R&E-SOURCE https://journal.ph-noe.ac.at
Online Journal for Research and Education
Ausgabe 11, April 2019, ISSN: 2313-1640

Are you sitting comfortably?

About the value of stories in the development of multilingualism and multiliteracies

Claudia Mewald[1], Agnes Klein[2], Sabine Wallner[3]

Abstract

This paper discusses the pedagogical value and the usability of stories, picture books and young adult literature in the education of multilingual children and teenagers. It shows the stories' potential in developing linguistic and affective competences as well as their role in creating identity and intercultural awareness. Moreover, it presents methodological strategies of exploiting pictorial and contextual clues as well as familiarity effects in the development of multilingual literacy and transcultural competence through scaffolding intercomprehension. While most studies on intercomprehension focus on adult learners, this research looks at the role of children's books in the emotional, linguistic and cultural development of young multilinguals. It exemplifies how stories frame children's identities and how their redesigning of stories depicts their views and values about them. Three case studies rely on longitudinal data collection in families, kindergarten and school to show how multilingual children and teenagers perceive the language and visuals in texts. They describe how the participants activate cross- and translinguistic competences in understanding and making sense of what they are hearing or reading in their first and additional languages. Moreover, the case studies exemplify how oral production develops when internal imaging and symbols from the stories are used in the development of linguistic range with the help of personalised lexical notebooks.

Sitzt du bequem?

Über die Bedeutung des Geschichtenerzählens bei der Entwicklung der Mehrsprachigkeit und der Mulilliteralität

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag diskutiert den pädagogischen Mehrwert und die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten von Geschichten, Bilderbüchern und Jugendliteratur in der Entwicklung der Mulitliteralität von mehrsprachigen Kindern und Jugendlichen. Er zeigt das Potential von Geschichten in der Entwicklung von linguistischen und affektiven Kompetenzen auf und bespricht deren Rolle bei der Entstehung von Identität und kulturellem Bewusstsein. Des Weiteren präsentiert er didaktische Strategien zur Nutzung von Bildern sowie kontextueller Zusammenhänge und von Bekanntheitseffekten in der Entwicklung der Multiliteralität durch Scaffolding und Interkomprehension. Drei Fallstudien erläutern auf der Basis von Daten, die in einem Langzeitprojekt in familiären Settings, Kindergärten und Schulen gesammelt wurden, wie mehrsprachige Kinder und Jugendliche linguistische Inhalte und Bilder in Texten nutzbar machen und wie sie dabei ihre multilingualen Kompetenzen zwischen und über Sprachen hinweg aufbauen.

Keywords:	*Schlüsselwörter:*
multilingual storytelling	mehrsprachiges Geschichtenerzählen
multiliteracy	Mulitliteralität
intercomprehension	Interkomprehension

[1] Claudia Mewald: Pädagogische Hochschule Niederösterreich, Mühlgasse 67, 2500 Baden.
E-mail: claudia.mewald@ph-noe.ac.at
[2] Agnes Klein: University of Pécs, H-7622 Pécs, Vasvári Pál str. 4.
[3] Sabine Wallner: Pädagogische Hochschule Burgenland, Thomas-Alva-Edison-Straße 1, 7000 Eisenstadt.

1 Introduction

For many people in the English-speaking world, "Are you sitting comfortably?" is a stimulus to think of storytelling and remember their childhood stories. Generations of children used to wait for *Listen with Mother* and the stories told on BBC radio with great excitement. For speakers of German, the equivalent would have been *Sandmännchen* or *Betthupferl,* who would engage in all kinds of storytelling right before children were expected to go to bed, maybe dreaming up their own stories before actually falling asleep. These programmes were among the first media approaches to storytelling, which had been the parents' and grandparents' exclusive realm before.

Nowadays children go online and listen to stories on their preferred channels or YouTube, where most of them (or their parents) have their favourite storytellers - maybe even *Sandman*, who managed to go mobile. Waiting for the desired storytelling time every evening is no longer necessary. In the new media wold, stories are available anytime and wherever there is an internet connection. Online storytellers may be telling stories in the traditional way, showing the images in picture books and turning pages as they are reading or presenting stories with or without puppets. They animate their stories or include acting. Parents of the digital era usually select the links their children can make use of. There is a wide range of resources in many languages to choose from and it seems it has never been as simple to get hold of stories in various languages as today (e.g. Trilingual Mama, International Children's Digital Library, Children's Books Online by the Rosetta project, or Clara Tales, only to mention a few; see Appendix D). In the past, acquiring multilingual storytelling materials was not so easy. Parents had to buy picture books, usually at a high price. If they wanted to use storybooks in various languages, finding them was a challenging chore. Not to speak about bi- or multilingual picture books for children, which are readily and numerously available online nowadays.

Before new media provided the world with immediate access to multilingual resources it was usually the family that created a multilingual environment for the children, as it is still doing so today. Grandparents' stories and languages are often different from the parents' and children may listen to the same stories in different varieties of their first languages or in additional ones. Often, the family is the earliest authentic environment to acquire additional languages, even if they are not completely new ones. Stories told in different languages, dialects or genres to children offer the potential to draw on previous knowledge and to make connections beyond the language. Repetitive elements in stories have a substantial capacity to help children remember whole sentences they comprehend. These sentences may become springboards for their own storytelling in additional languages. Supported by pictorial clues and memory aids scaffolded by mime and gesture, the familiar phrases can become pictorial lexical notebooks long before children are able to read or to write.

Personal lexical notebooks around stories often come naturally with real paper-based picture books. Parents may not like this, but children often draw into their picture books, they add stickers or glue things in. This creates new stories, the children are usually ready to redesign with the text they remember from storytelling, adding things that are different in another language. Some multilingual children do so by making use of all the linguistic resources available, while others may only produce recounts in one of the languages they have available. Moreover, listening to the same or similar stories in various languages adds cultural diversity to the process of language acquisition. In the same way children are exposed to various linguistic forms, they are acculturated into the details of national variations of stories (e.g. *The Mitten* and *Rukavichka*). They usually identify more with one of the versions and may thus develop affectionate feelings to one or more national identities.

The three case studies in this paper provide an insight into the storytelling and story-reading worlds of eight children whose linguistic background is bi- or trilingual. They describe how stories provided motivation for reading and using new media to immerse in the world of stories of a different kind. In doing so, they show how the children developed as multilingual and multiliterate listeners and readers through adapting the existing designs of the stories and redesigning them. Moreover, they exemplify how the stories framed the children's identities and how their views and values about stories and language changed over time.

2 Multiliteracies, variation theory, lexical priming and storytelling

The aim of this paper is to describe how storytelling and story-reading in multilingual families and educational environments have contributed to the language development of eight children. The reading and listening experiences of these children are described in three case studies and analysed with the concepts of multiliteracies, variation theory, lexical priming, a dynamic model of language development as well as language socialisation in mind. The focus on multiliteracies was made a criterion for analysis as the observations suggested that the children went beyond the standard forms of their acquired languages in communicating with and about the stories in the process of meaning-making and redesign. Lexical priming and variation theory became relevant criteria because of the similarities and differences in the words and phrases the children used in their languages not just to understand or to communicate about content, but also to express how their language socialisation took place. Finally, the dynamic model of multilingualism was chosen to reflect the non-linearity of the language development observed. In the following, the five concepts will be contextualised briefly and exemplification will be provided.

In this study, the concept of multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000) refers to aspects of variability of learning (Marton, 2015) and meaning making (Hoey, 2005) in different linguistic, cultural, social or contexts (Herdina & Jessner, 2000; Kramsch, 2002; Grosjean, 2010). Variability in language, culture, gender, life experience or social background are characteristic of the smallest (families) to the biggest (countries) social units in modern society, where any kind of communication is more or less multilingual and cross-cultural. Thus, a multiliteracies approach proposes that it is no longer enough to concentrate on the standard forms of national languages. International communication, globalisation and increased mobility require people to be able to identify differences in meaning-making from one linguistic or social context to another and to react spontaneously through adjusting to multilingual situations immediately. Moreover, new media and information technology make communication increasingly multimodal. Linguistic modes of communication in written or spoken form overlap with visual, audio, kinaesthetic (facial, gestural and tactile) as well as spatial representations of content with which they interact in any meaning-making process. The New London Group therefore suggest that a multiliteracies approach should increase the traditional range of literacy pedagogy by bringing multimodal representations and situations into learning situations inside and outside schools. This means that features typical of the new, digital media should supplement approaches relying exclusively or primarily on alphabetical forms (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000).

Marton's (2015) *Variation Theory* of learning suggests that in order to learn, we have to discern. To be able to discern, language learners have to distinguish the linguistic units they are expected to acquire from others through identifying their similarities and differences. Thus, the linguistic units have to be presented to the learners with carefully structured variation against a background of invariance. Going through this process, Marton explains, the learners contrast, generalize and fuse in order to make sense of what they perceive. To discern the colour *green*, for example, learners will have to be able to contrast at least two aspects: variation and invariance. They need to be "exposed to things that have the same color (green), …. , and different forms (ball, cube, prism), …. to determine what those things have in common. In the case of contrast the learners are exposed to things that have different colors (green, red, blue) …. and the same form …. . The task is to determine how those things differ from each other." (Marton, 2015, p. 49). In this, V*ariation Theory* confirms the theory of *Lexical Priming* (Hoey, 2005) which suggests that words interact with each other in common patterns of use and that the human brain retrieves memory in a structured way "since information can be accessed all the easier when it can be linked to other known information. This link is strengthened the more (often) a person absorbs the same (or slight variations of) connected information." Quoting Smith (1985), Hoey suggests that in order to *prime* a word appropriately it is necessary to have "experience of a word in a variety of contexts", i.e. in its intertextual, extratextual, and intratextual forms (Hoey, 2005, p. 10). Hence, the concept of *priming* is closely related to *variation* and Hoey's theory of language argues that the roles of lexis and grammar are reversed with lexis being completely systematically structured and grammar being the outcome of this structure. In the theory of *Lexical Priming*, Hoey justifies the importance of collocations with the fact that some sentences are made up of interlocking collocations that reproduce stretches of earlier sentences, sometimes including important variations and that re-encountering words or word sequences reinforce or weakens existing primings which creates generalisations through variation and exclusion through contrast (Hoey, 2005, p. 5 & 9).

Storytelling provides a natural springboard for variation theory and lexical priming to be embedded into natural activities usually designed to be listened to and to be participated in. They offer structure through their chronological and thematic organisation, their repetitive elements as well as their social embeddedness into

familiar themes (Cameron, 2010). Moreover, stories create dynamic contexts as they allow their listeners to immerse into multiple perspectives over time when first told in families and later in other social or educational environments. Equally, they can stimulate concurrent dynamic forces, if repetitive elements familiar in one language are used in another within the same story. The dynamic aspects of multilingual storytelling or story-listening thus support the development of multiple identities and the languages used may attribute the listeners to different cultures within the short time-frames of stories. The opportunities to use languages in situations of storytelling give the listeners or readers reason to create ownership, an important component for social and linguistic identity (Norton, 2013; Norton & McKinney, 2011).

Stories, and fairy tales in particular, feature elements that have developed over generations and spread internationally so that their prototypical traditions are familiar all over the word. Thus, storytellers as well as their listeners are familiar with the sequence in a story: the opening formula, like the title of this paper or *Once upon a time…,* the sequential introduction of the main characters and their challenge(s) in a series of situations or events. Finally, the solution usually leads to a happy ending where people live *happily ever after* or to a moral that stands out explicitly or implicitly.

The familiarity of the pattern and the relative security of the happy ending create predictability in stories which frequently also include elements of surprise and twist. Usually, the language in stories follows a similar predictable pattern through repetition and variation: In *Little Red Riding Hood*, for example, the repetitive phrase is *Grandmother, what big …. you have got! All the better to …. you with!* and its variations are *ears* and *hear*, *eyes* and *see* and finally *mouth* and *eat*. Stories are generally told more than once and gradually active participation comes in: children repeat or complete the repetitive phrases and if storytellers vary and make conscious changes or "mistakes", children take pleasure in correcting them. If done in additional languages, such participation does not just demonstrate the ability to reproduce; including variation it provides opportunity for lexical priming and evidence for comprehension.

Authentic stories were written to entertain and their language is full of unusual words and idiomatic phrases. In combination with pictures, children pick up a rich lexical range easily. The variation of similarity and contrast as well as alliteration and metaphor create scaffolds that make both narrative and dialogic elements of stories rich comprehensible input. The latter will be even more effective if the context creates a low affective filter and the responsiveness of familiar experiences and phrases foster motivation (Krashen & Terrell, 1995; Krashen, 2004).

Familiarity and variation also help children in decoding the meaning of pictures in storybooks. Children manage to recognise simple items in pictures at the age of nine months and their first decoding initiates a process that never ends. New media generate a growing need to decode not just at the basic pictorial level but also at a more universal one when children learn to decode from all different kinds of media and in varying situations, which requires intercultural decoding (Kümmerling-Meibauer, 2013).

Storybooks introduce children into the world of decoding. Text and pictures usually supplement each other to provide all the information required for understanding. Thus, storybooks confront children with two systems, the verbal and the pictorial, and they provide the first environment of multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

It is generally agreed that familiar words and phrases heard repeatedly during storytelling help children accumulate lexis and store it in their memory successfully. They do so because stories provide the context for individually experienced, noticed, coined and picked up lexicons. Through numerous variations the words and phrases become useful for and useable by the individual. Children who experience stories in various forms (storytelling, picture books, movies, puppet plays etc.), through various channels (listening to, viewing, reading and/or acting out) and through cultural variations, experience their multiple identities and they learn to express their preferred ones confidently.

Following a multiliteracies approach (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000, p. 23), stories can be considered *Available Designs*, the resources for meaning-making. During the process of comprehension, children (as listeners or readers) draw upon their experience of other *Available Designs* as a resource for making new meanings. As a result, their listening and reading becomes a production of texts-for-themselves based on their own interests and experience: a *Designing*. If *Designing* becomes visible or audible through production or transformation, *the Redesigned* emerges and it becomes a new *Available Design* as well as a new meaning-making resource. Moreover, Cope & Kalantzis suggest, the meaning-makers remake themselves in this process, i.e. they shape and transform their identities through creating ownership of the texts and the languages they are using. As this process of meaning-making is considered to be active and dynamic, rather than static, the following theoretical framework, depicted in Figure 1, was drawn up to conceptualise and to analyse the case studies.

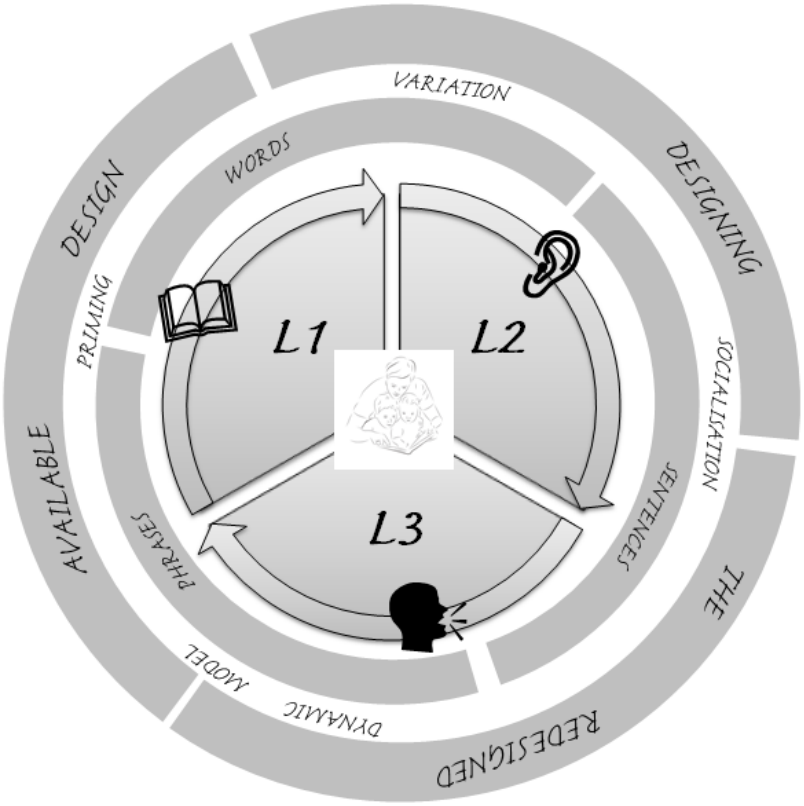

Fig. 1: Meaning making in storytelling using a multiliteracies approach

Figure 2 shows the visual representation of a story retold by a multilingual child at the age of eight. The *Available Design*, the story *The Mitten,* was introduced in its English version (Brett, 1996) in the child's third language, re-told by the child in Russian to her mother, who showed the child the Ukrainian original in an online movie version. This created *Designing* in the child's first language. Eventually the child drew a picture and took it to school where the teacher encouraged the child to tell her somewhat different story to her peers in German, the language of schooling. *The Redesigned.* In the process of *Designing*, the mother had created a personalised lexical notebook with the child through adding the names of the animals in the girl's three languages. The teacher used the repetitive storytelling phrases she had introduced in one language (English) to redesign the story in another (German, see Figure 6). The process of de-construction from English to Russian and the re-construction to German, the language of schooling, is an example for multilingual storytelling making use of the repetitive element and the principle of variation. For the child, the drawing became a visible example of her own linguistic and social identities and the discovery of their ranking in her perception.

Fig.2: Drawing of "Rukavichka"

Collecting words and phrases in multimodal representations such as *personalised lexical notebooks* make them meaningful and memorable for their users (Hoey, 2005; Lewis, 1993). Therefore, a teacher would not offer the complete mind map as can be seen in Figure 3, but only draw the mitten with the text in the middle to let the learners add the animals as they please. Thus, each child can create their unique variation of their new story (Appendix C).

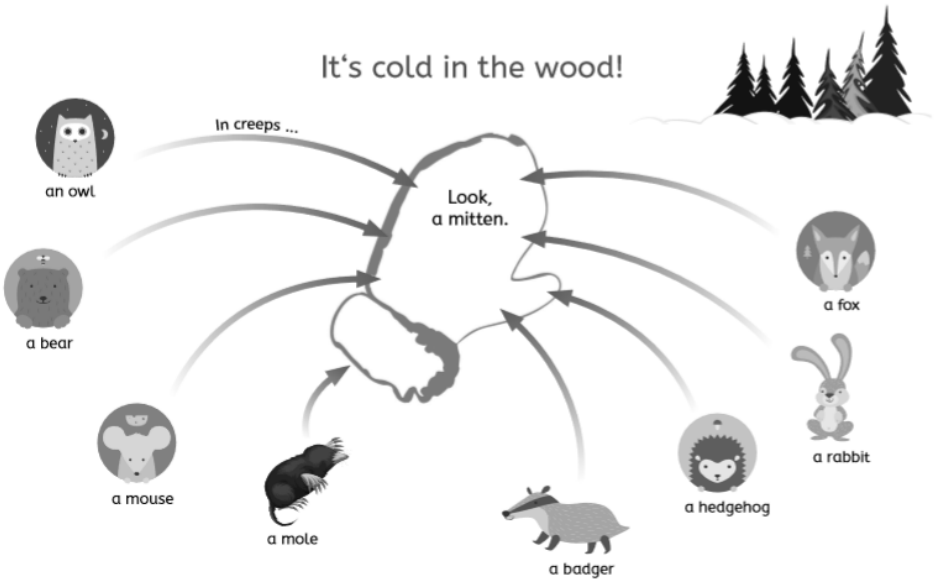

Fig. 3: Mind-Map "The Mitten"

The example in Figure 4 shows an advanced personalised mind map where a teacher gave the title in the middle and the seven branches for the learners to add their texts individually.

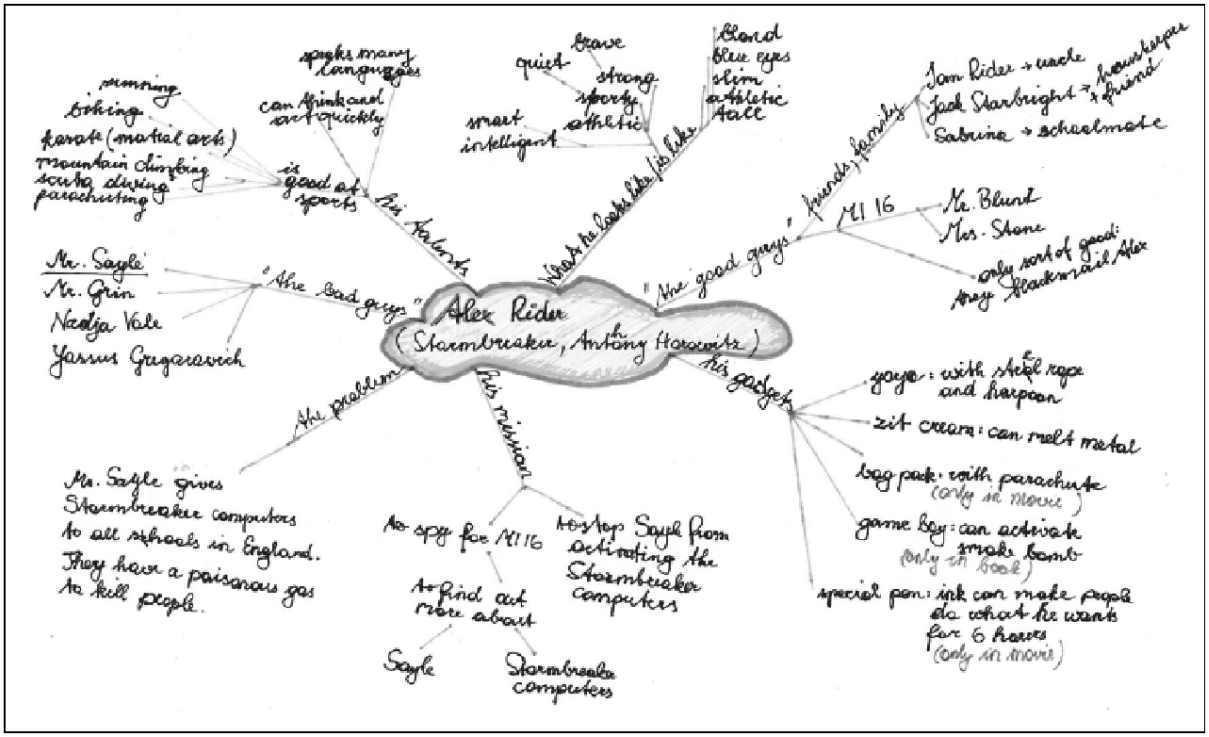

Fig.4: Personalised mind-map "Alex Rider, Stormbreaker"

In the first place, storytelling is the private domain of the family where stories are told and read in a comfortable environment and where they create warm memories. At school, stories are often exploited for other reasons. They are used to introduce the language in the story to support drama activities (see Appendix 3), or to teach learners to retell or summarize texts. Frequently, however, they also become the starting point for grammar activities. However, storytelling specialists warn us not to destroy the children's natural desire for stories and their pleasure and interest in listening to them through their extensive utilisation as a teaching vehicle (Wright, 2009).

A similar claim is made by the New London Group who emphasise the *new function of classrooms* which should create relevant learning processes that "recruit, rather than attempt to ignore and erase, the different subjectivities, interests, intentions, commitments, and purposes that students bring to learning." (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000, p. 18) Moreover, they argue, that the curriculum should use the attendant languages, discourses and registers as a resource for learning and never attempt to overwrite "existing subjectivities with the language of the dominant culture". In order to develop a pedagogy of pluralism they suggest involving collaborative activities, fostering commitment and creative involvement, providing mass media access at school, creating diverse learning environments, and building communities of learners that are aware of the autonomy of diverse lifeworlds.

3 Case studies

Attempting to grasp the phenomenon of multilingualism from a linguistic perspective is a complex process which cannot be separated from the children's environments and lifeworlds their language development takes place in. Especially with younger children it seems important to collect detailed information without losing track of the whole, i.e. the development of the children's personalities and identities from a more global perspective. At the same time, being able to capture the microcosm of "interesting combinations and reconfigurations of language" in a living and dynamic environment (Fecho & Clifton, 2017, p. 79) seems vital. Therefore, the case studies presented in this chapter focus on children's immediate environments, capturing data collected in their homes, kindergartens or schools. Although the small scale aspect of this comparative study and the social environment of the sample represent limitations to its generalisability, the cases are considered characteristic representations of what is described in the theories they are analysed with.

3.1 Data collection and analysis

This paper is based on three case studies carried out in Austria, Hungary, and the US, in the context of multilingual middle-class families with ready access to books and digital media. Eight children and the development of their first languages, i.e. the languages used primarily in their daily conduct of life, and their additional languages spoken by and with some of the family members, friends or carers (including teachers) but not used as regularly, were investigated in a longitudinal comparative study. All children had family backgrounds that employed storytelling and the reading of books and modern media to support their linguistic development. The positive attitudes towards multilingualism as well as the readiness of the families, kindergartens and schools to support, observe and track the language development of the children have to be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the outcomes described. Therefore, this study has to be seen as one that investigates a language rich and favourable environment for multilingual development. Its aim is to describe the role of storytelling and reading in the observed multilingual speakers' language development and to depict their perception of favoured and most frequently used languages together with one or two additional ones. In some cases, most frequently used languages were found to have changed over time because of the social and geographical environment the children were living in or through educational circumstances. If this change led to a difference in how the participants of this study perceived their linguistic identity, the changes in language use, awareness and identity were explicated. As the social environments of the participants expanded, peer groups became increasingly important. In addition to friends, virtual peer groups contributed to the diversity of the young people's social as well as linguistic development through face to face and on-line contacts.

The collection of data lasted from a very early age in the participants' family contexts until up to young adulthood capturing the languages used at home as well as the languages at kindergarten or school. Paper and pencil notes made by parents and caretakers (grandparents, other family members) in diaries, video and audio recordings of storytelling and acting events, drawn and written artefacts as well as structured observations by kindergarten and school teachers were collected. To capture the complexity of the phenomenon, various approaches were applied during data collection. While data collection in the family was based on available documents collected in the past as well as open interviews in the present, kindergarten and school teachers were encouraged to take a structured approach using an observation protocol and post-lesson interviews (see Appendices A and B). The linguistic development through virtual peer communities, however, could not be tracked through any kind of direct observation. To clarify the origins of new language uptake perceived during conversations in the family, interviews with the teenagers were held (see Appendix B, Table 2).

The analysis and interpretation of the linguistic development of eight children based on observed and reported reactions and behaviour during storytelling or story-reading was carried out by three researchers whose outside view has certainly impacted the outcome which is other-reported. Like any research based on outside interpretations, this study holds the limitations of inside data collection and outside evaluation (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1992). However, the collaboration of researchers with families and educational environments was based on mutual respect and negotiated understanding. This understanding had provided access to field in the in the first place and created the opportunity to engage in back checks during the development of categories for data analysis. The following categories (see Table 1) were applied taking into consideration the theoretical framework employed:

	Category & Goal	Theoretical Models
1a 1b	Languages (first, second, third) - passive (1a) and active (1b) level and use over time	Herdina & Jessner, 2000; Grosjean, 2010
2a 2b 2c	Input and levels of comprehension at word (2a), phrase (2b) or sentence level (2c) through linguistic variation	Hoey, 2005; Marton, 2015
3a 3b 3c	Input and levels of comprehension at word (3a), phrase (3b) or sentence level (3c) through multimodality	Cope & Kalantzis, 2000;
4	Language change and shifts in perception of language identity and value	Grosjean, 2010; Kramsch, 2002; Norton, 2013; Norton & McKinney, 2011

Table 1: Categories for analysis used in the constant comparative method

This process resulted in thick descriptions of the three case studies. The comparative analysis and interpretation of the studies, however, is the outcome of collaborative research by outsiders and is thus prone to any flaws an outside view may produce.

4 Storytelling, story-reading and the reactions of multilingual listeners and readers

In the following sections, the case studies are fleshed out as thick description, i.e. data from diaries, parents' and caretakers' reports as well as kindergarten and school teachers' observations and interviews were transformed into narratives through triangulation using the constant comparative method (Glaser, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As such, they represent the participants' journeys "of *how* they know as well as *what* they know" (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. xi).

4.1 Case study 1

Case study one focused on a boy who was born into a multilingual family. Both parents spoke Austrian vernacular with each other and with some of the child's caretakers (grandparents, babysitters...) but they only used standard German when communicating with their children. The older siblings started using English as a third language in addition to Austrian vernacular and German when they were about a year old. The new language was brought in through story books, videos, songs, rhymes and chants and used regularly in encounters with English speaking family members and friends. Education contributed to fluency in English and added two more languages (Italian and Spanish), which were only used in educational context. Two siblings considered standard German their first language, i.e. the language they used most frequently, and they identified with the most. One sibling occasionally spoke Austrian vernacular in the family context, one only spoke standard German with the occasional vernacular phrase or sentence to make elderly family members feel at ease. The third sibling only communicated in standard German when his English-speaking partner was not around. He considered English his first language because of his social as well as professional context in an English-speaking country. Thus, the case study boy grew up in a mixed German, Austrian vernacular and English-speaking family with the languages switched according to communication partner. Through an increasingly international family situation, however, English was considered the *lingua franca* between all members. Despite this multilingual scenario, the boy rejected plurilingual communication for a very long time. Although he could understand Austrian vernacular and English, he would only produce language in standard German until the age of six when observed. Eventually, attending a German-English bilingual school from the age of ten brought about willingness and ability to speak and write in fluent English within less than a year. Additionally, time spent in English speaking environments through travelling and an increasing number of international family members and friends of similar age contributed to this change, also in perception of linguistic identity. While standard German was clearly linked to a feeling of identity in early years and surfaced as the language of choice for communication, the association of language and identity shifted at when the teenager started talking about his "English self", an "English speaking identity", a "German speaking identity" as well as the differences between them. The new identification was promoted by professional plans for the future and opened doors to a growing number of international friendships, most of them online. This led to the uptake of another language, Finnish, for purely social purposes at CEFR A1 level (Council of Europe, 2001).

Storytelling or reading input was initially provided in two languages to the child. Stories were read in standard German and English, while talking about or deconstructing them was sometimes also done in Austrian vernacular, thus creating new design from available text. The multilingual storytelling environment also influenced the boy's own reading. While primarily German in the beginning, private reading became increasingly English for the teenage reader who developed a strong interest in fictional genres. Being a digital native (Prensky, 2001), the participant certainly represented a typical listener or reader who comprehended and interacted through the multimodal language of new media, i.e. through the integrated meaning making systems of electronic multimedia texts, although he still preferred to read classical fiction in printed book form as a teenager.

As with most very young children, storytelling started with picture books containing very little text to be read. A storytelling mode with picture description and pointing at pictures or naming objects was the most commonly used method used by the family. After a phase of just pointing at objects, the child quickly started adding sounds or movements. For example, the storytelling input of *"Look, a digger!"* or *"Show me the digger!"* was followed by the passive reaction of pointing at and the active reaction of saying *"brmm, brmm"*. Animal and vehicle noises were followed by single word utterances, all in standard German, even if the storyteller was using Austrian vernacular or English. Grammatical differences in the use of determiners in the Austrian vernacular were identified by the child. For example, *"a Elefant"* said by the caretaker was corrected to *"ein*

Elefant" at the age of three. While activities in Austrian vernacular always showed the same reaction in standard German, the child would not react to attempts of making him use the vernacular form or English actively. New design from available text would always be produced in standard German. Thus, the rejection of other languages was a usual pattern followed by the request to use standard German in storytelling as well. Nevertheless, the family continued to tell and read stories in English. Moreover, watching English children's series provided additional input, i.e. available design in various languages.

On some rare occasions the boy would demonstrate understanding of input in English through pointing at pictures or carrying out physical actions. Only if non-fictional books about science were irresistibly interesting, "reading" them in English would be accepted. Most of the time, however, the boy requested the content of English books to be mediated in standard German rather than read, if the story-reader was also a speaker of German. Only if the reader was a monolingual speaker of English, was reading or storytelling in English language accepted. The boy would not talk about stories in English with his bilingual family members. Questions in English were always answered in German and expected to be mediated by other family members. Creating design from available design was always done in the most dominant language. However, when feeling unobserved, parents would eavesdrop self-talk, for example when looking at holiday pictures: *"Look, there is a Mister Crabs and a Schneck [snail]. We also have here the Meer [sea] and the Stand [beach]. Here you see number one-five-eight."* The parents considered this active storytelling by the child when he was three years old to be prompted by the uptake of phrases like *"Look, there is…", "We also have…"* and *"Here you see…"* during a recent holiday but also through explanations they used to give when showing picture books to the child. This kind of redesign demonstrating active multilingualism was always private and never done in public. In storytelling situations, the habit of passive reaction and active code-switching was observed for another seven years. However, in situations where the child was not surrounded by parents or caretakers and where the use of English was necessary to achieve a certain goal, the child would use English actively from the age of four onwards. For example, a text read to the child about amoebae in English followed by the question *"What is an amoeba?"* would be followed by a response in German "*Das da? Ich kann das lesen. [This here? I can read this]"*. However, living in a multilingual cloud with English as a *lingua franca* as a major input left its traces. As soon as new media and online games became accessible to the child, his readiness to use English actively increased speedily.

Whatever language was being used, the younger child showed little interest in storybooks and was particularly put off by fairy tales. Any attempt to read "Hansel and Gretel" in the family, for example, caused blunt refusal (*"I don't want to listen to that."*). The child preferred non-fictional books and started "reading" them at the age of four. The kind of reading the child exhibited was retelling the previously listened to content in his own words in German, as a form of design. If content had been told or read in English and the German words were not yet familiar, a mix of both languages was observed.

When school created a need to read set storybooks, the process became cumbersome and the child started to dislike reading in educational contexts. Instead, private reading, primarily online, became increasingly interesting if connected to on-line games such as "Minecraft". Watching "How-to Minecraft" or "Let's play" videos created a new environment which enabled creative activities, storytelling and learning in addition to listening and watching to other users' Minecraft stories. The boy learnt from creating things and telling stories, primarily as a form of redesign in English. Minecraft allowed the child to fully immerse into another world, which had a lot of implications for language use and creativity. Reading on-line in the context of gaming and creating redesigned stories in gaming videos became prevalent, while reading fictional stories was confined to the world education.

Only when books could be chosen independently for book reports, reading fiction for pleasure became possible. The family helped the child select the German version of "Dark Life" (Falls, 2011) for a book review because the story combined topics the teenager was interested in: the ocean, Old West pioneers, and the X-men. The combination of science-fiction and non-fictional science was a new genre that made reading attractive again and it was done in the first and the second language simultaneously. Reading young adult literature was soon followed by adult literature in similar genres. Reading both fictional and non-fictional texts in English, which had taken over as the most frequently used and first language in the teenager's perception, became common practice in addition to reading text adventures online: Collosal Cave Adventure (Crowther & Woods, 1977), The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy (Adams & Meretzky, 1984), The Dreamhold (Plotkin, 2004), or Until Dawn (Supermassive Games, 2015). A concentration on reading longer and more complex texts, especially fictional ones, and a shift in educational focus terminated productive in storytelling or –writing. Case study one thus showed that active reaction to stories in the form of design and redesign was a childhood and

maybe teenage activity which stopped with the uptake of young adult literature and writing for educational purposes in more vocational genres.

4.2 Case study 2

Like in all case studies, observation was the main source for data collection, supplemented by interviews with parents and caretakers in case study 2. It concentrated on a girl in an environment where Hungarian was the national language. Growing up in a German-Hungarian family environment, the girl was observed up to the age of young adulthood.

In this case study, mini-dialogues were initiated and recorded in addition to data collection through observation when the girl was very young. The advantage of the use of mini-dialogues was to avoid a fearful feeling of the infant towards the researcher. Creating dialogic situations in the child's home avoided feelings of inhibition while playful activities were used to show what the child already knew or what was currently being acquired rather than detecting linguistic flaws. The mini-dialogues were part of playtime and story-time activities and suggestions for topics came from the child itself. Looking at picture books greatly supported the conversations during which the girl was observed in her language development.

The girl was educated bilingually using the "One-Parent-One-Language Approach" (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004), i.e. her father spoke German and her mother used Hungarian in her communication with the child. The family lived in Hungary, which is why the social group and friends provided a Hungarian-speaking environment. Since the German language input was only provided by the father and the mother stayed at home with the little girl until the age of three, the child's dominant language was Hungarian. In the family the child was encouraged to speak German with the grandparents and other family members. In the bilingual kindergarten, teachers used both languages.

The girl had spoken both languages simultaneously at the age of twelve months. Her first Hungarian words were *dad (apa*) and car (autó), while its German words were Bär (bear) and ja (yes). With 16 months she could construct short utterances of two or more words in Hungarian and knew 50 words in total. Hungarian became her dominant language at school because of the amount of input the girl was getting.

At the age of two, the girl was able to separate the two languages consciously. She hardly ever mixed the two languages which she spoke fluently, although German was articulated with a strong Hungarian accent. Moreover, the girl conjugated German words with Hungarian endings: *spielünk (wir spielen; we play), spielek (ich spiele, I play), essni (essen, to eat)*. Her active lexicon was related to the content of her picture books: animals, furniture, and numbers. Her passive lexicon was much bigger. She listened to Grimm's fairy tales and understood all instructions or questions relating the stories in German. She also listened to fairy tales in Hungarian language which were retold by the father in German, thus providing design in German for available design in Hungarian. The girl used to "read" many German story books and could differentiate between the German and Hungarian variations. In colloquial conversations she responded in Hungarian but could also do so in German if requested. Code-switching also happened in conversations with the father who always addressed the girl in German, mostly getting a Hungarian response.

If the father asked direct questions about the stories, the girls mixed languages in their response: "*Ist es wahr? Nem, nem wahr*." [Is it true?] She used nouns and some verbs when pointing at people doing things in the pictures: *kochen, gießen, verlieren* [cooking, watering the flowers, losing]. Questions about the content were answered in single words: "*Was ist das? Bär. Welche Tiere kennst du noch? Hase, Hund, Katze."* [What is this? Bear. Do you know any other animals? Rabbit, dog, cat]. As soon as the girl started attending kindergarten she started repeating rhymes and chants she had learnt there. In most of the cases these activities followed routines like clearing up or cooking a meal. In the view of her parents, productive speech could best be achieved through retelling stories, rhymes, and conversations about animals. With the help of the story books the girl developed linguistic output eagerly. German instructions were understood completely and she participated eagerly in games related to the stories. The girl's transferring stories to games can be considered a form of re-design.

The change from the receptive phase to the productive phase was carried out in the summer before the gird attending the large bilingual group in kindergarten. Storytelling afternoons in German brought the father, who could thus spend the summer with his daughter, to kindergarten regularly. The "lessons" started with a slide show that told the story in German. First, pictures and words created the context, followed by storytelling with picture books. Finally, in the productive section, the children took part in conversations with a puppet about the stories in German.

At first, questions like "What is this? What is he doing? What kind of…?" were asked, later more complex questions asking for reasons (Why…?) followed. Through acting out the roles in the story and talking about the topic, the girl managed to co-construct the content of the stories in her own words, partly making use of the repetitive phrases from the stories. Building on a large lexical range, the girl could pronounce the words and phrases with increasing accuracy, practising the rhythm and pronunciation especially with the aforementioned repetitive elements. She also learnt collocations, and syntactic structures, sufficient sentence patterns and variations of words (homonyms, synonyms, antonyms etc.) from texts made available through story-telling and reading (available design). Quickly, she came to use expressions from the picture books and slides, which were more varied and more explicit than those in everyday language. For example, she got to use the collocation "den Hunger stillen" (to satisfy hunger), which she had learnt from a story about a meal with the family.

Moreover, the girl acquired the language by speaking it. Creating design and re-design through telling and retelling must be practised. However, re-designing one's own stories in a transfer from one language to another forms part of multilingual communication. Reading or listening to each literary work is a specific communication process consisting of a pre- and paraliteral form of communication, which is ritualized and prototypical. Often, this transfer includes cultural content migrating from one world to another thus uniting in a multilingual understanding of the self, an identity that wanders between cultures as well as beyond them. Stories provide an ideal medium for this transfer and an experience-space that is unique to bilingual or multilingual children. Identity does not develop in a void and as observed in the girl's reception and transfer of stories in the home and at kindergarten, where both languages were offered and appreciated, stories are able to combine linguistic and cultural development in various languages as well as across cultures simultaneously. By the end of the last year in the kindergarten the girl spoke fluent and accent-free Hungarian and German, but she preferred to use the Hungarian language, not only with children but with adults as well.

In two and a half years the girl had achieved a balanced bilingual competence in Hungarian and German which is comparable to the result of the speech learning of simultaneous bilingual children. She applied both languages fluently and accurately. Since the beginning of school education, the Hungarian vocabulary has grown a lot since the uptake of active reading. When reading available design in Hungarian, the girl tried to find out the German equivalent of all new words. She translated a lot from one language to another. As soon as school had encouraged educational reading in addition to reading for pleasure, she started reading stories in both languages and using electronic media in German (television, computer games). Acquiring more language through multimodal channels such as television, German-language books, or computer games did not only support lexical growth, it also created opportunities for new designs and re-designs in Hungarian as well as German. Although school created a stronger focus on Hungarian, the girl still prefers short stories about history from diverse internet channels in German. However, using modern media added a new additional language: English. The girl has been listening to diverse songs in English, plays games using English as a medium of communication. Another language has opened a new window to her multilingual world.

4.3 Case study 3

Children 7 (female) and 8 (male) were born into an Austrian family where they spoke German most of the time. However, due to their parents` occupation, English was frequently spoken when friends or colleagues were around. The children, only 23 months apart, were introduced to German and English children's books, songs and rhymes from the very beginning. For example *"Wo ist denn die Nase von dem Hasen? Welche Farbe hat denn die Nase? Und welche Farbe hat sein Ohr?"* received passive and active response in German: *"blau, rot"*, while the same question asked in English triggered passive comprehension feedback and a German response. Additionally, the mother set regular times when she spoke English during phases of daily routines or play time. The girl joined English playgroups from the age of three and her brother from the age of two onwards. Both children seemed to enjoy it. The majority of the children joining this playgroup had German as first language as well.

While both children developed rapidly in their productive use of German, they both had a long silent phase in English. During this time they showed understanding through pointing at items during their mother's storytelling or by reacting accordingly during play time with their mother or in the playgroups. When asked specifically for English words, they only answered in single word utterances or very short phrases - mostly remembered from repetitive elements in stories and rhymes. From early age on, both children could clearly distinguish which children's book was in German and which in English. While the girl seemed unconcerned when her mother chose to use a German book to tell the story in English, her brother clearly resisted this and demanded to be told the story in what he called the "correct" language.

Around the age of two and four the two children developed a strong relationship to each other. For a while, the boy even seemed to ignore his mother when she made suggestions in English during phases of routines of play time. During this phase the girl seemed to enjoy recasting to her brother in German what Mom had said in English. Their strong relationship also manifested itself in the fact that the two children developed their own language, strongly led by the older sister. The girl also tried to teach her peers in nursery school this language, which seemed to have a system only understood by the siblings. However, this language was not shared with adults and neither the nursery school teacher nor the parents managed to grasp more than a few words, which neither sounded English nor German, and the children flatly refused to share it. The girl developed an early interest in reading and had taught herself to read by the time she entered school and she enjoyed reading to her brother, but only in German. She never attempted to read an English story herself. However, both children still loved the regular story times, mainly with their mother, in both languages.
The following is a typical example of reading and mediating content between the mother and the girl aged five: *"Where is* Something Else *sitting on?" – "Chair." – "Is the chair big or small? Can you tell me what else you can see here?" – "Big! Is a big chair. Hm.* Something Else *on yellow chair. Der hat ein Stofftier das schaut genauso aus wie er, nur kleiner. [He has a toy that looks exactly like him, just smaller.] – "How does* Something Else *feel?" - "Sad. Er hat keine Freunde. [He has no friends.]"*

The change took place when the family moved to the USA for two years when the girl was seven and the boy was five years old. Both children met this transition with eagerness and curiosity. The only worry before moving articulated by the girl was that she would not be the best in reading in her class anymore. This manifested itself in one remarkable incident: She vanished to her room and collected all the English story books available and let her family know that she did not want to be disturbed. After about an hour she emerged again declaring she had tried to read the English books and had succeeded in doing so and appeared to be satisfied about the outcome. Indeed, she never had problems in her reading skills which was also something her American teachers would later on remark positively on.

The move to the States caused a language shift. Not only did both children manage to interact with teachers and peers within two weeks after school had started, they also started to communicate in English with each other in the home environment. Next, they spoke English while they were playing; when one of them had to use a German word because of the lack of the English expression they automatically switched to German altogether. The next phase was that they spoke English continuously and only used German expressions when they did not have the English one available and finally, they communicated in English only. This shift took place within the time frame of about four months. This rapid transition seemed to have been triggered not only by the social surrounding which the children experienced as welcoming and including but also by the decision that the father would go on speaking German with the children while the mother switched entirely to English in order to help them in their transition. Despite the fact that the children still could decide whether stories would be read or told in German or English, they clearly preferred the English ones. However, when the little boy was struggling to learn to read after having been introduced to all the letters in kindergarten his then eight year-old sister told him that reading was easier to learn in German than in English and taught him to do so with the consequence that his reading ability developed in both languages equally. Despite of being able to read themselves and independently, both children still enjoyed story times in the evening. They clearly preferred to be read to in English by their mother, but they never asked their father to read to them in English. When reading themselves they seemed to alternate between reading German and English books depending on which books were newly available. Still, they read more English books simply because they visited the library weekly to pick out new stories.

The habit of preferring English stories continued after the family had moved back to Austria despite of the fact that it was more complicated to obtain English books. At this point the children were seven and nine years old. Until they reached puberty they preferred to wish for English books and to read in English; they only read the German books they had to read in school or the ones they were given as presents. Equally, their preferred language which had shifted to English when living in the States stayed their main language when talking to each other and to their mother. They even did this when German speaking people were around. They only switched to speaking German with each other when they wanted to interact with other German speaking children or felt it would be rude to speak English.

The girl still showed occasional interest in reading the same books in both languages, even as she was getting older. For example, she chose to read *Briefe von Felix* and *Letters from Felix*, *Greg's Tagebuch* and *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* or the first part of *Harry Potter*. She seemed to read very carefully and consciously as she frequently remarked on translations she found either interesting or lacking.

In terms of storytelling, she displayed interest in inventing, writing and illustrating her own stories in German outside school from the age of six onwards. During her time in the USA she switched to writing in English. At school she was encouraged to write stories, riddles, jokes and poems. She was also given opportunities to display them, which she clearly enjoyed and cultivated in her free time. Back in Austria creative writing was not encouraged neither by her German nor her English teacher. Still, she occasionally wrote in her free time, both in German and English. From the age of 15 onwards, she continued writing stories in English only. She considered herself as being fully bilingual, but she felt she could express herself more "creatively" in English.

The boy, on the other hand, first did not show particular interest in creative writing. However, in contrast to his sister he enjoyed acting, performing and music making on stage. Encouraged in kindergarten in the US to participate in school plays and other performances, he continued acting out stories in Austria as well. Initially inspired by his German teacher, he and his friend started to write sketches to contribute to entertainment in German classes from the age of 13 onwards. These successful acts motivated them to write entire cabaret shows to perform them first at school assemblies and then in front of wider audiences. At the same time, the boy developed interest in writing music and song texts, in contrast to the cabaret shows, in English only, again to record and perform them.

4.4 Summary

Summarizing the results of the four case studies it could be observed that children growing up in a multilingual environment initially used to respond to multilingual storytelling or story reading in their preferred languages. They included linguistic, visual, and kinaesthetic forms to support their messages but disregarded the fact that they might not always be understood. While some children reacted with a silent phase or a refusal to communicate in their additional languages when they realized that their utterances were not fully comprehensible, others even developed their own interlanguage which could only be understood by siblings or peers. However, silence or gobbledygook were not complete closure. The children observed, listened, and learned; eventually they came up with accurate and active use of the additional languages they had been taking in but not using actively. It seemed that these children growing up in bilingual or multilingual contexts had a ready awareness of the varieties of the languages they encountered as well as of their accurate forms. This increased language awareness seemed to cause the reluctance to use pidgin forms and to outstrip the desire to communicate. Consequently, the children avoided the language they did not feel confident in until they ended the prolonged silent phase and to engage in active and mostly accurate use. Receiving variations of the same stories in different languages had supported their receptive understanding more rapidly than their productive mode but also created linguistic proficiency through intensive priming. It is not surprising that the process of finding out what would work out and what would not take longer with these children.

These children growing up in multilingual contexts, had all developed sufficient control of the family languages and those of the social environment in order to be able to cope with the growing demands in terms the linguistic and cognitive complexity of the language of schooling. In preparation to these new demands, storytelling had played an important role in providing the children with rich input to increase their lexical range. Stories read in the various languages were vital in the development of literacy because they provided variations of lexis in different languages but communicating the same content and their illustrations promoted comprehension further. Additionally, early language learning in educational contexts benefitted from the familiarity of content and context in stories the children already knew. If caretakers or teachers used multisensory techniques addressing all channels of intake in combination with picture books, story books, or even simple resources such as photo albums, the children were able to make the necessary connections to comprehend even complex storylines although they were not always ready to reproduce in any language. Production was often monolingual in the very young children and more readily bilingual or multilingual in teenagers.

A multiliteracies approach to storytelling and reading including a variety of channels of input and varying that input also in language provided multimodal opportunities for language acquisition and the development of literacy. The children in the case studies seemed to have benefitted from their multilingual approach to comprehension including visual and new media literacy. The variation in discourse from one language to another and within genres gave them the means to an end and the ends in themselves because their sole interest was to be entertained and to enjoy what they were listening to, reading or doing.

Fig 5: Personalised lexical notebook

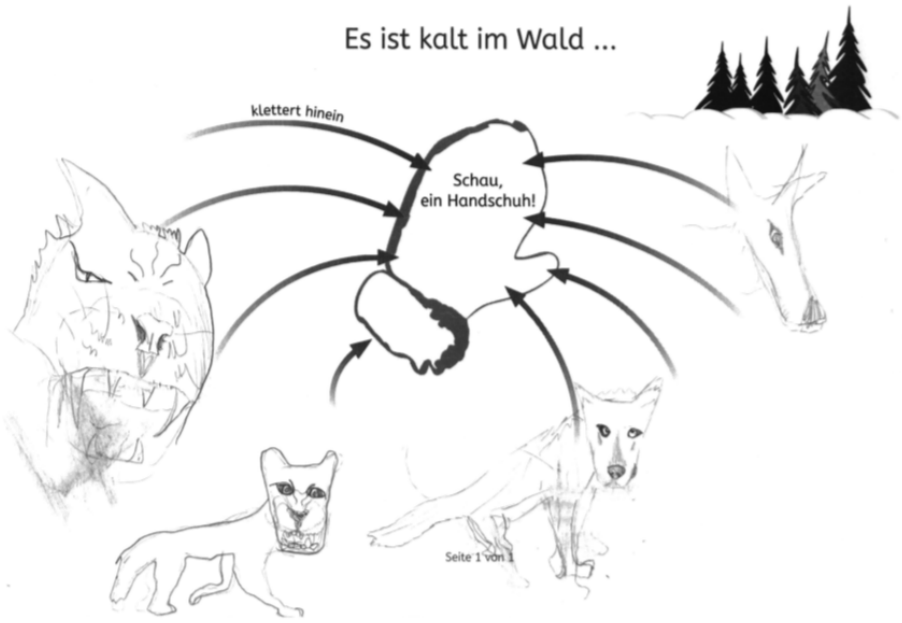

Fig. 6: Personalised version of *The Mitten*

The story *The Mitten*, for example, was made a drama activity of varying kinds in different places (Figures 5 - 6 and Appendix C) and it also surfaced as designing and redesigning cross-cultural and personalised adaptations of it: Figure 5 shows a labelled picture from a family diary, recording a drama performance of "The Mitten" and Figure 6, depicting the redesign in a completely new version of the story with a creative variation of the animals featuring in it.

These are examples of how variation and lexical priming went hand in hand when the children created their own new versions of familiar texts in a multiliteracies approach.

5 Conclusion

Children have a natural desire for stories and this desire should be exploited in educational contexts (Alexander, 2008; Asher, 1977; Cameron, 2010; Wright, 2009) because stories create motivation, meaning, language fluency and awareness through familiarisation in more than one language. Multiliteracies conceptualise languages in a much broader sense than the traditional approach used to do. Children need to

become literate in reading pictorial, gestural, spatial, cultural, and social as well as linguistic alphabets in order to develop literacy that makes them fully functional in the 21st century.

Stories provide stimuli for drawing, singing, acting, or discussing content. If their repetitive elements are varied strategically, stories provide sufficient opportunities for lexical priming (Hoey, 2005) to happen and for the children's creativity to make use of them in varied applications. This can be seen in the multilingual pictorial notebook of a child drawing the content of *The Mitten* but also in the personalised response to a dramatized version of the story by another (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000).

A rich lexical range is crucial in the process of learning to read. Children with a deprived lexical range, monolingual or multilingual, will have problems learning to read. Children who do not have a sufficient lexical range in the language of schooling thus require extensive support in increasing their active and passive lexicon. The role of listening in general and to stories in particular should not be underestimated in the development of language and literacy. Studies emphasise the role of attention to aural input and the caretaker's verbal encouragement to stay attentive over a period of time in language development (Karrass, Braungart-Rieker, Mullins, & Lefever, 2002). Moreover, the importance of a quiet environment without any background noises in general linguistic development and in the uptake of a sufficient lexical range to be able to think, argue, reason and make sense of the world is undisputed (Ward, 1984; White & Evans 2005). The parents' and teachers' impression that the eight case study children, who had the opportunity to listen to stories regularly, built up a much larger vocabulary in various languages than peers of the same age in a less intensive storytelling environment is supported by these studies. This is supported by research which suggests that children who enter school are expected to use language skills as tools for learning and social negotiation. The quality of communication in children's lives, however, seems to impact individual differences which in turn benefit or endanger broader academic and psychosocial competence. For example, vocabulary knowledge is considered to contribute directly to growth in word recognition and the rate of vocabulary growth, both indicators of successful reading development (Cain 2015; Duff et al. 2015, Oulette & beers 2011).

Although the connection between linguistic development and social class may be obvious in this study, active storytelling and reading can be an answer, not a panacea, to the common problem of literacy deprived environments. Stories do not have to be read, they can be told or watched and thus be shared even by parents who cannot read the language of schooling. Having the opportunity to link stories from the home culture with those of the social and educational environment in a multimodal way is "much more than the sum of linguistic, visual, spatial, gestural and audio modes of meaning" making, argue Cope and Kalantzis (2000, p. 211). In fact, storytelling opens up all aspects of multimodal meaning making and in design.

References

Adams, D., & Meretzky, S. (1984). The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy. Apple II.

Alexander, R. (2008). *Towards dialogic teaching. Rethinking classroom talk* (4th ed.). Thirsk: Dialogos.

Asher, J. (1977). *Learning Another Language through Actions. The Complete Teacher's Guide Book.* Los Gatos: Sky Oaks Productions.

Barron-Hauwaert, S. (2004). *Language Strategies for Bilingual Families. The One-Parent-One-Language Approach.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Cain, K. (2015) *Learning to read: why should we keep things simple?* Reading Research Quarterly,50:151-169.

Cameron, L. (2010). *Teaching Languages to Young Learners.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (1992). *Inside/Outside: Teacher Research and Knowledge.* New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2000). *Multiliteracies. Literacy learning and the design of social futures.* London: Routledge.

Council of Europe. (2001). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crowther, W., & Woods, D. (1977). Collossal Cave Adventure. DEC PDP-10.

Duff, D., Tomblin J.B., Catts, H. (2015). The Influence of Reading on Vocabulary Growth: A Case for a Matthew Effect. *Journal of Speech Language and Hearing Research*, 58(3): 853-864.

Fecho, B., & Clifton, J. (2017). *Dialoguing across Cultures, Identities, and Learning.* New York: Routledge.

Glaser, B. (2002). *Constructivist Grounded Theory?* Retrieved from Forum Qualitative Research: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/825/1793

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* New York: Aldine De Gruyter.

Grosjean, F. (2010). *Bilingual: Life and Reality.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hart, B., & Risley, T. R. (1995). *Meaningful Differences in the Everyday Experience of Young American Children.* Baltimore: Paul H. Brookers Publishing Company Inc.

Herdina, P., & Jessner, U. (2000). *A Dynamic Model of Multilingualism: Changing the Psycholinguistic Perspective.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Hoey, M. (2005). Lexical Priming. A new theory of words and language. London & New York: Routledge.

Johnson, K. E., & Golombek, P. R. (2002). *Teachers' Narrative Inquiry as Professional Development.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Karrass, J., Braungart-Rieker, J., Mullins, J., & Lefever, J. (2002). Processes in language acquisition: the roles of gender, attention, and maternal encouragement of attention over time. *Journal of Child Language, 29*(3), 519-43.

Kramsch, C. (Ed.). (2002). *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization.* London: Continuum.

Krashen, S. (2004). *The Power of Reading: Insights from the Research.* Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Krashen, S. D., & Terrell, T. D. (1995). *The Natural Approach. Language Acquisition in the Classroom.* Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall.

Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading images. The Grammar of Visual Design.* London: Routledge.

Kümmerling-Meibauer, B. (2013). Interaktion von Bild und Text im mehrsprachigen Bilderbuch. In I. Glawitzek, & B. Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Mehrsprachigkeit und Kinderliteratur* (pp. 23-47). Freiburg: Fillibach.

Lewis, M. (1993). *The Lexical Approach.* Hove: LTP.

Marton, F. (2015). *Necessary Conditions of Learning.* New York: Routledge.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and Language Learning. Extending the Conversation.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B., & McKinney, C. (2011). An identity approach to second language acquisition. In D. Atkinson, *Alternative approaches to second language acquisition* (Kindle, p. 73-94). Milton Park: Routledge.

Oullette, G., Beers, A. (2010). A not-so-simple view of reading: how oral vocabulary and visual- word recognition complicate the story. *Reading and Writing*, 23(2): 189-208.

Plotkin, A. (2004). The Dreamhold. IFDB: https://ifdb.tads.org/viewgame?id=3myqnrs64nbtwdaz

Prensky, M. (2001). Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants. *On the Horizon, 9*(5), 1-6.

Smith, F. (1985). *Reading.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Supermassive Games. (2015). Until Dawn. Sony Computer Entertainment.

Tomatis, A. A. (1991). *The Conscious Ear. My Life of Transformation through Listening.* Barrytown, N.Y.: Station Hill Press.

Ward, S. (1984). Detecting abnormal behaviours in infancy: the relationship between such disorders and linguistic development. *British Journal of Disorders of Communication, 17*, 35-42.

White, H. & Evans C. (2005) *Learning to Listen to Learn. Using Multi-Sensory Teaching for Effective Listening.* London: SAGE.

Wright, A. (2009). *Storytelling with Children.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Appendix A

Observation plan used in schools

Story: *title and author*			
Objective (competence, function, skill, strategy): *describe which competences, functions, skills or strategies are expected to be acquired through the storytelling/reading*			
Teacher(s): *who taught the lesson*		**Observer / observers**: *who observed the lesson*	
		Reflection (date, person, instrument): *who was present at the joint reflection*	
Version:# *which version of the lesson plan was used*	**Date**: *when did the implementation take place*	**Place**: *where did the implementation take place*	**Context**: *who used the materials (target group, group size ...)*
General	**Starting competence**		
which competences are expected to exist in order to comprehend the story and to engage in the post-reading activities as intended; which problems are expected; if applicable, which diagnostic tools are to be used	*the competences the learner has already acquired; specific problems that are known / expected*		
General	**Target competence**		
what skills/abilities should be available prior to the lesson; what tools are used to identify those skills/abilities; which common problems are known / expected	*the learner's competences prior to the lesson; known problems to be tackled*		
General	**Target performance**		
which performance is expected to be observed during the lesson; which diagnostic instruments will be used	*which performance is to be observed / expected*		
General	**Observed performance**		
the performance to be observed; anticipated problems during observation; criteria to evaluate performance (if possible)	*performance observed*		
Lesson notes			
Phase, activity, material - brief description; instructions should always come with material	*the learner's expected reaction prior to the lesson*		

Appendix B

Interview schedule used in the familiar context of the participants' homes

Question	Instructions or prompts	Goal
I realised you are using.....	You may trigger memory through citing some language examples you are interested in.	To identify the origin of new language (items) a child/teenager is using
How did you get to know…?	*Can you tell me more about .....?* *Why are you using....?*	To find out how the child/teenager acquired the new language (items)

Interview schedule used in schools

Question	Instructions or prompts	Goal
You listened to ..... today.	You may show the material to the learner if they cannot remember. *Look, this is what I mean....*	To identify the story so that the learner knows exactly what to talk about
What did you like about the story?	*Can you tell me more about .....?* *Why did you like the…?*	To find out if the learner liked the story and what it was that they liked
What did you not like about the story?	*Can you tell me more about .....?* *Why did you not like the…?*	To find out if the learner disliked the story and what it was that they disliked
What did you learn through this story?	*Can you tell me more about .....?*	To find out about the learner's awareness

	What do you remember? Can you tell me something?	about learning and the nature of their learning with the story

Appendix C

Mind-maps and pictures from a drama activity using the story *The Mitten* with primary school children in Austria:
The story was read to the children, showing the pictures from the book on an interactive whiteboard. Then the children were introduced tot eh repetitive phrases read out by the teacher: It's cold in the wood. Look, a mitten! They were given stick puppet animals and popped them underneath the giant mitten on the floor saying *In creeps a … If a child only* said the animal, the teacher would have added the phrase.
In the art lesson, the children created their own stick puppets and redesigned the story using the animals they had drawn.

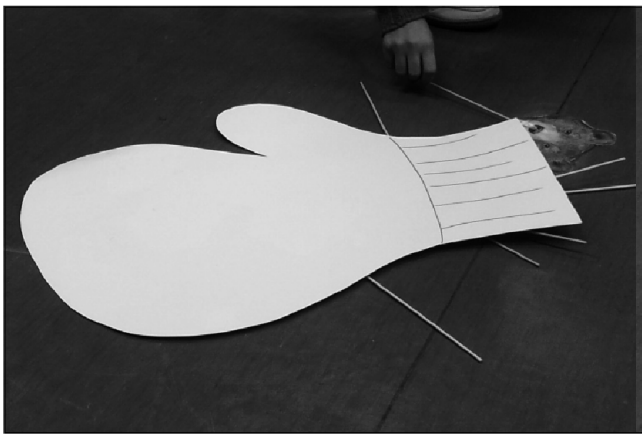

Fig. 1: Paper mitten to hide the animals

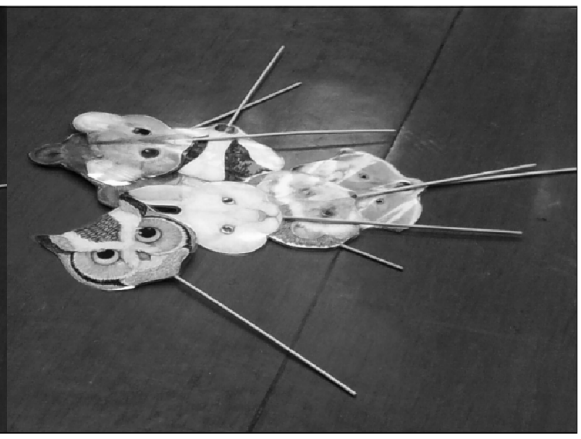

Fig. 2: Stick puppet animals

Appendix D

Storytelling and other links:

Trilingual Mama: http://www.trilingualmama.com/
International Children's Digital Library: http://en.childrenslibrary.org/
Children's Books Online by the Rosetta project: http://www.childrensbooksonline.org/library-complete_index.htm
Storyline Online: http://www.storylineonline.net/
Storytime Online – 100+ Free Video Read Alouds: http://www.indypl.org/readytoread/?p=6150
Clara Tales http://www.claratales.com/
Vorleser.net: https://www.vorleser.net/kinder-jugendliche.html
Geschichten zum Vorlesen: http://www.geschichten-zum-vorlesen.de/
Märchen online hören: http://www.malvorlagen-color.de/maerchen.htm
Hungarian, monolingual: http://www.egigerokonyvek.hu/neveljunk-olvasokat/tag/neveljunk-olvasokat/esti%20mes%C3%A9l%C3%A9s
www.anyameselj.hu/tag/esti-mese
Multilingual links including Hungarian: http://www.ketnyelvugyerek.hu/blog/
https://moly.hu/konyvek/30-angol-magyar-allatmese

Lexical notebooks
http://www.palm-edu.eu/palm4teachers/tutorials/#lexical