Chapter 21
Considerations for Parenting, Education and L2 Speakers

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Abstract This chapter synthesises the key findings of this provocative collection of studies on storytelling. The chapter identifies the interactional storytelling practices uncovered using the approach of conversation analysis. Four key findings that serve to advance current understandings for supporting children, youth and second language speakers in the areas of story structure, participation frameworks and recipients, the role of resources in storytelling, and for interactional and intercultural competence, are presented. The ten recommendations guide professionals working with caregivers to inform teacher education and to support second-language learners.

21.1 Uncovering Storytelling Practices Using Conversation Analysis (CA)

This collection of studies highlights the provoking and often overlooked interactional practices of telling stories. The collection is a journey of storytelling practices in various contexts, from the home, to preschool, in school settings and in higher education. We share in storytelling that occurred in neighbourhood places, home-stay settings and online spaces. The studies explore storytelling practices amongst very young children, those of primary age children, pre-adolescent and adolescents, as well as users and learners of multiple languages. There are stories supported by peers, parents, educators or other professionals or more fluent language speakers and stories that occur out of view of adult figures. This collection includes studies that identify

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how storytelling is used in play, for friendship and connection, to profile identity and belonging, to highlight culture and life and to bring shared understanding. Critically, the findings identify how storytelling provides opportunities for learning and development.

This collection in itself is unique because each of the studies presents actual storytelling interactions produced *in situ* and examined using the fine-grained analysis of CA. Included are original theoretical contributions, as well as studies that traverse the theory to practice gap. CA facilitates a greater understanding of how stories are collaboratively constructed within, and result from, everyday interactions and situations. The emphasis on the *in situ* production of storytelling highlights the interactional action for which the storytelling may be employed. CA enables the insider views, standpoint and interactional experiences of the members themselves, and within a range of contexts: family, classroom interaction, home-stay contexts, focus group discussions, doctoral supervision conversations and exchanges online and by phone or between speakers across languages. These are accessed via the study of recordings, where researchers would typically have been restricted from these interactions, privy only to the members themselves. Having access to a members' perspective from 'within' (Speier, 1973) enables the identification of how the storytellers and their recipients attend to linguistic and embodied practices of storytelling.

21.2 Advancing the Practice of Storytelling

The studies in this volume identify how the everyday social practice of 'telling' is used to accomplish a wide range of actions: actions of informing (Theobald et al., current volume), advice giving (Ta, current volume), providing updates (Waring, current volume; Watanabe, current volume), achieving intersubjectivity (Burdelski & Takei, current volume; Greer, current volume; Sandlund, current volume), accounting for and sharing troubles (Dooly & Tudini, current volume), playing (Filipi, current volume), joking (Busch et al., current volume), seeking affiliation (Greer, current volume; Kim & Carlin, current volume; Monfaredi, current volume) and constructing identity (Kupetz, current volume; Wong, current volume). Such a wide range of practices indicates how storytelling is beneficial to interactional and intercultural competence, confirming and consolidating understandings that are situational and related to culture (Takada & Kawashima, 2019). What is important are the key practices about stories and their tellers, including how a story is launched, how stories are supported, how they are responded to and what happens when story recipients do not 'get' it. These findings all have implications for learning, particularly in terms of how storytelling practices might assist caregivers, educators and those in the community, to support development, language acquisition and inclusion for infants, youth and L2 learners. With the influence of socio-cultural perspectives (Lave, 1997; Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978), learning, once considered an internal state, is thought more commonly now to be a public, embodied, situated and social process (Goodwin,

2000; Melander & Sahlstrom, 2007), which is illuminated using the fine-grained tools of CA.

Whilst storytelling practices can inform aspects of learning, it is not the volume's intention to propose or debate a theory of learning, and particularly with the CA data-driven approach, in which premature theoretical discussion is usually avoided. Learning in CA studies is approached in two main ways, and it is of value to reflect on the two key approaches. The first uses sequential analysis of turns to identify where a 'site of potential learning' is evident (Gardner, 2015), and so, it is effective in illuminating the 'what' and 'how' of interactions that show orientations to learning. The second approach is the commitment to longitudinal studies to provide evidence of a change of state over time (Gardner, 2015). Many of the studies in this volume succeed in bringing together these two approaches, resulting in advancing the value of employing a theory of *action* (Goodwin, 2000) for storytelling studies. The combined findings of micro and longitudinal approaches advance understandings about story structure, participation frameworks and recipients, the role of resources in storytelling and socialisation and intercultural competence.

21.2.1 The Importance of Story Structure for Storytelling Practices

Studies in this volume deliver deeper understandings to previously identified structures of storytelling, such as those that Goodwin (2015) identifies: a story preface, the hearer requesting a story, the teller extended multiunit turn and the closing of the story with an upshot. In this collection, small stories (Georgakopoulou, 2007) are identified as story contributions. Small stories, performed in an 'improvised and transient way' (Bateman, current volume) are much like Sacks' (1995) example of a story fragment, 'The baby cried. The mommy picked it up.' (p.135), where the practice of early storying by young children does not always include a preface or introduction. Bateman (current volume) argues that small stories offer insight into how children understand the world in the way of 'working theories'. Sandlund (current volume) highlights that the successful uptake of a small story relies on a co-participant's knowledge of the sequential organisation and features of delivery in conversation to recognise the talk as a telling. Her study of second-language learner performances in oral proficiency tests, identified that providing test-takers with small hypothetical or fictional stories rather than to respond to prescribed topics, would create greater opportunities for L2 speakers to demonstrate their interactional competence. In Kupetz's (current volume) study of Syrian students' telling in focus groups, small stories are systematically used to construct participant identities and to achieve affiliation with peers. Using small stories helps students to identify and respecify the negative ascriptions in terms of actions and motives that may be bound to the categories of *children*, *refugees* and *Muslims*. In Watanabe's (current volume) study, small stories launched through a routinised and formulaic question and answer pair

in an English as Foreign Language class, occasion familiarity that provide the young learner with opportunities for rehearsal. Such opportunities lead to more proficient second position telling over time. Importantly, such analyses that combine micro-moments with a macro-perspective of change over time offer empirical displays of what is referred to as learning and other metacognitive skills such as self-regulation, which Zimmermann (1986) presents in educational psychology.

Studying the talk that occurs out of the view of the educators, Theobald et al. (current volume) identifies that telling small stories help children make sense of the curriculum content of classroom activities and to make connections with peers. Rather than being 'off task', the children took opportunities for 'free talk' to share related information about their lives outside of the classroom. This helped the children make sense of the content and identify commonalities with peers, producing a locally ordered culture. Likewise, Dooly and Tudini (current volume) argue that 'free' talk (e.g. joking, small talk, troubles telling and storytelling) in online exchanges between student–teachers helped progress their completion of the assigned tasks. These findings suggest that small stories should not be discounted or overlooked since they provide important opportunities for learning, including where interactional and intercultural competence can be exercised.

21.2.2 The Importance of Scaffolding Through Participation Frameworks and Responsiveness for Storytelling Practices

Caregivers, educators and peers play important roles in scaffolding storytelling practices fostering opportunities for literacy, cognitive development and language acquisition. Scaffolding has been understood as a system through which a more experienced social member supports the learning and development of a less experienced one (Bruner, 1975a, 1975b, 1983; Wood et al., 1976). This concept aligns with Vygotsky's notion of *Zone of Proximal Development*; simply, the distance between what an individual can do independently and what he or she can do with support from more competent others (Vygotsky, 1978). CA analysis in this volume presents scaffolding as an interaction, rather than a strategy. The criticality of participation frameworks, responsiveness and shared intersubjectivity for the action of scaffolding to occur, is highlighted in this collection of studies.

A 'triangular participation framework' (Waring, current volume) emerges in this volume as a useful structure for storytelling in family contexts, and offers potential to support L2 learners because it involves two parents, caregivers and/or supportive co-participants who respond to calls for assistance in their role of co-teller or recipient. This framework accelerated a young child's competence in storytelling as the child was handed the conversational floor. Underpinning this framework is the work of the recipient, who may not have epistemic access to the story but can support their telling should it become necessary (Waring, current volume). Such a framework

advances understandings about the interactional aspects of scaffolding, participation frameworks and the role of recipients.

The criticality of a recipient's responsiveness to storytelling (Koole & Elbers, 2014) is central to studies in this volume. For example Watanabe's (current volume) longitudinal study identifies that as the learner's learning and language capabilities were increased; the teacher calibrated her responses according to the child's fluency in storytelling. The teacher gradually replaced gestures such as 'drumming' to signal repair, with embedded corrections, and actions that acknowledged the child's proficiency. The absolute collaborative nature of storytelling and the intergenerational interactions for young children are emphasised also by Busch et al., (current volume), Filipi (current volume), Watanabe (current volume) and Waring (current volume). Busch et al., contend that the use of 'known answer' and closed questions where minimal responses such as 'yes' or 'no' are elicited (a practice that facilitates very young children's participation, Filipi, 2019), limit rather than expand the older child's skills in maintaining storytelling, despite the responsiveness of a parent or caregiver. These researchers argue that careful question design is an important consideration for the gradual release of support and is a recommendation that aligns with studies of teacher talk in the classroom (e.g. Edwards-Groves & Davidson, 2017, in a first-language (L1) classroom; Lee, 2008, in a second-language (L2) classroom) and provides empirical evidence for language acquisition.

Achieving intersubjectivity emerges as a key focus of several studies in the volume. Kim and Carlin (current volume) identify that the upshot of a story is dependent upon how a story is treated by the story recipients during a telling or at completion. Similarly, Greer (current volume) identifies how storytellers initiate self-repairs to ensure recipients align with the storytelling and display appropriate response at story completion. Busch et al., (current volume) highlights that even young children are concerned with accomplishing intersubjectivity. For example when a story recipient fails to produce an appropriate response to his story, the child pauses for a member check 'do you get it'? then works to make sense of the story for the recipient. Storytellers, including very young children or second language learners, do initiate self-repair to ensure that co-participants can grasp the meaning of the story and the storyteller's stance. These studies shed some interesting observations about intersubjectivity that build on the previous studies that demonstrated tellers and recipients' negotiating their interpretations of the stories through self-initiated and other-initiated repairs (see Bercelli et al., 2008; Frantz, 2021; Mandelbaum, 1989, 2012; Monzoni & Drew, 2009; Stivers, 2008). These moments where intersubjectivity is achieved provide valuable opportunities for learning.

These findings of the importance of responsiveness and support align with Oshiro et al's. (2019) investigation into how children in a Japanese kindergarten accomplished retelling. Oshiro et al. (2019) demonstrated that the educator's incremental support facilitated the child to gradually exert their agency in completing the task and at the same time socialised the child into using familiar story formats. In fact, 15 experimental studies on scaffolding strategies used by caregivers and educators in fostering children's storytelling skills substantiate Oshiro et al.'s findings (Pesco & Gagné, 2017). Caregivers and educators commonly engage in dialogue with children

advancing their understanding of different features and elements of stories and about the relationship between the stories and children's experiences. Responsiveness and support are critical practices highlighted by studies in this volume.

21.2.3 The Importance of Multimodal Resources for the Continuation and Development of Storying

How tellers use multimodal resources to accomplish storytelling emerges as significant for the continuation and development of storying. Identifying pretend play contributions by a young child at the ages of 15 months and three, Filipi (current volume), underscores the importance of multimodal resources in child–parent interactions. She identifies how pretend play using gesture and embodiment is an initiation of storying, highlighting the critical nature of this play for development.

The features of gaze and laughter are important for storytelling in multiparty talk at family mealtimes (Busch et al., current volume), building on findings from earlier studies by Goodwin (1980) and Muntigl and Horvath (2014). Gaze is instrumental in assembling a group of story recipients as a cohort, and to signal and demonstrate the group's understanding or appreciation of the storyteller's contributions. The importance of story appreciation and the pursuit of response, for example laughter when there is misalignment in story recipients' uptake, is crucial to L2 learners' inclusion in peer interaction (Greer, current volume; Kim & Carlin, current volume). Providing follow-up contributions (second stories) that fit a storyteller's original contribution is critical for L2 learners' interactional competence.

Physical objects are useful resources to launch, progress, close or transition from storytelling. For example Bateman (current volume) identifies how shells, puppets and books are effective in assisting a young child's competence in storytelling and help ultimately to cast storytelling practices as enjoyable. Theobald et al., (current volume) observe that classroom activities provide an opportunity to 'trigger' a story (Filipi, 2019). Storytelling *in situ* can pose challenges for L2 learners (Lee & Hellermann, 2020). Monfaredi (current volume) highlights how pedagogical artefacts, such as a textbook and computer, help L2 storytellers to track the sequence of a story and successfully achieve story closing and transition to other activities.

The direct reported speech device (DRS) (Holt, 1996) presents as an effective resource for storytelling practices. In both Burdelski and Takei (current volume) and Wong (current volume), the DRS is used to provide evidence for stances and claims made, an important feature of storytelling. The DRS device is equally important for creating a dramatic effect (Kim & Carlin, current volume; Waring, current volume) or to enact past events (Sandlund, current volume) or relive conversations (Kupetz, current volume; Ta, current volume). Resources are thus significant in facilitating opportunities for learning and achieving interactional competence in peer groups.

21.2.4 The Importance of Storytelling for Interactional and Intercultural Competence

Storytelling is practised at a much younger age than perhaps has been thought of before (Filipi, current volume). The studies advance understandings of the functions of storytelling in that storytelling is a site for socialisation, where interactional competence is practised as an ongoing achievement and co-produced in accordance with the local unfolding social order (see Theobald, 2015). Competence is often evaluated using description of children's experiences and external judgement. The studies in this volume identify storytelling competence as interactionally achieved and invoked *in situ.* With competence established within situated practice, opportunities for doing storytelling are significant for member acceptance in peer groups.

Evidence points to how storytelling is a site for developing 'culture in action' (Hester & Eglin, 1997) where intercultural competence can be practised. Like Bateman and Danby's (2013) study of how educators and children told stories about a traumatic experience, Kupetz (current volume) highlights that the sharing of stories of similar experience in focus groups is useful to negate potentially negative views toward members of a particular religion, resident status or nationality. Burdelski and Takei (current volume) argue that participants explicitly mention and implicitly invoke category terms to accomplish social actions and bring abstract concepts such as 'culture' and 'identity' into play. Intercultural competence is largely a theoretical concept and evidence as to what intercultural competence might look like in interaction is long-awaited, despite curriculum frameworks such as the Common European's framework of reference for language and culture (FREPA/CARAP) (Candelier & Centre pour les languages vivantes, 2012) to guide teaching. Some of the accumulated findings in this volume provide a rich source of empirical data, enabling descriptors of intercultural competence for this and other local frameworks. When combined with sets of exemplars (such as transcripts and recordings, for example) the descriptors are valuable resources for educators across curriculum areas.

Storytelling as an interactional resource for accomplishing institutional tasks or 'projects' (Mandelbaum, 2012) is another theme that is woven through the volume. Ta's (current volume) finding that storytelling is useful for managing various delicate issues arising in doctoral supervision interactions (such as criticism and disagreement) reveal how institutional work can be effectively managed. In Dooly and Tudini's (current volume) study, storytelling practices are an important resource for accounting for student–teacher conduct, to justify pedagogical decisions, and to display mutual understanding. Each of these functions is essential for the successful achievement of the student–teacher's collaborative task. Storytelling here reveals the micro, unfolding practices in professional teacher education, yet another important 'project' where a social agenda intersects with an institutional one. For Sandlund (current volume), storytelling is important and necessary in the design of tasks to externally assess L2 learners' interactional competence.

The ways in which storytelling are both an interactional resource and indicative of interactional competence arises in the studies of this volume concerned with L2

learners and speakers. Previous findings on storytelling identified how telling stories increases student engagement in L2 classrooms (Sert, 2015), combines conversation and disclosure with pedagogy (Greenhalgh & Wilkinson, 2021; Lo & Tadic, 2021) and offers an understanding of the importance of storytelling for incidental language learning opportunities (e.g. Greer & Ogawa, 2021). In Monfaredi's L2 classrooms (current volume), both teachers and students tell stories about social, historical and cultural matters in Iran, where Monfaredi argues and shows that in doing so, cultural learning as well as the development of interactional competence in Persian were both being worked on. Outside a formal learning (classroom) context, Greer (current volume) and Wong (current volume) demonstrate that L2 speakers are able to launch, maintain, close down and respond appropriately to storytelling with support from more proficient speakers. Clearly, these findings suggest that storytelling facilitates opportunities to display interactional competence in the L2 but at the same time is conducive to its development. By underscoring the importance of relationships for L2 learners, they also add to previous studies as reviewed in Filipi et al., (current volume).

Longitudinal studies in this volume challenge the divide between local and longitudinal concerns (see Filipi, 2009, 2018, 2019 of children; Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, of L2 speakers). Notably, four studies in the volume are concerned with tracking change in storytelling practices. In the home domain, both Filipi (current volume) and Waring (current volume) show how the children's stories change and in so doing add to an understanding of children's interactional competencies more broadly. In Filipi's study, a young child uses verbal resources to initiate pretend play and negotiates plot, roles and story development. These resources are all essential to settings beyond the home, such as preschool, where managing a range of contingencies becomes increasingly important (see Danby & Theobald, 2012; Theobald & Reynolds, 2015). For Waring, the concerns are with changes in story content and story structure, as well as sensitivity to story relevance and built on by validating personal experience. Moving to more formal learning contexts, Bateman (current volume), observes the changes in one child's disposition to storytelling over time, with joy and enjoyment fostered because of an adult's supportive actions. These studies provide unique contributions regarding how competence as a storyteller is developed, where currently a gap exists in storytelling research. Finally, Watanabe's study in a primary setting, as discussed above, shows the possibility that findings in CA can have for wider applicability beyond L2 competencies in education, which is a field still strongly dominated by psychology and theories of learning. Critically, these studies may be the closest CA studies have come to identifying 'moments of learning' that result from engagement in storytelling practices.

21.3 Recommendations for Parenting, Educating and Interacting

Ten recommendations guide professionals working with caregivers, educators, to inform teacher education and to support language learners:

1. **Exercise reciprocit**y which is critical to support a storyteller's role and the story development.
2. **Be responsive** and aware of a storytellers' contributions, small or non-verbal, to seize opportunities to achieve intersubjectivity to progress storytelling practices.
3. **Use online and digital mediums** to help participants find commonalities and progress the completion of storytelling projects.
4. **Use multimodal resources** including gaze and laughter, direct reported speech and physical objects, to guide emergent storytellers to launch, progress or transition storying.
5. **Consider question design** and ensure children have opportunities to use extended responses that promote opportunities for storytelling.
6. **Be reflective** as it is through storytelling that social members' identities can be talked into being, and the moral order and social organisation underlying membership categories are made visible.
7. **Be explicit** with identifying sequential aspects and features of storytelling so that participants can initiate and respond in interactions.
8. **Facilitate opportunities** to promote storytelling through carefully designing play, educational tasks, classroom spaces and opportunities for talk.
9. **Be joyful** to promote positive dispositions and confidence for storytellers and make storying interactions enjoyable.
10. **Use a triangular participation framework** to support emergent storytellers and gradually reduce scaffolding offered.

This provocative volume contributes in important ways to the growing body of research on storytelling practices, providing fine-grained analysis and longitudinal evidence that identify orientations to, and opportunities for, learning and development using storytelling. More can be learned, however, about storytelling in institutional, home and outside of the home contexts, with children and adolescents, or where a member's communicative resources are limited. With technologies becoming embedded in the everyday homes and school lives of children and young people, future research of storytelling in online spaces and using digital technologies is welcome.

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