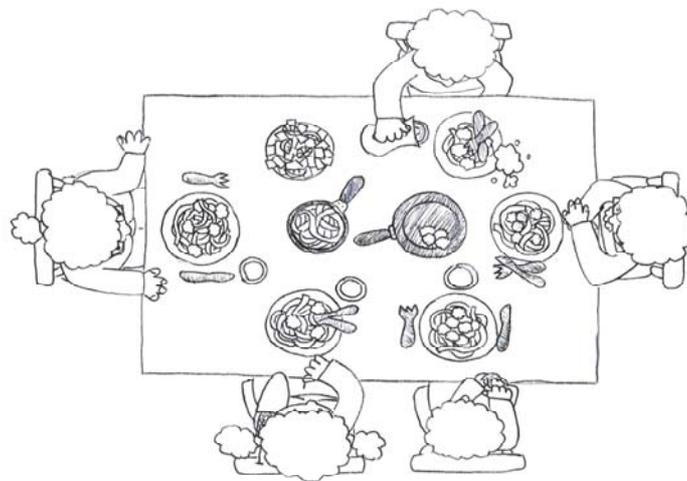ÅSA BRUMARK

Narratives in family dinner table conversations

A study of the co-narration at dinnertime in twenty Swedish families

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Abstract

In previous research of functions of family dinner talk and conversation, co-narration was found to be an important ingredient. For this reason and because of the importance of family dinners as a context of child socialization, family narration was considered worthy of some extra attention. In this study, narrative activity appearing during dinner table conversations was studied in ten video recorded conversations in ten monolingual Swedish families with children of ages 7-14. The ten recordings were divided into two groups depending on age of the children (group 1: 7-11 years and group 2: 10-14 years) and extensively studied with regard to structural, referential, formal and functional aspects.

The results revealed similarities regarding certain basic variables, e.g. mean numbers of narratives utterances of the total amount of utterances, especially between adults. However, there were also some striking differences between the groups, e.g. different amount of narrative reference to past and mediated, i.e. decontextualized, events, of complex and elaborated narrative turns and of narrative initiations and elicitations, not only between younger and older siblings, but also in some respects between the two groups of children of the same age (10-11 years), although the latter group produced fewer utterances. These findings suggest that older siblings, despite taking more space in the conversation, would contribute to a supportive conversational context, thus allowing their younger siblings to perform in a "zone of proximal development".

The results suggest that the model used in this analysis captures interesting cultural and situational similarities and differences in family dinner table conversations as well as differences in children´s narrative behaviour possibly due to age. Certain adult conversational patterns might be a result of specific adaptations to the children´s age-dependent narrative skills and serve as co-narrative support. The study of the two groups with different ages of the participating children ages also suggest that older siblings would be important, both in a competitive and supportive role.

Introduction

One of the primary means of the human mind to make use of experience and memory in social life is the verbal activity generally called narrative (Hymes 1989, Bakhtin 1986, Bruner 1987, McCabe 1991).

Narratives may arise in a number of different contexts and serve a host of different functions, as tools for individual cognition and collective memory, for creating, exchanging and reproducing knowledge, as well as for constructing and structuring social reality. More specifically, narrative activity may contribute to structure new knowledge in learning processes (Bruner 1985, Vygotsky 1934/1986) and facilitate mutual understanding in intimate social settings (Ochs & Taylor 1990, Blum-Kulka 1997) as well as in professional contexts (Aronsson & Nilholm 1992, Adelswärd, Nilholm & Säljö 1997).

Being so important in most domains of social life, story-telling in both everyday and more formal or institutional settings is most likely to serve an important function as a context for the development of narrative and general linguistic skills. In the family, children become familiar with narratives during meals (Blum-Kulka 1991, 1997) and in sparetime activities, such as book-reading (Snow & Goldfield 1983) already from early infancy. And, later on, in school and social life, narrative activities continue to provide opportunities of recreation and instruction (Heath 1982, Hicks 1991). Actually, through the entire lifetime our existence as social beings is furnished by narrative activity as business and pleasure.

The purpose of the study

The present pilot study addresses the kind of narrative activities spontaneously appearing in the natural setting of family dinner table conversations. The study is descriptive and based on a limited material. Quantitative methods, descriptive statistics, have been used only to support the descriptive argumentation.

The study has four main purposes. A first purpose was to develop conceptual tools sensitive to the structural, referential, formal and functional aspects of narratives in conversation. Though there has been a lot of research devoted to different kinds of narrative activity, linguistic studies often focus on isolated aspects. For this reason, they tend to lose a comprehensive overall view of narratives in their natural context. To avoid this, the coding system adopted in the present study was based on earlier observations of cultural and developmental aspects in narratives (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1997, see below).

A second aim was to carry out an extensive descriptive study of narrative activity during family dinner conversations in a rather limited population of subjects, i.e. ten families varying in as few aspects as possible (other than age of the children). Careful observations of different aspects in a small and fairly homogenous group would lay the ground for a larger intercultural research.

A third aim of the study was also to compare the narrative activity in the two subgroups distinguished by age of the participating children. Studying narratives in two groups differing by age would not tell much about the process of narrative development but might distinguish relevant differences in the conversations possibly due to age and thereby reveal the efficiency of the model used.

A fourth purpose was to study the relevance of narrative activity during dinner table conversations as context for the development of narrative and general linguistic skills of the children. Careful descriptions of different patterns appearing in the ten conversations might permit evaluating adult support strategies and the developmental and pedagogic implications of narratives in dinner conversation.

The aspects of narratives focused

Since the most important focus of the study was on co-narration as a supportive context for development of narrative and general linguistic skills, certain referential, formal, structural and functional features were selected to reflect differences between the families due to age of the participating children. The dimensions adopted were degree of referential *decontextualisation, narrative elaboration*, *structural complexity* and degree of *autonomy* (or need for co-narrative support) of the individual contributions as well as the extent of co-narrative and autonomous participation of the individuals in narrative exchanges.

Relevance of the study

The study would, thus, be of theoretical interest by the elaboration of tools for analysis of narratives in conversation. In a retrospective volume of the Journal of Narrative and Life History, Berman (1997) made a request for more comprehensive categories of analysis of narratives, making clear distinctions between for instance content and function. The model presented in Methods will be a modest attempt in that direction. But it may also have pedagogic relevance by exploring co-narration in an informal routine setting as context for narrative and linguistic development. In a wider perspective, the differences distinguished in family dinner conversation may allow formulating relevant hypotheses about possible socially and culturally related patterns. In this way, the analysis may serve as basis for a broader investigation of the impact of social and cultural conditions on children´s development towards a more decontextualized language as a prerequisite for school achievements.

Earlier research - traditions and directions

Structural and typological aspects of narratives

There has been a lot of extensive research within different fields concerning narratives. The earliest studies of narratives seem generally to focus primarily on structural and typological aspects. The reason might be an emphasis on research approaching narratives from a literary angle. Thus, in 1968 the translation in English of the "Morfologija skazki" by Vladimir Propp was published and became an important structuralist manifestation. At about the same time, William Labov and Paul Waletsky launched their theory of narrative structure in natural discourse (1967). Thirty years later, in 1997, an entire volume of the Journal of Narrative and Life History was dedicated to critiques, revisions and elaborations of their theory, which must be considered as a sign of the lasting impact of their work

Since the 60ies, the theory or theories on narratives have been adopted, elaborated and extended to other fields of human sciences and the amount of empirical studies has increased considerably.

Narrative genres

After Propp and Labov, the notion of narrative genre has been extended and elaborated. Bruner (1986) pointed to the importance of the notion of genre, claiming genre to be a cognitive and social/semiotic phenomenon and an essential component of the way in which individuals represent events, oral as well as literary. According to Bakhtin (1986), primary narrative genres arise in everyday contexts, whereas literary genres like novel, drama and poetry all are secondary genres. Actually, narrative genre would be a key component of the shared construction of meaning (Hicks 1991).

Further, empirical work appears to give evidence for implicit and culturally determined knowledge of different narrative genres. In a study of adults, Polanyi (1985) found a clear distinction between stories and reports, the latter providing information but without personal evaluation. This culturally determined knowledge seems to develop already in early infancy (Appelbee 1978, Hudson & Shapiro 1991). Heath (1982) and Hudson & Shapiro (1991), furthermore, emphasize the importance of considering the communicative as well as the cultural context in studying genre knowledge of children.

Interactional/dialogic aspects of narratives

In his work on language and society, Bakhtin (1986) established the idea of narrative activity as a social, not a cognitive, phenomenon. Meaning is created in a social context through collaboration between "self" and the "other".

Although focused on narrative structure, the Labov and Waletsky theory also laid the ground for a social interactionist account by studying narratives in natural discourse contexts.

Ethnomethodologists (Jefferson 1978, Sacks et al 1974) developed methods for transcription of utterances and turns, and rules for turn-taking in conversation, which proved to be useful in the study of narratives in natural conversational settings.

Along with the growing interest for collaborative narratives in natural settings, researchers focused on narrative activities during dinner table conversation (Erickson 1990, Ochs et al 1989, Ochs & Taylor 1992, Ochs et al 1992, Blum-Kulka 1994, 1997).

Ochs and Taylor (1992) studied dinner conversations in seven "middle-class, white, two-parent, English-speaking American families" with children aged 4 – 6 years regarding the different roles assumed by the participating family members. Two types of narrative events were distinguished, reports concerning two or more temporally ordered events, and stories, defined as recapitulations revolving problematic events including responses. The roles observed were the protagonist or narrative introducer (initiating or elicitating reports or stories), the recipient (the one addressed or oriented to), the problematizer (the one who problemizesthe protagonist´s telling or actions) and the problematizee (the person addressed by the problematizer). Ochs and Taylor found that both reports and stories tended to focus children as protagonists, one of the parents as the main recipients and the fathers as the "chief narrative problematizer" (1990:303). The mothers tended to assume the role of initiating or eliciting introducer whereas the children seldom initiated or elicitated narratives, even those related to themselves.

Within a somewhat different theoretical framework, Blum-Kulka (1994, 1997) studied family narratives in two cultural groups, consisting of 11 families each including 86 children of ages 6-17 years. She found a large amount of child participation and initiation in the dinner conversations studied (38% in Jewish American families and 54% in Israeli families). When studying the reference of the narratives occurring in conversation during the family dinner, she found predominance for telling about distant past or today events on the one hand and to personal experience to events that were not known by the other participants on the other. Furthermore, Blum-Kulka distinguished three modes of telling, monologic, dialogic or polyphonic, depending on the degree of participation of a main-teller and the other members of the family and differing in the two cultural groups.

Developmental aspects of narrative

Narrative as a context for the development of narrative and general linguistic skills

The most popular point of departure of developmental studies carried out during the last two decades has probably been the assumption of the social environment as a supportive context for development and learning of narrative skills. This assumption originates from the Vygotskyan theories and observations of intrapersonal processes as transformed interpersonal processes (Vygotsky 1986). In a collaborative and supportive interaction with more "competent" parties, the individual may be invited or triggered to perform within his/her "zone of proximal development", i.e. slightly better than his actual level of competence. Functioning within the zone of proximal development provides entraining opportunities and provokes positive responses from the social environment.

Accordingly, narrative skills arise in children´s interactions with peers and family members Bublitz 1988). Children develop repertoires of knowledge in routines of every day life which become a basis for the linguistic representation of past and present events (Nelson 1973, 1986, Hicks 1991). Also, the cognitive ability to represent events has its origin in children´s interaction with their social world. Many different narrative skills develop through conversations about past and present events, e.g. the use of the reportative function, or ability to make reference to personally experienced events (Ninio 1988, Peterson & Mc Cabe 1991).

Further, studies of pre-school and school children have called attention to the importance of narrative discourse as a supportive context for decontextualization and a prerequisite for linguistic training at school, i.e. for developing decontextualized language and literacy (Werner & Kaplan 1963, Heath 1982, McCabe & Peterson 1991). Narratives related to the present or to personal experiences related to the immediate past serve as precursors of talking about more distant and non-shared experiences (Snow & Imbens-Bailey 1997).

Stages of narrative skills

Most research aiming at establishing successive stages of narrative skills concern preschool children or children at the primary school. Appelbee (1978) studied the coherence in stories produced by children of ages 2-5. Already in small children, different types of narratives could be distinguished, depending on the developmental level of the child.

McCabe & Peterson (1991) found an age-related development of narrative structure in two-years-olds from temporally disorganized lists of actions at age four, followed by the temporal sequence of experienced events, to personal narratives conforming to Labov´s (1972) description at five.

Eisenberg (1985) carried out a dialogic study of conversations with small children and found three phases: a) adult supplied conversation and minimal child answers, b) decreasing child dependence on adult scaffolding and child introduction of scripts, c) few descriptions of the past elicited by adult and more new information to the conversation provided by the child.

Studies addressing narrative activities and skills among older school children, adolescents and young adults seem to approach the subject from a more structural, sociolinguistic or sociocultural angle (Labov 1972, Mc Cabe, Capron & Peterson 1991, Blum-Kulka 1994). Labov found (1992) in his pioneer study of children aged 9 – 13 and 14 – 19 that many linguistic skills, such as certain syntactic devices for evaluation do not develop until late in life, thus revising the popular opinion of syntactic development as finished at the age of about five years. Some studies have focused on the special characteristics in the language used by teen-agers, such as quoted speech, evaluative comments, gestures, prosodic features and lexical-phonological stress (Labov 1972, Reilly 1992, Kotsinas 1994, Eriksson 1996).

Supportive strategies

Along with the observations of the interactional context, researchers have also tried to discriminate different parental styles (see review in McCabe & Peterson 1991), more or less scaffolding (Eisenberg 1985). Nelson (1973) found two main parental attitudes, termed positive and negative styles. Fivush & Fromhof (1988) found that so called talkative mothers could be either elaborative or repetitive, the latter supposed to be less favourable to the development of the children. Snow & Goldfield (1982) distinguished different maternal strategies in book reading and fictional narrative conversation, where the child showed increased responsibility. Pratt et al (1988), studied parental strategies from an explicitly focused Vygotskyan scaffolding perspective. They found general story questions and specific information questions to be of differentiated importance, depending on the situation. Finally, Snow and Imbens-Bailey (1997) concluded that scaffolding may simply imply supporting the children "in two senses: their effective telling is supported, and the child as teller is supported in becoming a better narrator" (Snow & Imbens-Bailey 1997:198).

Methods

General perspective

This paper presents a pilot study of a larger comparative investigation of narratives in dinner table conversations in different cultural contexts.

The study conforms to the social interactionist tradition focussing on the collaborative aspect of narrative activity. According to this approach, data collection and methods for analysis used are developed within the social interactionist and ethnomethodological disciplines, i. e. discourse and conversational analysis.

However, the study will also be an attempt to develop a pragmatic model of co-narration representing structural and referential as well as functional and formal aspects of narratives occurring in family dinner table conversations with children. As a consequence of the methods chosen, both quantitative and qualitative data will be considered on macro as well as on micro level.

Data collection

Certain prerequisites were set up before collecting the data. The participating families should have one preadolescent child (age 10-11) and one younger or older sibling. During the dinner conversation, both children and one parent should be present, thus preventing the conversation from being an affair between adults only but allowing the children as much conversational space as possible. Preparative questionnaires were distributed before recording to make sure that this setting would not be more unnatural than necessary by interfering with the habits and the dinner routines in the families (Appendix 1). The parent participating in the dinner should have a high-school education.

Suitable families satisfying the criteria mentioned above were chosen out of a larger group intended for an intercultural study. The twenty families used for collecting the original corpus were recruited via elementary schools by letters shortly describing the general outline of the study.

The material used in the present study thus included ten video taped conversations during family dinners. The number of participants in the dinners was constantly three in all of them, one parent and two children (table 1). The recordings varied in length from 9 to 25 minutes and the mean duration was 16, 9 minutes (table 2).

Since one of the aims of the study was to consider differences between the families, possibly due to the age of the children, the recorded material was divided into two groups. The first group, comprising six families, consisted of one parent, a target child aged 10-11 and a sibling of age 7-8 years. In the other group consisting of four families, the target child was 10-11 years and the sibling was three years older than the target child, i.e. 13-14 (table 1).

Transcription

The video recordings of the dinner conversations were transcribed using the CHAT transcription system (MacWhinney 1991), modified to suit the purposes of this study (see transcript marks and examples, Appendix 2). Verbal utterances and non-verbal expressions of clear communicative and relevance for the conversation as judged by two researchers were identified and coded by means of the coding categories presented below. Parts of the transcriptions were compared by two researchers familiar with the video recordings and evaluated with regard to accuracy, whereas the interrater reliability amounted to 85%.

Coding

Definitions

In their study of narratives in therapeutic contexts, Labov & Waletsky (1969) defined narrative as "any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture" serving the main functions of referring and evaluating.

The word "narration" derives from the Latin word gnarus, i.e. "knowing" or telling a story (definition in Mc Cabe 1991). Actually, the most important pragmatic characteristics of a narrative would be its specific referential function, namely to tell something. Accordingly, narratives may be distinguished from other conversational genres frequently occurring in family dinner conversations, such as instrumental talk regulating the activity of dining, co-operative planning for the future and evaluative commenting or arguing.

Labov (1972) defined a minimal narrative as two temporally ordered clauses in the past tense and the most typical narrative would be the activity of referring to fictional or factual events, disassociated from the present context. This formal criterion further implies a non-oblique mode of the main verb in a narrative clause, excluding verbal expressions of wishes or hypotheses.

In the present study, this formally based definition of narrative is somewhat extended (c.f. McCabe 1991) to include such activities as reporting and describing general facts (scripts) and events to occur in the future. Consequently, event reports are most often given in the past tense but all kinds of narratives could also be expressed by the main verb in the present or future tense.

Coding units

Since the interest is focussed not only on the internal structure of the narratives occurring during dinner table conversation, but also and mainly on the interactional dynamics during the dinner conversations, it was necessary to supplement structural narrative units with such discourse units reflecting the interactional structure.

In previous studies of narrative structure, the primary unit used has been either narrative clause (Labov & Waletsky) or proposition (Peterson & McCabe 1991). However, the unit of clause is defined by syntactic-formal criteria, which are difficult to handle in this primarily pragmatic approach and the notion of proposition requires semantic considerations beyond the scope of this study. Thus, the units of utterance and turn were considered more useful and appropriate, despite some problems in coding such formally defined categories.

Basic coding units

The basic coding units used thus were

Utterance
Corresponding to one prosodic clause and syntactically to one or more syntactic clauses (see for instance Hellspong 1988, Brumark 1989)

Turn
One or more utterances by which one participant holds the floor (see Sacks et al 1974)

Exchange
One adjacency pair of turns uttered by two participants (see Sachs 1978, Brumark 1988)

Sequence
Two or more exchanges (c.f. Labov & Waletski 1969, Brumark 1988)

Narrative utterance
One utterance carrying the main function to tell something, an event or a fact, in the past, present or future tense. A narrative utterance will be considered as a "minimal narrative" (c.f. Labov 1972).

Narrative turn
One or more utterances, defined as narrative.

Sequence of narrative exchanges
Two or more exchanges including at least two turns and two utterances defined as narrative (se below), held together and delimited by a main topic ("macro-theme") or referential focus, a main function or aim, i e to tell something (referring function, Labov 1972),

The coding categories developed to match the structural, referential and formal aspects approached in this study were generally based on the unit of utterance, assumed to be most appropriate, as mentioned above. In the parts of the study that focused on the interactional structure, the basic units chosen were turns and exchanges.

Coding validity and reliability

Coding was partially made in collaboration between the author of the paper and one researcher not involved in the present study but familiar with the field and the variables used. The agreement between the two researchers amounted to between 85% and 90% of the scrutinized parts. The validity and the reliability was also tested by the author by recoding and recounting parts of the material on two occasions separated by three months, which yielded an agreement of about 90%.

   In the following section categories and coding procedures will be presented by illustrating examples. In most cases, the examples in these sections as well as in Results have been collected from the transcriptions in Swedish and sometimes difficult to render into idiomatic English. Therefore all examples are provided with a verbatim translation in English.

Coding procedures

The material was coded and analysed in three steps. In the first step, all turns and utterances were identified and the amount of utterances per minute and per turn was counted, giving a picture of the quantity of talk in the ten transcribed conversations. From the units thus identified, the turns and utterances meeting with the criteria for narratives mentioned above were singled out and coded by the referential, textual and structural categories presented below.

In the second step, turns and utterances considered to be narrative were analysed, taking the conversational context more explicitly into account. In this analysis, sequences of narrative exchanges (SNE) were identified and all contributing turns and utterances, including those not considered to be narrative, were coded with regard to functional interactional aspects, such as initiations, elicitations and extensions. Furthermore, a supplementary coding was made of the eliciting and extending turns and utterances in referential and formal (syntactic) categories.

In the third step, the quantitative data obtained served as base for an extensive qualitative micro analysis of the sequences of narrative exchanges in order to reveal the conversational styles of the families.

Step 1: Coding and analysis of turns and utterances

After the preliminary coding of turns and utterances in the ten transcriptions, those identified as narrative were subjected to further coding and analysis.

In order to determine the quantity of narratives in the family dinner conversations studied, the share of narrative utterances were counted out of the total amount of utterances. Further, an analysis was made of the distribution of adult and child narrative utterances in the two age groups.

Narrative turns and utterances were coded into categories related to four specific dimensions, *referential focus, textual complexity, structural elaboration and co-narrative integration*. These dimensions were assumed to reflect possible differences between the conversations regarding degree of *decontextualisation, complexity, elaboration* and *narrative autonomy* (as opposed to need for co-narrative support) in the conversation (see e.g. Bublitz 1988, Hudson & Shapiro 1991, Blum-Kulka 1997).

Referential focus / decontextualization

Narrative utterances were ascribed a main referential focus ("topic", c.f. Keenan & Schieffelin 1976) which was coded as referring to either

1) an event, temporally related to the past, the present or the future,
    Example: "I am going to sing two voices."

    Past events could relate to
    a) immediate past (the same day)
        Example: "Lena was ill today."
    b) recent past (within the nearest days or months)
        Example: "Yesterday I got four pancakes in school."
    c) distant past (more than one year ago)
    (c.f. Past 1 – 3 in Blum-Kulka 1997)

Example: "I remember I saw that program when I was four."

2) a circumstance or a general fact, not temporally related
Example: "In the day-care you get ice-cream as afternoon meal.", coded as a circumstance; "In China, everything is upside down.", coded as a general "fact"

Events, circumstances and facts narrated were coded as belonging to either of two classes

a) personally experienced or mediated, i.e. told to the narrator by another person,
Example: "Lisa told that she was ill yesterday.", coded as mediated

b) known only by the narrator only or to at least one of the other participants (c.f.. A-events and B-events in Blum-Kulka 1997).
Example: "We had an accident yesterday, didn´t we."

Reference to the distant past, to general facts, to mediated information and information only known to the narrator ("true" information, c.f. Mc Cabe & Peterson 1991, Snow & Imbens-Bailey 1997) would possibly occur more often in the older age group and thus indicate a more sophisticated level of narrative conversation.

Textual complexity

Narrative turns were, distinguished as consisting of either single or multiple utterances (two or more utterances), the latter being regarded as more complex, quantitatively as well as qualitatively. Complex turns would reflect a more sophisticated and adult-like level of conversation:

Example:
Jo typ Sara skulle till Tumba för å köpa kläder	Well, Sara was going to shop clothes
Å då sa Sara då säjer jag till min pappa att du fick	and then Sara said i am going to tell my dad that you were allowed to
Å då sa Lisa då säjer jag likadant	and then Lisa said i am going to say the same thing
Å de va bra för då kunde dom åka båda två	And that was good because they could go both of them

Structural elaboration

Turns were also examined with regard to structural elaboration according to the "narrative grammar", i.e. if they comprised one or more narrative structural elements or sections in Labovian terms (Labov & Waletsky 1969). The elements considered were abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda (see further Labov & Waletsky 1969). These elements generally but not always form an initial phase (*abstract*, giving a short summery), a narrating phase (spatiotemporal *orientation*, *complication*, i.e. the narrative event proper and *evaluation,* pointing to the importance of the narrative event) and a concluding phase (*resolution*, i.e. giving a solution of the problems narrated and *coda,* concluding the narrative by devices like: "And that´s it."). More than one element in more than one phase was supposed to be a sign of narrative elaboration (c.f. Hudson & Shapiro 1991). Exemples of the phases are presented below, p. 13.

Co-narrative integration / Narrative autonomy

Complex turns, i.e. turns of more than one utterance, were considered with regard to their autonomy or integration into the conversational context, thus measuring the degree of dialogic versus monologic narrating (c.f. Sulzby & Zecker 1991). Integrated turns were defined as conversational contributions responded to by a turn that was not coded as a mere feedback reaction. Non-integrated turns were defined as contributions consisting of complex and autonomous turns, not reacted upon at all or reacted upon only by a feedback reaction (see below, step 2). Non-integrated complex autonomous narrative turns, monologues, were assumed to occur more frequently in the group with older children and thus to reflect a more developed narrative autonomy (which must not be confused with conversational competence, see e. g. Anward 1983). When an elaborated narrative was not initiated nor responded to or reacted upon, as in the example presented above below the head-line "Textual complexity", it was coded as non-integrated. The coding of integrated versus non-integrated turns served as basis for the analysis of the interactional types of SNE, see below.

Step 2: Coding and analysis of sequences of narrative exchanges (SNE)

In the second step, sequences of narrative exchanges were identified and analysed. "Narrative exchanges" were defined as two- or three-part discourse exchanges held together and delimited by
- a main topic ("macro-theme") or referential focus,
- a main function or aim, I e to tell something (referring function, Labov 1972),

constituting at least two adjacency pairs of turns, and containing at least two utterances coded as narrative.

According to this definition, individual utterances regarded as narrative need not be involved in SNE but may occur in other types of non-instrumental and non-phatic discourse (like family planning or evaluative commenting). On the other hand, utterances not coded as narrative could occur in a sequence of narrative exchanges (e.g. questions having an elicitative purpose).

Narrative genre

The SNE distinguished were analysed with regard to narrative genre type as

- fictive or factive (c.f. Heath 1982, Snow 1983, Wells 1985, Mc Cabe, Capron & Peterson 1991)

Fictive narratives, defined as referring to invented stories, were omitted from further analysis. Among the factive narratives, defined as referring to real events, no distinction was made in this study between the factive genres of "report" and "story", c.f. Ochs & Taylor 1992.

The SNE:s were then studied with regard to four dimensions, partly corresponding to those presented above but now in an interactional and collaborative perspective: *decontextualization* of the referential focus (or macro-theme) of entire SNE, *co-narrative participation* of the participants in the conversation, structural *elaboration* according to Labovian story grammar but in a collaborative perspective and *co-narrative integration* (or *autonomy)* of complex narrative turns, but now in terms of *monologues* or *dialogues* (and polylogues).

Referential focus or macro-theme / decontextualization

Those SNE:s that were regarded as factive (on the basis of the referential utterances involved) were further coded as to their main referential focus or macro-theme, as referring to either one of the following categories:

1) the temporal context as

- narrative events, referring to events in past, present or future time
  i.e. narrative exchanges about a school concert or a journey
- narrative facts, reporting some circumstancial or general fact (see further above, c.f. "scripts" in Mc Cabe 1991),
  i.e. narrative exchanges about what can be seen in a museum or how things are in other countries

2) the spatial context (cf Blum-Kulka 1997), as referring to

- primary context (family members and events, immediate family matters)
  i.e. narrative exchanges about the food at dinner or a birthday party

- secondary context (school, work, hobbies and culture, and more remote relatives and friends)
  i.e. narrative exchanges about how a friend managed to cheat her parents

- tertiary context (questions of more general interest, e g political or international issues)
  i.e. narrative exchanges dealing with the situation in a foreign country

Structural elaboration of SNE

In order to study the narrative elaboration as a function of the co-operation between the participants in the conversation, all utterances in the SNE were analysed with regard to narrative structural elements, following Labov & Waletsky 1972, c.f. above:

- initial phase (abstract)
  (example: "Now I will tell you about a visit I made at the museum.")

- narrating phase (orientation, complication, evaluation)
  (example: "We got there on thursday. And we looked at some old things. But we did not know that the busses went only every 30 min. Very bad.")

- concluding phase (resolution and coda).
  (example: "We had to go the train and we missed it. So that was our visit to the museum, rather unsuccessful, actually.")

The elaboration of different structural phases was assumed to vary with the child´s developmental ability to participate in narrative discourse as well as with parental or familial interactional style.

Co-narrative participation

Since one main objective was to study the interactional and co-operative aspects of dinner table conversations as a scaffolding context for linguistic and narrative development, turns and utterances involved in the SNE identified were also coded with regard to co-narrative participation of the family members. The assumption was that the group of younger siblings would need a larger number of adult elicitations by promptings. In the same way, extension of narrative initiations was assumed to play a varying role in different families. Thus, the following categories were studied:

1) share of adult and child turns and utterances (narrative or not) involved in SNE

2) share of initiations and elicitations made by adults and children,

3) share of extensions made by adults and children

Narrative initiation was defined as any narrative utterance, usually formulated as a declarative, initiating, reinitiating (after interrupting sequences) or developing a new aspect of a macro-theme in a sequence of narrative exchanges.

Example: "Sofia and the others made an experiment at school."

Narrative elicitation was defined as any initiating utterance in the form of a declarative, an imperative, an open or a closed question or an ellipsis and used to prompt a narrative utterance.

Example: "Now, you have to tell what you did at the museum."

Narrative extension was defined as any utterance involved in a sequence of narrative exchanges that is not an initiation or an elicitation. A narrative extension can have any syntactic form, and perform a backing, an expanding, a problemizing(c.f. Ochs & Taylor 1992), a contesting, a clarifying or an evaluating function.

Example: "And how did you say you got there?" as a clarifying question following the answer to the elicitation mentioned above.

Elicitations and extensions were further analysed with regard to syntactic form:

- declarative
  Example: "I don´t know."

- declarative with interrogative intonation
  Example: "You, surely have to peel you own potato at school?"

- imperative
  Example: "Tell us what happened in school today! "

- question
  open, normally followed by an informative declarative
  Example: "But what did he say?"

closed, normally followed by a positive/negative interjection, I e an affirmative or negative answer
Example: "Do you have more home work that you have not done?"

disjunctive, presenting an alternative
Example: "Are you going or not?"

- ellipsis, i e all utterances consisting of a fragmentary clause, e g positive/negative interjections as answers to closed questions or one word utterances as answers to open questions
Example: "How many days was he there?" – "Three."

The assumption was that adult utterances in narratives, depending on interactional style (Dickinson 1991) and age of the children would differ in syntactic structures, a claim largely supported by researchers ever since the beginning of studies investigating parental conversational styles (see review in Brumark 1989). Thus, the use of imperatives and questions were supposed to be more response prompting (as "strong" initiatives, Linell & Gustavsson 1987) and consequently more frequent in utterances directed to young children. On the other hand, younger children might be expected to use ellipsis to a larger extent than older siblings. However, the matching of formal syntactic structures onto pragmatic interactional units such as utterances entails a number of problems. Actually, imperatives and questions may occur in prompting contexts and they do occur more often in conversation with pre-school children, but these structures are also common for instance in argumentative discussions. In addition, ellipsis would be a natural response in several instances of natural discourse.

Extensions were also analysed with regard to the syntactic categories above. Furthermore, they were subjected to an additional analysis with regard to their function in the narrative exchange:

- feedback reaction, i e a reaction not adding any new information, e g back-channel humming or minimal responses, echoing or otherwise reacting on the utterance, c.f. Linell & Gustavsson 1987)
Example: "And then we got home." – "Mm"

- expansion, i e a response containing new information and thus having a potential initiating function (Linell & Gustavsson 1987:61)
Example: "And then we got home." – "Yes, by taxi."

- problemizing, i e an extension suggesting a problem hidden in the former utterance (c.f. Ochs & Taylor 1990, Mc Cabe 1991)
Exemple: "And then we got home." – "But you were late."

- contesting, i e an extension protesting against the former utterance
Example: "But you were late." – "No, we were not!"

- clarification, i e an extension, formulated as an informative declarative or a question asking for further or more clear explanations regarding the content in the former utterance

Example: "But you were late." – "What do you mean?"

- evaluation, i e an extension carrying one of the main functions of narratives (Labov 1972), namely to evaluate the narrated content.
Example: "But you were much too late, that was very bad."

Co-narrative integration / monologue vs dialogue

Finally, corresponding to the analysis of degree of integration versus non-integration of complex turns, the sequences of narrative exchanges were analysed as either monologic, dialogic (with participation of two parties) or pololologic (with three participants, c.f. further Blum-Kulka 1997).

Monologic SNE were characterized by narrative monologues performed by one main narrator not responded to, only supported by feedback reactions or not overtly reacted upon at all, thus in some sense still interactional but not collaborative.

Dialogic SNE were distinguished as two types, depending on the quantity and quality (regarding referential and pragmatic contributions) of the turns involved (c.f. Linell & Gustavsson 1997:238):

- symmetrical, defined as dialogues where the contributions made were characterized as equal, e. g. dialogue between two parties using declaratives of approximately the same length

- asymmetrical, defined as dialogues where the contributions made were pragmatically unequal, e. g. dialogue built up by closed questions performed by one participant responded to by ellipsis or minimal responses (Linell & Gustavsson 1987).

The dialogue was, thus, considered asymmetrical, when one party, mostly the adult, guided the conversation by prompting elicitations and the other party, mostly a child, responds by elliptical utterances. Pragmatic (or interactional, Linell & Gustavsson 1997:238) dominance may also, but not necessarily, entail referential or topical dominance, by the introduction of new topics.

Polylogic sequences, finally, were defined as sequences where three participants contributed more or less equally to the co-narration.

Results

Results of the analysis of turns and utterances

I.   Proportion, amount and distribution of narrative utterances

In the following presentation, the focus of interest will continually shift with regard to basic coding categories, from utterances and turns to sequences of narrative exchanges, as well as with regard to the participants focused, i.e. adults, target children or siblings in two age groups.

1. Proportions of narrative utterances

As a preparation for the analysis of narrative utterances, the total amount of turns and utterances and the proportion of utterances per minute and per turn of all participants in the ten recordings were counted, thus giving a general picture of the quantity of talk in the ten conversations.

Whereas the amount of turns and utterances differed between the families, partly as a consequence of different length of the recordings (range 9-25 minutes), there was a rather constant amount of utterances uttered per minute and per turn (about 8 utterances per minute and 1.3 utterances per turn in adults, and about 5 utterances per minute and 1.2 utterances per turn in children, see table 2). Furthermore, when comparing the two age groups, only minor differences could be distinguished. There was a slight but not significant difference between the two groups of siblings.

2. Amount, proportions and distribution of narrative utterances

Although the amount of adult narrative utterances varied from 3 to 50 in the recordings, the mean number was almost identical, 16 narrative utterances in the first group and 16.3 in the second (table 3).

Furthermore, the share of adult narrative utterances of the total number of utterances counted in each recording was surprisingly similar, 5.9% in the first group and 4.8% in the second.

The same tendency could be observed, when account was made for the share of narrative utterances out of all utterances in each individual and of the total number of narrative utterances in each recorded conversation (9.4 in the first group versus 10.3 in the second for the share of individual narrative utterances and 36.5 in the first group versus 35.5 in the second for the share of adult narratives of the total amount of narratives in the family).

Correspondingly, the amount of narrative utterances performed by the target children varied from 6 to 28, but when account was made for mean number, there was only a small difference between the groups of target children and compared to the adults, 17.8 in the first group and 15.3 in the second.

Regarding narrative utterances out of the total number of utterances, more striking differences could, however, be distinguished between the two groups of target children. For the first group, the ratio of narrative utterances to non-narrative utterances was twice as high (8.5 against 4.3).

The share of narrative utterances of the total number of utterances in each individual amounted to one fourth (24.7%) in the first group but only 14.3% in the second. Similarly, nearly one half (48%) of the total amount of narrative utterances in the conversations in the first group were performed by the target children, whereas the corresponding proportion in the second group was 28.5% (table 3).

These tendencies in the narrative utterances performed by the target children also reflected the differences in the two groups of siblings. While the first group of younger siblings has a mean number of 5 narrative utterances, the corresponding mean of the second group of older children amounts to 22. And comparing the share of narrative utterances with the total number of utterances in each individual, yielded a result of 11.2 % against 22.8% in the older group.

The most obvious difference between the groups, however, concerned the share of child narrative utterances out of the total amount of narrative utterances - 9% in the younger sibling group and 41% in the older one. Notice, however, that the target children of the first group performed a slightly larger amount than the older children in the second group. The reason for this latter finding might be a more symmetrical conversation in the group with older children. On the other hand, the difference could be a result of the children in this group engaging in a more competitive behaviour, both target children and siblings being eager to hold the floor in the conversation (see further Conclusions and discussion).

II. Decontextualization, textual complexity and structural elaboration of narrative turns and utterances

1. *Referential focus/ decontextualization of narrative utterances.*

Reference made to past events

Narrative utterances referring to past events made up more than two thirds of the narrative utterances in the two groups, 67.3% in the first and 76.6 % in the second (table 4).

A differentiated account of the past reference of the utterances of the first group showed that the adults performed about one half (53.6%) of them, whereas the target children performed 37.7% and the younger siblings only 8.6%. Corresponding proportions in the second group were 34.2%, 25.6% and 40.2%, showing a considerably larger share for past reference in this group of older children. This finding may be explained by the conversational habits developed by the teen-agers in the second group, see further below.

Past reference was further differentiated into three sub-categories (c.f. Blum-Kulka 1997): immediate past (the same day), recent past (the last year) and distant past (more than one year ago). The results showed a slightly stronger preference for reference to the recent past (49.3% in the first group and 63.8% in the second). Almost one third (32.2%) of the narrative utterances produced in the first group and one fourth (25%) in the second group concerned immediate past, most often events related to school, work or leasure activities during the day (see further below). Distant past was a subject of conversation only in 4% of the narrative utterances in the first group and 11.2% in the second, which was expected. However, these results did not concur with those obtained by Blum-Kulka in her study of two cultural groups, see further in Discussion. She found a dominance for talk about either "today" (i.e. immediate) or distant past and a modest share of reference to the recent past (Blum-Kulka 1997:110).

Regarding reference to self, self and others (we) or to other people, the two groups showed a preference for talking about other people, such reference amounting to one half of the narrative utterances (52.8% and 56.1%), whereas the self was the preferred referential focus in about one third of the narrative utterances in the two groups (35.1% and 27.4%).

Reference to personally experienced or mediated events

As for reference to personally experienced or mediated information, the latter variable was considered as marked and thus supposed to show effects when comparing the two groups of children. So it did: the second group of older children performed twice the proportion compared with the first group of younger children: 18.7% against 9.4% of mediated information.

Reference to events known to the narrator only or to other participants

Regarding reference to not shared versus shared information (c.f. Mc Cabe & Peterson, 1991, Blum-Kulka 1997), utterances referring to shared, i.e. known information, might be expected to occur more frequently in the second group. Earlier studies of child language development give evidence for mothers asking test questions, i.e. questions requiring information known to both parties (e.g. Snow & Goldfield 1982). This tendency regards primarily pre-school children, though test questions may occur later, e. g. in school settings. Actually, the results of the family dinner table conversations of the present study show a larger proportion of narrative utterances about events and circumstances, not known by others than the narrator (82, 9% and 71, 2%). But, surprisingly, there was a larger amount of reference to mutually known information in the second group with older children. This result might, however, be explained by the different conversational styles in the ten families studied (table 4, see further examples in Conversational styles below).

2. Textual complexity and structural elaboration of narrative turns and utterances

Complexity and elaboration of narrative turns

In the adult contributions of the ten recordings, almost one half of the narrative turns, 47.1% contained more than one utterance, thus considered as complex. Among the utterances in these complex turns, nearly one half, 45, 8% were elaborated, i e displayed more than one structural narrative element. Furthermore, 80, 6 % of the complex turns contained two utterances, while the remaining fifth were built up by three or four utterances (table 5).

Among the target children in the first group, utterances in complex turns amounted to more than a third, 38%, of the total number of narrative utterances. Of these utterances in complex turns, 17.1 % showed more than one structural narrative element, mostly evaluations (see table 5).

In the second target group, comprising the children with older siblings, there was a larger amount of utterances in complex turns (43.3%) and in elaborated turns (23.1%).

Taking into account the complex turns in the two groups, the proportions of utterances produced in complex turns containing three utterances or more amounted to 8.6% in the first group and 23.1% in the second. The group of target children with older siblings thus made a considerably larger share of turns containing more than two utterances.

Among the siblings, the younger group produced only 16% of the utterances in complex turns and none of them was elaborated. The older siblings, however, displayed a share of utterances in complex turns that even exceeded the amount produced by the adults, namely 63.6%. Out of these utterances, 64.9%, thus almost two thirds, also contributed to the elaboration of the turns. See table 5 and examples of complex turns containing 2-7 utterances below:

Example 1: Complex turns performed by children

Group 1: Turns of two utterances, family 1 (CHI 1 – 4 = target child and siblings)

CHI 1   på fritis fick vi/ va fick ni i dag Bengan   At "fritids" we/ what did you get B
               ja just de ni fick sån där/isterband/   yes you got such sausages

Group 1: Turns of three utterances, family 5

CHI 1   ja för han e i andra gruppen   yes because he is in the other group
               ja e i A-gruppen å dom har syslöjd dom   I am in group A and they have sewing
               de va något svårare i andra gruppen   it was somewhat more difficult in that group

Group 2: Turns of 4-7 utterances, family 10:

CHI 2   Göran ba hur har ni haft såna där förut?   G only have you been wearing those before?
               så ba / så fråga han mej vill ni ha dom da?   so he asked me do you want them then?
               då va ja lite borta från lektionen   then I was a little absent from the class
               lärarna ser alltid dom eleverna som e borta   teachers always see those who are absent
               /…………./

CHI 2   så fråga han har du gjort de?   so he asked have you done that?
               ja ba vadå?   and I what?
               Pet/ Petter Kobbe vår funktionär ba   PK our leader only
               akta er så ni inte trillar me dom/   be careful so that you dont fall
               man brukar göra de första gången man   you usually do first time you
               får hyra dom   are hiring them
               /…………./

CHI 2   nej ja klarar mej   no I manage
               ja klara mej galant i da   I managed well today
               de fanns fisk å välja på å vegetariskt   you could chose fish
               å vegetarianer dom äter ju fisk å kyckling   and vegetarians eat fish and chicken
               å ja åt faktiskt fiskgratäng i stället för järpar   and I actually took gratin instead of meat-balls
               som fanns å ja älskar järpar   that could be chosen and I love meatballs
               /…………./

CHI 2   men han skulle egentligen följa me   but actually he was coming
               han stod å vänta på mej i skolan   he was waiting for me at school
               åsså ringde mamma/ eller Eva   and mother called/or Eve
               å så stod han å tjafsa där i 100 år   and stood there talking for 100 years
               å ja visste inte va han tjafsa om   and I did not know what he was talking
               å så la han bara på   and he hang on
               ja

Actually, the older siblings were responsible for 81.4% of the total amount of narrative utterances constituting turns of more than three utterances.

Results of the analysis of narrative exchanges

I. Sequences of narrative exchanges (SNE)

In this section, the focus shifts from the basic unit of utterance and turn to the unit of sequence of narrative exchange (SNE), i.e. exchanges of turns and utterances, of which at least two were coded as narrative. Most of the turns and utterances in a SNE were thus not strictly narrative.

Amount of sequences of narrative exchanges

The frequency of SNE ranged from three to ten, partly depending on the length of the recordings, but the mean number was quite similar in the two age groups, 5.7 in the first and 6.3 in the second group.

Genres of sequences of narrative exchanges

Narrative genre was defined by referential and temporal criteria, i.e. reference to fictive or factive phenomena. In the ten conversations studied, there were no fictive narrative utterances or sequences at all. Among the factive utterances analysed, the majority were time related, i.e. almost 90% in the first group and 85% in the second. The remaining share consisted of reference to general circumstances, which, however, stayed rather concrete. Thus, no more general and abstract accounts were to be found in these conversations (c.f. Blum-Kulka 1997, see table 6).

Referential focus or macro-theme / decontextualization of the SNE

Narrative time related events

As mentioned above, a great majority of the narratives occurring in the ten conversations referred to events in the past or the future. In the first group, 80% of the utterances involved in narrative sequences related to events in the past, compared with 8.6% of the reference to the future. In the second group, utterances referred to past events in 66.7% and to the future in 16.7% of the times. This difference could be due to the frequent accounts of events to predicted to happen in the near future, made by the teen-agers, as in the example below (table 6).

Example 2: SNE in family 10, referring to future events (MOT = mother, CHI 2 = sibling):

CHI 2	på fredag ska vi åka skridskor me skolan	on friday we are scating with the school
MOT	mm	mm
CHI 2	klockan åtta ska vi va på Brantan	at eight we must be at B
MOT	mm	mm
CHI 2	men de va andra gången	but ths was the second time
	vi ska åka skridskor tre gånger den här terminen	that we are going to scate this trimestre

This example also shows how the perspective may shift from future to past time, by the use of the past tense in the last line, thus in some sense objectifying the event by placing it in the past (c.f. past tense in play sessions, Strömqvist 1984).

Narrative facts

As expected, the groups also differed with regard to reference that was not time-related, 11, 4% in the first group and 25% in the second. This result may be compared with the findings regarding so-called "scripts" in earlier studies of narratives. Mc Cabe (1991) found that scripts were characteristic for the youngest children, while time related narrative reports came later on in development.

On the other hand, Beals & Snow (1994) found a difference between three and five year old children regarding their production of narratives and so called explanations, resembling the scripts. Their findings suggest that explanations appear more frequently in the older children. The findings on scripts (which require an increased ability of abstraction) in earlier research and of general facts of this study clash, however, with the evidence for more general and abstract topics to arise later in development (see table 6).

Example 3: SNE referring to a general circumstance, initiated by the younger sibling in family 6:

CHI 2	mamma	mummy
	mamma	mummy
MOT	ja	yes
CHI 2	vet du	do you know
MOT	mm	mm
CHI 2	när ja äter nå gott då e de så gott	when I am eating something nice it is so nice
	så ja kan inte sluta äta	so I can´t stop
MOT	hm /laughs/	hm
	de kan va så ibland när man känner att man/	it may be so sometimes when you feel that you
	de kallas för att okynnesäta	it is called eating for eating
CHI 1	va e de?	what is that
MOT	man e egentligen mätt men man äter lite till	you are satisfied but you eat some more
	för att man tycker att de smakar så bra	because you find it so nice
CHI 1	ja	yes
MOT	mm	mm
CHI 1	de e de här	this is so

Primary context

The share of reference to the primary context was surprisingly small, and, in addition, the proportion was, unexpectedly, twice as high in the second group. There could be many reasons for this result. One tempting explanation would be that the second group of teen-ager siblings tend to talk about them-selves, about their friends and occupations (see examples 1 and 2, and the discussions above).

Secondary context

The most frequent macro-theme in the first group was that of the school domain (62.9% of the referring utterances), while sports was referred to in 11.4% and "other people" (friends, neighbours etc) in 5.7% of the cases. In the second group, talking about school matters was only half as popular, whereas sports covered 28% of the reference and other people 16%. Almost all complex turns performed by the four older children concerned sayings and doings of friends and friends of friends (see examples 1 and 2 above).

Tertiary context

The ten conversations were almost exclusively about near and familiar things in the primary and secondary context. Only in two SNE in the first and one in the second group, the participants moved towards more general matters of the tertiary context (c.f. Blum-Kulka 1997, see table 6)

II. Co-narrative structure of sequences of narrative exchanges

Turns and utterances in sequences of narrative exchanges

Since a large part of the turns and utterances involved in the SNE were not narrative, the frequency differed somewhat from the results obtained in the analysis of narrative utterances.

Similar to the frequency of sequences mentioned above, the mean number of turns per sequence turned out to be rather equal, 12.3 in the first and 11.6 in the second group. This was also the case for the distribution of turns on adults and children, which seems reasonable due to the inherent structure of exchanges. The proportions of utterances in the sequences differed, however, with the participants in the two groups (table 7).

In the first group, the adults performed 52.9% of the utterances involved in SNE, compared to the target children (36.6%) and the siblings (10.5%). The corresponding proportions in the second group were 41.2%, 25% and 33%, revealing a considerably higher frequency of utterances per sequence among the older siblings (table 7).

Co-narrative participation

Proportion of initiations and elicitations made by adults and children,

In the first group, the ratio between non-elicited and elicited initiations was 44, 1 against 55, 9, which means that more than one half of the initiations made were elicited by another participant, most often the adult. In this group, the adult was responsible for almost two thirds of the non-elicited initiations (60%), whereas target children made 26.7% and siblings 3.3%. Furthermore, the adults elicited narrative initiations in 79% of the cases while target children and siblings made only 10.5% each (table 9). Compared to similar observations made by Blum-Kulka (1997), the adults of the present study resemble the Israeli families, in which adult initiation amounted to 54% of all narrative initiations (table 7).

In the second group, the ratio was exactly the reverse and the proportions of the initiations between the participants were more equal. Both adults and target children made 28.6% of the utterances and older siblings produced considerably more, 42.9%. The proportions of elicitations, however, showed a similar pattern compared to the first group, with that difference that only the siblings made elicitations (18.2%).

In some cases, mostly among the younger children in the first group, the non-elicited initiations were prepared by the initiating participant through a kind of attention-getting device or "pre-starter" made before delivering the narrative. This pre-starter could consist of attention getting devises (line 1 – 2 below), followed or not by feedback reactions (as in line 3 below), which in turn may be followed by a kind of narrative focusing devise (line 4 below, c.f. pre-sequence in Linell & Gustavsson 1987):

Example 4: Pre-starters performed by younger sibling in family 6:

CHI 2	mamma	mummy
	mamma	mummy
MOT	ja	yes
CHI 2	vet du	do you know
MOT	mm	mm
CHI 2	när ja äter nå gott då e de så gott	when I am eating something nice
	så ja kan inte sluta äta	I can´t stop eating
MOT	hm /laughs/	hm

The pre-starter may, however, also consist of a focus regulating devise (see further Brumark 1989), focusing on the main referential aspects of the SNE, as in the following example:

Example 5: Pre-starter focusing on spatiotemporal referential aspects produced by older sibling in family 10.

CHI 2	på fredag på engelskan	on Friday at classes in English
MOT	mm	mm
CHI 2	så ska vi få en bild så ska man berätta om vad	then we will get a picture and you must tell
	som händer på bilden eller om personen på	what is happening in the picture or about
	bilden å så där i två minuter	the person in the picture during two minutes
MOT	hmm	hmm
	fick du nå läxer da (to CHI 1)	did you get home-work

 This kind of pre-starters seems to be a typical characteristic of young childrens´ initiating conversation (see Brumark 1991), serving the function of assuring the attention of the person addressed. These pre-starters could consist of both attention and focus regulators and narrative preparing devices reacted upon by feedback reactions, as in the examples above.

The example also illustrates the tendency shown by some adults in the second group to disregard the initiations of older siblings to promote contributions from the target child.

Syntactic form of elicitations

The elicitations made in the two groups were also analysed with regard to syntactic form, in order to make the data of the present study comparable with earlier research on narrative elicitation (e g McCabe & Peterson 1991). Thus, both groups showed a preference for questions (covering about 80%), of which closed questions occurred most frequently in the first group (48.3% against 31% for open questions) and open questions in the second (47.1 against 41.2% for closed questions). As for the rest, a small number of eliciting declaratives were found (10.3%) in the first group. These results will be further discussed below in Conversational styles.

 These findings show that the first group, both adults and children, prefer eliciting narrative initiations formulated as a strong initiative (in the terms of Linell & Gustavsson 1987 – notice the difference between initiative and narrative initiation), i.e. questions. Imperative elicitations appeared only in a few cases, one of which had a more indirect form indicated by a modal verb:

Example 6: Elicitation made by the adult in family 10:

MOT	nu Robert ska du berätta om	now R you must tell what
	va du gjorde på museumet	you did at the museum
	va de kul?	was it funny
CHI 1	ja	yes
MOT	vah?	what?
CHI 1	jao	jea

Proportion of extensions

Extensions comprised all utterances in a sequence of narrative exchanges that were not coded as initiations or elicitations. Accordingly, extensions constituted a high and equal proportion in the two groups: 86.9% and 87.6% of all utterances occurring in the sequences of narrative exchanges. The proportions of extensions in the two groups displayed a pattern of differences similar to other variables in the study. Thus, the adults made about one half of the extensions, differing only slightly (51.2% in the first group and 42.4% in the second), whereas the target children differed more (37.9% in the first group and 23.8% in the second) and the siblings considerably (10.9% among the younger children and 34.1% among the older).

Syntactic form of extensions

As a consequence of their position in the sequences of narrative exchanges, extensions were mostly declaratives (47.9% in the first group and 53.8% in the second), but about one third were elliptical (35.6% in the first group and 28.2% in the second) and a small proportion consisted of closed and open questions, serving the function of requests for clarification (6. 7% and 9.8% in the first group versus 5.6% and 7.9% in the second).

Functions of extensions

As mentioned above, utterances serving the functions of seeking and giving clarification comprised 28 % in the first and 15.9 % in the second group (including utterances not having the syntactic form of a question) in the ten conversations studied. One significant difference were the functions of problemizing and contesting, occurring considerably more often in the group with older siblings (9.1% and 3.8% in the second group versus 3% and 1.4% in the first). Below, the example 7 illustrates the mother´s suggesting a problem by taking up a delicate subject (c.f. example 15 demonstrating the targets child´s protest against the subject proposed, c.f. discussion in Conversational styles). Otherwise, the two groups showed a similar pattern regarding feedback reaction (25.1% versus 25%), expansion (35.3% versus 31%) and evaluation (7% versus 8.8%).

Example 7: Problemizing extensions in family 8

MOT	ja såg några räkneuppgifter som inte va ifyllt	I saw some math home work
	e de nåt som ska vara klart till imorgon	is it something that has to be finished
CHI1	mm	tomorrow
MOT	som borde varit klart till förra veckan	that should be finished last week
CHI1	mm	mm
MOT	e de nåt som du tänker göra	is it something you are going to do
CHI1	mm	mm
MOT	till imorgon	till tomorrow
CHI1	mm	mm

It should be noticed that form and function were observed separately, i.e. clarifications were either questions or declaratives asking for or giving information and expansions were not necessarily declaratives. The following examples from family 10 illustrate the difference between expanding and clarification questions, as well as between open and closed questions:

Example 8: Expanding and clarification questions in family 10

1	CHI 2	Sjöhistoriska va e de för nåt	S. what is that
2		ja har aldrig varit där	I have never been there
3	CHI 1	å så/ å sen sa dom jo dom hade stulit den/	then they told they had stolen it
4		dom hade stulit ett gammaldags kanon där	they had stolen an old canon
5	CHI 2	e de/ e de de där me en massa hajar å sånt	is it there they have a lot of sharks
6		där e de Sjöhistoriska	that is "Sjöhistoriska"
7	MOT	mm	mm
8	CHI 2	hur vattenledningar å sånt/	water mains and things like that
9	CHI 1	kolla på vikingar å/	look at vikings and so on
10	CHI 2	vart e de nånstans?	where is it?
11		vart ligger de?	where is it?
12	MOT	vet inte	I don´t know
13	CHI 2	vid Skansen?	near the Skansen
14	CHI 1	/shakes his head/	
15	CHI 2	vid Vasamuseet?	near the Vasa museum
16	CHI 1	/shakes his head/ längre	further away
17		a ungefär så åker man in i stan å så längst bort	you go to town and far away
18		i hörnet i hörnet av stan	in the corner of the town
19	CHI 2	/laughs/ i hörnet av stan	in the corner of the town
20		Jaha	okey

In this expanding part of a SNE, the initiating question in line one and the question in line 10 were considered as open expanding questions, asking for more information, whereas the questions in line 13 and 15 were closed questions seeking further clarification about the localisation of the museum. The target child´s tries to give a clarifying answer in line 17-18 are followed by an echoing – and mocking – feedback (table 8 and 9)

Structural elaboration of SNE

The SNE occurring in the ten conversations studied did not reveal as much collaborative structural elaboration as expected, see further discussion. Actually, the analysis of the joint structural elaboration showed that most utterances involved were merely narrating (the "complication" element in Labovian terms) in both groups (87% in the first group, 85.8% in the second). Among the other structural elements, that of evaluating the narrated content was most frequent (5% in the first and 7.4% in the second). The remaining elements found were evenly spread but too few for a comparative analysis (table 10).

Example 9: Collaborative structural elaboration in family 9:

1	CHI 1	ja titta ett fluglik /sees fly in the window behind/	look a dead fly
2	CHI 2	ja de va han som flög i -------------- igår	yes he flew yesterday
3	MOT	nä han dog i förrgår eller i övergår	no he died yesterday or before yesterday
4		va säjer ja?	what did I say?
5	CHI 1	ja va e han som flög i -------------?	yes it was him that flew in…….
6	MOT	han e/ e kvar	he is still here
7		han va alldeles nyss här	he was here recently
8	CHI 1	ja här e /turns around toward the window/	yes here is
9	CHI 2	han kom fram å satte sej på mina glasögon i går	he sat down on my glasses yesterday

In this polylogue (cf below) between adult and children, line 2 may be considered as an abstract, concluding what has happened to the fly, seen in the kitchen already yesterday. Lines 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9 give spatiotemporal orientation and carry the main narrating information (complication in Labovian terms). Line 6 – 9 may also be analysed as be a kind of conclusion answering to the question whether or not the fly died already one or two days ago.
The next example from the same family shows somewhat more elaboration.

Example 10: Collaborative structural elaboration in family 9.

1	MOT	vi har haft/ blåmesgäster här Pelle/	we have had blue tit guests here
2	CHI 1	/vi har inte haft/	we have not had
3		vi har inte haft/ va heter de?	we have not had what is it called
4	CHI 2	dom kom å bada jättemycke	they came to bathe
5	CHI 1	vi har inte haft/	we have not had
6		nåra fiender här på länge	any enimies for a long time
7	CHI 2	fiender /laughs/	enemies?
8	MOT	/laughs/ de kanske pappa som------------	perhaps Daddy that
9		men då va så att hela de där fönstret vart	but the whole window was splashed down
10		nedstänkt ser du de?	splashed down do you see?
11	CHI 1	/de	it
12	MOT	/de va helt prickigt	it was spotted
13	CHI 2	den va helt genomblöt	it was all wet
14		den kunde inte flyga /illustrates by her arms/	it was not able to fly
15	MOT	ja	yes
16		alldeles tung /illustrates by her arms/	very heavy
17		puch puch	
18	CHI 1	/waves his arms/	
19	CHI 2	så satte den upp huvut å tittade så här	and it put up it´s head and looked like this
		så fortsatte den å flaxa	and continued waving it´s wings
20	MOT	ja den va så fin	yes it was so beautyful

In this example from the same family (9), the structural elements of abstract, orientation, complication as well as evaluation and coda may be distinguished. Notice also the collaboration between mother, target child and sibling: the mother tells by words and gestures, the sibling illustrates by vocalizing and the target child by supplying gestures.

Co-narrative integration and participation / monologues versus dialogues and polylogues

Monologues

One of the most important characteristics of a smooth and competent adult conversation between equals is the participants´ adequately responding to each other´s contributions, thus collaborating in creating shared meanings. Accordingly, a large amount of research in child language acquisition has been devoted to the study of how young children gradually acquire the competence of responding by contextually adequate and elaborated utterances. However, certain types of discourse, such as narrative, allow longer contributions, in the form of monologues (c.f. Blum-Kulka 1997), which may be reacted upon by an expanding extension as well as a minimal response or a mere feedback. Accordingly, a concurring sign of communicative competence in older children would be the ability to produce longer decontextualized oral accounts, supported or not by feedback reactions (Anward 1983, Hicks 1991, Brumark 1991).
   In the ten conversations studied, a few examples (one in the first group and three in the second) of a kind of such monologues could be distinguished. Two of the monologues produced by the older children were not reacted upon explicitly, which did not mean that the

other participants would not listen carefully. The examples 11 and 12 below serve as illustrations.

Example 11: Monologue performed by the older sibling interrupts the ongoing instrumental dinner talk.

COM	CHI 2 takes one more potatoe	
MOT	nä ät upp den där först	no eat that one at first
CHI 2	ja ja ska ja tänkte bara äta den här först	yes I intended to eat this at first
MOT	sen e du mätt	then you are satisfied
CHI 1	dom där e dom godaste	these are the nicest
CHI 2	jo typ Lisa hon skulle till Täby för	yes well L was going to T
	å träffa den där killen	to meet that boy
	å då så sa Lisa då säjer ja till min pappa	and L said then I tell my daddy
	att du fick för då kommer ja också att få	that you was allowed to because then I´ll be too
	då sa Maja att då säjer ja likadant för	then M said then I`ll say the same thing
	om du får så får ja också	because if you are allowed to I will be too
	å då sa hon att om ja hade fått	and then she told that if I had been allowed to
	så hade inte du fått Lisa	then you would not have been allowed to L
	nä /MOT laughs/ ja vet så hon	no I know so she
	så hon e medveten om de	so she is well aware of it
MOT	nu blir de grisigt här	now it becomes piggish here
CHI 2	va	what

Example 12: Monologue interrupting a sequence in which the children tell the mother about skiing during a lesson of athletics organized by the school

CHI 1	ja ska köra på dej i backen	I will ski on you in the piste
CHI 2	Göran ba hur har ni haft såna där förut?	G only have you had any like this before
	så ba / så fråga han mej vill ni ha dom da?	I only so he asked me do you want them
	då va ja lite borta från lektionen	then I was somewhat absent in the classes
	lärarna ser alltid dom eleverna som e borta	the teachers always see students that are absent
MOT	ja de e klart (=feedback reaction)	yes of course

Dialogues

More than a half (55.9% in the first group and 52% in the second) of the SNE in the ten conversations consisted of dialogues, varying in degree of symmetry. The example 13 below shows a rather symmetrical dialogue in family 9, where the sibling initiates a SNE, after introducing the topic by actualizing (the first turn) a macro-theme treated earlier.

Example 13: Symmetrical dialogue in family 9

1	CHI 2	ja skulle vilja se jul i Kapernaum igen	I should want to see christmas in K. again
2	MOT	mm	mm
3	CHI2	har du hört nånting om va de blir i jul?	have you heard anything about what comes
4	MOT	nää inte nåt	no nothing
5	CHI 2	va va de förra året?	what was it last year?
6	MOT	förra året så va de från Liseberg	last year it was from L
7		de läste man ju om tidigt då	you could read about that early then
8	CHI 2	att de/ va Liseberg ja	that it was L yes
9	MOT	/å så skrev ----att de va Hasse Alfredsson	they wrote that it was H. A.
10		på Liseberg å så där	at the L. and so on
11		/så stod de flera gånger	it was several times
12	CHI 2	/de va så himla dåligt	it was so terribly bad
13		”ska vi inte kasta pinne?	are we going to throw a stick?
14		ja kunde ha fått den i ögat å svimmat”	I could have got it in the eye and fainted

15	eller va de va för nånting	or how it was
16	helt sjukt	really sick

Not unexpectedly, the tendency toward symmetry seems to increase in SNE dialogues, initiated or elicited by the children.

Example 14: Symmetrical dialogue in family 7, introduced by the target child:

CHI 1	i morron ska ja va matsalbiträde i matsalen	tomorrow I will be a refectory assistent
MOT	jaså	indeed
	har du inte varit de förr då	have you not been that before
CHI 1	nä man får torka disken	no you have to dry the dishes
MOT	jaha	okej
	de kommer ja inte ihåg att Susan å Tobbe höll på me	that I can´t remeber that S. and T. did
CHI 1	de gjorde dom	they did

On the contrary, the tendency toward asymmetry augments when adults introduce uninteresting or delicate subjects (c.f. example 7 above):

Example 15. Asymmetrical dialogue in same family, introduced and dominated by the adult:

MOT	jaha va brukar vi prata om annars	OK what do we use to talk about otherwise
	på måndagar	on Mondays
	din fiol va	your violin don´t we
CHI 1	nää	noo
VIS	spelar du fiol	do you play violin
CHI 1	TYVÄRR	UNFORTUNATELY
MOT	din lärare använder den där susukimetoden	your teacher uses that susuki method
	eller hur	don´t she
CHI 1	mm	mm
MOT	mm	mm
	å de låter jättebra efter bara två månader	and it sounds very good only after two months
	tycker ja	I think
CHI 1	hahaha	haha
MOT	jamen de gör de	but it does
	de e helt njutbart att lyssna på er när ni spelar/	it is really enjoyable to listen when you play
	när du spelar läxan	when you are doing your homework
CHI 1	hm	hm
MOT	fast i da har de varit en da då de varit fiolspel	but today it has been a day for playing violin

In this dialogue, the narration is in some sense executed by leading questions, only reluctantly reacted upon. However, monologues supported by feedback or minimal responses might as well be considered asymmetrical dialogues, at least in a quantitative respect. In the following example, the adult tells about an event that does not attract much interest:

Example 16: Monologue/asymmetrical dialogue in family 6

MOT	ja prata me Eva i da	I was talking to E today
	om/ om de här me idrott	about this matter of sports
	idrotter med skridskor	sports on skates
CHI 2	mm	mm
MOT	ja då sa hon så här	yes and she said this
	nu förstår ja hur ni föräldrar har de	now I understand how it is for you parents
	när ni står å tittar på hockey å konståkning	when you are looking at hockey and figure-
	de e så här du står när Sebastian spelar hockey	skating it is like this you are standing while S.

	nä Sebastian spelar inte hockey	is playing ice hockey no he doesn´t play ice h.
CHI 2	mamma kan ja få mer sånt här /points/	mummy can I have more of this
MOT	mm	mm
COM	MOT passes plate to CHI 2	
MOT	gör han inte ja trodde absolut han spela hockey	doesn´t he I thought definitely that he played i.
	nä han spelar handboll å innebandy istället	no he is playing hand ball indoor bandy
CHI 1	varför filmar hon oss?	why is she video recording us?

Polylogues

Polylogues appeared in 14% of the cases in the first group compared to 9% in the second and were symmetrical or asymmetrical with regard to quantity and quality. The SNE below (already presented in example 8) may serve as example of a fairly symmetrical polylogue:

Example 17: Polylogue in family 9 (translated above, example 9)

CHI 1	ja åtta å åtta e sexton /shows the watch to CHI 2/
	ja titta ett fluglik /turns around and sees fly in the window/
CHI 2	ja de va han som flög i -------------- igår
MOT	nä han dog i förrgår eller i övergår
	va säjer ja?
COM	general laughter
CHI 1	ja va e han som flög i -------------?
MOT	han e/ e kvar
	han va alldeles nyss här
CHI 1	ja här e /turns around toward the window/
CHI 2	han kom fram å satte sej på mina glasögon i går

Often, two part and three part exchanges are mixed. In some three-part SNE, however, the third participant did not manage to make the other parties accept his contribution, as in the following example from the same family:

Example 18: Polylogue in family 9 (translated above in example 10)

MOT	vi har haft/ blåmesgäster här Pelle/
CHI 1	/vi har inte haft/
	vi har inte haft/ va heter de?
CHI 2	dom kom å bada jättemycke
CHI 1	vi har inte haft/
	nåra fiender här på längr
CHI 2	fiender /laughs/
MOT	/laughs/ de kanske pappa som-------------
	men då va så att hela de där fönstret vart nedstänkt
	ser du de?
CHI 1	/de
MOT	/de va helt prickigt
CHI 2	den va helt genomblöt
	den kunde inte flyga /illustrates by her arms/
MOT	ja
	alldeles tung /illustrates by her arms/
	puch puch
CHI 1	/waves his arms/
CHI 2	så satte den upp huvut å tittade så här så fortsatte den å flaxa
COM	CHI 1 petar i CHI 2:s mat som är kvar
MOT	ja den va så fin

Conversational styles

As has already been demonstrated, the families displayed a great number of different patterns, suggesting different more or less intentional conversational strategies. Some of these conversational strategies appeared to result from adaptations to the age of the participating children. Furthermore, certain strategies seemed to be more efficient than others in inviting a conversation, i.e. contributing to support the participation of both younger and older children. The data collection and analysis did, however, not allow any conclusions about more persistent styles in the ten families. In addition, different strategies appeared in the same family during the same conversation. Below, I will highlight some examples, already touched upon in the presentation of results above.

From asymmetry toward symmetry

The presentation of results above has given evidence for a larger amount of asymmetrical dialogues and polylogues in the first age group. In these asymmetrical conversations, the responsibility often lies on the adult, depending on his/her scaffolding strategies.
On the other hand, it seemed important not to force the child´s contributions but use elicitations in the form of smooth and positive invitations, encouraging extensions and feedback reactions even to fragmentary and elliptical contributions from the child.
    The example below from family 4 illustrates how not only encouraging feedback reactions (line 3, 6, 8 and 11) in a positive tone of voice and flexible extending and clarification questions (line 4, 18 and 21 by echoing) but also somewhat teasing problematizations (line 22, 25 and 27) may invite the child to ”tell about his day” (c.f. Blum-Kulka 1997).

Example 19: Asymmetrical dialogue

1	MOT	va har ni gjort i skolan i da da?	what did you do at school today?
2	CHI 1	mm kaxat me sjuor /smiles/	mm quarrelled with seven-degrees
3	MOT	nähä	oh really
4		va dom också där?	were they there too
5	CHI 1	mm	mm
6	MOT	mm	mm
7	CHI 1	Patrik å ja vi gick/ vi gick till de där huset	P and me we went to that house
8	MOT	mm	mm
9	CHI 1	då gjorde ja de	then I did that
10		å då sa dom va dum du va	and they said how stupid you were
11	MOT	näh	oh no
12	CHI 1	--------------	
13	MOT	va ville Patrik å dom i morse	what did P and the others this morning
14		när dom kom å mötte oss?	when they were meeting us
15	CHI 1	va?	what?
16	MOT	nån hemlighet eller va de va	some secret or what
17	CHI 1	om Charlott	about C.
18	MOT	va va de me henne da?	what was it about her
19	CHI 1	hon fick en puss av hennes pappa	she got a kiss of her daddy
20		när vi åkte skridskor	when we were skating
21	MOT	pussade hon?	did she kiss?
22		va gör de?	what does that matter?
23	CHI 1	vet inte -------------	I don´t know
24	MOT	mm	mm
25		du pussar ju din pappa ibland	you kiss your daddy sometimes
26	CHI 1	de gör ja ju inte	I do not
27	MOT	mej gör du ju de /klappar CHI 1 på kinden/	oh yes you do
28	CHI 1	nää	no

The following dialogue between the mother and the target child in family 9 provides a nice example of a symmetrical dialogue. The mother initiates by an unidentifiable utterance but then the 11 years old boy takes over the responsibility and even dominates by problemizingresponse-requiring extensions.

Example 20. Symmetrical (asymmetrical) dialogue

1	MOT	i morse så --------------------	this morning
2	CHI1	som att du glömmer bort att ja ska till skolan	like your forgetting that I am going to school
3	MOT	de gjorde ja inte alls de	I did not
4	CHI1	du hade inte ställt/	you did not arrange the clock
5	MOT	du vet precis va som hände	you know exactly what happened
6	CHI1	du hade inte ställt klockan	you did not arrange the clock
7		för du trodde de va helg	because you thought it was hollyday
8	MOT	va stod klockan på när du vaknade da	what time was it when you woke up then
9	CHI1	min klocka visade/ eh/	my watch pointed at
10	MOT	halv elva	half past ten
11	COM	MOT speaks very quietly	
12	CHI1	din klocka visade halv elva,	your watch pointed at half past ten
13		min klocka visade kvart i sju	my watch pointed at a quarter to seven
14	COM	CHI smiles significantly	
15	CHI1	å när ja väckte dej så sa du	and when I woke you up you said
16		"jamen de e ju helg"	but it is hollyday
17	MOT	sa jag	did I
18	CHI1	ja	yes
19	COM	MOT and children laugh	
20	MOT	de e inte möjligt	that is not possible
21	CHI1	jo de e visst möjligt	yes it is possible
22	MOT	jag fick för mig att klockan stod på halv fyra	I thought the watch pointed at half past three
23		å att bägge våra väckarklockor gått sönder	and that both clocks had broken
24		den här veckan de e ju helt otroligt	this week is quite incredible
25	COM	MOT and children laugh	

The child problemizes the mother´s behaviour (lines 2, 4, 6, 12 and 15), which she mock-protests against (line 3, 5 and 20). A large part of this dialogue is devoted to clarification of the disagreement (line 8, 10 and 22).

The example below from family 8 illustrates how symmetrical and asymmetrical dialogue may appear in the same conversation and even in the same SNE.

Example 21: Symmetrical and asymmetrical dialogue

1	CHI 2	dom som spela mot Frankrike nu	those who played against F now
2		då har dom spelat mot franska lag	then they have played against F. teams
3	MOT	mm	mm
4	CHI 2	då har dom varit jätteduktiga	then they have been really good
5	MOT	va spela dom för nåt? fotboll?	what did they play? fotball?
6	CHI 2	hockey	hockey
7	MOT	hockey	hockey
8	CHI 2	å då hade dom crosscheckat dom	and then they hade cross-checked
9		i ryggen å så dära	in the back like that
10		å domaren/ AFA:s domare	and the referee
11		han dömde inte bra	he did not judge properly
12	MOT	men de kanske e olika i olika länder	but perhaps it is different in different countries
13		hur mycke man tillåter	how much they admit
14	CHI 2	mm	mm
15		men men man crosscheckar	but you don´t cross-check
16		inte i ryggen	in the back
17	MOT	ja vet inte va crosschecka e för nåt	I don´t know what cross-check is
18	CHI 2	slå me klubban	cut with the stick
19	MOT	jaha	okey

20	CHI 2	så dom strejkade --- å stod stilla	so they were in a strike and stood still
21	MOT	svenskarna	the Swedes
22	CHI 2	ja	yes

The older sibling initiates (without focusing pre-starter) and dominates the first part of this SNE by narrative declaratives, only supported by the mother asking for clarification (line 5 and 17) and her feedback (line 3, 7 and 19). After a short pause, the mother re-extends the SNE by posing a question and then she dominates by expanding clarification questions (line 24, 26 and 31) and problemizing (line 35). The declarative expansion on line 37 had no interrogative intonation but may nevertheless be regarded as a strong initiative (Linell & Gustavsson 1997).

Example 22: Asymmetrical part of a SNE (continues from example 21)

23	COM	pause < 1 min	
24	MOT	hade dom haft kul i övrigt da?	did they have fun otherwise then?
25	CHI 2	mm	mm
26	MOT	hade de gått bra me franskan?	how did it work with the French language?
27	CHI 2	ja han snacka ju hindi	well actually he spoke hindi
28	MOT	/laughs/ men annars går de ju bra me engelska	but otherwise it is okey with English
29	CHI 2	ja just de	yes of course
30	COM	pause > 1 min	
31	MOT	hur många dagar va han där?	for how many days wash e there?
32	CHI 2	tre tror ja	three I think
33	MOT	tre	three
34	CHI 2	ja vet inte	I don´t know
35	MOT	jamen resan tog väl faktiskt/	but the journey took as a matter of fact
36	CHI 2	ja vet inte	I don´t know
37	MOT	å så spela dom hockey hela/ tiden	and they were playing all the time
38	CHI 2	/torsda	thursday
39		torsda freda å sen va de helg	Thursday Friday and then it was hollyday
40		ja vet inte när han kom hem	I don´t know when he came home
41		mm	mm
42	COM	pause > 1 min	
		MOT looks through the window	

In the following dialogue initiated by relating to a person mentioned in an earlier SNE, the mother in family 3 appears as the main narrator, supported by the target child.

Example 23: Asymmetrical dialogue/polylogue

1	MOT	nähä varför hade ni inte gymnastik ida	no why did you not have athletics today
2	CHI 1	Eva va sjuk å så eh/ eh ja de va frivilligt	E. was sick so yes it was voluntarily
3		å så va de killarna som hade å egentligen	and it was the boys who had and really
4		så ville ja men ingen av mina kompisar ville	I wanted to but none of my friends wanted to
5		å så va de nästan ingen annan tjej	and it was almost no girl
6	MOT	hm	hm
7		vem hade ni ida sa du?	who did you have did you say?
8	CHI 1	ja tror han hette Jonas men ja e inte säker	I think his name was Jonas but I am not sure
9	MOT	e de han den där spök/	is it him that ghost
10	CHI 1	mm	mm
11	MOT	mm	mm
12	CHI 1	spök/	ghost/
13	MOT	när ja pratade me Lis ja träffade ju henne då	when I talked with Lis I actually met her then
14		va va de för da tisdag	what day was it
15	CHI 1	har hon slutat på skolan	had she quitted
16	MOT	nää	no
17	CHI 1	ja har inte mött henne	I have not met her

18	CHI 2	ja har mött henne	I have met her
19		ja har mött henna jättemånga gånger	I have met her many many times
20	MOT	men han Jonas han e fritidsledare va?	but him J. he is "fritids" leader isn´t he
21	CHI 1	ja tror de	yes I think so
22	MOT	mm	mm
23		jo när ja pratade me Lis då berättade hon just	okey when I talked with L. she told
24		att/ eller då höll han på å öva teater me sina	that/ or then he was repeting a theatre with his
25		femmor eller va de va å dom skrek	five-degrees or what it was and they shouted
26	CHI 1	vilka?	who
27	MOT	ja Jonas å han skrek	yes J. shouted
28		å sen förstod ja att de va teater han höll på me	and then I understood that he was doing theatre
29	CHI 1	vilken Jonas	what J.
30	MOT	ja han/ e inte de samma	yes him/ is it not the same
31	CHI 1	när mötte du honom?	when did you meet him?
32	MOT	jo ja gick ju/ i tisdags va de va	yes I went/ it was on Tuesday
33	CHI 1	mm	mm
34	MOT	så gick ja å hämta Teres	so I went for T.
35	CHI 1	mm	mm
36	MOT	å så gick ja å hämta dej	and then I went for you
37	CHI 1	mm	mm
38	MOT	å då trodde ja att du va kvar i ditt klassrum	and then I thought you were in your class-room
39		så ja gick däremellan du vet	so I went between you know
40	CHI 1	mm	mm
41	MOT	å då träffa ja Lis Svensson	and then I met L. S.
42	CHI 2	får ja säja dej en grej	can I tell you somthing
43	COM	CHI 2 goes to MOT and wispers something	
44	MOT	men ät lite till bara	but eat some more only

This SNE is interrupted by three instrumental exchanges, one of which in line 42, where the mother answers by trying to persuade the child to finish her dinner (line 44). The target child then re-initiates the original SNE (line 1 below), by a question with deictic reference to an earlier macro-theme (non-local connection, Linell & Gustavsson 1987). The mother does not understand the connection and asks for clarification (line 2), which is given by naming the main person, not recapitulating the main focus of the SNE (line 3). The mother interprets, however, correctly and the dialogue continues as a polylogue through expanding and clarification questions posed by the children and narrative declarative expansions by the mother.

Example 24: Asymmetrical polylogue

1	CHI 1	men hur såg du de?	but how did you see that?
2	MOT	vadå?	what?
3	CHI 1	Jonas	J.
4	MOT	nä men dom va inne i ett klassrum	no but they were in a class-room
5		å dom skrek så	and they shouted so much
6		å de lät så konstigt så ja undrade	and it sounded so odd so I wondered
7		va i hela världen håller dom på me	what on earth thy were doing
8		men sen förstod ja att dom höll på	but then I understood that they were
9		å övade på en teater	repeting a theatre
10	CHI 1	va skrek dom da	what did they shout then
11	MOT	ja ja vet inte men de va så där som	I don´t know but it was like
12		man kan tänka sej tjuv å polis eller nånting	you may think thief and police or something
13	CHI 2	skrek han tjuv å/ ta fast tjuven/ alltså om	did hes out thief and/ catch the thief/ that is if
14		de va en tjuv å polis eller en mördare eller	it was a thief and police or a murderer or
15		nåt sänt där så skrek han ääh	something like that so he shouted oooh
16	MOT	/mm	mm
17	CHI 2	/skriker nåt sånt där	shouts something like that
18	MOT	nämen om man e i ett klassrum å någon skriker	no but if you are in a class-room and someone
19		"ta fast tjuven" så då/ klart de låter jättekonstigt	shouts "catch the thief" so then/ it sounds odd
20	CHI 1	tjuv i klassrummet!	thief in the class-room
21	MOT	mm	mm
22		de hade blivit helt konstigt om ja inte förstod	it had been very strange if I did not understand
23		att dom höll på å spela på en teater	that they were playing in the theatre

24	CHI 1	gick du in där	did you enter there
25	MOT	nä de/ dörren va öppen	no it/ the door was open
26	CHI 1	ja skulle bli väl/ "men skrik inte"	yes would perhaps/"but don´t shout"
27	MOT	nää	no
28		tur att ja inte ringde polisen	what luck that I did not call the police
29	CHI 1	tänk om du skulle de va konstigt	suppose you did how strange
30		de skulle blitt då	it would have been then
31	MOT	jaa	yes
32		knäpp mamma förstör teater	crazy mother spoils a theatre
33		vill du ha lite mer Katrin	do you want some more K.

This polylogue ends by an evaluation (line 29) made by the target child and a coda formulated as a news head line made by the mother (line 32). In this example, the polylogue is asymmetrical by quantity (the mother produces the largest amount of speech), but also by the mother assuming the role as main narrator (c.f. Blum-Kulka 1997).

In conclusion, most conversations would be more or less asymmetrical or symmetrical, depending on many other factors than quantitative and qualitative (referential and pragmatic) dominance (cf Linell & Gustavsson 1997). The question is whether the pushing mother or the intractable child in the dialogue of example 15 is the dominating part. Ochs & Taylor (1992) conclude their paper on family narratives as political events by pointing out that, though children may initiate and participate less, they "can display considerable capacity to resist elicited narrative displays and scrutinizings" (p. 337).

From dialogue toward monologue

In the presentation of results above, the dialogues and monologues have been coded and scored separately. But the examples below will show how contributions ton conversations might be more or less monologic and dialogic on an indiscrete scale, thus similar to the case of asymmetry versus symmetry.

It has also been suggested that adults and older siblings might serve as models to the younger children in their development toward longer monologic contributions to the conversation. Actually, more or less monologic contributions appeared in adults and older siblings, as mentioned in the section above.

The following example shows an adult monologue minimally supported by the children but seemingly at least of some interest to them.

Example 25: Adult monologic contributions in an asymmetrical dialogue

1	MOT	i Solskolan skulle dom göra en andra termin	in S. they wanted to do a second trimestre
2	CHI 2	-----------	
3	MOT	E. å dom fick göra ett experiment i da i skolan	E. and the others did an experiment in school
4	CHI 1	varför?	why?
5	MOT	de va ett experiment som Linneas,	it was an experiment that L:s
6		Olas å Stefans mamma hade	O:s and S:s mother had
7	CHI 1	tråkigt	boring
8	MOT	de va lite långt kanske	yes it was somewhat long perhaps
9	CHI 1	ja hatar ----------	I hate
10	MOT	dom skulle göra en/ ett matteexperiment	they were going to do a math experiment
11		dom ska bli mattelärare	they are going to become teachers in maths
12		å så va de en fröken i femman tror ja	and a teacher in the fifth degree I think
13		som heter Katrin	who is called K.
14	CHI 1	sex sju	six seven
15	MOT	ja i sexan	yes in the sixth degree
16		så hade dom tagit mammornas åldrar	so they had taken the ages of the mothers
17		å så fick dom skriva de på lappar	and they had to put down on paper
18		så hade dom klippt isär de där å	and they hade cut it

19		så fick dom flytta på de där s/ va de så?	so they had to remove them/ was it like this?
20		(to CHI 2)	
21	CHI 2	mm	mm
22	MOT	mm	mm
23		/de vart fel	it ended up wrong
24	CHI 2	/nä de blev trett/ nä tretti förti/ trettifyra	not it became thir/ no thirty forty/thirtyfour
25	MOT	mm	mm
26		de va den vanligaste åldern på mammorna	it was the most common age of the mothers
27		så ja e ju/ fast ja e ju förti	so I actually am/although I am forty
28		fast de va nåra som va lite över förti	but there were some who were a littlemore
29		så vände man på sin ålder så va ja bara fyra år	and then you switched your age so I was only 4

Such adult monologues, appearing rather frequently in the first group (c. f. above) could be considered as dominating the conversation at the childrens´ expense. But, as proposed above they might also be regarded as models of complex and elaborated narratives.

In the second group, the siblings in their teens performed complex contributions developed as monologues. Of course, these monologues differed from the adult ones in many respects, such as a reference to a number of other persons by frequent quoting, formally elliptical and fragmentary clauses and implicit reference, taking presuppositions for granted (c.f. Reilly 1982, Kotsinas 1994). But they may also be seen as products of family conversations with adult narratives as models.

Example 26: Monologic contributions in a dialogue

1	CHI 2	ja ska/	I am going
2		hon lovade å komma ner med sin lilla	she promised to come with her little
3		om hon hade möjlighet	if she got the opportunity
4		hon fråga ska ni hem till oss?	she asked are you going to us
5		eh ja tror de	eh I think so
6		ja va bra då tar du me dej	yes very good then you bring
7	MOT	va va Stefan i da?	wher was S. today?
8	CHI 2	Stefan skulle va/ e hemma å passar Robin	S. was going to be home to look after R.
9	MOT	tränar inte han tisdagar	is he not training on Tuesdays
10	CHI 2	nä onsdagar	no on Wednesdays
11		för egentligen har ja ju träning själv på tisdagar	because actually he is training himself on T.
12	MOT	ja ja	okey
13		å måndagar?	and Mondays?
14	CHI 2	men han skulle egentligen följa me	bu theactually would come with me
15		han stod å vänta på mej i skolan	he was waiting for me at school
16		åsså ringde mamma/ eller Eva	and then mother called/ or E.
17		å så stod han å tjafsa där i 100 år	and then he was talking drivel for a 100 years
18		å ja visste inte va han tjafsa om	and I did not know what he was fuzzing about
19		å så la han bara på	and then he hang on
20		ja	yes
21	MOT	mm	mm
22	CHI 2	eh så sa ja så här var? Så sa han	eh so I said like that where so he said
23		att leta fram till Ishuset	try to find the Icehall
24		men mamma har sagt ja måste passa Robin	but mother told I had to look after R.

In this dialogue, the second part consists of the child´s narrative, only supported by vocalizing feedbacks to indicate listening.

As demonstrated by the examples above, conversational pattern carachterized by asymmetry versus symmetry on the one hand and dialogue versus monologue on the other may depend on various factors in the situation. But these patterns may also be regarded as signs of narrative skills of the children and co-narrative adaptation of adults and older siblings to the younger children.

Conclusions and discussion

In this section my presentation of the results above will be concluded and discussed, by comparing the groups: adults, target children, siblings in the group 1 and 2. Finally, there will be an overview of the main findings regarding the sequences of narrative exchanges in their totality and some significant conversational styles will be presented.

Summary and discussion of quantitative results

Adults

The adults of the two groups resembled each other with regard to
- mean number of the amount of narrative utterances,
- share of narrative utterances/all utterances in the ten recordings,
- share of narrative utterances/all individual utterances,
- share of narrative utterances/all narrative utterances in the actual conversation,
- share of questions in elicitations.

The adults in the two groups differed from each other, those in the first group showing more
- reference to past events (53.6% against 34.2%),
- utterances in the SNE (52.9% against 41.2%),
- initiations (60% against 28.6%),
- closed questions (48.3% against 41.2%),
- extensions (51.2% against 42.4%).
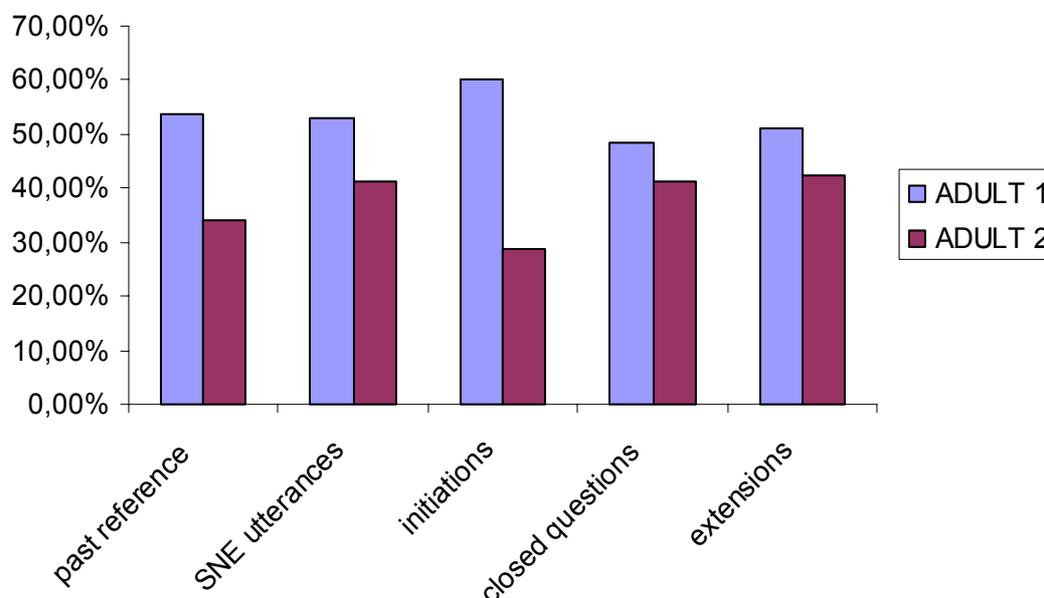
Figure 1. Comparison between the parents in group 1 and 2.

These results suggest certain constant characteristics in the co-narrative behaviour among the adults. The consistency of some more general narrative variables could be due to inherent linguistic constraints on conversation (frequency and mean number of utterances), while others, such as share of extensions possibly depend on culturally shared norms. Certain variables seemed, however, to be more sensitive to differences in the situation, such as age and conversational behaviour of the child (e.g. the use of closed questions and elicitations). In the latter case, differing adult patterns may be considered as adaptative supportive strategies in the co-narrative context.

Target children

The target children in the group 1 differed in comparison with the target children in the group 2 by a larger proportion of
- narrative utterances/total amount of narrative utterances (24.7% against 14.3%),
- narrative utterances/narrative utterances in the actual recording (48% against 28.5%),
- utterances involved in SNE (36% against 25%),
- elicitations (10.5% against 0%),
- extensions (37.9% against 23.8%).

On the other hand the target children in group 2 with older siblings performed more
- complex turns (43.3% against 38%)
- elaborated turns (23.1 against 17.1%)

- initiations (28.6% against 26.7%)
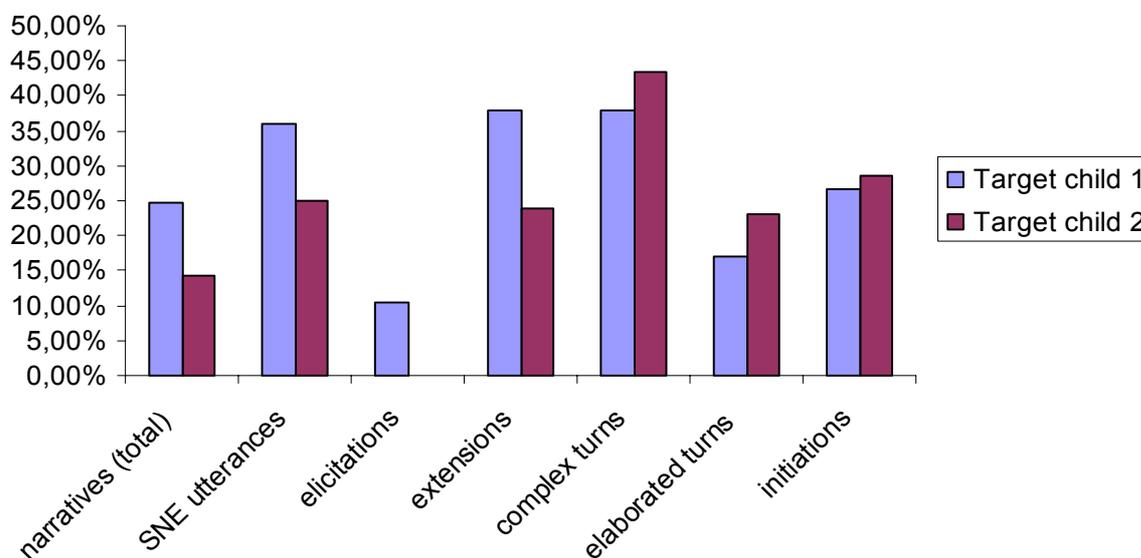
Figure 2. Comparison between the target children in group 1 and 2

Considering these findings, it is tempting to draw the conclusion that the target children in the first group were allowed more conversational scope than the target children in the second group. On the other hand, the conversational contributions of the target children in the second group seemed more complex and elaborated. The reason could be that their older siblings served as supportive models, thus allowing the younger children to perform in the "zone of proximal development" in the conversation. The differences between the groups were, however, small.

Siblings

A comparison between younger (7-9 years) and older siblings (13-14 years) gave the expected result that the older children performed considerably more
-mean of narrative utterances (22 against 5)
-narrative utterances/total amount of narrative utterances in the recordings (41% against 9%)
-narrative utterances/total amount of individual utterances (22.8% against 11.2%)
-narrative utterances referring to past (40.2% against 8.6%)
-narrative utterances involved in SNE (33% against 10.5%)
-complex and elaborated turns (63.6% against 16%)
-initiations (42.9 against 18.2%)
-elicitations (34.1% against 10.9%)
-isolated monologues
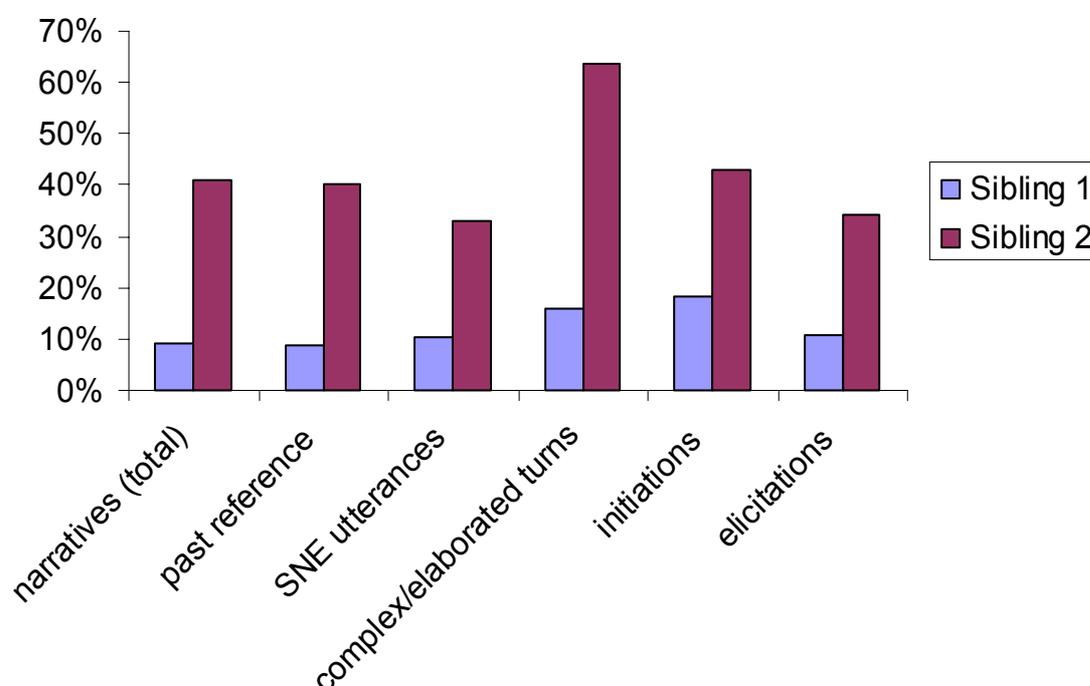
Figure 3. Comparison between the siblings in group 1 and 2

Most of these findings were rather predictable. But the results suggest an important conversational and narrative development during the pre-adolescence and display the sensitivity of the coding system to the focused variables and the age groups, which is more interesting.

Comparison between older siblings and target children

In certain quantitative respects, the target children in the first group performed quite as well as the older siblings in the second group:

-share of narrative utterances/total amount of narrative utterances in the actual conversation
  (48% made by the target children in the first group against 41% made by older siblings)
-share of extensions (37.9% in the target child group, 34.1% in the sibling group)

The target children in the second group, on the other hand, approached their older siblings in certain respects, as mentioned above. They also produced more non-elliptical and non-implicit utterances, i.e. displayed a more developed language.
     As for the higher share of narrative utterances in the first target group, a possible explanation would be, as mentioned above, that the target children in this group did not have had to compete with older siblings and thus were given more space in the conversations. They simply shouldered the role of "older sibling" with the rights and obligations entailed in such a position. More interesting is, however, as pointed out above, the equality of scores regarding complex turns and extensions between the second target group and the group of older siblings.

Comparison between the two groups in their totalities

The first group differed in comparison with the second group by a larger proportion of
-time related reference (90% against 85%)
-reference made to the past (80% against 66.7%)
-reference to the school domain (62.9% against 30%)
-elicited initiations (55.9% against 44.1%)
-closed questions (48.3% against 41.2%)
-utterances seeking for and giving clarification (28% against 15.9%)
-complication elaboration elements (87% against 85.8%)
-polylogic SNE

The second group, however, showed a larger proportion of
-mean number of SNE (6.3 against 5.7)
-reference made to events unrelated to time (25% against 11.4%)
-reference made to future events (16.7% against 8.6%)
-reference made to mediated information (18.7 against 9.4%)
-reference to "other people" (16% against 5.7%)
-open questions (47.1% against 31%)
-problemizingextensions (9.1% against 3%)
-contesting extensions (3.8% against 1.4%)
-monologic SNE

Figure 4 below shows the proportion of certain narrative variables in which the group with younger children scored higher.
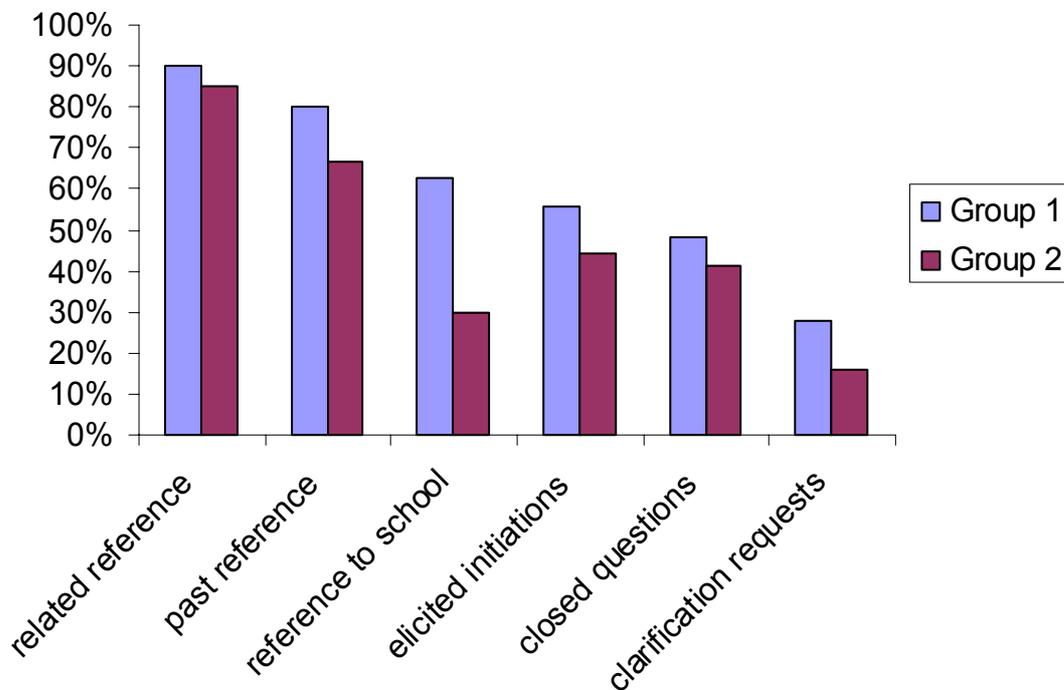
Figure 4. Narrative variables showing higher frequencies in group 1

The larger proportion of reference to the past could be explained by the ambition of the adult in the younger group to elicit narratives about school events.

Figure 5 below displays the opposite tendency for certain other variables, some of which supposed to reflect more developed narrative skills in the second group. Referential utterances were for instance more often mediated or unrelated to time, i. e. focused on things outside the home or school domain and more general. Co-narration in group 2 also entailed more problemizing and contesting argumentation.

These findings concur with individual differences in the participants of the two groups and suggest a complicated dynamic interrelation between the contributions in a conversation. A macro-theme, initiated by the adult may, for example, develop over a number of collaborative individual turns, i.e. contributions from both adult and children.
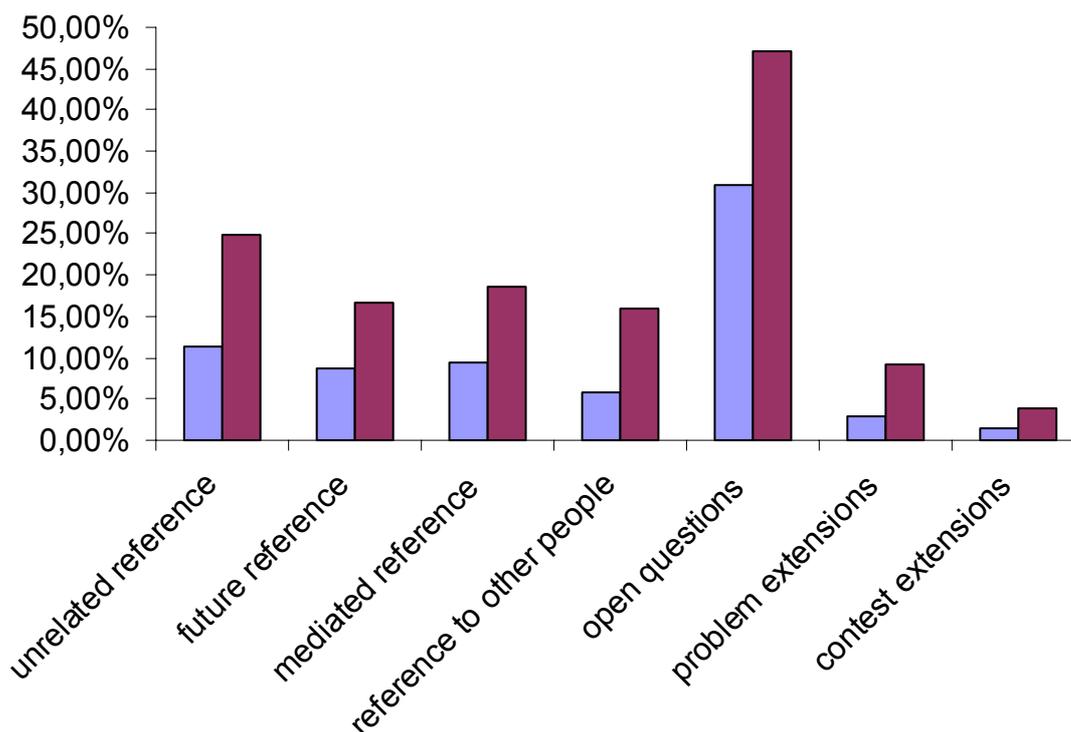
Figure 5. Narrative variables showing higher frequencies in group 2

Summary and discussion of qualitative analyses

The microanalyses of conversational styles gave evidence for the conversations to consist of SNE showing a varying degree of asymmetry versus symmetry. These differences may to some extent be attributed to age of the children but they could also depend on other factors and appear side by side in the same conversation. Similarly, monologic parts of SNE distinguished were produced by both adults and children and varied with regard to integration in a dialogue or polylogue, which in turn seemed related to age of the children.

General discussion

In all types of investigations, the results are products of the methods used. The research design adopted in this study entails, as pointed out in the Introduction, a number of advantages but also certain disadvantages.

The limited number of recordings favoured a more careful analysis but did not allow certain quantification, for instance, correlation between categories. A larger database would probably permit more quantitatively reliable data of certain statistical relationships. But careful studies of a small number of conversations in natural settings may give rise to a more penetrating and "data-close" analysis of the dynamic interrelationship between the conversation participants.

The arrangement of the setting, often in noisy surroundings – the kitchen or the living-room, may influence certain features of communication, e.g. pragmatically by a situation-conditioned choice of strong or weak initiations. Despite a certain degree of control over the setting by the choice of a fairly routinized situated activity and by the number of participants, certain problems arose in the actual recording situation, such as children moving from the dinner table or not participating in the conversation (as in family 2).

Another problem relates to the choice of subjects to be recorded. In this study, the families participating were relatively well educated. This circumstance might involve certain presumptions and expectations of what the "real purpose" of the study might be. On the other hand, parents may also vary in degree of awareness of the role played by the target child during the recording (through conclusions made from the recruiting letter). This in turn might influence the acting of the parents in the conversation and result in, for instance, more eliciting utterances than usual. As a consequence, the assumption of the primacy of the target child might affect the attitude of adults toward longer contributions made by older siblings (as in family 10)

Furthermore, the approach on family dinner conversation was theoretically biased towards a developmental study, without being able to focus on the developmental process. The perspective of the coding categories chosen reflected certain developmental aspects of co-narration: decontextualization, complexity, elaboration and autonomy.

However, despite support from earlier research, it is not totally obvious that e.g. reference to past events or to general facts must be development related. Nor is there a clear relation between, for instance elliptical and implicit utterances and developmental stage of the child. And the assumption of monologues in conversation as sign of narrative development might be controversial.

The model used in this study was developed as an attempt to focus on individual utterances and turns on the one hand and the dynamic interrelation between them in the co-narrative SNE on the other. Both approaches entail problems, as suggested above. Analysing individual utterances may overlook aspects depending on the dynamics of co-narration. A child may, for instance, be scored for a larger number of decontextualized utterances than reasonable as a consequence of the narrative context produced in collaboration, a circumstance that would be in line with and support the assumption of a "scaffolding" context and performing in "the zone of proximal development". But it is important to notice that the scores, in that case, are telling more about the co-narrative context than about the competence of that actual child. On the other hand, studying the dynamic co-narrative interaction must deal with fairly constant inherent interrelations, such as the correlations between initiation and extending responses, a self-evident but sometimes neglected circumstance.

Concluding remarks

One of the aims of the study was to develop a model to describe the narratives appearing in co-narrative dinner table conversations in ten families with regard to age related differences and patterns serving as supportive context.

By the results obtained, revealing systematic differences regarding adult supportive conversational behaviours and child narratives possibly due to age, the model has proved useful in most respects, though with certain reservations, as discussed above.

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Appendix 1

Projektet vuxna och växande – svenska, polsksvenska och polska familjer

ENKÄT OM DEMOGRAFISKA DATA

1. Familjens sammansättning

FAMIJLEMEDLEM	ÅLDER	UTBILDNING
……………………..	…………	………………………
……………………..	…………	………………………
……………………..	…………..	………………………
……………………..	…………..	………………………
……………………..	…………	………………………
……………………..	…………..	………………………

2. Val av språk

SPRÅK	SITUATION	GRAD AV TVÅSPRÅKIGHET
……….	……………….	…………………………………..
………..	……………….	…………………………………..

INSTRUKTION FÖR RESTEN AV ENKÄTEN

Läs igenom påståendena under punkt tre och fyra och markera med hjälp av skalan här nedan i vilken grad det stämmer med Dina åsikter.

0	stämmer inte alls
1	stämmer inte så bra
2	vet inte
3	stämmer ganska bra
4	stämmer helt och hållet

3. Idéer om språkutveckling och språkinlärning

Föräldrar måste prata mycket med sina barn.

Barn ska lära sig att "tala är silver och tiga är guld".

Barn ska lära sig att uttrycka och förklara sina åsikter.

Barn ska lära sig att tala korrekt.

Barn ska utveckla förmågan att tala i alla möjliga situationer.

Det är föräldrarnas uppgift att stödja sina barns språkutveckling.

Skolan bör satsa mer på träning och utveckling av modersmålet.

4. Idéer om samtal under måltider

Under måltiden ska man "låta maten tysta mun", d v s inte prata i onödan.

Det är viktigt att lära barn att vara artiga vid matbordet.

Vid matbordet får alla familjemedlemmar ta upp vilket samtalsämne som helst.

Samråd, planering och diskussioner som rör familjen ska tas upp vid middagsbordet.

Det är viktigt att barn lär sig konversera som vuxna vid matbordet.

Barn lär sig och utvecklar sitt språk under måltiderna.

Måltiderna bör ägnas så mycket som möjligt åt konversation.

Tack för att ni besvarade enkäten!

Appendix 2. Modified version of the CHAT system for transcription

1. PARTICIPANTS

*MOT = mother
*FAT= father
*CHI 1 = target chil
*CHI 2-N = siblings and peers
*VIS = visitor
*RES = researcher (if not participating in the meal)

2. VERBAL EXPRESSIONS

2.1. Speaking turns, utterances and words

Spoken **words** are written according to the norm system for written language but slightly modified to reflect casual speech, i.e. with reductions and assimilations common in spoken language.

 A speaking turn constitutes the speech produced by one participant until another participant takes the floor. A speaking turn may include one or more **utterances** constituting syntactic units and delimited by prosodic signals, i.e. forming a prosodic phrase (se transcription and 3.2.1. below).

2.2. Prosodic signals

2.2.1.   Delimitation of utterances

A new utterance is marked by shifting to a new line and delimited by a full stop, according to syntactic form, prosodic contour and terminal tone:

. = declarative
? = question
! = exclamation

3.2.2. Interruption

Interrupted prosodic contours, i.e. when a participant interrupts his speech, either or not continuing another verbal construction, are marked by slashes / (se transcription).

3.2.3. Pauses

Pauses shorter than three seconds are marked by three points (…), se below.

2.3. Overlapping speech

Overlapping speech is marked by brackets [at the beginning of overlapping utterances.

2.4. Nonidentifiable speech

Unidentified speech is marked by ------------------------ but still counted as an utterance.

2.5. Translation

Translated utterances are put into brackets (   ).

3. NONVERBAL COMMUNICATIVE EXPRESSIONS

Nonverbal and clearly communicative expressions are put within slashes, e.g. /nods/ More general supralinguistic expressions are treated as nonverbal context, see below.

4. NONVERBAL CONTEXT

The symbol for nonverbal context is %COM (according to the Childes system Chat). Pauses longer than ca 3 seconds are denoted by %COM and "pause".

Furthermore, the symbol %COM is used to note any other incidence of interest that does not fit in under other headlines.

Tables

Table 1: Family members, gender and age

FAMILY MEMBERS	MOT AGE	FAT AGE	CHILD 1 GEN	CHILD 1 AGE	CHILD 2 GEN	CHILD 2 AGE
FAM 1	36		F	11	M	9
FAM 2	28		F	11	M	7
FAM 3	41		F	11	F	7
FAM 4	40		M	10	F	7
FAM 5		33	M	10	F	7
FAM 6	36		M	11	F	7
SUMMA	**217**	**33**		**64**		**44**
MEAN	**36.2**	**33**		**10.7**		**7.3**
FAM 7	41		F	10	F	13
FAM 8	52		M	11	M	14
FAM 9	42		M	11	F	14
FAM 10	35		M	10	F	14
SUMMA	**170**			**42**		**55**
MEAN	**42.5**			**10.5**		**13.8**
SUM ALL	**387**			**106**		**99**
MEAN ALL	**38.7**			**10.6**		**9.9**

Table 2a

Length of recordings, total amount of turns and utterances, amount of utterances per minute and per turn in each family in the **group 1**, total numbers and means

Rec Min	Adult TUR	UTT	utt/ min	utt/ turn	Child 1 TUR	UTT	utt/ min	utt/ turn	Child 2 TUR	UTT	utt/ min	utt/ turn
17	113	144	8.47	1.3	77	94	5.53	1.2	59	74	4.35	1.3
9	69	91	10.11	1.3	63	76	8.44	1.2				
15	91	117	7.8	1.3	70	76	5.07	1.1	22	22	1.47	1
15	64	90	6	1.4	29	29	1.93	1	23	23	1.53	1
18	74	88	4.89	1.2	64	76	4.22	1.2	31	32	1.79	1
17	150	222	13.5	1.5	70	76	4.47	1.1	91	100	5.88	1.1
91	561	752			373	427			226	251		
15.2	93.5	125.3	8.46	1.3	62.2	71.2	5	1.1	37.7	41.8	3	1.1

Table 2b

Length of recordings, total amount of turns and utterances, amount of utterances per minute and per turn in each family in the **group 2**, total numbers and means

Rec Min	Adult TUR	UTT	utt/ min	utt/ turn	Child 1 TUR	UTT	utt/ min	utt/ turn	Child 2 TUR	UTT	utt/ min	utt/ turn
9	64	97	10.78	1.5	51	57	6.33	1.1	15	20	2.22	1.3
25	150	210	8.4	1.4	104	121	4.89	1.2	80	99	3.96	1.2
25	136	174	6.96	1.3	132	176	7.04	1.3	115	137	5.48	1.2
19	91	111	5.84	1.2	67	82	3.75	1.2	84	133	7	1.6
78	441	592			354	436			294	389		
19.2	110.25	148	8	1.35	88.5	109	5.5	1.2	73.5	92.25	4.7	1.3

Table 3a

Amounts and proportions of narrative utterances out of the total number of utterances totally, out individual utterances and out of narrative utterances totally in the **group 1** (total and means)

Adult	narr/ utt tot	narr/ utt in	narr/ narr	Child 1	narr/ utt tot	narr/ utt in	narr/ narr	Child 2	narr/ utt tot	narr/ utt in	narr/ narr
5	1.6	3.5	16.1	22	7.1	23.4	71	4	1.3	5.4	12.9
9	5.4	9.9	24.3	28	16.8	36.8	75.7				
20	9.3	7.1	40.8	26	12.2	34.2	53.1	3	1.4	13.6	6.1
3	2.1	3.3	33.3	6	4.2	20.7	66.7				
9	4.6	10.2	28.1	17	8.7	22.4	53.1	6	3.1	18.8	18.8
50	12.6	22.5	76.1	8	2	10.5	12.3	7	1.8	7	10.8
96	35.6	56.5	218.7	107	51	148	331.9	20	7.6	44.8	48.6
16	5.9	9.4	36.5	17.8	8.5	24.7	55.3	3.3	1.3	7.5	8.1

Table 3b

Amounts and proportions of narrative utterances out of the total number of utterances totally, out individual utterances and out of narrative utterances totally in the **group 2** (total and means)

Adult	narr/ utt tot	narr/ utt in	narr/ narr	Child 1	narr/ utt tot	narr/ utt in	narr/ narr	Child 2	narr/ utt tot	narr/ utt in	narr/ narr
14	8	14.4	53.9	7	4	12.3	26.9	5	2.9	25	19.2
24	5.6	11.4	44.4	14	3.3	11.6	26	16	3.7	16.2	29.6
27	5.5	15.5	38	24	4.9	13.6	33.8	20	4.1	14.6	28.2
				16	4.9	19.5	25.4	47	14.4	35.3	74.6
65	19.1	41.3	136.3	61	17.1	57	112.1	88	25.1	91.1	151.6
16.3	4.8	10.3	34.1	15.3	4.3	14.3	28	22	6.3	22.8	37.9

Table 4

Amounts and percentages of narrative utterances within each referential category in family **group 1 and 2** (amounts and percentages within each dimension)

Referential category	Group 1		Group 2	
Past reference	151	68	164	77.4
Immediate past	69	32.2	38	25
Recent past	73	49.3	97	63.8
Distant past	6	4.1	7	11.2
Future	14	6.3	16	7.5
General	54	24.3	40	18.9
Self	78	35.1	58	27.4
You/we	31	14	37	15.5
Other	112	52.8	119	56.1
Personal experience	190	85.6	136	64.2
Mediated	31	14.4	46	17.9
A-event	184	82.9	151	71.2
B-event	40	17.1	61	28.8

Table 5. Textual complexity and elaboration of narratives in family **group 1 and 2**

Familymembers	TEXTUAL COMPLEXITY										ELABORATION			
	simp	%	comp	%	2utter	%	3utter	%	4utter <	%	nonel	%	elabor	%
ADULTS														
FAM1	6		2		1						2			
FAM2	5		4		2						2		2	
FAM3	15		4		2						2		2	
FAM4	6													
FAM5	5		2		1						2			
FAM6	13		31		10		1		2		15		16	
FAM7	5		8		4						8			
FAM8	11		9		3		1				2		7	
FAM9	15		12		6						6		6	
FAM10														
SUMMA ALL	**81**	**52,9**	**72**	**47,1**	**29**	**80,6**	**2**	**8,3**	**2**	**11,1**	**39**	**54,2**	**33**	**45,8**
MEAN	**8,1**		**7,2**											
STANDEVIATION	**4,3**		**8,6**											
TARGET CHILD														
FAM1	7		12		6						8		4	
FAM2	22		6		3						4		2	
FAM3	15		10		5						10			
FAM4	3													
FAM5	10		7		2		1				7			
FAM6														
SUMMA	**57**	**62**	**35**	**38**	**16**	**91,4**	**1**	**8,6**			**29**	**82,9**	**6**	**17,1**
MEAN	**11,4**		**8,8**											
STANDEVIATION	**6,6**		**2,1**											
FAM7	7													
FAM8	5		6		3						2		4	
FAM9	16		11		4		1				9		2	
FAM10	6		9		3		1				9			
SUMMA	**34**	**57,7**	**26**	**43,3**	**10**	**23,1**	**2**				**20**	**76,9**	**6**	**23,1**
MEAN	**8,5**		**6,5**											
STANDEVIATION	**4,6**		**2,9**											
SIBLING														
FAM1	4													
FAM2														
FAM3	13		2		1						2			
FAM4														
FAM5	4		2		1						2			
FAM6														
SUMMA	**21**	**84**	**4**	**16**	**2**						**4**	**100**		
MEAN	**7**		**2**											
STANDEVIATION	**3**													
FAM7	1		4						1		4			
FAM8	9		8		3						2		6	
FAM9	12		7		1				1		2		5	
FAM10	10		37		7				5		12		25	
SUMMA	**32**	**36,4**	**56**	**63,6**	**11**	**38,6**			**7**	**61,4**	**20**	**35,1**	**36**	**64,9**
MEAN	**8**		**14,2**											
STANDEVIATION	**4,2**		**13,4**											
STANDEV ALL	**7,5**		**6,4**											

Table 6.

Narrative referential genre and focus in family **group 1 and 2**

GR 1	NARRATIVE REFERENTIAL GENRE						NARRATIVE REFERENTIAL FOCUS									
	Timerelated Narrative event			Nonrelated Nafact			Primary		Secondary						Tertiary	
FAM	**pa**	**% pre**	**fut**	**% cir**	**% ge**		**Home%**		**School%**	**Sport%**		**People%**		**Politic%**		
FAM 1 S:A	4			2			1		3						2	
FAM 2 S:A	3								2			1				
FAM 3 S:A																
FAM 4 S:A	3						1		1			1				
FAM 5 S:A	4		1	1			1		5							
FAM 6 S:A	8		1	1			2		4	3						
S:A AL	**28**	**80**	**3**	**8,6**	**4**	**11**	**5**	**14**	**22**	**63**	**4**	**11**	**2**	**5,7**	**2**	**5,7**
MEAN	**4,7**															

GR 2	NARRATIVE REFERENTIAL GENRE						NARRATIVE REFERENTIAL FOCUS									
	Timerelated Narrative event			Nonrelated nafact			Primary		Secondary						Tertiary	
FAM	**pa**	**% pre**	**fut**	**% cir**	**% ge**		**Home%**		**School%**	**Sport%**		**People%**		**Politic%**		
FAM 7 S:A			2	4			2		3	1						
FAM 8 S:A	3			2			2		1	2						
FAM 9 S:A	7						3			1		2		1		
FAM 10 S:A	6		2						3	3		2				
S:A AL	**16**	**67**	**4**	**17**	**6**	**25**	**7**	**28**	**7**	**28**	**7**	**28**	**4**	**16**	**1**	**4**
MEAN	**4**															

Narrative referential genre: Time related narratives (past (pa), present (pre) and future (fut) events)
Narrative referential focus: Primary (home), secondary (school, sports, people) and tertiary context

Table 7a

Interactional aspects of SNE in family **group 1** (percentages and means)

Aspect	Adult %	mean	Child 1 %	mean	Child 2 %	mean	All %	mean
Tot num SNE								5.7
Tot turns SNE		34		26.8		8.5	12.3	69.8
Turns/SNE		6.2		5.3		1.2		12
Tot utterances	52.9		36.6	30.7	10.5	9.7		83.8
Utt/SNE		7.8		5.9		1.4		15
Tot initiations	60		26.7		13.3		44	
Tot elicitations	79		10.5		10.5		56	
Monologues							2.9	
Dialogues							55.9	
Polylogues							41.2	

Table 7b

Interactional aspects of SNE in family **group 2** (percentages and means)

Aspect	Adult %	mean	Child 1 %	mean	Child 2 %	mean	All %	mean
Tot num SNE								6.3
Tot turns SNE		31.3		20.5		20.3	11.6	72.5
Turns/SNE		5.3		3.5		3.3		12.1
Tot utterances	41.2	3.9	25.9	24.5	33	31.3		96.8
Utt/SNE		6.7		4.2		4.9		15
Tot initiations	28.6		28.6		42.9		56	
Tot elicitations	81.8				18.2		44	
Monologues							12	
Dialogues							52	
Polylogues							36	

Table 8a

Formal-syntactic aspects of turns/utterances of elicitations and extensions in family **group 1** (amounts and percentages)

Category	Adult	%	Child 1	%	Child 2	%	All	%
ELICITATIONS							29	
Declarative	3						3	10.3
Declarative+quest	1						1	3.4
Imperative	2						2	6.9
Question open	8	88.9	1				9	31
Question closed	11	78.6	1		2		14	48.3
EXTENSIONS							429	86.9
Declarative	97	47.3	84	41	24	11.7	205	47.9
Declarative+quest	1						1	
Imperative								
Question open	11	38	14	48.3	4	13.8	29	6.7
Question closed	34	81	6	14.3	2	4.8	42	9.8
Ellipsis	76	50	59	38.8	17	32.7	152	35.6

Table 8b

Formal-syntactic aspects of turns/utterances of elicitations and extensions in family **group 2** (amounts and percentages)

Category	Adult	%	Child 1	%	Child 2	%	All	%
ELICITATIONS							17	
Declarative								
Declarative+quest	1						1	5.9
Imperative	1						1	5.9
Question open	6	75			2		8	47.1
Question closed	6	85.7			1		7	41.2
EXTENSIONS							342	87.6
Declarative	68	36.8	37	20	80	43.2	185	53.8
Declarative+quest	4	40	3	30	3	30	10	2.9
Imperative	3	60	1	20	1	20	5	1.5
Question open	11	57.9	1	5.3	7	36.8	19	5.6
Question closed	21	77.8			6	22.2	27	7.9
Ellipsis	37		40	41.7	19	19.8	96	28.2

Table 9a

Functions of extensions in SNE in family **group 1** (amounts and percentages)

Category	Adult	%	Child 1	%	Child 2	%	All	%
EXTENSIONS Reacting	68	63	32	29.6	8	7.4	108	25.1
Expanding	65	42.8	62	40.8	25	16.4	152	35.3
Problematizing	13						13	3
Contesting	4	66.4	1	16.7	1	16.7	6	1.4
Clarifying	61	50.4	53	43.8	7	5.8	121	28.1
Evaluating	16	53.3	12	40	2	6.7	30	7

Table 9b

Functions of extensions in SNE in family **group 2** (amounts and percentages)

Category	Adult	%	Child 1	%	Child 2	%	All	%
EXTENSIONS Reacting	29	37.1	32	41.1	17	21.8	78	25
Expanding	38	30.6	21	17	65	52.4	124	37.4
Problematizing	20	65.5	6	19.4	5	16.1	31	9.1
Contesting	6	46.2	4	30.8	3	23	13	3.8
Clarifying	28	51.9	10	18.5	16	29.6	54	15.9
Evaluating	16	53.3	8	26.7	6	20	30	8.8