OCCASIONED STORYTELLING IN PERSIAN LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

SECOND LANGUAGE STUDIES

August 2019

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Keywords: Conversation Analysis, Storytelling, L2 Persian Language Classroom
To my parents
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support, guidance, and love of many people. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to those who have guided and supported me throughout this academic journey.

First, it has been my sincere pleasure to work with Dr. Gabriele Kasper who has been an inspiring academic advisor, dissertation chair, and mentor throughout this academic journey. This dissertation would not have been possible without her great encouragement, insightful criticisms, and invaluable guidance. I am very blessed to have an advisor whom I highly respect not only for her scholarship but also for her personal qualities. Her endless support from data collection to visa complications made me feel overwhelmingly welcomed and safe during my PhD studies.

I would also like to express my profound appreciation to my committee members, Dr. Richard Day, Dr. Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm, Dr. Hanh Thi Nguyen, and my university representative Dr. John Mayer for all the insightful and constructive comments.

My sincere thanks also goes to my friends who always supported me. A special thanks to Rue Burch for always being there with his generous support, and taking the time to offer me his sophisticated ideas and professional advice. I extend my gratitude and warmest aloha to my friends and colleagues – Kendy Ho, Sangki Kim, Yuhan Lin, Yuka Matsutani, Eunseok Ro, Kristin Rock, Diane Tai, Junichi Yagi – for their friendship and contributions to my professional growth. I also thank the Conversation Analysis Data Session (CADS) community, which has provided me with valuable analytical insights and scholarly development.

A huge hug to Mahya, my sister in Hawaii, and Pasha for all those precious moments of relaxation and fabulous food we shared during our lunch times. Hawaii is just a more beautiful
place with you guys. A special thanks goes to Navid for his unconditional love and wholehearted support throughout the ups and downs of this work.

A big mahalo to my friends Yasmine Ameli, Kevin Baetscher, Nora Garrod, Kavon Hooshiar, Mondonna Hosseinian, Ashley Kiani, Laya Mahboobi, Sean McCarthy, Faezeh Mesami, Elyas Sabeti, and Zarrin Zardar who were part of my precious support system.

My special gratitude goes to all of the participants in this study. It would have been impossible to complete this dissertation without the assistance of the professors and students who generously opened up their classrooms to my recording equipment and even sometimes handled the recording by themselves.

I would like to express my deepest love and appreciation to my family, especially since the path I chose brought with it a long physical distance. I am greatly indebted to my family – my parents, my sister Elahe, my brother-in-law Mohsen and my sweetest nephew Mahziar.

Last, but definitely not least, this work would not have been possible without the generous support of Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute. I am especially indebted to Dr. Elahé Omidyar Mir-Djalali, the founder and chair of Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute, for creating the opportunity for me to start my PhD studies in the US and for providing additional support towards the completion of this dissertation. I admire their unique mission, which is to share and contribute to the preservation of the Persian language and culture, and I am honored to be a RCHI fellow. Thank you for making my professional growth possible. This dissertation was funded through the Elahé Omidyar Mir-Djalali Fellowship for Excellence in Persian Studies.
ABSTRACT

The use of stories as pedagogical tools in second language (L2) classrooms has a longstanding research tradition (e.g., Huang, 2006; Inal & Cakir, 2014). In these studies, stories are deployed as prepackaged instructional tools that are incorporated into lesson plans and embedded in the overall pedagogical concept. However, the ways in which stories figure as naturally occurring activities in L2 classroom interaction remains an understudied research topic. This investigation utilizes a conversation analytic approach in which storytelling is viewed as a social, situated activity that is locally occasioned, collaboratively accomplished, and interactionally consequential. Specifically, the study examines how impromptu stories unfold during ongoing instructional activities and what actions they accomplish in L2 classroom settings.

The data come from 37 hours of videorecorded intermediate and advanced Persian classes at two North American universities. For analysis, multimodal conversation analysis (Mondada, 2014) and membership categorization analysis (Sacks, 1972; Fitzgerald & Housley, 2015; Hester & Eglin, 1997) are combined to examine the sequential and categorial production of stories told by teachers and students.

In the corpus of stories told by the teachers, stories are launched in first position to exemplify, elaborate, or extend upon the ongoing pedagogical project, and in second position to provide counter examples and accounts, or to reject or accept students’ proposals. In contrast, students’ stories begin in responsive positions to accomplish actions such as giving accounts and bringing their cultural competencies and membership knowledge to the forefront. The findings also demonstrate that stories typically orient to the current pedagogical agenda or accomplish a particular instructional action. The study enhances applied linguistic knowledge about
storytelling as a social practice in ongoing classroom interaction and thus contributes to the large
field of second language classroom research. It also contributes to the scant research literature on
instruction in Persian as a foreign language and begins to place pedagogical practice in the
teaching of Persian on an empirical footing.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objectives

Storytelling is a ubiquitous activity that has long held an important role in sharing knowledge, enhancing communication, and retrieving past experiences. Furthermore, storytelling has long been used for teaching purposes across educational disciplines. Among other fields, language education is one of the most privileged loci for the use of storytelling as a teaching tool. The value of using stories as an effective pedagogical strategy for improving literacy development has been widely confirmed by many L1 researchers (see, e.g., Cuttspec, 2006; Miller & Pennycuff, 2008; Phillips, 1999). In L2 education, storytelling has been investigated in both empirical studies examining the benefits of stories to receptive and productive skills (see, e.g., Huang, 2006; Kim, 2010; Vecino, 2006) and essays producing directions for the use of stories in L2 language classrooms (see, e.g., Joy, 2013; Pardede, 2011). While this long line of research has viewed stories as preconfigured pedagogical tools, investigating stories that naturally take place in the normal development of the L2 institutional encounter has received little attention in the literature.

Drawing on the methodological underpinnings of conversation analysis (henceforth CA), this study explores stories as they naturally emerge in the flow of classroom interaction. Viewing storytelling as locally occasioned, interactive productions, CA examines a story within its sequential context. As noted by Heritage (1997):

CA embodies a theory which argues that sequences of actions are a major part of what we mean by context, that the meaning of an action is heavily shaped by the sequence of previous actions from which it emerges, and that social context itself is a dynamically created thing that is expressed in and through the sequential organization of interaction. (1997, p. 162)
As such, this study explores the sequential context of stories and the way the introduction of
a story is consequential for its development in institutional L2 classroom interaction. This study
also exploits membership categorization analysis (henceforth MCA) whenever relevant to the
analysis to examine the categorical works of storytelling.

The aim of this dissertation is three-fold. First, it examines the sequential context and the
local occasioning of stories told by teachers and students which is how a prior event in classroom
talk occasions a storytelling. Second, it explores the ways stories are initiated into and introduced
in classroom talk-in-interaction and, third, it examines the actions storytellings perform in L2
institutional classroom interaction with regard to the institution-specific agenda. By meeting
these objectives, this study contributes to three areas in the field of second language studies:
research on classroom interaction, storytelling research, and instruction of Less Commonly
Taught Languages (LCTL).

1.2. Organization

The dissertation is organized as follows.

Chapter 2 reviews the leading longstanding research traditions in narrative literature over the
last five decades, namely narratology, narrative psychology, narrative inquiry, narrative analysis,
and small stories. I also compare and contrast conversation analytic and narrative analytic
approaches to storytelling to bring to view how CA has brought a new perspective by taking a
microanalytic, emic perspective on the analysis of data. I further draw upon CA-related studies
on storytelling in different linguistic contexts, including L1, L2, and multilingual settings, to
show how my study fills a gap in the literature, specifically a lack of investigations into
storytelling in foreign language classrooms. Next, I review sequential organization and prefatory
work to a story’s launch and the ways in which membership categorization analytic methods
complement sequential CA to benefit narrative research. I also situate this research within the realm of longstanding research on storytelling as a pedagogical tool and on Persian as a Less Commonly Taught Language to demonstrate how the study builds upon the knowledge base in the above-mentioned fields.

Chapter 3 describes the process of data collection and the nature of the data utilized in this study: twenty video recordings of two Persian language classrooms. After exploring the data from an “unmotivated looking” perspective, I uncovered storytelling practices of particular analytic interest. I noticed that stories do a variety of actions predominantly at the service of the institutional agenda. I also realized that stories catch students’ attention so that non-engaged participants become active, engaged story recipients once a story gets underway. These initial observations inspired me to look into the storytelling launching mechanisms and the interactional work accomplished through them.

Chapters 4 and 5 constitute the analytic chapters of the dissertation in which I examine nine stories, representative of fifty-two stories of the entire corpus. In the analysis, I demonstrate the points at which stories emerge within a sequential organization of talk, the methods utilized by participants to launch stories, and the pedagogically-oriented actions performed through storytelling.
CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I review the contextual and methodological background that frames this study. I will first present a brief overview of the major storytelling research traditions that my study builds on. Secondly, I will discuss storytelling from a conversation-analytic perspective, and address the potential contributions of taking a conversation analysis (CA) approach. Thirdly, I will discuss the current CA literature on L1, L2, and multilingual storytelling, storytelling launching and the prefatory work to stories. Fourthly, I will provide an overview of storytelling in Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) literature. Fifthly, I will outline the research on storytelling in classroom interaction and for pedagogical purposes. Then I will situate my study in the research strand of Persian as a Less Commonly Taught Language to describe areas this study will expand upon. Lastly, I will present the research questions that take to focus the sequential organization and interactional accomplishment of occasioned storytelling in Persian language classrooms.

2.2. Storytelling Research Traditions

Narrative research has a relatively rich and diverse domain. The substantial body of literature on storytelling in narrative research has been shaped by multiple disciplinary traditions, namely narratology, narrative psychology, narrative inquiry, narrative analysis, conversational narrative, small stories, and conversation analysis. Here, I will briefly review some of the most influential ones in narrative literature. (See DeFina & Georgakopoulou 2015 for a comprehensive overview of different narrative approaches.)

Originating from French structuralism, narratology is traditionally associated with the study of literary narratives. Narratology has been based on the idea of a common literary language in a
wide variety of media and investigates “what all and only possible narratives (rather than great, literary, fictional, or extent ones) have in common as well as what enables them to differ from one another *qua* narratives” (Prince, 1997, p. 39). Narrative psychology is another represented field in which stories are fundamental conceptions for a revived psychology (Sarbin, 1986; Crossley, 2000). In both these fields, the privileging of certain types of narrative (fiction in narratology and autobiographical interviews in narrative psychology) has been established. Along the same lines, narrative inquiry encompasses studies of non-literary autobiographical narratives in the social sciences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). It takes an approach in which stories are viewed as socially situated knowledge constructions in their own right (Polkinghorne, 1995). Similarly, narrative analysis treats stories as knowledge *per se* which constitutes the social reality of the narrator (DeFina & Georgakopoulou 2015; Labov, 2013; Riessman, 1993, 2002). Narrative analysis (NA) has been one of the most dominant approaches to narratives for almost half a century. Labov’s influential study of narrative structure (Labov, 1972; initially Labov & Waletzky, 1967), with a focus on oral personal narratives, resulted in a fully-formed narrative model which describes story structure with elements of abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, evaluation and coda.

Small stories, introduced as a new perspective in narrative analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2007) are “fleeting moments of narrative orientation to the world” (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 5) through which aspects of identity construction are illustrated. The basic point of departure for small stories lies in the construction of the identities at the situational and contextual level whereas big story research analyses the stories as representations of identities as pre-existent to their occasioning. In tune with small stories research, the Ochs and Capps default narrative also has been put on the map of narrative
analysis. Ochs and Capps (2001) identified five narrative dimensions in their studies of conversational narrative: tellership, tellibility, embeddedness, linearity and moral stance. These dimensions, however, establish a range of possibilities that may or may not be present in a particular narrative. Moving toward less conventional narrative analysis, Ochs and Capps (2001) further identified the qualities of narratives as “A coherent temporal progression of events that may be reordered for rhetorical purposes and that is typically located in some past time and place. A plotline that encompasses a beginning, a middle, and an end, conveys a particular perspective and is designed for a particular audience who apprehend and shape its meaning” (p. 57). While these qualities constitute etic criteria in definitions of narrative, small stories researchers convincingly argue for the inclusion of emic criteria. Small stories researchers claim that emic criteria complement and dominate etic criteria, and capture “participants’ reflexive discourses, their metapragmatic marking and orientation to an activity as a story.” (De Fina & Georgakapoulou, 2015, p. 260). Contrary to this claim, Kasper and Prior (2015a) argue that “it remains to be demonstrated that the researcher-stipulated distinction between big stories and small stories is relevant for storytellers and story recipients in any form of interaction in which storytellings emerge” (p. 3). Moreover, the investigation of stories in natural interaction has not brought novelty to the field as it has been investigated by anthropologists and sociologists several decades before the emergence of small stories (ibid, p. 3)

The shift in perspective from narrative analysis to conversation analysis turns the analysis away from plot or thematic criteria as principle of structural organization in narrative and toward the interlocutors’ own repertoire of sense-making devices. In the next section I will discuss the ways CA’s approach to storytelling is distinct from one of the most dominant perspectives on narratives which is narrative analysis (NA).
2.3. Storytelling in Conversation-Analytic Perspective

Conversation analysis reconceptualizes narrative by treating it as talk-in-interaction that is sequentially managed in the here-and-now of interactions (see Sacks, 1974, 1992; Schegloff, 1997). CA’s distinctive approach to narrative views stories as locally occasioned through the prior talk, recipient-designed, co-constructed by tellers and recipients, and interactionally consequential. What makes the conversation analysis approach distinct from previous works on narrative is that the latter puts its focus predominately on the story, whereas conversation analytic work focuses on the telling (Mandelbaum, 2013). Here are the most important features that distinguishes conversation analysis (CA) from narrative analysis (NA):

- In NA, the focus is on the storyteller and how they represent and make sense of past events while the role and contribution of story recipients is widely ignored. In contrast, from the CA perspective, storytelling is an interactionally constructed and organized activity. Therefore, the telling cannot be postulated \textit{a priori} but emerges as a joint venture accomplished by the teller and recipient(s).

- The analytic approach that dominates NA does not reflect the sequential nature of storytelling in social interaction. In fact, Labov’s model has been strongly criticized for seeing narrative as a detached, autonomous and self-contained unit with clearly identifiable elements. On the other hand, CA views narrative as sequentially managed. This means that its endpoints, i.e., its opening and closing, are firmly linked with prior and upcoming talk (Sacks, 1974). Hence, CA demonstrates the sequential implicativeness of stories, i.e., their interactional consequentiality for prior and upcoming talk.

- In NA, the notion of genre is a powerful analytical way of bringing text and practices together, while in CA, structure is brought together with genre as a dynamic and on-line
construct that does not go beyond the immediate discourse of the interaction. It is a situated social interaction that is locally occasioned.

• Labov (1997) proposes a dyadic scheme between a teller and an ideal “attentive, interested and responsive listener” (p. 397), assigning prominence to teller-led and ergo monologic stories. Conversation analysis, on the other hand, is interested in how storytelling proceeds by participants deploying practices that are tailored or recipient-designed for specific other participants (Sacks, 1992). By “recipient-design”, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) refer to “a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which displays an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants” (Sacks et al. 1974, p. 727).

• Labov’s original model of narrative analysis is based on stories in response to the so-called “danger-of-death” prompts (Labov, 1972) that were originally initiated to examine the phonological variables that distinguish between-speech styles. However, he used his data to examine how storytellings are organized in sociolinguistic interviews. For conversation analysts, though, elicited narratives are unacceptable as data. They look into the narratives that are produced in spontaneous, naturally occurring interactions and the focus of study is only identified later after an “unmotivated looking” discovery procedure (Psathas, 1995).

Adapting conversation analysis as the method of investigation, this study advocates analyzing storytellings as situated, interactive productions that are collaboratively constructed between teller and recipients through which they perform some sort of social action. In the next subsections, I will outline the CA literature on storytelling in different linguistic as well as sequential contexts.
2.3.1. L1 Storytelling

The works by Sacks (1992) and Jefferson (1978) contributed greatly to the CA literature on L1 storytelling. In his 1964-1972 lectures, Harvey Sacks discusses the organization and function of storytelling (Sacks, 1992). Originally coined by Sacks, “big packages” refers to longer sequences of talk “constructed as a recurrent series of components that are oriented to as roughly ordered” (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018, p. 1). In conversation analysis, storytelling is one of the most studied “big packages” amongst others, such as argumentation, and conflict talk (ibid).

Produced in multi-unit turns, storytelling violates the turn-taking organization rule of producing one Turn-Constructional Unit (TCU) by the current speaker (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Thus, the storyteller needs to make some effort to secure additional opportunities in order to produce a longer stretch of talk. This is mainly signaled in the story preface.

Investigating the sequential organization of storytelling, Jefferson (1978) discovered different ways in which stories get introduced or closed down in turn-by-turn talk. Among the techniques that can be deployed to launch stories are embedded repetitions and disjunct markers (such as oh and incidentally). More will be said about story launching later. As for story closings, Jefferson highlighted the sequential implicativeness of stories; that is, how they serve as a resource for upcoming talk. Both Sacks’ and Jefferson’s observations are limited to L1 interaction, with most of their data coming from American English. So, the seminal studies on L1 storytelling are founded on English data.

The L1 storytelling literature has addressed different topics including participants’ stance-taking practices (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Hanlon, Nguyen, & Terazawa, 2014; Kupetz, 2014; Stivers, 2008), story formulations and orientations to narrative (Stokoe & Edwards, 2006),
construction of the moral work of complaint accounts (Drew, 1998), organization of story and participants in a multi-activity setting (Goodwin, 1984) and overall design and function of troubles-talk (Jefferson, 1988). With a focus on the sequential aspects of stories, these studies have shown the interactionally co-constructed nature of storytelling. In the next subsection, I will review CA literature on storytelling in L2 and multilingual settings.

2.3.2. L2 and Multilingual Storytelling

CA literature on storytelling has relied predominantly on monolingual or first-language storytelling data. More recently, storytelling practices in L2 or multilingual interaction has gained impetus across a wide range of settings, including L2 language classrooms (Hellermann, 2008; Lee & Hellermann, 2013), L2 conversation-for-learning (Barraja-Rohan, 2015; Kim, 2016), homestays (Berger & Fasel Lauzon, 2016; Ishida, 2011), ordinary conversation (Burch & Kasper, 2016; Lamb, 2016), and autobiographical interviews (Prior, 2011, 2016b; Kasper & Prior, 2015a, 2015b; Sandhu, 2016). Some of these studies focus particularly on the development of storytelling practices either by L2 tellers (Barraja-Rohan, 2015; Hellermann, 2008; Lee & Hellermann, 2013; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2016) or L2 recipients (Berger & Fasel Lauzon, 2016; Ishida, 2011; Kim, 2016). The above mentioned studies attribute the development of interactional competence to improvements in interlocutors’ abilities to use a wider and richer repertoire of interactional practices, e.g., linguistic and turn-taking resources, complex sequences of talk, repair initiation techniques, task-prefatory talk, and prefacing devices (for an overview of CA research on L2 interactional competence see Marian & Balaman, 2018).

Regarding ESL and EFL classroom contexts, in spite of a rich literature on the use of stories as a language learning tool (see Lucarevschi 2016 for a literature review), the CA literature on storytelling is very limited. In the following section, I review three CA classroom-based studies
examining story-based lessons in EFL classrooms (Li & Seedhouse, 2010) and developmental changes in L2 storytelling practices (Hellermann, 2008; Lee & Hellermann, 2013).

Li and Seedhouse (2010) explore the use of the story-based approach in primary EFL classrooms in Taiwan. Although the study claims to adopt CA as an analytic approach, neither the analysis nor the transcription conventions establish a full-fledged CA approach. On the positive side, this study makes a comparison between the organization of a standard lesson and a story-based classroom to show more variation of interactional patterns in the latter. The findings show more variation in the turn-taking system and higher level of students’ participation in the story-based lesson in comparison to standard lessons. The authors also identify two storytelling styles by the teachers: a performance-oriented style, in which the teacher takes more of a role of a storyteller or an actor, and a didactic interactional style, in which the teacher acts more like a teacher than a storyteller.

In a cross-sectional analysis, Hellermann (2008) compares storytelling practices of ESL intermediate and beginning level classes. The findings show that the intermediate students not only use more storytellings but also more extended pre-telling sequences compared to beginning students. In a similar yet more extensive study, Lee and Hellermann (2013) document cross-sectional and longitudinal L2 data to trace developmental changes over time and proficiency levels in group-work activities. In their cross-sectional analysis of story-prefacing work, they show how L2 users at lower proficiency levels manage the task of storytelling without prefacing work. The analysis shows how the L2 user manages to launch a story and secure multiple turns by invoking cultural knowledge and family membership categories. Upper-level students, on the other hand, make use of prefacing devices through framing their story with explicit time referents and adverbials to launch storytelling. The authors argue that learning storytelling is not
only about adding particular story-prefacing devices such as discourse markers or time referents. Rather, “storytelling involves managing the complex task of working through the various constraints, needs, resources, and concerns occasioned by the situated context” (p. 12).

The limited number of CA studies shows a gap in the CA literature that merits special attention to storytelling practices in L2 classroom interactions. The present study will follow this line of research by investigating how storytelling is accomplished in L2 classroom interaction and what interactional consequences arise from it. In particular it will examine how stories are locally occasioned, how these stories are introduced in and through turn-by-turn talk, and what actions they undertake.

2.3.3. Classroom Interaction

Classroom interaction can be organized in different ways as has been reviewed extensively in the CA literature. Aside from the voluminous journal article literature, there has been a number of monographs characterizing L2 classroom contexts, interactions, and talks (Hellermann, 2008; Markee, 2000; Nguyen & Malabarba, 2019; Seedhouse, 2004; Sert, 2015; Walsh, 2006; Waring, 2015).

The social organization of L2 classroom interaction has been presented and realized through turn taking practices (Kääntä, 2012; Mortensen, 2008, 2009; Mortensen & Hazel, 2011), sequence organization (Kääntä, 2014; Ko, 2009; Y.-A. Lee, 2006, 2007; Majlesi, 2018; Waring, 2009, 2012), and repair (Hall, 2007; Macbeth, 2004; McHoul, 1990; Merke 2016) in both teacher-fronted and student-centered classrooms. Meanwhile, different formats of classroom organization reflexively embody the institutional character of L2 classrooms. The study of institutional interaction examines the ways participants themselves invoke the institution into being through their interaction (Drew & Heritage 1992; Drew & Sorjonen 1997; Heritage 1997,
In L2 classroom context, the institutionality emerges through the participants’ actions and their roles as teachers and students as are established and negotiated in the turn-by-turn development of interaction. According to Drew and Heritage (1992, p. 28), the institutionality of interaction can be revealed through lexical choice, turn design, turn-taking organization, sequence organization, overall structural organization of interaction and social epistemology and social relations.

The architecture of L2 classroom interaction is defined through its institutional core goal. Taking a CA perspective to classroom discourse, Sert (2015) describes the main analytical focus as the way “students and teachers enact their own understanding of each other’s utterances so as to carry out the institutional business of teaching and learning” (p. 15). L2 classroom discourse, according to Sert (ibid), represents “socio-interactional practices that portray the emergence of teaching and learning of a new language through teachers’ and students’ co-construction of understanding and knowledge in and through the use of language-in-interaction” (p. 9).

CA methodology is used to explicate the reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction and hence how learning takes place through the interaction (Seedhouse, 2004). Markee (2015) argues that L2 classroom participants “are always displaying to one another their analyses of the current state of the evolving relationship between pedagogy and interaction and are acting on the basis of these analyses” (p. 377). This omnipresent property along with two other properties, the language being both the object and means and teachers’ evaluation, make the “unique fingerprint of L2 classroom interaction” (Seedhouse 2004, p. 183).

A well-known speech exchange system in teacher-led classroom discourse is the three-part sequence known as IRF sequence (teacher initiation–student response–teacher feedback; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; IRE in Mehan, 1979). CA, however, takes a sequential approach to
classroom interaction, suggesting that this three-part exchange is not sufficient to elucidate the overall interactional organization of classrooms (Seedhouse, 2010; Sert, 2015). Taking the micro-contextual aspects of the interaction into consideration, a CA perspective details the contingency and interrelatedness of individual moves within the larger IRF sequence. Rejecting a simplistic view to classroom discourse, Markee (2004) also showed how CA as a microanalytic tool allows us to look at the myriad complexities of classroom talk. He notes that the second language classroom is not only a learning place but also a social place subject to a constellation of complex, interactionally intricate practices.

In L2 classrooms, storytelling can be used to develop L2 Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC), defined as the teachers’ and students’ ability “to use interaction as a tool for mediating and assisting learning” (Walsh, 2011, p. 158). Observing and analyzing storytelling in L2 classroom interaction will illuminate to what extent teaching and learning opportunities arise through participant interaction. As such, the interaction centers on the institutional goal of formally organized teaching and learning. In order to understand how teachers and students initiate impromptu storytelling in L2 classroom interaction, this study will examine how a prior event in classroom talk occasions a storytelling and how storytelling contributes to the institutional goal(s) of language classroom.

Taking an emic analytical perspective, my study takes into account the interactional architecture of L2 classroom in its analytic work to shed light on how the distinctive features of institutional interaction are oriented to by the participants. Implementing actions through stories is the topic of the next subsection.
2.3.4. Storytelling: Performing Social Actions

People tell stories in both mundane and institutional settings. The stories are told to get particular conversational actions accomplished (Mandelbaum, 2013). The actions that are accomplished by the stories are shaped by the particular methods in which they are told and responded to in their course. As Mandelbaum (2003) argues there is a reflexive relationship between the actions undertaken and the storytelling practices so that “the action that is being undertaken also influences how the story is told” (ibid, p. 605). She further argues that the tellers and respondents may pursue different “agendas,” creating more than one layer of action in the course of storytelling. Consequently, the actions the storytelling accomplishes are the product of dialogic communication.

Previous CA studies on everyday and institutional narratives-in-interaction focused on how storytelling is constructed to implement a variety of social actions such as building interpersonal relationships (Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff, 1987; Berger & Fasel Lauzon, 2016), accomplishing interpersonal activities by redirecting the account (Mandelbaum, 1989), doing institutional work (e.g., Edwards, 1995; Halkowski, 2006; Heritage & Robinson, 2006), complaining (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Drew, 1998; Edwards, 2005; Selting, 2010, 2012; Stokoe & Hepburn, 2005), and confessing (e.g., Watson, 1990). This dissertation will follow the line of research by investigating what action(s) are accomplished by occasioned storytelling in language classrooms.

2.3.5. Storytelling Launching

Considering the fundamental need for attention to the surrounding interactional sequences, one of the key questions in CA research on storytelling is how stories as occasioned activities are introduced or fitted into the ongoing conversational, and institutional trajectory.
Sacks (1974) recognized three components in storytelling sequences: the preface sequence, the telling sequence and the response sequence. The focus of this research project will be on the first sequence and what leads to it. The story preface refers to “an utterance that asks for the right to produce extended talk, and says that the talk will be interesting as well as doing other things” (Sacks, 1970, p. 226). The preface projects that there is a story coming. It commonly includes source of the story, when it happened and some characterization of the “type” of the story (“funny,” “terrible,” etc.) through which the recipients can assess and monitor the telling. On what the teller displays at the preface production point, Goodwin (1984) observes a change of bodily position, which specifies the boundaries of the story components.

Referring to the locally occasioning characteristic of stories, Jefferson (1978) proposes that story initiations have two aspects: (a) a story is “triggered” in the course of turn-by-turn talk (e.g., sudden remembering) and (b) a story is methodically introduced into turn-by-turn talk in which some techniques are used to display a connection between the story and preceding talk (Jefferson, 1978, p. 220). In spite of being independent from each other, these aspects can be both present in a storytelling.

In a detailed treatment on story-connective techniques, Sacks (1992) argues that a story functions as a unit with its parts tied together through various binding-together techniques. One class of such techniques is the initial formulation of the story, which is achieved by virtue of organizational components (e.g., place-indexical terms, recognition-type descriptions, etc.).

In Sacks’ seminal discussions on the organization of stories, what bounds the story is the course-of-action organization. The course-of-action organization provides the hearer with a technique by which they organize any new features that get introduced in the course of action by reference to the preceding talk. Thus, the story is understandable only if they are able to make
references to what had been said before. Similarly, Prior (2016b) argues that storytellings are bounded materials which are “prefaced and/or followed by various explicit and implicit cues that signal to the teller and the recipient that a telling is relevant…” (p. 56).

Stories can be launched in first position as a sequence in their own right or second position as a response to an inquiry, invitation, etc. In first position tellings, the story can be initiated through a story preface (such as, “I’m broiling about something”) or story projection (such as, “you wanna hear a story my sister told me last night?”). Second tellings can be question-elicited (such as, how did you hear about it from the paper?) in which “a question gets a story without having specifically asked for one” (Schegloff, 1997, p. 103).

Observations from different CA empirical studies have demonstrated that stories get launched through a variety of means, including meta-formulation (Stokoe & Edwards, 2006), another storytelling (Sacks, 1992), touched-off remembrance (Burch & Kasper, 2016; see also Frazier, 2007), pre-question or pre-telling sequence (Hellermann, 2008), solicitation (Lerner, 1992; Kasper & Prior, 2015a), and categorical tie (Lee & Hellermann, 2013). This dissertation explores how interconnectedness is achieved in the initiation of stories and examines the moments in a course of action where stories emerge in Persian language classrooms.

2.3.6. Need for Prefatory Work

From a conversation analytic perspective, any turn-at-talk is produced in a sequential context, that is, any turn-at-talk is constructed by reference to what came before in the adjacent prior turn. In so doing, a speaker needs to regularly exhibit understanding of the prior turn’s talk in a current turn-at-talk (Sacks et al. 1974, p. 728). This is what Sacks (1987) calls the principle of contiguity.
Schegloff and Sacks (1973) assert that conversationalists ‘fit’ their current utterance into the utterance of the prior speaker. They further recognize this ‘fitting’ as a preferred procedure for getting mentionables mentioned by employing “the resources of the local organization of utterances in the course of the conversation” (ibid, p. 301).

A number of CA scholars have recognized different types of prefatory activities in conversation (e.g., pre-question, pre-closing, pre-invitation, pre-pre sequences, etc.) and the ways in which they make the next action relevant and projectable (Schegloff, 1980, 2007; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973; Levinson, 1983). Similarly, a story preface projects specific subsequent action by the teller and recipients in a multi-unit turn. For instance, Prior (2016a) identifies the distinguishing feature of the prefatory work in his data as “its function in characterizing the emotionality of events and/or tellers’ emotional reactions to them.” (p. 134). In order to see how stories are occasioned we need to look into the sequential unfolding of the talk and how it leads to the preface and subsequent story.

Jefferson (1978) observes the relationship between a story and its prior talk as a product of methodic displays that fits into the talk in progress and to the story to come. The following extract from Jefferson’s (1978) study shows how the storyteller sets the scene for a storytelling using interactional preparatory devices. The following excerpt showcases the teller’s orientation for the necessity of preparatory work.

**Excerpt 2.1 (Jefferson, 1978; Fragment 3, p. 221)**

```
LOTTI: 'hh (hh)en so 'hh when Duane lef'tuhday we took of f ar 1
s- 'hh suits yiknow en, eh- Oh en she gave me the most 2
beautiful swimsuit you’ve ever seen in yer life. 3
EMMA:  Gave it to yuh? 4
LOTTIE: Yeah, 5
EMMA: Aww::  :: 6
```
LOTTIE: A Twunny two dollar one.

EMMA: Aww:::. (0.6)

EMMA: Well you’ve given her a lot in uh yer day Lottie
LOTTIE: I know ut. En when we looked w-one et Walter’s Clark

You know wir were gonna buy one cuz [STORY]

The excerpt begins with Lottie’s reporting on the day’s events. However, she stops at s- and pursues a different trajectory of talk. Assuming that s- is a cut off for suit that comes later, she initiates a change of activity and cuts herself off to provide the ground for a story.

She completes her in-progress trajectory of talk hh suits yiknow and marks a continuation of the turn by adding en with a level intonation. Then, she inserts a change of state token (Heritage, 1984) to signal a touched-off remembrance. This disjunctive shift is marked by the oh-prefaced next turn. The new topic, then, comes in the form of an extreme-case formulation to fish for the recipient’s orientation. “She gave me the most beautiful swimsuit you’ve ever seen in yer life” comes as a prompt to set the scene for the upcoming story and achieve the recipient’s alignment as story recipient. After securing the recipient’s alignment, she enters the story by marking the next talk as a continuation of her prior account (En when we looked w-one et Walter’s Clark).

The place reference (Walter’s Clark) provides recognizable grounds for the story and provides an account for why she knows the price.

The above selected excerpt demonstrates how in ordinary conversation the teller selects and organizes the preceding talk to fit into the upcoming storytelling. Similarly, this dissertation will show how teachers and students, in producing storytelling, organize preceding materials in a way that fulfills the story’s requirement as a relevant next action within the institutional setting as well as in a way that makes sense to the participants.
2.4. Storytelling and MCA

Like CA, membership categorization analysis (MCA) is rooted in ethnomethodology and Sacks’s (1992) seminal lectures on conversation. MCA complements sequential CA by addressing how interactants categorize themselves and others as certain sorts of members of society. MCA has its beginnings in Sacks’s (1972) classic example which was adopted from a book of stories by children: “the baby cried, the mommy picked it up.” Sacks contends that we hear links between “mommy” and ‘baby’ and the “mommy” as the “baby’s mommy.” The categories “mommy” and “baby” are further analysed as belonging to the device “family” and picking up the baby as a “category-bound activity” of mommies. Moreover, the conventional expectations about “mommy’s” and “baby’s” normative activities and attributes bring issues of normality and morality into play (see Antaki et al, 2008; Eglin & Hester, 1999; Heritage & Lindström, 1998; Hutchby, 2001; Stokoe, 2003).

MCA, either by itself or along with the CA analytic method, has been deployed in some narrative studies to address the topical content of storytellings and to attend to storytellers and recipients’ identities invoked. MCA’s contribution to narrative research has been recognized to examine how the storyteller’s emotions becomes relevant to the interaction in interviews (Prior, 2016 a,b), to examine the teller’s identity construction inside and outside the storyworld (Kasper & Prior, 2015a), and to show how stories’ characters are recast by the recipient as categories in other devices (Fitzgerald & Rintel, 2013).

As Mandelbaum (2013) asserts, MCA work on storytelling benefits from and contributes to narrative research by examining the knowledge deployed in introducing characters and events (p. 507). According to Sacks (1992, vol. I, pp. 40-41), “a great deal of the knowledge that members of a society have about the society is stored in terms of these categories” or, in other words...
categories are “inference-rich.” Fitzgerald (2012) even suggests that a MCA analytic framework has been taken up beyond CA in areas “where social knowledge-in-action is of interest” (p. 306).

With a focus on the situated and reflexive use of categories as an interactional achievement, MCA along with CA provides a powerful analytic toolkit for narrative researchers. Drawing on both approaches, this dissertation analyses storytelling practices with attention to the categorical and sequential relevancies of the participants involved.

Focusing on occasioned storytelling in L2 classroom, this study will also shed light on the instructional use of stories, which will be further elaborated in the following section.

2.5. Storytelling for Instructional Purposes

Storytelling has long been used for teaching purposes across educational disciplines such as mathematics and physics (e.g., Schiro, 2004), computer science (e.g., Papadimitriou, 2003), history (e.g., Bage, 1999), social studies (e.g., Sadik, 2008), music (Stauffer, 2014), and science education (Kang, 2014).

Among other fields, language education is one of the most privileged loci for the use of storytelling as an instructional tool. The pedagogical value of using stories as powerful teaching tools for first language development among children has been widely confirmed by many researchers (e.g., Cooper, Collins, & Saxby, 1992; Cutspec, 2006; Glazer & Burke, 1994; Isbell, Sobol, Lindauer, & Lowrance, 2004; Miller & Pennycuff, 2008).

Using storytelling for L2 teaching purposes has been discussed both in empirical data-based studies (e.g., Cary, 1998; Huang, 2006; Kim, 2010; Li & Seedhouse, 2010; Tsou, Wang & Tzeng, 2006; Vecino, 2016; Yazdanpanah, 2012) and articles making recommendations for teaching (e.g., Barreras Gómez, 2010; Joy, 2013; Pardede, 2011). Storytelling has been used in L2 classrooms to achieve different pedagogical purposes, for instance, to improve students’
receptive and productive skills (see Huang, 2006), to teach vocabulary and grammar (see Inal & Cakir, 2014), to teach culture (see Kim & McGarry, 2014), and to engage students in authentic learning tasks (see Sadik, 2008). The studies referred to above take theoretical perspectives in which developing narrative skill and literary competence is deemed as the main function of stories in L2 classrooms and involves the abilities to recall, recognize and summarize narratives. Thus, stories are used as planned instructional tools, which provide contexts for developing L2 skills.

Adhering to the theoretical principles of CA, this study views storytelling an interactive, situated activity that is locally occasioned and contingently deployed. The next section discusses the need for an empirical knowledge base based on this approach regarding Persian language instruction.

2.6. Persian as a Less Commonly Taught Language (LCTL)

The term Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs) is used in the United States to refer to languages other than the most commonly taught foreign languages in public schools called the “Big Three” (Spanish, French and German) (“Less Commonly Taught Languages,” n.d.). The popularity of Spanish, French and German in the U.S. has historical origins. The Spanish language has been present in the United States since the 16th and 17th centuries, with the arrival of Spanish colonization in North America. Later waves of emigration from Mexico, Cuba, El Salvador and elsewhere in Latin America to the United States beginning in the second half of the 19th century to the present have reinforced the role of the Spanish language in the country (“Spanish language in the United States”, n.d.). As for French and German, over 50 million Americans claim German ancestry while about 13 million Americans claimed French ancestry.
(“German language in the United States”, n.d.). Therefore, immigration and legacy are among
the most important reasons for the high demand of these three languages.

Modern Persian with nearly 130 million speakers worldwide is among the less commonly
taught languages (LCTL). Originating from the rich culture of Great Persia, it has attracted many
foreign language students for its history, poetry, and literature that span over two and a half
millennia. However, the number of research studies focusing on pedagogical practices in L2
Persian classrooms are still quite sparse (see Sedighi & Shabani-Jadidi, 2016 for a literature
review). Existing studies on L2 Persian teaching range across various topics such as teaching
Persian subjunctive through cognitive approach (Aghagolzadeh Silakhori & Abbasi, 2012), the
functions of linguistic markers in a Persian heritage class (Atoofi, 2013), measuring Persian
language proficiency (Assadi, 1983), writing and reading skills (Abasi, 2012; Alizade, Kamyabi-
Gol & Vahidi-Ferdowsi, 2016) and the effect of gender on the use of learning strategies
(Vakilifard & Khaleqizadeh, 2012).

There is a substantial amount of CA research on classroom interaction in languages other
than English. Examples include interaction in Chinese (Cheng, 2013; Rylander, 2009), Japanese
Danish (Mortensen & Hazel, 2011), Finnish (Mazeland & Zaman-Zade, 2004), French
(Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004; Pekarek Doehler & Fasel Lauzon, 2015; Pekarek Doehler
& Pochon-Berger, 2011), Swedish (Majlesi, 2014, 2015, 2018; Majlesi & Broth, 2012). In the
only CA study on instructional practices in L2 Persian classroom interaction, Taleghani-Nikazm
(2008) collected her data from an elementary German language class and an Intermediate Persian
class to explore gestures used by L2 teachers.

There are a handful of studies that take a Conversation Analytic perspective to address
different social actions in non-pedagogical settings in Persian language. Taleghani-Nikazm and Vlatten’s (1997) study uses some Persian-language data to show the role of embodied actions in a cooking instruction-giving setting. Taleghani-Nikazm (2002) contrasts telephone openings in Persian and German to show that whereas the ritual routine of “how are you” sequence is expanded in Iranian culture, the same sequence elicits new topics of discussion in German culture. In a similar cross-linguistic study, Taleghani-Nikazm’s (2011) uses two data sets of recorded German and Persian telephone conversations to analyze the grammatical composition and interactional position of requests. Her study (2015) offers a conversation analytic description of the Persian particle \textit{dige} in turn-final position as an epistemic marker. In her most recent study on invitations in Persian, Taleghani-Nikazm (2018) explores the relationship between invitations’ linguistic forms and interactional environments to show that Persian speakers use the imperative turn design and the interrogative \textit{mikh\text{"a}}i (‘do you want to X’) format to perform pre-planned and occasioned invitations, respectively.

CA research on storytelling has expanded to other languages such as German (Kupetz, 2014), Finnish (Ruusuvuori, 2007; Ruusuvuori & Voutilainen, 2009), etc. Some studies use data from different languages. For example, Kjærbeck & Asmuß (2005) use Danish, German and Spanish data from both L1 and L2 interactions to examine the preference organization of story punchline and post-punchline sequences. In their study, they showed two aspects of post punchlines that interlocutors orient to: namely, modality and evaluation of the narrative.

With regard to the very limited research work in L2 Persian language classrooms and CA research on storytelling in Persian, the contributions of this study will be threefold:

1. It will add to the scarce literature on pedagogical practices for less commonly taught languages and more particularly produce knowledge about classroom interaction and learning
in a Persian as a foreign language classroom.

2. Building on previous research, it will enhance our understanding of storytelling practices in L2 classrooms.

3. It will initiate a fresh impetus on storytelling in Persian language using micro-analytic tools of CA.

2.7. Research Questions

Guided by the theoretical and methodological frameworks of CA and MCA, this dissertation takes a multimodal approach to investigate the sequential organization and categorical practices of storytelling by addressing the following research questions:

1. How are stories locally occasioned in Persian language classrooms?

2. How are stories launched into classroom talk-in-interaction by teachers and students?

3. What actions are performed through storytelling in Persian language classrooms?
CHAPTER 3: DATA AND METHOD

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will first introduce the research setting as well as the participants of the data collection site. I will then describe the data and data collection procedures. Finally, I will briefly explain the transcription conventions and the analytic framework adopted for the data representation and analysis.

3.2. Settings and Participants

The settings of the current study are two Persian language classrooms at intermediate and advanced levels in two different North American Universities. The intermediate-level class met three times a week during the academic year while the advanced-level class met every day during a summer intensive program. Both the intermediate and advanced classes comprised of four L2 speakers of Persian, and the professors were L1 speakers of Iranian Persian.

The students in the intermediate class were from diverse cultural backgrounds and were aged between 27-53. They comprised of two heritage students (Ray, Kevin), one American student (Nina) who had an Iranian in-law, and one other American student (John) who had lived in Afghanistan for a few years for research purposes. The advanced-level class also came from a variety cultural backgrounds with one heritage student (Nita), and three American students (Lida, Jace, and Mac) who had professional development interests in taking Persian. Falling into the age range of 22-25, they were all young adults.

The advanced-class students were almost always present during the data collection period while attendance in the intermediate-class was less regular. Since Persian is among the less commonly taught languages in the US, enrolment is noticeably low compared to foreign language classes that are typically taken to fulfill institutional language requirements. Students
elected to take Persian for a variety of reasons, including cultural or family connections, interest in the language and culture, or interest in the Middle East. In the intermediate class, there was no departmental or classroom policy against teacher or student use of English in the classroom. In contrast, the language policy of the intensive program restricted the advanced class from the use of English. As such, code-switching was very common in the intermediate class whereas the advanced class used code-switching very occasionally for negotiating vocabulary. The intermediate class consisted of students taking foreign language courses as part of their schooling experience, with limited opportunities to engage in L2 interaction outside the instructional setting. The immersion program of the advanced class, on the other hand, gave them the opportunity to engage in daily language and cultural immersion in both academic and daily life settings through diverse organized activities and informal daily contacts.

The pedagogical tasks undertaken in the intermediate class revolved around the textbook\(^1\) and the class activities, for the most part, involved reading texts, translating, and working on vocabulary and grammar. In the advanced class, the professor used an online digital platform to post materials for the students. The classroom materials covered a wide range of past and current issues in Iran and included online materials such as news stories, articles, interviews, documentaries, and Iranian TV serials, which provided particulars for class discussions. The class had teacher-collected materials bound in a binder in addition to the wide variety of online materials incorporated into the syllabus.

3.3. Data Collection

The data for this study come from two corpora of video and audio recorded interaction in an intermediate Persian class (11 hr 55 min) and an advanced Persian class (25 hr 56 min). A total of 37 hours and 51 minutes of conversations conducted among the participants in both intermediate and advanced classrooms were recorded. Table 3.1 and 3.2 provide a brief overview of the data, including the date of recording, the length of each session, and the number of stories produced by teachers and students. Table 3.3 provides an overview of the data in terms of the sequential occasioning of the stories.

Table 3.1: Overview of Intermediate Class Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Stories told by the teacher</th>
<th>Stories by told the students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02/02/2015</td>
<td>1:26:43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/04/2015</td>
<td>1:36:02</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/09/2015</td>
<td>1:35:01</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/11/2015</td>
<td>1:22:03</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/23/2015</td>
<td>1:40:04</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/02/2015</td>
<td>1:38:19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/04/2015</td>
<td>1:37:01</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/16/2015</td>
<td>1:00:01</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11:55:14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Overview of Advanced Class Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Stories by the teacher</th>
<th>Stories by the students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>06/29/2016</td>
<td>1:14:10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/30/2016</td>
<td>1:29:33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/06/2016</td>
<td>1:19:51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/07/2016</td>
<td>1:24:35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/08/2016</td>
<td>1:29:05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/13/2016</td>
<td>1:28:03</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.3: Corpus Overview: Sequential Occasioning of the Stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>First-position</th>
<th>Second-position</th>
<th>Second telling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07/18/2016</td>
<td>3:45:20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/19/2016</td>
<td>3:36:50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/26/2016</td>
<td>3:32:04</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/28/2016</td>
<td>1:33:17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/29/2016</td>
<td>1:37:09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08/02/2016</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before data collection, the students were asked to fill out a consent form. Also, the research purpose was explained generally as investigating the way Persian language students and the teacher interact in the classroom. Naturally occurring classroom interaction from the teacher and students’ talk-in-interaction was collected through video and audio recording. The classroom interaction was recorded in regular classrooms without any intervention on the researcher’s part or introduction of any new task to students. The students’ and teachers’ consent forms appear in Appendix A. Institutional Review Board (IRB) authorization documents appear in Appendix B.

3.4. Transcription and Analysis

The data is transcribed according to Jefferson’s (2004) transcription notation to make interactional details beyond the lexical and syntactic level available for analysis. To represent details of the participants’ non-vocal behavior, the conventions from Burch (2014) are adopted. These include textual descriptions of embodiments (gaze, posture, facial expression, gesture,
etc.) as well as frame grabs from the video-recordings. Because most of the interaction in the
advanced class was conducted in Persian, I used the standard three-tier format, with a Romanized
version of the Persian utterance in the first tier, and a word-for-word gloss and idiomatic
translations in English in the second and third tiers, respectively (see transcription conventions
and abbreviations used in the interlinear gloss in Appendices C and D).

This dissertation uses multimodal conversation analysis (see Mondada, 2014) to explore the
way storytelling is managed as social action in Persian language classrooms and the interactional
consequences that arise from it. The analysis builds on the extensive conversation analytic
literature on classroom interaction (Sert, 2015) and L2 storytelling research (Prior, 2016a).
Consistent with CA methodology, I will take an emic perspective to the analysis and
understanding of the storytellings in the classroom as social interaction. That is, the analysis
adopts a consistent focus on the orientations and relevancies that participants display to each
other through their talk and embodied action. More specifically, the analysis takes into account
not only how a turn is designed but also how it is taken by the participants.

The next two chapters provide a detailed analysis of the selected stories occasioned in first
positions, and second positions including those prompted in response to another telling.
CHAPTER 4: STORIES TOLD BY THE TEACHER

4.1. Introduction

This chapter brings into view the sequential context in which the stories are produced by the teachers. The aim of this chapter is to examines teachers’ storytelling and the social actions that get accomplished through it in Persian language classrooms. Furthermore, the ways storytelling serves the institutional goals of the setting will be explored. In order to get a clearer picture of how stories unfold in classroom talk, I will focus on the role tellers and recipients play in constructing the context and preparing the ground for upcoming stories.

The data presented in this chapter demonstrate examples of different ways in which stories are produced by teachers in the institutional setting of a classroom. As noted in Chapter 3, there are thirty-nine stories by teachers in both intermediate and advanced classrooms. The sequential environment in which the teachers’ stories are occasioned are in first position in stepwise (2 cases) and embedded fashion (22), and in second position in response to students’ questions (8 cases) and as second tellings (7 cases).

The storytelling examples are presented in extended pre-sequences to better show the context and trajectory of their production. As the analysis will show, teachers in classroom discourse initiate storytellings in systematic and complex ways. Announcements of story-entries may be constructed not only from various verbal devices and conventional forms of language but also from co-occurring visible bodily behavior.

The analyses presented in this chapter will focus on the following questions:

- In what sequential environment is the ground for an occasioned storytelling prepared?
- What interactional devices or combination of devices do teachers use to introduce a story to the classroom?
What actions does teachers’ storytelling accomplish and what interactional consequences arise from it?

4.2. Stepwise Transition to the Story

The purpose of the following analysis is to show how the story emerges through elaborate procedures and evolves throughout interactions as well as how it gets tied up to the preceding talk. The storytelling is performed by the intermediate class teacher and is brought up by a language issue. The teacher and a student, Nina, are working on a list of idiomatic expressions in the course textbook. They are involved in the activity of translating the expression خود را به موس "acting like a dead mouse" and idiomatically means “to show oneself weak and sick.” Excerpts 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 include a long segment of the teacher’s and Nina’s talk prior to the storytelling sequence. These segments show how word explanations retrospectively act as prefatory work to build up the groundwork for storytelling. Excerpt 4.2.3 will be analyzed to provide a point of entry for the storytelling sequence and Excerpt 4.2.4 demonstrate the punchline of the story.

Excerpt 4.2.1 Intermediate Class: Accident

(T = teacher; N = Nina)

01 T: it means .hh to sho-
  t +GZ>N
02 +neshan dadæn means to show
03 (0.3)
04 to show↑ (0.3) <a person> (0.5)
  t +GZ>BOOK +GZ>AIR
05 +uh weaker +a::nd u::h (0.2)
  t +NODS +GZ>BOOK
  n +NODS
06 +↑sicker +(0.9) than +whatever he is
n  +QUICK GZ>T (Fig. 4.2.1.1)
07 N:  "he actually [is"

t  +QUICK GZ>N
  +GZ>BOOK
08 T:  +[ok. (.) +a:nd (0.4)
09 dærd-e xod ra bozorg jelve dadæn
      pain-EZ self OM big show
      to show your pain as bigger

n  +GZ>T
n  +GZ>BOOK (Fig. 4.2.1.2)
10 +and- (.) and also another +meaning

n  +GZ>T
11 means to show your pain, (0.3) +e::hm (1.3)

n  +NODS (Fig. 4.2.1.3)
12 more +than what it is
13 N:  [to exaggerate it
14 T:  [(xxx) yeah exaggerated
15 N:  aha
n  +GZ>BOOK (Fig. 4.2.1.4)
t  +GZ>BOOK
16  T:  +so↑ (1.0) it means xod (0.2)
17  sometimes we say xod ra be muš mord-
sel OM to mouse dea-
18  ḥyeah muš mordegi dær aværðan,
mouse dead pretend
yeah to pretend to be a dead mouse

In Excerpt 4.2.1, the teacher is translating the literal meaning of the expression into Persian. In line 5, the prosodically emphatic sicker accompanied by nodding gesture orients to her word search accomplishment, which later gets acknowledged by Nina’s nodding. Nina actively co-participates in the translation activity by adding to the teacher’s formulation in line 7 and also in line 13, she uses the transitional relevant place to display understanding (Sacks, 1992) by doing other-repair to exaggerate it. The teacher’s gazes at the textbook (lines 6, 10, and 16) display her orientation to the institutional goal of the classroom and the book as a resource for achieving it. After the translation of the second meaning is delivered successfully in lines 11 and 12 and other-repaired by Nina in line 13, the other-repair gets confirmed (yeah) and partially repeated by the teacher in line 14. With a mutual embodied orientation (looking at the book) and an emphasized so, the teacher moves to recap her preceding turns. After two self-repairs (lines 16-18), the teacher provides an alternative form of the same expression with the different verb dær aværðan (to pretend).
Excerpt 4.2.2

19 T: .hhh eh >mæsælæn oun-< (0.5)
   for example he-

   +GZ>T
   +GZ>AIR
   +GZ>N
20 migim ke +(0.6) +u:h +væqti ræft piše (.)
   say-1PL that when went to
21 d- dokto::r; (0.2) xodesho-
   doctor himself-OM
   For example, we say when he went to the doctor

22 >sometimes we say<
23 xodešo be muš mordegi zæd .hhh
   himself-OM to dead mouse acted
   He acted like a dead mouse

24 or be muš +muš mordegi dær ovor d
   to mouse mouse dead pretend
   or pretend to be a dead mouse

25 >it means< .hh he wants to say that

26 +SWAYS BODY (Fig. 4.2.2.1)
27 +I’m a like <a dead mouse>
28 N: [°hhhh°]
WOBBLIES HEAD--- (Fig. 4.2.2.3)

28 T: [or I’m dying or whatever

+ NODS

29 N: +haha[ha

30 T: [ok but he is not really dying

+ NODS

+n+GZ>BOOK

31 N: +aha aha °aha° +(.)

32 T: ok, he is just acting +to be [like this.

+n+GZ>BOOK

33 N: [aha +I see

34 T: >I mean< he wants to show

+n+GZ>T

35 oh my +pain is a lot or my

+n+GZ>T

36 whatever suffer I have [it’s a lot

37 N: [°uhum uhum°

The next TCU begins with a pre-speech in-breath and an exemplification (line 19). The teacher abandons it though as she delivers the subject (he) and restarts after a gap of five-tenth of a second. The doctor exemplification is categorically bound to her previous formulation in line 6 (sicker than whatever he is). In other words, the predicated state of being sicker and weaker is associated with the relevant category doctor. So, the example is tied up to the previous explanation while bringing up a hypothetical scenario to illustrate the same point. She uses both alternatives of verbs in the example in lines 23 and 24 again. In so doing, the exemplification (both sequentially and semantically) reiterates the translation.
activity. She projects her enactment non-verbally by swaying her body as she is uttering *muš mordegi dær ovord* (*pretend to be a dead mouse*) in line 24.

The preface *it means* signals further explanation and *he wants to say* followed by an invented reported speech is designed to mark the intention of the speaker deceitful. She uses the iconic gestures (head wobbling) and prosodic features (slowing down *the dead mouse*) to enact the literal meaning of the idiom. By giving voice to the character of her hypothetic scenario, she conveys (partly through the exaggerated prosody and embodiment) that the act is actually insincere and deceitful. This is followed by Nina’s laughter, orienting to its amusement. Enactments are usually used in telling occasions to elicit heightened displays of recipiency and attention and to negotiate authority and rhetorical impact (Sidnell, 2006).

Although the teacher is packaging the idiom in an exemplification format, it has elements of a story or a hypothetical story. The gestural enactment then gets repeated in line 28. The re-enactment successfully generates a more vigorous show of affiliation: Nina produces louder laughter tokens and nods (Mandelbaum, 2013). She makes the insincerity of her hypothetical character explicit (*but he is not really dying*) and it gets acknowledged by Nina right away. Then, in line 32 she re-runs the translation activity (explaining the figurative meaning) putting *he* in the hypothetical world as the subject of the action (*he is just acting to be like this*). Just the way the teacher deployed enactment to show the literal meaning of the idiom, she redoes it with the figurative meaning (lines 35 & 36). The gestural enactment is less dramatized this time while she still makes use of prosodic emphasis (on *a lot, suffer*) to display her stance. Nina exhibits recipiency by uttering minimal acknowledgement token accompanied by non-verbal affiliating actions (smiling and nodding).
Excerpt 4.2.3

38 T: +.hh (0.5) hh. fa lot of the-£
39 (0.2) a lot of times
40 it happens that (0.3)

41 when you +have an accident
42 with somebody¿ (.)

43 N: +°o:::h +yeah°
44 (0.3)
45 T: >yeah<
46 (0.2)
n  +LH TOUCHES BACK (Fig. 4.2.3.4)
n  +TILTS HEAD TO RIGHT
47 N:  [+hurt my back
48 T:  ye- [you [yeah exactly.
49 N:  [haha
50 T:  so this happened to me,

\[\text{Fig. 4.2.3.5}\]

t  +MOVES HANDS CIRCULAR
t  +PNT>SELF (Fig. 4.2.3.5)
n  +RAISES EYEBROWS
51 +once I +(1.1) +I had a- I mean
52 I had an accident in Iran
53 and tha- there was a motorcycle

\[\text{Fig. 4.2.3.6}\]

n  +WRINKLES EYES (Fig. 4.2.3.6)
54 N:  +aha
A shift in the teacher’s bodily conduct followed by an emphasized outbreath acting as a disjunct marker (Jefferson, 1978) marks a shift of the topic. The deployment of the body provides a resource which make boundaries to the integral parts of a story (Goodwin, 1984; Kidwell, 1997). The laughter particles in the production of the time adverbial (a lot of the times) projects a touched-off remembrance (see Frazier, 2007). The teacher may be orienting to the potential face threatening act the accident story may bring about. The generic time adverbial gets self-repaired and restarted in line 39. Then the teacher prefaces her turn with it happens that and exhibits the collusion of two cars through her embodiment as she utters when you have an accident. The visualization receives strong affiliation responses by Nina first by a change of state token oh (Heritage, 1984) and confirmation (yeah) and later through enacting a matching stance (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Sidnell, 2006) at line 47. In so doing, she employs both verbal and embodied resources (she raises her eyebrows as she utters o:::h and tilts her head and touches her back as she says hurt my back). Nina’s shifts to performance of the hypothetical scenario shows her strong involvement and engaged recipiency. As such, the scenario is co-constructed by both the teacher and Nina. The shift visibly furnishes an occasion for assisting the teacher in a conjoined fashion (Lerner, 2002). Interactive production, as a feature of the organization of
telling of stories is not only accomplished in talk but also is achieved through representational gestures among visually co-present participants. This reveals one way embodiments are deployed as a situated social resource in demonstrating affiliation (on gestural matching see Lerner 2002).

Bringing up the accident example momentarily and making it relevant to the online conversation prepares the scene for the storytelling. Nina’s animated response gets ratified by the teacher (yeah exactly). Then, with the story preface so this happened to me, the teacher announces that a personal story is underway. The discourse marker so marks a shift from the preparatory work to prefacing the story. She is launching a new course of action, prefacing it with ‘so’. As such, she indexes the accident example as a source for prompting the story. The so-prefaced turn constructional unit, thereby, serves to mark a “connection” between the prefatory work and the upcoming story. Thus, by bringing up the accident example the teacher establishes groundwork for the story. The indexical this acts as a “prospective indexical” (Goodwin, 1996) to project that there will be more in the subsequent talk.

The conventional rhetorical device once functioning as a story entrance-device opens up the telling part. After a long pause and some repair, the teacher introduces the story I had an accident in Iran, making the story topically coherent with the previous talk. The teacher’s construction of person reference (I) is made visible through embodied action (Kita, 2003). Note that the pointing happens after Nina shows strong affiliation by raising eyebrows. Then the pointing gesture for doing reference happens at a potential repair-initiated position to further secure the orientation of the recipient at the unfolding of telling. She then displays difficulty in finding words with a long pause (1.1) along with the hand gestures and self-repair initiations. The lexical repetition (an accident) is logged on as an “embedded repetition” (Jefferson, 1978) which locates the element of prior talk that triggered the story. Providing the location of the story
as Iran makes the teacher’s cultural and social membership knowledge relevant to the institutional setting and suggests that the story is recipient-designed in the context of a Persian language class. One recurrent feature of story beginnings that make a story recognizable as a story is the characterization of the setting in which the to-be-narrated action took place (Sidnell, 2010).

As the teacher announces that *there was a motorcycle*, Nina displays affiliation both verbally (acknowledgement token) and nonverbally (wrinkling eyes). Then in line 55, the teacher slows down as she utters *three persons* and shows a count to three, moving her pointed left index in the air. Although this is part of the background to the story, it is elaborately organized. She is setting the scene of the story in a selective fashion. Elaborating the details of the situation in which the accident happened gives the telling authenticity. Nina shows strong affiliation with an emphasized outbreath to show astonishment and an upgraded assessment of three persons as *too much* (line 56). The upgrading of the first assessment is not only achieved lexically but also prosodically (*hhh*) and through the assessment head shakes (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987; Lindström & Mondada, 2009). These practices display her engaged recipiency (Goodwin, 1981; Goodwin, 1986b) which further provide an indication of her understanding of the telling.

**Excerpt 4.2.4**

*(12 lines omitted)*

69 T:  anyway
70 (0.3)
71 T:  so ↑that was really their fault
   n  +NODS
72  +(0.2)
73 T:  but they tried to have—
In Excerpt 4.2.4, with the disjunctive topic shift marker *anyway* (see Drew, 1997), the teacher announces her exit from the detailing (Jefferson, 1985) and with the inference marker *so* she delivers the upshot of the detailing (*so that was their fault*) to overtly express indignation about and condemnation of the perpetrators’ conduct. The demonstrative *that* indexically links the present topic of talk to her previous description of the accident. She then marks the contrast of her stance to the stance of characters in the story in line 73 (*but they tried to have*). She abandons it and switches to Persian to deliver the punchline with the idiom in lines 74 and 75.
The teacher enters the climax by marking that she is about to quote from the textbook. By looking and pointing at the textbook, she shows verbal and embodied orientation to the textbook as an interactional resource all along her storytelling. The code-switching at the punchline highlights what the story was leading up to in consonance with teaching the Persian idiom in the Persian classroom context. By doing so, she manages to use the idiom in the story world and makes it the instructional point of the story.

This excerpt is an example of a story occasioned by the prior talk in a step-wise fashion. The analysis shows how the storytelling is triggered through the explanation of an idiom and how the explainable gets intertwined in the story punchline. The teller smoothly moves from an exemplification to describing a general hypothetical event and finally to specific real-life story to explain the literal and figurative meaning of an idiom in Persian. The teller’s course of action is at first opaque to the recipient during the translation and exemplification practices, but it becomes prospectively discernible with the accident scenario (line 38) and then projected with the story preface indicating the upcoming personal story (line 50). The prefatory work that precedes the launching of the story retrospectively links the courses of actions leading up to a storytelling together and thus prepare the ground for the upcoming story. The retrospective recipiency is evidenced in the matching stance Nina takes as the teacher portrays an accident scenario (line 47). Presenting the idiom at the punchline makes it the cross point where the story and the idiom meet and indexes the idiom as the main focus of the story. The participants work collaboratively to meet the institution-specific agenda which is how the idiomatic expression is pragmatically used in an accident scenario while engaging in the storytelling activity.

4.3. Story Launch from First Position

The following excerpt is an example of a story arising in the first position in an interactional
occasion embedded in and as part of the talk. What makes this classification different from others is that the story is sequentially produced in the first position (as opposed to elicited and second stories), embedded in and occasioned by the immediately preceding talk with minimum prefatory work (as opposed to step-wise stories).

Before Excerpt 4.3.1, the teacher asks Lida to watch an interview in which a former culture minister of the *shah* talks about how the Iranian revolution succeeded. The other students are doing some vocabulary learning activity while Lida is watching the interview using her laptop and headphone. When Lida finishes watching, the teacher asks her to report back on the interview and instructs the other students to listen and ask her if they have questions. In her report, Lida, quoting the former minister, compares the protests in the year 1342\(^2\) (when the *shah* managed to control opposition groups by suppressing the protestors) with the revolution in 1357 when the *shah* was overthrown because he did not suppress the protestors. When Lida’s report is finished, after being selected by the teacher, Mac reports on the interview. He makes arguments for the revolution’s success by comparing the two periods of protest. We join the excerpt when he is making the argument that the *shah* did not want to suppress people in 1357 the same way he did in 1342. The teacher and Jace are off-camera, on the far right and left, respectively in Figure 4.3.1.1.

\(^2\) Solar Hijri Calendar
Excerpt 4.3.1 Advanced Class: General Huyser

(T: teacher; N: Nita; M: Mac; J: Jace)

45 M: næmikhast in (0.2) kar +dobare +ænjam bede.
Want-NG-3SG-SPs this work again do-3SG
He didn’t want to do the same thing again

46  (0.2)
47 T: aha
48  (0.7)
49 T: +°tæslim šod°
Surrender-3SG-SPs-Pss
he surrendered

50 M: °bæle +(x)°
   Yes
   Yes

51 T: šayæd be xatere +inke °særætan dašt ha:¿°
    maybe because cancer had
    maybe because he had cancer

53 M: momken-e
    possible-is
    it is possible

54  (0.4)
55 M: °°šayæd°°
    maybe
    maybe

1 GZ>BOOK
The delivery of the response sequence is completed in line 45. Mac’s gaze shift to the teacher at the turn completion and falling intonation demonstrate Mac’s orientation to closing down the response turn and thus completing the action of reporting the interview. The teacher’s acknowledgement token *aha* in the feedback turn of the IRF sequence shows receipt and alignment. After a (0.7) gap that orients to the closure of the IRF sequence, the teacher softly delivers a candidate understanding of Mac’s response (line 51) which receives a soft confirmation (*bałe*) in the next turn. The teacher designs his candidate understanding in a hedged, interrogative format, thus taking a downgraded epistemic stance. In so doing, he extends his feedback turn by beginning an account of why the shah surrendered in a tentative manner. The turn-final *ha:* acts to solicit students’ response and is designed to prefer agreement (Sacks, 1987). Nita shows affiliation by adopting a thinking pose (gazing into the air, dropping mouth) and nodding in accordance with the preference structure of *ha:*, Mac’s epistemic stance markers (lines 53 & 55) come subsequently in agreement with the teacher and thereby in accordance with the preference structure of the turn. The prosodic feature of the teacher’s turn (the lower volume at the final turn), at line 51, can be heard as an initiation of closing the sequence. Mac’s short responses come after two gaps and his final turn (barely hearable *šayəd*) matches the prosodic structure of the teacher’s talk. Lida’s embodied action (gaze at the book) further demonstrates her orientation toward closing down of the sequence. In these ways, the sequence reaches a point of possible completion.

**Excerpt 4.3.2**

```
1 +GZ>T
n +GZ>T
57 T: šayəd +be xatere inke; ye ženerale +Amrikayi
    maybe because a general American
```
maybe because an American general called Huyser

M: +hm
T: xobɔ google
M: (0.4)
T: Mire, (x) be Iran, (0.8) væ goes to Iran and goes to Iran

be fərmandeha-ye ærteš (0.8) to commanders-EZ army

+nods slightly
+ærteše Shah (0.4) mige šoma tell the army commanders of the shah

(1.6)
T: kudeta nemikonin. coup-NG-2PL you do not carry out a coup

(1.4)

((13 lines omitted))

T: poʃte Shaho xali kərdən dige back Shah-OM empty did-3PL PRT they stopped backing up the shah

+nods slightly
+be noyi in kind in a way

(0.3)
After a (0.4) gap, the teacher makes a move that initiates a story while expanding his feedback sequence. The teacher’s story-entry, in line 57, displays grammatical and lexical dependence on the preceding turns (see Couper-Kuhlen, 2004). The teacher enters the story using a “Format-tying technique” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987), which marks the story as an extension and in continuation of his prior talk. Thus, the story launches as an increment that is added following possible completion of a TCU (Schegloff, 1996). Using the same epistemic downgrade šayæd (maybe) registers his account as another candidate reason delivered with similar tentative stance.

The story preface is marked by both prosodic cues and the particular person reference choice. Although the turn is syntactically designed in expansion of the prior sequence, the characteristic surge of loudness and pitch marks it a new action (see Goldberg, 1978; Couper-Kuhlen, 2004; Local & Walker, 2004). The story entrance is cued by the introduction of a character in the story. The membership category “American general” projects a story of a military-historical nature. The referent is introduced using a non-recognitional descriptor consisting of a proper name embedded within a noun phrase ye ženerale Amrikayi be esme Huyster (an American general called Huyster). This format of person reference (an indefinite NP coupled with a name
recognitional) is used to introduce the names of referents assumed to be unidentifiable by the addressees and thereby introduce the character of the story (Enfield & Stivers, 2007; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). With this referential choice, the teacher demonstrates his epistemic authority (although framed by epistemic downgrades) both as a teacher and storyteller.

Lida, Nita and Mac’s collective gaze at the teacher (Jace is off-camera) demonstrate their listenership. Upon the delivery of the name “Huyser”, Nita nods slightly and blinks; Mac utters a continuer (hm), and Lida, while maintaining gaze, slightly turns her head to the left. The students do not take a turn during the 1.7-second long silence that follows. At line 61, the teacher produces an understanding check xob with a slightly rising intonation that suggests his turn-in-progress. The storyline is formulated in simple present tense mire (x) Iran (goes to Iran) and in the geographical setting of Iran. The selection of the grammatical present tense and direct reported speech serves to bring the represented talk to the present moment and places the students as witnesses to the enacted scene, and thereby highlights the authenticity and dramatic effects of the story (Barraja-Rohan, 2015; Burch & Kasper, 2016; Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Goodwin, C., 2007; Holt, 1996; Holt & Clift, 2007; Kasper & Prior, 2015 a,b).

The categorization of the American general makes the protagonist’s military rank relevant and later the consistency rule invokes the introduction of other characters in the story (faermandehaye ærteše Shah: the shah’s army commanders). The construction of “carrying out a coup” further invokes a category resonant action associated with the military at the time of regime change. The characters of the story (the general, the shah’s army commanders) belong to the membership categories of high-rank militaries and their being in contact with each other makes a category-bound predicate. The use of direct reported speech in narratives indexes the speaker’s stance towards the characters (Couper-Kuhlen, 1998; Holt, 2007; Nguyen, 2015). The
manner of speaking attributed to the American general is grammatically and prosodically
stylized to suggest the main character’s epistemic authority over the shah’s army commanders.
The reported speech *kudeta nemikonin* (you do not carry out a coup) is hearable as a command
with a strong epistemic force and certainty as opposed to the imperative *kudeta nakonin* (*don’t coup*).

In the missing lines (69-81) the teacher continues his story by saying that the US and British
embassies signaled to the shah that they will not support him. The upshot of the story comes in
line 82 *pošte Shaho xali kærdæn dige* with a turn-final epistemic marker *dige* to signal the
teller’s access to epistemic primacy (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2015). In line 86, with selecting Nita as
the next speaker, the teacher returns to the IRF structure that works with the turn allocation
system nominated by the teacher.

In this excerpt, the teacher’s self-initiated telling is occasioned by the IRF sequence. The
prefatory work to the story comes up in the third turn to follow up and build on the student’s
answer. Previous research has shown the complexities and richness of third position “follow-up”
turns by teachers (Lee, 2007; Macbeth, 2003; Mehan, 1979; Waring, 2009). Teachers perform
complex pedagogical actions in third position, among which is steering the direction of a
sequence toward the teacher’s pedagogical objective (Gardner, 2012). In this excerpt, using the
instructional trajectories of the IRF sequence, the teacher tells a story that expands on his third-
position action and in so doing characterize the interaction as pedagogical (see Heritage 1984).

**4.4. Story Launch from Second Position**

In the following excerpt, the story is occasioned by a student’s question. In other words, the
story is responsive to the inquiry. Leading up to the following excerpt, the class had been
discussing the Iranian revolution and the reasons why the *shah* was overthrown. Then the teacher
moves to the next activity and asks the students to turn on their computers and look at a specific part of the materials they have on an online digital platform.

The class usually use this digital environment to share information and the teacher posts the course materials on it. As the teacher is introducing the next topic (an interview with a son of a clergymen), an initiation-response-feedback (IRF) sequence (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) on a lexical item definition comes up (\(aq\) \(kærdan\): to disinherit). We enter the excerpt when the first position of the sequence is delivered. Then, Jace, orienting to the previous topic, asks a question about the shah’s family. The story emerges in Excerpt 4.4.4.

**Excerpt 4.4.1 Advanced Class: Fieldtrip**

(T: teacher; N: Nita; M: Mac; J: Jace)

13 T: aqeš kærde aq midunin yæni chi?  
disinherit-3SG disinherit know-2PL mean what  
Do you know what aq means?

14 J: (jøzam)?  
leprosy

15 j  
(0.5) ((Beep sound))  
GZ>T----  
GZ>NODS SLIGHTLY

16 T: aha↑ +aq  
GZ>LAPTOP  
+(1.2)

18 T: [>gofte pesære mæn nist.º<  
say-3SG-PrP son-my isn’t  
he said he was not my son

19 J: [.hh

20 (. )

---

**Fig. 4.4.1.1**
Excuse me, does the shah have grandchildren now?

Grandchildren?

Yes

Yes, he has grandchildren now.

now this was not the film of this person

but his wife is usually beside him

Yes family

53
The IRF sequence is visibly closed in line 18 with the teacher’s feedback turn on the
definition of the lexical item. After the long (1.2) pause, both Jace and the teacher self-select
themselves as the next speaker. However, Jace produces an inbreath and holds his turn. The
teacher delivers the third feedback turn by producing the definition of the lexical item in line 18.
Then after a mini-pause, Jace initiates a new sequence prefacing it with *bebæxšid* (excuse me).
Having heard the inbreath, Nita’s gaze is directed to Jace as soon as he starts. Jace’s *bebæxšid-*
prefaced question acts as a disjunctive topic proffer that shifts the topic from the clergyman’s son
to the shah’s family. In so doing, he reopens a topic that has already been closed. It is a follow-
up inquiry that resumes a previously closed course of action after a substantial delay. The
teacher’s repair initiation in the next-turn position at line 23 is produced with a rising intonation
to locate *næve* as the trouble source. After the repair is resolved (Jace confirms the candidate
hearing), the initial question is responded to at line 27. The polar question receives a type-
conforming response *ære* (yes) followed by a syntactically parallel structure *in ælan næve dare*
(he has grandchildren now). The teacher’s use of repetition exerts relatively more agency and
authoritative rights over the proposition of the question and is associated with sequence
expansion (Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Raymond, 2003; Stivers, 2005). At lines 28-30, the
teacher extends his response to the shah’s family, thus; characterizing the question as one of
asking about the shah’s family members. As such, the category device family is invoked by
Jace’s question and is taken up by the teacher. Via the hearer’s maxim the category *zæneš* (his
wife) is heard as belonging to the device family and being beside him (line 29) is a category-
resonant predicate attached to wife. The effect of this categorical work, employed through a
sequential mechanism, prepares the ground for Jace’s follow-up questions that eventually leads
into a storytelling. The transition marker \textit{xob} at line 31 marks the closure of the topic and announces the shift to the next one.

**Excerpt 4.4.2**

((6 lines omitted))

Fig. 4.4.2.1

\textit{j} \quad +EATS SNACK (Fig. 4.4.2.1)
\textit{j} \quad +GZ>T

38 \textit{T}: tuyé \textit{Potomak} \textit{>zendegi} +mikonæn \textit{haminja-n}<
In \textit{Potomac} live-3PL here-are
They live in Potomac, they are right here

\textit{n} \quad +GZ>T
\textit{l} \quad +GZ>T
\textit{l} \quad +RAISES EYEBROWS SLIGHTLY
39 \quad + (0.7)

\textit{n} \quad +GZ>T--
\textit{j} \quad +GZ>LAPTOP
40 \textit{N}: +ha

\textit{n} \quad +GZ>J
\textit{l} \quad +QUICK \textit{GZ>N}
\textit{l} \quad +GZ>T--
41 \textit{T}: +hæmin +næzdikia
this close
pretty close

\textit{l} \quad +GZ>T--
42 (0.8)

\textit{l} \quad +GZ>J
43 \textit{J}: mitunim: berim +be (.)
can-1PL go to
In the 6 lines omitted, Jace asks if the shah’s family speak Persian and with the teacher’s confirmation the sequence is closed down. At line 38 the teacher orienting to the question’s time frame (ælan) gives more background information about the present state of the shah’s family. Informing Jace of the shah’s family proximity is done by prosodically emphatic place reference, the proper name Potomac that describes the place in relation to the interactants (see Schegloff, 1972) and gives it a better chance of being recognized. The turn-final referential formulation hæminjan (they are right here) can be heard as an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986). Upon the receipt of the news, Nita and Lida display surprise verbally (via ha) and non-verbally (via raising eyebrows), respectively. Although recognition has been achieved, the teacher self-repairs to hæmin næzdikia (pretty close) and downgrades his prior formulation. This triggers Jace’s next action, which comes off as more of a proposal than an inquiry (lines 43 & 44). As soon as he delivers the question he takes a quick gaze at Nina to invite her laughter (Glenn, 2003). Turn-final laughter works toward indexing the question non-serious (see Schegloff, 1996 for retroactive role of laughter). A such, a humorous mode is strategically initiated by Jace and is taken up by other students. Field trip evokes an ethnographic undertaking that is constructed in a
way to imply its production as humorous and not seriously intended. Jace’s connection of the shah’s history to the here-and-now and his disingenuous proposition of using the shah’s family for ethnographic instructional purposes is treated as laughable by all students. The students’ teaming up through laughter indexes a preferred affiliative response to the laughter invitation. Furthermore, the students’ joint laughter appears as a methodically produced and managed activity that treats the proposition as a humorous.

There is no verbal evidence of the teacher’s orientation to this turn and unfortunately we don’t have access to his non-verbal behavior because he is off-camera during this segment. The 0.5 pause added to the absence of a humorous response conveys the problematic treatment of the question’s action and projects a disaligning response (Stivers, 2008).

Excerpt 4.4.3

\[
\begin{align*}
n & +GZ>T \\
48 & T +piše inač \\
& \text{to these} \\
& \text{to them} \\
49 & \text{(0.2)} \\
50 & j +NODS \\
51 & J +uhum \\
52 & (.) \\
53 & T: ina hænuz čiz-æn \\
& \text{They still PRT-are} \\
54 & \text{+GZ>SNACK} \\
55 & +(0.4) \\
56 & \text{+xanevade īsæltænæti-æn} \\
& \text{family royal-are} \\
& \text{They are still royal family} \\
57 & \text{(0.3)} \\
58 & N: hh \\
59 & n +GZ>T \\
60 & T: +ba mæn-o šoma (.) nemi-čiz nemikonæn. \\
& \text{with I-and you not- PRT do} \\
& \text{They don’t hang out with you and me}
\end{align*}
\]
While the humorous proposal makes a response in kind relevant, the teacher appears to take Jace’s proposition at face value. His other-initiation of repair at line 48 is done as candidate understanding and locates the trouble source with prosodic emphasis on ina (them) to project a disaligning response. Other-initiations of repair in response to questions may characterize questions as problematic and indicate incipient disalignment (Bolden, 2009; Schegloff, 1997, 2007; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Wu, 2006). Furthermore, the marked prosody of ina with a slightly rising intonation may indicate surprise (see Selting, 1996).

The other-initiated repair formatted as positive polar question with rising pitch receives a confirmation uhum accompanied with a nod in line 50. The teacher packages the rejection of the suggestion in several turns. He designs his answer using hænuz (still) orienting to the present state of the shah’s family and self-repairs by adding xanevade ↑sæltænæti (royal family) in line 54 and finally delivers the rejection of Jace’s suggestion in 57. The teacher’s category-based account of “royal families” vs “ordinary people” receives a joint laughter by the students (lines 59-61). The students’ shared humorous stance orients to the teacher’s lack of uptake and treating it as a serious proposition. Their joint laughter following the teacher’s response is muted to
modulate the disconnection between the teacher’s serious stance and the humorous proposition. The laughter particles after disaligning or disaffiliative actions can soften the possible interactional trouble and manage incipient dispreference marking (Shaw, Hepburn, & Potter, 2013). After a long pause (line 65) the teacher initiates a story. By shifting eye gaze to the teacher, the students show collective alignment to the telling as listeners after the preface is delivered.

**Excerpt 4.4.4**

```
T: ælan mæsælæn +Holand bud
   now for example Holland was
   now, for example, it was Holland

ki bud ezdevaj kærd,
who was got married
who was it, that got married

Šazad- šahzadeye +Holand bud¿
prin- prince Holland was
it was the prince of Holland

N: >º[+nemidunæmº<
   I don’t know
I don’t know
```
72 T: >[tu Holand ke +ezdevaj mikonæn
In Holland that marry-3PL
when they get married in Holland


73 ina ro dæ?væt +mikonæn hænuz<
these OM invite-3PL still
they still invite them

74 (0.5)
75 N: ºwowº
76 (0.2)
77 J: væqæn¿
Really
Really

78 T: ‹are::
Yes
Yes

1 +GZ>APPLE
79 +(1.0)
80 T: tuye e- eh- ºčizº (0.3) xanev–
In PRT famil–

t +OPENS CROSSLEGS
1 +GZ>T
81 xanevade-haye +sæltænæti
families-EZ royal
in royal families

t +GETS UP & REPOSITIONS CHAIR
82 +(1.2)
83 T: ‹xob
ok
ok

There are aspects of this utterance that characterize a story beginning: ælan mæølæn

Holand bud ki bud ezdev aj kærd, (now, for example, it was Holland or who was it, that
married). The time reference ælan (now) orients to the same time frame Jace oriented to. He
frames the story in ‘an example’ package to bring an account for his prior turn (the shah’s family
visits royal families). The characterization of the person is done through place reference (see
Schegloff, 1972) and is self-repaired later at line 69. The verb formation in simple past form *(bud, ezdevaj kærd)* provides characterization of the temporal setting of the story and establishes ground for a possible story to be told. The combination of time reference *aelan* (now) followed by a statement in the simple past form makes the event hearable as a recent one. The teacher’s trouble in formulating the person reference is observable in the long pauses (lines 68 & 70). After Nita’s negative epistemic claim, the teacher resumes the telling by recycling the place reference to refer to the character *tu Holand ke ezdevaj mikonaen* (when they get married in Holland). A place term can be used to do a non-locational formulation (Schegloff, 1972). The reiteration of the telling (when they get married in Holland) is logged as a general statement to characterize the royal families’ invitation as a common practice as opposed to a one-time event.

The students’ engaged listenership and stances are displayed via the response particles the punchline receives (see Stivers, 2008; Sugita, 2012; Kupetz, 2014). The story’s punchline *ina ro daæʔvet mikonaen hænuz* (they still invite them) receives a soft (*wow*) and disbelief marker with rising intonation (*vaqæn¿*) from the recipients. After a strong confirmation token (*are::*), in 80 and 81 the teacher adds increments to line 73 and closes down the sequence.

This data analysis showed that questioning sequences (does the shah have grandchildren?, do they speak Persian?) that prompt the humorous proposal of going to a field trip are bounded and coordinated sequences that retrospectively prepare the ground for a storytelling. The teacher’s story is embedded in the flow of interaction and is occasioned by situated discursive concerns to justify the rejection of Jace’s proposal. The humorous construction of the proposal is not taken up by the teacher. In contrast, the students show an affiliative stance to the proposal which include teaming up through laughter.
The question does not explicitly invite a storytelling, but rather the story is used to manage a dispreferred response. Using the category device of “social class”, the teacher invokes two membership categories to reject Jace’s suggestion. One is the category of “ordinary people” to which the teacher and the students belong and the second is the category of “royal families” which the shah and the “Prince of the Netherlands” are incumbents of. The story emerges to topicalize the category-bound activity of royal families getting invited to each other’s weddings to reject Jace’s request of visiting the shah’s family. Furthermore, the storytelling enables the teacher to bring in his political-cultural knowledge fitting the language classroom agenda.

4.5. Telling a Second Story

The following excerpt is an example of a story occasioned by a first story told by a student in the intermediate class (see Chapter 5, Excerpt 5.2.1). As the class is preparing to read a lesson titled "ﺗﺎﺑﻮﺕ ﺗﻤﺜﻴﻠﯽ" (Symbolic Coffin), they start working on a pre-reading question as a pre-activity for the reading. The question is "ﺁﺩﺍﺏ ﻋﺰﺍﺩﺍﺭی ﺩﺭ ﺍﻳﺮﺍﻥ ﭼﻴﺴﺖ؟" (What are the customs of mourning in Iran?). The class becomes involved in a discussion about the question and for the most part the teacher talks about the mourning customs in Iran. Using the title of their lesson, Nina asks if people are buried in coffins in Iran. The teacher, in response, explains that coffins are only used for carrying and people get buried in shrouds according to religious traditions of Islam. In a touched-off remembrance, Nina tells a story of an incident that reportedly happened at the burial ceremony of an Iranian popular figure in Iran and that she had read about. In her story, she describes that the body was covered in a shroud and because of the large number of people at the funeral, the organizers had to put the body in a coffin to be able to carry it. The excerpt begins with the teacher’s comments on the first telling. Then she launches a second story
to make a comparison between the burial practices of Muslims in Iran to the burial practices of Muslims in North America.

**Excerpt 4.5.1 Intermediate Class: Singer**

(T = teacher; N = Nina; J = John)

62  T:  yeah there were so: many people

63  at that time >but I haven’t heard this story<

64  .hh but (0.3) again it’s u:h (0.3)

65  .t there is one reason

66  that why the people don’t put (0.3)

67  then uh- why they don’t have coffin

68  (0.2)

69  .hh because (0.2) they say in Islam

70  we are from the:

71  N:  dust to dust=

72  T:  =dust [to dust

73  N:  [aha aha aha

(29 lines omitted)

Excerpt 4.5.1 is part of the response sequence to Nina’s story. The teacher aligns with Nina’s story by orientating to an aspect of the story (the large number of people). The construction of **so: many people** is heard as an upgrade that invokes the teacher’s independent epistemic stance. As such, the teacher in two TCU, reiterates a part of Nina’s story with an upgraded emphasis on **so** to demonstrate alignment. She then makes a reference to Nina’s story and initiates an explanation. The teacher, returning to answering Nina’s question, expands her answer regarding the non-use of coffins in Iran by doing an account. The elaboration is framed to acknowledge that the forthcoming turn is already in the epistemic access of the recipients (**again**). After doing self-repair at line 67, she reinitiates the elaboration with an inbreath and a because-prefaced account. The inference to authority in the form of direct reported speech (**they say in Islam**) invokes her membership knowledge. It also activates the category-bound predicate of Islamic
philosophy which enables Nina to complete her turn in progress anticipatorily. In line 72, the
teacher confirms Nina’s collaborative completion by repeating dust to dust. In the omitted lines
(74-102), the teacher further elaborates on how not using coffins expedites the process of
absorbing the body to the earth.

Excerpt 4.5.2

103 T: That’s why it’s forbidden

    n +NODS
104 N: +aha

  +SHAKES HEAD SLIGHTLY (Fig. 4.5.2.1)
105 T: .h but +I don’t know in North America, (.)

  +LH UP
106 I have seen (.). +I don’t know it was about (0.3)
107 some years ago I’ve seen one act- (0.2)
108 No it- she was a singer (0.4)

  +LIF PNT>DOWN-------------- +MOVES LH (Fig. 4.5.2.2)
109 who +died in the united states +and then- (0.3)
110 and there was a- (0.3)
111 I mean they filmed everything (.)
112 N: °wo:w°
113 T: .h >and they showed it on TV<
In line 103, the teacher delivers an upshot of the co-constructed account (*that's why it's forbidden*) and in so doing announces the completion of her elaboration on the philosophy behind not using coffins. Then she initiates a new TCU with a contrast marker (*but*) coupled with the negative epistemic claim (*I don't know*) that can be heard as an inviting the recipients to provide information. The claim of insufficient knowledge (Beach & Metzger, 1997; Kärkkäinen, 2003) is deployed to make the recipients’ membership knowledge relevant to the interaction and is used as a “fishing device” (Pomerantz, 1980) to solicit their response. The prosodic construction of *North America* indexes it as the confusion point or problematic issue on which she needs information. However, the level intonation at the end of North America marks her turn a multi-unit turn. As such, the teacher invokes the identity of the students as Americans who have membership knowledge of the burial practices. After some self-repairs, she initiates a story by placing a temporal frame (*some years ago*). The negative epistemic claim at line 106 works to place the story within an approximate time frame (Weatherall, 2011).
With another round of self-repairs she introduces the character of the story as a singer (line 108). The category “singer”, similar to the popular figure in Nina’s story, belongs to the membership categorization device “celebrity”. The two stories are connected through co-selection of categories from the same collection. The embodied action (pointing to the ground) accompanied with the place reference in line 109 indexically locates the story in the country the interaction happens. The referential formulation of the setting (United States) as a category of the collection North America revisits the teacher’s inquiry in line 105 and invokes a country with a Muslim minority and funeral practices that the recipients are familiar with. In the parenthetical (lines 111-113), the teacher invokes the category-predicate resonant of showing celebrities in the public media to account for how she knows about the funeral. In lines 114 and 115, the punchline is delivered with an embodied demonstration over two TCUs. The syntactic format of the first TCU (line 114) projects some unexpected happening at the burial time. The irony of a Muslim’s burial in a coffin makes an unexpected situation that is delivered in the punchline. The rising pitch counter at the end of grave is to build up the surprising element that is delivered in the punchline (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). However, there is no uptake after the punchline is delivered.

Excerpt 4.5.3

117  I don’t know how is it in
118  for Muslim people in united states
119  N: +TILTS HEAD SLIGHTLY
120  T: whether it’s a l- law[of the country
The absence of uptake could be because the teacher did not categorize the character as a Muslim. Only after she makes it explicit in lines 117 and 118, Nina produces a change of state
token (line 119). By recycling the negative epistemic stance (*I don’t know how is it in*) she marks the closure of the narrative sequence and reiterates her question. In line 119, the teacher’s candidate answer to her own question initiated with *whether* index a downgraded epistemic authority and is syntactically open to other candidate answers (*whether it’s the law of the country*). Nina’s response in line 121 comes in overlap with the teacher’s turn and provides an account framed in a downgraded epistemic authority (*it could be a health thing*). Followed by other downgraded epistemic markers (*I guess, I don’t know*), she directs her gaze to John to seek his assistance. He then gazing back at Nina confirms the response by (*I could see that too*). In so doing both recipients bring an account on why coffin is used in burial practice in the US. The students’ hedging in responding may orient to the violation of category-bound epistemic obligations of institutional setting.

In this data the teacher brings up a topically coherent second story and situates her story in a geographical setting within the recipients’ membership knowledge to compare and contrast the burial practices of Muslims in Iran (the topic of the first telling) as opposed to in the US. As such, the contradiction of a Muslim being buried in a coffin is associated with the country and its regulations. The teacher brings up the question of burial practices of Muslims in the United States and through the claim of insufficient knowledge she invites the recipients to participate (Goodwin, 1986a). After the burial practices in Iran become topicalized and discussed, the teacher orients to the geographical setting of the story to address a cultural issue through which the students’ membership knowledge is made relevant. In so doing, her claim of insufficient knowledge works to mark her membership category as a non-American or immigrant and the students’ as Americans.
4.6. Summary

This chapter investigated the ways in which the teachers’ storytellings are occasioned in Persian language classrooms. The analysis showed that the teachers’ stories emerged in either first or second sequential positions to achieve particular pedagogically-oriented goals in the institutional setting of the classroom. The analysis illustrated that the stories launch in the first position in a step-wise transitionary manner or in an embedded fashion with less prefatory work. In step-wise transitions, the story is carefully launched after the teacher has prepared the groundwork with an extensive preamble. Although it cannot be said from when the telling becomes the teacher’s agenda, what is demonstrably observable in these types of telling is that the story is inferable from the pre-sequences and as the teller moves forward the talk foreshadows a story underway. Another way in which stories take the teller’s own initiative, the teacher embeds a story into the momentary talk with minimum prefatory work. In such cases, the groundwork is already set and the stories are occasioned by the immediately preceding talk. The analysis also demonstrated that the stories that come up in this fashion are constructed to show continuity to the preceding sequences.

In story launch from second position, a question usually provides the ground for the story. The questioning sequences that invite and elicit storytelling in institutional interactions have been specifically researched in interviews (e.g., Cuff & Francis, 1978; Labov & Waletzky, 1967, 1997; Liddicoat, 2007; Prior, 2015). In this study, however, the questions are not specifically designed to elicit a story, rather the questions provide an opportunity for the recipient to tell a story. The analysis also showed that the students’ questions may steer the interaction. This provides groundwork for stories in the classroom interaction. In the second tellings, the teachers
produce a topically coherent story to make a comparison or contrast using the point of the first story.

A variety of pedagogically-oriented actions were accomplished through the stories. As such, the stories were brought up by teachers to teach a language issue, to make relevant a cross-cultural point, to provide accounts, to elaborate or extend upon the ongoing pedagogical activities, and to bring the recipients’ membership knowledge to the institutional setting.

The analysis also revealed that teachers exploit a variety of semiotic resources in multifaceted ways to bring a story to the floor. Such resources included shifts of embodiments, enactments, attending to the pedagogical artifacts, and shifts of prosodic production.
CHAPTER 5: STORIES TOLD BY THE STUDENTS

5.1. Introduction

The analytic interest in this chapter is the ways stories are introduced by students in the classroom. There have been many studies on the use of stories by students in language classes examining their pedagogical benefits as preplanned pedagogical activities (e.g., Huang, 2006; Kim, 2010; Sadik, 2008; Tsou, Wang & Tzeng, 2006; Yazdanpanah, 2012). The stories are usually tasked to the students as instructional tools incorporated into lesson plans and embedded in the overall pedagogical concept in a prepackaged format. As discussed in the previous chapters, the conversation analytic approach adopted in this work highlights the *telling* of stories as occasioned activities as they emerge naturally in the classroom interaction.

As noted in Chapter 3, the number of stories produced by students in the present study data is remarkably smaller than those produced by teachers. In total, there are thirteen stories by students in both intermediate and advanced classrooms. The stories are sequentially occasioned in second position prompted by the teachers (7 cases), as a second telling (5 cases), or in first position initiated by the teller (1 case). Since the majority of student-produced stories are from the intermediate class, the representative excerpts selected in this chapter are mostly from the intermediate class. The five stories represented in this chapter are one story initiated in the first position in the intermediate class (Excerpt 5.2.1), three stories prompted by the teachers, two in the intermediate (Excerpt 5.3.4, Excerpt 5.3.7) and one in the advanced class (Excerpt 5.3.1), and one story occasioned by the first telling in the intermediate class (Excerpt 5.4.1).

The analysis shows that the situated production of students’ stories is shaped in and for the accomplishment of institutional goal(s). Examining the trajectory of the stories’ initiations and
the actions performed through storytelling, the analysis illustrated how multiple curricular agendas and goals are enacted on the ground in the Persian language classrooms.

5.2. Story Launch from First Position

The following excerpt is the first story of Excerpt 4.5.1 in Chapter 4. We join the excerpt when the class is preparing to read a lesson titled “Symbolic Coffin”. The students start working on a pre-reading question, which is “what are the customs of mourning in Iran?” (آداب عزادرای در ایران چیست؟). The class becomes involved in a discussion about the question and for the most part the teacher talks about the mourning customs in Iran. She also mentions that coffins are used in funerals but does not mention their particular function. Using the title of their lesson, Nina asks if people are buried in coffins in Iran.

**Excerpt 5.2.1 Intermediate Class: Coffin**

(T = teacher; N = Nina; J = John)

---

```
01  N: so I was confused by this because we were talking about like
02  we were talking about like
03  +=<s:::ymbolic coffins or +↑something like-->
04  +=NODS +GZ>BOOK +Ok but (.). hh
```

---

n +GZ>BOOK +RH ON BOOK (Fig. 5.2.1.1)
j +GZ>N

Nina: so I was confused because we were talking about like symbolic coffins or something like ->

Teacher: Ok but (.). hh
The excerpt begins with Nina’s turn displaying uncertainty or negative epistemic claim. The overt labeling of psychological state as confused marks some sort of trouble and is heard as a preliminary action that projects a question or a clarification request as conditionally relevant next actions (Schegloff, 1980, 1992; See also Auer, 2005). Nina’s embodiments (gazing at the book, putting her right hand on the book) along with the indexical reference by this index the textbook as the source of her talk. As such, Nina orients to the textbook not only as a resource for the talk but also as a basis for constructing her emerging actions. She then formulates her turn in reference to the prior talk in line 2 and constructs the trouble source in a verbally and visually
marked fashion in line 3. “Symbolic Coffin” is the title of the reading text, which is
problematized by Nina through the prosodic features of elongating symbolic and embodiment
(wrinkling eyes). Nina’s orientation (gaze shift) to John in formulating symbolic coffins could
address her turn as a collective question. The teacher’s orientation to the book shows the
essential role of the pedagogical artifact (the textbook) in preparation for the forthcoming third-
turn action. The construction or something like works as an epistemic hedge that marks
vagueness or uncertainty about symbolic coffins. After she topicalizes symbolic coffins, she
closes the pre-sequence move with ok in line 4 and initiates an action prefaced by the contrast
marker but, which projects a contrast to what symbolic coffins may imply. Her turn is heard as a
pre-expansion (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1988, 1990) that is designed to be preliminary to some
projected base sequence. The verbal response (a head nod) by the teacher in line 4 is a go-ahead
response that accepts the recipiency of the projected talk and indexes her as the addressed
recipient. Nina’s question in line 5 is formulated in polar format (Raymond, 2003) with a final
rising intonation. The expansion of her question really or they don’t comes in overlap with the
teacher’s reply. The lexical choice of really comes off in contrast to symbolic. By questioning the
cultural practices of people in the target community, Nina evokes the teacher’s membership
knowledge. As such, the participants orient toward the category-bound activity of the
standardized relational pair teacher-student, which carries specific morals and obligations, e.g.,
students ask questions when they feel confused about some pedagogical material and teachers
provide responses and resolve confusion.

The question (Do they bury people in coffins?) is designed to receive a positive answer but
upon receiving a negative one in line 7 at the transition relevance place, the expansion comes in
overlap to change the preference structure of the question. After the teacher’s response is
acknowledged by Nina in line 8, the teacher initiates a turn to describe the function of coffins in line 9 (this coffin is mostly) but abandons it to give an account about why coffins are not used (because in Islam it’s forbidden). In so doing, the teacher first responds to the question and orients toward Nina’s preliminary to resolve the confusion by explaining the part coffins play, if not for burial. The sequence reaches a possible completion point with the student acknowledgment tokens in lines 12 and 14.

Excerpt 5.2.2

j  +SHAKES HEAD
j  +RAISES BROWS
n  +GZ>j
17 J:  [(x) +so +coffins +aren’t used

n  +GZ>T
18 T:  +no [in Islam they aren’t used
19 J:  [°(for burying)°

n  +MOVES BH RAPIDLY, DEPICTING LAYERS OF CLOTHES
20 N:  +so just the (.). shroud °and then°=
   +OPENS BH
21 T:  =↑yes they have [ak- a piece of +cloth
22 J:   [u:h

   +MOVES RH CIRCULARLY
23 T:  +which is long and they

   MOVES RH CIRCULARLY--
24 .hh (.). put it around they call it Kafan;
25 (0.2)
26 J:  [uhum
27 T:  [and it’s made of:: cotton or so
   +MOVES RH CIRCULARLY
28 .hhh so +they put it around the body↑
29 (.). they cover it [all the way
30 N:  [°uhm°
   +BH DOWN
31 T:  .hh and then when they +put the body
32 on the (0.7) I mean grave u:::hm (0.2)
33 they just put dust on it
34 (0.6)

n  +NODS
In line 17, John formulates a question in the form of an upshot, accompanied by gestures (shaking head, raising eyebrows) designed to prefer a negative response. Nina’s upshot of the teacher’s explanation, in turn, comes in line 20 and displays her understanding by proposing the word *shroud* which, along with her embodied action, demonstrates her epistemic knowledge. After the teacher confirms Nina’s upshot in line 21, she explains the vocabulary item and proposes the Persian word for shroud (*kafan*). In so doing, she makes relevant “shroud” as the object of knowledge in the emergent interactional contingencies and turns it into a “learnable” (see Majlesi & Broth, 2012). This is oriented to as a vocabulary teaching moment in which she uses deictic gestures to make the learnable observable for the students (Eskildsen & Wagner, 2013; Majlesi, 2015). She not only explains what a shroud is but also elaborates on how it is a part of burial practices (lines 21-33). The teacher marks the closure of her turn with the falling intonation contour in line 33 and the sequence closes with Nina’s receipt token in line 35.

Excerpt 5.2.3

35 N:  +o::k
36 (0.2)

37 N:  +.hh oh I was +freadingf (0.2)
38 something about NAME when he died¿
39 J:  uhm
N: and they said that there were too many people?

T: +NODS (Fig. 5.2.3.2)
  +MOVES BH CIRCULAR IN OPPOSITE DIRECTION
n
T: +NODS
n
T: [+uhum
n
N: but then .hh (0.2) there were- (0.2)
  people were making trouble

T: +NODS
n
n  +DROPS LH (Fig. 5.2.3.3)
  +TILTS HEAD L----
46 he was like (0.2) +pie(hhh)ces (of)---
  TILTS HEAD-----
47 he was coming out
J: [uhm
N: [.hh so they had to take him and

n  +MOVES BH IN OPPOSITE DIRECTION
50 +put him in a coffin (0.3)

T: +NODS-----------------------------
In line 37, Nina initiates a new action that is hearable as a story preface. Her move to a new action is indexed by the inbreath and embodied actions – she shifts her gaze from the teacher to John, raises her eyebrows and smiles. The *oh* acts as a disjunct marker to display sudden remembering in the story launch (Jefferson, 1978). As such, *oh* marks the story as having been triggered by the teacher’s prior talk and marks a disjunction between the teacher’s talk and the upcoming story. Bolden (2006) also notes that oh-prefaced utterances regularly occur after a conversational matter is closed to “display the speaker’s stance toward the introduced matter as being just now remembered” (p. 678) and is overwhelmingly “self-attentive.” She introduces her
story as describing a past reading experience about the time a famous political figure in Iran
died. The initial evaluative stance she is taking toward the story is projected in the preface, which
makes relevant a reciprocal stance by the recipients (Stivers, 2008). The laughter particles (I was
+£reading£) accompanied by a shift of facial expressions project a humorous story that is
primarily designed for John as the primary addressee and the teacher as the secondary co-present
recipient. In the production of the multiunit turn, Nina holds the floor through the slight rising
intonation at the end of died and attaches the next turn in an and-initiating turn (line 40). The
indirect reported speech they said that comes in the form of a general statement to remove her
from the moral responsibility. In line 41, Nina recycles the same gesture to link the ongoing story
to the previous talk, and the prosodic features of in the shroud highlights the topical coherence of
the story and the prior talk. Although the recipients show alignment through continuers (lines 39
and 43) and nodding (lines 41 and 43), there is no observable affiliative uptake during the telling.

The construction but then followed by an inbreath (hearable as the pre-punchline) projects
the punchline of the story, which is formulated in lines 46 and 47 (he was like pie(hh)ces of- he
was coming out) with two self-repairs. Nina construct the punchline verbally through laughter
particles that revisit the humorous stance and non-verbally by shifting the mode of representation
from description to enactment. Although the lexical choice of pieces is self-repaired, it marks an
abnormal categorization of the figure in the “objects” collection that is designed to achieve an
amusing stance. The falling out of shroud is constructed as amusing but the recipients do not
orient toward it as such. The recipients’ absence of affiliation could be related to the moral
implicature of the story. Objectifying a person and talking about his death in a humorous fashion
brings moral obligations to the interaction. The progression of events in the story shows that
because of the uncontrollability of the situation, the people use a coffin for carrying the person,
which confirms the teacher’s explanation of using coffins for carrying in burial practices. In
doing so, Nina reiterates the teacher’s point about the cultural and religious practices and the
functions of coffins and shrouds in funerals through a storytelling, which is directly related to the
pre-reading question.

The story closes in line 52 marked by falling intonation and laughter particles in producing
shroud, marking it as the amusing point of the story. John’s response to the story in lines 53 and
54, accompanied by a slight smile and pointing at Nina, is minimally affiliative. However, his
verbal formulation of having heard about the story undermines the tellability of the story. In line
55, Nina’s self-assessment of the story maintains her affective stance and is in response to the
absence of a display of appreciation on the part of the addressed recipient. While the teacher’s
response to the story claims independent epistemic access (I have seen), it also aligns with a
certain aspect of the story (there were so:: many people). Overall, the recipients do not show a
substantial display of appreciation for the story.

The analysis shows that the story is occasioned in a touched-off remembrance fashion after a
language item is interactionally topicalized by Nina and the teacher. By initiating a story about a
popular figure in Iran, Nina brings her cultural competencies to the class. In so doing, she
contributes to the topic through a storytelling that properly fits the pedagogical agenda. Nina
designs it as a funny story, detailing how the use of shroud for burial practices turned into a
complicated uncontrollable situation. Her affective stance during the telling is amusing and she
maintains it to the end as she assesses it herself. The teacher aligns to the story by displaying her
membership knowledge.
5.3. Story Launch from Second Position

In the following excerpt from the advanced classroom, the story is occasioned by the teacher’s question. The class is discussing the character and life of Mohammad-Reza Shah Pahlavi, the last shah of Iran, after they have listened to an interview about it at home. The interview is about Abbas Milan’s book “The Shah”. The teacher asks the students to give their opinions on the interview. Before the following excerpt, Lida is talking about the shah’s character. Then, the teacher asks Nita, a heritage student, about her opinion on the subject, which prompts Nita’s story. Unfortunately, the teacher and Jace are off camera in this data segment. Therefore, only their talk is documented. Jace is on the far left and the teacher is on the far right in Figure 5.3.1.1.

Excerpt 5.3.1 Advanced Class: the shah

(T = teacher; N = Nita; L = Lida; M = Mac; J = Jace)

01 N:  mesle uh (0.5) Lida mæn hæm (0.3)
like Lida I also
Like Lida, I also

02 fekr kærdæm ke +xeili (0.7)
think-1SG that very

03 mosahebe jaleb bud,(.) .hhh
interview interesting was
thought that the interview was very interesting
Because my mother always

I think in her thoughts of the past

always, I don’t know

always popular

she remembered
she remembered

Aligning with Lida’s prior assessment, Nita formulates her assessment of the interview as interesting (lines 1-3). She manages to hold the floor by ending the TCU with slightly rising intonation, followed by a micropause and a pre-speech in-breath. The turn initial ġon (because) in line 4 projects an account. She embodies her launching into the story preface by shifting the direction of her gaze to the front, which along with formulation madāraem (my mother) and a continuation marker vae (and) project a multi-unit turn. The category “my mother” introduces the main protagonist into the story. Furthermore, belonging to the membership categorization device “family”, “my mother” is heard as member of the same family as the teller (“consistency rule”, Sacks, 1972). The standardized relational pair “mother-daughter” activates certain category-bound predicates like daughters learning from their mothers or gaining second-hand experience through the parents’ cultural practices. After a pause of four tenths of a second and adverbial time (always) being cut-off, she adds a parenthetical insert (Mazeland, 2007) in line 5 which provides background knowledge that is relevant to the story. Then she returns to the halted TCU with ĥəmiše (always) in line 6. The use of extreme case formulation ĥəmiše (always) works to index a recurrent practice of the mother. The negative epistemic display nemidunæm (I don’t know) in the turn-medial position is coupled with extreme case formulation to indicate the speaker’s stance on what is to come as exaggerated and not to be taken literally (Weatherall, 2011). After she delivers the word mæhbub (popular), she self-repairs with its noun form mæhbubiyæt (popularity) and shifts her gaze to the teacher. The gaze shift may orient to her seeking confirmation for the lexical selection but it cannot be confirmed because of non-
availability of the teacher’s embodiments. The turn coming in segments shows her difficulty in producing the TCU. Marking *maehubiyæte Shah* (shah’s popularity) with the direct object marker *ro*, she pauses and shifts her gaze to and from the teacher. As she produces the verb *dasht* (have) half-way in line 8, she cuts it off and displays a word search through her hand movements (Hayashi, 2003).

The teacher responds to this call for assistance by co-completing the turn with a candidate solution *yadeš bud* (remembered) produced with a slightly rising intonation (line 9) to signal to Nita that a response is required. Since Persian is a SOV language, the co-completion of the utterance is presented with the verb (remembered) at the end of a TCU. Thus, the story preface is interactionally produced with the help of teacher. Nita’s repetition in line 10 comes in a partial overlap to confirm the correction. The repetition displays her independent epistemic stance (Stivers, 2005) and she then immediately projects continuation of her telling by an inbreath. The teacher, however, proffers another candidate understanding of Nita’s turn in the form of an indirect reported speech *goft Shah mæhbub bude* (she said the shah was popular) and indexes it with a final rising-intoned confirmation seeking *ha* to elicit recipient response. The teacher uses the adjective *maehub* correctly which was used by Nita in line 7 incorrectly. In so doing, he initiates an embedded correction (Jefferson, 1987) which is a device for repairing as “a by-the-way occurrence in some ongoing course of talk” (p. 95). The use of reported speech can be heard as orienting to the talk as a story. As such, the story becomes subject to *in situ* revision and collaborative construction with the teacher as the main addressed recipient.

**Excerpt 5.3.2**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>+GZ&gt;AIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>N: bæle væ hæmiše (. ) +&gt;nemidunæm&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes and always know-NG-1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, and always, I don’t know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84
14 hær sal ke Noruz (0.5) miad,(.) every year that Noruz come-3SG every Noruz that comes

15 uhm (0.6) +ækse xanevadeš +ra (1.0) photo family-SP OM

16 +n:: +negah mikone: væ nemidunam
    look-3SG and know-NG-1SG
    she looks at his family photo

17 T: ækse +xanevade sæltanæti-ro xanevade +Shah-o:¿
    photo family royal-OM family Shah-OM
    The photo of the royal family, the shah’s family

18 N: bærainke a- hær sal because every year
    Because every year

19 fekr mikonæm (.)æks migiræn
    think-1SG take photo-3PL
    I think they take pictures

20 (0.5)
In excerpt 5.3.2, Nita further elaborates on her mother’s practices during Noruz (Persian New Year) building on the previous talk concerning her interest in the shah’s family. Looking at pictures of the shah is constructed as a category-bound activity tied to the mother’s orientation to shah’s popularity. As she is describing her mother’s practices, she drops her mouth slightly to suggest her disapproval of what the mother does. Her embodied action throughout the storytelling display her affective stance towards her report (Stivers, 2008). The teacher’s other-initiated repair (line 17) works to make it explicit for the entire class that she is talking about the royal family. The repair, however, does not get confirmed by Nita; rather it receives an account with a hedging expression *fek mikonaem* (I think) in line 17. Then, she adds to her description *væ bæraye Noruz* (and for Noruz) and rolls her eyes to display her disapproving stance again. Nita’s negative epistemic claims (lines 13, 16, 22) in the course of describing the mother’s practices works to distance the teller from the protagonist and projects an uncertain stance.

**Excerpt 5.3.3**

8 lines omitted

30 N: bæle xob væ hičvæqt (.).hhh m- (0.3)  
Yes well and never
31. dærbareyeš (0.3) m- (0.2) fæqæt (0.2) about-SP only
   Yes, well and I never about him

32. +GZ>T
   +in næzær daštæm this opinion had-1SG
   I only had this opinion

33. +GZ>AIR
   madæ- +na- næzær-e madæræm opinion-EZ mother-SP
   my mother’s opinion

34. væli hičvaght [°næzær-e°
   but never opinion-EZ
   but never opinion of

35. T: [næzær-e mosbæt ha¿ opinion-EZ positive
   positive opinion, huh?

36. +PNT>SELF
   +xodæm nædaštæm (0.3) dærbare Shah væ (0.5)
   myself had-NG-1SG about Shah and
didn’t have my own opinion about the shah and

37. fek kærdæm ke (1.1) yek (1.3) šæxs-e (.)
   think-1SG that a person-EZ
   I thought that

38. +TURNS DOWN MOUTH (Fig. 5.3.3.1)
   +xeili (0.2) æji(hh)bi bu(hh)d very strange was that
   very strange was that

39. +2Fs COVER MOUTH
   ke .hh +(1.4)
   he was a very strange man that
In the omitted lines the teacher mentions the message that the shah’s son issues for Noruz every year. After the teacher’s increment about the shah’s son, Nita delivers a confirmation in alignment with the teacher and returns to the action of giving her opinion about the shah (line 30). The extreme case formulation *hičväeqt* (never) gets abandoned in line 30 and following an in-breath, Nita explicitly states her previous opinion about the Shah as that of her mother’s. Expressing her opinion in the past tense (line 32) puts her in at a certain life stage and activates the category-resonant predicate of “kids following parents’ ideas” at younger age. In line 33, the contrast marker *vaëlî* (but) and extreme case formulation *hičväeqt* (never) are reused, projecting her opposing opinion. In line 35, the teacher initiates repair by proffering a candidate understanding that assess the mother’s opinion as positive. The turn-final produced with vowel elongation and rising pitch *ha* functions like a tag to elicit confirmation but it does not. The absence of confirmation by Nita comes off as indicating dispreference. She, instead, continues with an emphasis on *xodaem* (myself) to deliver the upshot of her telling. In this way, she characterizes her opinion as dependent upon the mother’s at a younger life stage and contrasts it with her current opinion. The prosodic and embodied features of her turn heighten the rhetorical impact of the contrast she successfully builds by means of the storytelling. In line 37, Nita starts giving evaluative assessment of the shah, featuring it with semiotic resources of facial expression and laughter. In the subsequent turns, omitted in the interest of the focal analytic phenomenon, she delivers her opinion of the shah in negative assessment terms (i.e., powerless, coward).

The story comes up in second position as part of the response element in an IRF sequence. The data shows how the student manages to respond the teacher’s question through storytelling and how the teacher, as the primary story recipient, interactively construct the story prefacing. The teacher’s question provides the ground for the story. The story is solicited (Schegloff, 1997)
and is occasioned by the context of talk, which is a political object. The storyteller makes her evaluative stance towards the interview available to recipients and construct the story as an account for her assessment to argue for her opposing opinion. Her affective stance throughout the storytelling is communicated through the multimodal resources (Burch & Kasper, 2016; Kasper & Prior, 2015a; Kupetz, 2014; Lamb, 2016; Selting, 2010). The cluster of the teller’s epistemic stance marker, along with her facial expressions further constructs her evaluative stance toward the protagonist of the story. In so doing, the student manages to distance herself from the mother’s enthusiasm of the shah and construct her own opinion which is the ongoing pedagogical agenda.

The following is another example of stories produced by students in second position. The excerpts are from the intermediate classroom in which a student embarks on a story following the teacher’s question. The first excerpt begins with a follow-up activity the students are going to do after they read a text about a “کنيسای” (synagogue) in Tehran. Ray is a heritage student who migrated to the US more than thirty years ago and is attending the class to maintain his Persian language skills. He is Jewish, which is considered a religious minority in Iran. We join the following excerpt when the teacher is delivering a third turn of an IRF sequence and closing it down. She then initiates a new activity by choosing a follow-up question of the text.

**Excerpt 5.3.4 Intermediate Class: the inquisition**

(T = teacher; J = John; R = Ray; K = Kevin)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t</th>
<th>+GZ&gt;BOOK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>+GZ&gt;T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01 T: +°yeah° ok mersi, (.) +txob</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 thanks ok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 (0.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3 Iran's Jewish community is officially recognized as a religious minority group by the government, and, like the Zoroastrians and Christians, they are allocated one seat in the Iranian Parliament.
Now, here it’s written, I think Ray can answer these questions.

Page one hundred twenty-five, the first question.

You can have your research.

The history of the Jewish community of Iran.
13  T:  so
14  (0.7)

Fig. 5.3.4.3
r               +GZ>BOOK (Fig. 5.3.4.3)

r               +PICKS UP GLASSES
15  T:  >I mean< what +if:-

Fig. 5.3.4.4
r              +PUTS ON GLASSES (Fig. 5.3.4.4)
16  for how long +the: (0.3)[uh:
17  R:           [oh since when
18  [they have been there
19  T:           [yeah since yeah
20  (0.3)
21  T:  for [how many years (x)

Fig. 5.3.4.5
j
22  R:          +GZ>R (Fig. 5.3.4.5)
   [the story is that Kuroš +(0.9)

With an orientation to the book and a boundary marker $xob$, the teacher announces her move to the next activity in line 1. With location deixis indexing the textbook as the referent $inha$ (here), she starts to introduce the next activity but she stops to select Ray as a qualified candidate respondent to the questions. In a multi-turn insertion sequence initiated with an epistemic stance downgrade $fek konæm$ (I think), she selects Ray as the next speaker. The prosodic features of her turn marks the end of the insertion sequence. The teacher then gives directive the students to a
specific part of the book safeye sødø bisto pæ:nj so?ale ævval (page one hundred twenty-five, the first question). In so doing, the teacher makes her planning interactionally available to the students by giving directive in reference to the textbook as a resource for the institutional interaction. John orient to the directive by taking off his glasses and looking at the book. Then the teacher switches to English to produce a pre- to the initiation turn. By saying you can have your research, she suggests other alternative sources and, after the contrast marker but, she introduces Ray as an available source. She marks the immediate availability of a very good source with the turn-initial indexical marker here which is accompanied by pointing at Ray to reselect him as the next speaker (line 9). Deploying pointing gestures as embodied turn-allocations with or without concurring verbal constructions is a common practice in initiating IRF sequence in the classroom context (Kääntä, 2012).

Having characterized Ray as a very good source for the topic of “history of the Jewish community of Iran”, the teacher categorizes him as either, if not both, a knowledgeable person on the topic or a member of the Iranian Jewish community. The teacher’s upgraded positive evaluative assessment of Ray (a very good source) entails membership knowledge and epistemic asymmetries (Heritage, 2012). The contrast formulation as well as the marked reference to the co-present person is treated as humorous by John (line 10). Note that John’s gaze is directed at the teacher as she is allocating response turn to Ray through pointing gesture in line 8. The teacher applies implicit and inferential category work to invoke the relevant categories of “Jewish” and “Iranian.” In so doing, she accounts for why she nominated Ray in the first place.

In line 11, the teacher reads the topic of the question in Persian and reenters the initiation part while using the textbook material to structure the institutional actions. The teacher’s gaze at Ray as she is producing Iran alongside other indicators work to select and nominate Ray as the next
speaker. Although the falling intonation at the end of line 11 marks the completion of her turn, this receives no uptake by Ray. As such, an insertion sequence (lines 15-21) is placed between the initiation and respond parts. After a (0.4) pause, the teacher delivers a free-standing so to prompt the recipient’s actions (Raymond, 2004). The absence of the second pair part (respond turn) could be because of the way she formats her initiation turn in line 11. Note that she makes reference to the questions in the textbook (line 4) and projects her next action as asking the questions but in line 11 she designs the syntactic structure of her turn in the form of a noun phrase. Upon receiving no uptake after a (0.7) pause in line 14, she initiates a self-repair I mean and cuts off to reformulate the topic for how long, treating the absence of uptake as indicating lexical trouble with the topic delivered in Persian. In lines 17 and 18, Ray delivers his candidate understanding in overlap, marked by a change of state token (Heritage, 1984). After being confirmed in line 19, Ray enters a story in overlap with the teacher’s additional reformulation for how many years. Ray’s rush to respond in overlap with the teacher’s turn can be heard as a compensatory act of the delay (dispreferred action) in the preceding turns.

Excerpt 5.3.5

22 R: [the story is that Kuruš↑ + (0.9)]

23 +u:hm + (0.3) freed (0.2) the Jews that were (0.9)

Fig. 5.3.5.1
Ray explicitly labels his response as a *story*. By labeling it as a story, Ray orients to the narrative nature of talk (See Stokoe and Edwards, 2006) and thus invokes the category story with certain structure. As soon as Ray’s response gets underway, the other students show an orientation to it. John puts on his glasses and Kevin, who had been looking at his laptop previously, starts looking at the book as the source of the talk in progress. The prosodic format of the turn highlights the specific person reference *Kuruš* (Cyrus) and projects it as the focus of the story to follow. The story preface is marked by the provision of contextual information (person, place). In doing person (*Kuruš*) and place (*Babylon*) referential practices, Ray makes his membership knowledge demonstratively observable. He designs his talk in ways which displays
orientation to the recipients. The time referential, in line 27, comes as a formulation of duration, which was what the teacher originally asked for. As such, he is designing his answer as projected by the question. He also exchanges gaze both to the teacher as the primary recipient and to John who maintains his gaze at Ray during the storytelling.

Ray’s deployment of reported speech (lines 29 & 30) as a rhetorical resource works to invoke voices in reconstructing the historical event. His reported speech invokes participants’ category-resonant knowledge of Persian history in Hebrew Bible. It is also relevantly associated with an assessment which is implicitly made by the structure of the reported words; giving options to the Jews enslaved is hearable as a chivalrous move which indexes his evaluative stance. The explicit assessment (so he was really really good) comes off as an upshot of the story and also tell the recipients how to interpret the story.

Line 32 (and he gave them complete freedom of religion) is the punchline of the story, which only receives affiliation by the teacher’s embodied action (nodding) and high pitched receipt token (u↑hum). The punchline is heard as an admiring statement that highlights Ray’s identity as a Jew in relation to Cyrus’s actions. The upgraded positive assessment prefaced with the inferential marker so, designed in the upshot format, ends the turn constructional unit; note the falling pitch contour at the end of good. The category-resonant descriptions of “freeing the Jews” and “giving them complete freedom of religion” demonstrate Ray’s membership knowledge of the Jews in the Persian history.
Excerpt 5.3.6 Second story: My family

r  +RH PNT>HIMSELF (Fig. 5.3.6.1)
36  +↑my own family (0.4) is believed to have come (.)

k  +GZ>R
37  +after (0.5) the inquisition in Spain from Spain

38  +NODS--
39  + (0.2)

t  +NODS--
39  so

t  +NODS
40  T:  [uhum

j  +NODS SLIGHTLY
41  J:  +[hm

k  +MOVES HEAD UP SLIGHTLY
42  K:  +[hm
43  (0.3)
44  R:  these are the Jews[that

k  +MOVES TORSO L to R (Fig. 5.3.6.2)
45  +DROPS MOUTH, RH UNDER CHIN

46  R:  +went to Kašan they still had even
47  some (0.6) some Spanish words
48  (0.5)

49  T:  +[hm

r  +GZ>K
You know there is also a big group of Jews that moved to Turkey and they have a language called Ladino.

It's a cross between Hebrew and Spanish but so when did they leave Spain the ones that left was fourteen ninety-two.

It's the same as when kicked out the Muslims.

So that's the story from my family.

There are two more lines that I did not explain.
In line 36, after no pause, Ray launches into a personal telling with an upward intonation contour in ↑my own family. A second story commonly appears by different speaker(s) to display intersubjectivity. However, in this excerpt, it is the same student producing a second story. The second stories can be linked to the first by continuing the topic and commenting on the same characters and events (Sacks, 1992). By doing a second story, Ray is continuing the topic with more specific characters – his family. In so doing, he moves from a historical narration to a personal story. The formulation of ↑my own family is hearable as a category belonging to Jewish collection (hearer’s maxim). The time reference is formulated by description of the historical event (after the inquisition) which later becomes a trouble source for one of the recipients. The free-standing so (Raymond, 2004) prompts recipients’ acknowledgement in overlap with each other (lines 40, 41, & 42).

At line 44, Ray changes the reference frame from my family to these are the Jews to mark the Jews as a collection incumbent of his family. Kevin shows active listenership in line 45 by uttering the high-pitched receipt token ↑um, taking a thinking pose, repositioning himself to a closer position to Ray and putting his hand under chin.

In the following turns, Ray makes his membership knowledge observable. Ray’s use of place references makes his membership knowledge explicit in terms of the accomplishment and display of geographical knowledge in institutional contexts (see Drew, 1978; McHoul & Watson, 1984). The category-bound predicates of being a good source of a community is to know the history of their living place, language. Ray skillfully activates these predicates by referencing the places to which the Jews moved (Kashan, Turkey) and the languages (Spanish, Ladino) they spoke. By demonstrating his geographical knowledge through place references, he is performing having epistemic authority and, thus, being a good source.
Kevin initiates a repair sequence in line 57 (but so when did they leave Spain). The repair initiator locates the trouble source for Ray as a time reference (see Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). The repair gets resolved in lines 59 and 60, and in line 61 Kevin demonstrates understanding (Sacks, 1992) by recognizing the historical event happening at the same time and by performing an embodied display of surprise (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). After being confirmed by the candidate formulation yeah the inquisition yeah, the sequence gets closed down with another round of confirmation, and the turn-final ok ok finally closes down the sequence. After a long gap (1.3), Ray delivers a soft acknowledgement token (yeah) and, with a so-prefacing inferential marker, the upshot of the sequence is delivered at line 67. In delivering the upshot, he labels it the story of my family. Ray meta-formulates his talk as a “story” twice at key points (at the story preface and uptake) and in so doing orients to the response element as requiring doing a storytelling. The emphasis on my characterizes a personal story and evokes his identity. The sequence closes down with the teacher’s assessment (ok xeili xub bud) which merely orients to the institutional function of the story. The interaction features institutional and official functions although Ray characterizes it as a personal story (story of my own family). The recipients, however, do not orient to the story as a personal one at its completion where recipients can exhibit their possible understanding (Sacks, 1992). They could have asked, for example, if Ray knows a little Spanish or what city his family moved in Iran to, but no one does.

The analysis showed how the student’s storytelling is occasioned by the teacher’s question as part of the classroom activity. The story comes in the response part of an IRF sequence and the teacher’s feedback sequence orients toward the underlying institutional agenda upon its completion. The teacher makes the student’s identity relevant to solicit a story and thereby conduct the institutional business of providing answer to a question in the textbook. The
categorization practices become a resource for the participants’ actions. As such, Ray’s cultural and historical membership knowledge takes on its relevance to the moment at hand. The teacher relevantly invoked category membership to accomplish the pedagogical task as a locally occasioned matter. As such, Ray’s transportable identity (Zimmerman, 1998), as a Jewish person, constitutes a locus for a set of rights and obligations in relation to the recipients in the classroom context. In the progression of the storytelling, Ray further invokes category-resonant descriptions of Cyrus’s actions in relation to the Jews to demonstrate himself a good source and performs the pedagogical project of informing the participants about the history of the Jewish community in Iran.

The following excerpt is another example of stories produced by students in second position. The excerpt come from the intermediate class when the class has just started. It is a Monday and Nina is the only student present in the class. The teacher is setting up the computer and catching up with the student on what she did in the weekend. Unfortunately, the teacher is not in view of the camera in this excerpt.

**Excerpt 5.3.7 Intermediate Class: Weekend**

```
01 T: xob Nina +tætilat xub bud axære hæfte¿
   Ok Nina holiday good was weekend
   Ok Nina did you have a good holiday? weekend?
   (1.4)

03 N: uhm
   +NODS SLIGHTLY

04 T: axære hæfte +xub bud?
   Weekend good was
   Did you have a good weekend?
   (.)
```
In line 1 with the transition marker *xob* (ok) and a verbal address term (*Nina*), the teacher initiates a question about the weekend. It is a yes-no question which is prospectively self-repaired at the same-turn (Schegloff, 1979) by adding a candidate word *axære hæfte* (weekend) for *tætilat* (holiday). The teacher’s same turn self-repair is post-positioned with concentration on the lexical item “*tætilat*” to make it recognizable by Nina. Following a 1.4-second transition silence, Nina initiates her turn with a filler (*uhm*). Receiving minimal uptake after a long pause prompts the teacher to repeat her question with a highlighted *axære* which treats the lexical item as the potential source of interactional trouble.

In line 6, Nina proffers an affirmative response *xub bud* (it was good) which affirms the positive assessment of the weekend. Note that the turn comes in with repetition and pauses which displays difficulty in construction the TCU. The teacher confirms Nina’s answer by repeating it and reformulates the question in the open format at line 9. Nina’s answer displays an orientation
to a particular question type, a yes/no interrogative. The teacher’s reformulation of the question index that the question would not be adequately answered with an affirmative response but requires extended talk on the proposed topic. The teacher’s laughter token followed by reformulated question orients to the absence of uptake and minimize the dispreference of it. Moreover, shifting the structure of the question from yes-no to open format works to elicit extended sequences of talk.

**Excerpt 5.3.8**

11 (0.4)

12 N: +u::h: °°x I did°° (2.3) I had a (0.2) t. (0.8)

13 +nahar↑ (0.2) u::h (0.6) ba xahære mæn¿
Lunch with sister-EZ my
Lunch with my sister

14 T: aha:¿

15 N: uhm: (0.5) +væ:: (0.3)
Nina’s turn, in line 12, is marked with perturbation token *um*, sound stretches, and shifting gaze and taking a thinking pose which show her difficulty assembling the turn in target language. She shakes her head and initiates in English *I had a* and switches to Persian with *nahar* (lunch). The shift of embodiment (Fig. 5.3.8.2) along with the prosodically marked high-pitched *nahar* makes her turn observably oriented to the pedagogical context. Thus her turn design displays institutional relevancies of the occasion. The turn, in line 13, comes in (one-word/one-phrase) units displaying her difficulty in producing the target language and the final element is try-marked with rising intonation to achieve the teacher’s confirmation, which it gets. The teacher’s continuer *aha* produced with rising intonation works to play two functions: 1. It claims understanding of the prior talk and 2. It orients to Nina’s talk as an extended multi-unit turn like...
a storytelling (Schegloff, 1982). In so doing the teacher elicits more talk and align herself as a recipient of it.

In line 15, Nina employs the elongated continuity marker *æ::* (and) and shift of embodiment to hold the floor by indexing the continuity of her talk and taking a thinking pose. However, after a long two-second pause (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986), Nina’s claim of insufficient knowledge along with headshakes serve as a warrant that brings the difficulty to the forefront (Sert, 2013). By claiming insufficient knowledge, she verbalizes her difficulty and initiates repair. The combination of verbal and nonverbal resources (silences, averting gaze, shaking head, smiling/laughter, claim of insufficient knowledge) prompts the teacher’s response which is cut off with the student’s question. In line 18, Nina switches to English and requests for a lexical item and provides a candidate response in a try-marked fashion. The teacher provides the sought-for lexical item and Nina confirms it with repetition at line 20, showing acceptance of the other-repair.

**Excerpt 5.3.9**

21 T: *aha* (0.2)
22  
23 N: *u:h* (0.2)
24 T: *ba *áhær-etun xærid kærðin*
   with sister-SP shop-2PL-SPs
   You went shopping with your sister

25 (0.2)

n  +NODS SLIGHTLY
26 N: *+uhum*
27 (0.3)

n  +NODS--
28 T: *o:r be xærid ræftæ- +ræftid*
   to shopping go-2PL-SPs
   You went shopping

   +NODS--
29 you went shopping

   NODS--

   NODS
In line 21, the teacher produces another continuer (aha) with rising intonation to elicit more talk. After receiving minimal uptake, the teacher, in line 24, prompt another yes-no question which pursues the line of her telling ba xahaer-etun xærid kærdin (did you go shopping with your sister?). Upon receipt of minimal confirmation (uhum), the teacher uses the opportunity as a teachable moment to teach the lexical item (see Majlesi, 2015). As such, she provides another formulation of the sentence (line 28) followed by its translation in English (line 29).

The story is produced in minimal units of talk to provide response to the teacher’s inquiry about the weekend. The teacher orients to the nature of talk as a storytelling by returning the floor to the student with the use of continuers. The student provides the story units by units as her limited linguistic knowledge delays its production. The telling is put on hold as the teller searches for words and it continues once the word is provided by the teacher. Despite the teacher’s expertise in the language, the student as the teller has the ultimate authority over the story. As the student runs into production difficulties, she requests conversational help from the teacher which indexes the category-bound identities of the interactants. The analysis shows the teacher’s effort at soliciting extended talk and production of such by the student makes a co-constructed storytelling. The story performs some social function in the institutional context of classroom. Asking about the weekend is hearable as a request for a story which is used for classroom socialization. The student’s personal narrative, although is minimalized, shows her orientation to the story both as a social action and as a locus for learning.

This excerpt is followed by another soliciting question, which is not included in this dissertation, in which the teacher asks how the student’s mother funeral went. It also involves
code-switching, word search, and request for lexical assistance as Nina is telling the teacher about the event.

5.4. Telling a Second Story

The stories produced in second positions are not always responsive to soliciting questions; rather they can be responsive to a first telling either by the same speaker (Excerpt 5.3.6) or a different speaker (Excerpt 5.4.1). Second stories are a way of demonstrating what the tellers make of or “stand as analysis of” a first telling (Sacks, 1992, I: p. 771).

The following data is taken from the intermediate class. Before the following excerpts, the teacher was reading a text about Noruz. The class then gets involved in the discussion about what are usually on the Haft Seen table when they come across the words ﻥﺎﻥ ﺳﻨﮓ و ﻥﺎﻥ ﺗﺎﻓﺘﻮﻥ,” which are two types of bread found on the table. The teacher’s explanation about different types of bread in Iran leads to a discussion among the students. Before the excerpt John, an American student who has lived in Afghanistan before, makes a comment about the name of the breads which later triggers Ray’s question.

**Excerpt 5.4.1 Intermediate Class: Bakery**

(T = teacher; J = John; R = Ray; N = Nina; K = Kevin)

\[ j \uparrow +GZ>R \text{ (Fig. 5.4.1.1)} \]
In reference to the topic of breads, Ray makes John’s epistemic status relevant by asking John if he had *these breads* in Afghanistan. Note that the indexical formulation *these* makes the breads categorically bound to both countries. As such, the question carries the presupposition that the breads are almost similar in both countries. The form of the polar question projects a type-conforming response (Raymond, 2003), which is delivered in the first possible transitional relevant place. John’s confirmation token (*uhum*) with a nod constructs a type-conforming response to the question. He then briefly elaborates on it with *I had every meal*. John’s
confirmation in line 4 comes in partial overlap with the teacher’s attempt to reply. The teacher’s turn, in line 5, can index rejecting the presupposition of the question. She is also competing with John in showing her epistemic access (for claims of epistemic primacy see Heritage, 2010; Heritage & Raymond, 2005); however, she underscores her epistemic rights with the downgraded probably.

John’s emphasized every meal is an extreme case formulation which gets downgraded right after in line 6 (pretty much). Bringing up the word nan, the lexical word for bread in Persian Dari, is pedagogically motivated and embodies his epistemic claim. Ray’s follow-up question was it good was it (tasty), in overlap with John’s turn, carries a type-conforming positive assessment of the bread. John’s type-conforming token (yeah) is followed by an upgraded confirmation token (absolutely) but is cut off to provide a self-repair sequence. His self-repair, at lines 10 and 11, provides a conditional sequence that categorically ties fresh bread to countryside. John’s multi-turn conditional response arguably suggests that the answer is not straightforward (Schegloff & Lerner, 2009). Relating the category feature “fresh bread” to “countryside” as opposed to “city” and conditioning it to “being well-timed” implies his membership knowledge as a former resident of Afghanistan and invokes his geographical knowledge of locations in relation to the bread quality.

John then reiterates his response in line 13 with a confirmation token (yeah) and location reference (in the countryside) that ties it to the category-bound feature (well-timed) at line 14. The completion of the response is marked by the falling intonation contour at the end of line 15. The recipients’ third-slot receipt is demonstrated through nodding and an acknowledgement token uhum, evidence of their affiliation (Stivers, 2008), and right after that Ray enters into a story.
Excerpt 5.4.2

$t$ +GZ>R

$n$ +GZ>R

16 R: I had to go +buy bread

$k$ +GZ>R (Fig. 5.4.2.1)

17 +three times a day [at my home

18 N: [haha

19 T: [oh really.

$n$ +NODS

20 R: +because we insisted on having [fresh bread

21 T: [every time?

22 N: [very fresh

$t$ +RIF PERFORM ONE (Fig. 5.4.2.2)

$t$ +R 2Fs PERFORM TWO (Fig. 5.4.2.3)

23 T: +for morning, +lunch [supper↓

$r$ +NODS ONCE

24 R: [+yes [I went with my little

[su-

25 T: +NODS

26 R: +bicycle, and bought it and brought it home.

27 (.)
28  J:  [hum
29  N:  [wow
30  K:  [ha

31  T:  and still some people in Iran

32  k  +GZ>T
33  those [who have time or maybe
34  [.hhh
35  I dunno it depends whether they’re free
36  they go and get it fresh
37  N:  wu::w
38  T:  yeah

38  n  +SHAKES HEAD
39  +(0.4)

39  T:  so people are like the fresh bread
40  R:  [well like the French

41  R:  you see the French people always walking
42  with a baguette in their hand
43  N:  [uhum
44  T:  [yeah
45  (0.4)
46  T:  [like fresh- eh (0.3) bread
47  K:  [yeah
Ray’s third-turn slot could have been an acknowledgement, assessment, follow-up question, etc.; however, he instead launches into a storytelling, quite like a second telling. In doing so, he orients to his personal experience with buying bread in a categorically identical place. The topic similarity (buying bread) in Ray’s account is exhibited as early as in the story preface I had to go buy bread in Ray’s opening turn. He orients to an aspect (freshness of bread) of John’s telling through the formulation of the frequency of buying bread (three times a day). In doing so, he makes references to the first telling as entry devices. The place formulation (at my home) does not only make his nationality relevant but also adds a nostalgic sense to the telling. The lexical choice of “had to” invokes an action that is required or necessary by some outside forces. In keeping with Bilmes (2011) “implicative scales,” “had to” is less strong than “I was forced to” but is stronger than a neutral formulation like “I used to.” As such, his turn is designed to invoke a dominant family practice in the past. The teacher’s change of state token (oh really) in response to three times prompts an account by Ray in line 20 (because we insisted on having fresh bread), which provides further evidence for it as a family practice.

The teacher’s orientation to the three times shows her understanding of it as meal times. After Ray confirms the teacher’s increment in overlap with her final word, he continues the story, elaborating on his telling with I went with my little bicycle. The formulation of little bicycle puts him in a particular life stage (kid) as a character in the story world. It also brings an account of how he managed to commute three times every day. The falling intonation contour at the end of TCU indexes its completion. The story receives recipients’ affiliation. John acknowledges the telling with the minimal response token uhm. Kevin’s laughter token and Nina’s response cry wow (Goffman, 1981) display their understanding that a unit of the telling is possibly completed. As such, the recipients make a summary assessment through non-segmental
features of verbal actions (e.g., laughter token, wow, see Mori, 2006) which demonstrate
appreciation for the amusing telling. The teacher, however, does not produce any receipt token.
Instead she initiates a turn with the increment marker and to indicate that the emerging turn will
be an expansion to Ray’s telling in line 31. The shift of orientation to the people of Iran at the
present time is marked with an emphasized still. By topicalizing buying fresh bread as a common
practice, she brings her own membership knowledge to the interaction (lines 31-35). Nina shakes
her head in a gesture of amazement and the prosodic feature of lengthening wo::w indexes an
upgrade in the verbal assessment. The upgraded wow, as an assessment token, is deployed to
convey positive surprise and admiration (see Kasper & Prior, 2015). This assessment token and
the teacher’s acknowledgement token (yeah) initiate the closure of the sequence. The upshot of
the teacher’s third-slot response comes in a so-prefaced summary format to categorically tie
“liking the fresh bread” to the practice of “buying fresh bread” as a common cultural practice. In
an overlap, Ray deploys a well-prefaced formulation to characterize buying bread on a daily
basis as an ordinary practice of French people and thereby normalizing the activity as mutual to
French culture (lines 40, 41, & 42). This proposition can be in response to Nina’s amazement
(shaking head, wo::w).

The analysis shows that in giving a my-side of the telling, Ray designs his story to
demonstrate his epistemic membership knowledge through a personal telling. Ray builds his own
stance toward the first telling by contributing his side of the story. The story emerges as a
response or second telling to John’ account of buying bread in Afghanistan. By bringing up a
story about a recurrent practice in his family at the target community, Ray relates the category-
bound activity of “buying fresh bread” to Iranians. In so doing, he demonstrates his cultural
competencies as a member of the L2 community.
5.5. Summary

This chapter investigated the ways in which student-produced stories are sequentially occasioned in Persian language classrooms and the actions they accomplish in the pedagogical context. Whether self-initiated or teacher-initiated, the analysis shows that the students’ stories are told in orientation to local contextual and institutional norms to accomplish a variety of pedagogically-oriented actions: to bring in the cultural competencies to class (Excerpt 5.2.1), to make an argument for an opposing stance as part of the response in an IRF sequence (Excerpt 5.3.1), to contribute to the pedagogical materials by making relevant the student’s membership knowledge (Excerpt 5.3.4), and to offer the student’s side of the story in a second telling (Excerpt 5.4.1).

The analysis showed that the students’ stories were predominantly prompted by the teachers in orienting toward the classroom materials. While uncommonness of student-initiated storytellings may be related to the particular social organization of the classrooms, it also brings into view the complexities of storytelling as an uninvited contribution to the classrooms interaction.
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1. Introduction

In this final chapter, I summarize briefly the previous chapters. I then discuss the analytical findings of Chapters four and five, and address some of the main implications drawn from these findings. Finally, I discuss the contributions of this study to the field of Applied Linguistics and suggestions for the direction of future research continuing with this line of inquiry.

In Chapter 1, I outlined the objectives of this study, which are situated within the relatively underexplored research on occasioned storytelling in the naturally occurring institutional setting of a language class. Rather than recount the extensive body of literature on prepackaged storytelling as an instructional tool, I chose to highlight occasioned storytelling.

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the leading longstanding research traditions in narrative literature over the last five decades, namely narratology, narrative psychology, narrative inquiry, narrative analysis, and small stories. I also drew upon CA-related studies on storytelling in different linguistic contexts, including L1, L2, and multilingual settings, to show how my study fills a gap in the literature, specifically a lack of investigations into storytelling in foreign language classrooms. Next, I reviewed sequential organization and prefatory work to a story’s launch and the ways MCA analytic method complements sequential CA to benefit narrative research. I also situated this research within the realm of longstanding research on storytelling as a pedagogical tool and on Persian as a Less Commonly Taught Language to demonstrate how the study builds upon the knowledge base in the above-mentioned fields.

In Chapter 3, I described the process of data collection and the nature of the data utilized in this study.
Chapters 4 and 5 constituted the analytic chapters of the dissertation in which nine stories told by the teachers and the students are examined. In the analysis, I showed the point at which stories emerged within a sequential organization of talk, the methods utilized by participants to launch stories, and the pedagogically-oriented actions performed through storytelling. The analysis showcased the complexities of the classroom interaction, especially it highlighted the subtle and intricate ways in which stories emerged contingently in classroom discourse to serve the institutional goals. As such the storytelling practices including initiation methods, multimodal resources, participation frameworks, and actions performed through stories reflect how classroom interaction is organized. Moreover, storytelling sequences are consequential to the dynamic character of language classroom. Although this study has not evidenced learning, the analysis showed that stories as learning potentials may create learning opportunities through the moment-to-moment co-construction of talk. Further discussion of the analytical findings may be found below.

6.2. Discussion of Findings

6.2.1. Sequential Organization of Stories

This dissertation reports on stories that initiate a sequence of actions (produced in the first position) and on stories produced in the second position, in response to a question or another story in Persian as a foreign language classrooms. The sequential placement is crucial to recognizing the actions accomplished through the storytelling (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Teachers’ storytellings in the first positions achieved actions such as exemplifying, elaborating, or extending upon the ongoing instructional project, whereas their stories in the second position provided counter examples, gave an account for some preceding talk, responded to students’ questions, or give an account for a rejection of students’ proposals. On the other hand, students’
storytellings in the first position initiated an action that brought their epistemic knowledge to the interaction for the interest of another recipient. Furthermore, students’ stories in the second position highlighted their membership knowledge, gave an account of prior talk, or informed on a particular cultural practices.

6.2.2. Organization of the Classrooms

The teachers’ stories oriented to their asymmetries of language and cultural knowledge, and to the particular institutional arrangements. The asymmetries of interactional and institutional knowhow arise from the organization of institutional discourse on a moment-to-moment basis (Heritage, 2004). The teachers’ epistemic authority is thereby consequential to the routine organizational contingencies. The students’ stories, on the other hand, orient to their asymmetries of knowledge dominantly arising from their personal experience. These stories deal with what Pomerantz (1980) calls “Type 2 knowables” which comprises the students’ occasioned knowables.

The students’ stories are logged as a display of learner agency (Goodwin, M. H., 2007; van Lier 1988; 2008) or learner initiative (Waring, 2011) defined as “any learner attempt to make an uninvited contribution to the ongoing classroom talk” (p. 204). Waring (2011) recognized three types of learner initiatives, namely self-selecting to initiate a sequence, self-selecting to volunteer a response, and using an assigned turn to begin a sequence. The initiative that students took in telling stories involved initiating a sequence with a story e.g., coffin story and exploiting an assigned turn to tell a story e.g., the shah story.

Stories told by the students had a more prominent part to play in the intermediate classroom, which could be linked to the proximity of the students’ ages to that of the teacher, and hence closer social relationships. The particular social organization of the intermediate classroom thus
mitigated the asymmetric institutional roles in the interaction. On the other hand, the Persian-only policy of the intensive program to which the advanced class belonged, had implications for the students’ willingness to initiate a storytelling. The intermediate students having a free language choice used language alternations as interactional resources in storytelling practices. The monolingual target language policy thereby becomes consequential for the interactional organization of the classrooms.

Meanwhile, the interactional and topical environments in which stories were launched were different in the intermediate and the advanced classes because the stories were occasioned by the situated context of the classroom interaction. In the advanced classroom, stories were largely occasioned by political, cultural, social, historical and less often, by language issues. In the intermediate class, however, the language issues made the most observable categorical objects for subsequent unfolding of a story, although certain stories were triggered by cultural and religious issues, too.

Moreover, while most of the stories told by the students were produced in the second position in both the intermediate and the advanced classrooms, only one student’s story appeared in the first sequential position. This phenomenon could be related to the particular form of classroom organization and interactional asymmetries. Heritage’s (2004) asymmetries of participation explains the particular turn-taking organization in institutional interactions. In teacher-led instruction, teachers have the institutional right to manage turn-taking (Mehan, 1979; Markee, 2000). The class orient to this right and students take turns when the teacher allocate a response turn to them. Taking the initiative in telling a story, in spite of not being dispreferred, could be seen as violating the normative speakership organization of classroom talk. Thus, the sequential
position in which the stories were produced revealed students’ orientation to the institutional rights and obligations of the participants.

6.2.3. Pedagogically-oriented Actions in Storytelling

Stories are not produced in a vacuum, but rather they are used to “perform social actions in-the-telling” (Edwards, 1997, p. 266). The findings of this study indicate that within the particular context of the language classrooms, the stories performed a wide range of institutional actions. From a conversation analytic perspective, “the institutionality of the dialogue is constituted by participants through their orientation to relevant institutional roles and identities” (Drew & Sorjonen, 1997, p. 94). In this study, the participants’ orientation to the institutional character of the talk was prevalent in almost every story and additionally there were cases in which the storytelling in and of itself achieved particular institutional goals. For instance, certain stories initiated by the teachers sought to teach a particular grammar point or an idiom. In these stories, a language issue was intertwined with a personal storytelling to accomplish the institutional-specific agenda at hand. In other words, the storytelling was used as an instructional resource to perform pedagogical actions such as teaching a lexical item, a grammar point, or an idiomatic expression. The story recipients also showed that they understand the action as such through their conduct. For instance, in the accident story (Excerpt 4.2.1), Nina revisited her question about the idiom and showed orientation to the pedagogic agenda once the story was closed. Similarly, stories produced by the teachers of the intermediate class frequently built upon the textbook materials, or in the case of the advanced class, the in-situ discussions, specifically by narrating stories about historical, religious, or political figures.

The study showed that attention and orientation to the pedagogical business of the Persian as a foreign language classroom was predominantly visible in storytelling, even when the
interaction had a casual, conversational tone. For instance, the weekend story from the intermediate class data (Excerpt 5.3.7) involved a teacher greeting a student at the beginning of class and asking the student about her weekend. The student’s answer was a story about going out with her sister, having lunch and doing some shopping. The interesting point about the excerpt was that the student tried to tell the story in Persian and only switched to English or asked for the teacher’s assistance for the words she did not know in Persian. The student’s orientation to the institutional talk as a setting for practicing the target language was visible even though the story was situated within a warm-up social action.

6.2.4. Storytelling as a Joint Interactional Achievement

A further dimension of this analysis is the recipients’ participation in constructing stories (Goodwin 1984, 1986a; Jefferson 1988; Lerner 1992; Sacks, 1992). Foregrounding stories as situated social interaction, the conversation-analytic approach characterizes storytelling as a joint accomplishment between the teller and the recipient. This research showed that the story recipients, whether the teachers or the students, made various contributions throughout the course of its telling, ranging from launching stories to bringing a story sequence to completion. All solicited and second stories involved the recipients’ participation in their launch. In the fieldtrip story (Excerpt 4.4.1), Jace’s consecutive questions and later, his mock proposal led to a story whose progression was supported by other students through showing affiliative stance and teaming up through laughter.

Recipients also cooperated in storytelling through demonstration of affective involvement (Burch & Kasper, 2016; Kupetz, 2014; Lamb, 2016; Prior, 2016a). In the accident story (Excerpt 4.2.1), Nina’s exclamations, matching stance, and understanding displays were strongly affiliative with the stance the teacher provided through the storytelling, and this affective
involvement played a crucial role in shaping and constituting the story. In the bakery story (Excerpt 5.4.1), Nina’s display of affective stance through embodiments and response cries redirected the assessment of the story by the teller.

6.2.5. MCA and Identity

The analysis showed that the interlocutors’ different membership categories are reflexively produced in the storytellings and that became relevant for bringing stories to the floor. The participants’ orientation to discourse, situated, and transportable identities and to the reflexive relationships among the identities become consequential to the unfolding of stories. In the data, each participant held a situated identity of either a teacher or a student. The standardized relational pair of teacher and student entails category-bound predicates (Watson, 1978; 2015) which become consequential to the storytelling methods. In the accident story (Excerpt 4.2.1), the teacher’s identity as a more competent L2 speaker was demonstrated in the teaching of an idiom through a story, and Nina’s identity as a student and as a recipient to the story shifted from moment to moment. Thus, the participants’ discourse identities interfaced with their institutional identities. A further indication of the interfaces between the interlocutors’ identities during the course of storytelling was language alternation, especially in the intermediate class.

Furthermore, through the construction of their identities as a character within the story world and tellers in the here-and-now, the tellers accomplish a story and communicate its point. For instance, in the shah story (Excerpt 5.3.1) Nita managed to portray herself as a child in a storyworld without an independent, informed opinion, as opposed to an adult in the here-and-now of the classroom. Likewise, a recipient’s identities can become a point of departure for the stories. For example, in the bakery story (Excerpt 5.4.1) John’s identity as a former resident in Afghanistan was made relevant momentarily by Ray, which later developed into a my-side story.
6.2.6. *Multimodal Resources*

The participants’ bodily-visual conduct proved to be meaningful interactional resources in launching and unfolding of stories. The findings also revealed the different semiotic resources that teachers and the students draw on in the course of telling to mark different components of storytelling (Goodwin, 1984). In the coffin story (Excerpt 5.2.1), Nina’s entrance to the story is indexed by a shift of her bodily conduct, e.g., raised eyebrows, smiling, and pointing to John as the addressed recipient. In the inquisition story (5.3.4), John gazes at Ray and puts on his glasses as Ray initiates the story and Kevin, another recipient, manages the organization of his concurrent activities and orients to the textbook (as the source of the story) as soon as Ray’s story gets underway.

Participants also deploy multimodal resources to show alignment and affiliation (Stivers, 2008) with a storytelling activity. For instance, Nina’s display of matching stance in the accident story through verbal and visual cues strongly affiliates with the teacher’s telling and becomes consequential for progressing the story. In contrast, in the fieldtrip story (Excerpt 4.4.1) the recipient’s affective stance is in stark contrast with that of the teacher. Although they show alignment to the teacher’s story structurally through producing minimal tokens, they do not socially affiliate with the position taken by the teacher.

Moreover, the analysis showed the role of multimodal semiotic resources in constructing the tellers’ affective stance. This was particularly visible in the coffin story. Nina’s humorous stance to her own story was built up through the laughter particles at preface and climax of the story, as well as her enactments, and facial expressions. Although she maintained her stance towards the completion of her story, neither of recipients displayed affiliative uptake.
6.3. Contributions

Firstly, this study expands upon the current research studies on IRF that views it as an oversimplified picture to classroom structure. By demonstrating the variety of ways stories emerge at different points along the so-called IRF sequence, this study sheds light on the complexities of managing local classroom contingencies. CA research has explored the complexities of IRF sequence at each turn position. As Seedhouse (2004) affirms, “the IRF/IRE cycles perform different interactional and pedagogical work according to the context in which they are operating” (p. 63). In Chapter 4, Excerpt 4.3.1 (general Huyser), for instance, the teacher’s story expanded the feedback turn, showing the importance of the function of a feedback turn — beyond correcting errors or commenting on students’ performance — as a component of instructional practices within classroom setting. Discoursal feedback moves provide “a rich source of message-oriented target language input as [the teacher] reformulates and elaborates on student contributions, and derives further initiating moves from them” (Cullen, 2002, p. 122). The variety of interactional work in the teacher’s third-turn position showed to accomplish different actions, such as parsing or steering the sequence (Lee, 2007). While the teacher’s third-turn may work as the sequence-closing third that suppress further talk (Waring, 2009), this study contributed to the previous literature by showing how the emergence of storytelling in teacher’s third-turn position expands the third turn and creates opportunities for learning.

Secondly, as previous research on storytelling practices has highlighted the role of embodied action in storytelling in diverse contexts (Burch & Kasper, 2016; Kupetz, 2014; Lamb, 2016; Selting, 2010, 2012; Sugita, 2012), this study demonstrates how the tellers deploy both vocal and visual conduct to enter a story and how recipients orient to a story in the L2 classroom context.
As such, the findings contribute to multimodal CA research on storytelling practices in institutional settings, and also sheds light on the intricate nature of embodied practices in the pedagogical environment (Kääntä & Kasper, 2018; Majlesi, 2018; Sert & Walsh, 2012).

Thirdly, this study can contribute to literature surrounding teacher education using the microanalytic CA tool based on naturally occurring interactions to make suggestion for teaching different ways of i.e., launching a story or responding to a story. In keeping with Wong and Waring’s (2010) suggestions for applying CA research as a practical approach to develop materials for teaching storytelling in EFL and ESL settings, this study sheds light on CA-inspired pedagogical practices for the integration of storytelling in Persian language instruction. For instance, L2 Persian students can be taught about different story launching methods i.e., disjunctive markers in Persian.

Fourthly, this study builds on the scarce CA literature on Persian language. While other CA-based studies involving Persian language data focus on invitations (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2018), the epistemic marker *dige* (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2015), requests (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2011), gestures by L2 teachers (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2008), and telephone conversation openings (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2002), using predominantly audio-recorded data, this study uses video-recorded data to further describe the participants’ deployment of multimodal resources.

This study also contributes to understanding connections between classroom interaction and students’ and teachers’ lifeworlds in the language classroom (see Sayer, Malabarba, & Moore 2019). Through storytelling, the personal, social, cultural, and political life-worlds of the interactants has been manifested in the actual moments of classroom interaction. In so doing, they bring their lives and experiences into the language class content, making the target language and culture personally relevant.
Lastly, at a more general level, this study extends on previous research and contributes to our understanding of the institutional character of storytelling in language classrooms and also suggests interesting avenues of further research in other institutional settings, such as interviews, courtroom or medical interaction, and ordinary, non-institutional settings, such as family dinner talk.

6.4. Future Directions

By investigating how stories are prompted in language classrooms, this study focuses on how the stories are launched, unfolded and brought to completion. Further topics worthy of detailed exploration are storytelling pre-closing and exit-devices in conversational, rather than institutional, Persian language. Story-launching devices could also be explored in different natural contexts.

Following studies on the development of L2 interactional competence undertaking both longitudinal (Barraja-Rohan, 2015; Berger and Fasel Lauzon, 2016; Ishida, 2011; Kim, 2016; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2016) and cross-sectional (Hellermann, 2008; Lee & Hellermann, 2013) comparative analysis of L2 storytelling practices, a topic for further inquiry is tracing the development of L2 Persian interactional competence through examining storytelling methods across time and proficiency levels.

In the current study data, code-switching in the course of storytelling was an interactional resource that revealed the participants’ orientations to the dual framing of the storytelling as a conversational and pedagogical activity. Observations of the different functions of code-switching in the intermediate class demonstrated that code-switching served as a device for switching between the discourse and situated identities (i.e., language teacher and storyteller).
Follow-up research could investigate code-switching practices in L2 storytelling contexts and what they accomplish.
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Seo, M.-S. (2011). Talk, body, and material objects as coordinated interactional resources in repair activities in one-on-one ESL tutoring. In G. Pallotti and J. Wagner (Eds.), L2 Learning as Social Practice: Conversation-analytic Perspectives (pp. 107–134), University of Hawai‘i, National Foreign Language Resource Center, Honolulu.


APPENDICES

Appendix A: Consent Forms

Consent Form (for teacher)

Interaction and Learning in Intensive Persian Language Programs

Investigator: Elham Monfaredi

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Gabriele Kasper, Department of Second Language Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, HI 96822 Phone: (808) 956-8610

Purpose of this Research:
This study investigates how students of Persian interact and learn in an immersion context.

Project Description and Time Commitment:
If you agree to participate in this project, here is what I will do:

- Video-tape and audio-record your class throughout the semester (about 14 hours of recording weekly).

- You will not be asked to do anything, but to participate in the classroom activities as usual.

- The cameras will remain at a distance, but they may zoom on participants to capture what is going on. An audio recorder will be placed nearby to capture your talk.

Benefits and Risks:
You will have access to the outcomes of this study after the data have been anonymized. The findings will provide important insights into the learning of Persian. Therefore the study will help improve classroom practices and train future teachers in Persian language education. The study is not aimed at evaluating teachers and has no impact on your records. If you do not wish to participate in this project, you can opt out at any time.

Your Rights:
Confidentiality
- The recorded classroom interactions and your class work will remain confidential so that you cannot be identified. This means that your name and other personal information will not be mentioned in the research paper, publications, or presentations. Instead of your name we will use a pseudonym. Only I, the researcher, will have the access to original recordings. The recordings will be kept secretly in my dropbox, protected by a password that is known only to me.
- The video recordings will not be used in any public forum or publication unless I get specific permission from you. Please refer to the following page regarding this matter.

To Ask Questions at Any Time
- You may ask questions about this research at any time. Please contact me, Elham Monfaredi (elhammon@hawaii.edu, 808-859-4979) if you have any questions or concerns.

To Withdraw at Any Time
- Your participation in this project is voluntary. At any time, you can stop participating in this project and you can withdraw your consent without any loss of benefits or rights. The choice to participate or not to participate in this project will have no impact on anything. Please keep a copy of this consent form for your records.

Agreement to participate in the research project:

Interaction and Learning in Intensive Persian Language Programs

Your consent to the release of video recordings
Please indicate below how we may use the video recordings in which you appear. We will only use the recordings in the ways that you agree to. Your name will not be identified anywhere in the recordings. If you decide not to give consent to you being videotaped, the camera will be placed at an angle that will not capture you.

Only initial the uses that you agree to.
1. The video-recordings may be analyzed by the investigator for use in the research project.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]

2. Still frames (photographs taken from the video-recording) with blurred faces may be used for scientific publications.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]

3. The video-recordings may be shown in academic conference presentations. The amount of video data shown in a standard 20 minute presentation is typically less than five minutes of different clips in total.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]

- If you agree to have excerpts of your recordings published or shown in public, your face will be blurred in all images and video clips as a measure to protect your privacy and ensure that you remain unidentifiable. Note that by for the most of the video-recordings will only be used by the researcher for analysis and never be shown in presentations or publications.

Your consent to the release of audio recordings
Please indicate below how we may use the audio recordings in which your voice is heard. We will only use the recordings in the ways that you agree to. Your name will not be identified anywhere in the recordings. If you decide not to give consent to you being audiotaped, the investigator will remove those parts where you are speaking.

Only initial the uses that you agree to.
1. The audio-recordings may be analyzed by the investigator for use in the research project.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]

2. The audio-recordings may be shown in academic conference presentations. The amount of audio data shown in a standard 20 minute presentation is typically less than five minutes of
Protecting Research Participants
"You may contact the UH Human Studies Program at (808) 956-5007 to discuss problems, concerns, and questions; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research protocol."
"Please visit https://www.hawaii.edu/researchcompliance/information-research-participants for more information on your rights as a research participant."

Signature

I certify that I read and understand the above, that I have been given satisfactory answers to any questions about the research, and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the research at any time, without any prejudice or loss of benefits or compensation. I agree to be a part of this study with the understanding that such permission does not take away my rights, nor does it release the investigator or the institution from liability for negligence. If I cannot obtain satisfactory answers to my questions, or have comments or complaints about my participation in this study, I may contact: Human Studies Program, University of Hawaii, 2425 Campus Road, Sinclair 10, Honolulu, HI 96822, Email: uhirb@hawaii.edu

Name of Participant (Print):

___________________________________________________

Signature:

___________________________________________________

Date:

___________________________________________________

Please keep a copy of the consent form for your future reference.
Consent Form (for students):

**Project title: Interaction and Learning in Intensive Persian Language Programs**

Investigator: Elham Monfaredi, PhD student in Second Language Studies elhammon@hawaii.edu

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Gabriele Kasper, Professor of Second Language Studies gkasper@hawaii.edu

**Purpose of this Research:**

This study investigates how students of Persian interact and learn in an immersion context.

**Project Description and Time Commitment:**

If you agree to participate in this project, here is what I will do:

- Video-tape and audio-record your class throughout the summer (about 14 hours of recording weekly)

- You will not be asked to do anything special, just to participate in the classroom activities as usual.

- The cameras will remain at a distance, but they may zoom on participants to capture what is going on. An audio recorder will be placed nearby to capture your talk.

**Benefits and Risks:**

You will have access to the outcomes of this study after the data have been anonymized. The findings will provide important insights into the learning of Persian. Therefore the study will help improve classroom practices and train future teachers in Persian language education. The study is not aimed at evaluating students and has no impact on your grade. If you do not wish to participate in this project, you can opt out at any time.

**Your Rights:**

*Confidentiality*

- The recorded classroom interactions and your class work will remain confidential so that you cannot be identified. This means that your name and other personal information will not be mentioned in the research paper, publications, or presentations. Instead of your name we will use a pseudonym. Only I, the researcher, will have the access to original recordings. The recordings will be kept secretly in my dropbox, protected by a password that is known only to me.

- The video recordings will not be used in any public forum or publication unless I get specific permission from you. Please refer to the following page regarding this matter.

*To Ask Questions at Any Time*

- You may ask questions about this research at any time. Please contact me, Elham Monfaredi (elhammon@hawaii.edu, 808-859-4979) if you have any questions or concerns.

*To Withdraw at Any Time*

- Your participation in this project is voluntary. At any time, you can stop participating in this project and you can withdraw your consent without any loss of benefits or rights. The choice to participate or not to participate in this project will have no impact on your grade or on your relationship with the teacher.
Please keep a copy of this consent form for your records.

Agreement to participate in the research project:

**Interaction and Learning in Intensive Persian Language Programs**

**Your consent to the release of video recordings**
Please indicate below how we may use the video recordings in which you appear. We will only use the recordings in the ways that you agree to. Your name will not be identified anywhere in the recordings. If you decide not to give consent to you being videotaped, the camera will be placed at an angle that will not capture you.

**Only initial the uses that you agree to.**
1. The video-recordings may be analyzed by the investigator for use in the research project.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]
2. Still frames (photographs taken from the video-recording) with blurred faces may be used for scientific publications.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]
3. The video-recordings may be shown in academic conference presentations. The amount of video data shown in a standard 20 minute presentation is typically less than five minutes of different clips in total.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]

• If you agree to have excerpts of your recordings published or shown in public, **your face will be blurred** in all images and video clips as a measure to protect your privacy and ensure that you remain unidentifiable. Note that **by far the most of the video-recordings will** only be used by the researcher for analysis and **never be shown in presentations or publications**.

**Your consent to the release of audio recordings**
Please indicate below how we may use the audio recordings in which your voice is heard. We will only use the recordings in the ways that you agree to. Your name will not be identified anywhere in the recordings. If you decide not to give consent to you being audiotaped, the investigator will remove those parts where you are speaking.

**Only initial the uses that you agree to.**
1. The audio-recordings may be analyzed by the investigator for use in the research project.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]
2. The audio-recordings may be shown in academic conference presentations. The amount of audio data shown in a standard 20 minute presentation is typically less than five minutes of different extracts in total.
   * [Please initial to indicate your consent]

**Protecting Research Participants**
“You may contact the UH Human Studies Program at (808) 956-5007 to discuss problems, concerns, and questions; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research protocol.”

“Please visit https://www.hawaii.edu/researchcompliance/information-research-participants for more information on your rights as a research participant.”

**Signature**

I certify that I read and understand the above, that I have been given satisfactory answers to any questions about the research, and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the research at any time, without any prejudice or loss of benefits or compensation. I agree to be a part of this study with the understanding that such permission does not take away my rights, nor does it release the investigator or the institution from liability for negligence. If I cannot obtain satisfactory answers to my questions, or have comments or complaints about my participation in this study, I may contact: Human Studies Program, University of Hawaii, 2425 Campus Road, Sinclair 10, Honolulu, HI  96822, Email: uhirb@hawaii.edu

**Participant Name (Print):** ________________________________

**Signature:** ____________________________________________

**Date:** ________________________________________________

Please keep a copy of this consent form for your records.
Appendix B: IRB Approval Documents

UNIVERSITY
of HAWAI‘I*
MĀNOA

MEMORANDUM

September 2, 2015

TO: Elham Monfaredi
    Principal Investigator
    Second Language Studies

FROM: Denise A. Lin-DeShetler, MPH, MA
      Director

SUBJECT: CHS #23088- "Interaction and Learning in Persian Language Classrooms"

Under an expedited review procedure, the research project identified above was approved for one year on September 2, 2015 by the University of Hawaii (UH) Human Studies Program. The application qualified for expedited review under CFR 46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110, Category (7).

This memorandum is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study. Please maintain it with your study records.

The Human Studies Program approval for this project will expire on September 1, 2016. If you expect your project to continue beyond this date, you must submit an application for renewal of this Human Studies Program approval. The Human Studies Program approval must be maintained for the entire term of your project.

If, during the course of your project, you intend to make changes to this study, you must obtain approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. If an Unanticipated Problem occurs during the course of the study, you must notify the Human Studies Program within 24 hours of knowledge of the problem. A formal report must be submitted to the Human Studies Program within 10 days. The definition of "Unanticipated Problem" may be found at: http://hawaii.edu/irb/download/documents/SOPP_101_UP_Report.pdf, and the report form may be downloaded here: http://hawaii.edu/irb/download/forms/App_UP_Report.doc.

You are required to maintain complete records pertaining to the use of humans as participants in your research. This includes all information or materials conveyed to and received from participants as well as signed consent forms, data, analyses, and results. These records must be maintained for at least three years following project completion or termination, and they are subject to inspection and review by the Human Studies Program and other authorized agencies.
TO: Kasper, Gabriele, PhD, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Second Language Studies
FROM: Monfaredi, Elham, Second Language Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa
PROTOCOL TITLE: Rivera, Victoria, Interim Dir, Ofc of Resh Compliance, Social&Behav Exempt
FUNDING SOURCE: Interaction and Learning in an Intensive Persian Language Program
FUNDING SOURCE: NONE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: 2016-30172

NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

This letter is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study as exempt.

On August 25, 2017, the request for IRB approval of changes to your exempt project noted above has been reviewed and approved. The proposed amendments will be added into your current project file. The proposed changes do not alter the exempt status of your project. The authority for the exemption applicable to your study is documented in the Code of Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.101(b) 1, 4.

This approval does not expire. However, please notify the Human Studies Program when your study is complete. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your study.

If you have any questions relating to the protection of human research participants, please contact the Human Studies Program by phone at 956-5007 or email uhirb@hawaii.edu. We wish you success in carrying out your research project.

Notes:
Approved Modification: Language added to the Questions section of the consent forms regarding "Protecting Research Participants".

1960 East-West Road
Biomedical Sciences Building B104
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
Telephone: (808) 956-5567
Fax: (808) 956-8683
An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution
Appendix C: Transcription Conventions

Conventions for the transcription of talk (adopted from Jefferson, 2004)

,  
•  
?  
¿  
.  
↓  
↑  
word  
=  
-  
[  
0.7  
( )  
:  
"word"  
WORD  
Underlining  
(xxx)  
hhh  
..hhh  
t.  
>he said<  
<he said>  
hahaha  
sth(p)  
££  
*word*  
(( ))  
→  
Slightly rising/ continuing intonation
Final intonation
Rising intonation
Slightly rising intonation
Falling intonation
Word abruptly rising intonation
Word abruptly falling intonation
Lengthening of the previous sound
Latching
Abrupt halt or interruption in utterance
Overlap
Pause timed in tenth of seconds
Micropause, shorter than 0.2 second
Prolongation of the immediately prior sound
Speech which is quieter than the surrounding talk
Speech which is louder than the surrounding talk
Signals vocal emphasis
Unclear utterances
Audible exhalation
Audible inhalation
Click sound
Quicker than surrounding talk
Slower than surrounding talk
Voiced laughter
Laughter within speech
Laughing voice
Creaky voice
Other details
Right-pointing arrow indicates a line of special interest
**Conventions for the description of embodied action (adopted from Burch, 2014)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>hand(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>index finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Fs</td>
<td>index and middle fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Fs</td>
<td>index, middle, and ring fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>both hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GZ</td>
<td>gaze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>place where action begins, description of action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>Place where action begins in relation to talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>embodiments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNT</td>
<td>pointing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D: List of Abbreviations

EZ  ezafe\(^4\)
NG  negative
OM  object marker
PL  plural
PrP  present perfect tense
PRT  particle
PsC  past continuous tense
PsP  past perfect tense
Pss  passive voice
SG  singular
SP  suffix pronoun
SPs  simple past tense

\(^4\) Ezhaf is a grammatical particle in Persian that links two words together; in the Persian language it consists of the unstressed vowel - \(e\) or -\(i\)- (\(-ye\)- or \(-yi\) after vowels) between the words it connects