

JEANNE KURVERS
Tilburg University

AN ILLITERATE MOTHER 'READS' TO HER CHILD. A CASE STUDY ABOUT INTERACTIONS AROUND ILLUSTRATED STORIES¹

The focus of most of the research on emergent literacy is on young children's 'reading' of stories they have heard before and on interactions of parents and children around written language. This case study of an illiterate mother explores the same two questions. First, in what way is the 're-enactment' of a story by an illiterate adult comparable with what is known about the way another group of non-readers (young children) tell such stories. And second, how different are the interactions with the child around a story from the way literate parents interact with their children. We presented the way an illiterate Turkish woman 'reads' three illustrated stories to her child in the context of a home-based intervention program and compared her interactions with her four-year-old son with those of four literate, though low-educated, mothers who participated in the same program. It turned out that this illiterate mother was highly dialogical in telling her child a story and that she gradually came to use more of the written language register. The interactions with her child were in most relevant aspects comparable with those of literate parents. It is concluded that illiteracy as such does not prevent parents from pedagogical dialogues around stories (and imagination) and from evoking and supporting some aspects of emergent literacy in their children.

Introduction

Emergent literacy is a well-documented subject of ethnographic and linguistic research (Sulzby, 1985; Snow & Ninio, 1986; Sulzby & Teale, 1991; Dickinson, 1994; Lancy, 1994; Bus, Van IJzendoorn en Pellegrini, 1996, Purcell-Gates, 1996). Much is known about young children's notions of written language, reading and writing, their ideas about the relationship between spoken and written language, of story script, of the difference between imagination and real life, about the development and patterns of change in these notions in the period up to formal reading instruction at school

¹ Thanks to Ank Paalman for the video-recordings and transcriptions, and to Ayfer Dayý for the transcriptions and translations of the Turkish recordings. Address for correspondence: Jeanne Kurvers, Babylon, Center for Studies of Multilingualism in a Multicultural Society, Tilburg University, PO Box 90153, 5000 LE Tilburg, The Netherlands. E-mail: j.j.kurvers@kub.nl

(Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982; Bus et al, 1996; Sulzby & Teale, 1987; Heath, 1983). Much is also known – partly from comparable research on language development in general – about what seem to be the most important determinants of literacy development, namely varied experience with all kinds of written language and interactions with an adult who is sensitive, responsive, semantic-contingent, who expands and explains, who discusses inferences and imagination, who stimulates and helps the child to find his or her own solutions (Wells, 1985, 1987; Snow & Ninio, 1986; Leseman, 1989; Heath, 1986; Pellegrini & Galda, 1991). Findings like these are all the more important since we know how influential the linguistic, cognitive and social-emotional quality of the interaction is of children's achievement in school. (Bus & Van IJzendoorn, 1995). In many societies there are adults who can neither read nor write (yet) and their participation in pre-school programs is at the same time difficult (because of the emergent-literacy part in most programs) yet of utmost importance. Much less is known about their interactions with young children and hardly anything about the way they handle that part of preschool programs that has to do with written language and stories (Heath, 1983, Kurvers & Van der Zouw, 1990; McGee & Purcell-Gates, 1997). Nonetheless the subject is important, both theoretically and practically. It is theoretically important because of the many open questions about the literacy development of children from illiterate or low-literate families and also for getting some insight into the 'emergent literacy' of illiterate adults. (Chall, 1990). It has practical implications for the arrangement of home-based intervention programs and eventually for the literacy education of adults. Two traditions in research on emergent literacy, the study of parent-child interactions around books and stories and the study of the development of narratives and the use of 'de-contextualized language' of non-readers, might be important in this.

It happened to be the case that the research questions of those traditions could be put into small-scale ethnographic research, because an illiterate adult was doing nearly the same with her children as was in another context set up as a nice experimental design to get insight into adult-child interactions around picture-books and 'children's emergent reading of story-books' (Sulzby, 1985). Sulzby asked young children to 'read' a favourite story from a picture book and used the protocols to identify different ways of handling that specific situation: there is a text, there are illustrations and a pre-reader is asked to tell the story. Because Sulzby used different age groups, she could come up with a scheme of development in reproducing the story. The focus of the present study is on a situation that is comparable to Sulzby's study: an illiterate mother is 'reading' three short illustrated stories to her four-year-old child which had previously been read to her by a para-professional in the context of a home-based intervention program. The study aims at exploring, first, if and how Sulzby's scheme can be used to typify the way an illiterate adult behaves in a comparable situation and, only exploratively, to see if there are some changes over time; secondly, because we were interested in how interactions around books and stories take place in a social context of illiteracy, we compared the ongoing interactions around the story of this illiterate mother with those of four literate mothers who participated in the same program.

Emergent storybook reading

What exactly does a pre-reader do when asked to retell an illustrated story that has been read to him before. He knows the story but cannot read. Where does he look to get information? What resources does he use (pictures, memory)? What language does he use? Does it resemble the written language in the book? Is there any difference between younger and older children?

Sulzby (1985) asked young children to 'read' their favorite storybook and analyzed the narratives on the basis of the resources they used (pictures or print) and when and how children started to use the written language register. The Sulzby classification scheme distinguished primarily between picture-governed and print-governed attempts, the latter being either a refusal to read or two different reading styles. More important for the next analysis were the developmental categories based on the picture-governed approach. Sulzby distinguished three main categories: no story formed, story formed oral-language-like and story formed written-language-like. The first, most primitive, category, involved those methods of labelling or commenting on the pictures, that do not provide any indication of story. If children do formulate a story, their retellings can either be more oral-language-like or more written-language-like. Sulzby distinguishes two types of oral-language-like re-enactment, dialogical story-telling and monological story-telling. Dialogical story-telling is defined as conversational in nature and can take two different forms, reenacting the dialogues in the text by using voices instead of using dialogue carriers or addressing the other partner in the conversation. Sulzby characterizes both types of re-enactments by conversational prosody, contextual wording and the impossibility for a listener to understand the story without seeing the pictures. Oral monologues have the same characteristics of face-to-face speech, but the stories are more complete, although the listener still needs to see the pictures to follow the story. Written-language-like monologues are characterized by a reading intonation in contrast to conversational intonation, and by lexical choice and syntax which are governed by the written-language register, such as the presence of the subject in sentences, the place of dialogue markers, or the introduction of new characters by an indefinite article. (Sulzby and Zecker, 1991)

In the context of the development of a home-based intervention program for four- to six-year-old children, we had the possibility of making observations on the manner in which some illiterate parents 'read' the program-based stories to their children and to compare the interactions around the story with those of literate, though low educated, parents. That was the case with Fatma, an illiterate Turkish mother who participated in the program with her four-year-old son Yusuf. Fatma comes from a small village in Turkey and has lived in the Netherlands for thirteen years. She never went to school in Turkey and never attended adult education classes in the Netherlands. According to the paraprofessional Fatma does not go out much and has little contact with the outside world, although in the summer season she works in agriculture. She has three children, two sons and a daughter. Yusuf, the child who is participating in the program, is the youngest. He was four when the program started and reached five a month before the first recording was made. Every week, Fatma told her son an illustrated story that other parents read to their children.

In this paper, the program will be typified, after which we explore how this illiterate mother told a story to her child. What resources does she use when 'reading' a story to her child and does her reading behavior change over time? Subsequently, a comparison is made (based on an adaptation of Well's interaction categories) of the interaction between Fatma and Yusuf with that in four other families who performed the same task but read the story (Wells, 1985).

The intervention program

Opstap Opnieuw (Step again) is a home-based intervention program that has recently been developed in the Netherlands for disadvantaged children from 4 to 6 years. It has been developed in four different languages, Turkish, Arabic, Dutch and Papiamentu, to provide parents with the possibility of using their mother tongue in playing and working with their children. The program was originally based on the Hippy-program developed for children from immigrants in Israel in the late 1960s (Lombard, 1981). In the 1980s the program was introduced in some western countries including the USA, Turkey and the Netherlands. Compared to the original program, which concentrated on cognitive development, much greater value is placed on interactions between parents and children, and on language and literacy development. Language development and emergent literacy are, besides emergent numeracy and problem solving, important targets of the program. Every week, thirty weeks a year for two years, the participating parents get a small week book with ten activities like language and vocabulary games, counting games, comparing objects, talking about the past and the future, looking at picture books and written language in the surroundings, or rhyming games. All activities are accompanied by (written) instructions for the parents and by suggestions for transfer such as "you can also play this game if you have to wait for the bus as well." The weekly programs are centred around universal themes which are attractive for four- and five-year olds like buying new shoes, being afraid in the dark, getting lost in the department store, visiting the doctor or going for a trip. The program is designed so that about twenty minutes every day child and parent work and play together on one or two preprogrammed activities. Every week opens with a short illustrated story that parents can read to their children or, if they cannot or do not like to read, listen to together with their children. About 40 stories are written for the program in accordance with the weekly theme and describe some adventures of five 4- to 5- year olds from different cultures. Another twenty stories are selected from classical fairy tales or other stories for young children such as the *Frog and Toad* stories, *Henny Penny* or *Goldilocks* and the *Three Bears*. Some of the stories are used in the television program *Sesame Street* as well. Depending on the length of the story there are four to six illustrations in black and white, made by well-known illustrators. The instruction for parents consists of three parts. First, parent and child are asked to take a look at the pictures and talk about what they see and what they expect. After that, the parent reads the story to her child (or listens to the audiocassette) and finally, they talk about the story on the basis of a few formulated questions. Parents are guided by trained paraprofessionals, mostly from the same ethnic group, who evaluate the past week and prepare the next week of the program. Regularly there is a group meeting as

well for talking about education of young children and school related themes. During the last years about 4000 parents and children were participating in the program, the largest groups being Turkish and Moroccan immigrants and Dutch people from low SES. Since about a quarter of the participating mothers – especially from Morocco and some from Turkey and other countries – are illiterate, paraprofessionals take special care to guide these parents². In most cases they work out the program with the parents (mostly mothers) in a role-play. Some parents leave the 'literacy'-part of the program (such as reading the small stories to their children) to their older children, others, like Fatma in this case study, prefer to tell her child the story with help of the pictures. In that case, the paraprofessional reads the story to the mother who repeats and tells the story to her child. In Appendix 1 three fragments of the illustrated stories are presented.

With seven families from three different locations we were allowed to make some video-recordings of the 'performance' during the first and second year: four Dutch families, two Turkish families and a Dutch/Indian family with a Dutch mother³. One of the Turkish mothers was illiterate, which means they never went to school and couldn't read and write. Since the video-recordings were aimed at getting data about the interaction between parents and children, the recordings differ in how much story-reading and interaction around stories is present. A total of eighteen recordings were made of different parts of the program, which lasted from twenty minutes to an hour. For this paper, only those tapes were used in which the parent (in all cases, the mother) interacted with her child with respect to a short illustrated story. The Turkish parent used the Turkish version of the program, all others the Dutch. The stories used in both versions were the same. The research assistant, who made the video recordings, visited the family once before recording to get acquainted with both parent and child. Parents did not get any special instruction, they were just told to work with their child the way they normally did. The camera was placed on a stand so that there would be as few interruptions as possible. The first few minutes were used to get the child acquainted with the camera, for example, by running it for a minute and letting the child look through the camera. Afterwards, each family got its own recording.

The re-enactment of an illiterate mother

Like Sulzby with young children, we observed how Fatma handled the situation in which she had to retell an illustrated story that had been told her (twice) beforehand. A literal transcription was made of the interactions, supplemented by additional notes about what happened and about non-verbal communication; in the case of Fatma and Yusuf (four recordings in Turkish) a translation was added in Dutch by a bilingual translator and double-checked for those translations that could be misunderstood be-

² Since the program was especially designed for low-educated parents, the decision was made to keep the totally illiterate parents in the program, and instead of leaving out the 'emergent literacy' – part of the program, illiterate parents were encouraged to use their oral skills, by listening to the story, looking at the pictures and later on retell the story to their children.

³ There were more observations of Moroccan and Turkish families, but they preferred not to be video-recorded.

cause of some typically Turkish motherese. First of all, we checked if Fatma really was illiterate. From the recordings of storytelling and all other activities it became clear that Fatma only made use of the illustrations and pictograms meant as aids to memory in addition to the written instructions. The central issue in the first analysis was the way Fatma dealt with the stories in the interaction with her child. First, three fragments of the ongoing conversation between Fatma and her son Yusuf will be presented, translated into English. (See appendix 2 for the same fragments in Turkish). The first two stories are part of the second half of the first-year program (*Clouds* and *Chickenpox*). At that moment, Fatma had already participated in the program for about twenty weeks and was used to nearly all of the frequently used activities such as storytelling, talking about a theme-picture or language and counting games. The last story (*Goldilocks and the Three Bears*) is used in the first part of the second year.

It is worth noting that all the literate parents on the video-recordings followed the scenario in the instruction: they asked a few questions about the pictures before starting to read ('What do you see?' 'Who's this?'), then read the story literally, eventually with some interruptions initiated by the child ('Is that Henny Penny?') or by themselves ('You see, that's Henny Penny', or 'Pay attention, Kevin') and finished by asking some questions about the story, starting with those that were in the instructions, expanded by questions they made up themselves⁴. Some illiterate parents told the story and instead of reading questions, they asked the child to repeat some important parts of the story. The first short story, known to English language speakers from one of Lobel's picture books (Arnold Lobel, 1968) tells the story of a little mouse that becomes very afraid of what seems to be a big angry cat in the sky. (See appendix 1 for examples of the stories in Turkish)

Fragment 1. *Clouds*

M=mother; C=child

M: (Puts some things away). *Yusuf, look, first I'm going to tell it to you and after that you will tell it to me. Let's see..... mother and what shall we say her child?*

C: *No, that's a little mouse.*

M: *Yes, little mouse and his big mother have gone for a walk. Spring has come and they have gone to pick flowers. Where did they go? They went to the woods, where the flowers are. While walking there, what do they see? They see clouds. What color ... what do the clouds look like?*

C: (looks away)

M: *Look here, what do they look like (literally what shape do they have)?*

C: *Stone*

M: *Stone, mountain. They look like a mountain, don't they?*

C: *Yes*

⁴ In the program-instructions, there were always four questions to give parents an indication of the kind of questions they could ask their children. Asking those questions was not required, although most literate parents in fact did.

- M: *And then, here he is looking at the clouds up there with his mother. While they are looking at the clouds, they become thick and round (tombul in Turkish), just like stones. And here the cloud has become like a mountain. But they are clouds, aren't they?*
- C: (nods)
- M: *They are not stones. And what have they become here?*
- C: *It has become a rabbit.*
- M: *They have become a rabbit. Mother and the little mouse are looking at them.*
- 3: *Yes*
- 13: *They are looking, aren't they?*
- C: *Yes (nods)*
- M: *But these are clouds. Now you tell me about this.*
- C: *This little mouse is picking flowers.*
- M: *And then?*
- C: *The mouse has seen a cloud. The cloud is a stone (points).*
- M: *Really? This eh... the thing seems to be a mountain....that is, it has the shape of a mountain, but it isn't a mountain, it is a cloud.*
- C: *Eh.. Yes, it is a cloud.*
- M: *Where are they looking at here? (points)*
- C: *They are looking at the rabbit.*
- M: *But is this a rabbit?*
- C: [silence]
- M: *The cloud looks like a rabbit, doesn't it?*
- C: *Eh, yes.*
- M: (turns the page) *And here.. eh.. the little mouse moves away from its mother. Its mother has gone to pick flowers. And he (points), while he is playing there, suddenly looks at the sky. (Voice changes, starts whispering). And what does he see, suddenly, what? Ti... (points at the cat in the picture).*
- C: *Tiger*

This method of telling is very typical of the whole story. Fatma tells the first half of the story mostly in the form of a question and answer, with small segments of monologue in between. With some questions, she waits for her child to react, at other points, she seems to go on with her monologue, though still in the dialogical framework of question and answer. Furthermore it becomes clear from this fragment (as from the other part of the protocol) that Fatma is systematically and continuously trying to make clear to her child Lobel's fine-grained plot, the difference between the reality of the clouds and what they seem to be, the difference between reality and imagination. What seems to be a cat in the illustration, is nothing but a cloud that appears to be a big angry cat. Fatma repeats that point several times in the protocol and that is what she wants her son give as a response. At the same time she relatively easily makes connections between the story as she reads it from the pictures and her son's daily life experience. For example, at the end of the story she says the little mouse is going to pick flowers "because it will be mother's day soon" and she adds a direct question to her son asking if he is going to do that for her as well.

The second story is one of the stories from a series especially written for the project, which deal with five young children from different cultures who experience events that are fascinating to young children such as learning to ride a bicycle (at least in the Netherlands), getting lost in the department store, playing nurse or visiting your distant family. It was intended as a short soap-opera for children. Tania, in the next story, is the Caribbean character in the series; she lives with her mother, her older brother and sister. This story describes Tania's illness with chickenpox. It happened to be the case that Yusuf had the same illness at the very moment this story was programed. At the planned hour of recording Fatma has just arrived from her agricultural work (picking strawberries) and puts some strawberries on the table. She is a bit worried about the session because she had not been able to look through the material once more before starting. The paraprofessional (who wanted to join one of the video-recordings) sets her at ease and asks her what she would like to do first (for example, a counting game, or looking for round things in the home). Fatma prefers to start with the story.

Fragment 2. *Chicken pox*

M: *Hadi Bismillah* (Prayer before starting something). *What if I forgot? Shall we begin?* (to the paraprofessional).

P: *You will do fine.*

M: *Yusuf, look here.*

C: (eats a strawberry, looks at the picture).

M: *Look, first I will tell it to you and then you are going to tell it to me. Okay, my little lamb? What was this girl called?* (points to Tania, a character already known from other stories)

C: (scratches head) *Tania.*

M: *Yes, that was Tania. And this?* (points)

C: *Tania's mother.*

M: *And this?* (points)

C: (eats strawberry, no answer)

M: *Who were these?*

C: *Her friend.*

M: *Her friends* (corrects)...

C: (Interrupts) *She is ashamed in front of her friends, she is ashamed, isn't she?*

M: *What has happened to Tania?*

C: *To Tania?*

M: *Yes.*

C: *Tania has eh... hm... hm...*

M: *Chicken pox, look, just like you* (points to Yusuf's face). *That's how Tania has gotten chicken pox, too. First, Tania's mother looked* (shows the picture), *that's how she checked her temperature* (points). *I checked yours, that's what she does. And then she sees that Tania has a fever. Tania has a fever. Her temperature is high.*

- C: (wants to take another strawberry)
- M: *Wait, don't eat now. Tania's... First listen to me... Then (looks at C) Her hand goes there. She checks her temperature.*
- C: *Yes*
- M: (Pointing again to the picture) *Then her mother says: 'You are ill,' she says to Tania. And then Tania, 'Mama, I'm ill. I do not want to eat' she says.*
- C: (glances to the food on the table)
- M: *Look here. 'I do not want to eat,' she says. After that her mother checks her temperature. I checked yours with a thermometer, didn't I? And then she says: Tania, you are very ill. (Referring to the next picture) After that she lies down on the sofa. Her mother replaces the thermometer. After that, they call the doctor. The doctor looks at her. Now you tell me, my little lamb.*
- [...]
- (... asks nine questions about the first page, Yusuf answers most of the questions)
- M: (turns the page) *Her mother is afraid and wonders if Tania will going to be very ill. Then she gets up early in the morning and then she says... she looks at Tania. She lets her look in the mirror. Eh... she has really got chicken pox, just like you. Look, you have chicken pox here, just like this one, she has chicken pox as well. What are they doing then? They bring a blanket, a pillow, a book and her toys to the sofa. And she is lying alone. And then her mother brought her some apple juice. But the brother/sisters are not allowed to come close to her. Why are they not allowed to? Because they can get chickenpox as well, isn't it?*

The chicken pox story is told in quite the same way as the 'clouds' story. Fatma asks Yusuf a number of questions and part of her telling the story is providing the answers Yusuf does not give. There are relatively more links with Yusuf's own situation, the most important reason being the coincidence of Yusuf's illness with chicken pox at that very moment. Fatma stresses this in her conversation with her child, although she could have overlooked it. Consequently the story is not being told very cohesively. One will notice, for example, that references to persons will only be clear to a listener who can see the pictures and see which person Fatma is pointing to. The place of the dialogue carrier before and after the quote is quite normal in spoken Turkish, as is the presence of a subject in most clauses. In this story, Fatma seems more or less to be describing the different pictures and explaining to her child what they mean. But she does more than that. In the original story, nothing is said about calling a doctor (nor can a doctor be seen in a picture). That's what Fatma adds to the story herself, as if she wants to communicate the event scheme of being ill. Maybe she herself called for a doctor when she noticed Yusuf had chicken pox. And she discusses some inferences with her son such as the reason for not coming too close to Tania. Both recordings took place in the first year of the program, the first in May (week 22) and the second in June (week 26), with about four weeks in between.

The next recording took place in November (week 39). Yusuf was in the second form of the kindergarten at that moment and together with his mother he restarted the program in mid September. The stories are gradually becoming longer and the actual

text becomes more important as a carrier of meaning. The next story is the classic *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* (Oxenbury, 1985). Goldilocks is called Ceylan in the Turkish version.

Fragment 3. *The Three Bears*

M: *You are going to tell me, okay? What do you see in this picture? What is this?*

C: *... eh ... eh ... big fat bear.*

[...] (nine more questions about characters and details in the pictures)

M: *Look, that's a .. there are three bears. One is the mama.. and his daddy. This one is his mother (pointing to picture). Are you listening? And this one is the little child. This is the child, this one, look (points to the little bear). Mommy makes ... eh ... porridge and puts it on the plates. On the big plate for the big bear, she puts it down for Daddy bear. On the middle plate Mommy serves herself and then for the little bear, on the small plate, she serves it to the little bear. The porridge was still hot.*

C: (rubs his eye, stands up, looks away)

M: *They said: 'Let's go to the wood until the porridge has cooled. Let's go for a walk in the wood. Then the porridge will cool, he says. They walk while the porridge is cooling. A girl... What was the girl's name? (addressed to the paraprofessional)*

C: *eh... thingummy... eh (the paraprofessional whispers: Ceylan)*

M: *Ceylan (Ceylan approaches the door. Nobody opens the door)*

C: (stands up, tries to take an apple from the table)

M: *Wachten (Dutch for wait) (takes Yusuf's arm, Yusuf puts his leg on the table). Come on, let's look at this, don't be cocky.*

3: *Okay, okay*

13: *And then she beats (means knocks) on the door. (To Yusuf: you were supposed to be quiet). She knocks on the door. When no one opens the door, she opens it herself (is still holding on to Yusuf's arm). And then she sees the porridge on the table. On three plates three portions of porridge. She looks at the big one... she doesn't touch that because it's too hot. And then she looks at the middle one. She doesn't touch that one either because it is a bit cold.*

C: (rubs his eye, moves his head closer to Fatma)

M: *But the small one was "lekker" (Dutch for delicious). What does she do with that? She eats it (turns the page)... eats it and then... After eating she ... does... she sits down on the big chair. That was hard. She sits down on the middle chair. That was a bit soft. Look at the chair of the little bear (turns back the page, points) This one is small. Look, she sits down on this chair of the little bear as well. (turns the page again). What did she do?*

3: (silence, his head on M's shoulder)

13: *She broke it. And then she became sleepy. You know, her belly was filled up, that's why she became sleepy. She looked at the big bed, daddy's bed, you know, that was hard. She looked at mommy's bed, that was soft. And then she looked at the bed of the little bear. That was just made for her (looks at Yusuf). And then she went to sleep. (...)*

The excerpt opens with Fatma's starting the storytelling session, then she goes on by asking ten questions in total about the pictures (not quoted here), and the excerpt continues with Fatma starting to tell the story. During the whole conversation, Fatma uses approximately the same framework she used before: she asks questions about the pictures, she tells part of the story, after a page she asks her son to retell that part of the story to her, and her telling the story partly takes the form of a question-and-answer game. Compared with six months earlier, there are more periods of Fatma going on telling the story. There are more monologues, longer ones, and fewer questions in between. There is a difference between the first introduction of characters and later references, and larger parts of the story can be interpreted by a listener who cannot see the pictures. Although Fatma forgot about the specific distinctive features of chairs and beds (in the original story too big and too high), she did keep the typical story structure in her retelling.

In exploring Fatma's successive storytelling, we analyzed the verbatim protocols in accordance with the guidelines described by Sulzby (1985) and Sulzby and Zecker (1991), and looked for features that might indicate some development. The first question Sulzby sought to answer was whether the retelling of the story was picture governed or print governed. It is quite evident from the recordings that Fatma never makes use of the printed text in any way as a resource. There are no indications of Yusuf asking about some part of the written text as well. The next question is whether Fatma makes up a connected story. There are fragments (especially in the second story) in which Fatma just comments on isolated pictures, but there are also narrative markers like 'after that', introducing separate voices or a new and logically next element such as calling for the doctor. The 'Three Bears' story seems to be more conclusive in that respect: *There are three bears... one is the mommy. Mommy makes porridge ...she serves it.. a girl ... Ceylan approaches the door. When nobody opens, she...* About two-thirds of Fatma's utterances could be typified as 'dialogical'. We also observed that the relative number of questions she asked her son during the conversation gradually diminished and the frequency and length of the monologues expanded. Fatma's use of the written language register seemed to increase; sometimes she started stating what was nearly a literal quote from the written text, and the final narrative became easier to interpret by listeners who did not have the pictures in front of them. Besides, interactions between Fatma and her son were not limited to the pictures, there was some discussion about the story plot and inferences as can be seen in the quotes above. Maybe the use of the written language register in the second year may also be observed in Fatma's preservation of the very characteristic repetitions in the original story in her retelling of the last story (*she looks at the big one... and then she looks at the middle one*) She could have omitted those elements without losing the sense in her retelling and she could not have integrated that part of storytelling only by looking at the pictures: Ceylan, for example, does not sit on three different chairs in the pictures, one sees only the broken one.

We only used Sulzby's developing scheme to get some indication about how an illiterates' retelling of already known stories might look like and if there are some indications of changes. But there is, of course, one important difference, since Fatma's

retelling was part of an intervention program aimed at the language and literacy development of her child. We can be sure that Fatma's asking lots of questions has to do with the specific situation of an adult and a child participating in a home-based intervention program in which the child is intended to learn something. Therefore we took a closer look at the interactions between Fatma and her son and compared them with the interactions of literate parents.

Mother-child interactions

In the analysis given above, we focussed on the way an illiterate mother was 'reading' an illustrated story. The quotations are long enough to get an impression of the fashion after which this illiterate mother mediated the text for her child, and of the ongoing interactions as well. It might also be interesting to compare Fatma's interactions with her child in general to the manner in which literate mothers interact with their children during joint reading of illustrated stories. Fatma will of course not be representative of all illiterate parents (since some preferred to skip the reading part), but the point here is whether her illiteracy prevents her, as is sometimes assumed in debates about home-intervention programs, from having conversations with her child that could be called more or less responsive and stimulating (Bus & Van IJzendoorn, 1995). Maybe she will not be very stimulating with respect to learning a lot about letters, but she might be stimulating with respect to language development, learning something about the story plot or about the world of imagination. In order to at least partially answer this question, we analyzed 12 recordings of interactions around short illustrated stories such as the ones presented above. The four other families were three Dutch families, and one mixed Dutch-Indian family, the mother being Dutch. All participants were mothers, and all had gone to school. The highest educated of these mothers had had four years of secondary education (junior high school), the lowest only one year of secondary education. Except for mother number 1 these mothers did not read regularly to their children before joining in the program. The recordings used

Table 1: Background of participating parents and children⁵.

Family	1	2	3	4	5
SES	mid/low	low	low	low	low
Years of education	10	9	7	9	0
Age of child at first story	4	5	5	4	5
Number of stories recorded	4	1	2	2	3

⁵ The stories recorded were not the same for each family. In family 1 stories 14, 16, 37 and 38 were recorded, in family 2 story 51, in family 3 story 55, 56, in family 4 14 and 16, and in family 5 22, 26 and 39. Important here is the fact that after week 30, stories became longer.

for this analysis dealt with different stories, varying in length of reading time from about 1 to about 3 minutes if read without interruptions. Fatma and Yusuf are family 5 in the tables below. Recordings took place in the last period of the first year (May and June) and the first period of the second year (November and December). Table 1 presents background information about the participating families.

Turns

First of all we counted the number of turns taken per session and the total amount of time. A turn was noted down with every change of the speaker's role, including those instances in which the child was clearly invited to react, but did not do so. The combination of audio and visual recordings guaranteed a high degree of certainty in the determination of turns. We did not count the turns when a parent, as Fatma did in some of the previously given quotations, asked a question but obviously did not expect her child to react. We did not distinguish between relevant and irrelevant turns (Bus & Van IJzendoorn, 1995) in this analysis, but that point comes back in the next analysis of the interaction. The stories differed in length, the last stories being the longest, so we could expect differences in duration and in number of turns. Duration of the interaction surely depends on the length of the story, so does the number of turns, but to a much lesser degree. Far more important indicators of the number of turns seemed to be the way in which a parent organized and structured the interactions with her child, the number of initiatives the child undertook, and sometimes an unintentional coincidence that created lots of turn taking around a relatively minor part of the story.

Beforehand, it might be important to add that, had parents strictly followed the instructions on paper with the story at hand and without any spontaneous interaction (either on their initiative or that of their child) the maximum number of turns would have been somewhere between seven and twelve, existing of a few questions before reading, the reading of the story and the asking of the three to five questions that were written down. It's nice to note that most did not stick to this minimal approach and that a paper-based program did not prevent them from spontaneous interactions.

The number of turns differed dramatically, but as one can see in Table 2, more between families than between stories. Mother number three came closest to the preprogrammed instructions, while all others demonstrated many more turns than the minimal approach would suggest. In Fatma's case, the difference between the first two stories (62 and 63 turns) and the last story (127 turns) is caused by the fact that she tried twice (instead of once in the other two stories) to make her son retell the last story⁶. The literate parents did not do that at all.

For every turn we coded both the utterances of the mother and the utterances of the child based on Wells' coding system (1985), adapted to the specific situation of both spontaneous and program-controlled interactions. If, for example, the mother asked questions we distinguished between questions the program offered and self-initiated

⁶ Letting the child retell the stories was part of the solution paraprofessionals had chosen as an alternative for illiterate parents who could not read the accompanying questions on the instruction pages.

Table 2. Number of turns taken per family per story

Family	1	2	3	4	5 (Fatma)
Number of turns per story told	42	116*	12	32	63
	41		14	37	62
	36				127
	28				

* of which a large number of elaborations around one question the child doesn't answer in the way the mother wants her to

questions. Within a turn different categories could be scored. If, for example, Fatma in one turn asked her son to stop eating, started telling part of the story, triggered Yusuf's attention by pointing to a part of the picture and asked her son a question, we coded that as regulation, telling, structuring, and question. Two judges agreed on most of the categories (80%); the most difficult turned out to be the distinction between guided information that might structure the child's behavior ("if you look here, you will find") and more general stimulating remarks ("smart of you"), because they often went together. The following categories of mother's utterances were distinguished:

- a Reading (CQ telling in Fatma's case)
- b Question asking (including program-guided questions and requests for specification)
- c Regulation of the child's behavior (all utterances not focussed on the story or the pictures but on other child behavior "Leave those crisps for a while"). This category is comparable with what Bus & IJzendoorn called irrelevant turns.
- d Structuring/stimulating- taken together for all those utterances that were meant to direct or stimulate the child ("Look, here you can see that", "I'm sure you know, look here")
- e Affirmation of the child ("Yes, that's right")
- f Disapproval of the child ("No, you didn't listen, did you")
- g Extension and expansion: All utterances in which the parent offered feedback by expanding the child's utterance either syntactically or semantically.
- h Paraphrase: repetition of a sentence with minor changes to make clear what was intended.
- i Repetitions, either of her own or the child's utterance without any changes.
- j Answering: answering a question the child asked or giving an answer not given by the child.
- k Other (for example, interruption by a phone call)

The first two categories will be clear. Regulation was coded every time when the mother's reactions were directed at behavior of the child that was not guided by the storytelling, such as trying to get the child's attention back. For the child, we distinguished:

- asking questions
- answering questions
- repetition
- affirmation (mostly saying yes)
- initiative (in the sense of opening another topic of conversation)
- (re)telling (spontaneous telling of part of the story or on request)
- other

Table 3. Number of categorized utterances of mother and child, given separately, in percentages per family.

	Family 1	Family 2	Family 3	Family 4	Family 5 (Fatma)
Child	36%	33%	22%	32%	37%
Mother	64%	67%	78%	68%	63%

Within one turn of the child there could be more than one interaction category, although that was much more infrequent than in a mother’s turn. First of all, we counted the total of categories attributed to mother and child per family. For this analysis, we aggregated over stories and disregarded time of recordings, because we were interested in general differences between the illiterate mother (family 5) and the others. Table 3 presents the division of the relative number of coded categories between parent and child.

The division of the total number of utterances between mother and child was quite similar in most families: about two-thirds of the categorized utterances were ascribed to the mother, one-third to the child. Only family 3 deviated slightly from this general pattern. Had interaction-time been noted, the adults’ part would still have been greater in most families, because as long as reading was not interrupted, it was coded once. Of special interest here is the fact that Fatma’s interaction (family 5) with her son is average. Up to this point, she behaves like most literate mothers in combining a mean of two different interaction categories in one turn, for example by expanding a bit on the child’s answer and asking a new question (see for example the first line of fragment 1: *Leave these here. Now our story. Yusuf look...* What might be different, and of greater significance, is assessing the quality of interaction, the relative number of the different categories. Therefore, a frequency analysis of the different conversation categories was performed, leaving out some previously determined subdivisions and consolidating some that were barely present. Table 4 presents an overview.

The most striking feature in Table 4 is that it is not the illiterate family 5 (Fatma and her son) but family 3, which deviates the most from the general pattern with a relatively high percentage of both regulating utterances (such as “stay here”) and, compared to all other families, disapprovals and a low percentage of questions. The rather high percentage scored in the first row (reading) by this mother 3 seems to fit into the same general pattern. A high percentage here does not mean the mother reads (or tells) more, but indicates more interrupted reading, initiated either by the child or by the

Table 4. Frequency of occurrence of categories per family in percentages of the total of coded adult utterances.

Family	1	2	3	4	5 (Fatma)
N of categorized utterances	132	128	45	72	226
Reading/telling	7.6	5.5	28.9	9.7	15.0
Questions	28.1	27.3	6.7	34.8	32.3
Regulations	1.5	1.6	20.0	12.5	8.8
Stimulating/structuring	13.6	23.4	6.7	18.1	10.6
Repetition	14.4	6.2	4.4	7.0	4.4
Confirmation	15.2	4.7	2.2	4.2	6.2
Disapproval	1.5	7.0	13.3	0.0	0.9
Expansion/paraphrase	9.1	11.7	0.0	1.4	12.4
Answering	6.8	10.9	6.7	4.2	8.4
Other	2.3	1.6	0.0	7.0	1.2

mother. They can only be correctly interpreted by looking at the child's behavior at the same time. In other words, a relatively high percentage in this row could indicate a relatively disturbed reading session or an interactive manner of reading in which the adult draws her child into reading or picks up on the child's initiatives. In the case of family 3 it turned out to be the first reason, the child was constantly attracted by something else, and his mother kept trying to bring his attention back to the story.

Asking questions is the most frequent category. This is not surprising, given that parents were supposed to read a little story and ask some questions about it. Surprising and promising is that in most families – with the exception of family 3 – mothers asked many more questions than the instructions called for⁷. Actually, the average number of questions about a story was twelve (in the program there were four). Again, we cannot conclude from the data that Fatma's interactions with her son were very different from what literate parents appeared to do. In fact, her behavior held a middle ground relative to the other three literate mothers. In terms of evaluating the quality of interaction, one could say, roughly summarized, that regulations and disapprovals are in general the most negative ones, repetitions are functional but do not add much in terms of language development, while confirmation, expansion, extension, paraphrasing and the group of utterances we summarized under stimulating/structuring (*Look, there she is, or Take the little ones first* etc.) are the most positively valued in terms of responsiveness. We can conclude that Fatma's method of interacting with her child can only be typified as rather responsive: the negative dimensions are relatively low, the positive ones rather high.

⁷ This seems promising because one could wonder if a paper-based program would not prevent parents from doing just the thing the program wanted them to do, that is, getting involved in some spontaneous and instructive interaction using the story world.

Table 5. Frequency of child-interaction categories per family in percentages of the total per child.

Family	1	2	3	4	5 (Yusuf)
N	75	63	13	34	133
(Re)telling	-	-	-	-	18.5
Questions	6.7	12.7	7.7	-	4.5
Answering	54.7	52.4	30.8	82.4	45.1
Repetitions	4.0	17.6	7.7	2.9	4.6
Initiative	18.7	14.3	38.5	-	4.5
Confirmation	5.3	-	-	2.9	15.0
Other	9.3	1.6	15.4	10.8	7.4

That leads us to the conclusion that illiteracy in itself does not prevent parents from the kind of interaction with their children that seems to be important determinants of later literacy development. Fatma will have had a responsive way of interacting with her child, but she would not have used that automatically to talk with her child about books and stories. But the program had to bring that 'world on paper' within Fatma's reach, the program offered the opportunity and Fatma grasped it: she wanted to participate in all the activities literate parents participated in. Above, we made it clear that a typification of the adults' manner of interacting with their children can only be correctly interpreted when combined with the child data.

Differences between children

In Table 5 a summary is given of the most frequent categories of the child's role in the interactions.

Answering questions the mother asked is by far the most frequent category. That is not surprising, as it may in general be a very substantial percentage of interactions between parents and young children, especially with respect to storybook reading, and more so in the context of programs like this where children are assumed to learn something from their parents. It is interesting to look at some differences between the children, for example between child 4 who nearly exclusively answered his mother's questions and child 3 who seemed to be able to bend the conversation to his will. His particular initiatives are, for that matter, only partly generated by the program, as can be seen by the percentage of regulating remarks the mother made. Fatma's son differs only a bit from the other children in the higher frequency of confirmation of what his mother says and in retelling the story. But Fatma is the only one who asks her child to do so, as we have seen.

Discussion

We concentrated this paper on one illiterate mother who chose to tell her son stories in a home-based program which literate parents read to their children. She might not be representative of all illiterate adults, because some others participating in the

program prefer to use the audio-cassette, skip the illustrated story altogether or wait for their literate children to do that part of the program. Nevertheless, Fatma definitely was illiterate and she did behave in the manner we described.

This illiterate mother seemed to demonstrate a rather responsive and adequate method of interacting with her child in participating in a home-based intervention program of which stories form a structural part. It turned out that her method of story-telling is very dialogical and interactive, with many of the features that are regarded as positive determinants of language and literacy development, such as asking for specification, expanding on the child's utterance, taking up the child's initiative, and positive feedback. Fatma did not guide her child into several distinctive features of print, but she surely did teach her child something about story plots, about the story world, about the difference between imagination and the real world and about the language register of stories. What distinguished her most from the literate mothers seemed to be the somewhat fragmentary style she used to tell her son a connected story. Maybe the presence of the video-camera affected that behavior in that she wanted her son to show what he knew already. She sometimes seemed to think the story could be generated automatically by looking at the pictures. Bus & Van IJzendoorn (1995) suggested we should be careful with interventions stimulating book reading and they warned against the possible disadvantages of insistence on engaging parents and children in joint book reading because it could strengthen the child's negative attitude toward literacy-related activities. I would agree if either parent or child dislikes the situation (maybe family 3 in the tables above shows how that works out) but I would not easily generalize to low-educated or illiterate parents. A safe emotional context is not a privilege of children of well-educated parents, and children of illiterates and semi-illiterates are precisely the ones who need experience with the world on paper. Much could be won if parents and children could make use of audio-recordings of interesting stories (there is enough to learn about the written language register for children even if parents do not read themselves) or if, in the preparation of illiterate and semiliterate parents, program guidance should capitalize more on the sometimes present familiar way of oral story-telling, on the importance of input instead of output, and use of audio-registrations of the same story would be a nice additional way to get acquainted with the written language register. So the conclusion can be that there are two positive evaluations to be made. The first is the already mentioned fact, that a program can offer illiterate parents the opportunity to bring their children in contact with "the world on paper" And there is something to be won for these parents themselves, as Fatma illustrated. During the last part of the second year Fatma decided she wanted to learn to read and write. So she did: after thirteen years in the Netherlands she is attending an adult literacy class. And she enjoys it.

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Appendix 1. Three fragments of the stories with illustrations

Illustrations added with permission of the publisher: Averroes Stichting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Küçük bir fare annesiyle birlikte gezmeye çıkmış. Gezerken bir tepenin doruğuna varmışlar. İkisi de havaya bakmışlar. 'Bak!' demiş anne fare: 'Bulutlarda birçok şey görebiliyorsun.'



Küçük fare de, annesi de bulutlarda birçok şekil görmüşler. Bir kale., bir tavşan.... bir fare. 'Ben çiçek toplamaya gidiyorum,' demiş anne fare.



'Ben burada kalıp bulutları seyredeceğim,' demiş küçük fare. Bakarken büyük bir bulut görmüş gökyüzünde. Bulut git gide büyüyüp sonunda bir kedi olmuş. Ve kedi git gide yaklaşmış. 'İmdat!' diye bağırarak annesine koşmuş küçük fare.

Bulutlar 2

HAFTA 22
GÜN 1
FAALİYET 1

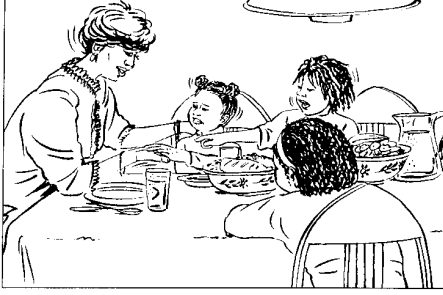
'Gökyüzünde büyük bir kedi var,' diye bağırmış küçük fare annesine. 'Çok korkuyorum,' demiş. Annesi gökyüzüne bakmış ve: 'Korkma. Baksana, kedi yine bir bulut olmuş,' demiş.



Küçük fare bakınca bunun doğru olduğunu görmüş ve sevinmiş. Gidip annesine çiçek toplamaya yardım etmiş. Ama tüm gün boyunca bir daha gökyüzüne bakmamış.

Bulutlar 3

HAFTA 22
GÜN 1
FAALİYET 1



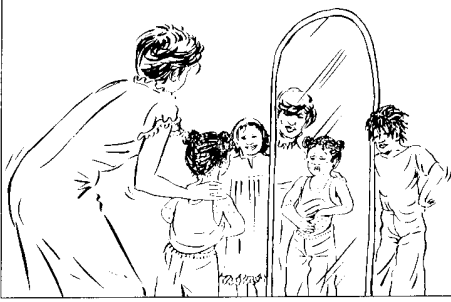
Tanya'nın annesi çocukların yemeğini masaya hazırlamıştı. Masanın üstünde balık, mısır bulamacı ve kızartılmış muz vardı. Bunlar Tanya'nın en çok sevdiği yemeklerdi. Annesi: 'Afiyet olsun çocuklar' dedi. Ama Tanya'nın eli yemeğe bir türlü uzanmıyordu. Annesi endişeyle: 'Neyin var Tanya, bugün iştahın yok mu? Canın yemek istemiyor mu?' diye sordu. Tanya: 'Benim her yerim kaşınıyor,' dedi. Bu arada Erik: 'Aa, baksana, elinin üstünde bir takım kızarıklıklar var' dedi. Annesi: 'Tanya, gel kızım, eline bir bakayım. Aman Allahım, bunlar aynı suçiçeğine benziyor. Sen gerçekten biraz hastasın. Gel seni erkenden yatağına yatırayım,' dedi.



Berberer yatak odasına doğru yürüdüler. Tanya: 'Anne, çabuk iyileşebilir miyim?' diye sordu. Annesi: 'Elbette kızım, sen hiç üzülme. Yalnız bir kaç gün hiç dışarıya çıkmayacaksın. Yanına hiç bir arkadaşın gelmeyecek, çünkü suçiçeği onlara da bulaşabilir.' Tanya: 'Ama, bu benim hiç hoşuma gitmedi,' diye ağlamaya başladı. 'Sita yarın bize gelecek ve birlikte oynayacaktık.' Annesi Tanya'nın saçlarını yavaşça okşadı. 'Haydi sen şimdi rahatça uyumaya çalış. Yarın bunun çaresine bakarız,' dedi.

Tanya suçiçeği çıkarttı 1

HAFTA 26
GÜN 1
FAALİYET 1



Ertesi gün annesi korku ile uyanı. Tanya: 'Anneciğim, anneciğim, biraz gelir misin,' diye sesleniyordu. Annesi hemen Tanya'nın yanına gitti. Odaya girdiğinde, Tanya aynanın önünde duruyordu. Elleri, yüzü, kolları şişmiş ve kızarmıştı. Annesi: 'Kızım, sen gerçekten suçiçeği çıkarmışsın. Bak, bunlar şişmiş ve içi su dolu. Sakın kaşıyayım deme. Yoksa bu yaralar bütün vücuduna iyice dağılır.' Mila ve Erik küçük kardeşlerinin durumuna çok üzüldüler. Mila Tanya'yı öpmek istedi. Annesi: 'Mila, Tanya'nın yanına çok yaklaşma, yoksa sana da bulaşır. Suçiçeği çok bulaşıcı bir hastalıktır,' dedi.

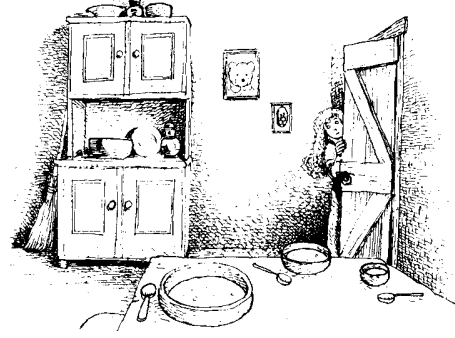


Annesi Tanya'yı yatağına yatırdı. 'Hemen termometreyi alıp yanına geleceğim, bir de ateşine bakayım,' dedi. 'Hasta olduğun için, seninle biraz daha fazla ilgilenmem gerekiyor. İyileşinceye kadar salondaki koltuğun üzerine yatabilirsin. Şimdi bir bardak portakal suyu iç.' Erik: 'Galiba ben de hastalanıyor gibi oldum. Anne, biraz da bana portakal suyu verebilir misin?' diye sordu. 'Tabi ki, elbette,' diye güldü annesi. 'Ama ilk önce duş alın ve giyinin.'

Tanya suçiçeği çıkarttı 2

HAFTA 26
GÜN 1
FAALİYET 1

Bir zamanlar üç tane ayıcık varmış. Birişi çişman baba ayıcık. Anne ayıcık ise ne büyük ne de küçük, tam ikisinin ortasında. Bir de küçük yavru ayıcık. Bunların üçünün de yatağı varmış. Ağır büyük yatak baba ayıcık için, anne ayıcık için ne küçük ne de büyük yatak, ve küçük ayıcık için de minicik yatak. Yemek yemek için üçünde tası varmış. En büyük tas baba ayıcık için, orta boylu tas anne ayıcık için ve yine en küçük tas minik ayıcık için. Bir gün anne ayıcık helva yapmış. Helvayı üç tase bölmüş. Fakat helva çok sıcakmış, yenecek gibi değilmiş. Onun için aylar biraz ormanın içinde dolaşmaya gitmişler.

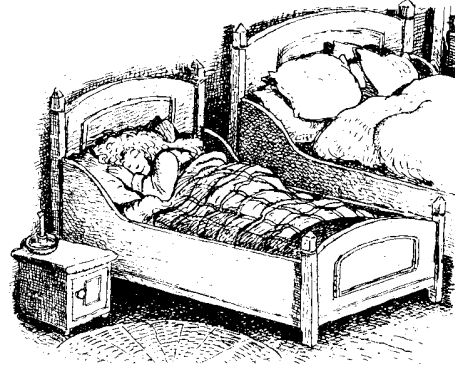


Aynı günde ormanın içinde Ceylan isiminde bir kız dolaşıyormuş. Ceylan ayıcıkların evine gelmiş. Kapıya vurmuş. Hiçbir ses gelmemiş. Ama Ceylan yine de içeriye girmiş. Ceylan içeriye girdiğinde bu üç helva dolu tası görmüş. Hiç vakit kaybetmeden hemen helvanın tadına bakmış. Büyük tasın içindeki helva çok sıcakmış. Orta boylu tasın içindeki helva çok soğukmuş. Ama minicik tasın içindeki helvanın sıcaklığı tam yenecek gibiymiş ve onun için tastaki bütün helvayı bitirmiş.

Üç ayıcık 1

HAFTA 9
GÜN 1
FAALİYET 1

Sonra Ceylan sandalyeleri görmüş ve yorulduğu için canı biraz oturmak istemiş. Büyük sandalye çok sertmiş. Orta boylu sandalye çok yumuşakmış. En çok hoşuna giden ise minik sandalyeymiş. Ceylan üstüne oturur oturmaz sandalye param parça olmuş.



Daha sonra Ceylan yatak odasına gitmiş. Üç tane yatak görmüş. İlk önce en büyük yatağın üstüne çıkmış, ama bu çok sertmiş. Orta boylu yatak çok yumuşakmış. En küçük yatak sanki Ceylan'a göre yapılmış gibiymiş. Ceylan yatağın içine girmiş ve hemen uyumuş.

Üç ayıcık 2

HAFTA 9
GÜN 1
FAALİYET 1

Aradan biraz vakit geçtikten sonra üç ayıcık evlerine geri dönmüşler. Hemen eve birisinin girdiğini fark etmişler. Yüksek sesiyle baba ayıcık: 'Birisi benim helvamın tadına bakmış.' Orta sesle anne ayıcık: 'Benim de helvamın tadına bakmışlar.' Sonra minik ayıcık ince sesiyle: 'Benim helvamın hepsini yemişler,' diye bağırış. Daha sonra sandalyelere bakmışlar. Baba ayıcık: 'Birisi benim sandalyemin üstüne oturmuş.' Anne ayıcık: 'Benim sandalyemin üstüne de oturmuş.' Minik ayıcık: 'Benim sandalyem param parça olmuş,' diye bağırış.



Vakit kaybetmeden yatak odasına doğru gitmişler. Baba ayıcık: 'Birisi benim yatağıma yatmış.' 'Benim yatağımın üstüne de yatmış,' demiş anne ayıcık. 'Aman Allahım benim yatağımda biri yatıyor,' diye bağırış minik ayıcık. Ceylan minik ayıcığın yüksek sesinden uyanmış. Aniden üç ayıcığı karşısında görünce çok korkmuş. Hemen pencereden atlamış ve arkasına bakmadan eve doğru koşmuş. Bu olaydan sonra üç ayıcık Ceylan'ı bir daha ormanda görmemişler.

Üç ayıcık 3

HAFTA 9
GÜN 1
FAALİYET 1

Appendix 2. Fragments of the transcripts in Turkish

(M= mother, c=child)

Bulutlar (clouds)

M: Yusuf bak ben sana önce anlatayım ondan sonra sen bana anlat. Sey..., bunlar annesiyle çocukmu diyek..?

c: Yok, bu küçük fare.

M: Hé küçük fare ile büyük annesi gezmeye gidiyorlarmyđ. Bahar gelmiř çiçek toplamaya gidiyorlarmyđ. Nereye gidiyorlarmyđ? Ormanlađa, çiçek yerine gidiyorlarmyđ. Orada gezerken ne görüyorlar? Bulutlar görüyorlar. Bulutlar ne renk.. desen olmuřlar?

c: <looks away>

M: Bak bakalım buraya, ne desen olmuřlar?

c: Tař.

M: Tař, dađ. Dađ resimi olmuř dedilmi?

c: Hé.

M: Ondan sonra burdada annesiyle beraber yukarıya bulutlara bakıyorlar. Bulutlara bakar ince, aynı bak tař gibi tombul tombul olmuřlar. Burdada gine de bulut dađ gibi olmuř. Ama bunlar bulut dedilmi?

c: <nods>

M: Tař dediller. Burdada ne olmuř?

c: Tavřan olmuř.

M: Tavřan gibi olmuřlar, annesiyle küçük fare bakıyorlarmyđ buraya.

- c: Hé. {nods}
M: Bakýyorlar dedilmi?
c: Héhe. {nods}
M: Ama bunlar bulut. Simdi sen bana anlat bakalým bana burayý.
c: Bu küçük fare çiçek topluyormuş.
M: Ondan sonra?
c: Fare bulut görmüş, bulut taşmýť. {points}
M: Mý? Bunlar eh.. dađ gibi şeyi .. varmýť, hani resimi dađ gibiymiş, ama dađ dedilmiş bulutmuş.
c: Hé, bulutmuş.
M: Burda nereye bakýyorlar?
c: Tavřana bakýyorlar.
M: Ama tavřan mý bu?
c: <no answer>
M: Bulutun deseni tavřan olmuş dedilmi?
c: Hé.
M: <turns the page> Burdada şey.. küçük fare annesinden uzaklaşmýť. Nnesi çiçek toplamaya gitmiş. Buda {points} orada oynar ikene, birde gökyüzüne bakýyor # stemtoon verandert, probeert spannend te maken #, birde bakýyorki, né? Kap....
c: Kaplan.

Tanya suçüedi çýkarttı (Chickenpox)

- M: <nods> Yusuf buraya bak.
c: <eats the strawberry, looks at the pictures>
M: Bak önce ben sana anlatayım, ondan sonra sen bana anlatacan, tamamým uzum?
Bu kýzýn adý neydi?
c: Tania
M: Tania'ydy. Bu? {shows}
c: Tania'nýn annesi.
M: Bu? {points}
c: <eats strawberry, no answer>
M: Bunlar neydi?
c: ardařları.
M: arkadařlar....
c: {interrupts M} Ama ardařlarýnden utanýyor..ama.. ama.. utanýyormuş.
M: Tania'ya ne olmuş?
c: Tania'yamy? {looks away for a moment}
M: Hé.
c: Tania'nýn eh.. hm.. hm..
M: Su çiçekleri çýkmýť, bak seninki gibi. {points to child's face} Böylece çiçek çýkmýť.
c: Hé.
M: Tania'nýn önce annesi bakmýť, böylece ateřine bakmýť. Sana ben baktým ya, öyle bakmýť. Birde bakmýť ki Tania'nýn şeyi..sýcak. Ateři fazla olmuş.
c: <wants to take a strawberry>

M: Dur bir yemek yok. Tania'nın. Önce beni bir dinle. Ondan sonra. {looks at researcher}. Ateşine bakmıy.

c: Hé.

M: Sonra demiş ki annesi, sen hastasın demiş Tania'ya. Tania'da demiş ki, anne demiş, hastayım demiş. Ben yemek istemiyom demiş.

c: <looks at the strawberries>

M: Buraya bak, yemek yemek istemiyom demiş. Ondan sonra annesi dereceyle, hani ben sana baktıydım ya dereceyle, sýcađına bakmıy. Sonra demiş ki Tania sen çok hastasın demiş. Ondan sonra koltuđun üstüne yatmıy. Anneside derece komu. Ondan sonra da doktor çađmıy. Doktor bakmıy. Simdi de sen anlat bakalım. Hadi kuzum.

Üç ayýcýc (The three bears)

M: Bak o.. bir.. Üç tane ayý varmıy. Birisi anne.. babasýmıy. Birisi annesiymiş, duyuyormusun. Ondan sonra biriside yavrusuymu. Yavrusuda buymu. Bu yaný bak {points}. Ondan sonra yavrusuda buymu. Anne eh.. helva yapmıy, tabaklara koymus. Büyük tabadan büyük ayýya komu, baba ayýya komu. Ortancý tabadan da anne kendine katmıy. Ondan sonra küçük ayýyla.. hey.. küçük tabadanlarda küçük ayýya katmıy. Helva sýcađmıy.

c: <rubs eye, stands up, looks away>

M: Demişlerki, helva sođuyanaca ormana gidelim demiş. Ormana gidip gezelim. O zaman şimdi helvalar sođur demiş. Helvalarda sođununca onlar da gezmeye gitmiş. Bir tane kyz.. Bu kyzın adı neydi?

c: Eh..eh..hey.. eeh.. P: Ceylan. <whispers>

M: Ceylan. Ceylan kapýya varmıy. Kimse çıkmamıy kapýyý açmıy.

c: <tries to take an apple from the table>

M: Wachten (Dutch for wait). Ge bakalım buraya. Týmarmak yoktu.

c: Tamam, tamam.

M: Ondan sonra kapýyý dövmü. (to c: Hani rahat duracaktın ya). Kapýyý dövmü, kimse çıkmayınca, kapýyý kendi açmıy. {holds his arm}. He, ondan sonra kapýyý dövmü, kimse çıkmayınca kendi kapýyý açmıy. Ondan sonra bakmıy ki, masanın üstünde helvalar var. Üç tabakta üç tane ha.. helva. Büyüde bakmıy hii... sýcak diyerek ellelememiş. Ondan sonra ortancýya bakmıy. Onuda biraz sođuk diyerek ellelememiş.

c: <gets closer to M>

M: Ama küçükteki 'lekker' (Dutch for nice) mi. Ondan sonra onu napmıy? Yemis. {turns the page} Yemis, ondan sonra.. Yedikten sonra eh.. heytmıy..

Büyük sandalyeye oturmu, sertmi. Ortancý sandalye'ye oturmu, birazcık yumuakmıy. Küçük ayýnin sandalyesine bak. {M turns back and points}. Tırdaki küçük, bak tu küçük ayýnın sandalyesine de oturmu. {M turns page}, napmıy?

c: <no answer, head on M's shoulder>

M: Kirmıy, kırmıy. Ondan sonra uykusu gelmiş. Hani karný doymu ya, uykusu gelmiş. Büyük yatađa, hani babanın yatađana bakmıy, sertmi. Anneninkine bakmıy, yumuakmıy. Ondan sonra küçük ayýnınde yatađına bakmıy. Tam ona göreymiş. {looks at child} Ondan sonra uyumu.