

Scaffolding Oral Competence Through Storytelling: A Qualitative Study of Speaking Skill Development in a Rural Primary Classroom

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Abstract

Speaking is the language skill through which primary learners make their thinking audible, yet many Indonesian classrooms still allocate little room for sustained oral practice. This study describes how the storytelling method was implemented to develop the speaking skills of fifth-grade students at SD Negeri 41/II Laman Panjang. A descriptive qualitative design was employed with 16 students and their class teacher as participants. Data were generated through participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and documentation, and were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, comprising data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing. Credibility was established through source and technique triangulation together with member checking. The analysis produced five themes: emerging speaking confidence, increasing oral fluency, an expanding lexical repertoire, improved delivery and expression, and a learner-centered classroom climate. Students who initially declined to speak began volunteering to present, relied less on the written text, reused story vocabulary in their own retelling, and sequenced events more coherently. These changes were mediated by a scaffolding sequence in which teacher modeling gave way to guided practice and then to independent retelling. The study contributes a classroom-level account of how graduated support, rather than storytelling as such, appears to drive oral development, and it identifies lesson time and heterogeneous entry ability as the principal constraints on implementation.

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INTRODUCTION

Communication has been positioned among the core competences that primary education is expected to cultivate, alongside critical thinking, creativity, collaboration, and digital literacy. In Indonesian primary classrooms this competence is realized through four interdependent language skills, namely listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Speaking occupies a distinctive position among them because it renders a learner's thinking audible and therefore available for response, correction, and extension by others. Learning Bahasa Indonesia at this level is consequently not confined to mastering linguistic rules but extends to using language purposefully across varied communicative situations. Vocabulary control, pronunciation, intonation, fluency, and the willingness to address an audience are commonly identified as the constituent elements of this skill (Tarigan, 2021; Andini et al., 2025).

Empirical accounts nonetheless report that speaking remains the least developed of the four skills in many Indonesian primary classrooms. Studies of fifth-grade learners have documented limited vocabulary, difficulty sequencing utterances, monotonous intonation, and marked reluctance to speak before peers (Dahlia et al., 2023; Anjelina & Tarmini, 2022). These difficulties are frequently traced to instructional arrangements in which teacher explanation

consumes most of the lesson, leaving learners with few opportunities for extended oral production. Analyses of classroom interaction indicate that reticence is reinforced when learners perceive speaking as a high-risk activity subject to public evaluation (Waruwu et al., 2023). The pedagogical implication is that oral competence requires deliberately designed practice rather than incidental exposure.

Storytelling has been widely proposed as a response to this problem because it converts oral production into a purposeful and enjoyable classroom event. In storytelling activities learners do not merely listen to a narrative but reconstruct it and deliver it in their own words, which simultaneously exercises lexical selection, plot sequencing, intonation, expression, and audience contact. Teacher readiness to deploy learning media has itself been identified as a precondition for any media-supported approach to work as intended (Handayani et al., 2026). Classroom action research at primary level has reported gains in speaking performance following storytelling cycles (Mubarak et al., 2022; Wahyuni et al., 2021), and comparable results have been obtained with paired storytelling and show-and-tell variants (Brada et al., 2023; Uzer, 2021). International systematic reviews of storytelling and its digital extension similarly converge on positive associations with oral proficiency, confidence, and motivation across educational levels (Nair & Yunus, 2021; Khan et al., 2023).

The theoretical basis for these findings is most often located in sociocultural accounts of language development, in which speaking ability emerges through mediated social interaction rather than through individual maturation alone. The concepts of the zone of proximal development and scaffolding specify that a more capable participant supplies temporary support which is progressively withdrawn as competence consolidates (Vygotsky, 1978). Applied to storytelling, this framework predicts that teacher modeling, guided rehearsal, and corrective feedback function as the mechanism through which independent narration becomes possible. The framework also aligns with the learner-centered orientation of the Merdeka Curriculum, which positions the teacher as facilitator of contextual and collaborative learning experiences (Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi, 2022, 2024).

Despite this accumulated evidence, two substantial gaps remain unaddressed. First, the Indonesian storytelling literature is dominated by classroom action research and quasi-experimental designs that report performance gains across cycles but rarely describe the interactional process through which those gains arise. What teachers actually do between one cycle and the next, and how learners respond to it, is seldom documented in analytic detail. Second, the evidence base is concentrated in urban and peri-urban schools, whereas rural primary schools operating with smaller cohorts, limited media, and constrained lesson time are comparatively under-represented. Reviews of pedagogical innovation in rural schools identify resource constraint and limited teacher development as the recurring limits on what such classrooms can implement (Zh et al., 2026). Descriptive qualitative accounts capable of addressing both gaps remain scarce (Andini et al., 2025; Rindengan, 2023).

This study therefore describes the implementation of the storytelling method in a fifth-grade classroom at SD Negeri 41/II Laman Panjang, a rural primary school in Bungo Regency, Jambi. It pursues three questions in the sections that follow. First, how was the storytelling method enacted across the phases of the lesson? Second, what changes in students' speaking behavior were observable during implementation? Third, what conditions supported or constrained those changes? The article proceeds by setting out the research design, presenting the thematic findings, discussing them against sociocultural theory and prior studies, and concluding with implications for primary language teaching.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative approach of the descriptive type. The approach was selected because the research sought to understand a classroom phenomenon in depth under natural conditions, with the researcher serving as the principal instrument of data generation and

interpretation (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Sugiyono, 2023). A descriptive design was appropriate because the objective was to portray how storytelling was enacted and how learners responded to it, rather than to measure the magnitude of an effect or to test a hypothesis. The first author was present in the classroom throughout the study as a participant observer, attending lessons, recording field notes, and conversing informally with learners during breaks, while the class teacher retained full responsibility for instruction. This positioning allowed sustained access to the setting without displacing the teacher's pedagogical authority.

The research was conducted at SD Negeri 41/II Laman Panjang over a period of approximately two months during the odd semester. Participants were selected purposively, a technique that identifies those best placed to supply information relevant to the phenomenon under study (Arikunto, 2021). Sixteen fifth-grade students formed the principal participant group, and the class teacher served as the key informant on account of direct responsibility for planning and delivering the storytelling lessons. Primary data were obtained from classroom observation and from interviews with the teacher and selected students, while secondary data comprised teaching modules, attendance records, teacher assessment notes, and photographic documentation of lesson activities.

Three techniques were used to generate data, and their combination was intended to yield a more comprehensive account than any single technique could provide (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Observation was directed at the conduct of storytelling lessons and at seven predetermined indicators of speaking performance, recorded in a structured field note format after each session. Semi-structured interviews explored how the teacher planned and adjusted the activity and how students experienced speaking before their peers, using an interview guide that permitted follow-up questions. Documentation supplied corroborating evidence of what had been planned and what had occurred. Table 1 summarizes the alignment between technique, source, and analytical focus.

Table 1. Data Generation Techniques, Sources, and Analytical Focus

Technique	Source	Analytical focus
Participant observation	Sixteen fifth-grade students during storytelling lessons	Enactment of lesson phases and the seven speaking indicators
Semi-structured interview	Class teacher as key informant	Planning decisions, forms of support given, perceived changes
Semi-structured interview	Selected students	Experience of speaking before peers and perceived difficulty
Documentation	Teaching modules, assessment notes, photographs	Corroboration of planned and enacted activity

Source: Authors' research instrument.

The observation instrument operationalized speaking skill through seven indicators derived from the descriptive literature on oral competence at primary level, presented in Table 2. Each indicator was recorded descriptively rather than scored numerically, in keeping with the descriptive qualitative design; the study makes no claim about the magnitude of change and reports no test statistics. The instrument was reviewed by the second and third authors and by the class teacher before fieldwork began, and minor wording adjustments were made to align the indicators with the vocabulary used in the school.

Table 2. Observation Indicators of Speaking Performance

Indicator	Descriptive focus during observation
Willingness to speak	Whether the student volunteers, responds when invited, or declines to present
Fluency	Frequency and length of pauses, hesitation markers, false starts
Pronunciation accuracy	Clarity of articulation and audibility to the class
Use of intonation	Variation in pitch and stress in relation to story content
Vocabulary control	Range of words used and uptake of vocabulary from the story
Coherence of sequencing	Ordering of events, causal linkage, presence of an ending

Data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, which treats analysis as a continuous process running alongside data generation rather than as a terminal stage (Miles et al., 2020). Data condensation involved selecting, focusing, and simplifying field records into coded segments organized by indicator. Data display arranged the condensed material into matrices that set the seven indicators against successive lesson sessions, making patterns of change visible across the cohort. Conclusion drawing and verification proceeded by identifying recurring patterns, checking them against contradictory instances, and returning to the raw records when a provisional conclusion proved unsupported. Coding was performed by the first author and independently reviewed by the second author, with divergent readings resolved through discussion. Figure 1 depicts the complete procedure.

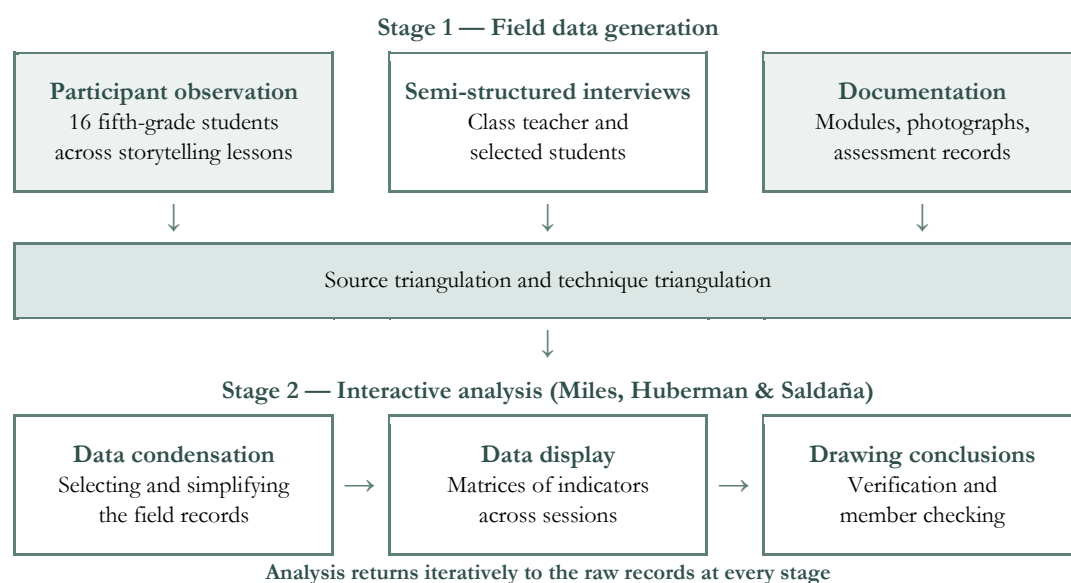


Figure 1. Research Procedure From Field Data Generation to Interactive Analysis

Trustworthiness was addressed through four procedures. Source triangulation compared accounts obtained from the teacher, from students, and from the researcher's own observations, so that no single perspective determined an interpretation. Technique triangulation compared what was observed with what was reported in interviews and with what appeared in documentation. Member checking was conducted with the class teacher, who read the condensed findings and confirmed or corrected the researcher's rendering of classroom events. Finally, an audit trail comprising field notes, interview transcripts, coding records, and analytical memoranda was maintained so that the chain of reasoning from raw data to conclusion could be inspected. Written permission was obtained from the school, and the teacher and students gave informed consent; student names are withheld and reported only by participant code.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Results

Storytelling was implemented within Bahasa Indonesia lessons addressing the curricular topic of retelling the content of a narrative. All 16 fifth-grade students participated in every session observed, and the class teacher acted throughout as facilitator rather than as sole transmitter of content. The teacher's role consisted of guiding students to comprehend a story, to reconstruct its plot, and to deliver that plot orally before their classmates. Each lesson followed the same three phases in sequence, and the consistency of this structure across sessions allowed change in student

behavior to be attributed to accumulating practice rather than to variation in lesson format. The findings below are organized first by the enactment of those phases and then by the five themes generated from the analysis.

Enactment of the Storytelling Lessons

In the opening phase the teacher established readiness through greeting, attendance, and an explicit statement of the lesson objective. Apperception followed in the form of questions about folktales the students had already encountered outside school. Observation records show that most students answered these questions readily and with evident interest, while a smaller group remained silent and avoided eye contact when invited to respond. The teacher then explained why the ability to narrate matters in ordinary life beyond the classroom, and encouraged students to attempt narration without fear of making mistakes. This phase functioned less as content delivery than as affective preparation for the demands of the phase that followed.

The core phase carried the substance of the method and occupied the largest share of each lesson. The teacher first explained the concept of storytelling and then modeled it directly, drawing explicit attention to pronunciation, intonation, facial expression, eye contact with listeners, and the ordering of events within the narrative. A short story was distributed to every student, who were given time to read it, to establish its meaning, and to discuss its plot with the student sharing their desk. Each student then came forward in turn to retell the story in their own words while the researcher recorded the seven observation indicators. The teacher responded to every performance with praise and with specific feedback on delivery, and observation notes record that the classroom atmosphere became progressively more animated as successive students presented.

The closing phase consisted of joint reflection between teacher and students on the activity just completed. Students were invited to describe their own experience of presenting, and the majority reported that they had been glad to receive an opportunity to speak in front of the class. The teacher then summarised the lesson content and encouraged students to continue practicing narration at home with members of their family. Table 3 sets out the three phases alongside the student responses observed in each.

Table 2. Enactment of the Three Lesson Phases and Observed Student Response

Phase	Teacher action observed	Student response observed
Opening	Greeting, attendance, statement of objective, apperception on familiar folktales, motivation	Majority answered readily; a smaller group stayed silent and avoided being called on
Core (modelling)	Explained the concept and demonstrated narration, attending to pronunciation, intonation, expression, eye contact and sequence	Attentive observation; several students imitated the modelled intonation in later turns
Core (preparation)	Distributed a short story and allocated time for reading and paired discussion of the plot	Read and discussed with the student sharing their desk; clarified plot points with each other
Core (performance)	Called students forward in turn; gave praise and specific feedback after each turn	Early turns marked by nervousness, mid-story stops and reading aloud from the text; later turns narrated from memory
Closing	Led joint reflection, summarised the lesson, encouraged practice at home	Described their own experience; majority reported being glad to have spoken before the class

Source: Observation records and documentation of lesson activity.

Thematic Findings

Condensation of the observation, interview, and documentary records produced five themes. Figure 2 sets out the analytical route from field indicators through intermediate categories to these themes, and the subsections that follow present each theme with the evidence supporting it.

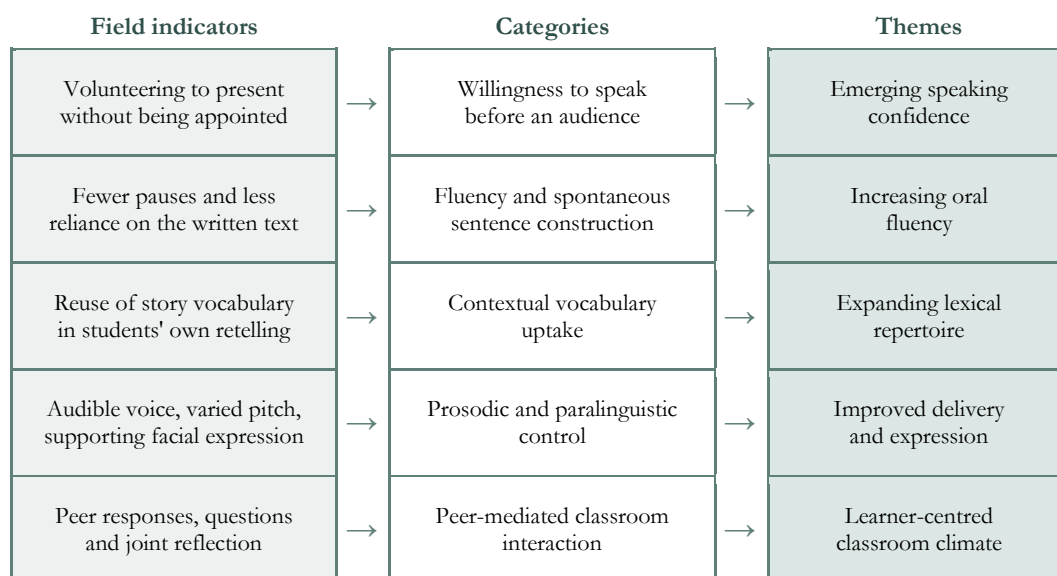


Figure 2. Thematic Structure Derived from Field Indicators and Intermediate Categories

Emerging Speaking Confidence

Before the method was introduced, most students were reluctant to speak before the class and had to be called on individually by name. Observation notes from the earliest sessions recorded students who stood at the front without beginning, who spoke while facing the board rather than the class, or who asked to return to their seat. After successive storytelling sessions this pattern altered, and students began coming forward without being called upon. The class teacher characterized the shift in the following terms during an interview.

"Children who usually stay silent have started coming forward. They are still nervous, but now they are willing to try telling the story." (Class teacher)

Two features of this account deserve emphasis. The teacher does not claim that nervousness disappeared, but rather that it ceased to prevent participation, which is a more modest and more credible description of what changed. The teacher also locates the change specifically among students who had previously been silent, indicating that the effect was concentrated where the initial difficulty was greatest rather than distributed evenly across the class. A student interviewed after the fourth session offered a converging account and attributed the change to accumulated exposure.

"At first I was afraid of making mistakes, but after telling stories often I became more confident." (Student 7)

This remark identifies repetition rather than encouragement as the operative condition, and it identifies fear of error as the specific obstacle that repetition eroded. Read together with the observation records, the two accounts converge on a sequence in which low-stakes repeated performance preceded and enabled the willingness to perform. Documentation of lesson activity corroborates this sequence, since photographs from later sessions show students standing forward and facing their classmates rather than orienting toward the teacher.

Increasing Oral Fluency

Observation in the early sessions recorded frequent stops in the middle of an utterance, most often occurring when a student lost track of the sequence of events. A related pattern was reliance on the written text, with several students reading the story aloud rather than narrating it. Both behaviors suggest that the initial difficulty was one of holding and organizing content rather than of articulation, since the same students pronounced words accurately when reading from the page.

In later sessions the same students produced longer stretches of connected speech, and both the frequency and the duration of pauses diminished. Reliance on the written text fell away markedly, and students narrated using their own sentence constructions rather than reproducing those of the original. This movement from reproduction toward reconstruction is analytically significant because it indicates that students were operating on the content rather than merely transmitting it. Comparable movement from text-dependence to independent narration has been reported in primary storytelling studies elsewhere (Mubarak et al., 2022; Wahidah, 2020).

Expanding Lexical Repertoire

The teacher introduced unfamiliar words encountered in each story and asked students to use them when retelling. Observation records show these words reappearing in students' own narration in subsequent sessions, and the range of vocabulary deployed became visibly more varied than at the beginning of the study. Two conditions appear to have supported this uptake. The words were encountered inside a narrative that supplied contextual support for their meaning, and the retelling task created an immediate occasion for productive use rather than deferring use to a later exercise.

The teacher's interview account aligns with this reading, describing vocabulary work as embedded within the storytelling cycle rather than conducted as a separate activity preceding it. The finding therefore concerns not only the quantity of words available to students but the conditions under which those words became usable in spontaneous speech.

Improved Delivery and Expression

At the outset, several students spoke very quietly with indistinct articulation, and intonation was largely flat regardless of story content, which made their narration difficult for classmates seated further away to follow. After the teacher supplied a model and gave feedback following each turn, students began varying pitch in accordance with the events being narrated and placing audible emphasis on moments of significance within the plot. Facial expression and occasional gesture appeared in support of the narrative, and eye contact with the audience, largely absent in early sessions, occurred intermittently in later ones.

This theme is distinguishable from fluency because it concerns the paralinguistic dimension of delivery rather than the production of connected speech. The two developed together in the observed sessions, which indicates that storytelling exercised linguistic and paralinguistic elements simultaneously rather than in sequence. Table 4 traces the observed movement across all seven indicators from the early to the later sessions.

Table 3. Observed Movement Across the Seven Speaking Indicators

Indicator	Early sessions	Later sessions
Willingness to speak	Called on individually; some declined or delayed beginning	Volunteered without being appointed; began without prompting
Fluency	Frequent mid-utterance stops when the plot was lost	Longer connected stretches; fewer and shorter pauses
Pronunciation accuracy	Quiet voice and indistinct articulation for several students	Audible to the class; articulation clearer
Use of intonation	Largely flat regardless of story content	Pitch varied with events; emphasis on significant moments
Vocabulary control	Limited range; wording reproduced from the text	Story vocabulary reused; range visibly more varied
Coherence of sequencing	Events narrated out of order; endings sometimes omitted	Events ordered; causal links and endings present
Expression and audience contact	Oriented toward the teacher or the board; little gesture	Faced classmates; facial expression and gesture supported the narrative

Note: Movement is reported descriptively; the design generates no numerical measure of magnitude.

Learner-Centred Classroom Climate

Across the implementation period, nearly all students were engaged in some form of active participation during the lesson. They read the story, discussed its plot with a partner, narrated before the class, responded to the presentations of classmates, and joined the closing reflection. The teacher's role shifted correspondingly from sole source of information toward the organization of opportunities for oral production, with instructional talk concentrated in modeling and feedback rather than in exposition.

This theme differs from the preceding four in that it describes a property of the classroom rather than of individual students, and it is analytically important because it names the conditions under which the other four developed. Peer response in particular appears to have contributed, since students narrated to an audience that reacted rather than to a silent room. Documentary records of lesson activity, including teaching modules and photographs, corroborate this distribution of participation across the cohort. Table 5 consolidates the five themes with the evidence sources supporting each.

Table 4. Themes, Observable Changes, and Corroborating Evidence

Theme	Observable change	Evidence sources
Emerging speaking confidence	From being called on by name to volunteering to present	Observation; teacher interview; student interview; photographs
Increasing oral fluency	Fewer and shorter pauses; reduced reliance on the written text	Observation across successive sessions
Expanding lexical repertoire	Story vocabulary reused in students' own narration	Observation; teacher interview
Improved delivery and expression	Audible voice, varied intonation, supporting expression and gesture	Observation; photographic documentation
Learner-centred classroom climate	Broad participation in reading, discussion, narration, and reflection	Observation; teaching modules; documentation

Note: Each theme is supported by at least two independent sources, consistent with the triangulation procedure described above.

Constraints Observed During Implementation

Three practical constraints were also evident and are reported here because they bound the conditions under which the preceding findings hold. Building the willingness to speak among the most reticent students required more time than the teacher had anticipated, and this was most pronounced during the first two sessions when the activity was still unfamiliar. Heterogeneous entry ability meant that the form and the amount of support had to be differentiated across individuals rather than delivered uniformly, a requirement consistent with work on personalized instructional design (Kuswandi et al., 2025) and on accommodating learner diversity within ordinary classrooms (Pangestu et al., 2025).

The third constraint was structural rather than pedagogical. The fixed lesson allocation meant that not every student received an equal amount of speaking time, since a full round of 16 individual presentations could not always be completed within a single period. Observation records indicate that students presenting toward the end of a session sometimes received briefer feedback than those presenting earlier. This constraint bears directly on the interpretation of the findings, because the mechanism identified in the preceding themes depends on repeated turns and on the feedback attached to them.

Discussion

The first research question concerned how the storytelling method was enacted. The findings indicate that implementation followed a consistent three-phase structure in which the core phase moved from teacher demonstration through partnered preparation to individual narration before the class. This sequence is more than an organizational convenience. It corresponds closely to the scaffolding mechanism described in sociocultural theory, whereby a more capable other supplies support that is progressively withdrawn as the learner approaches independent

performance (Vygotsky, 1978). The teacher's modeling supplied a concrete referent for what competent narration sounds like, partnered discussion allowed rehearsal at reduced risk, and individual narration required the learner to operate without that support.

The second research question concerned observable changes in speaking behavior. Across all five themes, change was gradual and cumulative rather than abrupt, and it was most visible in the students who had initially been most reticent. This directional pattern is consistent with a substantial body of Indonesian classroom research reporting speaking gains following storytelling interventions (Mubarak et al., 2022; Wahyuni et al., 2021; Brada et al., 2023) and with international reviews synthesizing evidence across educational levels (Nair & Yunus, 2021; Khan et al., 2023). It also supports the longstanding claim that speaking is a productive skill developed through sustained practice rather than through explanation (Tarigan, 2021).

The present study nonetheless qualifies that literature in one respect. Much of the existing Indonesian work attributes improvement to storytelling as such, treating the method as the operative agent. The classroom evidence reported here suggests a more specific account: what changed students' performance was the graduated withdrawal of support embedded within the method, together with the repeated low-risk opportunity to perform. Storytelling was the vehicle that made such a sequence natural to organize, but comparable sequences are observable in role play and show-and-tell designs that report similar outcomes (Izzati et al., 2024; Uzer, 2021; Rindengan, 2023). Figure 3 renders this interpretation as a conceptual model.

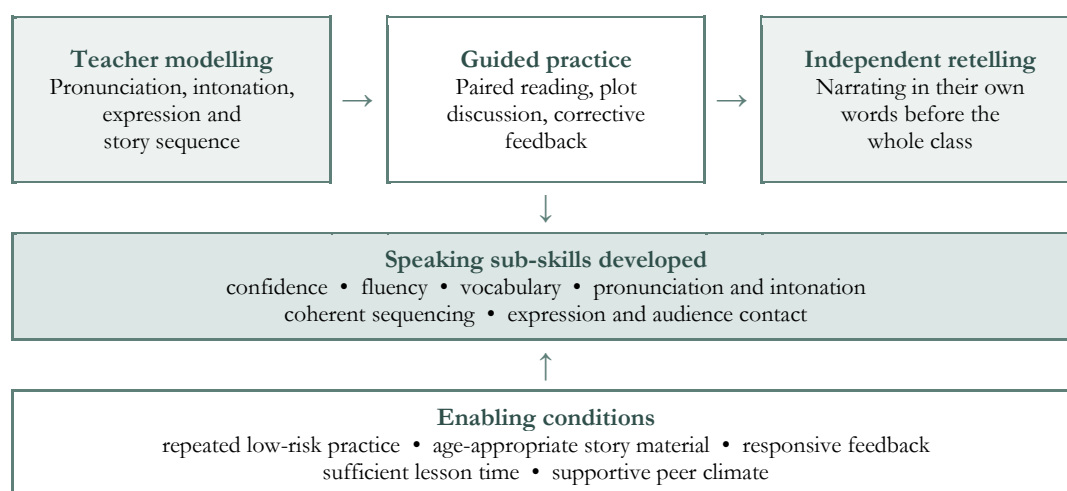


Figure 3. Scaffolded Storytelling Cycle and the Speaking Sub-Skills it Develops

The model separates the instructional sequence from the sub-skills it develops, and it places the enabling conditions outside that sequence rather than within it. This distinction is significant because it locates the source of variation across classrooms. Where implementations of storytelling report weak results, the explanation is more plausibly sought in the absence of modeling, the compression of rehearsal, or insufficient turns per learner than in the method itself. The constraints identified in this study, namely lesson time and heterogeneous entry ability, act directly on those conditions and therefore on the whole sequence rather than on its final stage alone.

The finding on vocabulary warrants separate comment because it bears on the third research question. Words were acquired here inside a narrative frame and then redeployed in the students' own retelling, which provided both contextual support for meaning and an immediate occasion for productive use. This dual exposure distinguishes storytelling from vocabulary instruction that presents words in isolation, and it may explain why lexical uptake was among the more visible changes observed. Studies of narrative-based language work at the primary level report a similar advantage for contextualized encounter over decontextualized listing (Oktaviyanti et al., 2022; Santoso et al., 2023).

The observed shift toward broad participation also connects the findings to curriculum policy. The Merdeka Curriculum positions learners as the subject rather than the object of instruction and directs teachers toward contextual, collaborative, and experience-based activity (Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi, 2022, 2024). Storytelling supplies a low-cost means of enacting that orientation in schools where elaborate media are unavailable, since it requires only a suitable text and a teacher willing to model and give feedback. This accessibility is consequential for rural schools of the kind studied here, where the digital storytelling variants that dominate recent international literature may not be practicable (Putri et al., 2025; Munajah et al., 2022). Where digital alternatives are contemplated, teachers' willingness to adopt them is shaped by institutional support rather than by the tools themselves (Novita et al., 2026), and media-based evaluation still depends on deliberate instructional design (Zh et al., 2024).

Several limitations bound the conclusions that can be drawn from this study. The study examined a single classroom of 16 students in one rural school, so the account is transferable only to settings whose conditions a reader judges comparable; no claim to statistical generalization is made. Data generation spanned approximately two months, which is insufficient to establish whether the observed changes persist once the activity ends. The design produced no numerical measure of change, so statements about improvement rest on converging descriptive evidence rather than on measured gain. Finally, the presence of an observer may have influenced both teacher and student behavior, a reactivity risk that prolonged engagement and member checking mitigate but cannot remove.

CONCLUSION

This study described the implementation of the storytelling method in a fifth-grade classroom at SD Negeri 41/II Laman Panjang, and three conclusions follow from the evidence. First, the method was enacted through a stable three-phase lesson structure whose core phase moved from teacher modeling through partnered preparation to independent narration before the class. Second, students' speaking behavior changed across five dimensions, namely willingness to speak, oral fluency, lexical repertoire, delivery and expression, and participation in a learner-centered classroom climate, with change appearing gradually and most visibly among the initially most reticent students. Third, these changes are best attributed not to storytelling in the abstract but to the graduated withdrawal of teacher support and the repeated low-risk opportunity to perform that the method made it convenient to organize, while lesson time and heterogeneous entry ability operated as the principal constraints. The practical implication is that teachers should treat modeling, rehearsal, and feedback as non-negotiable components rather than optional preliminaries, and should plan the number of speaking turns per learner explicitly when allocating lesson time. Subsequent research could extend this account through longitudinal designs that examine whether oral gains persist beyond the intervention period, through multi-site studies comparing rural and urban implementation conditions, and through work that isolates the contribution of individual scaffolding components to the outcomes reported here.

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