. The relationships linking the individual episodes into one coherent unit are *then*, *and*, *cause* and *enable* having a different function in the story, where the most frequent are *then* and *cause* type of connection. Stein and Albro (1997) assert:

These connectors are not marked explicitly in the story text. Each is inferred by an analysis of the semantic context of the clauses that are included in the two relevant episodes. (30)

In the data analysed, however, the *then* and the *and* story connectors are marked explicitly. Yet the analysis of the semantic context between the episodes confirms that these cases can be considered prototypical examples of that type of relationship. When the frequency of each type of explicitly marked connectors was examined, it emerged that the *and* relation was the most frequent, which is shown in Figure 4 (see below).

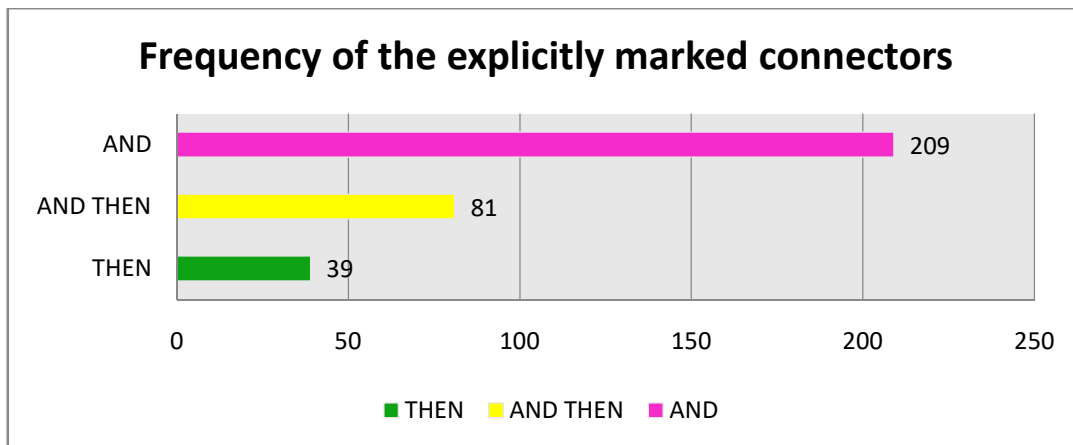


Figure 4: Frequency of the explicitly marked story connectors used in the storyline

Natálka used the *and* relation 209 times in total, which represents 63%. The second most frequent story connector was the *and then* (81 times, 25%) and the last one was the *then* relation (39 times, 12%). However, it was observed that the *and then* and the *then* connector perform the same function, therefore they are classified as one category, namely the *then* relation. This type of relation was used 120 times in total, which represents 37% of the used explicitly marked connectors.

4.1.2.1. THE *AND* RELATION

The *and* connector is used in the parts of a storyline where children introduce the main characters and the background, in which they occur, therefore this type of relationship has no “temporal structure”³ (Chrzą, 2002). It serves as a tool for the description and the characterization of the events and the main protagonists mentioning the usual activities or pastimes that are typical for them. The two or more episodes connected with the *and* relation follows one another, where the individual episodes are “in a temporal sequence according to the story time” (12) as Nancy L. Stein (1978) states in the paper *How Children Understand Stories: A Developmental Analysis*. Furthermore, she claims that the order of the two episodes is arbitrary, which means that the first episode may have occurred before the second one or vice versa. It may have happened that they take place at the same moment in real time as well.

In the following data sample taken from the recording TD05/23022018 (Part B) the explicitly marked *and* relation is considered a prototypical representative of that type of story connectors. In the text, however, four instances occur in which the *and* connector

³ translated by the author from the Czech language to the English language

is not expressed with the conjunction representing this type of relation. They are found in the line numbers 90 (“he always “nanektuje” my nails too”), 93 (“he always me I wash myself”), 94 (“I also have (.) also have there fairy tale”) and 96 (“he also I also bought bones↑ for Alík”). Natálka uses the *and* connector to describe the usual situation in her household, it is even more supported and stressed by the adverb “always” referring to something which is an everyday occurrence. For that reason, the *and* relation is the most frequent in her storytelling. The following data sample, in which the *and* relation is used 17 times in total, illustrates the phenomenon:

78 **Naty:** je to štenátko aje (.) on vypadá jako miminka a má ocas (.) a mám druhý miminka bjášku a
 79 ségu (0,2) jsem jenom máma a kojim zicky pácou ((pláčou)) vis pácou oni pácou zicky (0,3)
 80 a Ajík si s kamajádama zicky něco vyjóbí se mou (0,2) ňáky obječení pjo miminka (.) on mi
 81 zicky **nanektuje** ((nalakuje)) nekty taky (0,5) já jenom tady umim **nanektovat** nekty jenom
 82 tam doje (0,8) a on mi taky **nanektuje** zítja taky nekty (0,4) on me zicky já se umijám a taky
 83 Ajíka zicky v moji koupejně (.) mám taky (.) taky tam mám pohádku a tejizi taky (0,2) a
 84 mám taky tejejón (0,5) aje Ajík mi tam pšinesl tam do dibočiny (..) aje zicky musí posloukat
 85 svoje hodiče (.) on taky já jsem taky koupíja kosti↑ pjo Ajíka (.) a taky gjanule a mícko a
 86 hodítko (0,2) a taky (0,4)
 87 he is a puppy but (.) he looks like a baby *and* he has a tail (.) *and* I have other babies brother
 88 *and* sister (0,2) I am just a mother *and* I breast-feed they always cry you know they cry they
 89 always cry (0,3) *and* Alik always makes something with his friends with me (0,2) some
 90 clothes for babies (.) he always „**nanektuje**“ ((it means to use a nail polish, from a noun
 91 „nail“ Natálka made a non-existent verb, recommended translation is „nails“)) my nails too
 92 (0,5) I can only here „**nanektovat**“ ((see above)) nails only there down (0,8) *and* also
 93 tomorrow he will „**nanektuje**“ ((see above)) also my nails (0,4) he always me I wash myself
 94 *and* also Alik always in my bathroom (.) I also have (.) also have there fairy tale *and* tv too
 95 (0,2) *and* I also have a telephone (0,5) but Alik there me brought it there to the wilderness
 96 (..) but he always has to obey his parents (.) he also I also bought bones↑ for Alik (.) *and* also
 97 granule *and* milk *and* leash (0,2) *and* also (0,4)

Data Sample 4: The use of the *and* story connector for repeated events
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

As the *and* story connector has no temporal structure, the individual events do not necessarily follow in the same order in which they appear in real time. In other words, there is no adequate or tangible reason to believe that one episode occurred before another one. Moreover, the repetition of the events in the Data Sample 4 makes the co-occurrence of the events almost impossible. The uncertainty is caused by not knowing whether one activity mentioned in the story takes place at the same hour or day as the last time. It follows that the individual activities may have occurred in a diverse order as they could appear in different time periods and thus in a different linear order.

According to Stein and Albro (1997), the *and* connector is actually used when the two or more episodes are taking place simultaneously, despite the fact that they are “reported

temporally” (30). Nevertheless, in the above-mentioned story, we cannot say that these regularly occurring events are situated at the same time. Besides it is not even possible to do all these activities, namely, breast-feed the kids, make clothes, paint the nails, wash yourself and buy a bone, simultaneously. When Natálka talks about the process of painting the nails in the line numbers 91-94, it is possible that it appears before Alik makes something with his friends as well as after Natálka washes herself. Even though all these activities are constantly repeating, using the adverb “tomorrow” in Turn 94 causes that the episode, where the *and* story connector appears, refers to the future. It follows that the application of the time reference in the episode enables using the *and* relation with a temporal structure.

When Natálka talks about events which happen repeatedly, it is possible that they have not appeared simultaneously. However, the missing adverb “always” in the storyline implies that the individual events could have occurred at the same time. In other words, when Natálka describes the main protagonists as well as objects in the introductory section using the *and* story connector, it follows that they are present at the same time and place. Such an example can be seen in the next excerpt taken from the recording TD8/03032018 (Part F).

217 **Naty:** ...tam byj kásný sjomek *a* tam byja jahoupka (.) kde bydleja pjincezna (.) hezká *a* poheřdná *a*
 218 taky tam byj tyg *a* sekni ostatní (.) v hjadu (.)...
 219 ...there was a beautiful tree *and* there was a little cottage (.) where the princess was living (.)
 220 she was beautiful *and* handřsome *and* there was also the tiger *and* everyone else (.) in the
 221 castle (.)...

Data Sample 5: The use of the *and* story connector
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

In this case, Natálka introduces the main protagonists, namely the princess, the tiger and everyone else. She also gave a description of the princess living in a little cottage, who is beautiful and handsome. The author, Natálka’s grandmother and grandfather came to know that in the background was a beautiful tree. It implies that the mentioned protagonists, as well as objects, are present at the same time. The aim of the storyteller was to present the characters

and the environment in order to provide the introductory section in the story and then to easily continue with the storyline.

4.1.2.2. THE *THEN* RELATION

The *then* relation refers to the story with at least two successive episodes that are temporally linked with each other. The events in the storyline are divided into stretches

of time, in other words, one event takes place before the other one which occurs in the previous sequence. However, as Stein and Albro (1997) states, the order of the two episodes is arbitrary, which makes the reverse order of the episodes also possible. Children use this type of relation in the parts of the storyline describing ordinary activities (Chrz, 2002). The first episode then creates the necessary and essential conditions for the second one, it actually helps to establish a favourable environment in which the next part of the story can appear. Nevertheless, according to Nancy L. Stein (1978), the presence of the first sequence does not directly lead to the events happening in the following episode.

As we can see in Data Sample 2, Natálka uses the *then* connector in combination with the *and* connector, which is the most used relation in the storyline. Nevertheless, these two words together represent the *then* relation, even though it is slightly modified. The form *then* was used 39 times, whereas the form *and then* was more frequent, 81 times in total. These two forms are however considered to be identical. For simplification, I use only the term the *then* relation in the undertaken analysis.

First of all, I comment on the use of the *then* relation in the short story presented in Data Sample 2 (Turn 73). The *then* connector in the very beginning seems to be used as a reference back to the preceding ideas or the situation in the conversation, as this relation refers to the temporally connected episodes. Even though Natálka thinks she started a new story, this is not a typical beginning. However, this beginning of the short fairy tale shares some similarities with the preceding stories in the same audio recording TD02/16022018. The fairy tale where the horses wanted to steal a rose begins in Turn 94 with the words “was not was not⁴ *and then...*”, which resembles the beginning of the short fairy tale about the tree and the snowman. The introductory section “was not was not” is added to the story at the author’s request that sounds like that “so start with once upon a time” (Turn 90). While narrating the short tale about the snowman and the tree, Natálka may follow the same structure of a story, however, she did not start with the typical beginning because she most probably found it obvious and not important in the moment.

The analogous case can be found later in the recording, when the author asks for a fairy tale about a mammoth and also uses the same phrase “so once upon a time” (Turn 128). Natálka then replies similarly as in the foregoing story about the horses and

⁴ In the Czech language a fairy tale begins with the words “bylo nebylo” which can be translated as “was was not”. Nevertheless, Natálka makes a slip of the tongue and says “was not was not” instead.

a rose, that is to say, with “once upon a time *and then*” (Turn 131). The only difference here is that Natálka managed to use the correct beginning. When the author later asked for one more fairy tale, Natálka could follow this scheme, except for the skipped beginning, which she always forgets, if she is not asked to use it. She can as well continue in the preceding fairy tale by adding one extra line, where she introduces a new character and the background in the form of a tree.

The second use is more appropriate in terms of the storyline structure. The presence of the little tree does not directly cause the occurrence of the snowman, however, it makes that possible. In my opinion, the tree enables the appearance of the snowman as the tree is a symbol of Christmas celebrated in the winter which usually involves the snow, and therefore the snowman. Natálka is aware of this tradition and for her mentioning these two objects makes a story of its own. There is simply nothing more to add because everyone, or at least Natálka, will imagine Christmas day with the tree, the snowman, the gifts, the snow and everything that this tradition includes. Moreover, Natálka used the word tree with the reference to Christmas in her storytelling several times. It can be found for example in the recording TD08/03032018 in Turn 37: “*and then* there was a Christmas tree“ and in Turn 92: “so there was a tree=no birthday“.

The following extract taken from the audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part F) illustrates the use of the *then* relation connecting two temporally linked episodes. The context of the exchange between the author and Natálka is that Natálka is telling a fairy tale before she goes to bed and because her storytelling takes almost 10 minutes, the author tries to force her to finally end.

- 213 **Me:** takže konec pohádky↑
 214 so this is the end of the fairy tale↑
 215 **Naty:** néé jeste NE (0,9) jeste nespíme jeste sme nedocetli sece (0,4) tam taky byja sekno a taky
 216 teticka Mahuska (.) byja na kojeji *a potom* za náma sijeja a byja tam taky babicka *potom* a
 217 taky deda a sekno a taky kokani a zízátka...
 218 no::: NOT yet (0,9) we don't sleep yet we haven't already finished it right (0,4) there was
 219 also everything there and also auntie Maruška (.) she was in halls of residence *and then* she
 220 came back to us and there was also granny *then* and also grandpa and everything and also
 221 kangaroos and animals...

Data Sample 6: The use of the *then* story connector in a fairy tale, which Natálka reads from the book
 Participants: Me (the author), Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)

The use of the *then* relation in Turn 216 (221 in the English version) implies that being in the hall of residence precedes the act of coming back home and visiting Natálka in terms of temporal order (the arrangement of events in time). The first episode creates then the necessary condition for the second one. It means that leaving home and arriving in the hall of residence enables the author to return home again. If the author had resided in the same town, rather than going away to study, it is very unlikely for the second episode to have occurred. Nevertheless, the fact that the author stays in halls of residence does not directly lead to the second episode, the author could stay there over the weekend and arrive a week later or after arriving at her home town she could go home without visiting her niece. The temporal order, in which the two episodes occur in the storyline, corresponds with their occurrence in real time.

The similar use of the temporal order in a storyline can be seen in the following excerpt sampled from the recording TD19/17062018 (Part A).

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

Data Sample 7: The use of the *then* connector in a narrated fairy tale
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

Data Sample 7 demonstrates a story, in which the individual episodes are connected with the *then* relation. As in the preceding case, the story connector is used to express the temporal order of the events. It means that the first action taken by the little horse (staying at home) occurred before the second one, which is sleeping and then the following action took place before the others. It implies that the occurrence of the individual events corresponds with the real time, they are taking place in the chronological order.

Data Sample 6 further includes one more use of the *then* connector. Natálka said that her grandmother was also present, which followed after the arrival of the author. However, the appearance of the grandmother on the scene could have occurred before the author came back from the hall of residence as well. In that case, the temporal order of these two episodes is arbitrary in terms of which episode precedes the other one. The order of the narrated

sequences with regard to the time development of the events appearing in the individual episodes does not necessarily mirror their occurrence in the real time.

4.1.2.3. THE *ENABLE* RELATION

The *enable* relation representing “a weak form of a causal connection” (Stein, Albro; 30) is used when the events in the first episode create the necessary conditions that are needed for the occurrence of the second episode. It means that when the events in the first episode did not occur, the second episode cannot take place. In contrast to the *cause* connector (described below), the events in the first episode, using the *enable* relation to connect with the second one, are not sufficient for the appearance of the following part. Research conducted by Vladimír Chrz (2002) into children stories collected in a Prague elementary school came to the conclusion that this type of story connector predominated. However, the research undertaken by Stein and Albro (1997), provides a different result. In the data collected in middle-class suburban elementary schools in Chicago (Illinois) and St. Louis (Missouri), the most frequent story connector was the *cause* relation. That confirms that the use of the story connectors is also directly influenced by the cultural background and how one learns to tell stories from those around them.

In some cases determining the sufficiency condition can be particularly complicated. The following extract taken from the recording TD12/13042018, where Natálka tells the author about her dream, illustrates these difficulties.

83 **Naty:** takje jel jel jel a jel a takje zabjoudil (0,4) tam v tý bouřce (.) on tam zapajkoval a šel do
84 boušky (.) a vejký PABOUK tam byl (.) a tedka ho snědl
85 like this he went went went and went and he got lost like this (0,4) there in the storm (.) he
86 parked there and went into the storm (.) and big SPIDER was there (.) and now he eats him

Data Sample 8: The use of the *enable* or *cause* connector

Participants: Natty (Natálka, the storyteller)

The context of the dream is that a prince, who came to visit Natálka, is leaving now. He gets in the carriage and drives away into a storm, which Natálka has already mentioned in Turn 51 “prince left somewhere away (0,3) and into the storm”, and then he loses his way home. The natural phenomenon appears in the first episode, whereas the act of being lost follows in the next episode. The occurrence of the storm has caused the prince to get lost, which subsequently led to the next part, in which the prince did not notice a big spider getting closer to him, which at the end of the story enables the spider to eat Natálka’s friend.

The storm sets up the necessary preconditions for the occurrence of the second episode, however, if this phenomenon is sufficient, is rather debatable. The storm is most probably the reason why the prince got lost. Nonetheless, the fulfilment of the sufficiency condition in this story would mean that the bad weather could not cause that the prince lost his way, in other words, it would be not realizable. However, being lost might arise on the grounds of the acting character. The prince might have turned in a wrong direction because he made a mistake regardless of the low or zero visibility. To conclude, I am inclined to think that in the Data Sample 7 Natálka uses the *enable* connector because the situation in the first episode is necessary but not sufficient for the second episode to occur.

As it is transparent in the following excerpt sampled from the audio recording TD02/16022018 (Part A), the relation linking the two episodes together is the *enable* story connector. While recording the interaction, I and Natálka played with stuffed animals. I had Pinkie Pie, a daughter, and Natálka had two little horses, Pinkie's parents, who tell a fairy tale about an earthworm that intends to eat the whole family. Her goal is already achieved in the Turn 64 where Natálka says "well (.) she ATE US ALL", in Turn 79 she even added "yep (.) she ate us but swallowed us not chewed us". However in the course of the story, the result is changed, in Turn 87 the author comes to know that the family has survived the attack of the earthworm.

83 **Naty:** honém (.) ať pšíbeh dopadne (0,9) >a potom< nás nesnědla (.) my sme se zakjánili (.) ne
84 nezakjánili↓ (.) a tam byja koni=ne (.) tam byja žijapa ((žirafa)) nás zakjánila ona (.) sme
85 říkaji hujá=hujá a potom sme skákaji na zemiii (.) >a potom< (.) ještě nedopad ten příběh aje
86 (0,3) di už spát (.) a potom tam byja ()
87 quickly: (.) so that the story ends (0,9) >and then< she did not eat us (.) we saved ourselves
88 (.) no we didn't↓ (.) and there was horses=no (.) there was a giraffe she saved us (.) we said
89 hurray=hurray and then we jumped on the grou::nd (.) >and then< (.) the story isn't ending
90 yet (0,3) go to sleep (.) and then there was
91 ()

Data Sample 9: The use of the *then* connector

Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

The two episodes connected with the *enable* relation are to be found in Turn 84 (Turn 88 in the English version). The goal of the earthworm was to eat the whole family, even though they did not rescue themselves, they were at the end of the fairy tale saved by a giraffe. Being in danger of their lives is the necessary precondition to be saved as they were in the following episode. However, the fulfilment of the sufficiency condition in this story would mean that the family cannot be eaten by the earthworm, which would subsequently

influence the occurrence of the second episode. The act of being rescued would not be present at all as the family would have been already eaten at that time.

4.1.2.4. THE CAUSE RELATION

The *cause* relation representing “a strong form of causal connection” (Stein, Albro; 30) is used when the events in the first episode inevitably lead to the occurrence of the second episode, it means that the first episode creates the necessary conditions and the convenient environment for the second one. In other words, if the events in the first part of the story had not occurred, the second episode would never follow the preceding one, it would not exist at all. According to Stein and Albro (1997), the *cause* connector is used when the first episode imposes a limitation on the following events in terms of enabling a number of possible events that can follow the preceding episode. It means that nothing else could have happened in the following sequence.

However, deciding whether the two episodes are linked with the *cause* story connector is sometimes quite hard because of its resemblance with the *enable* relation (see above) as well as the *then* relation. Nancy L. Stein (1978) claims that the difficulty arises due to the fact that

The perception of a direct causal link is dependent upon the prior knowledge acquired about the events in a story. If more than one alternative episode can be generated after the occurrence of the first episode, the most accurate connection between the two episodes would be a THEN relation. However, if the subject perceives that only one type of episode could result as a function of a previous episode, then the connection between the two episodes is a CAUSE relation. (12)

These considerations are illustrated on an analysis of one particular audio recording TD20/17062018, Turn 30: ”nope (.) mum told him you must not *and then* (.) he did not eve::n go there (.)”. The story tells the tale of a little cow and a little horse, that is her son. Forbidding to go to the puddle on a street caused that her son decided to obey the rule because of having to listen to its mum. This rule sets up both necessary and sufficient preconditions for the occurrence of the following action taken by the little horse, in which “he did not eve::n go there”. Even though Natálka used *and then* to put the storyline together, in this case, it is not relevant as the analysis of the semantic content of the clauses confirmed the use of the *cause* relation. One has to pay attention to the content, logical sequence of events as well as context, despite the fact that the word “then” referring to the *then* connector is used by the narrator.

A typical example of the *cause* connector appears in the audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part E), where Natálka talks about the real tigers that come to visit her. The author, grandfather, and grandmother are present, while she narrates the story. The fact that her grandfather sneezed in the first episode caused the storyteller to include the reaction of the white tigers to the external noise created by her grandfathers sneeze. In Turns 154 and 155 Natálka told to grandfather: “grandpa:↑ (.) you have almost frightened off the tigers (.) the white tigers (.) there are also tigers”. The sneeze representing very loud and unexpected sound is both necessary and sufficient for the startle reflex to occur. In this case, the sneezing sound causes that the white tigers are almost frightened, it means that they are actually surprised, however, they overcame this unpleasant situation and stayed instead of running away. It is the ability of the storyteller to wind in these external factors and narrate how the tigers are behaving which displays her cognitive and creative functions.

An analogous case of a sound-causing reaction can be found in the recording TD06/23022018 (Part C) in Turn 204, where Natálka complains to her mother that she cannot sleep. Natálka then explains that the reason why is this happening to her is “because you ((talking to her mother)) are cutting here (.) that’s why I can’t sleep”. The act of cutting a paper meets the necessity and sufficiency conditions.

The following excerpt sampled from the recording TD03/16022018 illustrates another use of the *cause* connector.

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

Data Sample 10: The use of the *cause* connector
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

The story is based on a real event that happened in the past. Natálka has played around with her father, then she suddenly fell on her lower lip, which caused the bleeding. The act of falling down is both necessary and sufficient for the next episode to occur, in which the blood appeared on Natálka’s face. The fact that she hit the carpet with her lip prefigures the subsequent injury.

4.1.3. THE MATTER OF A NEW TOPIC OR THEME

In this sub-chapter, I analyse how Natálka manages the topic transition while telling a story. I examine the process when scheduling her narration introduces a new topic, digresses

from the original theme and even exchanges what was to then an important element of the story for something rather different. Firstly, it is notable that the new topic is introduced into a still-developing story, possibly to support the storyline and make it more sophisticated. Secondly, Natálka typically stops suddenly in the middle of a story leaving the the plot unfinished and she starts telling a completely new story which, however, it is not related to what was said before. Whether at that point she is starting a new story or not cannot be sometimes determined i.e., it is not always clear if the new theme was introduced within an existing story or if the new topic was also a beginning of a new story. On that account, these transitions are examined and analysed as part of one section. Lastly, in some cases, one of the most important events in the storyline is changed, which causes that the outcome of the story differs significantly from the original version. I, therefore, comment on how Natálka manages the transition.

4.1.3.1. STARTING A NEW THEME AND DIGRESSION

Firstly, I present how Natálka starts a new theme within the storyline and I also comment on the tools, which she uses in such a transition. Introducing a new topic while narrating makes a story complex in terms of plot gradation and development. Such a process is to be found in the following excerpt sampled from audio recording TD04/23022018.

- 92 **Naty:** take si to jozepnes a tady más ty koně
 93 unzip it like this and here you have the horses
 94 **Me:** aha
 95 aha
 96 **Naty:** já sem ti to už tam daja a (0,3) a tady más duhýho koně (0,4) teto (.) to mi (.) to mi koupil
 97 tatka (0,5) >a tam musíme honem jet< (.) čeba tam zavzou bům ((pravděpodobně dům))
 98 I have already put it there and (0,3) and here you have another horse (0,4) aunt (.) it for me
 99 (.) for me bought it daddy (0,5) >and there we have to go quickly< (.) they will close there
 100 a house ((probably in that meaning))
 101 **Me:** třeba tam zavřou dům↑
 102 probably they will close the house↑
 103 **Naty:** jo (.) tady budeš vedle me (0,5) tady budeš a já tady a maminka tady (.) tadáá ((dramatizace))
 104 yep (.) here you will be next to me (0,5) here you will be and I here and mummy here (.)
 105 tada:: ((a dramatic emphasis))

Data Sample 11: Introducing a new theme in the storyline
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

The context of the exchange is that Natálka and the author prepare themselves to travel and at the moment they are both packing their backpacks. Natálka gives the backpack to the author showing her that she already has there two horses (plastic toys). In the Data Sample 11, there are three different themes being both related and subsequent to the main topic of the story, which is travelling. That is to say, these are the backpack with the two

horses, something that Natálka's father bought for her and the need of immediately travelling so that we could catch a house open, which subsequently led Natálka to give instruction where each of the travellers sits.

The analysis of the transcriptions identifies that Natálka pauses between introducing a new theme, therefore the listener can easily follow the development of the storyline as well as the flow of ideas. Nevertheless, sometimes the pause has a rather different function. The first pause in Turn 29 (Turn 27 in the original version) lasting only three seconds, for example, bears no relation to the storytelling because in that time Natálka's aim is to search for the second horse and show it to the author. When she finds the horse, she makes another pause of four seconds ending the preceding theme and preparing herself as well as the listener to the next one. In the following sequence she mentions a thing, which her father bought for her. In the context of the story, it means that her father wanted to give Natálka something she could take with her on the trip. Natálka simply felt an urge to familiarize her aunt with the thing emphasizing that not only her aunt has something important in her backpack, but Natálka herself has too.

Lastly, Natálka takes a pause lasting five seconds in Turn 30 (Turn 28 in the original version), where she realized we need to hurry up if we wanted to see a house, which is probably part of the trip. She subsequently introduces the author to the seating plan. By that time everything is prepared and the travelling can begin. By using a pause between the utterances with the same topic Natálka introduces a new theme very well, the topic that is closely connected to the preceding sequence. Adding a developing element to the storyline intensifies the story in terms of creating an elaborate and intricate plot.

Digressing from the theme while narrating is also relevant for determining the parameters of storytelling. The following excerpt (Data Sample 12) from recording TD02/16022018 (Part B) illustrates how Natálka digresses from the main topic of her story. The context of the exchange is that Natálka tells a fairy tale about beautiful roses that wanted to steal the horses. However, a few seconds later the roles of agents are changed by the narrator herself, it means that now the horses want to steal the gorgeous roses not the other way around. She then digresses from the main theme.

92 **Me:** a teď ještě nějakou pohádku (.) tak začni bylo nebylo
 93 and now one more fairy tale (.) so start with once upon the time ((in the Czech language
 94 a fairy tale is introduced with “bylo nebylo” translated as was was not))
 95 **Naty:** nebyjo nebyjo a potom tam kásně ketiny jostou a tam byja hůže ((růže)) (.) co chtěj ukjást
 96 koni=ne
 97 was not was not ((a wrong beginning for a fairy tale, see a note above)) and then there
 98 beautifully flowers grow and there was a rose (.) that want to steal the horses=not
 99 **Me:** růže chtěla ukrást koně↑
 100 the rose wants to steal the horses↑
 101 **Naty:** jo (.) a potom (0,3) ne (.) uka (.) my sme ukjadli ketiny (.) támje sou jůže (.) jostou take
 102 na zahjadě (.) já chytim (.) ua (.) takovouhle ketinku vidíte (.) hihhi (.) ona (píchá) (.) más
 103 hambáče↑
 104 yep (.) and then (0,3) nope (.) sto (.) we stole the roses (.) there are the roses (.) grow in the
 105 garden (.) I catch (.) ua (.) flower like this you see (.) hih hih hih (.) she (pricks) (.) do you
 106 have hambur:::gers↑

Data Sample 12: Digressing from the topic
 Participants: Natty (Natálka, the storyteller)

In the Data Sample 12, Natálka demonstrably gets off the point in lines 105 and 106 (102 and 103 in the original version). The flow of the story about the horses and the roses is suddenly interrupted by saying “do you have hambur:::gers↑”, which is not related to anything that was said before. The last thing Natálka mentioned was that the rose pricks and then she immediately asked if the author has hamburgers leaving only a brief interval (\pm a tenth of a second) between these two utterances. The reason why Natálka asked such question is explained later in the recording in Turn 112 after the author asked “hamburgers↑” with a surprise in her voice. Natálka subsequently said: “but we eat grass and hambur↑gers”. At this point she introduces a completely new theme in the fairy tale, however, she did not make a significant pause between the utterances as in Data Sample 11. Nonetheless, such sudden change in the storyline may be considered a digression from the main topic even though the storyteller used only a short pause. The horses in the story may get hungry at that time, therefore there was a need to stress it in the storyline.

In some cases, Natálka was motivated to make such changes while narrating because of the influence of the background, in which she was at the moment present. It means that Natálka also pays attention to the development of the external environment and current situation. When she, for example, saw a plastic toy, a stuffed animal or even a family member it inspired her to involve them in the story. This seems to imply that Natálka as a narrator is not primarily focused only on the storyline itself. When telling the story, she also reports on a number of other things, demonstrating that she processes several activities simultaneously. Such multitasking probably causes disruption to her otherwise the fluent storytelling.

The following data sample taken from recording TD10/31032018 shows that in some cases it is difficult to determine whether Natálka introduces a new topic relevant to the storyline or whether she digresses from the main theme and starts a completely new story. In the excerpt Natálka talks about a dog called Topí, the things she sees and she also mentions several actions and events.

- 50 **Mum:** Topí se jmenuje ten pes↑
 51 Topí ((the name is derived from the verb to be drowning)) is the dog's name↑
 52 **Naty:** holka je to (.) poste je to holka (.) zicky chodíme s ní ven () a tady je nákupní kosík
 53 () (.) poste je to na seno a taky na piknik (0,3) víš (0,3) naše pejska zicky me
 54 ojízaja (.) máme hotku ((fotku)) táta me tady vyhotil koukni (0,5) tade bude v kuchyni a tady
 55 sou písáci ((otevřává šufly s plyšákama)) tady už né (0,3) ooo (.) jeste tady sou písáci náky
 56 (.) miminka zicky tady udělají náky bojdle a my to musíme ukjdit (.) oni zicky hjají tady
 57 she is a girl (.) simply she is a girl (.) we always go out with her
 58 () and here is the shopping basket () (.) it is simply for everything
 59 and also for a picnic (0,3) you know (0,3) our doggy always licks me (.) we have a photo
 60 daddy took a photo of me look (0,5) this one will be in the kitchen and here the stuffed
 61 animals ((she opens the drawers)) here no:t (0,3) o:h (.) there are some stuffed animals even
 62 here (.) some (.) mummy always makes a mess here and we must clean it (.) they always play
 63 here

Data Sample 13: Introducing new themes or digression from the main topic
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)

It seems that the main topic of the story presented in the Data Sample 13 is the dog called Topí. Natálka introduces the dog by saying its name and she states “she is a girl” because it is not apparent from the name. Then she adds an activity, which they usually do together, namely going for a walk. Nevertheless, the flow of this story is subsequently interrupted in Turn 57 (Turn 52 in the original version) with words “and here is the shopping basket (.) it is simply for everything and also for a picnic”. Such disruption can be considered a digression from the main topic. A three seconds later, however, Natálka returns back to the preceding theme and the author comes to know that her doggie always licks her, which is again disturbed by the following sequence, where the narrator talks about a photo, stuffed animals and kids. Switching between five various topics is very strongly influenced by the background in terms of presenting the things that Natálka can see and add into the storyline. As a consequence of changing themes, the story loses its coherence and it is narrated in snatches.

The story, however, may be understood also in a different way. Natálka may describe to her mother the situation and the background in her household. Supposing that Natálka has, for example, invited her mother to visit her, she firstly introduces the dog Topí because it heard them coming, so it waited right behind the door. As they walked through the rooms

Natálka mentioned the shopping basket, photo, stuffed animals and kids, who always make a mess. It implies that these seemingly unrelated themes are actually central to the development of the main story theme, which is a description of the household.

To sum up, introducing a new topic in the storyline, which may also be slightly different from the main theme, develops the story and makes the plot intricate and well worked-out. Natálka predominantly used the pauses to indicate such a change in the storyline in order to be easily followed and understood. Nevertheless, not each pause had the same function, for example, in one recording Natálka stopped narrating in order to find an appropriate toy for her tale. In some cases happened that she introduced a completely new topic, which was not related to anything that was said before, this action is considered a digression even though she did not use any tool indicating such transition. Digressing while narrating was mostly done deliberately by the storyteller herself, however, the influence of the background played an important role too. Natálka is not primarily focused only on telling a story, she also processes several activities at the same time, which most probably caused a disruption to the storytelling.

4.1.3.2. EXCHANGE OF ELEMENTS

There are two main reasons why one element is exchanged for another one. Firstly, this process originates in Natálka's own initiative, that is to say, there is no one around her, who has influenced or persuade her to tell the story in a different way. The first element that is in some stories altered by Natálka herself is a material object. In recording TD12/13042018 in Turn 13, for example, a means of transport is replaced by another one. Natálka talks about her dream about a prince and she says that “there was a real car (.) no there was a carria::ge (.)”. Choosing the carriage instead of the car is more suitable in a story about the prince and the princess because they usually take this kind of transport, in such tales the car does not fit at all.

The second replaceable element is an agent, which can be found in recording TD16/13062018 (Part B), for example. The context of the exchange is that Natálka has a phone, which is locked up, however, she manages to send SMS. When I asked her, what was written in the SMS, she replied “that was mummy”, who wrote to her “I love you so much”. The reason why Natálka decided that her mother was the one who wrote the SMS and not her herself may be the same as in the preceding example. That is to say, her mother fits

into the story more than anyone else. Natálka might also realise that the phone was locked up, and therefore she could not send the SMS, so she chose the first person, who came into her mind. Becoming conscious of making such mistake resembles the process of self-initiated self-repair, where Natálka notices a trouble source, which is subsequently resolved by choosing the most suitable and appropriate element.

The last element, which is in some cases modified is either the situation or event. Such an example can be found in the following excerpt sampled from audio recording TD14/01062018.

- 112 **Granny:** ona pláče (.) a nechce dudlíček↑
113 she's crying (.) doesn't she want a dummy↑
114 **Naty:** oni se vařej (.) už sou asi hotový hlídejte jí (0,5) mám dudík (0,3) tady máš (.) zatičko moje
115 ((něco mumlá)) já nemim kde je dudánek (0,6) a taky má tady maskojanýho tučnáčka viš
116 they are boiling (.) they are already done probably keep an eye on her (0,5) I have a dummy
117 (0,3) here you are (.) my sweetheart ((she mumbles something)) I don't know where the
118 dummy is (0,6) and she has also here a hidden penguin you know

Data Sample 14: Changing the storyline by the narrator

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

The context of the exchange is that Natálka pretends to have a baby called Alenka, who is at the moment crying and Natálka's grandmother asked her if it is possible that Alenka wants a dummy. In this case, the situation, in which Natálka has a dummy (Turn 114 in the original version, Turn 116 in English translation) is a few seconds later completely changed. Natálka has already given Alenka a dummy, however then she suddenly said that she did not know where the dummy is. Before she realized that she is not aware of its true location, she mumbled something, which may be important in terms of understanding the abrupt change. Unfortunately, the author was not able to transcribe the exact words due to the background noise and Natálka's unintelligible speech.

Finally, the reason, why an element in the storyline is replaced by another one is the influence of the listeners over the narrator. This kind of transformation reflects the observer's paradox as described in 3.1.1.1. The author distinguishes two types of such change, namely unintended and deliberate modification of a story.

The author's intervention in the narrative has caused a change in the storyline, even though it has not been intentionally planned. Such an example can be found in the following excerpt sampled from the audio recording TD20/17062018, where Natálka tells the author a fairy tale about a little horse and a little cow.

16 **Naty:** ... neHOD tam do kajuže (.) je tam ná kytka (.) je to (.) bobek (.) a potom↑ (.) tam koník šel
 17 stejně
 18 ... don't GO there to the puddle (.) there is a flower (.) it is (.) a poo (.) and then↑ (.) the little
 19 horse went there anyway
 20 **Me:** a dál (.) koník šel do tý vody↑
 21 and then (.) the little horse went to the water↑
 22 **Naty:** ne (.) mamka mi žikala nesmís a potom (.) nešej tam anii...
 23 nope (.) mum told him you must not and then (.) he did not eve::n go there...

Data Sample 15: Unintended change in the storyline owing to the author's entrance

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

The fact, that the author asked if the little horse went to the water in Turn 175 (Turn 174 in original version), was the reason why the storyline was subsequently changed. Natálka had already said in line numbers 172 and 173 that the little horse went there even though his mother had forbidden the action. Nevertheless, asking such question most likely caused confusion and therefore Natálka changed her mind and answered: “nope (.) mum told him you must not and then (.) he did not eve::n go there”.

In some cases, however, entering into a conversation in order to cause some changes was deliberate. It means that the spontaneity of storytelling was affected and the narration became controlled by the author or other family members. Such example is to be found in audio recording TD18/16062018 (Part D) where Natálka talks about her dream (see below).

48 **Naty:** byja teta myška s bejema a potom tam psisli kysy a potom je jozditija (.) a je sneda
 49 HAHAHA HAHAHA
 50 aunt was a mouse with glasses and then the rats had come (.) and then she crushed them and
 51 then she ate them HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH
 52 **Me:** a něco hezčího se ti nezdálo třeba jak byla teta jednorozec a létala v oblacích
 53 and didn't you dream about something nicer for example how aunt was a unicorn and flew in
 54 clouds
 55 **Naty:** ano (.) aje
 56 yes (.) but
 57 **Granny:** a ještě tam byla Natynka a teta jí vozila
 58 and there was also Natálka and aunt carried her
 59 **Naty:** ANÓÓ (.) jednou se mi zdájo↑ (.) sen () teta byja jednojozec (.) a nemela beje meja
 60 jok ((roh)) a meja kšída (0,3) a taky me VOZIJAÁ
 61 YE::S (.) once I dreamt↑ (.) a dream () aunt was the unicorn (.) and she didn't have
 62 glasses she had a horn and she had wings (0,3) and she also CARRIE::D me

Data Sample 16: Deliberate change of a story content made by the listeners

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

Using such dark elements (crushing the rats into pieces with a sword and afterwards eating them) in the plot was more than convincing to persuade Natálka to talk about something happier and more beautiful. The author with Natálka's grandmother convinced her,

that she was actually dreaming about an aunt, who was a unicorn without glasses but a horn and wings and they were flying in the clouds together. In this case, changing the storyline or rather a whole story into a completely new one was done on purpose reflecting family patterns and nurture.

4.2. CREATIVITY – THE MATTER OF NEW WORD FORMATION

In this sub-chapter, I analyse creativity in Natálka's storytelling in terms of examining the process of creating a new word. The word formation is studied with regard to the grammatical structure, morphology, similarity of two words and relation between the object and the new word. I further comment on the meaning of these words, which is not always easy as it might seem at first sight. There are three possible ways - clear, arguable and obscure cases. Natálka came up with 31 new or slightly modified words in total, their overview (including sequence number, meaning and word class) is to be found in the appendix.

First of all, I analyse the cases in which Natálka comes up with a new name either for a being or a subject. In the next section, I comment on cases, where the meaning of the newly created word is easy to deduce from the context of the story or from Natálka's explanation. The last section focuses on word formation that can also be deduced from the context of the story, however, the meanings may not mirror the meanings, which Natálka had in mind. It also provides words that are unknown to the author and its word formation, as well as meaning, cannot be resolved.

4.2.1. FINDING NEW NAMES FOR BEINGS AND OBJECTS

Natálka is very creative with regard to coming up with a completely new name either for people, other beings, flowers or perfume. The word formation occurs in several other audio recordings. One of these examples is to be found in recording TD16/12032018 (Part C), in which Natálka calls a peony "vonitka" instead of the peony. In this case, Natálka comes up with a name for an object, a flower. The context of the exchange is that Natálka was with her grandmother in the garden, where she plucked a peony. They subsequently went back home to call Natálka's mother and tell her what her grandmother plucked paying attention to the name of that flower.

- 35 **Granny:** pověz ještě mamce co jsi utrhla (.) nebo babička utrhla za kytyčku (.) ta velká jak se jmenuje
 36 and tell mum what did you pluck (.) or what kind of flower did you or granny pick (.) the big
 37 one what is it called
 38 **Naty:** **vonitka**
 39 „v^onitka“ ((derived from nice smell or smell good, but not a real name, recommended
 40 translation is smeller good))
 41 **Granny:** pivoňka
 42 peony
 43 **Naty:** ahoj mami (.) sme babička utrhla pivoňku (.) j^o↑ (.) tak jó papa
 44 hi mummy (.) we granny and me plucked a peony (.) y^ep↑ (.) alri::ght then bye bye

Data Sample 17: Naming a flower

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

The name “v^onitka” is transformed from the Czech verb “vonět” in the 3. person singular (=v^oní), translated to the English language it is the verb *to smell* (or *smells* in the same person and number as in the original version). The made-up name for the peony is derived with regard to the characteristic of the object. It means that Natálka chooses the verb *to smell* because this flower has a lovely smell and therefore she created a noun reflecting that quality, which does not exist in her mother tongue at all.

In recording TD11/13042018 (Part B), where Natálka and the author are making perfumes from the building blocks, Natálka builds one naming it “Hikájk” (see below). In this case, however, it is not clear, how the name of the object was derived or what does it mean. Natálka can easily find a new name for almost everything as her imagination and creativity enable this ability.

- 23 **Naty:** ((výroba voňavky, vyrobila jsem voňavku z kostek)) ta aje kásne voní (1,1) já si taky
 24 postavím voňapku (.) todje je **Hikájk** ((název voňavky))
 25 ((a perfume production, I made a perfume from the building blocks)) that smells so good
 26 (1,1) I will also build a perfume (.) this is „**Hikájk**“ ((the perfume name))
 27 **Me:** **Hikájk**↑
 28 „**Hikájk**“↑
 29 **Naty:** to se takje menujou voňapky (0,3) tak sem tak postavija voňapku (.) take to (0,4) take to
 30 otebeš (.) to jejký a potom se se navo↑níš (.) tady máš jako dájek
 31 perfumes are called like this (0,3) so I built the perfume (.) also this one (0,4) you open that
 32 like this (.) that big and they you will put on↑ the perfume (.) here you have it like a gift

Data Sample 18: Naming a perfume

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

Audio recording TD10/31032018 provides another example of naming a being. The context of the exchange between Natálka and her mother is that Natálka builds a fire for everyone. Her mother then asks who is everyone and what are their names, she subsequently gets the following respond (see below).

13 **Mum:** [aha] a jak se jmenujou (.) nebo kdo to je↑
 14 [aha] and what are their name (.) or who is it↑
 15 **Naty:** tode je **EI** (.) táta (0,3) **Au** (.) náš chjavec (.) 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 EI (.) 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 picninc (.) here (.) we didn't have mushrooms (.) so I
 21 send with (a smalll basket) (.) you know (.) this is like this hhh ((she blows)) you know (.)
 22 we are alrely at night and we have toys here (0,3) o:h (0,6) you are in my garden you know
 23 (0,7) we live here

Data Sample 19: Naming beings

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

In this case, the names are composed of only two letters, which is rather unusual and very short for a name. The minimum length of a name in the Czech Republic is three letters, for example, Eva or Jan (*John* in the English language). Nevertheless, this convention seems to be not an obstacle for Natálka. The first name “EI” for daddy is actually a real name, however, Natálka may not be aware of that fact, therefore the possibility that she chose it with regard to its existence is low. The name resembles the pronounced letter “L” when somebody is spelling alphabet. The author, as well as Natálka's mother, teaches her to repeat the alphabet after them, it implies that she may choose the name because she has heard it before. The second name “Au” for baby boy is most probably derived from the interjection used in a situation, where somebody is in pain (*ouch* in the English language). The resemblance between the name and the exclamation is likely to be the reason why Natálka chose it in her story. The last name “Pí” for a baby is coincident with the pronunciation of one letter from the Greek alphabet, concretely with the symbol π pronounced as *pí*. However, Natálka is aware neither of the symbol nor the Greek alphabet, therefore the similarity between these two issues is accidental.

The last example of creating a name for a being is to be found in the same recording TD10/31032018, Turn 48. Natálka describes a big dog, that is drowning, then she calls mummy to look at the dog. Nevertheless, at the end of the story, Natálka's mother came to understand that the dog is not actually drowning, but Drowning is his name. Natálka said: “now the big dog (.) he is drowning (.) mummy drowning (.) daddy is called Drowning”. After Natálka's mother asks if Drowning is her name, Natálka responds “it is a girl (.) simply it is a girl”, which denies the preceding utterance, where she said that it is “daddy”. Subsequently, Natálka talks about the activities, which they are doing together with the girl called Drowning. Changing the gender of the main protagonist from masculine to feminine

may be the case of the self-initiated self-repair, where the storyteller realized making a mistake, then she found the source of trouble and provided the repair independently. The analysis of the name formation says that it is transformed from the Czech verb *topit se* in the first person singular (*topí*), which is in the unchanged form used as the name.

4.2.2. TRANSPARENT CASES OF WORD FORMATION AND MEANING

4.2.2.1. MODIFICATION OF VERBS

In Natálka's stories, there are three instances where she uses slightly modified verbs by appending prefixes to the word stem. Moreover, the verbs have a form of a diminutive expressing positive emotional colouring of the speaker. Such example is to be found in the following excerpt sampled from the audio recording TD06/23022018 (Part A).

- 11 **Mum:** pani nám říká že tam můžeme spát↑
 12 the woman says that we can sleep there ↑
 13 **Naty:** jo (.) my tam budeme spát žíkaja (.) jo a pani mi žíkaja musíme tady **nahajat** ((ve významu
 14 spát)) a taky spát (.) požád
 15 yep (.) we will sleep there she says (.) yep and the woman told me we have to go here to
 16 “**nahajat**” ((in the meaning of to be in beddy-byes)) and also sleep (.) always

Data Sample 20: Modification of the verb

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

In line number 13 Natálka uses the verb “*nahajat*” (diminutive form), which refers to the verb to be in beddy-byes. The word stem *hajat* already exists in the Czech language, however, adding prefix *na-* slightly modifies the meaning. Natálka wanted most likely expressed that she and her mother have to get some sleep, which in the Czech language corresponds with the verb *vyhajat se* (also diminutive form) derived from the verb *vyspat se*. It seems that the meaning of the newly created verb differs from the neutral verb *spát* (to sleep) because Natálka said “we have to go here to “**nahajat**” and also sleep”. It implies that *nahajat* is used in the situation where a goal is achieved or in other words the action is finished and it does not develop further. In the Czech language, such verbs have perfective aspect, which is an equivalent for the English term telic verbs as described in *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* written by Libuše Dušková (2012). In contrast, the verb *spát* (to sleep) expressed an unfinished action, there is no achievement at all. They have imperfective aspect (the Czech terminology), which corresponds with the English term atelic verbs.

In recordings TD06/23022018 (Part C) and TD08/03032018 (Part E) occur two instances of modified verb *jíst* (to eat). The first one is to be found in Turn 171 “I have already “**vypapat**” it all (.) look how my tummy is full”. The verb “*vypapat*” refers to the situation in which someone clears their plate. It is used as a diminutive, which does not exist in the Czech language, however it does in neutral form *vyjíst* (to eat something up). As in the preceding case, the newly created verb has perfective aspect and it belongs to the telic verbs. In recording TD08/03032018 (Part E) where Natálka imagines a family of white tigers that ran away and they subsequently came back, she came up with the verb “*popapat*”. The author came to know that the white tigers ran away to have something to eat, which can be expressed by verb *pojíst* having a neutral form. However, the verb is rather unusual in the Czech language and it is not used frequently. Instead of saying *pojíst* there is the tendency to rephrase the verb with *dát si něco k jídlu* (to have something to eat).

4.2.2.2. DIMINUTIVES

Natálka tends to use diminutives for human beings, animals, creatures of all kinds, toys as well as stuffed animals more than adults, for example, *maličký* (tiny), *hezoučkový* (dinky), *košíček* (small basket) or *lampička* (little lamp). Words like these tend to express positive emotional colouring. In addition, Natálka is able to come up with a completely new word in that form within a few seconds. Diminutives as a category belong to the derivation, which is one of the basic word-forming ways in the Czech language (among compound and abbreviation). Prefixes or suffixes are appended to the base word stem, where substantives and adjectives are predominantly derived by suffixes. According to Klára Choulíková (2011), there are two types of suffixes, namely primary and secondary. The primary suffixes are *-ek*, *-ík* (for masculine gender), *-ka* (for feminine gender), *-ko* (for neuter gender) and the secondary one are *-eček*, *-iček*, *-ínek* (for masculine gender), *-ečka*, *-čka*, *-enka*, *-inka* (for feminine gender), and *-ečko*, *-ičko* (for neuter gender).

In the case of Natálka, she uses the real diminutives (*dědeček* – grandpa, *pítíčko* – juice box, *stromek* – small tree, *chlupatoučci* – hairy) as well as non-existing or rather unusual one (analysed below) in her stories. A typical example of new word formation is to be found in recording TD14/01062018. The context of the exchange is that Natálka pretends to have a baby called Alenka and she describes what her daughter is doing in detail. In Turn 38 (see below) Natálka caresses Alenka saying that she is smiling at her, however, the verb is used in the diminutive form “*smějíčkovat se*”. The verb *smát se* is derived by the suffix *-íčkovat*,

where the word stem *smát* is slightly modified by the altering of a vowel. Natálka used the diminutive because she most likely compared the smile of an adult with the child one, adults have a big smile, whereas children or in this case an infant has a small smile.

38 **Naty:** hihi no jo (.) nóo hihi (.) no jó (.) ona se na me **smějíčkuje**
 39 hih hih oh yeah (.) o:h hi hih (.) oh yeah (.) she is **smiling** at me ((Natálka uses a diminutive
 40 for smiling that does not exist in Czech))

Data Sample 21: Diminutive of the verb
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller)

In recording TD09/23032018 (Part C) Natálka and the author are playing with the stuffed animals and they are talking about their living, specifically how they moved to the new house. The main theme is subsequently changed because suddenly someone appears on the scene (see below).

56 **Naty:** ...ooo (.) je tady
 57 ...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 nebo taťka se na
 69 ní podíval)) my si hrajeme
 70 [er only] a tiny doggie (.) hih hih (.) little goddie ((Natálka's mother or father took a look at
 71 her)) we are playing

Data Sample 22: Diminutive of the noun
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

In Turn 69 Natálka uses the diminutive *pejsíček* for the little doggie coming to see her and the author. The expression is even more emphasized by the adjective *maličký* (*tiny* in the English language), which has also the diminutive form derived from *malý* (*small*) by the suffix *-čký*. To the word stem *pes* (*dog*) Natálka appended the secondary suffix for masculine gender *-íček*, where there is a need to add one more consonant before the final one, namely *j*. She wanted to emphasize that there is nothing to be scared of because in Turns 57 and 61 (Turns 56 and 60 in the original version) she almost screamed “o:h (.) he is here” and then Natálka made whimpering noises. Subsequently, she saw that quest posed no threat to her as well as the author, therefore Natálka used the diminutives putting them both at ease.

4.2.2.3. COMBINATION OR MODIFICATION OF SPEECH SOUNDS

In this section, I provide an analysis of newly created words, in which Natálka combines or modifies the speech sounds. Into this category belongs four instances of words using duplication of syllables, a combination of singular and plural number, adding one extra letter into the word stem and modified number.

The duplication of the syllables is to be found in the following excerpt sampled from the audio recording TD06/23022018 (Part A).

- 5 **Mum:** [kde jsme↑]
6 [where we are↑]
7 **Naty:** eeee (0,3) já nemim kde sme (.) sme v díbočine a musíme tady spát **honenem** pani tam žíká
8 víš
9 e::r (0,3) I don't know where we are (.) we are in the wilderness and we have to sleep here
10 "**honenem**" ((in the meaning of quickly)) says a woman there you know

Data Sample 23: Duplication of the syllables

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

In Turn 10 (Turn 7 in the Czech language) Natálka uses the word "honenem", which means very quickly. Into the stem of the adverb she inserts the same syllable, it means that the word has a duplicated syllable *ne*. The reason why Natálka chooses this kind of modification may be the emphasis of the word because she wanted to express that she and her mother have to be very very quick. The emphasis is usually expressed by intonation, raised voice or prolongation of the vowel in the initial, middle or final syllable of the word. Nevertheless, Natálka invented a completely new way of how to put stress on a particular element. An analogous case of insertion occurs in recording TD15/01062018 (Part B), where Natálka uses the exclamation "pípo píp", the sound peep peep. She added one extra letter into the word stem, namely the suffix *-o*.

In recording TD08/03032018 (Part F) Natálka combines the second person singular with the second person plural. In line number 179 she said "to se tak jenom zíká **víte**", which could be translated as "it is only said you know". Unlike the English language, where the verb has the same form in the 2. person singular and the 2. person plural the Czech language has different forms in each person (except for 3. person singular and plural). It means that each verb has different suffixes in the person and number. In this case, the verb *vědět* (to know) has in the 2. person singular the form *víš*, whereas in the 2. person plural it is expressed by *víte*. Natálka combined these two forms and creates a word containing both of them. While she

was telling the story, there were present the author, Natálka's grandmother and grandfather, therefore it is possible that she wanted to talk only to one of the hearers. Nevertheless, she subsequently changed her mind and chose the plural reference. This could be classified a prototypical example of self-initiated self-repair.

Sometimes happened that Natálka used a word in an incorrect form, such example is to be found in recording TD18/16062018 (Part D). The context of the exchange is that Natálka talks about a cow's dream, in which the cow was flying with a baby in clouds and suddenly appears a flying horse that knocked the cow down. The storyteller also mentioned that the cow was flying with the mountains, however, she originally wanted to use the singular form. The singular form of the mountains was used incorrectly because in Turn 39 she said "there was a baby (.) flying (.) in clouds with me and "hojem". In the Czech language, the correct form of the singular number is *hora* in the first case, *horou* in the same case as in the utterance. The plural form is *hory* in the first case, *horama* in the same case as in the Turn 39. When the author was collecting the data, Natálka was not able to pronounce the speech round *r*, therefore the forms would be *hoja*, *hojou*, *hoji*, *hojama* (speech sound *r* replaced with *j*). It implies that Natálka created the singular number from the plural, however, she omitted the suffix *-a* and she also replaced the speech sound *a* with *e*. Nonetheless, she changed her mind and instead of using singular, she decides to use the proper plural. As in the preceding case, this could be classified an example of self-initiated self-repair.

4.2.2.4. OTHER INSTANCES OF TRANSPARENT WORD FORMATION

In audio recording TD02/16022018 (Part B) Natálka says that the horses are going to sleep and she has already prepared them a penguin, the machine which helps children sleep making sounds like the sea or the wilderness. In addition, she mentioned a "sedinka", which is subsequently explained with the words "you can sit down". The name of the furniture is derived from the function of the object, it means a place where the horses can be seated. The word "sedinka" is a noun transformed from the verb *sedět* (in the English language *to sit*), where the core of the verb *sed-* is suffixed by *-inka*.

When the author repeated the unfamiliar word with uncertainty, Natálka added that there are a baby duvet and a pillow. In this case, the author recognized the trouble source in the story, which is the word with an unknown meaning. The repetition served as a repair

initiation to Natálka, in other words, the author used it to provoke a certain type of reaction, namely the explanation of the newly created noun. Such a process is called other-initiated self-repair. Nevertheless, earlier in the story in line numbers 116 and 117 where Natálka said “and you have there „**SEdinka**“ (.) you can sit down (.) maybe”, she has already explained the new word, which can be considered self-initiated self-repair. However, the author was still confused, therefore she expressed that feeling to the narrator.

Data Sample 4 presented in section 4.1.2.1 shows that Natálka came up with a new word, namely the verb “*nanektuje*”. The meaning of the verb is to paint nails, the Czech equivalent is *nalakovat*. The verb *nalakovat* (to paint) is derived from the clear or coloured liquid used to paint on somebody's nails, which is in the Czech language called *lak* (a nail polish). Whereas the verb “*nanektuje*” is derived from the object, where the nail polish is applied, namely from the noun *nehet* (nail). Natálka subsequently transformed the noun into the verb duplicating the same structure as in the original version *nalakovat* (to paint).

It is worth mentioning that Natálka also made non-verbal signs for a dog while writing an imaginary SMS on the real but non-functional phone. It means that she combined a number of letters to represent the textual symbol for a dog. In recording number TD16/12032018 (Part B) she said that she send SMS to someone, however when the author asked what was its message, Natálka suddenly changed her mind (see below).

- 24 **Naty:** mám to zamkutý (0,3) mám to zamkutý (.) já (.) já sem někomu posjaja esemesku
 25 I have it locked (0,3) have it locked (.) wow (.) I have send an SMS to someone
 26 **Me:** a co v té esemesce stojí↑
 27 and what is written in the sms ↑
 28 **Naty:** byja tam maminka mám tě moc jáda
 29 it was mummy I love you so much
 30 **Me:** tak jí odepiš
 31 then write back to her
 32 **Naty:** iaa (.) to je pes
 33 iaa (.) that's a dog

Data Sample 24: Made-up non-verbal signs for a dog in SMS
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

Natálka's reply to her mother's SMS was “*iaa*”. As Natálka subsequently explained to the author, these three letters represent a dog. Her answer in Turn 34 (Turn 33 in the original language) may have several different interpretations, however, the author presents only the most relevant ones. It may be either some kind of code message in which she uses letters as symbols or these three signs may represent the sound of the keypad. According to the Natálka's explanation “that's a dog” in Turn 34, it implies that “*iaa*” functions as a symbol for

the animal. The storyteller completely changed the framework of the interaction, it means that the dog occurred on the scene out of the blue. Moreover, it is not clear what element is dominant in the story, it may be either the dog or the SMS to her mother.

4.2.3. CREATING AND FORMING NEW WORDS

The data evidence four newly created words the meaning of which may be deduced from the context of the storyline. However, whether Natálka intended to express that particular meaning is not one hundred per cent guaranteed. The following figure lists these new words and provides information regarding the data, recording, in which they originally occurred, classifies them according to grammatical categories, and explains their meaning.

Recording Number	Part	New Word	Word Class	Case	Number	Meaning
TD07/03032018	A	"pajko"	noun	4.	singular	probably a car park
TD08/03032018	B	"zahoučky"	adjective	1.	x	probably handsome
TD08/03032018	B	"pajouci"	noun	4.	singular	probably small grassy clearing
			noun	4.	plural	probably spiders
TD13/16042018	A	"slizouna"	noun	4.	singular	probably a snail

Figure 5: Classification of the new created words and their meaning

Unlike the English language, the Czech language has 7 cases, namely nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, locative and instrumental. Among the five instances of the newly created words (one word has two possible meanings), Natálka used the fourth case most frequently. According to Václav Cvrček (2010), the accusative is “primarily a case of the direct object, i.e. an appellation of an entity, which is directly affected by the subject activity”⁵. The fourth case has also performed the functions of an adverbial or an attribute, therefore its use is of great importance in terms of story development.

The most interesting word created by Natálka in the audio recording TD13/16042018 (Part A), where she and the author pretend to be doctors, who are treating a zebra for a wound caused by a snail and a “slizoun”. The meaning of the word “slizoun” was unknown to the author, therefore she requested Natálka to describe it (see below).

⁵ translated by the author from the Czech language to the English language

11 **Me:** jak vypadá **slizoun**↑
 12 what does “**slizoun**” look like↑
 13 **Naty:** počkej (0,3) tady vidíš, má ujitu a tady (0,2) má hrozně lepkavý **smisoň** ((význam neznámý))
 14 a má všechno tam (.) má med, si tam skovává na (.) do lahbičky (.) a potom se tam objeví
 15 (0,2) další šnek (.) je to máma hihi
 16 wait (0,3) here you see, it’s got the shell and here (0,2) it has a very sticky “**smisoň**”
 17 ((meaning unknown)) and it’s got everything there (.) it’s got honey, it’s hiding it on (.) into
 18 a small bottle (.) and then there appears (0,2) another snail (.) it is a mum hih hih

Data Sample 25: An example of the new created word “slizoun”

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

The noun “slizoun” is derived from the adjective slime or gunge and it is used for an animal that is slimy. It implies that Natálka is most probably referring to a slug, however, when she describes the animal in line numbers 16 to 18 (English version), the author came to know that she is referring to a different animal. It has a shell and very sticky “smisoň” (unknown meaning), which resembles the description of a snail. It seems that “smisoň” may be some unique property of the “slizoun” creature as Natálka used the word for describing it, may be a reference to the slime or gunge with a newly created noun. In line number 18 Natálka said that then appears another snail, which means that before she was actually referring to the snail. Nevertheless, there was a need to distinguish between the “slizoun” and the snail because it is likely that they belong to different subspecies of the same animal kind. Therefore, Natálka came up with a new name for the first creature as these two animals may have different look or anatomic structure.

In some cases, Natálka used a word whose meaning, as well as its formation, could not be deduced from the context of the story nor from its form drawing on the similarity with another word existing in the Czech language. Despite this fact, the author was able to determine the word class as well as the case of the newly created words because of its form, ending and context, in which they were used (see below).

Recording Number	Part	New Word	Word Class	Case	Number	Verb Form
TD05/23022018	C	"kubu"	noun	4.	singular	x
TD08/03032018	B	"pot"	noun	4.	singular	x
TD08/03032018	B	"tezenku"	noun	4.	singular	x
TD08/03032018	B	"dijokala"	verb	x	singular	3. person, past tense
TD08/03032018	B	"pocas"	noun	1.	singular	x
TD11/13042018	A	"pajícky"	noun	1.	plural	x
TD13/16042018	A	"smisoň"	noun	4.	singular	x
TD15/01062018	A	"pitku"	noun	4.	singular	x

Figure 6: Classification of the newly created words

Most of the newly created words were nouns, it is quite logical because this word class is the most frequent in the Czech language. Nouns belong to the open class, which means that new elements can be freely added into this category, in other words, the language is able to create as many new words as possible. The Czech language is in this way very flexible, enabling to derivate a new noun from almost every word class. Natálka's creativity seemed to have no bounds; she was constantly exhibiting the ability to come up with completely new nouns that although not represented in the word stock of the Czech language, they very effectively support Natálka's storytelling act.

4.3. IMAGINATION – THE CREATIVITY OF NEGATIVITY, THE DARKER SIDE

This sub-chapter examines imagination in the shocking form of dark elements which are to be found in Natálka's storytelling. I use the term dark elements with reference to the unpleasant and ugly situations where a slightly morbid twist can appear. The following figure presents six examples in which the darker elements of imagination were manifested.

Sequence Number	The Dark Elements
TD02/16022018A	earthworm eating the horses
TD02/16022018B	the horses as the thieves
TD08/03032018A	a tiger stealing the mouse's skin
TD09/23032018B	burning someone's hair and hay
TD12/13042018X	a spider bites off the prince's head and only brain left
TD18/16062018A	the author as a mouse with glasses making a sword, hacking the rats with it and eating them

Figure 7: The dark elements overview

Natálka came up with six stories in total where the instances of the dark elements occurred. All examples have the same common element, each storyline features at the main protagonist who or that causes harm to someone else. The dark elements can be divided into three categories according to the content of the story, namely eating someone else, stealing and causing harm by burning. I analyse each category separately because they share the same theme and the aim of the main protagonist or protagonists. It must be said that the boundaries between these three categories are not strictly fixed or demarcate, in one story more than one dark element can be found, however, I focused on the most significant and relevant one.

4.3.1. THE DARK ELEMENTS – EATING SOMEONE ELSE

The first category focuses on the main character, who is eating someone else leaving him or her dead. This theme occurred in three stories in total, which is half of all instances of the dark elements in Natálka's storytelling. The first story was recorded on 16th February 2018, the second on 13th April 2018 and the last one on 16th June 2018. They were thus produced at regular intervals over the two-month span with the storyline to be continually developed.

In audio recording TD02/16022018 (Part A) Natálka tells the author that an enormous earthworm appears aiming to eat the horses. In Turn 38 she says ">we escaped just and then she ((the earthworm)) bit daddy right and so on and then she ate daddy<". The action taken by the earthworm surprised or even shocked the author. In order to make sure the author understood the storyline, she asked if the earthworm had succeeded in eating their father, in response to which Natálka changed her mind and said: "yep almost". The author's response most probably raised suspicion that there was something wrong, therefore the storyteller modified the story. It indicates that the storyline is changeable over time and flexible. The clarifying questions in cases may stimulate Natálka to consider if changes to the storyline are to be introduced and she was prepared to make these changes if it suited her.

The following excerpt sampled from the audio recording TD12/13042018 introduces the second story, in which enormous spider bites off the prince's head and only brain remains.

- 3 **Já:** a jak to pokračovalo↑
4 and how did it continue↑
5 **Naty:** takje jel jel jel a jel a takje zabjoudil (0,4) tam v tý bouřce (.) on tam zapajkoval a šel do
6 boušky (.) a vejký PABOUK tam byl (.) a tedka ho snědl
7 like this he went went went and went and he got lost like this (0,4) there in the storm (.) he
8 parked there and went into the storm (.) and was there big SPIDER (.) and now he ate him
9 **Já:** cože↑
10 what↑
11 **Naty:** takje ho snědl obrovský pabouk
12 like this the enormous spider ate him
13 **Já:** toho prince snědl pavouk↑
14 the spider ate that prince↑
15 **Naty:** ne (.) prince sněd (.) a už nemá hjabu
16 no (.) it ate the prince (.) and he doesn't have a head anymore
17 **Já:** princ snědl toho pavouka↑
18 the prince ate the spider↑
19 **Naty:** jo (.) on tady zapoměl kojunu↑
20 yep (.) he forgot the crown↑ here
21 **Já:** tak tu mu pak můžeš donést↑
22 you can bring it to him later↑

23 **Naty:** ne (.) už nemá hjabu
 24 nope (.) he doesn't have his head anymore
 25 **Já:** proč neměl hlavu↑
 26 why doesn't he have his head↑
 27 **Naty:** proto nemá hjabu on ukous pajouk hjabu () a zůstal jenom mozek
 28 because he has no head the spider bit his head off () and there was only brain
 29 left

Data Sample 26: Spider biting off the prince's head

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

The context of the exchange is that Natálka tells the author about her dream, in which a prince called En comes to visit her in a carriage. When En was leaving, he got lost in a storm and suddenly an enormous spider occurred biting off his head leaving a brain only. In line number 71 Natálka first mentioned that the spider ate the prince, which was a surprising and shocking fact to the author, therefore she asked “what↑”. In response to that, Natálka repeated her previous utterance, after which the author asked if the spider ate the prince to make sure who is taking action. However, Natálka's answer “no (.) he ate the prince (.) and he doesn't have a head anymore” confused the author even more.

It is clear from the data that there is a certain degree of confusion and this is reinforced by Natálka in how she responds to the author's questions. Nevertheless, she did not change the ultimate roles of the two main protagonists, even though her answer to the question “the prince ate the spider↑” was yes. Natálka summarises this in the final line of the story by confirming that the spider bit off the prince's head. Unlike the previous example, the clarifying questions, in this case, did not affect the storyline. At the end of the story, the prince is still missing his head.

The last of the three stories in which the motif of eating someone else occurred is to be found in recording number TD18/16062018 (Part A). Natálka is sharing her dream with the author. In the dream, the author was a mouse with glasses gnawing a block of cheese. When the rats subsequently came, she made a sword hacking the rats to bits and then ate them. Even though the course of events shocked the author, Natálka made fun of the story and she just laughed. It appears that Natálka wanted to cause such reaction and nothing could change her mind, she was simply playing with the author and possibly other audience, including her grandmother, who entered the room approximately five minutes later. Natálka repeated the storyline in a shortened form to her at the author's request, she said: “aunt was a mouse with glasses and then the rats had come (.) and then she crushed them and then she ate them HAH

HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH”. At the end of the story, Natálka laughs suggesting that she finds this a funny and amusing ending, not a particularly shocking or provocative one.

During the period of four months the dark element of eating someone, which could be described as deliberately killing another protagonist in the storyline, developed to become increasingly more cruel and complicated. In the first story, the main protagonist was eaten by earthworm, however, in the end, he is resurrected, which means that the aim of the earthworm was not achieved. Nevertheless, the main protagonists in the two following stories were not so fortunate, the prince literally lost his head and the rats were eaten after being hacked to bits. Moreover, the behaviour of the storyteller changed as well. In the first case, Natálka understood that there was something wrong in the storyline after being asked if the earthworm really ate the horse, therefore she made an alteration. In the second tale, she acted conscientiously, decisively and seriously, whereas in the last case Natálka made fun of the action taken by the author in her dream.

4.3.2. THE DARK ELEMENTS – STEALING OR TAKING AWAY

The second category introduces the motif of theft or taking something away which occurred in two storylines in total. In the first story recorded on 16th February 2018, the little horses are stealing roses and in the other, recorded on 3rd March 2018, a tiger is confiscating a mouse’s skin.

In Data Sample 12 called Digressing from the topic, the author has already presented the fairy tale, in which the horses wanted to steal the roses having achieved their goal a few seconds later. At the start the roses were introduced as thieves, however then Natálka realized that they grow in the garden, therefore they cannot steal anything or anyone. She sees the roses as flowers, which belong to the non-living creatures even though Natálka said “she ((the rose)) pricks”. She understands that the thorns serve as a protection, in other words when the rose pricks it cannot be considered a deliberate action taken by the rose itself because they are in a stable position, they are not moving at all. It is rather an action taken by the protagonist, who is tearing the rose off. Unlike the roses, the horses symbolized living animals capable of becoming thieves. In this case, they took the necessary steps intentionally and on purpose in achieving their goal, which is stealing the roses. Their action can be understood as committing an offence or a crime if the roses were not a part of the horse's property. Nonetheless, Natálka seems not to take it as the crime because “catching” roses is quite normal, usual and common, it could be described as an act of joy as the roses are truly beautiful bringing happiness,

delight, and smile (as in line number 105) to life. The horses can, however, draw a lesson from being pricked by that rose, which could be their punishment because of tearing it off from someone else's garden.

The second story, in which Natálka mentioned the theme of stealing or rather taking something away, is to be found in the following excerpt sampled from the audio recording TD08/03032018 (Part A).

- 1 **Naty:** sežjal myšku (.) HAM (0,3) a potom jí sežjal honem (.) haam
 2 he ate a mouse (.) YUM (0,3) and then he ate her quickly (.) yum
 3 **Me:** a kdo koho↑
 4 and who↑
 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 tiger)) (0,3) and then he ate her and swa:llowed (0,3)
 8 ((the author asked whom did that tiger eat)) the mouse↑ (.) and then he took her skin away
 9 from her like this
 10 **Granny:** a hezcí pohádku nemáš (.) třeba o princezně a princovi↑
 11 and don't you have nicer fairy tale (.) for example about the princess and the prince↑
 12 **Naty:** jo a o lvovi já mám duhou ((odkaz na druhou knížku, kterou má Natálka)) mám o pjincovi...
 13 yep and about the lion (.) I have another ((referring to the second book, which Natálka has))
 14 have about the prince...

Data Sample 27: Taking away the mouse's skin

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

The context of the exchange is that Natálka reads several fairy tales from a book, where each story has a different main theme and the above-mentioned tale is the first one. Natálka said that a tiger called Zumba ate a mouse and then he took its skin away, which was a deeply shocking and surprising twist in the storyline for the present hearers (the author, Natálka's grandmother and grandfather). Natálka's grandmother felt queasy about the fate of the mouse so much that she forced Natálka to come up with totally different fairy tale about a princess and a prince. In the following tale, nobody was eaten or harmed, which implies that the aim of Natálka's grandmother was achieved. Such action when the hearer directly and intentionally influenced the spontaneity of storytelling is called the observer's paradox (see section 3.1.1.1). In this case, the parental care was used to modify the storyline so that Natálka would think in a positive and optimistic way rather than in a negative and ugly one.

These two stories share the main theme of stealing, however, the impact of such dark element, as well as the way how it is in each storyline treated, is different. In the first story, where the horses were thieves aiming to steal a rose, the action taken by the main protagonists

can be considered a perfectly innocuous having any negative impact on the health of someone else. By contrast, the main protagonist in the second story caused serious harm to other beings by taking their skin away. Moreover, the horses in the first tale were punished by the rose, which they stole, whereas the tiger in the second one went unpunished even though he committed much more serious crime. It implies that sometimes happened that the villain of the story got away scot-free and knowing this fact may help Natálka in the future.

4.3.3. THE DARK ELEMENTS – CAUSING HARM BY BURNING HAIR

In the last category the main character is burning someone else's hair and hay causing him or her serious harm, such dark element is introduced by Natálka only in one story. Nevertheless, the theme of hurting someone by taking steps on their hair or skin is to be found in two stories, in the above-mentioned category (0 – stealing someone's skin) and in the following excerpt sampled from recording TD09/23032018 (Part B).

- 35 **Naty:** byl to krátký příběh a potom mi to zapálili tohje to
 36 it was a short story and then they set it on fire
 37 **Me:** co ti zapálili a kdo↑
 38 and what did they set on fire and who↑
 39 **Naty:** srst (.) tamten (.) ne ty (.) ani ty ani já (.) <někdo kdo> (.) ty né (.) <někdo kdo zná> (.) pyká
 40 (.) on mi zapálil moji srst a seno
 41 the hair (.) someone (.) not you (.) neither you nor me (.) <someone who> (.) not you (.)
 42 <someone who knows> (.) pays (.) he lighted my hair and hay
 43 **Me:** kdo↑
 44 who↑
 45 **Naty:** kájík ((králík)) kájík mi to zapálil a potom bum=sem vybuchnul taky
 46 a rabbit (.) the rabbit set it on fire and then wham=I have exploded too
 47 **Já:** proč to králík udělal↑
 48 and why did the rabbit do that↑
 49 **Naty:** proto (0,3) se změnil na ZOJODĚJE
 50 because (0,3) he changed to a THIEF
 51 **Já:** změnil se na zloděje↑
 52 he changed to a thief↑
 53 **Naty:** jo
 54 yep
 55 **Já:** a proč by ti zapálil srst a seno↑
 56 and why did he set your hair and hay on fire↑
 57 **Naty:** poto se NEOJÁD ((neovlád)) (.) ooo (.) je tady
 58 because he did not CONTROL himself (.) o:h (.) he is here

Data Sample 28: Burning someone else's hair and hay
 Participants: Naty (Natálka, the storyteller), Me (the author)

In Part A in the recording TD09/23032018 Natálka talked about the stuffed animals and their living, however suddenly she changed the theme and started a new story with these words “and then they set it on fire”. The author then came to know that a rabbit lit Alík’s (a stuffed animal, Natálka’s dog) hair and hay because he became a thief and could not control himself. As a consequence of the action taken by the rabbit, Alík also exploded after a while. As soon as Natálka finished the story, she said “o:h (.) he ((most probably the rabbit)) is here” with a frightened voice, it implies that even the storyteller perceives the rabbit as a threat and a dangerous being. She is aware that burning someone else’s hair is causing harm to the individual and also that such action is not positive but negative, ugly as well as dangerous. Nevertheless, when the author asked who did come, she joyfully answered “[er only] a tiny doggie (.) hih hih (.) the tiny doggie” continuing with the preceding tale about the stuffed animals and their living. It suggested that Natálka at first thought she saw someone dangerous, however, within few minutes she found out that in the preceding sequence she might not recognise very well who was coming and therefore she decided to repair herself.

To sum up, in some stories Natálka used the dark elements, it means that an unpleasant, ugly and even morbid situation occurred in the storyline causing harm to one of the main characters. The actions in such storylines are taking deliberate and on purpose, in other words, the main protagonist wanted to kill somebody, cause harm or steal things. Natálka mostly used the dark element with a serious face, however, sometimes she found the story, for example, a dream about a spider biting off the prince’s head, funny laughing her head off. The author or the other listeners, therefore, tried to persuade her to tell a positive story rather than a negative one, which was in most cases achieved.

5. CONCLUSION

The thesis examined the storytelling in child-adult conversations when the narrating is performed spontaneously and sometimes with a little help from the hearer or hearers. The analysis was accomplished on the basis of the audio recordings that were made during the interaction between the author (myself) and Natálka. These were subsequently transcribed according to the conversation analytical methods and conventions introduced by Gail Jefferson (2004) and then translated from Czech to English. To frame the analysis, the concept of the story as well as storytelling were described first, both from an adult’s and a child’s point of view focusing on the importance of imagination. I demonstrated a number

of aspects in an attempt to encompass the richness and variety of storytelling. The undertaken analysis was divided into three main parts, namely defining parameters of a story, creativity in terms of new word formation and last but not least imagination with regard to the dark elements.

Children have the potential to be powerful and competent storytellers untroubled by the rules of the society in which they exist or the historically established rules of Aristotle in that a story must have a beginning, a middle and an end. The analysis of the transcriptions supported that Natálka could easily start a story without a beginning or does not come to the conclusion at all (as in the audio recording TD02/16022018, Part D). Natálka was, therefore, able to narrate about everything in what she was interested without thinking about the borderlines defining a story, which is deeply interesting. At her age, she knew she was telling me a story, which was in the data indicated by her herself, when she said “it will be a short story”, or by myself, for example asking her if she was dreaming about something. It suggests that Natálka distinguishes between storytelling and ordinary talk.

It was observed that each story narrated by Natálka shared the same structure as defined by Vladimír Chrz (60). He asserts that the actions in a story taken by the main protagonists are interlinked with each other and together they create one complex unit. The connection between the individual events was predominantly marked by the story relationships, which are *and*, *then* (alternatively *and then*), *enable* and *cause* connectors. The analysis of the data illustrated that Natálka used these relations in order to introduce or characterise the main characters, the background, and the situation, which was the basis of each story. Using the story connectors made the storyline more coherent and complex. She managed the transition between two or more episodes very well using the appropriate connectors according to their function and meaning in the semantic context of what was narrated.

Natálka as a storyteller is not primarily focused only on one story, she can easily overlap the storyline with another one and then return to the point where she started as in the recording TD09/23032018 (Part A). In other words, she narrated a story within a story, which made the storyline in most cases more sophisticated and elaborated. Natálka used the embedded story, when she, for example, wanted to introduce a situation or an action, which was relevant as well as important for the development in the following storyline. It suggests that even a four-year-old child is able to use such a complex structure while storytelling,

which was an important finding. Nonetheless, it was found out that sometimes introducing a new theme which was rather irrelevant to the previous actions taken by the main protagonists had a negative effect on the compactness and the cohesiveness of the story. Switching between two different themes without adding an end to the preceding sequence also caused confusion of the listener or listeners. The analysis of the transcriptions suggests that the evident digression from the main theme was always done on purpose and it always had some function in the storyline, therefore it cannot be stated that Natálka really digressed at all.

In the sub-chapter discussing the new word formation, it was found that Natálka was very creative with regard to coming up with a completely new word, which does not exist in her mother tongue at all. She predominantly derived them from the already existing words modifying them with prefixes or suffixes. It was observed that when the meaning of one particular word could not be decoded even though the source from which it was formed was known, Natálka was able to explain it or describe it in detail at my request as in the case of “sedinka”. When she used the word in the storyline I looked at her with uncertainty and hesitation, Natálka subsequently said “you can sit down (.) maybe”, which suggested that “sedinka” is most probably a couch or a bed. This example illustrates that Natálka did not only come up with a new word, she also gave them a new or slightly modified meaning of its source (regarding diminutives for instance). Importantly, its clarification could be realized within a few seconds, as in the case of “sedinka”, or even after four or five minutes, which is extremely important. It indicates that Natálka remembered the newly created word for a period of time not just at the moment, she used it in the storyline.

Furthermore, it was found out that Natálka’s storytelling was changeable over time and relatively flexible. The clarifying and additional questions clearly, directly and strongly influenced her, which had the power to change the storyline, even though it was not my or others intention. However, in most cases when Natálka included in the story a dark element, the hearers tried to persuade her to think about something positive rather than negative, which was almost always achieved. Even though she was self-confident in telling a story with such a dark element, the new tale where she or another main protagonist was having a really good time was extremely attractive, therefore she gave preference to a story full of joy rather than the other one with an ugly or a morbid theme. It illustrates that the beautiful, joyful and amusing storyline was of great importance to Natálka because she could enjoy the story also

with the hearers. The stories were narrated not just for Natálka herself, but she wanted to involve the hearers in the process of storytelling too, either as the main characters, the direct participants in the storyline or as someone with whom she could have fun while telling a story. After asking a clarifying question Natálka sometimes raised her voice to stress the importance of the information or the situation. It was observed that changing the goal of the main protagonist or action taken by them was in some cases performed by Natálka herself. It demonstrated that during the narration she figured out she made a mistake or that the storyline was not developing according to her original plan, therefore she decided to use self-initiated repair.

It was found out that the process of storytelling was also influenced by Natálka's mood and desire to tell a story. The analysis of the data indicates that the clarifying questions, for example, when I did not hear her well and wanted to repeat the word again, made her angry because she did not feel telling it over and over. Nevertheless, as soon as everything was clear she was ready to continue with the storyline with interest and joy. It suggests that when the spontaneity of her storytelling was interrupted with irrelevant questions or in some cases also with the unexpected entrance of someone else to the room, in which we were present, she was annoyed, upset or even distracted because she could not finish the storyline. She most probably wanted to tell the story continuously without interruption.

In Natálka's case, her daddy, roses, the rats or the prince all meet dreadful ends. Nevertheless, Natálka's daddy remains "hale and well hearty" which clearly demonstrates her storytelling imagination and how she integrates it with that of the reality of her daddy representing for her something solid, trustworthy, and unshakeable. The analysis of the transcriptions supported that the main protagonists in the stories, as well as the action taken by them, predominantly reflected the real characters and events in Natálka's life. She used the reference to her mother, father, brother, her herself as well as to her aunt, grandmother, grandfather or even her favourite stuffed animal Alík. It illustrates that she found the inspiration for her stories in the real world, then she subsequently modified and adapted the protagonists or the events to her own world according to her imagination and creativity.

Analytically, it was interesting to observe that in the collection of the twenty audio recordings five storytelling groups dominated. Stories in each storytelling group followed the same or similar theme, motive, and a storytelling pattern. These five categories included:

1) playing with toys and stuffed animals; 2) the phone calls; 3) fairy tales; 4) dreams; and 5) stories based on reality.

The first category contains nine audio recordings, which is almost half of the collected data. That is because playing with toys, siblings, stuffed animals or an imaginary friend is a daily occurrence for Natálka, the play becomes for Natálka one of the most important things in her life. From my experience, every time I visit my sister, Natálka wants to play with me, she always says: “Hi auntie, let's play!” The reason why she acts like that is quite simple, the play brings fun, joy, and delight in her everyday life and moreover while playing Natálka can do whatever she wants, like telling a story about the toys, stuffed animals or her herself. Jeffrey Goldstein (6) states that taking such action has several benefits for children, namely social, physical and emotional-behavioural. In the case of Natálka, the analysis of the transcriptions illustrated that the play increased empathy, compassion as well as attention not only when she was playing with toys, but also when she was narrating a story. Furthermore, the play improved her nonverbal skills, created joy, increased self-esteem, coordination, balance and flexibility. It also reduced anxiety, stress or fear, for example, when she was narrating only in the presence of myself, she seemed to be more self-confident than in the presence of three or more hearers. Nonetheless, her self-confidence increased within the process of storytelling.

The second category has only three recordings, however, it includes eight short phone calls and even one SMS. These phone conversations look like the real one because Natálka had a real phone, she also used pauses to show that the person on the other side of the phone was talking and then she responded. In the third category, there are four records with fairy tales that were narrated by Natálka before sleeping. She came up with two of them, one she read from the real book and the last one is a retelling of my own fairy tale. The fourth category contains only two audio recordings, but they offer five dreams in total which Natálka dreamed about, as she says herself. There is one exception - a short dream of the little cow. It seems that when she talks about her dreams she tried to catch the real events happening in her mind in sleep. Nevertheless, if they really took part cannot be one hundred per cent confirmed, Natálka could easily come up with them within a few minutes while narrating. The last fifth category includes only two audio recordings, nonetheless, the fact that the two stories are based on reality made them immensely interesting. Natálka plausibly describes events that happened in the past using the same time, utterances as well as main protagonist or

protagonists. She is aware that between her made-up tales and the stories reflecting the reality is a difference, which is apparent in Turns where she, for example, says “just pretend (.) it is not real”.

During the recording, Natálka was four years old. Effectively, she was not yet aware of the concept of narrating as defined by genre studies; nonetheless, through interaction, I could observe how she was intuitively structuring her stories based on which story worked and which one did not. Through interaction, Natálka could be claimed to have naturally and spontaneously acquired the specifics of the genre, which is clearly an extremely important part of a child’s upbringing as well as their socialisation. At the young age of four years, Natálka exhibited a high degree of interactional sensitivity. When a word or a part of the storyline was not clear or intelligible, for example, the clarifying questions and even one look at Natálka served as a tool for repair and explanation. Natálka as a storyteller was able to explicate the meaning as well as the reasons for what she is saying. This, on reflection, I find striking and challenging to my original assumptions.

The thesis came to the conclusion that the interaction played an important part in developing a child’s imagination and their abilities to perceive, understand, adapt, and shape the world around themselves. The participants in the interaction helped to develop the storyline further making it more complex and coherent. It suggests that the cooperation between Natálka, the participants as well as the background was crucial during storytelling in order to produce a story successfully. This work offers an insight into the creativity of a child’s mind and into how she reflected getting to know the world around her in her tales. The data samples are found to be representative of how a four-year-old Czech girl tells a story. It might be interesting for parents, teachers and psychologists who can compare and further develop the outlined areas and the extracted data in the context of their personal as well as professional experience.

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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* includes 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* indicates 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 overview

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

Appendix 3: Frequency of explicitly marked story connectors

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 4: The word creativity overview

Sequence Number	Word Creativity	Meaning	Word Class
TD02/16022018B	"sedinka"	a place, where you can sit down	noun
TD05/23022018B	"nanektovat nekty"	to paint your nails	verb
TD05/23022018C	"kubu"	unknown meaning	noun
TD06/23022018A	"nahajat"	to be in beddy-byes	verb
	"honenem"	quickly	adverb
TD06/23022018C	"vypapaja"	to eat something up	verb
TD07/03032018A	"pajko"	probably a car park	noun
TD08/03032018B	"zahoučky"	probably handsome	adjective
	"pajouci"	probably small grassy clearing or spiders	noun
	"pot"	unknown meaning	noun
	"tezenku"	unknown meaning	noun
	"dijokala"	unknown meaning	verb
	"pocas"	unknown meaning	noun
TD08/03032018E	"popapat"	to eat	verb
TD08/03032018F	"víste"	to know combining 2. person sg and pl	verb
TD09/23032018C	"pejsíček"	diminutive for a dog	noun
TD10/31032018X	"El", "Au", "Pí"	made-up names for hidden beings	noun
	"Topí"	a made-up name for a dog	noun
TD11/13042018A	"pajícky"	unknown meaning	noun
TD11/13042018B	"Hikájk"	a made-up name for a perfume	noun
TD13/16042018A	"slizoun"	probably a snail	noun
	"smisoň"	unknown meaning	noun
TD14/01062018X	"smějíčkuje"	diminutive for to be smiling	verb
TD15/01062018A	"pitku"	unknown meaning	noun
TD15/01062018B	"pípo píp"	sound peep peep	exclamation
TD16/12032018B	"íua to je pes"	"íua" made-up signs for a dog in SMS	noun or exclamation
TD16/12032018C	"vonitka"	made-up name for a peony	noun
TD18/16062018D	"hojem"	incorrect singular for mountain	adverb

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Appendix 6: List of Data Sample

Data Sample	Recording number	Part
Data Sample 1: Observer's paradox Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Me (the author)	TD20/17062018	X
Data Sample 2: This is not a story! Yes, it is. Participants: Me (the author), Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD02/16022018	D
Data Sample 3: This was not a fairy tale Participants: Granny (Natálka's grandmother), Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD08/03032018	C
Data Sample 4: The use of the and story connector for repeated events Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD05/23022018	B
Data Sample 5: The use of the and story connector Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD08/03032018	F
Data Sample 6: The use of the then story connector in a fairy tale Participants: Me (the author), Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD08/03032018	F
Data Sample 7: The use of the then connector in a narrated fairy tale Participants: Me (the author), Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD19/17062018	A
Data Sample 8: The use of the enable or cause connector Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD12/13042018	X
Data Sample 9: The use of the then connector Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD02/16022018	A
Data Sample 10: The use of the cause connector Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD03/16022018	X
Data Sample 11: Introducing a new theme in the storyline Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Me (the author)	TD04/23022018	X
Data Sample 12: Digressing from the topic Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD02/16022018	B
Data Sample 13: Introducing new themes or digression from the topic Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)	TD10/31032018	X
Data Sample 14: Changing the storyline by the narrator Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)	TD14/01062018	X
Data Sample 15: Unintended change in the storyline owing to the author's entrance Participants: Me (the author), Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD20/17062018	X
Data Sample 16: Deliberate change of a story content made by the listeners Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD18/16062018	D
Data Sample 17: Naming a flower Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)	TD16/12032018	C

Data Sample 18: Naming a perfume Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Me (the author)	TD11/13042018	B
Data Sample 19: Naming beings Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)	TD10/31032018	X
Data Sample 20: Modification of the verb Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)	TD06/23022018	A
Data Sample 21: Diminutive of the verb Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller)	TD14/01062018	X
Data Sample 22: Diminutive of the noun Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller),	TD09/23032018	C
Data Sample 23: Duplication of the syllables Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Mum (Natálka's mother)	TD06/23022018	A
Data Sample 24: Made-up signs for a dog in SMS Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Me (the author)	TD16/12032018	B
Data Sample 25: An example of the newly created word "slizoun" Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Me (the author)	TD13/16042018	A
Data Sample 26: Spider biting off the prince's head Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Me (the author)	TD12/13042018	X
Data Sample 27: Taking away the mouse's skin Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Me (the author), Granny (Natálka's grandmother)	TD08/03032018	A
Data Sample 28: Burning someone else's hair and hay Participants: Naty (Natálka, a storyteller), Me (the author)	TD09/23032018	B