Oral Discursive Practices Involving Printed Materials and Fictional Narratives

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Abstract:

Inspired by studies on emerging literacy, which indicate the importance of interactional processes and discursive practices in the constitution of the literate subject, in this article, we propose a discussion about oral discursive practices involving interactional situations between a Brazilian child and its different interlocutors. In this perspective, we highlight the practices in which there is the presence of printed materials containing fictional narratives mediating the interactions. The set of data considered in the study is part of a broader research proposal, involving the "narrative path" of 'E', this child. The collected material has a longitudinal and naturalistic character, being composed of daily filming done by the parents. Among the data, we separate records corresponding to the second year of life of 'E'. Our preliminary analyzes highlight a predominance of interactional situations and oral discursive practices involving children's storybooks and classic children's literature texts read to 'E', mainly by the mother. From the theoretical references to which we are affiliated, we understand that the establishment of these practices is the key to the child's "capture" (LEMOS, 2002) for this symbolic universe and for their entry into the functioning of the language, marked both by their gestures, vocalizations, and speech, as well as the adult's interpretation and their relation to the narrated history.

Keywords:

Emerging literacy. Discursive practices. Printed materials.

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INTRODUCTION

Since its academic origin and introduction in the Brazilian specialized literature, the term *literacy*, in its various meanings (SOARES 1998), has been the subject of many types of research and studies.² Thus, from recognition of writing as "an unquestionably social and culturally constituted language modality" (ROJO, 1998, p. 122), we can emphasize in the notion underlying this term a dense link between discursive reading and writing practices disseminated and carried out in contemporary society and the place that the subject, said to be literate, occupies there.

At this juncture, many researchers have endeavored to understand the effects of the processes of immersion³ of young children in these social practices, which highlights the perspective of literacy called *emergent literacy*, a field of research that gains more and more strength in Brazil.

And what resonates in this research itinerary involving the notion of "emergent literacy" is, above all, the understanding that, for an effective understanding of the subject's relationship with the symbolic universe mediated by writing, it is essential to pay attention to the way as the other (adult), through his speech, cuts and interprets the world for the child, assigning meaning to his gestures, looks, vocalizations, utterances, and thus inscribing him in the language acquisition process itself.

Based on these assumptions, some questions can be placed: what could these oral discursive practices reveal about the literacy process being constituted in the subject, especially when mediated by printed materials? What kind of implications can the early submission of children to this type of literate practices bring to their educational process?

Motivated by these questions, in this study we propose a description and problematization, albeit preambular, of some discursive practices established between a child, 'E', - in the interval between the first and the second year of life - and their interlocutors, in particular family members (father, mother and older sister). Among these practices, we highlight those mediated by printed materials that tell fictional stories.

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² To name a few: Geraldi, 1984; Kleiman, 1995; Calil, 2004; Soares, 2008.

³ By *immersion process* we mean the intense, significant and systematic experience of the subject with this symbolic universe involved in the referred practices.

Supported by the theoretical frameworks that substantiate the study, we believe that the establishment of such practices constitute a condition for the "capture" (LEMOS, 2002) of the child by the language and the symbolic universe of writing, which may result in its constitution as a literate subject or, in other words, a subject of the culture in which he is inserted.

LITERACY IN FOCUS: SOME (IN) DEFINITIONS

The introduction⁴ of the term *literacy*⁵ in Brazil was followed by a real effervescence of studies related to the theme, in the most varied fields of knowledge. In this approach, investigations that dealt with the analysis of the social impact of writing on contemporary society have emerged, as well as on the insertion of subjects (with the corresponding effects) in this intensely literate culture which we belong to. Within this research circuit, the perspective of *Literacy Studies* – or *New Literacy Studies*,⁶ as proposed by some authors – emerged, which presupposes the study of practices related to writing in the wide range of activities of social experience.

From the English term *literacy*, the Brazilian equivalent *letramento* was coined. However, if there were consensus and prompt acceptance as to the definition of the name to be used, the same cannot be said about the definition of the phenomenon that would be named. In trying to establish the conceptual limits of literacy, we are inevitably referred to another fundamental concept in the realm of language; and both thus become an almost inseparable pair in the discursive platform of the educational sphere. We are dealing here with the phenomenon of *alfabetização*,⁷ which, in view of the meanings assumed by the notion of 'literacy', has undergone a process of conceptual redefinition and reformulation.

This articulation between the phenomena, however, has led to numerous conflicts for research in the area, which apply from terminological issues to methodological and conceptual delimitations. Before dealing more closely with these issues, however, it is important to specify some cyclical elements that contributed to the demarcation and composition of the phenomenon under study.

⁴ Referring to the work of linguist Mary Kato, who in 1986, in her book *In the world of writing: a psycholinguistic perspective* (São Paulo, Ática), used the term for the first time in Brazil.

⁵ In Portuguese: 'letramento'.

⁶ Authors like Kleiman (1995) defend the use of the term *Literacy Studies* instead of *New Literacy Studies*, as it has been used by many researchers, following the terminology of english studies, *New Studies of Literace* (NLS). Such specification ('new') emerged as a way of differentiating between literacy studies that involved the social perspective and those that did not contemplate it. In Brazil, all literacy studies are considered new, recent (their emergence dates back to the 90s), therefore, the two terms in question deal with the same reference, they are equivalent.

⁷ In Brazil, the term 'literacy' indicates a process, in a way, differentiated from the systematic process of learning to read and write. This last one, therefore, is called "alfabetização".

At first, it is advisable to rescue some socio-historical conditions that directly impacted the socio-cultural situation in which we are currently inserted. As exposed by Soares (1998), literacy has only recently become a reality in our social context. In a transfigurative path, over time, our society has become increasingly permeated by writing, outlining a culture eminently marked by the literate universe. In this regard, Colello (2004, p. 1) states:

over time, the overcoming of mass illiteracy and the increasing complexity of our societies have given rise to greater and more varied practices in the use of written language. So strong are the appeals that the literate world exerts on people that it is no longer enough for them the ability to draw letters or decipher the reading code. Following the same trajectory of developed countries, the end of the 20th century imposed the requirement of written language on practically all people, no longer as a goal of desirable knowledge, but as a true condition for survival and the conquest of citizenship.

According to Soares (1998), it was in this context of major cultural, social, political, economic, and technological transformations that the term *literacy* emerged, expanding the meaning of what was traditionally recognized by *alfabetização*. Regarding its multiple definitions and meanings, from the translation of the English term *literacy*, the literature referring to phenomenon will specify it as 'state or condition that assumes the one who learns to read and write'. About this, Soares (1998, p. 18) also says:

implicit in this concept is the idea that writing has social, cultural, political, economic, cognitive, linguistic consequences, both for the social group in which it is introduced and for the individual who learns to use it. In other words: from an individual point of view, learning to read and write – acquire knowledge of the writing system, to stop being illiterate, to become literate,^[8] to acquire the 'technology' of reading and writing and to be involved in the social practices of reading and of writing – has consequences on the individual, and alters his state or condition in social, psychological, cultural, political, cognitive, linguistic and even economic aspects.

Inspired by these notes, we bring some conceptualization proposals for this phenomenon, which, in Brazil, is in the specification phase. 'Literacy', then, would be the state or condition acquired by a social group or an individual because of having appropriated writing (SOARES, 1998). In a more procedural perspective, Kleiman (1995, p. 19) points out that, regarding literacy, we could suppose "a set of social practices that use writing, as a symbolic system and as technology, in specific contexts". Other authors, such as Rojo (1998), emphasize literacy as a process directly associated with written language, which is built socio-historically in the subjects' lives.

⁸ In the intended sense in Portuguese language: "alfabetizado".

The establishment of these and any other proposition regarding the meaning(s) of literacy brings, in suspension, a quarrel not yet resolved, which concerns the delimitation of boundaries between what is of the order of this phenomenon specifically and what, in theory, would correspond to what is conceived as *'alfabetização'*. This conflict results in a very notable split, which, in general terms, associates literacy to the uses of writing and *'alfabetização'* with its 'pure and simple' acquisition. These are quite complex issues,⁹ which require in-depth analysis. Here, we will limit ourselves only to their mention.

The literacy phenomenon, therefore, does not yet have a single and consensual definition in all its investigative nuances. This arises, above all, from the subtleties and complexities that surround it, making it an apparently difficult task to contemplate them all in a single and absolute definition.

For our part, what we want to emphasize from the constitutive notion to the literacy process is exactly what stands out in practically all of its set of meanings and assumptions: its intense relationship with the social practices that involve the universe of writing. In this sense, Calil (2004, p. 334) highlights the strong relationship established between the written culture, the social practices in which reading and writing take place in society and the skills and abilities of the subject to participate in these practices, significantly exercising their use. It is from this perspective that we conducted our study, that is, understanding literacy as an eminently socio-historical process.

CONTEXTS OF EMERGENT LITERACY

The multifaceted and indistinct aspect that is applied to the concept of literacy can also be understood from the wide and varied range of studies circumscribed to its domain. Among these studies, there is an approach that the specialized literature in the area has agreed to call "emergent literacy",¹⁰ which, according to some authors (TAYLOR, 1985; SULZBY; TEALE, 1991), in general refers to the initial moment in which the child, during the period between his initial months of life until his literacy, interacts with the various reading and writing practices valued in his culture.

In this perspective, numerous researches – mainly by psychologists, linguists, and educators – were carried out with children of preschool age, in different contexts (family,

⁹ In his work *Letramento e Alfabetização* (1997), Tfouni presents an interesting discussion about this theme, showing, above all, some theoretical and methodological limitations, as well as implications regarding both terms and what they represent in our society.

¹⁰ Purcell-Gates (2004), in analyzing the socio-historical constitution of this phenomenon, uses the term *family literacy* to designate it in his approach. According to the author, there is a consensus that this expression was coined from descriptive ethnographies carried out in the 1980s, such as that of Denny Taylor (1985). These initial works aimed at presenting of detailed descriptions of the ways in which "literacy" – *alfabetização* – influenced the lives of the families involved in the research, as well as of the "literacy" interactions that took place in their cultural environments.

community, etc.). Most of these researches focused on investigating the relationship between the early establishment of literate practices with the child's participation and their subsequent school success or failure. For this purpose, factors, and socioeconomic levels in which the research subjects were included, were especially focused.

According to Purcell-Gates (2004, p. 30), however, "the results of these investigations were showing that the socioeconomic level, analyzed separately from specific household factors, ended up being a weak indicator". In fact, according to the author, literate practices at home were the ones that best explained the differences concerning to school performance and children's intellectual and linguistic advances. From these postulations, the family and the home became the focus of attention of several researchers in the area, who then began to focus their observation on the literate practices carried out within the family – in particular, the activities of reading tales carried out with the children.

Among the works implemented in this line, the studies carried out by the anthropologist Heath (1982) stand out, which comparatively analyzes the relationships between literacy activities and the school success or failure of some children in North-American communities representing different social classes and literacy levels.

Equally important are the researches perpetrated by Taylor (1985) with some children already in school and others in pre-school age, belonging to American families. In this undertaking, Taylor analyzed the activities that involved the literacy process of those children in a family context, associating to it some factors such as the parents' life story regarding activities related to reading and writing and the socioeconomic context in which the families were inserted. The practices of "storybook reading" receive, in this research, a prominent position.

Among her conclusions, the author emphasizes mainly that the observed children's literacy process is quite peculiar to each one of them and happens, in general, spontaneously, in the very fluency of daily activities. Regarding the reading and writing experiences lived by parents during their life, especially during childhood, Taylor affirms, based on the observations made, that they are of fundamental importance in the constitution of their children's literacy process, exercising influences on the ways in which they may come to relate to the written object, to the literate universe around it.

Gordon Wells (1982), through a longitudinal study carried out in Bristol, England, asserted the importance of story reading experiences for young children, in view of the subsequent academic success of these children in reading and writing.

Sulzby and Teale (1987) also developed important research focusing on the practice of shared storybook reading by parents and young children in Chicago and San Antonio, USA. In this study, the authors noted that the practice of reading stories (tales) for young children by their parents was highly beneficial for the development of their literacy. In the results observed, they also showed that "storybook reading is a socially constructed activity" (p. 82), as well as "storybook reading interaction becomes internalized as children read the same book repeatedly" (p. 82). As a result of this fruitful investigative work carried out in English-language countries, countless programs have emerged aimed at guiding the achievement of literacy in the family environment. These, however, are not welcomed by most researchers related to the theme, under the justification that they distanced themselves greatly from what, in truth, represented the family literacy process.

In Brazil, research on emergent literacy began to gain strength from the mid-1980s, when works like Rego's (1988) were published. In a longitudinal approach case study, the researcher analyzes the daughter's path in the literacy process in the family context, emphasizing the importance of experiences with writing for the child, before the formal instruction period, at school.

Along the same lines, Mayrink-Sabinson (1998) presents the result of her observations on her daughter's path in the process of writing acquisition, through a study that covers the period between 1 and 7 years and 3 months of the child's life, observing the diverse literate practices experienced within the family. The author concludes that the role of the other (adult) and his language in this process is much more expressive than that of a simple informant about writing.

Rojo (1998) also undertakes research on the constitution of a child's literacy process in a family environment. In this investigation, the interactions carried out between the child and her family are considered in the analysis, with emphasis on those mediated by objects with text.

From the set of research carried out in the emergent literacy arena, therefore, the role of literate practices and the interaction between the subjects involved in these practices is noteworthy.

INTERACTIONAL PRACTICES AND THE CONSTITUTION OF LITERACY IN CHILDREN

The use of the concept of literacy, as stated by Rojo (1998, p. 11), "implies the adoption of theoretical assumptions (sociological, ethnographic) where social interaction has a decisive weight in the construction of writing by the child". In our view, it mainly involves looking at interaction as a legitimate place of transformation.

From this perspective, scanning the phenomenon of literacy, as pointed out by Lemos (1988), requires us to (re)consider the relationships that have traditionally been established between oral and written modalities and, consequently, between their constitution processes in children. In other words, it is a question of revisiting some issues that have long been consolidated, such as, for example, the conception that one learns to speak at home and to write at school; or even the propositions of a supposed hierarchy between the two modalities.

Indeed, research on oral language acquisition has pointed to the existence of a close relationship between the literacy process and the constitution of oral speech, especially narrative, as Rojo (1998, p. 122) draws attention to. For the author, understanding the

emerging literacy process demands that we consider the incidence of two interdependent factors, corresponding to the child's family institution's literacy degree – deducted from the greater or lesser presence, in its daily life, of reading practices and of writing – and the "different modes of child participation" (LEMOS, 1988, p. 11) in oral discursive practices in which activities involving writing establish meaning. These modes of participation – listening, participating, narrating, retelling or "pretending" that you read or write – even in oral form, in literacy practices, allow the child to build a relationship with writing as a discursive practice and as an object.

In an analysis of the literacy process marks that can be seen in children's oral or written productions, Calil (2004) points out that emergent literacy, through oral discursive practices, makes possible the constitution of a "knowledge" in the child (LEMOS, 1998), which manifests itself even though this child cannot yet conventionally read and write. Thus, the author indicates that

in a literate society, literacy events are multiple, and the subject is immersed in different situations of significant use of reading and writing [...]. It is of fundamental importance that printed objects are invested with meaning through interactive discursive practices and that sayings, speeches, texts, letters emanate from them, with the voice of the other as a favoring element. Another that [...] should be treated theoretically as a representative of the linguistic-discursive functioning linked to the effectiveness of his saying, which produces effects on the subject. It is this functioning, from which the other does not put himself out, that will capture the subject and inscribe him in a literate universe [...]. (CALIL, 2004, p. 335)

Based on these assumptions and referring to oral discursive practices around printed objects, we can place them at the origin of the relationships that are established between the child and the text (LEMOS, 1998, p. 18). It is through these practices that an intense game takes place between the significant elements that made them start, which come into relationship and they are put into operation, making the book, as a representative of the semiotic universe of writing (image, color, cover, title, narrated story, character, word, letter...), leave its state of "thing" to "become a meaningful object before because of its structuring effects on these same oral practices than by its positive perceptual properties", as stated by Lemos (p. 18-19). The author, however, gives a warning:

it is not, therefore, an orality that unveils the written text nor that it is represented by it, but an *oral discursive practice* that, in some way, means it, that is, that makes it significant for a subject. (p. 18-19, emphasis added).

From the perspective we assume, what happens during the whole process of the socio-historical constitution of children's literacy is, in addition to a notion of "development" or "construction" by the subject of the object, its "capture", through the discourse of the Other, by the symbolic functioning. Thus, subject and object are inscribed in this functioning, both involving themselves in a set of relationships that are composed, at each reading / writing act / event, in the network of meanings marked by history, itself, of these relationships.

For this discussion, what we want to reiterate is precisely the place where all this transformation takes place: in the interaction – in the language. In this regard, Lemos (1982) maintains that in the initial moments of language acquisition – and, by extension, in the emergent literacy processes¹¹ – the child has an exceptionally large dialogical dependence on the statements of the other. His utterance, therefore, depends on the utterance of the adult to have a meaning. It is, therefore, through language – *through interaction* – such as "action on the other" and "action on the world" that "the child constructs language as an object on which he will be able to operate" (p. 13).

Finally, and as a basis for the cut established in this work, it is important to emphasize that, among the oral discursive practices established between the child and the adult/other, the "make-believe game" – and that includes the game storytelling, predominant in our research – appears as an essential element, assigning different roles and possibilities to the subject, within the context of literacy. Such practices, according to Calil (2004, p. 338-339), would be responsible for the mobilization of a literate discursive universe, constituting a "discursive memory" that will be the raw material for the triggering of a phenomenon that the literature on emergent literacy has called "literate speech", that is, a way of speaking that presents marks of the written universe. It is through these activities that "the child will recognize the act of reading as another way of speaking and that the text-carrying object becomes the mediator of another type of relationship with the world and with the Other" (LEMOS, 1988, p 11).

ON THE RESEARCH TRAIL: THE CORPUS, THE COLLECTION AND THE SUBJECTS

The *corpus* on which we developed our work was part of a naturalistic and longitudinal study¹² (0 to 7 years old), formed from film records of the child 'E',¹³ carried

¹¹ Lemos (1988) proposes the existence of a continuity between the processes of acquisition of oral language and literacy.

¹² Unlike other investigations in the area (BEHREN, 2008; MORGENSTERN; PARISSE, 2007), the methodological procedure adopted in the research follows the current trend of many actual studies in language acquisition, valuing the forms of collection of an ethnographic nature, preserving anthropological, social and cultural characteristics of the context that surrounds and founds the subjective condition of the child. The websites CHILDES (http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/) and COLAJE (http://www.modyco.fr/corpus/colaje/anae/) present an important database with this type of collection.

¹³ In order to preserve the identity of the research subject and his family, we will designate them here only with a letter of their names.

out almost daily by the parents themselves, in a family environment.¹⁴ These records basically include everyday situations (bath time, meals, bedtime, moments of playing, walks, trips, going to and from school, among other situations) and instants of the child's dialogical interaction with family members and people close to their conviviality.

The child 'E', subject of the research, is an upper-middle class boy, whose parents are university professors (both with postdoctoral degrees) and researchers in the field of language acquisition. During the analyzed period, in addition to the parents, 'E' interacted with his sister, 'L', 11 years old (when he was born), and with 'M', a lady who has worked for the family for several years and helps with the care of 'E' since he was born. At the time, Mrs. 'M' was 53 years old and had neither attended school, nor was she literate. Also included in the set of data collected are moments of interaction between 'E' and distant family members, neighbors, friends of 'L', friends of parents (mostly also linked to academic activity), among other subjects.

As a resource for data collection and storage, a SONY (digital) handycam, model DCR-DVD 508, with support for miniDVD R / RW was used. The miniDVDs used could hold up to 55 minutes of recording, at the average level of record quality, chosen by the researcher. The length of each shoot varied according to the interaction established between the participants and / or the limit on the storage capacity of the media. Generally, the camera was fixed on a tripod, turned on continuously during the realization of the interactional scene, with the focus open. In situations where the central participants left the frame, the father, mother, or sister of 'E' took control of the camcorder, the father being the one who most often took the initiative to do so.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COLLECTED DATA

The data set that makes up the *corpus* of this research went through a cataloging and tabulation process, with a view to conducting future studies and research. The table originated from this process is organized in chronological order of occurrence of the film records and each miniDVD used in the video recordings received a sequential number.

Considering that in a miniDVD there is a record of several different moments, made sequentially and generally comprising different days,¹⁵ there are diverse filming on these devices. In the cataloging process, these films are distinguished as "chapters", indicated in the illustrative table below by "C.".

¹⁴ Technological advances, low cost, and the ease with which a scene is shot are, in general, part of the family culture of contemporary society. In the case of the 'E' child, the fact that his parents are linguists and work with language acquisition gives a particular dimension to these records that have taken place since his birth (December 16, 2006), despite the more systematic and daily film records started to happen in August 2007, when he was 8 months old.

¹⁵ The miniDVD was only changed after being completely recorded.

In general, the data are classified and organized based on the following aspects: number corresponding to the miniDVD; chapter or film number on the disc; date when the filming took place and corresponding age of 'E' at the time; time of start and end of recording, as well as duration of the scene; brief description of the event; participants involved and, finally, full description of the recorded scene.

Disk	C.	Date/ Age	Start/ End/ Duration	Scene	Participants	Comments
1.	N°.	dd.mm.yyyy XX.XX.XX (years, months, days)	XX:XX:XX am/pm XX:XX:XX am/pm XXhXXmin	XXXXXX. XXXXXX.	XXXX, XXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXX

 Table 1 – Model of the arrangement and organization of the corpus data in the cataloging table

Source: Made by the authors.

The volume of data grouped in the *corpus* that supports this research has considerable dimensions, constituting a rich material that can provide important subsidies to our reflections about the child's path, the subject of the research, in his process of language acquisition and literacy.

The data discussed in the present study correspond to miniDVDs from number 0008 to number 0106, that is, 98 media, which comprise records from the period from November 3, 2007 (00:10:17^[16]) to November 23, 2008 (01:11:07), adding a total of 65 hours, 43 minutes and 05 seconds of recorded footage, which were taken with an average frequency of 4 times a week, in different daily situations, as previously specified. The most frequent moments in this amount correspond to those when the child had his meals (lunch and dinner), almost always at the "counter-table" that separates the kitchen from the dining room, in his eating chair, with the mother as the main companion.

There are also, in a significant number, moments when the child and the mother prepared to sleep, in general, in the parents' bed. Other specific situations were those in which the child interacted with the father and /or sister, in different playing contexts.

In this study, our discussion will focus precisely on those moments of interaction between the child and family members (mother, father, or sister) in oral discursive practices

¹⁶ This is the form agreed by the specific literature of the area to indicate the age of the research subject, that is, 00 years, 10 months and 17 days.

in which there is the mediation of printed materials that tell fictional stories. Thus, regarding the number of occurrences, situations are highlighted in which the mother or father tells the child a story in bed, preceding bedtime.

"LITERACY EVENTS" ON THE SCENE

As previously mentioned, the video records that make up our research represent remarkably diverse moments in the daily life of 'E'. Through data observation, we can highlight the occurrence of numerous situations that, as suggested by Heath (1982, p. 50), could be defined as "literacy events". These, according to the author, would be identified as "events in which written language is essential to the nature of interactions and to the interpretive processes and strategies of its participants".

Within this context, we highlight, for example, the recurrence in the filming of occasions when parents, sister or family friends read, wrote or discussed texts in the child's presence; or, still, situations in which the reading directed to the child of some object with text was carried out. Other frequent moments were those when the father, mother or sister cut out, pointed and identified some element written for the child on product labels, on refrigerator magnets or on some other object with text pertinent to the interaction.

These practices more related to the exercise of reading in the highlighted period prevail over the ones involving writing. However, they are also quite significant, in terms of occurrences, moments in which the child scribbles papers, notebooks or surfaces within reach, such as furniture, walls or even his own eating chair, using, for this purpose, colored pencils, markers or whiteboard pens, in addition to playing with mobile letters at his disposal.

To conduct this work, specifically, we selected among the data characterized as "literacy events" the records corresponding to the moments when the child interacts with his mother and/or father or even sister, in oral discursive practices in which he relies on the presence of printed materials that present fictional narratives in their content. After this cut, the situations in which the mother or father, from children's story books, tell stories in bed to the child, before sleeping, stand out. Other moments identified, however, with less incidence, are those in which the sister, 'L', tells or reads a story for 'E' in different situations; or still, moments when the mother reads a comic book to the child during the meal.

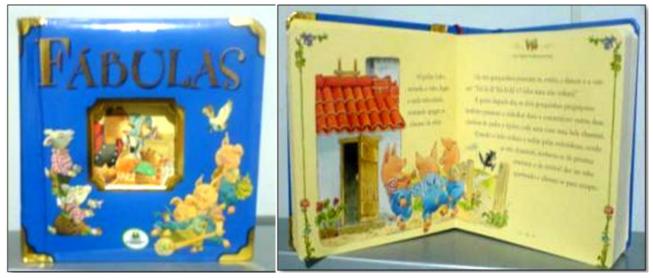
Between the First and Second Years of Life: the printed materials that narrate

The 'E' oral language acquisition process is not far from reading and writing practices, thus constituting an "emerging literacy process", previously specified. Since

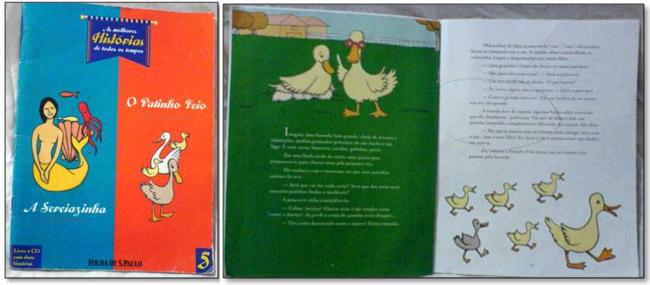
their first months of life, but, mainly after the 12th month, many of these reading practices are mediated by printed materials, especially baby books, books with small children's stories and comic books by Turma da Mônica, as illustrated below:



Source: Research Archives. **Figure 1 –** Book *O Coelhinho*, material present mainly during interactions before bedtime



Source: Research Archives. Figure 2 – Book Fábulas, often also present in moments of history before bedtime



Source: Research Archives.

Figure 3 – Book *A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio*, most frequently used material during the observed interactions

The first situation of interaction mediated by printed material containing fictional narratives, according to the video records, dates from December 2007, when 'E' was 01 years and 14 days old and the family was traveling to São Paulo visiting the child's paternal grandparents. On that occasion, 'L', the older sister of 'E', tells him the story of the book *O Coelhinho*¹⁷ – which had been a Christmas present for 'E'. In another situation, this time when the family took a car ride, again 'L' tells a story to 'E', from a children's book entitled *Rei Leão*.¹⁸

Regarding the bedside storytelling practices for the child before bed, considering the filming, it is observed that this was initiated by the parents when 'E' was already 01 year and 06 months old. The first story that was told to him – at the time, by his father –, from a book of classic children's stories, was "O Patinho Feio".¹⁹ Since then, as shown in the survey made in the table below, reading this same narrative has become a recurring practice during these moments of interaction before bedtime.

¹⁷ "The Bunny".

¹⁸ "King Lion".

¹⁹ "The Ugly Duckling".

 Table 2 – Survey and description of interaction situations mediated by printed materials containing fictional narratives, in the highlighted period

	Disk_NumberScene _ Date / (Age) / Time	Description Scene	Printed Material
1	0018_01_30-12-2007 (01:00:14) 06:30:16 pm	Late afternoon, in her grandmother's room, in São Paulo. 'E' plays with 'L' and explores the little books he won for Christmas.	<i>O Coelhinho</i> (The Bunny), Coleção Bichinhos Fofinhos. Editora TodoLivro, 2007.
2	0030_02_02-03-2008 (01.02.15) 04:51:15 pm	Car ride. 'E', dad, mom, 'L' and 'M' ('L' friend) in the family car. 'L' reads a story for 'E', from a children's book named Rei Leão.	Rei Leão ^[20] (King Lion).
3	0051_04_03-07-2008 (01.06.17) 10:31:29 pm	Before bedtime. 'E' and the father interact in the parents' bed. Dad "tells" the story "O Patinho Feio".	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.
4	0052_03_04-07-2008 (01.06.18) 10:13:24 pm	Time to sleep. In bed, father "tells" the story "O Patinho Feio" to 'E'.	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.
5	0053_03_06-07-2008 (01.06.20) 08:52:42 am	Breakfast. Mother and 'E' at the counter-table (kitchen) with a comic book by Turma da Mônica, visualizing the strip on the last page.	Comic book by <i>Turma da</i> <i>Mônica</i> .
6	0054_04_07-07-2008 (01.06.21) 09:46:12 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the father interact in the parents' bed. 'E' with the book A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio on his lap, looks at the pages, point out images, make vocalizations.	A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio. (The Little Mermaid / The Ugly Duckling)
7	0055_04_09-07-2008 (01.06.23) 09:39:27 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the father interact in the parents' bed. 'E' with the book A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.	<i>A Sereiazinha / O Patinho</i> <i>Feio.</i> (The Little Mermaid / The Ugly Duckling)
8	0056_04_10-07-2008 (01.06.24) 09:30:14 pm	Before bedtime. 'E' and the father interact in the parents' bed. Dad "tells" the story "O Patinho Feio".	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.

 $^{^{20}}$ We are unable to access the material for further information.

	Disk_NumberScene _ Date / (Age) / Time	Description Scene	Printed Material
9	0065_01_30-07-2008 (01.07.14) 10:08:04 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the mother interact in the parents' bed. 'E' looks at the pages of the book A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio; later, the mother begins to tell this story.	A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio. (The Little Mermaid / The Ugly Duckling)
10	0065_02_30-07-2008 (01.07.14) 10:15:42 pm	Time to sleep (continued from the previous scene).'E' and the mother interact in the parents' bed. Mom has the book Fábulas in this interaction.	<i>Os Três Porquinhos (</i> 'The Three Little Pigs). <i>In:</i> <i>Fábulas.</i> ^[21] BrasilLeitura, 2007.
11	0070_02_09-08-2008 (01.07.24) 10:33:45 pm	Before bedtime. 'E' and the mother interact in the parents' bed. 'E' looks the book Fábulas.	<i>Os Sete Cabritinhos. In:</i> <i>Fábulas.</i> BrasilLeitura, 2007.
12	0072_03_11-08-2008 (01.07.26) 08:25:04 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the mother in the parents' bed. With the book A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio, mom tells the story "O Patinho Feio" to 'E', who does vocalizations	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.
13	0072_3_11-08-2008 (01.07.26) 08:25:04 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the mother in the parents' bed. Mom has the book A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio. She tells the story "O Patinho Feio". 'E' does vocalizations.	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.
14	0074_01_25-08-2008 (01.08.09) 09:21:19 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the mother in the parents' bed. Mom has the book A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.
15	0074_03_26-08-2008 (01.08.10) 09:29:29 pm	Time to sleep. 'E', mom and dad interact in the parents' bed. Dad tells the story "O Patinho Feio". 'E' makes vocalizations and points images in the book.	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.
16	0076_01_30-08-2008 (01.08.14) 10:26:11 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the mother in the parents' bed. Mother, with the book Fábulas, tells the story "Os Sete Cabritinhos".	<i>Os Sete Cabritinhos</i> (The Seven Little Young Goat). <i>In: Fábulas</i> . BrasilLeitura, 2007.

²¹ "Fables".

	Disk_NumberScene _ Date / (Age) / Time	Description Scene	Printed Material
17	0082_01_20-09-2008 (01.09.04) 10:55:51 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the mother in the parents' bed. 'E' looks at the pages of the book Fábulas and points images. Mom tells fragments of stories from the book.	<i>Fábulas</i> . BrasilLeitura, 2007.
18	0083_03_01-09-12 (01.09.12) 10:21:26 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the mother in the parents' bed. Mother, with the book Fábulas, tells the story "Os Três Porquinhos". 'E' looks at the pages, points images in the book and makes vocalizations.	<i>Os Três Porquinhos (</i> The Three Little Pigs). <i>In:</i> <i>Fábulas</i> . BrasilLeitura, 2007.
19	0085_05_04-10-2008 (01.09.18) 11:41:00 pm	Time to sleep. 'E' and the mother in the parents' bed. 'E' looks at the pages of the book Fábulas.	<i>Fábulas</i> . BrasilLeitura, 2007.
20	0087_07_09-10-2008 (01.09.23) 10:51:46 pm	Time to sleep. Dad reads excerpts from the "Os Três Porquinhos" story for 'E' in bed.	<i>Os Três Porquinhos (</i> The Three Little Pigs). <i>In:</i> <i>Fábulas</i> . BrasilLeitura, 2007.
21	0089_01_12-10-2008 (01.09.26) 11:04:41 pm	Time to sleep. Father tells the story "O Patinho Feio" to 'E' in bed. Then, ask 'E' to tell him the story. 'E' points out figures in the book and makes vocalizations. Mother is also present during the interaction.	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.
22	0090_08_13-10-2008 (01.09.27) 09:44:58 pm	Late afternoon, in the room. Father tells the story of the book The Bunny to 'E' and they play with the puppet- bunny on the cover.	<i>O Coelhinho</i> (The Bunny), Coleção Bichinhos Fofinhos. Editora TodoLivro, 2007.
23	0091_06_15-10-2008 (01.09.29) 11:02:14 pm	Time to sleep. Father, with the book Fábulas, tells the story "Os Três Porquinhos" for 'E' in bed. 'E' does vocalizations.	<i>Os Três Porquinhos (</i> The Three Little Pigs). <i>In:</i> <i>Fábulas.</i> BrasilLeitura, 2007.
24	0095_05_29-10-2008 (01.10.13) 11:16:16 pm	Time to sleep. In bed, mom tells excerpts of stories from book Fábulas to 'E', which points to images in the book.	<i>Fábulas</i> . BrasilLeitura, 2007.
25	0100_01_15-11-2008 (01.10.29) 10:16:40 pm	Time to sleep. In bed, mother and 'E' look at images from the book Fábulas.	<i>Fábulas</i> . BrasilLeitura, 2007.

	Disk_NumberScene _ Date / (Age) / Time	Description Scene	Printed Material
26	0101_02-03_17-11- 2008 (01.11.01) 10:32:19 pm	Time to sleep. Mother tells the story "O Patinho Feio" to 'E' in bed, highlighting the body parts of the book's images. She also has a toy duckling in her hand.	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.
27	0102_04_18-11-2008 (01.11.02) 11:16:32 pm	Time to sleep. The father tells the story of the book O Patinho Feio to 'E' in bed.	O Patinho Feio (The Ugly Duckling). In: A Sereiazinha / O Patinho Feio.

Source: Made by the authors.

The observation of the previous table allows us to make some considerations. At first, the predominance of children's storybooks over other materials during the interactional situations evidenced in the study is remarkable. Fictional narratives, especially the classic stories in children's literature, are the type of text that most often appears in these moments of interaction, which point to the mother as the main interlocutor of 'E'. Among the narratives presented to the child in the period, it appears that the classic children's story "O Patinho Feio" is the one that most sharply appears on the occasions of "story before bedtime".

In this context, Sulzby and Teale (1987, p. 83) emphasize the importance of reading storybooks practices for young children, as well as the repetition of reading the same book or narrative in these practices, and, based on the results of their research, make the following statement:

We are convinced that, for the child, the storybook is not the physical object, but is a socially constructed object. This object includes the interactive language which surrounds and is part of storybook reading. This language is part of social interaction between the three participants: the adult, the child, and the book (as a socially constructed object).

In a preliminary analysis, from the data previously exposed, we can highlight some points that, it is important to say, are not expressed here in the form of certainties or absolute propositions, otherwise these points represent questions and considerations from which we can expand our future reflections. When projecting our view on these interactional practices mediated by different printed materials, in principle, it becomes evident that, in general, they are intensely permeated by speeches, vocalizations, gestures, interpretative movements, diverse contextual elements, among other aspects. That is, there is a whole set of factors put in relation, which indicate the constitution of a literacy process in the child. Or, even, they allow this child to become a subject of the culture proper to his group.

Another aspect that calls our attention, in the set of observed data, concerns the fact that the interactional situations involved in the research have a significant relational burden. In this sense, we want to highlight the substantial link established between the intense and continuous realization of these oral discursive practices mediated by printed materials and the constitution of the written object and its symbolic universe for the child and in the child. We understand, therefore, that it is exactly through the establishment and repetition of such interactional practices, with everything they mobilize, with all the discursive and textual game that found them, that will transform these printed materials into meaningful objects for the child, allowing it to conceive the text as a mediator of a different relationship with the other and with the world.

Based on these assumptions and anchored in the theoretical frameworks assumed in our research, we cannot fail to recognize the relevance of some questions that arise from the observations made. Thus, we can think: what role does the look, the gestures, the situational context, the effective interlocutions take on these events and processes? What about the adult speech or even the "text speech" is interposed in the child's language manifestations? How this type of interaction, in which there is the mediation of the interpretations of the adult and the printed material itself, can interfere in these analyzed processes? What about the differences between the way each interlocutor (father, mother, sister) is included in interactions with 'E'?

These and other questions are reflections that we intend to deepen in other studies in the future, so that we can add new elements to our understanding of the way in which young children are enrolled in these literacy processes that precede their entry into the school universe.

Some Considerations

The terrain of language, especially if we catch a glimpse of it from childhood – and, in this approach, from the point of view of language acquisition processes –, is not always made known in the form of evidence. The present work does not escape this reality and, as we have already explained, it still has a very preliminary character, considering how vast the phenomenon whose features we pursue is.

In a very punctual and assertive way, Lemos (1998, p.16) makes an important reminder:

a lot has been said and written about the difficulties of the Brazilian school in fulfilling its task of literacy and of introducing in the effective practices of reading and writing those who are excluded from them, given the marginality of their participation in a literate society.

It seems to me that, regarding the functioning of language, little of what has been spoken and written has taken the form of mysteries or questions.

Enlightened by the author's words, in these final considerations – which, in view of the questions raised, we prefer not to call 'conclusion' yet – we only want to corroborate the hypothesis presented above and call attention to an aspect widely evidenced in Calil (2004), namely, that the literacy process produces marks on the subject submitted to it, even though this subject is not yet literate.

Finally, we intend that our investigation can add elements to the understanding of the importance and scope of the literacy phenomenon, whose origin is rooted in the very culture in which we are inserted and whose effects and consequences go far beyond the domain of school practice.

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