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background in their primary school education“

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The demand for a high level of English competence is constantly growing in a globalised world where English is used as the main language of communication between people with different first languages. Therefore the achievement of a high level of foreign language competence in English is a major aim in the school career of most people supported by a growing request for an early start of parents, policy makers and other people involved in order to accomplish better results. A large-scale study conducted by Barabara Buchholz (2007) has shown that although there are regulations for the teaching of a foreign language in Austrian primary schools, the foreign language competence of the learners differs widely after finishing their primary school education throughout Austria depending strongly on the language learning environment they encountered during their primary school education. Especially pilot projects in model schools, where native speakers and language experts were involved in the teaching of a foreign language and the concept of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) is provided, significantly better results were achieved. The question arises how the beneficial language competence of these learners develops at secondary school level, if the learners encounter the same language learning context as learners who did not receive further EFL instruction than demanded by the regulations of the state in their primary school education.

The aim of this paper is to compare two groups of learners: one went through traditional primary school EFL instruction and the other went to a school with a specific focus on foreign language instruction at primary stage. After one year of secondary school, they were tested in order to find out if their beneficial starting position is still noticeable. It was expected that the highest influence of the additional EFL instruction was present in the learners oral language competence, therefore oral narratives were chosen to deliver unrestricted but comparable language data and provide substantial information on the learners' general linguistic skills.

As oral narratives are the fundamental tool for this research, chapter 2 presents a detailed discussion on the theoretical background for the analysis of oral narratives and gives insight into the development of narrative competence in children in their L1 and the narrative competence of learners of a foreign language. Chapter 3 of the theoretical part discusses in greater detail the use of communicative strategies of learners of a foreign language, as a diverse use of communicative strategies is expected between the two groups in the empirical analysis of this paper.

In the final chapter of the theoretical part, chapter 4, the concept of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is introduced and additionally to its theoretical background previous research results on CLIL projects in Europe are presented.

In chapter 5 and 6 the empirical study based on the theoretical framework in the initial chapters and its results are presented. The recordings of the oral narratives produced by former CLIL and non-CLIL learners are analysed for existing traces of the supposed language benefit of the learners who received additional foreign language instruction in their primary school education through a large amount of CLIL lessons.

The findings of this study show that a slight language benefit of the CLIL learners seen as a group is still noticeable, especially with respect to the micro-analysis of the texts. This better result is mainly due to the outstanding performances of individual learners with a special language learning aptitude, but taking a detailed look at each participants performance clearly shows, that some learners of the non-CLIL group have reached similar results or even outperformed their CLIL peers to some extent.

At the moment primary school projects that provide additional foreign language education seem to lose ground if their work is not continued at secondary stage. Therefore, I will argue in the discussion of the results for an increased fostering of learners who enter secondary school with a clear foreign language benefit and a better acknowledgement of the diversity of language levels in EFL at the beginning of secondary school.

## **2 ORAL NARRATIVES**

### **2.1 Introduction to Oral Narratives**

Oral narratives in linguistic research have a long tradition and serve as an important research basis for the analysis of language ability and language development in children. The data gained from oral and written narratives plays a crucial role in a wide range of fields of research for instance psycholinguistics, literary theory, anthropology, sociology or history, developmental psychology and is equally used for adults and children including a large number of studies about different questions of language impairment or brain damage. Moreover, oral narratives are a useful tool to get insight into the development of child language, to see how a child's language ability improves gradually and certain features and competences emerge prior to others. It seems to be the case, that the development of narrative competence is a core feature of human language, which is driven by the aspiration to talk about important events in one's life or create imaginary events as it is expressed by the novelist Ursula LeGuin (1989:39), who believes that "narrative is a central function of language (...) a fundamental operation of the normal mind functioning in society. To learn to speak is to learn to tell a story".

As oral and written narratives are of major interest in such a number of diverse fields of research, definitions seem to vary depending on the purpose of the study area and its major interest. For example ethnological studies focus primarily on the socio-cultural background of the narrator, while literature studies foreground the content and plot progress of the narration, character roles and its underlying (moral) message, in contrast to this in linguistic studies the language features of narrations and their structure are at the centre of attention. Still, however different definitions and perspectives on narrations might be, they all share basic fundamental elements.

The creation of narratives dates back to the beginning of humanity and most authors turn to the proposition of the famous ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle in the search of a definition for narratives, believing that the crucial element of narratives lies in their specific arrangements of events and adopt his notion that every narrative

needs to be composed of “a beginning, a middle and an end”. This indicates that a narration typically consists of a sequence of events and actions, which are somehow connected to each other and involve a forward movement from one point in time to another, therefore temporal arrangement of events plays a major role in narratives. (LeGuin 1989: 37)

Although all researchers agree that narratives are the reproduction of a real or fictional sequence of events, they differ largely in terms of what they consider as narration. While some scholars also take into consideration minimal narrations consisting of only two successive events, others for example consider the occurrence of additional phrases that contextualise the events as essential elements. As will be discussed at a later point, authors deviate from each other in their understanding of narratives concerning the type of information that needs to be included as well as the structural pattern they are organized in. (Peterson & McCabe 1991: 30).

However, the mere reproduction of chronologically ordered events alone does not create narrations in the sense this paper is seeking to analyse, rather this paper is looking for coherent texts that can be equated with the concept of stories including genre typical elements and creating excitement or interest in the audience. In general, two broad differentiations of narratives have been identified by linguistic research on narration including on the one hand the ordinary use of narrating certain events that seem interesting and worth telling to the speaker, which is comparable to the daily use of reporting, informing or describing and telling about something that happened in general. This first type of narration includes all sorts of reproduction or transfers of happenings and is categorized as part of general communicative competence and language skills without specific structures or moves that are followed. The second type of narration is more specific and describes the distinct reproduction of a special event in the sense of telling a story that has to fulfil certain requirements in order to be seen as successful narrative. Its aim is to entertain or include the audience in an exciting event that implies an unusual element, as opposed to a mere retelling of circumstances. (Becker 2001)

Boueke and Schüle following Ehlich (1983) therefore divide narration into two types: Narration 1 and Narration 2. The first is a more general type of narration, while the second type is motivated through the emergence of an unusual element or interruption of the normal course of events (1995: 14-16). The following example

should clarify the difference: When a child returns from school and reports to the parents about his or her day, this speech event is seen as the first type of narration, while on the other hand a story for example about an accident in the gym could be categorized as the second type of narration, because it includes an unpredictable event that interrupts the normal routine. However, in both cases it is not important if the events actually occurred or if the speaker or writer invented a fictional narration. In addition to this, Ludwig (1984: 48-51) sees the aim of a narration as the central element to distinguish between report (Narration 1) and story (Narration 2), because a report seeks to present a circumstance or situation the way it actually occurred and is aimed at giving information, while in contrast to this a story is usually targeted at the solution of a complicating action or unusual event. The telling of a story leads to the construction of an exciting situation where the audience then desires for a resolution in order to be relieved from the tension. Additionally, Ludwig stresses that the different forms of narration are in no way oppositions but rather distinctions within the same group, with the main variation in their orientation towards the intended audience.

To further clarify the distinction between the different forms of narratives that are common in ordinary speech acts Hudson and Shapiro (1991(a): 91-102) have further divided narrations into three different categories – script, personal narratives and stories:

**Script:** A script is seen as a general description of usual everyday events, which show similarities to the giving of directions or recipes, hence a mere chronological order of events. They are usually told in a timeless present, using the general pronoun “you”, like in the example *You buy a train ticket and you get on the train. At the station you get off the train again.*

**Personal narratives:** This type of narration is more complex than scripts and involves the retelling of a personally experienced event. The general information is shifted to a background position, only used to clarify the context of the event. Personal narratives are usually told in the past tense from the perspective of the narrator including personal pronouns and they are normally organised around a climax. Personal narratives often contain leaps in time to create excitement in the audience.

**Stories:** A story usually refers to a fictional narration, where the teller has to include

some kind of problem or an unusual event that has to be solved in order to develop the plot. To create a story, a person needs to draw on existing knowledge about the events of the story which can be built up of 'general event knowledge', 'memory of a single episode' or 'memory of another fictional story'.

As the oral narrations for the empirical study in this paper are based on the reproduction of a picture story, they clearly fall into the category previously identified as 'Narration 2' by Bouke and Schüle (1995) and 'story' by Hudson and Shapiro, therefore they have to meet certain parameters to be counted as these types of narrations inspired by the pictures presented.

It has been described before that narrations are constructed by a number of actions and events that stand in a certain relation to each other. A successful installation of this overall relation builds a coherent story on the macro-level, which means that in order to establish coherence, the individual parts of a story have to be structured in a meaningful way:

A skillful narrative does not simply consist of a linear chain of successive events located in time and space. Rather, events must be packaged into hierarchical constructions. (Berman & Slobin 1994: 13)

A number of researchers have attempted to create models for a general analysis of the structure of narratives to identify their underlying patterns and similarities. The two most influential approaches – 'The High-Point Analysis' by Labov and Waletzky (1967) and 'The Story Grammar Approach' - are introduced in the following sections. However, it has to be taken into consideration that most researchers only take these models as a starting point and create their own versions, often combining the crucial elements of both for their studies on narrative development (cf. Peterson & McCabe 1983, Hudson & Shapiro 1991, Quasthoff & Hausendorf 2005)



## **2.2 Narrative Structure**

### **2.2.1 The High-Point Analysis by Labov and Waletzky (1967)**

One of the most influential frameworks on narrative structure has been formulated by William Labov and Joshua Waletzky in 1967 in their work “Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience”. They analysed personal-experience narratives in order to define a fundamental linguistic structure that underlies all narratives. In their opinion narratives are the reproduction of certain situations “by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred” (Labov 1972: 359-360). Therefore, a crucial point in Labov and Waletzky’s analysis is the exact temporal order in which narrative clauses occur, because in their opinion a reversion of the clauses that determine the temporal order of the story would lead to a change of the original semantic interpretation of the original story. Although this mainly applies to the narrating of events which happened in someone’s real experience, the model of analysis established by Labov and Waletzky has become one of the major tools for a structural analysis also of fictional narrations.

Central to their analysis is the classification of all formal linguistic units into two underlying core functions: ‘Referential Function’ and ‘Evaluative function’. Referential functions are fulfilled by so-called ‘narrative clauses’, which are used to reconstruct the temporal sequence of the narration and explain what the narrative is about. In addition to these organized clauses leading the story through its chronological path, there are also ‘free clauses’ included that can appear at almost any point of the narrative. These clauses are non-sequential and give further information considered relevant by the teller of the narrative and explain why the narrative is told, they therefore serve an ‘evaluative function’. (Bamberg 1987: 5)

The two types of clauses determine the fixed order of events, which are structured according to Labov and Waletzky into six chronologically ordered parts:

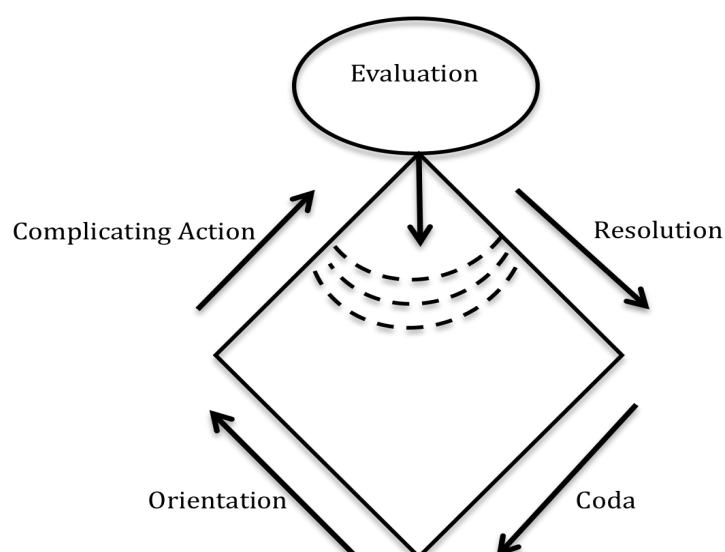
- (Abstract)
- (Orientation)
- Complicating action
- Evaluation

- Result or Resolution
- (Coda)

The *Abstract* and the *Orientation* are both optional elements and build together with the *Coda* the frame of the narration, at the beginning a brief summary is given (*Abstract*) and the circumstances of place and time are explained and the participating characters are identified (*Orientation*). The *Complicating Action* is the part where the majority of the fixed sequential narrative clauses occur and where the narrator explains the course of action, usually followed by the *Evaluation*, where the purpose or intention behind the telling of the events is stated. Labov considers the *Evaluation* as the central element together with the main narrative clauses, as it defines the reasons for telling the story. (Labov 1972: 362-375)

In agreement with Labov, Boueke and Schüle (1991: 17) consider the evaluative element in a narration an expression of emotion towards the ongoing events and a lack of it has proved to usually lead to a disconcerted audience asking themselves why they were told this particular story. Labov found in his study from 1972 that evaluative elements occurred at various stages during the course of narration and therefore modified the original model by himself and Waletzky from 1967 in a later version illustrated in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: The High-Point Analysis Model (Labov 1972: 369)**



In the modified version from 1972 Labov believed that the evaluation of the narrative is constructed by various evaluative elements occurring throughout the story and not at one particular point, therefore it builds a secondary structure besides the normal course of events. Toolan sees the integration of evaluative elements as stylistic device as their insertion can lead to an intentional temporary delay of the climax and therefore triggers the increase of the audience's interest (Toolan 2001: 153).

Finally the structure of a narrative is terminated by the *Resolution* that states what finally happened and the narrative is bridged back into the present by an optional *Coda* element which signals a clear end to the narrative.

This structural approach to narrative analysis is often referred to as "high-point analysis", because narratives are built around one or more "high-points" that determine the aim of the narration (Bamberg 1987: 5). The major criticism concerning the analysis by Labov and Waletzky is directed towards the evaluative element, because it is not stated clearly how these elements can be identified and categorized (Bamberg 1987: 6). In addition to this it is perceived problematic that the high-point analysis is exclusively based on personal experience narratives including life-threatening incidents and is therefore too specific and not easily applicable to other more general text types (Boueke et al. 1995: 167-170).

Another leading theoretical tool for analysing oral narrations is the schema approach or the so-called *storygrammar* that further developed from it.

### **2.2.2 The Story Grammar Approach**

The story grammar approach in linguistic analysis of narration goes back to the American scholar David E. Rumelhart in the 1970s, who believed that every story needs to be based upon a certain structure similar to the grammatical structure of a sentence in order to be identified as narrative. He intended to apply the linguistic concept of schema theory, which basically implies that all knowledge is organized into units and new information is stored within those already existing units, while at a later point these patterns get activated when events are observed or actions are conducted. Schema theory originally developed in the field of psychology and was initially installed by Jean Piaget and Frederic Bartlett, but Rumelharts model was also highly influenced by Propp's structural analysis of fairytales. (Rumelhart 1980: 33-48)

Rumelhart and his followers believe that narratives can be organised within a hierarchically ordered network connected by a logical relation existing between these categories, seeing the structure of the narrative as a direct representation of the narrator's mental concept, it therefore also includes cognitive aspects in contrast to the Labov and Waletzky model. These cognitive aspects of the story schema, which already exist in the person's memory are activated during the production as well as reception of narratives and are understood to guide the listener through the narration and foster the interpretation and retrieving of particular aspects of information. (Bamberg 1987:6; Bouke et. al. 1995: 69-71; Becker 2001: 32) This means that people use their internal story knowledge - which they acquire not only by reading and listening to stories but also by participating in social events - to understand and interpret new stories while listening, which is only possible because stories of the same cultural environment are said to usually follow a similar underlying structure. As Stein and Glenn (1982) explain, the story grammar identifies the necessary information every story needs to include and the relations that link the individual parts of the story together. However, as it will be discussed at a later point, the assimilation of the story structure is a developmental process and depends on the knowledge of different stories and social situations:

As comprehenders become more exposed to the variations in story structure and to different social situations, their schematic knowledge is gradually thought to correspond to the structural descriptions given in the story grammar (Stein and Glenn 1982: 256)

In contrast to the strictly linear model of Labov and Waletzky, the structure in the story grammar is organized hierarchically. In terms of the story grammar model by Rumelhart, which was further developed by a number of followers, every narration starts with a setting component, which identifies the context of the story and introduces the characters, that is followed by a varying number of episodes that form the plot. (Rumelhart 1975: 213-121) The story grammarians have identified the following basic "grammar rules" to structure a narrative, which are reduced here to their major points:

Rule 1: Setting + Episode

Rule 2: Episode = (Initiating) Event + Reaction

Rule 3: Event = Episode/Change of state/Action/ several Events

Rule 4: Reaction = Internal Response (emotion/desire) + Overt Response

Following the concept of Rumelhart, Stein and Glenn have further developed the model and did not only define the hierarchical order of events but also analyse the relationship between the occurring events among the individual categories, which all serve a different function in the story. As Becker (2001: 32) summarizes, these categories can vary in their number and their complexity but they are linked together in “additive, temporal or causal relations with each other”. The story grammar model established by Stein and Glenn is the one usually referred to in research on the analysis of story structure when applying the story schema approach and therefore a lucid summary offered by Stein and Glenn (1982: 256-259) illustrating the hierarchical order of events as well as their relations is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1: The Underlying Structure of a Simple Story**

<b>Categories and Types of Causal Relations occurring in a Simple Story</b>	
<b>1. SETTING</b> <i>Allow</i> ↓	Introduction of the setting and the characters; includes social, physical or temporal context of the story.
<b>EPISODE</b>	
<b>2. INITIATING EVENT</b>  Cause ↓	Some kind of change that initiates the storyline; it triggers the desire of the main character to react and formulate a goal.
<b>3. INTERNAL RESPONSE</b> Cause ↓	An emotional reaction and the statement of the goal; its primary function is to motivate the protagonist to conduct the reaction.
<b>4. ATTEMPT</b> Cause or Enable ↓	The protagonist reacts to the previous event in order to achieve a goal.
<b>5. CONSEQUENCE</b> Cause ↓	Achievement or failure to reach goal.
<b>6. REACTION</b>	An internal response that represents the characters emotion towards the outcome of the previous events, events as direct result or moral summarizing.

The story grammarians hold the view that if a person has fully developed the story schema, he or she would automatically sort the randomly given components of a story in a hierarchical order applying the above story grammar rules. According to Stein and Glenn (1982: 260), previous studies have shown that participants who were asked to retell stories with a non-canonical order in terms of story grammar had

problems to fulfil this task, therefore it is assumed that knowledge of story structure has a major impact on the memorization of stories.

It is important to mention that the research supporting the story grammar approach is mainly based on research methods evaluating text understanding and reception hence recall and summarization studies, proving that only stories following a certain pattern and including certain elements can be understood and retold correctly. In this sense, a number of researchers have found that narratives, which did not follow the story grammar structure, were not understood correctly by the audience or were changed in the reproduction according to the common story schema (cf. Mandler & Johnson 1978; Stein & Glenn 1979). Additionally, story grammarians often explain their structure on the example of rather simple stories that were invented to prove their point.

The supporters of the story grammarians also believe that certain components of the story grammar can be inverted or omitted on purpose by the narrator in order to create a specific effect in the audience (Stein & Glenn 1982: 261-263; 279). However, a minimum of particular elements within an episode has to be included in order for a narration to be considered a skilful story according to Stein and Glenn:

(...) (1) an initiating event or an internal response which causes the character to formulate a goal-directed behavioural sequence (2) an action, which can either be an attempt or consequence, and (3) a direct consequence marking the attainment or nonattainment of the goal. (1979: 72)

Although the story grammar approach introduces a useful model to analyse the structure of narratives and provides the possibility to identify single episodes in relation to the whole text, there is still a considerable amount of criticism addressed towards the approach of the story grammarians. Becker (2001: 33) for example sees the shortcoming of the story grammar approach in the lack of the evaluative element, which is present in the Labovian model, although it is to some extent integrated in Stein and Glenn's category of 'reaction'. Furthermore, she criticises the missing differentiating element, which would clearly define the story as narrative and mark that it is worth to be told in order to make it an entertaining narration or rather story as discussed before. This point is also criticised by Bouke et. al (1995: 58/71) citing Black and Wilensky who agree that the story-grammar model does on the one hand not exclusively refer to narratives, but includes texts which do not fulfil the requirements to be defined as "story" (e.g. mere description of events), but on the other hand can

not be applied to all text which are clearly considered to be narratives. Additionally, Quasthoff and Hausendorf (2005: 84) consider the story grammar approach problematic because of the simplicity of the texts that were used to create the model, which fails the application to more complex texts. The central element of Quasthoff's own findings is clearly the discontinuity in a story ("Planbruch"), that somehow disturbs the ongoing process of the narration and provides something unusual and new, which is rudimentarily included in the 'initiating event' in the story grammar structure, but not nearly as central to the analysis as it is for Quasthoff. However, Quasthoff stresses this part as the most essential element of the story, because in her opinion the intention behind a narration is aimed at informing the listeners about this certain unusual event, which makes a story tellable (1980: 88-111). For her the complication or break of usual events defines a reproduction of events as "story" in contrast to "script" as these two types of narration were defined by Hudson and Shapiro (1991 (a)).

### **2.2.3 Summary**

Although the previous approaches differ in their terminology and focus, they all agree that the narrative expressions of complex event structures are based on underlying cognitive patterns and they present diverse models that can serve as useful tools to analyse story structures. Finally, taking into consideration all the remarks concerning the individual models and trying to find a red thread in order to identify the crucial elements of narratives in terms of textual structure it can be concluded: To be considered a narration in the sense of this paper as an exciting and or entertaining coherent story that differs from normal everyday retelling of events, an act of storytelling has to fulfil the following conditions:

- A story needs to clearly demarcate itself from a mere description, report or reproduction of events and therefore it has to be built around an element of disruption, unusual event or a problem, whose absence would lead to an unsatisfied or even irritated reaction by the audience. This crucial story element of minimal unusualness builds the justification for the teller to narrate the story and makes it worth listening.

- All relevant events need to be mentioned and form a discourse, clarifying the context to the audience and taking into consideration the audience's knowledge or expectations.
- A linear progress of events has to build an overall coherent sequence, that is composed of at least *setting*, *episode (complication)* and *resolution* (Labov 1972). The individual parts stand in a causal relationship to each other according to the story grammar approach (Rumelhart 1980).
- The narration needs to contain some kind of evaluative element to insert an emotional component that leads to a stronger transmission of the unusual element and creates more interest among the listeners.

The model for the analysis of the narrative structure in a story preferred is the approach presented by Stein and Glenn 1982. The main reason for this is that the individual parts of the story are seen to stand in a stronger causal relationship to each other than in the Labovian model which is seen as crucial to the meaningful production of a story. However, in the framework that was used for the analysis of the narrative productions in the following empirical part presented in section 5.4. two elements of the Labovian model were adopted, as they are seen as essential building blocks for a successful narration: the occurrence of a problem (complicating action) and evaluative elements.

Furthermore, the story structure that is applied by the speaker in the creation of her or his story is mainly determined by three major skills that collaborate in order to create a cohesive story: 'interactive competence', 'world knowledge' and 'linguistic competence'. On the one hand it is crucial to anticipate the expectations of the listener to decide whether the story is worth telling (interactive competence) and to determine where the audience has to be met, which means to evaluate what the listener already knows and which circumstances of the event have to be explained. In addition to this the speaker's world knowledge identifies the processes and actions and their underlying connection in the course of the event and selects the unusual element that makes a story worth telling. The linguistic competence of the speaker to tell a story is not only dictated by his or her language skills and syntactic knowledge, but it also includes the speakers ability to build a coherent story and integrate linguistic devices that foster an interesting and exciting story plus characteristic elements of the chosen



text type that need to be part of the narration. (Boueke & Schülein 1991: 17-20) Although the linguistic competence relevant for narrating a story is clearly in the focus of this paper, it has to be clarified that only a cooperation of all three previously mentioned competences can lead to a satisfying result.

A large number of research studies has used the previously introduced models of story structure to contribute to the knowledge about children's ability to tell stories and has compared their performance at different age levels. A brief summary of the most influential research and its results in this area will provide information about how narrative competence develops in children's first language and what this means in terms of their linguistic competence.

What has to be taken into account, is that all above mentioned researchers and their successors worked with different forms of narration to achieve their results: Labov (1972) analysed personal experience narrations, while Rumelhart (1980) made use of short descriptions of events which were partially invented by himself. On the other hand the other story grammarians (c.f. Stein and Glenn 1979) mainly concentrated on summaries and reproductions of stories, while Quasthoff (1980) focused on conversational narrations produced in verbal interactions involving at least two or more people. These experts and all the researchers following them in using their models in order to gain insight into the developmental process of children's linguistic competence looked at oral narratives from different perspectives, a fact that probably explains the sometimes deviating results in the developmental studies in linguistic research. At first the findings of the developmental studies on the ability to apply a narrative structure in order to build coherent stories will be investigated, followed by a summary of the most crucial results concerning the acquisition of linguistic features necessary for the creation of narratives.

### **2.3 Development of Narrative Competence in Children**

From everyday conversations with children it is quite obvious that they do not narrate stories of equal quality compared to adult narrations and that their productions usually improve with age. Especially very young children at pre-school age, seem to have difficulty in keeping track of their own narrations and often need to restart from

the beginning or clarify their messages. It seems to be the case that they do not only differ from adults in terms of linguistic knowledge for example in their limited access to a wide range of words, but also a lack of cognitive processing of the structural makeup of stories appears to complicate the creation of narrations for them. They have not yet reached the ability to globally structure their narrations in order to construct a coherent story as defined by Hudson and Shapiro (1991 (b): 960):

To achieve a coherent story children must draw on culturally shared knowledge to temporally and causally organize a narrative into a sequence that is meaningful to themselves and their listeners.

A number of researchers has worked on the analysis of oral narrations of children in order to discover reasons for the deviating narrative competence and also to indentify stages that children undergo in their developmental process of obtaining skilful narrative competence. One of the central questions of previous research is at what age children are able construct narrations along a structured line of events that stand in a causal relation to each other or in other words: When are they able to build coherent narrations?

### **2.3.1 The Acquisition of Narrative Structure**

In 1982 Glenn and Stein (1982: 269-282) used their story grammar model to analyse the story schema development in children in terms of narrative production of own stories as opposed to previous studies that focused mainly on recall of stories or story understanding. The researchers' aim was to investigate if children of various age groups (pre-school children aged 5, third graders aged 8 and sixth graders aged 11) used schematic knowledge in the production of their own stories applying the rules of the story grammar when narrating a story, where they all had to continue from the same given story beginning. The findings illustrated that even in the youngest age group half of the children produced narrations along an episodic structure, although it seems to be the case that younger children have a broader concept of stories, which leads to an exclusion of some of the necessary structural elements. According to the results of this study some episodes, for example initiating event, attempts and consequences are more likely to be included than for instance internal response or reaction. In addition to this, systematic inversion of certain episodes did

occur during the production, leading Stein and Glenn to the assumption that younger children incorporate inversions to clarify unintentionally produced ambiguity due occurring problems during the planning phase. Only at about the age of ten or eleven are children considered to be able to include event inversion on purpose to create certain effects among the audience.

In their attempt to explain the occurring developmental differences in their study of oral narratives, Stein and Glenn have identified three possible reasons, why these variations in the story production process might have appeared:

- 1) Younger children probably have a broader concept of a story and therefore they do not include all episodes defined by the story grammar approach. It is believed that only at a later point do children understand the evaluative element of a story and start to include moral lessons or wider consequences.
- 2) Young children usually have gained less life experience and content knowledge, which means that they might not be fully aware of reasonable reactions or consequences for occurring events. A broader world or content knowledge simplifies the whole story process and makes it easier for older children to produce refined and skilful stories.
- 3) A third reason could be, that younger children have not yet fully developed interactive competence and they usually consider the audience to have exactly the same understanding of an event as they do. Therefore they often delete too much information, as they assume the audience automatically knows what is meant.

Another extensive study on the development of narrative structures has been conducted by Peterson and McCabe in 1983, who attempted to combine story grammar analysis and high-point analysis. They used free personal narratives of 96 North American children aged 4 to 9, which were produced without any kind of stimulus, and analysed them first according to the high-point approach by Labov and Waletzky, then in terms of the story grammar analysis introduced by Stein and Glenn (1979) and thirdly investigated the data in terms of a dependency analysis. Later the data was supplemented by an additional longitudinal study investigating children at the age of 2 to 4. Their overall results showed that the production of narratives starts around the age of two, considering the simple telling of a singular event as narration. In summary the findings of Peterson and McCabe have illustrated that oral narrations became longer and more coherent with an increase of age. At the age of 6 most chil-

dren in the study according to the researchers were capable of telling a coherent story giving an abstract, a series of events that are organised around a high-point, which is evaluated and end in a resolution and coda and therefore it was concluded that a basic narrative competence is reached at the beginning of primary school education. Older children's narratives at this point differ from elementary school children's mainly in terms of length and richness of structure. (McCabe 1997: 138-150) In general Peterson and McCabe come to the conclusion that their results did not show a large discrepancy between high-point analysis and the story grammar approach concerning the information they offer about the development of narrative ability (Peterson and McCabe 1983: 108).

In addition to this, Hudson and Shapiro (1991 (a): 94-102) claim that children already at the age of three are capable of producing scripts as the first form of narrative expression, speaking about familiar events in their correct chronological order. According to them, previous research has shown that although children use the story schema for the understanding of stories at the age of 4, they not use them for the production of coherent, goal-based production of fictional stories before reaching the age of 6. In their own research they have investigated oral productions of 109 American middle-class children from pre-school (4-years-old) to the age of eight. Their findings showed that the inclusion of structural story elements increases gradually and that preschool children's story were close to script and personal narrations, while the first graders were more able to produce a coherent story format and differed from the production of scripts, however only one third was able to incorporate a problem-solving element in their stories. The majority of children in the last group was able to produce coherent stories including structural elements and proved that they had achieved a general understanding of the structural requirements for all three investigated narration types (script, personal experience, story) at the age of eight. (1991 (a): 107-124)

The findings of Bouke et. al. (1995) agree with Shapiro and Hudson's results in large terms concerning the narrative competence of the children, however, they criticise that the former study did not question the evaluative component of the stories and analyse the emotional qualification. They believe that the narrative development concerning the construction of a narrative schema is not completed before the end of

primary school and that children's narrations do not contain the same structure as adult stories before reaching the age of nine. It is considered that at this time the structural development is concluded and further development only happens in terms of linguistic aspects, content and style. (Boueke et. al. 1995: 186-187)

Furthermore, this group of researchers sees the development as a bottom-up process and have indentified 4 major steps that children undergo in their achievement of telling coherent stories (191-193):

**Stage 1:** At this stage children can identify and express conceptual events, but are not capable of putting them into a structural relation to each other. It seems to be the case that children list the events without constructing temporal or local relations rather they are realised as isolated narrative units.

**Stage 2:** At this stage the children start to connect the individual events and actions in a temporal or causal order. However, they still only relate single elements and are not yet capable of building an overall global structure. The primarily used linguistic expression of this connection at this stage is "and then".

**Stage 3:** Now children have reached the stage where they are able to express a break in the normal course of events and integrate an unusual element. They have not only reached the stage where they can chronologically structure the story along the categories defined by the high-point analysis "setting", "episode" and "resolution", but have the cognitive and linguistic ability to interrupt the normal progress and include a contrastive element.

**Stage 4:** By the time they reach stage 4 children have learned to "emotionally qualify the contrastive progress of events in their story through affective markers". This means that they can now express emotional reasons why they consider the story as important and therefore include the audience in the events of the story.

The researchers emphasize that the results of their findings clearly illustrated that all children undergo this above-mentioned development, however this does not mean that they all reach the same stage at the same time, which depends on each child individually (Bouke et. al. 1995)

In their wide-ranging cross-linguistic study on oral narratives Berman and Slobin (1994) have investigated children of different age groups (3-, 5- and 9 year-olds) and

compared them to adult narratives of the same picture story that has been used in the subsequent study. In terms of developing narrative competence they believe that the deficiencies of the younger children are caused by three major knowledge areas, which need to mature:

- (a) cognitively they cannot conceive of the full range of encodable perspectives;
- (b) communicatively they cannot fully assess the listener's viewpoint and
- (c) linguistically they do not command the full range of formal devices

Their findings according to story structure, including results from five different languages, illustrate that the narrative ability of children seems to follow a similar developmental pattern, independent from their mother tongue. They agree with previous findings (e.g. Peterson & McCabe 1991), that children acquire the lexico-syntactic knowledge to describe actions or events relatively early, as all the 3-year-olds were able to produce picture descriptions of the various scenes. Nevertheless, they failed to temporally or causally link these events to produce a globally structured story. The 5-year-olds formed a rather heterogeneous group, placing them in a sort of transitional phase, where some of them were more capable of producing coherent stories than others. In contrast to the younger children almost all the 9-year-olds have achieved to build globally structured narrations, relating the individual events in a logical order. Additionally, only the oldest age group considered was able to incorporate evaluative elements by commenting on the inner state or emotional actions of the characters. However, the authors also stress, that their narrative ability has not yet reached full maturation as they still fail to "manifest narrative organization at a level subservient to the overall plot" hence they were not entirely capable of clearly marking foreground and background in the events along the story line. In addition to this, their concept of narratives proved to be primarily stereotypical, and they lacked the competence to express a personal style or include individuality. (Berman and Slobin 1994: 39-84)

According to Kemper (1984: 100) children's stories differ from adult production in terms of content, plot structure and causal structure, three dimensions, which provide different approaches to their analysis. The content of children's stories seems to increase widely between the ages 2 and 5, as it is based on the children's own life experience which grows extensively during these years. However wide-ranging the content of their stories in terms of variety of themes, characters or symbols they include might be at this developmental stage, research illustrated that they have not yet mas-

tered the creation of a story structure. Kemper, as well as the majority of the other researchers whose results have been discussed here, are convinced that a complete mastery of complex plot and causal structure is reached around the age of ten. Nevertheless the narrations of ten-year-olds are not entirely comparable to most adult productions, as they “may be limited in terms of the number of embedded or interactive episodes that they can handle at one time” (Kemper 1984: 113).

In summary it can be said that the development of narrative skills is a gradual process, although not all the children undergo the process in the same pace or reach the same stage simultaneously.

Concerning story structure, scientists appear to agree that children are capable of constructing a coherent narrative, which contains globally structured events that are temporally or causally interrelated and incorporates emotional or evaluative elements at the end of primary school education aged 9-10. Although reception studies have emphasised that children are aware of story structures at a very young age (cf. Mandler 1978), they do not seem to be able to fully apply them in the production of a story. Although the various researchers worked with different tasks, the narrative productions of pre-school children turned out mainly scripts hence mere descriptions of pictures or individual events. As their narrative ability increases gradually, by the time they finish primary school education they have more or less achieved full competency concerning structural development.

It seems to be the case that in the development of the narrative process at first children are increasingly able to draw on a larger content knowledge including more complex themes and characters. At a later point their awareness of plot structure progresses, as they begin to construct hierarchically structured episodes building the story around a high point by including the embedding of subordinate episodes and incorporating background information to explain the context of the story. Finally, children learn to imply causal relationships to the events of a story, as they begin to explain internal states of their characters or consequences of their actions. Although the majority of children probably have reached a basic overall narrative competence at the end of primary school and the ability to include all necessary elements in their first language, it has to be stressed, that they are far from telling adult-like narrations and even in adults narrative competence varies widely mainly concerning stylistic and rhetorical features.

Finally the main reason for an increasing proficiency in story telling in child language appears to be a collaboration of an enhanced communicative competence and the growth of their overall cognitive capacity.

With respect to the following empirical analysis of oral narratives produced by children aged between ten and eleven, these previously discussed findings signify that it can be assumed that all the learners have reached a stage of narrative competence in their first language where they are able to build globally coherent structures including all necessary story elements as well as incorporating evaluative statements and building causal relationships between the individual events.

## **2.4 Establishment of Cohesion in Oral Narratives**

### **2.4.1 Definition**

The previously discussed knowledge about story structure represents linguistic knowledge on a macro-level. This will now be supplemented with a brief discussion of the micro-linguistic forms that are crucial for a successful production of narratives in terms of establishing cohesion. In general, cohesion is seen as the linguistic representation of the relationship and connectivity of individual clauses, which creates an entity on the textual level by incorporating surface linguistic elements used as cohesive devices. This is usually referred to as the relationship between coherence and cohesion as defined by Hudson and Shapiro (1991 (b)):

Thus story coherence is determined by the degree to which the overall structure of a narrative satisfies the requirements of story well-formedness, whereas cohesion is viewed as degree to which the propositions and character reference within a narration are linguistically connected. (960)

Although the term cohesion is widespread in linguistic research and usually referred to as “linguistic relationship between (those) clauses” (Peterson & McCabe 1991:30), a number of researchers criticise the usage of this term. For example Bachmann (2002: 111) claims what is usually considered cohesion is not explicitly separable from the term coherence and stresses that scholars referring to the term cohesion in fact talk about cohesive devices, which are linguistic devices that create coherence on the textual level. Nevertheless, the majority of researchers investigating the relation of narratives on the textual level, refer to the whole concept of textual



connectivity as cohesion which is created by the use of several linguistic cohesive devices that in their specific situational context create a relation between textual elements and therefore contribute to the overall coherence of a chain of utterances.

Bamberg for example (1987: 12) adopts Wimmer's (1982: 37-40) concept of 'local coherence' for his definition of cohesion central to his study, that goes beyond the pure linguistic relationship between clauses or sentences. In his perception cohesion defines the "relationship between the linguistic portrayal in terms of the formal devices at the textual level and the intended story at the conceptual level of uniting events into units, and those units in turn into a whole". This relationship is established via cohesive devices such as reference markers and specific lexical choices within a particular speech event.

A full discussion of the relationship between coherence and cohesion would go beyond the scope of this paper, however for a textual analysis of narrations it is crucial to clarify that cohesion is more tangible in the lexico-syntactic elements (cohesive devices) on the surface of a text, while coherence depends more on the interpretation of the individual receiver of a text, therefore coherence depends heavily on the person's background and cultural knowledge (Tanskanen 2006: 20-21). This means that a text can consist of numerous cohesive devices and still is not interpreted by the receiver as a coherent entity.

In terms of the analysis of oral narrations this means that the identification of the grammatical and lexical elements in a story can only give an indication about the cohesion of a text, which can contribute to the establishment of a coherent global structure.

Probably the most influential work on the textual analysis of cohesion has been done by Halliday and Hasan in 1976, where they have established an extensive model of categories for the division between grammatical and lexical cohesion establishing a so-called *tie* between elements, which represents a single instance of cohesion within a communicative act (1976: 3). This connectivity between individual elements is created through the reference that is conducted between some elements, which makes the understanding and interpretation of them dependent on the occurrence of others:

Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one PRESUPPOSES the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When

this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the pre-supposing and presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into the text (1976: 4)

Before a closer look is taken on the linguistic devices that create cohesion in oral narratives and how they develop in the narrative competence of children, two of the major functions of cohesion that aid the interpretation and orientation of the audience will be introduced.

#### 2.4.2 Marking and Grounding of Information

Although it has been stated before that cohesive devices are not indispensable to establish coherence, they are heavily used in the production of narratives. For example Peterson and McCabe (1991: 31) claim that intersentential connectives are favoured by producers of narrations, despite they are not necessary because the listener normally assumes in his or her interpretation that the events automatically occur in their chronological order in the narration. As developmental studies have shown, especially younger children at their lower level of narrative competence rely heavily specifically on additive connectives like *and then*, as they are incapable of using other forms of cohesive devices. (cf. Hudson & Shapiro 1991(b); Peterson & McCabe 1991).

However, two aspects of cohesion that involve a wide range of different linguistic devices, are inevitable for the creation of a story as they assist the audience in interpreting the ongoing events and circumstances. On the one hand the narrators have to **mark information** in terms of novelty and on the other hand they need to **ground information**, which means that they present some events in the foreground on an ordered chain of events and others in the background. According to Hickmann (1995: 198-200) if narrators cannot assume that the audience knows automatically about a referent they have to introduce new information to allow successful interpretation. Examples for linguistic devices that exemplify grounding are the use of articles or pronouns, as the indefinite determiner in *a dog* introduces a new entity while definite noun phrases like *the dog* or *it* require a previous introduction. This rule also refers to local or temporal references: the listener assumes that the events stay in the same

place and time frame, the speaker therefore has to mark displacement by adding information for example adverbials.

The second important aspect of cohesion presented by Hickmann (1995) is the presentation of grounding. This implies that the teller indicates, which of the given information is assigned to the foreground or the background of the text. Firstly, the foreground constructs the framework of the text as it is determined by the chronologically ordered major events included in the narrative, which therefore create the timeline of the story and regulate the forward motion. Secondly, the background is built up of subsidiary descriptions, comments or explanations that present additional information to the foreground and do not imply a chronological order. (Trévis 1986: 230)

Temporality and the appropriateness of aspect markers plays an important role in establishing grounding in narratives, as aspect is seen as a major linguistic device to present grounding. Bardovi-Harlig (1998: 476) argues that grounding is applied in narratives by users of all kinds of languages, so that the chronological line of main events is somehow linguistically demarcated from additional information, for example by the use of specific tense and aspect markers. Events on the main time line expressing a forward movement are usually expressed by perfective aspect to mark completeness and punctuality, while the progressive aspect marker *-ing* is normally used in background clauses (Berman and Slobin 1994: 7)

### **2.4.3 The Development of Cohesion in Narratives**

Referring to Hickmann (1999: 202), who surveyed previous studies on the development of coherence and cohesion in narratives, it is controversial among researchers if the two concepts develop in parallel or, if one is determined by the other. In contrast to this there seems to be agreement that the linguistic competence to create cohesion develops gradually in children's language acquisition. Previous studies (cf. Hudson & Shapiro 1991 (b)) have illustrated that although preschool children aged three to four make use of cohesive devices, like interclausal conjunctions or pronominalisation, they do not always implement them correctly and frequently produce ambiguity for example by using the same pronoun for various referents. Hudson and Shapiro are convinced that the ability to create an anaphoric structure and to use more complex forms of conjunctions improves with age and believe that an accurate

implication of connectives and pronouns to construct story cohesion is not implemented before the age of five. In contrast to this, Bamberg (1987) has found that even younger children successfully used pronominalisation to create cohesive utterances.

Hickman (1999: 203) concludes that cohesion on an immediate sentence level initiates around the age of two or three and at the beginning children mainly establish links on a lexical level with the repetition of words. Gradually they start using anaphoric expressions and more complex forms of connectives emerge until longer chains of utterances emerge and textual elements are connected on a more global level.

## **2.5 Developing Narrative Competence in English as a Foreign Language**

Developing narrative competence in a foreign language seems to be an equally gradual process like it is in first language acquisition, although in language learning the developmental process is not so much dependent on the cognitive maturity rather than on linguistic competence in the target language. As it is exhibited by previous research, even older children or adults who are said to have reached full narrative competence in their first language, cannot fully apply their narrative proficiency in a foreign language right from the beginning as they lack the linguistic knowledge that is essential to express a narrative in full range. Previous research studies on the achievement of narrative competence in a foreign language vary widely in their agenda concerning the perspectives they take on learner language and narrative competence.

### **2.5.1 Cultural Restrictions on the Discourse Level**

The influence of cultural differences in discourse knowledge on the production of texts in a foreign language is studied by Kang (2003). Her study is based on the same pictures as the ones of the empirical part of this paper and shows that even if learners have reached a considerable level of proficiency in a foreign language they still struggle in the production of narratives concerning their structural composition, as they often do not share the same cultural concept of a successful story with native

speakers of the target language. In this study including Korean learners of English as a foreign language this mainly had an impact on the implementation of evaluative elements and general story structure, because Korean EFL learners tend to include considerably less explicit evaluative comments in their stories, as these elements are not part of Korean narrations. However, it has to be mentioned that at an earlier point in this paper in section 2.3. the cross-cultural research study conducted by Berman and Slobin (1994) argues for a similar route of narrative development in children with diverse cultural background. This discrepancy can be explained as the similarities in narrative development of children with different cultural backgrounds that were found in the study by Berman and Slobin (1994) were interpreted on a more linguistic basis rather than on the inclusion of individual story elements so that a different research perspective has lead to the seemingly contradictory results.

The findings of Kang (2003) correlate with Berman's (1998) model of investigating the deviation of learner language from native performance in narrations of adults. In her notion of the expansion of narrative skills in language learners she believes that different levels are passed involving the mastery of 'core grammatical elements' at the lowest level including inflectional morphology, simple clause structure and gradually more complex syntax. At the next level learners improve their choice of lexical items by refining their 'lexical selection' from basic use of closed class items to a more accurate election of diverse semantic categories. This is followed by the additional incorporation of 'rhetorical expressiveness' where the knowledge about the two previous categories interplays to allow the use of linguistic devices relevant to the respective discourse. In the sense of narratives the understanding of rhetorical expressiveness would include an accurate installation of connectivity or the establishment of perspective and grounding. According to this study by Berman at the last stage learners of a foreign language are able to include genre conventions in their narrations appropriate to the culture of the target language and they reach a stage where they can apply a proper level of formality to a particular communicative situation that fits the general discourse conventions of the target language. Of course it has to be stressed that there are no clear boundaries between the different levels and the stages substantially correlate with one another. In relation to this progress Berman believes that the 'higher-level variations', which are the rhetorical conventions and the register appropriateness of the target language, between first language

and target language are more difficult to achieve and are more resistant to adjustment. (Berman 1998: 199)

### **2.5.2 Interplay of lexico-syntactic Development and Narrative Structure**

In addition to a cultural perspective, most studies investigating the narrative competence of foreign language learners concentrate on the development of narrative structure and its connection to the general linguistic development of the learners. Myles (2003) for example has studied the narrative productions of English learners of French at a relatively early stage with limited overall language competence. She has concluded from the results of her study, that the learners are not able linguistically to transfer their narrative competence already gained in their first language to a second language, but they have to go through certain stages that are initially relatively similar to the first language acquisition process of narrative competence. For example the productions of the picture stories at this early stage were mostly script-like in the sense that they included limited verb use and inclusion of connectors other than additive ones. In addition to this the narrators remained strictly in the chronological order in the way the events were presented on the pictures and showed almost no effort to include evaluation of the ongoing events, rather the productions consisted mainly of descriptions of foreground action on a singular time line with a limited use of cohesive devices. This resembles closely the first stages of narrative competence of pre-school children in their L1 (cf. Hudson & Shapiro 1991(a)). Although the learners had improved gradually at the second time of testing, by gaining more control over verb use and including an increased number of cohesive devices, their discourse knowledge remained limited and still almost no anaphoric devices were used for linking global elements of the text. Similar results about the limited establishment of cohesion through anaphoric devices by young learners of English as a foreign language were found by Munoz (1997), who showed that learners chose mainly the full lexical repetition of the noun phrase rather than pronouns.

In her study on late bilingualism of immigrants in Sweden Viberg (2001) has found similar results to Myles's. Before learners have reached a certain point in their linguistic ability they remain in the production of mere event descriptions hence scripts, only after an essential amount of language knowledge has been acquired the con-

cept of story structure is available in a second language. Even the youngest participants in her study at the age of five were able to include basic components relevant to story structure. However, one has to be aware that learners of a language cannot exceed their concept of story structure in their L1 even if they have reached the linguistic know-how to produce accurate narrations, therefore the oral narrations in the study became increasingly proficient with age reflecting the usual course of age related development of a story structure.

In addition to this, Álvarez (2006) also claims that the development of narrative proficiency in an L2 is a gradual process, where learners undergo the same stages regardless of starting age, learning environment, amount of instruction and age of the learners can only influence the pace of the development, but does not seem to change or omit levels in the acquisition process. She believes that the gaining of discourse knowledge in a foreign language, is strongly interconnected with acquiring morpho-syntactic competence. In her study she has investigated the oral narratives, based on a wordless picture story, of three groups of learners (first languages Spanish and Catalan learning English) with different starting age (8 years old, 11 years old and adults) after a different amount of hours of instruction. Her major findings showed that all learners follow a clearly identifiable route in establishing a skilful narrative, which is dependent on the maturation of their language competence in the foreign language. According to this study certain narrative features, for example narrative structure, emerge at different levels of reaching syntactic or morphological competence and therefore she is convinced that “the communicative goal of achieving more adequate discourse drives the development of linguistic forms” (Álvarez 2006: 148).

In her work she has identified five levels of development, which are subdivided into nine stages that show the gradual process of language learning in relation to the ability to create oral narratives (2006: 134-139; 149).

## **5 Levels of foreign language development in oral narratives:**

**Level 1 (Stage 1):** This stage corresponds with the so called “Silent Period” constituted by Ellis (1994) for the general foreign language acquisition process, as at this stage there is no appearance of morphosyntactic or discourse elements in the L2.

**Level 2 (Stage 2):** At this point the narratives consist of a series of nouns that describe occurring objects or characters e.g. *boy, dog*.

**Level 3 (Stage 3):** The gradual emergence of phrasal syntax begins and an increasing number of nominal and prepositional phrases are used. Also the plural –s appears in the performances e.g. *the child, one boy, the brothers; in basket*.

**Level 4 (Stage 4,5,6):** Clausal syntax starts to appear including subjects and complements and the development of morphological components is expanded to verbs. Primary conjunctions occur to link sentences e.g. *She look a dog in the ... cesta (basket) but don't have a ... any dinner*.

**Level 5 (Stage 7,8,9):** At this stage the use of complex syntactic constructions allows the expression of narrative functions and the learners have reached the ability to establish a temporal structure in the narrative by building clauses (Stage 7). Furthermore the learners are capable of creating syntactic relationships and use aspect shifts to build the foreground and the background and the chronological order of events. In addition to this they are able at this level to include evaluative features by using subordination and post-modification (Stage 8 and 9). e.g. *They prepare sandwiches because to go to a picnic*.

The children as well as the adult learners in the study followed the same path of development, the pace depending on each learner individually, which shows that developing narrative competence in a foreign language is a gradual process depending on the mastery of the linguistic system of the foreign language and not so much on age - and in connection with it cognitive maturity - as in first language development of narratives.

Additionally, Álvarez (2006) identified a linear progress in the use of morphemes, which in her opinion is dependent on the discourse function and therefore this exact order only applies to narratives. Her material showed that learners acquire morphemes the following way: “*definite article, plural –s, the copula, present participle –ing, irregular past, third-person singular present –s, regular past –ed*” (2006: 149)

The gradual process of morpheme acquisition has also been of great interest in the field of general second language acquisition. Goldschneider and DeKeyser (2001)



examined the reasons for the often discovered similar route or order of gradual acquisition of morphemes in English as a foreign or second language, no matter which first language, learner age, or learning environment was included. According to their results five characteristics of morphemes appear to have a large impact on the order of acquisition. These five most influential factors were found to be:

**Perceptual salience:** Perceptual salience describes the complexity of perceiving and hearing a certain grammatical element, which means that the easier a feature is heard or perceived in the input (more salient) the earlier it will be acquired.

**Semantic complexity:** This term refers to the number of meanings that can be represented by one singular form, for example third person –s expresses person, number and present tense, which makes it more complex and therefore it is more difficult to acquire.

**Morphophonological regularity:** This factor assumes that it is acquired earlier if it is more phonologically regular. For example the polyfunctional use of allomorphs has a negative influence on the acquisition of an element like the different versions of [s,z] in plural –s, possessive –s and third person singular –s.

**Syntactic category:** It was investigated in how far the functional category a word belongs to influences its degree of severity in the acquisition process. For example lexical words have proven to be acquired more easily than functional ones.

**Frequency:** This factor deals with the frequency of occurrence of a grammatical item in the input, which leads to the assumption that the more a morphological structure was represented in the speech addressing the learner, the faster it was acquired.

Goldschneider and DeKeyser stress that all these given factors among others, like for example transfer from the first language, work together to determine the level of difficulty of a grammatical structure that might lead to an earlier or later acquisition. They believe that the above-mentioned characteristics of morphemes are all related in some sense to salience at different levels, which foster the “process of induction of grammatical structure from elements of the input” (2001: 37). This list of factors could offer an explanation to the question why learners of different first languages might follow a similar route in their ability to tell oral narratives in a similar foreign language. It also gives possible reasons, why specific morphemes are easier to acquire and why others need more time to be implemented in the newly learned language sys-

tem, which explains why an early introduction to a foreign language could lead to better results as the learners had more time to process the new information. For example, considering the above mentioned factors third person –s is a morpheme that is quite difficult to acquire. Therefore an earlier introduction to this grammatical language element offers more time to process it and might lead to better results compared to learners who had only recently been introduced to the morphological feature. In section 5 of this paper these findings by Álvarez (2006) and Goldschneider and DeKeyser (2001) are the basis for the analytical investigation of oral narratives in order to find out if learners with an earlier intensive EFL start have an advantage with respect to the acquisition of morpho-syntactic elements.

### **2.5.3 Summary**

The investigation of previous studies on the acquisition of narrative competence in a foreign language has shown that this is also a gradual process, which is in some points quite similar to the L1 acquisition of narratives. However, in L2 learning the initial restrictions in the production of narratives are not primarily caused by cognitive immaturity like in insufficient narratives of young L1 speakers, but mainly by a lack of language knowledge in a foreign language. Regardless of their age learners of a foreign language follow a certain path in their developmental process where their lexico-syntactic knowledge improves gradually and allows them to increase the quality of their narrative productions undergoing several stages of proficiency. In terms of the ability to apply morpho-syntactic rules in English as a Foreign Language, this also appears to be a gradual evolution, which seems to be guided by certain features of the morphemes that make them more or less difficult to acquire. With respect to narratives, especially morphemes that are significant for tense and aspect marking, are particularly relevant, as they are needed for temporal anchoring and back- and foregrounding of information.

Concerning the present study, the interesting question arises whether the different experience at primary level has left a detectable trace in learners' productions of oral narratives. It will be interesting to investigate if learners who were introduced to a wider range of morpho-syntactic structures during their primary school education and therefore had more time to internalize the new information show a better ability to

include these forms correctly in their oral narrations especially with respect to tense and aspect markers.

### 3 COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

#### 3.1 Definition

The identification of communicative strategies (CS) applied in the oral narratives of foreign language learners is the second major interest of this study. For this reason the following chapter is aimed at defining communicative strategies for the purpose of the empirical study and to present a concise but clear insight into different taxonomies and views on communicative strategies by various researchers. Finally a model of analysis relevant to the identification of communicative strategies in the data of this study will be introduced.

There seems to be an ongoing discussion in the literature concerning the understanding and definition of communication strategies or communicative strategies, both terms are usually used interchangeably. The two traditional definitions of CS presented by Tarone and Færch and Kasper, usually referred to by most researchers aim to illustrate how communication strategies are called upon in communicative situations to overcome some sort of trouble:

*Conscious communication strategies are used by an individual to overcome the crisis which occurs when language structures are inadequate to convey the individual's thought.* (Tarone 1977: 195)

*Communication strategies are potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal.* (Færch & Kasper 1983: 36)

Both definitions describe communicative strategies as verbal or non-verbal devices that usually foreign language speakers draw on when they reach a problem or inadequacy in their language ability. As the above definitions can also be applied to the language use in first language speech, Ellis (1994: 396) includes exclusively foreign language learners in his definition of CS, by describing them as tools that learners use to cope with “inadequacies of their interlanguage resource”. As this paper exclusively deals with EFL learners and their ways to deal with the occurrence of lexical gaps, the definition by Ellis (1994) specifically focusing on foreign language learners

seems more appropriate in this context, and so my discussion in section 3.4. about the tools of analysis only deals with strategic devices relevant to foreign language learners.

In contrast to these definitions focusing on the occurrence of problems within an individual utterance that emerges during the planning phase, others have adopted a broader view of communicative strategies as they also include all types of solution that attempt to repair any “language related problem of which the speaker is aware during the course of communication” and therefore the strategic devices that require the interference of the addressee like meaning-negotiation or repair mechanism are also perceived as Communicative Strategies. (Dörnyei & Scott 1997: 178-179)

All of the above definitions no matter how broad they might be, all share the same concept of the two major criteria that appear to be the core elements of communicative strategies: Problematicity and Consciousness (cf. Poulisse 1993: 159; Kasper & Kellerman 1997: 2)

Problematicity seems to represent the heart of communicative strategies, which lies in the choice of terminology as such. As Bialystok points out the term ‘strategy’ in military or sport context refers to the plan to overcome a problem and achieve an explicit goal. Therefore it is only logical to perceive communicative strategies as means for speakers to master problems in communication. The criticism of Bialystok (1990) against the feature of problematicity to be included in the notion of communication strategies mainly addresses the idea that similar linguistic devices considered as communication strategies also occur in normal everyday communication of two or more L1 speakers and that they can also appear in speech where no problem is identified or which is not considered as problematic (Bialystok 1990: 3-4). In addition to this, also Dörnyei and Scott (1997: 182) see the notion of problematicity as too general and claim that it lacks a specification of what is exactly perceived as a problem.

The specification of communicative strategies to be a consciousness or intentional reaction on the other hand is criticised by Bialystok (1990: 4-5) in the sense that similar devices, which are considered as communicative strategies, also occur in speech acts of children while they acquire their first language, a process which is usually considered to unfold without conscious control of their cognitive actions. Dörnyei & Scott (1997: 184) stress furthermore that the term consciousness as such includes a

large number of connotations and it seems almost impossible to precisely define an individual process as conscious or not. In agreement with this problematic view of consciousness as a criterion for the application of communication strategies Færch and Kasper (1983: 36) specify the term by defining communicative strategies as 'potentially conscious' as they see consciousness more as matter of degree rather than complete absence or presence.

Regarding the following analysis of communicative strategies in oral narratives of EFL learners, problemat�city as well as consciousness are perceived as necessary criteria for the application of a communicative strategy as only instances were included in the analysis where it was obvious that the learners faced a lexical gap perceived as a problem to express their intended meaning hence did not apply CSs in a natural way. Although, admittedly it is difficult to decide upon the conscious use of a communication strategy this paper follows the analysis by Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann (2010), who exclusively included cases in their analysis of communication strategies that were marked as potentially conscious by the appearance of hesitation markers or requests for help.

### **3.2 Psycholinguistic vs. Interactional View of Communication Strategies**

Broadly speaking the research in the field of communication strategies (CS) can be divided into two major groups of approaches: on the one hand there are the investigations by Færch and Kasper (1983), Bialystok 1990) and the Nijmegen group (for example in work of Poullisse (1993)) who are primarily interested in a psycholinguistic perspective on CS, while on the other hand researchers are curious about the interactional framework they place CS in, represented for example by the achievements of Tarone and Yule (cf. 1989).

The first group is primarily interested in the cognitive processes that underlie the choice of solutions to overcome limits in the learners linguistic ability, therefore they focus on the speaker as *information processor*, while the interactionists perceive the speaker mainly as interlocutor who takes part in a communicative act involving two or more people. Yule and Tarone (1997:17-30) discuss the major diversities between the two directions and state that apart from a differing focus of interests and views on the language producer, they also represent varying views on methodological issues

in their research and pedagogical implementations. While the interactionalists believe that a purposeful teaching of communicative strategies can be helpful to the learners' overall communicative competence, the psycholinguists prefer the omission of direct teaching of communicative strategies, and claim that learners would apply them naturally as soon as they reach a problem in their language production process.

Although the two approaches manifest two rather contrary views on the use of communicative strategies, it should be taken into consideration that their taxonomies are quite similar to each other and vary mainly in their use of distinct terminology. In their comparison of different taxonomies Dörnyei and Scott (1997:195) illustrated that six out of nine included models show major similarities. Bialystok pinpointed the similarity of the varying taxonomies in her remark that:

... the variety of taxonomies proposed in the literature differ primarily in the terminology and overall categorizing principle rather than in the substance of the specific strategies. If we ignore, then, differences in the structure of the taxonomies by abolishing the various overall categories, then a core group of specific strategies that appear consistently across the taxonomies clearly emerges. (1990: 61)

As the communicative strategies analysed in this paper occur in a more or less monologues speech act it seems only logical to follow the taxonomies of Poulish (1993) and the other representatives of the psycholinguistic approach, who have tried to limit the number of categories to a minimum to achieve a more general view in the analysis.

First of all a theoretical framework has to be provided that offers explanation for the connection between the individual strategic devices used to overcome a linguistic problem and the speech processes it emerges in. Therefore, the model of L1 Speech Production established by Levelt (1989), was adapted by various researchers to a second or foreign language production context (cf. Poulish 1993, Dörnyei & Kormos 1998).

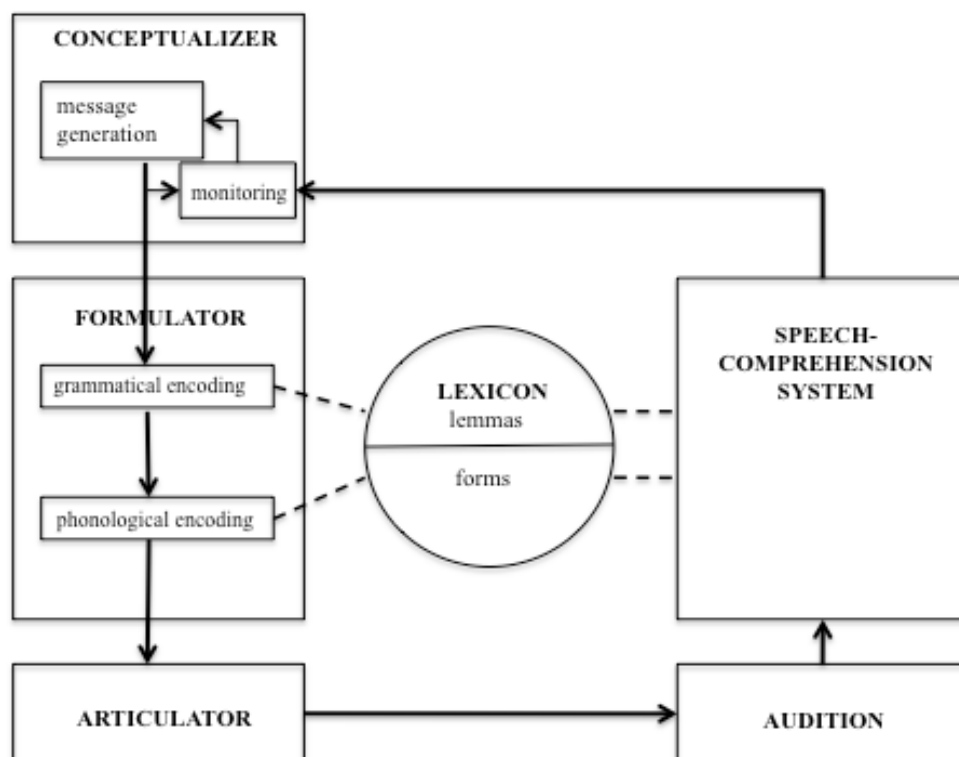
### **3.3 L2 Models of Speech Production**

In order to investigate the cognitive processes that underlie the application of diverse communicative strategies, one has to find a suitable model that uncovers the ongoing mental process that applies when actual speech is produced regardless of what lan-

guage. Poulisse (1993) has therefore adopted the model of first language speech production by Levelt (1989) and applied it to bilingual language use. In his model Levelt (1989: 8-22) described the act of speech production as an interplay of four different steps that have to be passed by all pieces of an utterance or a sentence. These phases are: *message generation*, *grammatical encoding*, *phonological encoding* and *articulation* which build together a highly automatized process as it can be seen in Figure 2.

Despite Levelt's detailed explanation of every component, only a simplified summary can be presented here that explains the crucial mechanism. According to Levelt people produce speech by first *conceptualizing* it, where the message is generated (Step 1), then *formulating* the representation on the language level which includes grammatical and phonological encoding (Step 2 and 3). At this stage the mental lexicon is activated, which provides knowledge about the semantic and syntactic information of a word. In the last step (Step 4) the word is *articulated*. However the speech production process does not end here but the message is captured by the speakers own comprehension system to analyse his or her speech production and control if the message might needs repair or clarification (*self-monitoring*). As verbal communication usually happens at a pace that is too fast to consciously process, the whole procedure happens largely automatically.

**Figure 2: Levelt's model of Speech Production (Levelt 1989: 9)**





Researchers interested in the differences between L1 and L2 production have then transferred Levelt's model to a bilingual or multilingual version. As Dörnyei and Kormos (1998: 354-356) outline L2 speakers are diverse from native speakers in three main ways: first of all, speakers in a foreign or second language produce speech more consciously, because the this usually automatic process of language production needs increased attention in the encoding phase. Secondly, foreign language learners do not possess a complete knowledge of the target language and therefore encounter difficulties in expressing their intended message. As finally, the production of the L2 is influenced to a differing degree by the first language of the learner including transfer or code switches.

In general the potential difficulty of speech production by foreign language speakers concerns two major issues; on the one hand the learners have to cope with a bilingual lexicon and on the other they have to deal with the correlation of the syntactic, morphological and phonological processes in their L1 and L2. Researchers believe that the *conceptualizer* makes the choice of language in a message and sends the selection to the *formulator*, which consequently reverts to the lexicon of the L1 or L2. (cf. Dörnyei & Kormos 1998: 356)

The language problems that are mostly referred to in the investigations of Communicative Strategies usually consist of lexical gaps, which means that a certain word is missing or non-accessible to the speaker. Although Kellerman (1991: 143) acknowledges the work that is done on non-lexical compensation strategies, he still positions the main focus on lexically driven problems because they are most widely discussed in the current literature and because the learners are more capable of perceiving the reasons and evaluating the problems. Furthermore he claims that lexical knowledge plays a major role in the development of a new linguistic system, which is confirmed by Levelt's (1989: 181) notion that the lexicon plays a crucial role in the speech production process and is seen as a "mediator between conceptualization and grammatical and phonological encoding".

Therefore the following taxonomy of communicative strategies exclusively refers to lexical gaps and problems of accessing lexical information.

### 3.4 Problem-Solving Mechanism to overcome Lexical Gaps in L2

Summarizing Poulisse (1993:179) communicative strategies operate within the speech process in a foreign language according to the model of Levert as follows: The message is planned in the conceptualizer and the speaker issues the verbal plan. Due to a failure or lexical problem the formulator is not able to demand the lexical form and the speech production process stops which leads to the transmission of an alarm signal to the monitor that tells the conceptualizer that the message has failed and that the original speech plan has to be changed. Now a new plan is constructed which may or may not lead to a successful production of an intended message.

The previously mentioned problems or failures can occur because the speaker has difficulties in accessing specific lexical item that he or she needs, because of several reasons. First of all, the item might not exist in the speakers L2 lexicon, because they have not learned it yet or it is not lexically presented in the target language. In addition to this, it might also happen that the speaker's access to a previously acquired item is blocked (temporarily) and he or she feels that they have forgotten it.

According to Poulisse (1993: 179) speakers have then three possibilities to react, these are outlined in greater detail in Table 2 including the modified categories by Dörnyei and Kormos (1998): Learners can respond with *Message Abandonment*, *Appeals for Assistance* or apply a *Compensatory Strategy*. The latter consists of a large number of language devices for finding a different way of achieving the communicative goal despite the earlier problem.

**Table 2: Taxonomy of Communicative Strategies to overcome Lexical Gaps**  
(Poulisse 1993: 179-183; Dörnyei & Kormos 1998: 359-3619)

Class and Type of CS	Description
<b>1. Content Reduction</b>	Speaker stops production and gives up message; The listener might continue the conversation or the original speaker starts a new message.
<b>2. Appeals for Assistance</b>	The speech production process continues after the listener has solved the lexical problem.
<b>3. Compensatory Strategies</b>	Implies that the speaker finds an alternative way to encode his or her message.

<b>A) Substitution</b>	
Code Switching	Including L1 words with L1 pronunciation in L2 speech; this may involve stretches of discourse ranging from single words to whole chunks and even complete turns.
Approximation	Using a single alternative lexical item, such as a subordinate or related term, that shares semantic features with the target word or structure.
Use of all-purpose words	Extending a general “empty” lexical item to contexts where specific words are lacking.
Complete omission	Leaving a gap when not knowing a word and carrying on as if it had been said.
<b>B) Substitution Plus</b>	
Foreignizing	Using a L1 word by adjusting it to L2 phonology (with L2 pronunciation or morphology).
Grammatical word coinage	Creating a non-existing L2 word by applying supposed L2 rules to an existing L2 word.
Literal translation	Translating literally a lexical item, idiom, compound word or structure from L1 to L2.
<b>C) Reconceptualization</b>	
Restructuring	Abandoning the execution of a verbal plan because of language difficulties, leaving the utterance unfinished and communicating the intended message according to an alternative plan.
Semantic word coinage	Creating a nonexistent L2 word by compounding words.
Circumlocution	Exemplifying, illustrating or describing the properties of the target object or action.

The strength of this model in contrast to other taxonomies, which are also process-oriented like former work by the Nijmegen project (Kellerman 1991), is that it does no longer rely on the different processes involved in the distinction between Conceptual and Linguistic Strategies, which was problematic to identify. Poulishse did not find a psychologically plausible difference in these two concepts and therefore refined the model to a one-dimensional approach that includes the majority of devices identified in the literature to compensate for language failure or problems in speech.

In summary it can be stated, that in the case of an emergence of a lexical gap or potential communication breakdown, there are several ways for learners to deal with this specific situation. The model of communication strategies presented above was used as a tool in the following analysis to identify and classify appearing communication strategies. As it has been mentioned before in this particular analysis it is attempted to only include conscious uses of communication problems that are applied as soon as the learners are aware of the emergence of a problem. Despite the fact that conscious problem awareness might be difficult to identify the analysis follows Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann (2010), who identified hesitation markers and appeals for help as indication for a conscious use of communication strategies.

## **4 CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING (CLIL) IN EUROPE**

### **4.1 Introducing CLIL**

Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) is a concept aimed at fostering a multilingual European society by improving language instruction on all educational levels from pre-school to university. As a matter of fact, multilingual education in Europe is not revolutionary at all, as it dates back centuries when Latin or French were used as the language of education and instruction in most European countries. However, the concept of CLIL and the widespread usage of this specific term did not become customary throughout Europe until the 1990s (Eurydice, 2006: 7). Due to the attempt of the EU to encourage a greater mobility and exchange between the citizens of the individual member states, the EU government started to focus on the role of languages and language teaching and learning with a clear demand for a better language proficiency. In the EU Commission's White Paper on Education and Training published in 1995, it is demanded that every EU citizen should possess the ability to communicate in at least two additional languages apart from his or her mother tongue or first language (EU Commission's White Paper 1995: 47). Furthermore, the teaching of languages through other subjects is suggested, referencing to the concept of CLIL and suggesting it as a possible solution to reach the goal of increased language proficiency:

It could even be argued, that secondary school pupils should study certain subjects in the first foreign language learned, as is the case in the European schools. Upon completing initial training everyone should be proficient in two Community foreign languages. (EU White Paper, 1995: 47)

Also relevant for this particular paper is the call for the initiation of foreign language learning at primary level or even pre-school level to create a valuable basis for further language learning on secondary level (EU White Paper, 1995: 47), which will be discussed at a later point.

Content and Language Integrated Learning and its commonly used acronym CLIL is a term that developed in the 1990s and is strongly connected to the European context, although its origin is based on the extensive research on North American immersion and bilingual programmes. In contrast to its Canadian role model, the target

language used for most CLIL programmes in Europe (mainly English) is usually not used outside an educational context. The learners are prepared to work and communicate in other countries in order to increase the mobility of European citizens and value the linguistically diverse landscape of Europe, not primarily to use the target language for successful communication in their homelands, but in the case of English rather use it in the sense of a Lingua Franca. However, the use for web-based communication blurs this distinction increasingly.

The term itself was defined in Finland by the University of Jyväskylä and has since then been used as an umbrella term for different methods that encompass the teaching of subject matter content and language instruction at the same time (Perez-Cañado 2012: 316f). In other words, a content subject such as geography or music, is taught through a specific target language other than the language usually used in the school curriculum, assigning equal importance to both elements. The important factor in CLIL is, that the foreign language is not only used as a vehicle to introduce content, but both matters are assigned more or less similar attention. As the definition of David Marsh for CLIL stresses, the concept is based on a straightforward two-dimensional goal:

A foreign language is used as a tool in the learning of a non-language subject in which both language and the subject have a joint role. (Marsh, 2002: 58)

Although the major aim for CLIL classrooms is clearly two-dimensional with a shared focus on language and content, the problem is that in reality CLIL classrooms are usually not two-dimensional in this sense at all, as there exists a large diversity among the CLIL programmes in Europe, which do not foster content and language learning in an equal amount.

The concept itself includes a large variety of programmes established in the entirely heterogeneous education systems and policies of the individual EU member states. To underline this diversity Coyle citing Grin identifies an overall number of 216 different variations of CLIL programmes which all respond to the specific cultural, sociolinguistic and political context of the individual countries (2007: 545). Examples for various concepts that are combined in the CLIL terminology are Content-based Language Teaching, Foreign Language Medium Instruction, Learning through an Additional Language, Language across the Curriculum, Bilingual Teaching and many more (Lasagabaster, 2008: 31; Dalton-Puffer & Smit, 2007: 7). As Coyle points out, these concepts do not all include language and content teaching to the same extent,

some focusing more on the instruction of language i.e. “language-led CLIL” and others highlighting the teaching of content i.e. “subject-led” programmes (2007: 546). This choice normally depends on a number of factors and arrangements in connection with the introduction of a CLIL programme for example which teaching materials are used, who teaches: content or language teachers, and other structural decisions depending on the programme (Dalton-Puffer & Smit, 2007: 12).

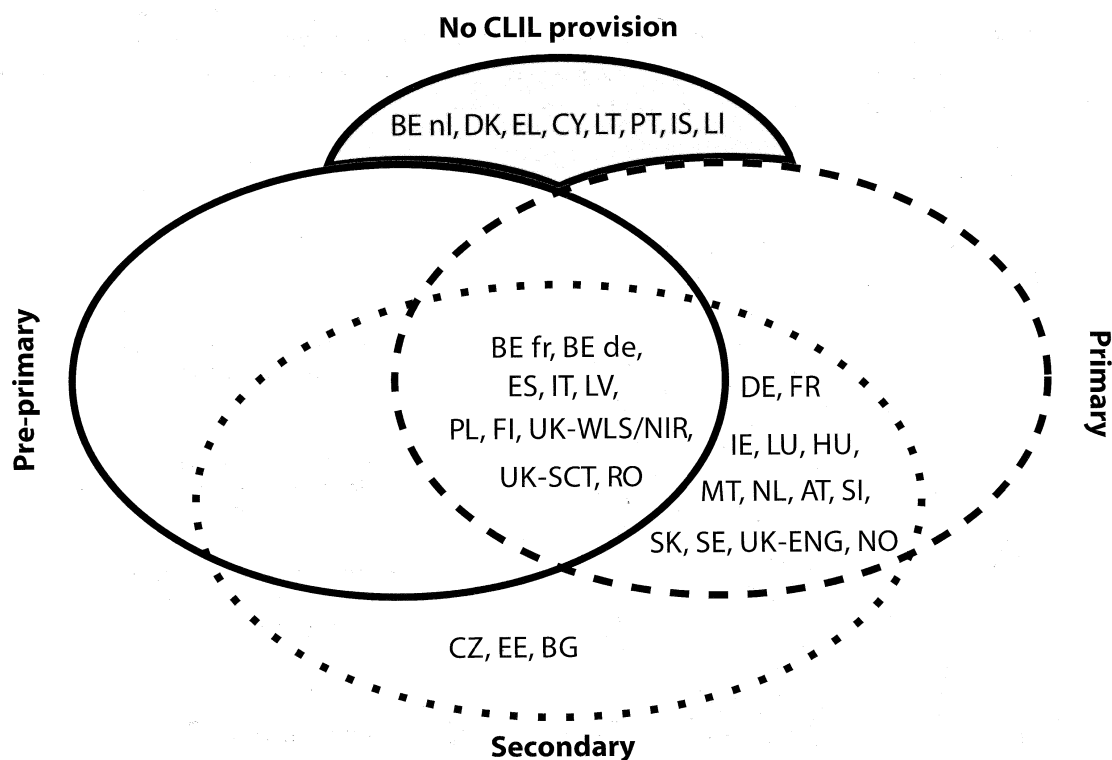
## **4.2 The variety of CLIL programmes in Europe**

To grasp the whole scope of variety of multilingual programmes and pilot projects operated throughout the European Community, they were investigated and introduced by the Eurydice programme in a study published in 2006. This study illustrates all variations of school programmes assigned to the concept of CLIL in Europe, focusing on content subjects other than language lessons, taught in at least one foreign language or a minority language of the specific country, excluding all kinds of full immersion programmes or additional language support for immigrants (Eurydice 2006: 10).

In summary, the Eurydice study manifestly emphasizes the large amount of diversity among the CLIL provision within the European community, concerning all relevant factors including learner age at point of initiation, target language, duration, teacher education requirements and many more. Although CLIL seems to be part of the mainstream education in most of the European countries, this does not necessarily mean, that it is common or reaching pupils on a large scale, usually it is only available to a minority of learners in a small number of schools (2006: 13f). Outnumbering other languages, English is the most dominantly used foreign language in connection with CLIL education, followed by French and German and a large mixture of minority languages depending on regional varieties (18, 56).

As has already been mentioned, there is neither a clear preference for the age of initiation, as there are CLIL provisions at all levels from pre-school and primary to all levels of secondary education, shown in figure 3, nor concerning the duration of the content and language combining instruction (19).

**Figure 3: Levels of education at which CLIL is offered in mainstream provision 2004/05** (Eurydice 2006: 20)



Source: Eurydice.

Furthermore, the selection of subjects used for CLIL based instruction add up to the large amount of heterogeneity practiced throughout Europe as to some extent more or less all subjects offered are used to be taught in connection with a foreign language (Eurydice 2006: 24f).

Despite the large variety of CLIL concepts provided in Europe, they all share the same central goal of reaching a higher language competence of the pupils without reducing the time available for other subjects or adding more language lessons which means more efficient language learning through an increased exposure and option to use the target language. However, unlike the first impression, there is much more to the concept of CLIL than mere time saving reasons and the fusion of content learning and language learning is supposed to have a positive influence on various dimensions.



### **4.3 The positive effects of CLIL education**

First of all, CLIL lessons are often seen by a number of experts as a setting for a more naturalistic language learning environment than pure language classes, because they claim that more native like language acquisition as opposed to instructed language learning takes place. This means that learners are supposed to be confronted with the foreign language in a more natural way in contrast to the artificial language learning environment in a foreign language classroom that is targeted at the teaching of language rather than the communication of meaning. Wolff (2007: 19) explains that in the CLIL classroom the learning of the concept and the term happens at the same time, similar to first language acquisition, while in language classes the learners already know the concept in their first language and link the new term in the foreign language to the prior one. Of course this natural acquisition of new terms in the foreign language only occurs if the CLIL lesson deals with unknown topics and concepts. At this point the question arises, how learners then acquire new terms in their first language? Research studies on L1 content knowledge have shown a broad range of results that do not provide a clear picture of the impact on CLIL on the learners' first language hence it seems to be concluded that CLIL neither has a positive nor negative effect on the learners content and first language knowledge (c.f. Dalton-Puffer 2011, 188f).

Furthermore, Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2012:11f) clearly see the major benefit of CLIL classrooms in the additional opportunity they provide for the learners to try out and experiment with the foreign or second language they have learned in the language lessons, where often not enough time is provided to actually use the language in a meaningful and natural way which is supposed to have a positive effect on learner motivation

In general, learner motivation seems to be a central motif of the CLIL approach. On the one hand this effect is achieved by creating meaningful situations, similar to the aims of Communicative Language Teaching, where meaningful communication is in the foreground of language teaching. Wolff (2007: 20) claims that the learners "get more involved" with the content in CLIL lessons, because the input appears more meaningful and relevant also in connection with their future career and working-life which leads to an increased motivation for foreign language learning. Another factor

that should lead to an enhanced motivation of the learners is that in CLIL the focus is on meaning rather than form. Usually in CLIL classes it is more important what is communicated and not how it is said, therefore learners are less likely to be affected by speaking anxiety. In addition to this, the topics in CLIL lessons are often more complex and therefore the learners are encouraged to experiment with language of a higher level trying to express more difficult subject matters without spending too much attention on language errors or mistakes. The final major argument for CLIL on the linguistic level is that those lessons offer a more academic and sophisticated language input to the learners and therefore add a higher amount of complexity to their foreign language proficiency and a more formal use of the foreign language. (Wolff 2007: 20)

The previously mentioned arguments for CLIL instruction are all related to the language learning part, but content and language integrated learning is a dual-focused approach and the question remains: What are the benefits for content learning in CLIL lessons? Wolff (2007: 21) argues that concerns of parents and teacher that CLIL could lead to a reduced understanding and knowledge of the content subject are irrelevant, because content is processed more deeply, when it is incorporated and expressed in a foreign language, therefore a combination of both learning processes leads to an increased comprehension process. Learning content in a foreign language is seen to have positive effects on the learner's cognitive development and foster the understanding of concepts, which generate better learning in general (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2012: 10-11). Previous research investigating the content knowledge of CLIL learners has shown that the teaching of subject content in a foreign language has in general no negative effects on the learners' content knowledge and in some cases they even outperformed their peers in the L1 control groups concerning content knowledge (Pérez Cañado 2012: 330).

In summary, the main arguments in favour of CLIL lessons in addition to traditional subject and language classes are said to be the following:

- A more efficient language learning environment (increased amount of input and practice time)
- More naturalistic language learning process
- Increased authenticity or meaningfulness of communication
- Increased motivation of the learners

- More complex and academic language input related to working-life rather than everyday situations
- Better content learning through a deeper processing of concepts

At a later point in this paper, these arguments will be compared to the results of empirical research done in the area of content and language integrated learning in order to see if the positive perception of CLIL also plays out in reality. As this study is mainly concerned with the linguistic benefits of CLIL, only studies concerning the language performance of the learners will be taken into consideration and the results of research on the content knowledge will not be considered any further.

#### **4.4 Theoretical Support for the CLIL concept**

It has to be mentioned at this point, that there is not one particular theory that stands behind the CLIL approach and its proposed benefits for language learners, rather a number of different second language acquisition theories or hypothesis are commonly referred to by practitioners and experts when discussing the benefits of CLIL. One of these theories which is considered as the most influential in the field of CLIL is Krashen's monitor model from the early 80s. It is a clearly reception-based theory that claims in short that language learners acquire language naturally when they are provided with comprehensible input that is slightly above their own language proficiency. The input is comprehensible to the learner through the context or deliberately simplified language and new linguistic forms and functions are acquired especially in connection with positive emotions towards the content (Krashen 1985: 2-4). Although there is no sufficient empirical evidence for Krashen's Input Hypothesis it is commonly used to justify the intuitive assumption that learners will achieve a higher language standard in CLIL classes that provide a large amount of input slightly above their language level, where they can naturally acquire the language that lies beyond their level of proficiency (cf. Dalton-Puffer, Nikula, Smit 2010: 6-8; Dalton-Puffer, Smit 2007: 9-11; Pérez-Vidal 2009, 9-10). In contrast to Krashen's rather passive notion about second language acquisition another theory that has gained great attention from CLIL experts is Swaine's Output Hypothesis which claims the need for learners to produce language themselves in order to become fluent speakers and CLIL lessons can provide additional space where learners can produce and experiment with

meaningful output in a foreign language (Pérez-Vidal 2009: 10). Although those two theories about second language learning give plausible reasons for the benefits of CLIL lessons we have to bear in mind that those are rather intuitive assumptions and empirical evidence is lacking as is can be seen in the following discussion of empirical studies on the applied CLIL concept.

After a brief introduction to the development of CLIL, supposed reasons why it might be beneficial to foreign language learning and language learning theories that support the CLIL approach, it has become clear, that the expected positive effects of the CLIL approach - including all the diverse models practiced throughout Europe - needs empirical proof in order to promote CLIL as a useful tool for increasing the foreign language proficiency of the learners. As language learning and processing is a tremendously complex issue, the theoretical basis of second language learning is often intuitive rather than empirically substantiated and a similar situation applies to CLIL where people tend to hold the opinion that a larger amount of input, more time spent using the language and more time to practice automatically leads to better results.

In order to get a better grasp of where CLIL learners stand in reality as opposed to their non-CLIL peers a summary of the latest research results on some of the CLIL projects in Europe shall be provided. These previous research results will also build the starting point for the empirical study in the second part of this paper, where learner language of CLIL and non-CLIL learners is analysed after spending one year in the same class of secondary school.

#### **4.5 Research on CLIL in Europe**

As empirical research on CLIL is rather new, only a small amount of studies are available concerning CLIL research on primary school level, therefore also the results of studies from the secondary level will be taken into account. Furthermore, it has to be mentioned, that although the learning and mastery of the content is of great importance in CLIL, for the following comparison of the learners only the linguistic side of CLIL is relevant, therefore studies dealing primarily with content knowledge of the

learners are excluded and the main focal point is based upon studies on oral production and general communicative competence.

The research on CLIL is as heterogeneous as the different educational contexts CLIL programmes are conducted in. It ranges from large-scale longitudinal studies on language learning outcomes (c.f. Admiraal, Westhoff, de Bot 2006; Lasagabaster 2008; Zydati  2007) over studies about specific language learning skills like vocabulary or morphosyntactic language competence (c.f. H ttner & Rieder-B nemann 2012; Sereg ly 2008, Wode 1999) up to work on general communicative competence (V zquez 2007). Also more evaluative work on CLIL programmes learner motivation and teacher perception (c.f. Infante et al. 2009) conducted has been done so far. Also the age of the learners included in the investigation varies from beginners in primary schools up to university level.

One of the few large scale studies on CLIL that investigates the overall foreign language competence of the learners considering the various language skills (speaking, writing, listening, and grammar knowledge) and their average English score was conducted in the Basque Country by David Lasagabaster (2008). He particularly stresses that all research studies on CLIL have to take into account the specific context concerning educational policies socio-cultural context and exposure to the target language outside school. In his study Lasagabaster tested a total amount of 198 learners divided into three different groups, CLIL and non-CLIL learners in the fourth year of secondary education and CLIL learners in the third year of secondary education. His overall result illustrated a statistically significant benefit concerning the overall language performance of both CLIL groups in comparison to the participants of the non-CLIL strands. While the results showed an obvious advantage of the CLIL learners in the same age group over the control group in all of the tested language competences, the CLIL learners one year younger did not only catch up with them but outperformed the older control group in all tested areas apart from listening skills. Lasagabaster concludes that the results of his study demonstrate the success of the CLIL approach regarding the improvement of foreign language skills in a community where the target language is usually not used in the learners' daily routine outside school. (Lasagabaster 2008: 30-41). Similar results were found in a different socio-cultural surrounding in a study conducted by Admiraal, Westhoff and de Bot (2006) operating in the Netherlands where English is much more present outside the educa-

tional context. Here the overall results also showed that the CLIL learners outperform their non-CLIL peers concerning the general oral production, pronunciation and reading comprehension.

Another longitudinal study conducted by Mewald and Spenger (2005) between 2001 and 2003 is more relevant to the Austrian context as it investigates the effect of English as medium of instruction (“Englisch als Arbeitssprache”) in Austrian secondary schools. They did not only compare learners at different levels of schools applying English as medium of instruction to peers in standard schools but also to learners in non-bilingual lower secondary schools. Their overall findings in their written and spoken tests illustrated that the learners in the schools with English as medium of instruction showed a significantly better language proficiency, especially concerning the oral communication skills. Another interesting finding was that learners who already show a higher language proficiency seem to be particularly positive affected in their oral language competence, while for learners at a lower level English as medium of instruction seems to foster more their written performance. The researchers conclude that learners with a better language proficiency use the opportunity in CLIL classes for meaningful communication more than their colleagues in lower level classes.

The above mentioned studies all draw a positive picture of the effects CLIL programmes have on the overall foreign language competence of their learners and illustrate how they unsurprisingly outperform their peers on a general level.

This also corresponds with the overview presented by Pérez-Cañado (2012) who summarizes the most significant research done in the field of CLIL and its results throughout Europe in a geographical order from north to south. Despite the fact that the majority of research on CLIL seems to show results in favour of the approach Pérez-Cañado (2012) advises caution with the previous findings. In almost all of the studies taken into consideration CLIL has affected foreign or second language learning positively and the CLIL-learners have achieved higher results than their peers in conventional classes, especially in the areas of global communicative competence, receptive skills, oral production (fluency) morphology, vocabulary (especially formal and academic vocabulary), writing, creativity, risk-taking and learner motivation. This corresponds with Dalton-Puffer (2007: 143f.) who sees the positive effects on the oral performance level in greater fluency, quantity and creativity and higher risk-taking of the learners and particularly in an increased vocabulary knowledge concerning for-

mal and technical expressions. In addition to this, CLIL also seems to have a beneficial impact on learners with a lower foreign language competence at least in writing and benefits spoken language performance in higher achieving learners. Despite the former assumption that CLIL instruction has less positive effects on writing, recent research has raised contrasting results. In her summary of previous research studies Dalton-Puffer (2011: 186f) presents new results that promote the positive effects of CLIL on the learners' better performances concerning their "accuracy in inflectional affixation and tense but also in spelling". In addition to this it was also perceived that CLIL learners were more able to fulfil the communicative motivations behind the writing tasks and had better ability to produce elaborate and complex structures.

Apart from all the affirmative effects CLIL is supposed to trigger according to previous research studies, CLIL seems to have the least significant impact on pronunciation and informal and nontechnical language, which is illustrated in the comparison in Table 3. (c.f. Pérez-Cañado 2012; Dalton-Puffer 2011).

Despite all the positive outcomes that were found in favour of the CLIL approach Pérez-Cañado (2012) cautions against leaving the fact out of sight that most of the research done in this area does not follow consistent methodological guidelines. In a number of cases the groups of participants were not heterogeneous, statistical validity was not necessarily given nor proven if the supposed language benefits were purely initiated through CLIL. In summary this signifies that the results of previous CLIL research have to be treated with caution, and that solid empirical research "on which to base definitive claims about the educational (or other) advantages of multilingual education" (Vez 2009, 18) is still needed.

**Table 3: Comparison of affected and non-affected language skills**  
(Dalton-Puffer 2011, Pérez-Cañado 2012)

Favourably affected language skills	Unaffected or Indefinite language skills
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Spontaneous speech production</li> <li>• Receptive skills (listening)</li> <li>• Lexicon (lower frequency words)</li> <li>• Morphology</li> <li>• Creativity, risk-taking, fluency, quantity, flexibility</li> <li>• Emotive/affective outcomes</li> <li>• Strategic competence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Informal/non-technical language</li> <li>• Pronunciation</li> </ul>

As the previous introduction to content and language integrated learning has shown, the concept and its underlying diverse models is clearly on the rise not only throughout European schools but also concerning the related research. The growth of research with regards to CLIL has not only revealed the positive effects on the learning outcomes, but has also restrained the initial over-enthusiastic notions of policy makers who seemed to perceived CLIL as a panacea to increase foreign language learning among the European citizens without a tremendous amount of effort.

Despite a comprehensible criticism from experts concerning the realisation of the concepts in the classrooms, for example the missing language proficiency of the content teachers, the overall outcomes tend towards positive effects on the learners language ability. Keeping in mind the previously discussed benefits of CLIL, the following empirical research discusses the long-term effects of CLIL in primary school education and the maintenance of the gained language benefit in a non-CLIL environment in secondary school education.



## **5 EMPIRICAL STUDY**

The following empirical study uses oral narratives as the basis for identifying possible linguistic benefits of learners who were introduced to English as a foreign language via the concept of CLIL during their primary school education as opposed to their non-CLIL peers after one year in the same classroom at secondary level. As has been discussed in the previous section, spontaneous oral language production shows the best results for CLIL learners, therefore oral narratives were chosen as this study is aimed at discovering possible language benefits. Furthermore, in the model study by Julia Hüttner and Angelika Rieder-Bünemann (2010) oral narratives have proven to provide creative but yet comparable language data and are therefore a useful tool for a linguistic analysis.

The previous language competence in English as a foreign language, gained during the primary school education of the learners, builds the starting point of the following research, the next section will provide a short insight into the current standard foreign language teaching policy of traditional primary schools and as one example of a school with additional foreign language instruction and CLIL lessons introduce the International School in St.Pölten.

### **5.1 English as a Foreign Language in Austrian Primary Schools**

The learning and teaching of foreign languages plays an important role in the Austrian school system and compulsory language learning is conducted from the first year of education onwards up to the end of most people's school careers. At least a basic foreign language competence has become essential for the majority of the population concerning private reasons (travelling, consuming foreign media etc.) or their working lives and an early language learning start is aimed at creating the basis for further learning on the secondary level of education and increases the opportunity for achieving a better foreign language knowledge.

The history of foreign languages in Austrian primary schools dates back to the early 60s where the first pilot projects were initiated at a number of Viennese schools. Based on these projects English as a foreign language became compulsory for all learners in their third and fourth year in primary school beginning at the age of eight

in 1983. Soon after this action, further ideas developed in order to establish foreign language programmes even at lower grades and new methodological approaches of integrating foreign language learning in other subject teachings had a major impact on further progress concerning this matter. A number of different trial projects were conducted in Austrian primary schools in the following years and various empirical studies confirmed the success of these projects. On the basis of these encouraging findings the new foreign language programme “Verbindliche Übung Lebende Fremdsprache II” (compulsory exercise of a modern foreign language) was introduced in all Austrian primary schools in 1998 and after a transition period of five years all primary schools in Austria were obliged to teach a foreign language from the first year of schooling onwards. This means that all Austrian pupils nowadays make their first contact with at least one foreign language (if German is their mother tongue) at the age of six since the school year 2003/2004. The legal guideline for English in primary schools requires a total number of 32 hours per year in each grade which leads up to a total of 128 hours of foreign language learning during the four years in primary school. During the first two years the teaching of the foreign language has to be integrated into other subjects of the curriculum, usually several ten minute sessions operated various times per week - eventually they have to add up to at least 50 minutes - determined by the class teacher, while in the following two years a whole lesson per week is ascribed to foreign language teaching, usually divided into two half hours. Additionally, up to one further foreign language lesson per week can be integrated optionally into the other school subjects. Although the choice of language is left to the schools themselves, a total of 97% of the learners in Austrian primary schools are introduced to English as their first foreign language. (Jantscher & Landsiedler 2000: 16-18; Buchholz 2007: 47-50)

Besides the officially required amount of a foreign language, mostly English, determined by the ministry of education, there exist a number of individual schools that exceed the compulsory amount of foreign language teaching and offer various projects including extended foreign language learning by using English as the medium of instruction in other subjects, team teaching with the involvement of native speakers or a further foreign language. All these projects need to be approved by the ministry of education and one example of such a school will be introduced in greater detail at a later point. This specific school offers additional foreign language instruction and exceeds the compulsory amount of English teaching by far.

The major teaching and learning aims for foreign languages in primary schools have been formulated by the ministry of education for all four grades as “establishing and deepening the motivation to engage with foreign languages”, to “initiate the ability to communicate in a foreign language” and to encourage the learners to meet other people and cultures with an open mind and see themselves as part of a multinational European community as it is expressed in the curriculum for primary schools on the homepage of the Federal Ministry of Education and Arts (Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur, 2003).

These aims are directed at introducing the learners to a foreign language in an age-appropriate atmosphere, offering the opportunity for the young learners to encounter foreign languages and cultures without pressure and at their own pace. At the end of the fourth grade the learners for example are supposed to have reached the ability to understand basic statements and simple listening comprehension tasks related to the discussed topic areas, know how to build up a simple conversation and give and request basic information plus communicate basic feelings, wishes and personal condition. Suggested topics are for example family, nature or body all in connection with the learner’s field of interest and own experience. (Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur, 2003).

Although the formulated aims and also the integrative approach towards language learning seem to lead to an encouraging foreign language environment in Austrian primary schools, the results of the most comprehensive study in this field by Barbara Buchholz (2007) have shown that there is still a long way to go before foreign language learning in standard primary schools can be perceived as a success and certain problem areas have been identified.

In the majority of primary schools the class teachers themselves conduct the English lesson, especially in the two lower grades, where the EFL lesson is supposed to be integrated in the daily routine or other subjects. Since 1998, before English became compulsory in all four grades of primary school education, the training for future primary school teachers was adapted to the new circumstances concerning the teaching of English as foreign language and requirement specifications were formulated, additionally since 2007 teacher trainees are encouraged to attend foreign exchange programmes. However, the majority of current primary teachers completed their training before 1998 and there was almost no centrally organized nationwide further education programme offered by the ministry that would guarantee the ability of all pri-

many teachers to fulfil the conditions for a meaningful and expedient foreign language teaching in their classes. (Buchholz 2007, 59-67)

Further problem areas, apart from the lack of teacher training, that were identified concern mainly time management and inordinate expectations by the parents. The extensive research study by Barbara Buchholz (2007) has illustrated that many experts as well as teachers and learners would prefer a certain amount of time dedicated to foreign language teaching, as the “integration” could lead to a random use of the foreign language to fulfil the duty or as it happens in many cases the EFL session gets cancelled due to the lack of time and priority most teachers ascribe to other subjects such as writing or math. It also has to be mentioned that 37% of the teachers participating in this study wished for a language specialist to conduct their foreign language lessons, as the majority of them feels overwhelmed and not sufficiently trained (Buchholz 2007: 178). Although, the EFL teaching is based theoretically on an integrative approach in practice it is far from any kind of integration as accomplished in CLIL programmes but in reality it seems to lead to random amounts depending on how much time is available (Buchholz 2007: 300).

Additionally, Jantscher and Landsiedler (2000) feel that the expectations of the parents concerning the communication proficiency of their children do not correspond with the results that are possible in the rather small amount of time that is assigned to foreign language teaching in Austrian primary schools, which could lead to a decrease in motivation on the side of the children and apply an enormous amount of pressure on the teachers, both factors that do not foster successful foreign language learning (2000: 25).

Finally, the learners participating in the study by Buchholz showed tremendous discrepancies concerning their language proficiency in English at the end of the fourth grade which leads to the assumption that the diverse conditions at practice in Austrian primary schools can not provide a coherent basis for foreign language learning at secondary stage (Buchholz 2007: 313). This phase of transition between primary and secondary school builds the major field of interest behind the following empirical research study, focusing on learners with a specifically diverse starting level at the beginning of secondary education.

As foreign language education in primary school education seems to depend primarily on the foreign language competence and motivation of the class teacher at the moment, the actual language proficiency of the learners varies to a large extent when

they reach the first year of secondary education and a fluent transition is almost impossible, as the secondary language teachers basically have to start from the beginning. Although certain guidelines are provided and aims are formulated by the government the shortage of appropriate teacher training, the lack of time and sufficient funding to provide native speaker assistants or language experts to support the class teachers leads to unsatisfying results. On the other hand Buchholz (2007) concludes that school pilot projects with a focus on bilingual teaching including native speaker assistants or foreign language expert teachers have shown impressive results and illustrated the ability of young learners to achieve major progress in their foreign language competence. Therefore she calls for a further development in Austrian primary EFL education where the subject turns from a randomly performed “fun-subject” into a serious but child-oriented permanent element of primary school education (2007: 328-329)

### **The International School St.Pölten**

One of the previously mentioned primary schools that promote bilingual teaching and early language learning is the International School (INS) in St.Pölten, a private primary school with a special focus on foreign language learning and the aim to encourage children to develop an interest in other languages and the culture of foreign countries. It is not a so-called bilingual school as the main language used for teaching is still German and Austrian primary teachers, following the Austrian Curriculum, teach the children. However, there are additional English lessons provided which are taught entirely by native speakers of English or language experts as well as content lessons conducted in English following the concept of CLIL and in each class the Cambridge Certificate for young learners is conducted every year. As it can be seen in Table 4 there is a fixed weekly lesson of English from year one onwards which means the learners attending the INS get one clearly separated lesson of English from year 1 onwards in contrast to the several ten minutes sessions that children in traditional Austrian schools are supposed to receive. Although the total amount of English lessons received per year, i.e. 32 hours per year equalling 128 hours during their 4-year primary school career, is similar between the INS learners and learners from traditional primary schools, the INS learners receive additional CLIL conducted in English. In year 1 and year 2 they have 192 CLIL lessons overall, in year 3 288

CLIL lessons and in year 4 a total amount of 384 content lessons are conducted in English which leads to an overall number of 1056 additional school lessons of foreign language instruction in combination with a content subject. Furthermore, the school presents a model of language teaching that is wished for by the majority of Austrian primary teachers (cf. Buchholz 2007: 178) as the language lessons are conducted by a person other than the class teacher who is a language expert or a native speaker.

**Table 4: Amount of English and CLIL lessons in the INS**

**Weekly lessons per Subject:**

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
German (Reading and Writing)	7	7	7	7
Math	3	3	4	4
English	1	1	1	1
Science	3	3	3	3
Music	1	1	2	2
Art	1	1	2	2
Crafts	1	1	2	2
Physical Education	2	2	2	2
Religious Education	2	2	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Total amount in 4 years</b>				<b>128</b>

**Number of weekly CLIL lessons conducted in the target language:**

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Total amount in all 4 years</b>				<b>1056 CLIL lessons</b>

Apart from the additional CLIL lessons, the children are also provided with an extensive choice of after-school programmes like cooking classes or sports classes conducted in the target language plus a range of further foreign languages for example Spanish.

There is one class for each year with a maximum of 15 children in each year plus one pre-school group called “Early Learners”. Currently there are 44 children attending the school, coming from St.Pölten and the surrounding areas.

As there are no secondary schools in the larger surrounding area that provide CLIL lessons or classes with English as the medium of instruction for the time being, the majority of the learners of the INS chooses a traditional secondary school to continue

their education, which leads to the question in what ways the considerable larger amount of English instruction through CLIL lessons is still identifiable after the learners leave the international school and share the same EFL classroom as learners from traditional schools whose contact with the foreign language is only a fraction of that of the INS learners.

## **5.2 Research Question and Hypothesis**

This paper is primarily interested in the language ability of two groups of learners at secondary level. One group went through standard Austrian foreign language learning during their primary school education and the second group went to the International School St. Pölten (INS), a primary school with a specific focus on foreign language teaching integrating CLIL lessons in its school curriculum. In contrast to most studies concerning CLIL (cf. Dalton-Puffer 2011: 186) this paper is not aimed at testing the language ability of the two groups during their attendance of two parallel strands to find out the possibly occurring benefits of CLIL during primary education, but rather is interested in the transition from primary to secondary education. To be more specific the following research question was formulated to describe the aim of this research paper:

What former linguistic benefits of former CLIL instructed learners (during their primary school education) are still detectable in the production of oral narratives compared to their non-CLIL peers, after one year of secondary school education in the same class?

This means that the learners who supposedly were at a considerable different language level at the beginning of secondary school education are now in one class, implying that they are surrounded by identical learning conditions as they have the same language teacher, similar materials, methods and input. Therefore this paper is interested in identifying if the assumed beneficial foreign language ability of the CLIL learners is still present after one year in the same language class or if they have all reached more or less the same level after that rather short period of time.

As language competence includes a broad range of different skills, which could not all be tested for this study, it was narrowed down to compare the oral narrative com-

petence of the learners for various reasons. On the one hand oral narratives are a familiar genre for the learners in both their first language and in their foreign language even at a young age, therefore they are likely to provide comparable language data but still leave enough freedom for the narrator to create their own version of the story. Furthermore according to Hüttner & Rieder-Bünemann (2010: 63) story telling competence is closely connected to other language skills, for example reading comprehension and additionally it is a central element in the process of first and second language acquisition, which provides insight into a person's language competence as well as his or her state of cognitive development.

On the other hand oral narratives were also chosen for the research as former studies showed the most significant differences between CLIL and non-CLIL learners tend to occur in spontaneous oral speaking events (cf. Dalton-Puffer 2011:187)

The main hypothesis underlying this study is that the former CLIL instructed learners deliver a better performance for various reasons. One of the main reasons is the fact that in their primary school education, not only English was regularly used as medium of instruction in all kinds of subjects, which most certainly lead to the introduction of a wide range of terms in a large variety of fields, but also the mere fact that the learners had more contact by far with the target language in general in their school compared to the others, and were taught by a combination of language experts and native speakers. However, it has to be kept in mind that the INS is a primary school, meaning that the learners were introduced to the language via topics and methods designed for primary level teaching and the pressure of mastering the learning of a foreign language is in general considerably less strong than in secondary education. This also indicates that the learners were confronted with the language in a more playful way, which on the one hand can foster the learning process as there is less pressure which could lead to anxiety and negative feelings towards learning, but on the other hand it is probably taken less seriously by the learners as the learning process seems to happen more incidentally and optionally depending on the personal motivation of the learners and their talent to acquire a foreign language.

Apart from an overall benefit in their foreign language instruction regarding the considerably larger amount of contact with the target language, the former CLIL instructed learners are expected to show a larger extent of language flexibility that is a higher ability of explaining or expressing their intended meaning even if complicated



language is involved, due to their regular contact with native speakers, where code switching would not lead to a successful conversation.

In addition to this, it has to be taken into consideration, that all learners participating in the study have spent one year in the same class, without a further fostering of the children who already had a basic language knowledge before they entered secondary school, which is a long time during which the INS children could rely on their potential language benefit without further work, while the others had time to reach the same level.

### **5.3 Data Collection and Analysis**

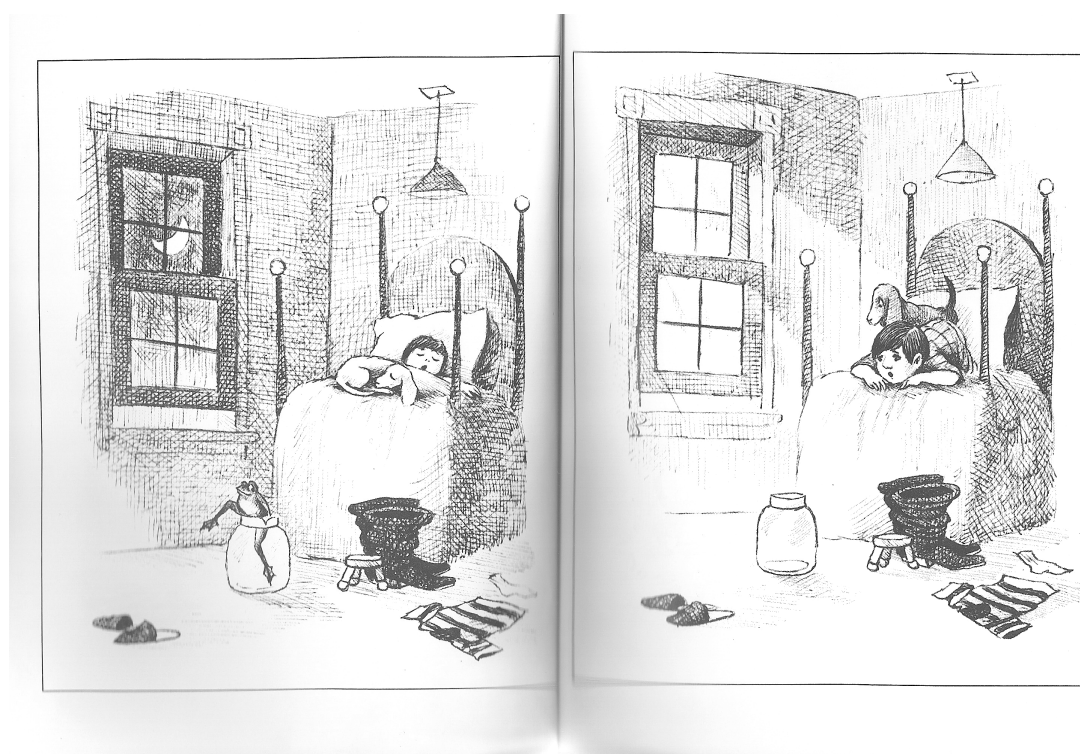
The data for this study was collected at the end of the participant's first school year at secondary school in June 2012. At this point the 10- to 11-year-old learners had spent one year together in the same class at secondary school. The secondary school the data was taken at is a private school the "Mary Ward Gymnasium" in St. Pölten attended by learners between 11 and 18-years-old. Furthermore, the specific class the data was collected in consisted of 12 female and 8 male students, while only 6 boys participated in the research. All learners received 4 weekly lessons of English during their first year in secondary school and the major material used in the classroom was the schoolbook "More 1" complemented by other material like grammar worksheets, the DVD "Action UK1" and the class reading "The double life of a very black cat". The English teacher of the class is highly experienced as he has been teaching English for 36 years and has been working in this particular school for many years.

Only the learners of one class were included in order to assure similar conditions of EFL instruction throughout the year and therefore gain comparable data. The participants of the study were six former students of the INS, the learners that were introduced to the concept of CLIL during their primary school education, including one native speaker of English coming from the same class, which means that in theory they were all at more or less the same starting point at the beginning of the school year. In contrast to this the twelve non-CLIL learners all came from different traditional local primary schools and therefore it can be assumed that their introduction to English as a foreign language differed widely during their primary school education

(cf. Buchholz 2007: 313). As a restricted time frame for this paper did not allow testing at the beginning and the end of the school year, a questionnaire for the parents was designed in order to gain access to their personal evaluation of their children's EFL ability after primary school as a starting point for this research study. The questionnaires as well as the personal contact with the teacher helped to clarify the diverse language levels the children entered secondary school with.

The data collection for this paper is based on audio recordings of oral narratives produced by the learners following the wordless picture story "Frog where are you?" by Mercer Meyer (1969) which has been widely used in linguistics as a tool for research on narrative competence (cf. Bamberg 1987; Berman & Slobin 1994; Kang 2003, Hüttner & Rieder-Bünemann 2010 and many more). The story includes connected pictures illustrating a content matching the children's field of interest and a plot they can relate to. In summary, the story is about a boy who finds a frog and puts it into a jar in his room. As it can be seen in the picture in figure 4, at night the frog escapes and the next day the boy and his dog search for the little animal around the house and in the woods nearby where they encounter other animals but at first cannot find the frog. In the end the boy and the dog discover the frog, which had returned to his family and the boy and the dog take home one of the frog children.

**Figure 4: Initiating event in the frog story – Escape of the frog**



Before the recording session started, each child was given the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the pictures for 10 to 15 minutes. At the beginning the children were encouraged to exclusively use English during the narration as well as to try to paraphrase or explain in English if they did not know a particular word, in the case of a language barrier, they were not given any kind of translation. In addition to this it was clarified that the performance in the study had no impact at all on their grade in order to minimize speaking anxiety.

After the narrations of all participants were recorded, the audio data was transcribed following the transcription rules of the “Voice Corpus” (Voice Project 2007). Concerning the analysis of the data it has to be stressed that due to the rather small number of participants in some areas only a qualitative analysis method was meaningful to some extent which was then complemented by quantitative data in order to offer a better way of comparison among the two groups of learners.

#### **5.4 Analytical framework**

In terms of analysis, this paper was interest in different aspects of the oral productions by the learners divided into two levels of analysis hence the evaluation of the macro-level including the thematic coherence of the narratives and the micro-level illustrating the linguistic cohesion. Both levels of analysis include a broad field of elements and therefore had to be narrowed down to those parts that seemed most relevant for a comparison of CLIL and non-CLIL learners. The macro-level is closely connected to the learners’ cognitive understanding and knowledge about general story structure and includes the analysis of the appearance of certain story elements (i.e. occurrence of a problem, development of the plot and a possible solution) and the presentation of the events in a logical order and constructing a setting or frame for the story. The analysis of the micro-level on the other hand was lead by a general mastering of the language system with special attention on the learners’ ability to place the story in one dominant anchor tense and use the correct verb forms to stay in the chosen tense. This part was of particular interest as the non-CLIL learners had only recently been introduced to the past tense, the tense that is perceived as the most commonly used tense for the oral narration of stories in English (Berman & Slo-

bin, 1994). In contrast to this the learners coming from the INS had already been slightly introduced to the past form during their primary school education and therefore had more time to process the different tense forms. Apart from the correct use of tense forms the micro-level also was analysed in terms of story length and the use of successful or failed communicative strategies.

#### **5.4.1 Framework for the Macro-Analysis**

The analytical framework for the analysis of the macro-level of the oral narratives in this research is based on the models for narrative structure analysis presented in section 2.2. of the theoretical part of this paper. To be more specific, the model of the story grammar approach presented by Stein and Glenn (1982) was chosen to identify the occurring narrative structure in the frog stories. Taking into consideration the understanding of the story grammarians that story production always depends on the individual perception of the narrator and that the teller decides which parts of a story are integrated, the inclusion of the minimal elements of a story hence (1) the initiating event or problem, (2) the attempt or consequence to this event and (3) a direct consequence or achievement of the goal, defined by Stein and Glenn (1982) built the central focus of the macro-level analysis. In terms of the frog story the initiating event or occurrence of a problem can be found at the beginning of the story where the frog escapes from the boy's jar. The following consequence and action triggered by this event is the boy's search for the frog. The final element necessary for a complete narration fulfilling the minimal demands according to the story grammar approach is the achievement of the goal where the boy finally finds the frog. These were the minimal requirements that had to be included in a story in order to be regarded as an overall successful narration. As the search for the frog in the book builds the main part of the picture book comprising 18 out of 24 pictures, this story element left most room for divergence in the amount of information presented by the individual narrators.

Apart from the minimal story elements presented above, the narratives were also examined for the learners' ability to create a setting explaining the context of the story to the audience as it was described as a crucial story element in section 2.2. Furthermore, the occurrence of temporal phrases marking time shifts in the narrative

productions was explored, in order to find out if the children were able to express the temporal order of events with lexical forms that go beyond the use of “and then”, to see whether they have reached the stage in their cognitive and linguistic ability that exceed the production of a script-like text and build an overall temporal frame for their stories. The analysis of temporal phrases which marked time shifts as for example *the next day*, *in the morning* or *later* was used in order to find out if the learners have reached the final stage of narrative development defined by Boueke et. al. (1995). In addition to this, to be considered a successful narrative at this stage the story also had to include at least some kind of evaluative element towards the actions of the main character(s) as this is seen as a significant component in research on narrative structure (c.f. Labov 1972; Boueke & Schülein 1991). Therefore, all narrative productions were examined for the appearance of at least one evaluative comment concerning the main character’s action in the course of the narration like for example *the boy was happy because he found his frog again*. At this point also the story ending, where the boy finds the frog and eventually takes home one of the little frogs, gained major attention in the analysis in order to find out whether the children included a moral message or drew an overall conclusion of the story.

As the ability to shift perspective is seen as a major competence in narrative production in the model study by Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann (2012) this component was also included in the analytical framework in this paper. In other words, it was examined if the learners had the ability to differentiate between the view of the character and the perspective of the narrator, who has a broader knowledge of the events. This specific shift in perspective is defined by the occurrence of one particular scene in the sequence of pictures, where the boy mistakes the antlers of a deer for branches, as it can be seen in figure 5.

**Figure 5: Sequence where shift in perspective is required**



Finally, the narrations were searched for the appearance of certain story telling conventions that are defined by the chosen text type as this is part of the production of a successful narration as discussed by Boueke and Schüle (1991). The elements usually occurring in fictional stories included in this analysis referring to the research by Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann (2012) were: naming the characters and equipping them with emotions, thoughts and reasons for their action and conventional story beginning and ending.

In summary, the analytical framework for the analysis of the macro-level was built-up by several elements in order to examine whether the learners have reached the cognitive and linguistic ability to construct an overall coherent story that includes all necessary components for a successful narration as discussed in section 2 of this paper. The explicit questions that were addressed to the texts in the analysis in order to compare the individual productions can be found in greater detail in Table 5.

**Table 5: Analytical questions**

<p>1) Narrative Structure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Does the story include the minimal elements of the story-grammar approach: initiating event (appearance of a problem), consequence to this event and goal achievement?</li> <li>- Plot development (Search for the frog): How many and which of the underlying plot elements of the search (boy encounters mole, dog barks at bees and gets chased by them, boy encounters owl, boy mistakes deer for branches and gets pushed down the cliff) are eliminated/not mentioned in the story?</li> <li>- Is a setting created, the context explained?</li> <li>- Are phrases indicating time shifts included in the story apart from <i>and then</i>? (e.g. <i>the next day, later, in the morning</i>)</li> </ul> <p>2.) Evaluative Elements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Are evaluative elements or emotions explaining or giving reasons for the main character's behaviour included? (e.g. <i>because he thought ..., therefore ..., he was angry/sad/scared/happy</i>)</li> <li>- How did the narrator present the story ending? Did he or she include a moral message or an emotion towards the ending of the story?</li> <li>- Did the narrator manage to successfully present the shift in perspective in the deer-scene?</li> </ul> <p>3.) Story telling conventions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Did the narrator name the characters?</li> <li>- How does the story start? (e.g. Once upon a time ...)</li> <li>- How does the story end? (e.g. They lived happily ever after.)</li> </ul>
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#### **5.4.2 Framework for Micro-Analysis**

For the analysis of the micro-level of the oral narrations, two specific aspects were chosen as central point of interest concerning the syntactic accuracy of the productions: the choice of an anchor tense and verb form errors. As it was discussed in section 2.4 the accurate use of tense forms and aspect markers is crucial to the foregrounding and backgrounding of informations in a narrative in order to build cohesion between the individual elements of a story and create a temporal frame for the story (c.f. Berman and Slobin 1994; Bardovi-Harlig 1998).

In addition to this, the study by Álvarez (2006), discussed in section 2.5. has shown that the development of the morpho-syntactic knowledge and the ability to create accurate narratives are strongly connected, as in her study only learners at the last stage of narrative development had reached the competence to create a temporal structure through an accurate use of tense and aspect markers. According to the findings in the study by Álvarez (2006) irregular past, third person –s and regular past –ed morphemes develop last in the linear progress of morpheme development.

Therefore the oral narrative productions of the learners were analysed on the one hand in terms of the learners' ability to chose an anchor tense and remain in this tense without tense shifts and on the other hand it was searched for their competence to produce error-free tense forms independent of their choice of anchor tense.

With respect to the anchoring of a story in a certain time frame, according to Bamberg (1987) an anchor tense is established if it is used predominantly i.e. 80-90% for all verbs in a narration. The learners were allowed to choose the temporal frame for their story and could decide individually on their anchor tense. All the verbs in the narrations were then scanned for the predominant tense that was chosen and if it was possible to tell the anchor tense was defined. Furthermore, in order to compare the learners' performances to each other the number of tense switches was evaluated and in the case of a clear anchor tense, possible reasons for motivated tense shifts were tried to identify.

In case that the choice of anchor tense was not clear to determine, the predominant tense used in the majority of the verbs was used as potential anchor tense to calculate the number of tense shifts. In addition to this, the use of the base form of a verb



was also counted as tense shift, as it could mark both present and past with respect to regular verbs.

Concerning the production of error free tense forms, each verb presented in the texts was examined to draw conclusions on the learners' ability to apply their morpho-syntactic knowledge to their stories in order to build an appropriate temporal frame.

The tense form error analysis ignored tense switches as long as the produced forms were syntactically accurate i.e. the items included in the count had to include one of the following errors: missing third person –s, wrong irregular past form, wrong form of negation, missing or wrong regular past. Words in the L1 of the learners, misspronunciations or wrong lexical choices were not part of this analysis.

### **5.4.3 Communicative Strategies**

As discussed in section 2 of this paper, communicative strategies are deployed in a speech event as soon as foreign language speakers reach the limit of their lexical knowledge and have to deal with a lexical gap. There are different ways of compensating the occurrence of a failure of the lexical system, which leaves a wide range of communicative strategies to deal with the problem. Clearly, for learners with such a rather short period of foreign language instruction, the picture story *Frog, where are you?* contained a number of images that implied potential language gaps for the learners as for instance *beehive, deer, mole, cliff, antlers or log*. It was at these stages of the story where the learners found different ways of avoiding the appearance of the lexical gap by applying a communicative strategy. Considering the wide range of different communicative strategies that were used by both groups throughout their narrations a solely quantitative analysis of the samples does not express the whole range of communicative strategies and how learners used them, therefore qualitative sample from the texts were used to offer a more descriptive picture of the use of communicative strategies present in the samples.

In the sense of the model study by Julia Hüttner and Angelika Rieder-Bünemann (2010), only speech events where a lexical problem was indicated by hesitation markers, fillers or direct appeals for help were taken into consideration for the analysis of the use of communication strategies, as the awareness of a problem is seen as

a basic requirement for the application of a communicative strategy which was already discussed in section 2.1. Although it is difficult to decide from an outside perspective whether the learner used the strategic device consciously, only cases where the use of a problem-solving device was obvious were included in the analysis as the use of a communication strategy demands problem awareness of the speaker. Therefore, in order to be regarded as the use of a communication strategy, a speech event had to be marked as problematic through hesitation markers, word repetition or appeals for help.

The taxonomy of communicative strategies presented in section 3 of the theoretical part of this paper following Poullisse (1993) and Dörnyei and Kormis (1998) built the theoretical framework for identifying communicative strategies in the narrations of the learners. The discovered examples for the application of specific communicative strategies were then labelled and divided into two categories groups like in the model study (cf. Hüttner & Rieder-Bünemann 2012). One group included all strategic attempts regarded as successful in terms of a possible continuation of the communication with a speaker who does not have any knowledge of the speaker's L1. This means that all communicative strategies that require the understanding of the speakers L1 and are not helpful in a communication with a native speaker of English or any other language in this case were categorized as unsuccessful. The communicative strategies code switching, foreignizing or literal translations are examples for such unsuccessful ways of dealing with a lexical gap. In contrast to this, communicative strategies were considered as efficient when their application would lead to a continuation of a conversation with a speaker who does not have any language knowledge in the first language of the learner. Examples for these strategies are approximation, restructuring, circumlocution but also appeals for assistance in the target language.

## **6 FINDINGS**

### **6.1 Parents questionnaire**

As mentioned before, the parents of each participant received a questionnaire to evaluate the learner's knowledge of English after the four years in primary school.

The evaluation questionnaire for the parents clearly proofed the diverse starting position of the learners of the two groups as all the learners of the INS were evaluated as to were able to read and write in English and 3 of the 5 learners (the native speaker was excluded from this initial evaluation) stated that they were able to speak in coherent sentences after their primary school education, while the other two rated their EFL ability to the formulation of short sentences. In contrast to this the majority of the learners (9 out of 12) that went through a traditional EFL education in primary school had only achieved the level of expressing single words or short sentences in combination with songs or short rhymes, according to their parents. The other 3, all from the same primary school, stated that they were additionally capable of reading and writing in the foreign language.

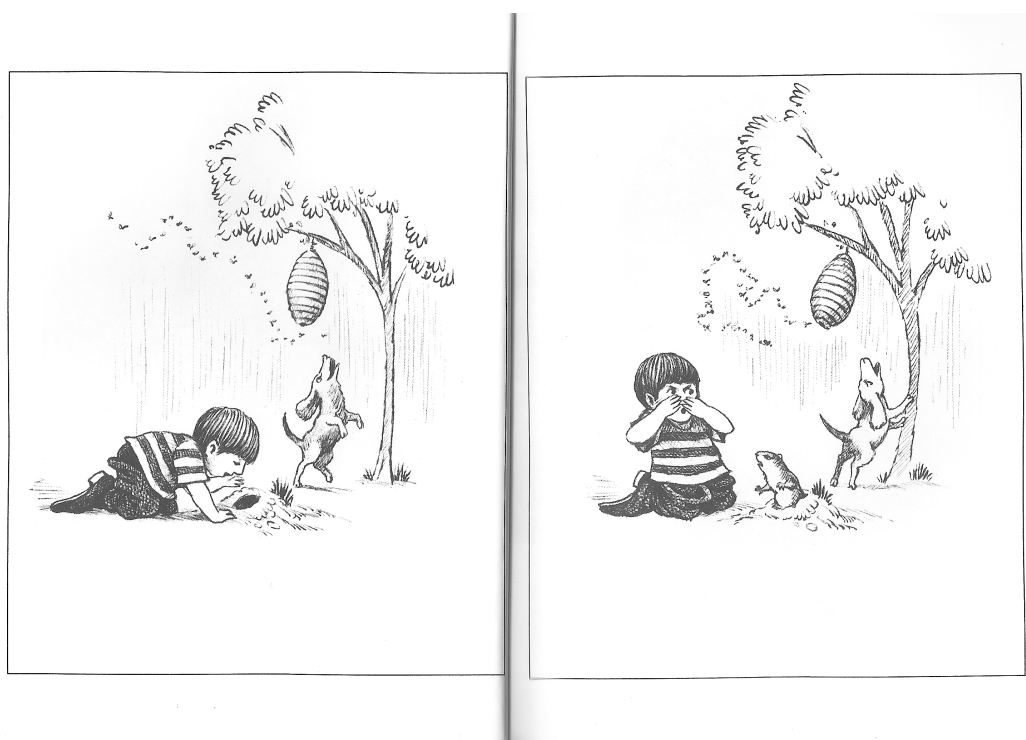
### **6.2 Macro-Level (Overall narrative competence)**

With respect to the macro-level, as explained in the analytical framework for this part of the study, the overall narrative competence of the learners was tested, concerning their ability to include the minimal core elements of a narrative as discussed in the theoretical part of this paper and their integration of several established story telling conventions, as for instance naming the characters, using particular initiating phrases or giving a moral statement.

In terms of their overall narrative competence it can be stated that all learners seem have reached the cognitive and linguistic ability to create a globally coherent narrative that is more than a mere description of the individual pictures of the story. They all were able to realise the three major core elements of a narrative i.e. occurrence of

a problem (the disappearance of the frog), the action relating to the problem (the boy is looking for his frog) and a solution (the boy finds the frog). Even the shortest story told, where most of the main events were shortened or left out entirely, followed the minimal story structure including the appearance of a problem, an action or consequence and a solution. Although both groups built the story line along these elements, especially the unfolding of the searching process was generally speaking more detailed in the stories of the former CLIL learners as all of them included most of the major events of the story while the majority of the non-CLIL learners avoided at least one of the major events of the story or did not describe it in detail. Especially the scenes with the mole and the beehive seen in figure 6 seemed to cause difficulties for the non-CLIL learners, as 9 of the 12 learners left out the scene with the mole in the hole entirely, while all but one of the CLIL learners included it into their story although they had trouble identifying the animal as in some stories it was a hamster, mouse, guinea pig or a rat.

**Figure 6: Story elements frequently excluded by non-CLIL learners**



The results gave the impression that the CLIL learners in general are more flexible at the occurrence of a difficult language situation and attempt to explain rather than simply avoid it or leave out the event. This is probably due to their early contact with native speakers in a school context where they always had to find a way to explain

and express their needs somehow even if they were not equipped with the necessary lexical terms if they wanted to communicate with their teachers. In examples 1a and 1b it can be seen how two learners dealt differently with a difficult language situation – in this case the scene with the beehive (Picture 2):

1.a.) Learner tries to explain the situation<sup>1</sup>:

*The dog found a // the dog saw many bees and their nest and they ran to the nest. (...) and the dog put the front legs on the tree and then the nest of the bees fell on the ground. The bees were very angry and the dog ran away.*

1.b.) Learner avoids major story event:

*In the next morning the boy cannot find he frog. He looked at (FOR) the frog in the garden, in the woods and in the holes but he cannot find the frog.*

Compared to the story of the native speaker all the learners seemed to be on more or less the same stage of cognitive understanding of the storyline, the difference in the story of the native speaker was mainly found on the linguistic level, because her larger vocabulary knowledge allowed the native speaker to give a more sophisticated commentary on the emotional state of the characters and a more detailed reasoning for their actions.

As all the other learners told a typical third person singular narration, it was interesting to see that one of the learners chose in first person narration. In addition to this, another learner presented herself as a kind of omniscient teller as she frequently used the phrase *What's that?* as a rhetorical question.

In general, all the learners were able to create a logical setting for their story, introducing the major characters and giving an insight into the situation. Some learners were more creative and built an extended frame that went beyond what was seen in the picture, as can be seen in example 2:

*2.) Once upon a time there was a little boy named Tom. He was very lucky with his birthday present it was a little frog. He wanted to play with him but his mother came in and said that he must go to bed now. ...*

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<sup>1</sup> For a better readability all hesitation markers were removed from all extracts.

In addition to this, all the learners were capable of creating a successful temporal frame for their story, with a more advanced forward movement than the basic *and then*. The majority of learners from both groups made use of temporal phrases to indicate time shifts especially at the beginning of the story, where large steps are included from night to day. There was no significant difference in the integration of temporal phrases between the two groups as the CLIL group used 4,8 temporal phrases other than *and then* per child and the non-CLIL group used 3,8 phrases per child. The overall number of temporal phrases used was 113 including 38 times *and then*. Most learners remained with rather basic terms to indicate time shifts such as one day/night (11 times) *the next day (8 times)*, *in the morning (8 times)*, *suddenly (9 times)*, ... . Only one of the CLIL learners and the native speaker were able to make use of more advanced temporal phrases such as *in the meantime* or *meanwhile*.

In terms of the story ending there could not be found significant differences between the CLIL and the non-CLIL learners. The children presented different endings to the story, as maybe it was not entirely clear to them from the pictures which frog is taken home by the boy. In 12 of the 18 stories one of the babies was taken home while in 2 stories it is not clear which frog is taken ("a frog") and in 4 the boy takes the original frog home. While in most cases the boy just took one of the babies without further commentary, some of the children included elements to make the taking away of the frog baby less cruel as it can be seen in example 3 below. As the majority of the learners stressed that the boy was happy in the end, some tried to give reasons or asked the frogs for permission. At this point it has to be stated that for learners at this early stage of foreign language learning the construction of subordinate phrases to explain behaviour or give reasons is difficult, because they were not yet introduced to conditionals as can be seen in the examples 3b and 3c.

### **Example 3: Justification of story ending**

3.a.) The frogs give one of the babies to the boy:

(...) *and the frogs gave the boy a little frog and then the boy was happy and went home.*

3.b.) Gives reason why the baby frog is taken not the father:

*John take one of the little frog baby home with him than (BECAUSE) he don't want that the father go away from the little babies. So John had a new frog and when the frog ran away it isn't schlimm (A PROBLEM).*

3.c.) Boy asks for permission:

*He asked his frog that he could take a frog to his house and the frog said that he could take a frog baby and now he went to his house and was very lucky (HAPPY) about his new baby frog.*

The majority of the children clearly wants the frog father to stay with his family as they probably believe this is where he belongs and therefore the boy takes home one of the frog children which they probably sense as a happier ending than taking home the original frog. They maybe express in this way their perception of the world that a traditional family consists of mother, father and children and that a father should not leave the family.

Concerning the ability to include a shift in perspective in a narrative, this element is usually difficult to process on a cognitive level, an even more complex to express in a foreign language, indicated in this case by the plot element where the boy unintentionally grabs the antlers of the deer as he mistakes them for branches presented in section 5.1. Even two of the learners with the best overall performances language wise and the native speaker had problems to express the confusion of the boy. It is interesting to see that two learners of the CLIL group with the best language performance did not include the shift in perspective where the teller knows about and explains the mistake of the boy, instead the deer suddenly appeared in the story, although they probably would have been able to describe the boy's mistake to the reader according to their language ability. The 3 other learners of the CLIL group successfully tried to mention the misunderstanding as can be seen in example 4a and 4b, although some of them were struggling and had to switch for an unknown word into German or invent a word, but still showed that cognitively they were able to identify the problem.

4.a.) Integrate a shift of perspective

*(...) but he didn't know that behind these bushes that there was a deer he thought that is was some wood (...)*

4.b.) *He climbed on the stone and hold on a tree. But what's that? the tree doesn't was a tree it was a reintier (REINDEER).*

Only one child of the non-CLIL group at least tried to explain the incident with the deer, and mentions the boy's mistake, but fails to communicate the misunderstanding, while all of the others ignored the event entirely and in their version of the story the deer just suddenly appeared.

With respect to certain established story telling conventions such as naming the characters, equipping the persons in the story with emotions, thoughts and reasons for their actions the results showed a wide range of inclusion of these elements. Concerning the naming of the characters half of the class did neither name the boy nor the dog. If the learners chose a name they all selected names of typical English origin for the boy like *Joe*, *Tom*, *Jack* or *John* and characteristic dog names like *Bello* or *Blacky*. In this class the name *Freddy* or *Fred* seems to be very popular or signify a typical story name as it was used by three learners for the main character and by two learners as a name for the frog.

In addition to this, all learners were able to some extent to provide the main character with certain characteristics or express his emotions with a frequent use of basic expressions like *he was happy* and *he was angry/sad/scared with* occasional intensification using *very*. Apart from the native speaker only one learner of the CLIL group used more higher competence words to comment on actions and emotions behind the boy's behaviour illustrated in example 5:

5.) *First Freddy looked into a hole and Joe tried to catch the beestock (BEEHIVE), because he thought the frog was in there, but it was a huge mistake.*

However, it can be stated that almost all learners, apart from 2, tried to give reasons for the boy's behaviour or comment on his emotions towards a certain event at least at some point during the story, which is a central element of a successful narration.



While 4 of the 5 CLIL learners included between 5 and 10 incidents of emotion or reasoning only 2 of the non-CLIL learners stated the boy's emotion or reason for his behaviour more than 5 times. 5 of the non-CLIL learners added between 2 and 4 comments on the boy's emotion while the remaining 5 mentioned none or only once an emotional state of a character. Although the CLIL group is made up of clearly less learners with 5 participants comparing the overall integration of comments on the character's emotions or reasons for their behaviour they only commented three counts less with an overall result of 31 statements than the non-CLIL group consisting of 12 participant and an overall count of 34 statements as it can be seen in Table 6.

**Table 6: Comments on emotions or reasons for the character's behaviour**

	CLIL (5 learners)	Non-CLIL (12 learners)
Emotion	20	23
Reason or Intention for Actions	11	11
<b>Total (average per learner)</b>	<b>31 (6.2)</b>	<b>34 (2.8)</b>

The majority of the learners mainly relied on more basic expressions like *very sad/angry* or *really happy* and *lucky* when they tried to phrase the main character's emotions which is completely appropriate concerning their rather short phase of EFL instruction.

With regard to other conventional story or fairy tale elements that are most likely familiar to the learners in their native language only half (3 out of 6) of the CLIL group started their story with the most traditional form of starting a fictional story i.e. *Once upon a time* while the others used the simpler phrase *one day* which is also a common beginning for stories other than fairy tales. In addition to this almost half of the non-CLIL group was familiar with the story beginning *once upon a time* (5 learners), while 4 others used *one day* and 3 of the group did not make use of a story beginning at all. One child came up with *a time*, which was probably invented in the attempt to say *once upon a time* due to a lexical gap

Although, all children tried to indicate a happy ending, as the boy always went home *happy* or the frogs were happy in the end, none of the children, not even the native

speaker made use of the conventional phrase *they lived happily ever after*, which is probably strongly connected to more traditional fairy tales by the children.

In summary, it can be said that all learners of the class have reached the cognitive and linguistic ability to tell an oral narrative in a foreign language that meets the generally agreed upon conventions of a successful narration as described in section 1. All the learners were able to create a logical and reasonable setting for their story and were capable of including the necessary story structure elements. In addition most of the learners of both groups, except 2 of the non-CLIL group, equipped the main character with basic emotional features and gave reason or intentions behind the characters' behaviour and actions, but the CLIL group showed a higher frequency of these statements with 6,2 comments per person while the non-CLIL group only reached an average of 2,8 comments on emotions, reasons and intentions of the main characters per person.

Concerning the overall length of the narration it has to be mentioned that for the word count only necessary information that was actually part of the story was relevant for the results therefore all hesitation markers (e.g. *ahm*), word and phrase repetitions or appeals for help were excluded. Of course story length is not a quality marker as a long story containing a large number of words is not necessarily perceived as a better story than shorter ones. For example the native speaker produced one of the shortest narrations but the most accurate one concerning the language system. However, as has already been mentioned, especially for language learners stories containing more words build automatically a larger chance for the occurrence of language errors and children with lower language ability probably tend to avoid difficult language situations and therefore leave out information they cannot cope with language wise. The average word count across the whole group was 255 words. All the learners of the CLIL group except the native speaker were far above this number with the story length of the group averaging at 333 words while the non-CLIL group produced an average of 215 words. The shortest of the stories only consisted of 97 words where clearly most of the main information was left out and the two longest stories were both produced by learners of the CLIL group with 405 words.

Although, with respect to the macro-level no significant differences between the two groups were found, as all the learners at least achieved to build a minimal narration around an initiating event, action and goal achievement, it has to be stated that the narrations of the CLIL learners as a group were more detailed and showed a better overall ability of integrating particular story events more explicitly as 9 of the 12 non-CLIL learners avoided at least one major story element (the scene with the mole/the beehive), while only one of the CLIL learners left out one of these two plot elements.

### **6.3 Micro-Level**

The analysis of the micro-level was designated to two specific aspects which were chosen to be discussed in greater detail for this study i.e. the ability of the learners to use a fixed anchor tense for their narration without unmotivated tense switches and their ability of using grammatically correct tense forms. As it has already been discussed, finding a consistent anchor tense for a story, which means that one tense form is used predominantly (80-90%) for all verb forms in a narration (cf. Bamberg 1987) is a major element of narrative with an open choice for the narrator to decide which tense the story should be placed in.

#### **Use of an anchor tense**

Before a clear judgement can be made concerning the ability of the children to choose an anchor tense for their narratives, we have to take several aspects into consideration. As previously mentioned, the learners of the INS had already been introduced to past forms on a simple basis during their primary school education, which means they were expected to have a slight advantage in this area. The whole class had only recently started to use the simple past before the narrations were recorded, which lead to the expectation of a higher amount of tense shifts and confusion of the irregular forms in the non-CLIL stories, because the learners did not yet have a lot of time to process the new information. Nevertheless, the majority of the learners chose the common simple past as anchor tense for their narration, maybe because lately they had to use the simple past in their stories for practice.

It also has to be taken into consideration that in a lot of cases the results are ambiguous as it is not entirely clear, if the children consciously or unconsciously switched tenses or if they rather made a form mistake.

The analysis of the texts showed that 5 of the 6 former INS children, including the native speaker of English, had no difficulties in finding an anchor tense and mainly stuck to the past tense throughout their narrations. The few problems that occurred were almost entirely concerned with negations or the use of the past progressive tense, which they most likely had not yet been introduced to at the time of the study. In the two following examples (2a, 2b) two learners, who were almost completely accurate in their choice of tense throughout their narration, both only switched tenses when they tried to explain the incident with the deer, as it was exemplified in the chapter before and therefore changed the perspective of the narration, which can be seen as a motivated tense switch:

2.a) ... *he didn't know that behind these bushes that there was a deer he thought that it is some wood and he shouted the frog's name again.*

2.b) ...*he thought that the Geweih (ANTLERS) are a tree, but suddenly it was a animal.*

For the non-CLIL learners the outcomes were less straightforward, as their ability to stay with one tense differed widely as the analysis showed that only 4 of the 12 learners were able to stay in an anchor tense as all 4 chose the past tense. The majority of the eight others gave the impression that they tried to use the past tense, but mainly produced completely mixed narratives, where past and present tense were switched randomly without a clear pattern or motivation behind it. Only one learner illustrated in example 3 aimed to use the present tense, as this was also the only narration, where the speaker chose the first person perspective for her story, however she was not able to remain in the present:

3.) *Once upon a time I play with my new frog Freddy. When I'm sleeping the dog (FROG) is jumping off the glass. In the morning I can't find my frog. I look in my shoes but I can't find him and my dog look in glass but Freddy wasn't there. I opened the window and cried Freddy.*

Table 7 shows the number of potential tense switches per group averaging the number of overall verb use. Again these numbers have to be treated with caution, as in narrations with a high occurrence of base form verbs or a large amount of tense errors, it was difficult to define the chosen anchor tense and therefore identify tense switches.

**Table 7: Tense switches**

	CLIL	Non-CLIL
< 5 switches	3 learners	4 learners
5-10 switches	1 learners	1 learner
10-20 switches	1 learner	5 learners
> 20 switches	0 learner	2 learners
Total (per learner)	35 (5,8)	138 (11,5)
Number of main verbs used	252	405
Average tense switches (per verbs used)	13,8%	34%

### **Tense form errors**

Drawing a general picture of the ability of the learners to produce tense forms that were error-free, without taking into account if the learners switched tenses or not, a decisively better performance can be seen on the side of the CLIL learners, excluding the native speaker for this statistical analysis. As a whole group the five CLIL learners used 252 main verbs in their texts where only 11,5% of the verbs contained an error, while the non-CLIL learners all together in their 405 main verbs had an error ratio of 21,7% which is still a very good performance considering their rather short EFL learning phase, however the overall result shows a clear benefit for the CLIL group.

Nevertheless, looking at the individual performances, illustrated in greater detail in table 8, it has to be mentioned that also in the group of learners who went through a traditional primary school education, some learners exceeded their peers by far concerning their performance, as they produced none or only very few errors in their

tense forms. On the other hand the two learners of the CLIL group who used more than five wrong verb forms told significantly longer stories than most of the non-CLIL learners with 300 and 400 words, which leaves more room for mistakes.

**Table 8: Tense form errors**

	Main verbs used	Tense form errors
L1 (CLIL)	67	2 (2,99%)
L2 (CLIL)	50	1 (2%)
L3 (CLIL)	44	15 (34,09%)
L4 (CLIL)	41	1 (2,44%)
L6 (CLIL)	50	10 (20%)
CLIL average errors/verbs used	11,5%	
L7	35	11 (31,43%)
L8	45	10 (22,22%)
L9	34	4 (11,76%)
L10	34	2 (5,88%)
L11	44	0 (0%)
L12	29	1 (3,45%)
L13	50	27 (54,00%)
L14	35	17 (48,57%)
L15	14	0 (0%)
L16	20	4 (20%)
L17	37	7 (18,92%)
L18	28	5 (17,86%)
Non-CLIL average errors/verbs used	21,7%	

For both groups the majority of errors were either a difficulty in the production of a negation or the use of the base form rather than 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular in past or present. As the learners mainly attempted to tell their story in the past tense the base form was probably used as they lacked the knowledge of the past form, primarily when it came to irregular verbs. Especially the word *fall* seems to have created a large obstacle for the learners: it appeared 39 times of which the base form was used in 21 cases. In example 4 it can be seen, that in some cases even if the learners were aware of the correct form, they had trouble to use it continuously

Example 4: *The little boy's dog **felt** out of the window and (...) . (...) the boy **fell down** of the tree (...). (...) and the boy **fall down** into the river. (...)*

In summary, regarding the creation of error-free tense forms it can be said that both groups showed a wide range of ability from children who miss produced none or only few main verbs (e.g. L2 and L11), a group of learners with medium competence including five to nine errors (e.g. L17) and the lower achievers with more than ten wrong verb forms at an average use of 39 verbs per narration (e.g. L3 and L13). What has to be taken into consideration is that the stories differed widely in length and number of verbs used, therefore the given numbers are relative, as shorter narrations with less verb forms are significantly less prone to errors in that matter.

To sum up the results, although the numbers are difficult to compare directly, as the group of the former CLIL learners is much smaller in comparison to the rest of the class, the conclusion can be made that the INS children still showed an advantage in their use of tense forms, especially the more proficient language learners. In contrast to this, it has to be stressed that also some of the higher achievers of the non-CLIL group produced highly accurate narrations concerning the mastering of the language levels, where they reached better results than the weaker learners of the CLIL group. The comparison of the individual performances clearly showed that 6 of the non-CLIL learners produced less than five mistakes in their narrations at an average use of main verbs in the whole group at around 39 verbs.

The results showed that although a small number of mainstream learners outperformed the lower achievers of the CLIL group in terms of tense form accuracy after one year, in general the former CLIL learners as a group still showed a significantly better performance in the areas of investigation with respect to the micro-level.

## 6.4 Communicative Strategies

As described in the analytical framework for this part, only cases of speech events were taken into consideration for the analysis of communicative strategies where the speaker was aware of the lexical gap or communication problem. This was not al-

ways straightforward, as it can be seen in the sample below (Example 4) because there were also cases, where learners were probably not aware of their use of strategic devices like word invention, foreignizing (using an L1 word with L2 phonology or morphology) or using the wrong L2 word, as they used the terms in a natural way and therefore the conscious use of a decisive communicative strategy was not identifiable. For the quantitative analysis these examples were excluded and only unambiguous samples of a conscious application of a communicative strategy were involved.

**Example 4: Strategic device used without awareness:**

4.a.) *Joe was looking for Freddy and found a beestock (BEEHIVE).*

4.b.) *Suddenly (...) the bees saw the dog and they wanted to pitch (STING/PINCH) the dog.*

4.c.) *The boy looked in a hole and the dog is barking (...) at the beans (BEES).*

In these cases the learners were not obviously aware of their lexical gap and used the wrong words in a confident way, maybe convinced that they had used the correct form. These incidents are not counted as communicative strategies as the element of problem awareness, here considered crucial to the use of a strategy, is missing.

The use of communicative strategies in the samples was divided into two broad groups, on the one hand including all strategies that were considered unsuccessful in terms of communicating with a listener not able to understand the speakers mother tongue hence appeals for help in German, L1 lexical terms or literal translation of lexical items from L1 in L2 were considered as unsuccessful. On the other hand communicative strategies were seen as successful if they would lead to a progression of the conversation with a listener not aware of the speaker's first language.

Due to the fact that most of the non-CLIL learners avoided large parts of the story where the use of numerous communication strategies was expected, for example the incident with the deer and its antlers, only few strategic communication devices appeared in the samples in general. As the two groups differed in size to such a large extent and the majority of the learners of the non-CLIL group left out key events of the story statistical comparisons on the quantitative use of communicative strategies amongst the two groups have to be treated with caution.



The overall number of clearly identifiable communicative strategies used in the narratives is 67, 14 strategies used by the CLIL group (average of 2,8 per child) and 53 by the non-CLIL group (average of 4,4 per child). Once again as can be seen in table 9, the number of strategies used per text differed widely among the individual performances.

**Table 9: Number of communicative strategies used**

	CLIL	Non-CLIL
<3 strategies	2 learners	7 learners
3-6 strategies	3 learners	2 learners
7-10 strategies	0 learners	2 learners
11-14 strategies	0 learners	1 learners
Total number of CSs (per learner)	14 (2,8)	53 (4,4)

Although the children were asked to avoid switches into their L1 and urged to try to explain or use a way to describe or rephrase unknown terms, code switching (27 incidents) and appeals for help in German (7 incidents) hence unsuccessful communicative strategies were a common way of dealing with lexical gap throughout both groups as it can be seen in greater detail in table 10. Against primary expectations the learners of the CLIL group also used code switching in 3 incidents, which is a considerable low number compared to the 24 code switches of the non-CLIL group. However, the impression was raised that in the normal classroom interaction the usage of the L1 is an accepted way of communicating language difficulties, as asking the teacher for help in the L1 or using the German term.

**Table 10: Successful vs. Unsuccessful CSs**

	CLIL	Non-CLIL	Total
Successful CSs:			
Circumlocution	1	1	2
Approximation	4	7	11
Appeals for help in English	1	1	2
Content reduction	0	2	2
Restructuring	0	1	1
Unsuccessful CSs:			

Appeals for help in German	2	5	7
Code switch	3	24	27
Foreignizing	3	3	6
Semantic word coinage	0	1	1

For a clearer impression of unsuccessful communicative strategies the following passages (Example 5 and 6) were chosen to exemplify the communication failures.

#### **Example 5: L1-based strategy of the CLIL group**

- 5.a.) (...) *he thought that this ahm Geweih (ANTLERS) ahm Geweih was heißt Geweih (ANTLERS WHAT IS ANTLERS)? (...) Ahm he thought that the Geweih (ANTLERS) are ahm a tree, but suddenly it was a animal.*
- 5.b.) (...) *in the hole there was a hhhhm ah ahm a-a little maulwurf (MOLE)?*

#### **Example 6: L1-based strategy of the non-CLIL group**

- 6.a.) (...) *he can't see that there was a Reh (DEER)?*
- 6.b.) *ahhh they went to a tree there are flies? Was sind Wespen auf Englisch? Das haben wir noch nicht gelernt? (WHAT ARE WASPS IN ENGLISH? WE HAVEN'T LEARNT THIS TERM YET)*

In contrast to this there were also incidents, where the learners found a strategy to successfully communicate a linguistically difficult situation in such a way, that also speakers without any knowledge of German could understand what was meant as the examples (7) illustrate below:

#### **Example 7: Circumlocution in the target language by two CLIL learners**

- 7.a.) *Ahm the dog found a // the do- the dog s-saw many bees and their nest.*
- 7.b.) *The dog saw ahm a – what's this? – and he and the dog saw a ahm a bee saw many bees.*

The significantly fewer appearance of examples for a successful mastering of a lexical gap (19 successful strategies vs. 41 unsuccessful strategies), clearly marks that

the learners are probably not used to explain or paraphrase an unknown lexical term in the target language in their normal classroom interaction.

Although only very few of the learners were familiar with the target term *mole*, *antlers* or *deer* and the majority of the non-CLIL learners avoided any kind of word to express the situations where the boy encounters the mole or where he gets stuck on the antlers, the following list of examples (Example 8, 9 and 10) shows how some of the learners dealt differently with the unknown target words, in this part of the analysis all words are included, even if the problematicity of the lexical gap was not given. Clearly the mole was difficult to identify in the picture as most of the learners used alternative words without hesitating or questioning their choice. The majority of the non-CLIL learners (9/12) did not mention the animal at all and described the situation as *the boy looked/shouted in a whole in the ground* or avoided the situation in general. As the majority of all learners avoided to talk about the situation with the deer in greater detail only few examples are given here to exemplify the lexical creativity of some learners and how they try to overcome lexical gaps.

**Example 8: Target word *mole***

<u>CLIL</u>	<u>non-CLIL</u>
a rat	a small pet
a mouse	a little guinea pig
a hamster	a mouse
but it smelled really not good	
a little {maul}	

**Example 9: Target word *antlers/deer***

<u>CLIL</u>	<u>non-CLIL</u>
horns	
{reintier} (REINDEER)	a big pet
a animal	an (other) animal

Apart from code switching (27 times) and appeals for help in the learner's first language (7 times), the other occurring unsuccessful communication strategies were the equally unsuccessful invention of words via foreignizing of originally German words

or making up English sounding words (semantic word coinage) as the examples (10 and 11) below indicate:

### **Example 10: Foreignizing**

10.a.) *Ah in the river he saw ahm a ahm ah he saw ahm a tree stam (LOG).*

10.b.) *... and the little maul (MOLE) is ahm – did the boy bite.*

10.c.) *Jack was very angry and and Blacky ah lacked (LICKED) him in the face. (...)  
And one owl ah saw John and he and he wanted to kratz (SCRATCH) but John  
run away and he (...)*

### **Example 11: Invention of English sounding words or use of wrong word**

11.a.) *suddenly the bees saw the dog and they wanted to pitch (STING/PINCH) the  
dog.*

11.b.) *(...) he hear quaky louds and he hid behind a stamp (LOG) (...).*

The results also showed that the learners, who drew on a, as unsuccessful regarded, communicative strategies regarded as unsuccessful more than once, showed a high consistency in their choice of strategy. This means that some of the learners used the same (insufficient) communicative strategy various times throughout the recording. For example one learner used the tactic of foreignizing four times, while another learner used code switching seven times. This multiple usage of one learner also contributes to the incomparability of the two groups, as the overall number of for example code switches does not reflect the usage per person. As it was shown in table 9 before 2 learners of the non-CLIL group used between 7 and 10 strategies in their texts and one even 12, therefore almost half of the groups strategies were used by only three learners. Nevertheless the numbers are still interesting, but have to be treated with caution due to the previously mentioned discrepancy in number of group members and multiple use of some CSs by individual learners.

It can be concluded that members of both groups made use of a variety of CS and that against the former expectations two of the five CLIL learner's (the native speaker was excluded from the CS analysis) also used code switching and chose to include L1 lexical items in their stories when reaching a lexical gap. Therefore the former hy-

pothesis that the CLIL group is more flexible in their language use and depends less on their first language could not be maintained for the whole group.

No explicit conclusion can be drawn about the use of communicative strategies in the learner's oral narratives concerning group differences. Regarding the language learning stage the learners had reached at time the narratives were recorded, a large number of them does not seem to feel confident enough to deal with a difficult language situation without the use of their L1 (34 incidents of code switch or appeals for help in German), former CLIL learners as well as non-CLIL learners. At this point it is important to mention that the learners were aware that the direct listener shared the same mother tongue, therefore in their understanding the use of their L1 would not directly lead to a communication breakdown, that is to say might or might not have used a different CS if the researcher had been a native speaker of English.

Nevertheless, the results lead to the impression that the learners are accustomed to the use of German in the foreign language classroom as they had difficulties or did not attempt to overcome lexical gaps successfully by explaining or paraphrasing (13 incidents of approximation and circumlocution). Although, the overall use of unsuccessful communicative strategies, like code switching, foreignizing or the invention of words does not seem vast in number, considering the amount of used words and the number of speech events containing probable unfamiliar terms, this small amount is mainly due to the avoidance of difficult situation by the majority of the learners, who simply left out whole events of the story where potential problems were expected to occur. This means that in the overall number of 59 communicative strategies used, 18 successful and 41 unsuccessful CSs does not seem a large number considering the total number of 4348 words used and the number of problematic lexical items identified. However, especially the non-CLIL learners avoided large parts of the story where these items appeared, a form of content reduction that was not considered as communicative strategy in this research as the conscious application of this strategy cannot be reconsidered.

## 6.5 Discussion

The findings of this study are aimed at the children's diverse starting position as they had received different language instruction during their primary school education. Generally speaking, the overall results varied for the particular areas investigated, for example with regards to the macro-level, all learners have gained more or less the same narrative competence and mainly differed in story length or richness in detail. All the learners have clearly reached a cognitive level where they are able to tell a cohesive narration, containing necessary plot and story elements and to include reasonable and emotional comments on the main characters actions to some extent. A reason for the non-existence of group differences is that oral and written narratives are probably a substantial element of foreign language classes especially at the lower levels in the children's first and second language. Therefore, the learners are all familiar with minimal narrative elements as they were all able to create successful narrations, even with a limited language knowledge. Compared to the results of former studies on narrative development in foreign language learning presented in section 2.5. the majority of the learners of both groups have reached the final level of narrative competence in a foreign language defined by Álvarez (2006). At this stage learners have achieved a language level where they can use their syntactic and morphological language knowledge to establish a temporal structure of events and integrate shifts of aspect as well as evaluative features. Although the majority of the learners uses these features at a rather basic level, compared to the narration of the native speaker, who showed a better performance with respect to advanced syntactic relationships and more sophisticated word choice, their overall narrative competence has reached a high level in their considerable short learning period, especially of the non-CLIL learners.

However, the CLIL group showed a slight advantage concerning the elaborateness of their narrations, while most learners of the non-CLIL group avoided difficult language situations. This perhaps can be ascribed on the one hand to the regular contact with native speakers in their primary school, where they were obliged to find a way to express their needs in English and on the other hand to the diverse language situations

they might encountered in their CLIL classes as they had to respond to all kinds of topics and actions with a rather limited language knowledge right from the beginning of their school career – both circumstances could lead to an extended language flexibility and fostering of expressing events even if they exceed their language knowledge. These findings correspond with former results of studies on CLIL, where the positive effect of CLIL were also assigned to a greater language flexibility, extended risk-taking and better spontaneous speech productions (c.f. Dalton-Puffer 2011).

With regards to the mastering of the language system, focusing on the ability to find an anchor tense and the production of correct tense forms, the CLIL learners seen as a group showed a better overall performance in both areas. Nevertheless, an observation of the individual performances has illustrated that some of the non-CLIL learners can reach equally good results and have reached the same level as the CLIL learners with lower performances or even surpassed them. Concerning the creation of correct tense forms, earlier studies have shown that the development of morphemes is a linear process in foreign language learning and some morphemes are acquired earlier than others. As Álvarez (2006) as well as Goldschneider and DeKeyser (2001) imply, third person –s and regular past –ed morphemes are acquired at a rather late stage and need more time to be applied in language performances, although most learners are introduced to them at an early stage of instruction. This clearly explains the widespread use of base forms among the weaker performances and the difficulty to distinguish between tense switches or form mistakes, but also gives reason for the overall better performance of the CLIL group as these learners had more time to continue their morphological progression due to an earlier start. The diverse results among the singular learners of the two groups proof that each individual progresses at his or her own pace depending on personal language learning aptitude and motivation.

Similar observations were made concerning the use of communicative strategies mainly with respect to the frequency of drawing on a communicative strategy and the successful use of it. Here again the CLIL learners as a group showed better results, as they used less code switches but individual learners had to rely on first language use or other unsuccessful forms of communicative strategies equally to their non-CLIL peers. As it has been mentioned before, the expectations that the learners were more capable of coping with unknown lexical items in a successful way, that would

not presuppose any knowledge of the German language on the side of the listener, were not met entirely. Although the CLIL learners showed higher language flexibility in general, concerning the integration of more details and a higher amount of risk taking in their performances, three of the five learners still drew on unsuccessful communicative strategies, when they encountered a lexical gap.

Drawing an overall conclusion of the results leads to the notion that the persistence of the language benefit that the learners of the INS enter secondary school with depends heavily on the individual learner. The foreign language fostering surrounding offered in the INS leaves distinct traces in the learners with a specific language learning aptitude that is still noticeable after one year in a traditional secondary school, as the best overall performances of oral narratives concerning the macro- and micro level were clearly on the side of the CLIL group. This, however, does not mean that there were no good performances among the non-CLIL group. As the learners that went through a traditional primary school EFL education had had one year to reach the same level where the learners from the INS started out at, some of the performances of the non-CLIL group achieved the same quality as those of the CLIL learners to some extent or even exceeded the weaker performances of the CLIL group in some areas, for example in their consistent use of correct verb forms.

Therefore the composition of the whole group after one year tends towards a small number of higher achievers of the CLIL group, a mixture of learners from both groups just below the top level and the rest of the learners of the non-CLIL group that are slightly behind the others in their language learning competence with respect to the production of oral narratives.

It is difficult to make a prognosis if, when or in what sense the learners of the non-CLIL group will reach the same level to full extent as the former INS students as language learning always depends strongly on the personal aptitude and motivation of the individual learners. It is clear however, that the slight benefit of the group that is still noticeable after one year, will decrease slowly for most of the CLIL learners as long as there are no ways found to continuously foster their language advantage they have gained in their primary school education right when they enter secondary stage. For obvious financial and organisational reasons, the standard of foreign language instruction the way it is conducted in the International School in St.Pölten cannot be realized at a national level in all Austrian primary schools. However, their overall bet-



ter performance even after one year without specific support of their already gained knowledge, promotes the findings of Barbara Buchholz (2007). She claims that foreign language teaching in primary schools can definitely encourage better overall language skills, but the advantageous education only makes sense if ways are found to incorporate and foster the diverse language levels learners enter secondary school with. Of course, this is not only true for the small number of learners of the INS who have a reasonable advantage, but I believe that in none of the other main subjects (German and Math) the diversity between the learners who enter secondary school in respect to their prior knowledge is as tremendous as in English. For the future the results of this study suggest that, as long as learners enter secondary school with such a large range of prior knowledge and diverse level of foreign language competence, ways have to be found to further encourage the language learning of the learners with a beneficial starting point rather than ignore their competence and wait until all learners have reached more or less the same level.

## 7 CONCLUSION

The overall aim of this paper was to compare the oral narratives of learners with a CLIL and non-CLIL background in their primary school education. This comparison was based on recordings of oral narrative stories based on a wordless picture story after one year of foreign language education of the former CLIL and non-CLIL learners in the same classroom where the learners of both groups were confronted with the same teacher and similar topics, materials and teaching methods.

The first part of this paper created the theoretical background for a successful analysis of the different areas of interest in this research. On the one hand, the evaluation of an overall narrative competence and its development in children as well as foreign language learners on a cognitive and linguistic level was discussed. Furthermore, in the second section of the theoretical part this paper included the theoretical basis for the emergence and categorisation of communicative strategies in order to analyse their appearance in the samples of the practical part. Finally, an insight into the concept of CLIL, its promoted benefits on language learning and the outcomes of recent research studies was given in order to reveal the diverse starting point of the two groups of interest.

The research question of this paper was targeted at the benefits of la group of learners who started secondary school with a clear advantage in their foreign language education compared to their peers. It was asked whether the learners with a CLIL background in their primary school education and a presupposed beneficial starting point concerning their language level outperformed their non-CLIL peers in their creation of oral narratives. For an overall result a better performance of the CLIL learners was expected due to the following reasons:

- Previous studies comparing CLIL and non-CLIL learners have shown a better result for the CLIL learners especially with regards to spontaneous oral speech production including the model study of this paper by Julia Hüttner and Angelika Rieder Bünemann (2012).
- CLIL learners are assigned a better language flexibility and higher amount of risk-taking as discussed in section 4.
- As the CLIL learners were already introduced to the past tense simple during their primary school education a better performance with regards to the

creation of an anchor tense and the avoidance of form mistakes was supposed for the CLIL group as they had had more time to process the syntactic structures.

- In terms of communicative strategies, the CLIL learners were expected to rely less on L1 motivated strategies due to their regular contact with native speakers of the target language and the diversity of topics and language situations they had to deal with in the target language during their primary school education.

Although in most areas of this research the CLIL learners as a group achieved a better performance it is not justified to claim that all learners of the CLIL-group produced more successful oral narratives in the respective fields of analysis. Instead the hypothesis was only met to some extent and was not true for all learners from an individual perspective as some learners of the non-CLIL group have reached a similar language competence as some of the CLIL learners or even outperformed them in specific areas. Nevertheless, a clear foreign language knowledge benefit was still noticeable in the CLIL group especially in the learners with a specific language learning aptitude who created the best performances.

It has to be kept in mind, that the findings of this paper were drawn from a very specific educational setting as only very few children in Austria get the chance to encounter such a particular foreign language promoting environment during their primary school education like the children who went to the International School in St.Pölten. The results of this study were only meaningful if the learners had received the exact same EFL education during their first year of primary school education, which led to a rather small number of samples. Therefore the results of this paper can only contribute to a limited degree to the research on the benefits of early language learning and of CLIL in a primary school context. However, the concurring results with previous studies on CLIL and the model study by Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann (2012) support the findings and the conclusions drawn.

Further research in this area of interest concerning EFL in primary schools and the transitional phase to secondary school has to work in two parallel dimensions. On the one hand ways have to be found to promote foreign language teaching in traditional

primary schools and guarantee a certain level of previous language knowledge for all learners in order to find a more homogeneous starting point for secondary school language teaching. On the other hand, as foreign language learning pace and ability is closely connected with the aptitude and motivation of the individual learners. Therefore further research has to concentrate on finding approaches to the diverse levels of language knowledge in the same class without leaving the weaker learners behind nor ignoring the competence of the learners with beneficial language skills. As the findings of this study have shown, a distinct long term sustainability of extended foreign language instruction on the primary level is not guaranteed if the language benefit of the learners is not encouraged further in their secondary school education.

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## APPENDIX A

### Appendix A1 – Evaluation questionnaire for the parents

#### Fragebogen:

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1.) Einverständnis:

- ☐ Ja, mein Kind darf an der Studie teilnehmen.  
☐ Nein, mein Kind darf nicht an der Studie teilnehmen.

3.) Mein Kind hat folgende Volksschule(n) besucht: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4.) Der Englischunterricht meines Kindes in der Volksschule umfasste in der 4. Klasse:

- ☐ Weniger als eine Wochenstunde  
☐ Eine Wochenstunde  
☐ Mehrere Wochenstunden - Anzahl: \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Weiß nicht

5.) Mein Kind konnte nach der Volksschule auf Englisch: (Mehrfachnennung möglich)

- ☐ Kaum etwas  
☐ Einige Worte  
☐ Kurze Sätze  
☐ Ganze zusammenhängende Sätze  
☐ einige Englische Lieder  
☐ einige Englische Gedichte/Reime  
☐ auf Englisch Lesen  
☐ auf Englisch Schreiben
- 

Name des Kindes: \_\_\_\_\_

Alter des Kindes: \_\_\_\_\_

Geschlecht des Kindes: ☐ weiblich ☐ männlich

Muttersprache des Kindes: \_\_\_\_\_

Weitere Sprachen des Kindes: \_\_\_\_\_

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Datum

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Unterschrift

## Appendix A2 - Transcriptions

**F1** (INS + Biku Preschool + Biku Kindergarten; mother tongues: German + Japanese)

once upon a time there was a boy called freddy and his dog joe. they found a frog three days ago and put it into a jar. one day a one night the frog came out of the jar and jumped away. On the next day (.) freddy and joe wanted to feed the frog but there were no there was no frog in the jar. first freddy looked into a boot ahm into his boots and j-joe looked into the jar but his head got stuck so he had to wear the glass. the next they looked out of the window and called froggy where are you but there were no— there was no sign of froggy. suddenly joe jumped out of the window and the jar cracked. freddy said you bad boy now you have to an- next time I won't bring you with me. some minutes later they were in the woods. joe was looking for the for freddy and found a <pvc> beestock {beehive}</pvc>. In the meanti- time freddy was calling his name. first freddy looked into a hole and and f- joe tried to catch the <pvc> beestock {beehive} </pvc> because he thought the frog was in there but it was a huge mistake (.) because joe was bo-boxing on the tree and the <pvc> beestock {beehive} </pvc> fell down. ahm when when freddy was looking in a hole a rat ca- like looked out and freddy just got shocked and hit his nose. The <pvc> bees- the beestock {beehive} </pvc> fell down and the bees were attacking th- were atta-attacking joe. joe runs away like runs around and freddy looks into a hole int-in a bi-in a big tree. In the big tree there was a owl. the owl wanted to- was scared of freddy so she scared him away. ahm joe is still running away of the bees, but th- ah Freddy was about to run away but he just said oh go away I I didn't wanted to hurt you. he freddy just ahm climbed on the stone and shouted freddy where ah I mean froggy where are you. there were a lot of branches so so he couldn't see but all of a sudden a deer came out and freddy was stuck on hi- on his horns. the deer didn't notice him and wanted to drink some m- water and joe was just ahm joe got rid of the bees and run after freddy. as the deer wanted to drink both of- both of them fell into the water. now joe heard something. and freddy heard something too so both got quiet and whis-a and freddy whispered be quiet there is something behind this log. both looked over the log and there was freddy's father and mother and his and their childrens. bo- ahm the two (.) boys took the froggy back and said good bye mother and father and your children and went back home.

### **M1 (INS + Preschool)**

once upon a time there was a boy a dog and a frog. the frog was in a glass. the three friends were in the bedroom and a few minutes later the boy and the dog fell asleep and the frog jumped out of the g-glass and ju- and ran away. the boy and the dog woke up and they didn't know where the frog is. they looked everywhere. and then the dog put his head in the glass and he can't put it off of his head. now they shouted the frog- they shouted the frog's name and the dog fell <@> out of the window </@> and the gl- glass broken. the boy was very angry. then they walked into a wood and they (.) because they wanted to look for the frog. ahm the dog found a the do-the dog s-saw many bees and their nest. and they ran to the nest. but the boy found a hole in the earth. there wa- in the hole was a mouse and he was <@> very scared </@>. and the dog put the fr-front legs on the tree and then the nest of the bees fell on the ground. the bees were very angry and the dog ran away. the boy climbed on a tree and there he found a a hole. an owl came out and th-the child fell out of the hole. and in this time the bees followed th- the dog. after a few minutes the boy climbed on a rock but he didn't know that behind these bushes that there was a deer he thought that it is some wood and he shouted the frog's name again. and then the deer <@> was very angry </@> and ran with the boy and the dog to a pond. the the two friends fell in in the pond and the deer was very happy. yeah and the two friends were veryy (how do you say) <whispering> <L1> wie heißt das </L1> </whispering> Ok. now the two friends found a wood again and (.) the boy said shh to the dog and they looked behind the rock and they saw two frogs and then frog babies came out of the grass and they were very happy. then the child took one of the babies and he said good-bye to the frogs.

### **F2 (INS)**

one day a boy have a little frog in a bowl. he love his frog. in the night the frog climbed out of the bowl. the boy didn't see it because he slept. at the next day the boy was very sad about the whole ah about the (3) about the missing frog. he looked every everywhere and he doesn't find his frog. then he opened the window and shout frog frog where were you (3) but what's that? ahm the little boy's dog felt out of the window and broken the bowl of the frog. the boy must (.) go to the dog and (8) and (10) go ah to the the (6) wood. ahm he shout again frog frog where were you. then he looked in a hole. there lived a ham- a hamster. he is not very happy about the (.) the little boy looking in his hole. then the boy (.) saw a big big

tree. in there in the tree ah is ah big hole also. in the hole lived ahm a owl. (4) the owl (5) the boy fell down of the tree and were va- were very sad about that that he fi- that he not find his frog. the owl <pvc> (forwar) {followed} </pvc> the boy and the boy come to a (5) stone to a big big stone. he climbed on the stone and hold (.) hold (3) on a tree. but what's that? the tree doesn't was a tree it was a <pvc> reintier {reindeer} <ipa> reɪnti:r </ipa> </pvc>. the <pvc> rei-reintier {reindeer} <ipa> reɪnti:r </ipa> </pvc> (..) the <pvc> reintier {reindeer} <ipa> reɪnti:r </ipa> </pvc> went to a (11) went to a (10) a sea ah a river went to a river and (6) and the boy (3) fall down into the river. there he was very (3) scared about the <pvc> reintier {reindeer} <ipa> reɪnti:r </ipa> </pvc> but what's that? the boy <pvc> heard <ipa> hɪərd </ipa> </pvc> a frog or two frogs? he looked behind the big big tree. his dog helped him. there are two frogs. one of the two frogs were ah were his frog (.) and and then there come five little frogs. the boy (4) the boy took a little frog and went happy at home.

### F3 (INS-CLIL)

ah one day a boy sat next to his frog. his dog ah sat ah looked into the glass where the frog ah (3) was. ahh then he went to s-sleep and but the dog ah the frog went out of the glass and was away. the next day the boy was very sad because the frog was away. he looked everywhere but he couldn't find the frog so he ah shouted the name of the frog but the frog didn't come ahm (3) again. so he jumped out of the window but the dog ah ah fell out of the window and (4) ah yes. then he went into the forest and screamed the name of the ah frog but he couldn't find the frog. the dog (.) saw ahm a (2) <whispering> what's this? </whispering> - SH: *try to describe it.* and he and the dog saw a ahm a bee (3) saw many bees. ah the boy looked into a hole but it smelled really (4) not good. suddenly the bee the bees saw the dog and they wanted to <pvc> pitch {sting} </pvc> the dog. ah the boy s- ah climbed on a tree and looked in a whole of a tree. ahm but there wasn't the frog. suddenly a owl came out. then the boy ah ahhh climbed on a ahh a (4) on a stone a big stone and and screamed again the name of the frog but he couldn't find it again. Ah (.) ahm (4) then he (3) he thought that the that ahm (6) ahm that this ahm <L1> geweih </L1> ahm (3) ah <whispering> <L1> geweih was heißt geweih? </L1> </whispering> - SH: <L1> kannst dus ahm anders sagen oder fällt dir ein anderes wort ein? </L1> - ahm he thought that the Geweih are ahm a tree, but suddenly it be- it was a animal. he sat on the animal and the animal ran away. and he pushed the boy into the river. ah in the river he saw ahm a (6) ahm ah (8) he saw ahm a

tree (3) <pvc> stam {trunk} </pvc> ? - *SH: a tree?* – <pvc> stam {trunk} </pvc> <L1> kann man stam sagen? </L1> - *SH: mhm.* - and he looked into it. on the other side of the tree <pvc> stam {trunk} </pvc> he saw his frog and another frog. it was the frog's wife. ahm behind the frogs there were many babyfrogs. the boy couldn't take the frog with ah him but he take a babyfrog. - *SH: good.* – with him.

#### **F4** (native speaker English/ INS-CLIL)

once upon a time there was a little boy and he had a dog (.) and a frog. he he was s-sleeping in his room (.) meanwhile in the night the frog sneaked out of his room and a he yeah was gone. ahm the boy ah at in the morning the boy woke up and he couldn't find the do-the frog and the dog searched ah helped him search helped him searching for the frog. they couldn't find him in his house so they went outside. they couldn't find him in the garden so they went to the forest. the dog got distracted by a beehive and the boy was still searching for him. the dog got chased by bees and the boy ran after the dog cause he because he didn't want to lose the dog – *SH: can you use the book okay? so that you tell us the same story as the others. okay?* - the dog ah the boy was looking into a hole and he saw a (.) mole? and and he got scared of it @. then he searched in a tree and all he saw was an owl and the owl pushed him off the tree s-so he fell off. the dog was chased by bees and – *SH: you missed a page* - the boy stepped onto a s- climbed a rock and then he saw a deer, the deer pushed him off a cliff @ and his dog was ah following the boy. the the deer pushed him off the cliff and they fell in-into a pond. they heard a quaking from somewhere and (3) they searched around the pond and behind the log there were there was a frog family. they took a frog and went back home.

#### **M2** (INS-CLIL)

ahm one day there was a boy – *SH: use the book okay?* – ahm (3) there was a boy and he had a frog the boy ah it was at night and the boy must sleep now and then he sleep but the frog is going out of the glass and at the next day the boy ahm didn't see the frog in the glass. the then they ahm ahm (.) they ah and they ah ahm and they fin- <L1> aso </L1> (3) ahm and they looked for the frog and the dog i- ahm ahm had ah ahm was in a glass with his head and then he did not became the glass off and then he the boy and the dog ahm are going out <L1> aso </L1> ahm are going to the window and the boy shouted but the dog fall out of the



window and the boy looked after. then the boy came and the dog mm and he ahm and he was angry about the dog. then they come to the wood ah the boy shouted and there was no answer. ahm the boy looked aso ahm looked in a whole and the dog is barking ahm at a at the <pvc> beans {bees} </pvc> and ah and ah in the whole there was a ah ah (3) ah ah (5) mh ahm (2) in the whole there was a (5) hhh (5) ah ahm a-a little <L1> maulwurf {mole} </L1>? - *SH: okay.* - ah and the dog is barking at the <pvc> beans {bees} </pvc> and the bo-and the and the little <pvc> maul {mole} <ipa> maʊl </ipa> </pvc>- is ahm ha- did the boy bite. -*SH: mhm.-* then the the <pvc> beans' {bees} </pvc> nest fall out ahm fall down and the dog ahm looked at the nest and the boy looked at the next hole. in the hole there was a owl and the boy fall out of the tree and the <pvc> beans {bees} </pvc> ahm fly after the dog – *SH: ups you skipped a page* - ahm the owl fly also after the boy ahm f- ahm hh and the bo- and the owl let him (.) go ah let him go after time then the boy is going on a rock an shouted (.) and the dog is ahm left the rock. ahm then ah the boy ahm is on the head ahm is on the head ahm the boy is on a (5) hhh <L1> hirsch's </L1> head and and the <L1> hirsch </L1> ran and there was ahm a <pvc> clip {cliff} </pvc> and the dog run also with the <L1> hirsch </L1> - *SH: good, okay* – ahm then the <L1> Hirsch </L1> stopped and the boy fall-fall-falled off with the <L1> aso </L1> and the dog <L1> aso </L1> hh and the boy fall over the <clears throat> the <L1> hirsch's </L1> head and he fall into a river also the dog. – *SH: mhm.-* then he heard a noise and the dog also and they went there and the boy ahm said to the dog be quiet and the boy ahm looked wha- from where the noise coming from and the boy also <L1> aso </L1> and the dog also and they saw two frogs and (.) and they were happy and then other frogs ahm li-little other little frogs are coming and and then the boy and the dog were really happy and they and the the the frogs gave the boy a little frog and then the boy was happy and went home.

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### **M3** (non CLIL)

okay. one day there was a a boy and his dog. he lived in a little village ya he lived in a little village. one day ahm his dog catch a a frog and the boy wa- was so lucky that he has got ah a frog. but one night the frog run away. at the next day the the boy ca-can't see the glass but the (.) the frog wasn't there. ahm he ahh (4) <L1> xx xxx </L1> he looked at ahm he looked (.) hmmmm okay <L1> egal </L1> he is going to the window and shouted for ah shouted out

ahm yah. but suddenly the his dog fall out of the window. ah the boy is going to his dog and ah (3) is going to ya is going to ya to the dog. - *SH: mhm.* - okay they shouted to the woods near his house. ah but he can't hear the frog. - *SH: mh.* - ah the young boy put his nose in a hole on the ground and shouted for his frog but he became no answer from the frog. ahm ya i: okay. now he he climbed t-ah on a tree. he shouted in a in a hole in tree but there wasn't a frig-ah the frog not. <clears throat> ah he fall out o-ah he fall from the tree but he ah okay he fall I he fall from from the tree and an owl because an owl wasn't there. they ah he r-run away from the owl he can't see ah a big stone. now he climbed to the top of the of the stone he shouted for the frog but there wasn't no answer. he (.) he can't see that there was a ah <L1> reh? </L1> ah (2) @ - *SH: okay.* - yeah okay ahm he he ran away and he fall ou- he fall into a little (.) ah river. - *SH: mhm* - suddenly he hear his frog - *SH: mhm.* - he looked he looked to the to the old tree - *SH: mhm* - ahm yeah and there he can't f- he can't find his frog. - *SH: mhm* - he was very lucky and go home. with his frog.

#### **F5 (non-CLIL)**

one day tim @ (3) had a frog. It was night and he (4) played @ (.) with his dog and his frog. (9) @ (6) at nine o'clock it was late and he goes to bed. he sleep @ - *SH: hmm it's okay.* - (4) the frog hmm (12) the frog goes out of the glass (3) and the next day tim wakes up and (.) saw to the frog. but he didn't see it. - *SH: mhm* - (13) tim hmm @ (19) <L1> was heißt no- chmal suchen? </L1> (5) tim look for his dog ah for his frog - *SH: <L1> Ja genau </L1>.* - and his dog too. he (.) mhhh (2) he wear his hm (4) his clothes (.) and then he looks out of the window (2) and shouted for his frog. - *SH: mhm* - but no <pvc> answer {answer} <ipa> 'æ:swɔ:r </ipa> </pvc>. (3) the dog hm (7) was with his ahm head in the glass (6) and he fall out of the window. - *SH: <whispering> yes </whispering>.* - tim was scared and he goes (3) ahm in his garden (.) and he was very angry ahm - *SH: mhm.* - with his dog. - *SH: mhm.* (4) okay.- hmm (6) his dog wasn't now in the glass (4) @ (3) and they (2) shouted and goes (.) the way ahm to ahh to a big @ tree. (3) The dog saw a ahm (15) mmh - *SH: <L1> versuchs zu beschreiben wennst das wort nich- </L1> he saw a=* - =ahm he saw a yellow mmmh (6) <L1> Oh mein gott ich weiß nicht mehr was bienen heißt </L1> - *SH: @ macht nix.* - the dog saw a <L1> bienennest </L1> - *SH: mhm.* - and he (3) and tim saw on the ground a (12) hh (7) hh <L1> ein Loch </L1> - *SH: okay.* - he lay down on the ground and suddenly there was a hm (5) a small pet (5) - *SH: mhm.* - hh (6) hmm - *SH: <L1> ja </L1>.* - the <L1> bienennest </L1>

- *SH: mhm.*- fall out of the tree (4) ahm (5) and tim looks in a <L1> loch </L1> in a tree but they didn't find the frog but tim find in the <L1> loch </L1> an owl. the @ <L1> bienen </L1> ran to tim's dog (.) and tim and his dog ran ah (xxx) ran ran away (4) from the owl and the bees. *SH: Mhm.*- ahm Tim saw @ on the way an big hm m (4) rock - *SH: <L1> ja. </L1>* - and he h-hide hides hm and he stand hm stand a- ahm off the big rock. (9) There come a w- ah <L1> hirsch </L1> and (12) ah and <L1> stoßt </L1> tim and his dog in a lake. - *SH: mhm.* - <L1> Ja. Ja. </L1> suddenly they hear they hear their frog under ah <L1> aso </L1> behind a hm a <L1> umgefallenen </L1> tree. - *SH: mhm.* - tim says shht to his dog and they look quickly behind the <L1> also umgefallenen </L1> tree - *SH: mhm.* - there they saw tim's frog with his- also with an- another frog. (10) the ahm their frog hm was ah also <L1> verliebt </L1> - *SH: mhm.* - and the frogs had hmm seven small also frogs {school bell rings} hm - *SH: and next?* - they went <L1> ohne also ohne </L1> their frog home and ja @. (6) hm and one little frog they <L1> xx mitnahmen </L1> (4) hmhm with them home. {sb knocks on the door} *SH: mhm.*

#### **F6 (non-CLIL)**

it was a boy a dog and a frog. at night the boy is going to sleep and the frog jumped out of the glass. in the morning the boy wake up and looked on the glass but the frog isn't here. he- the boy looked under his pullover in the glass and under his shoes but the frog isn't here. the boy (2) shouted freddy fr-fro-freddy where are you? then the then the dog fall (.) out of the window with the glass from the frog freddy. the boy was very angry and shouted freddy where are you but there is no answer. then the boy shouted in a <pvc> hule {hole} <ipa> hu:l </ipa> </pvc> freddy where are you but but there is no answer. then he looked in a <pvc> hule {hole} <ipa> hu:l </ipa> </pvc> in a tree and shouted freddy where are you and but there is no answer. then he stood on a stone and shouted freddy where are you and was very very (6) ah <L1> nein </L1> ah but it but there is no fr- but there is no fre-frog freddy but ah big pet @. the boy fall into the pond and said to the dog pssst then he <pvc> <ipa> hɪərd </ipa> </pvc> the frog. he looked behind a tree and saw the frog with a other frog. the-then the boy took his frog and said to the other frog good bye and go home.

#### **F7 (non-CLIL)**

a boy fred find (.) found a dog and (2) he gave him he gave the (.) frog in a glass and (7) - *SH:*

okay he gave the frog into the glass. - ahm (4) in his room his dog bello @ ahm (3) <L1> schnuppert? </L1> ah on the glass. ahm (5) while fred (.) sleep slept the frog (.) get out of the glass and (8) and (5) went to went out of the out of the window. - SH: mhm. - on a- at the mor- (2) on the morning ahm fred saw that that the fr- the frog was (6) out of the glass? - SH: mhm. - ahm (5) she (9) he (4) <screaming> ahhh </screaming> (7) he found it (.) aahm <L1> nirgens </L1>. ahm (.) his dog ahm gave his head in the glass <laughing> and </laughing> (.) get to the window. fred shouted for for the frog. ahm bello (5) fell out of the window (.) on the grass. fred came to him and bello (.) <L1> schleckte ihn ab </L1>. ahm (3) they went to to the (14) hh (5) <relieved> wood </relieved> - SH: to the wood yes. - to the wood and shouted for h- the frog. fred saw a (4) a (5) a hole and shouted in a ho- in a hole. bello (6) shouted ahm (6) at a <L1> wespennest? An </L1> ahm (4) the insects a came out of the nest - SH: mhm. - nest (.) nest and <L1> verfolgten </L1> bello. fred climbed (5) climbed and fell (.) out of the tree. bello r-ran in the woods and fred ah <L1> folgte ihm </L1>. he climbed at a rock and shouted for the frog (.) and for bello. ahm (5) - SH: mhm. - (7) bello was (5) - SH: what happens next? he shouts for the frog. - the frog ahm the (5) a other (4) animal ahm (5) <L1> hebte hebte fred hoch </L1> (4) and the animal (3) threw fred into a (4) <pvc> pound {pond} </pvc>. bello and fred fell along in the <pvc> pound {pond} </pvc>. they ch- they heard a a noise - SH: mhm. - (6) ah (4) they saw ah two frogs and then more frogs baby frogs - SH:@. - and they saw the frog (12) uh (8) fred and the frog and b- and bello went to fred's house and (3) the other frogs were happy.

#### **F8 (non-CLIL)**

once upon a time there was a little boy named tom. he was very lucky with his (.) birthday present it was a little frog. ahm he wanted to play with him but his mother came in and said that he must go to bed now. he slept very well but the frog wanted to do a little walk he went out of the glass and w- and went out of his of the room from tom. ahm on the next day tom woke up and was really sad because his frog wasn't in the glass. he he looked for his frog in his room but there was no frog. then he openend the window and shouted for help but nobody came and helped him. his dog his dog fell down on the- his dog fell down on the grass and the boy was angry because his dog ahm (4) mmh <L1> mhh kann ich nochmal von neu beginnen den satz auch? </L1> - SH: <L1> jajaja </L1>. - he was really angry and he went to the wood. there he shouted for his frog. he looked in a little hole and saw a little guinea-

pig but he didn't see his frog. then he climbed he then he climbed in a tree and and ah and saw a big hole but there was a owl. - *SH: mhm.* - and no frog. ahm a hm then he climbed on a big rock and and saw a deer. the deer pushed the boy into a little pond (.) and his dog fell down in the pond too. in the pond he looked for his frog again but he ca-couldn't see the frog. but then he he looked behind a wood and saw his frog with a woman and seven frog babies. he asked his frog ahm that he could take a frog to his house and the frog said that (.) that he could take a frog baby and now he went to his house and was very lucky about his new baby frog.

#### **F9 (non-CLIL)**

ah once upon a time i play with my new frog freddy. - *SH: mhm.* - when i'm sleeping the dog (2) is jumping (5) off the glass - *SH: mhm.* - ahm in the morning i can't find find my frog. - *SH: wait you skipped a page. yes.* - i look in my shoes but I can't find him and my dog look in the glass but freddy wasn't there. i opened the window and cried freddy - *SH: mhm.* - my dog is falling off the window (3) ahhm (3) i'm jumping off the window and ah rescued them ah rescued him - *SH: okay.* - Then we go to the park (.) and look for freddy. i looked in a hole on the ground but freddy wasn't there. ah i looked in a hole on a tree but there was only a owl - *SH: mhm.* - ah (2) ten minutes later i i climbed on a rock - *SH: yeah.* - ah i cried again freddy. Ah one second later there was an animal (.) ah (4) then i sit on the animal and the animal ran to a (7) to a river. - *SH: mhm.* - ahm my dog and I lie down in the river. - *SH: mhm.* - i can hear a frog. my dog and i look behind a tree and there we can see frogs. - *SH: mhm.* - ahm (.) i put my frog and go home.

#### **M4 (non-CLIL)**

once upon a time there was a boy names jack and he had a dog names blacky and a frog. one night when he sleep the frog climbed out of of his glass - *SH: okay.* - and (3) go out of the window. - *SH: okay.* - hhhh ahm - *SH: yeah.* - in the morning jack and blacky (.) want to feed the frog but he wasn't there he-he wasn't in the glass. they look for him in in the room and in their house but the frog wasn't there - *SH: mhm.* - so blacky want to watch in the glass but when he look in them he stick stick stacked sticked - *SH: okay.* - in the glass. john (.) cried out of the window for the frog and blacky want to watch out but he fall down and the glass broken. jack was very angry and and blacky (2) ah <pvc> lacked {licked} <ipa> lækd </ipa>

</pvc> him in the face. ah john shouted again but ah to the woods but the frog were wasn't there and so he he goed to a hole in the ah floor <L1> ja </L1> hhh and blacky <pvc> belled {barked} </pvc> loudly to a (2) ahhh (4) whats? ah to a nest - SH: *mhm.* - of beans. - SH: *mhm.* - ah the the beans are very angry and he want to (3) ahhh (4) <pvc> pitch {sting} </pvc>? zw-? <pvc> pitch {sting} </pvc> him – SH: *okay.* - and the dog run away and the nest fall down. john watch in a hole in a in a tree and the beans are and ah blacky run ah to the woods and the beans are fo- ah follow him. - SH: *mhm.* - and one owl (2) ah said joh- sa:w a see John and he- and he want to \_ <pvc> kratz {scratch} <ipa> krʌts </ipa> </pvc> - SH: *mhm.* but john run away and he stand of a stone and cry again for the frog. suddenly there was a deer and he and when the deer (2) he see John he take it of his head go to a (2) ah mountain and (.) he let john fall down the mountain. - SH: *mhm.* - in a in a pond. ahm when john was in the pond he hear a quaky louds and he (2) hid (2) behind a <pvc> stamp? {trunk} </pvc> and when he watch behind the <pvc> stamp {trunk} </pvc> there was fred with another frog and a lot of little frog babies. - SH: *mhm.* - john take one of the little frog baby home with him than he don't want that the father go away from the little frog babies. ah so so john had a new frog and when the frog ran away he it it isn't ah \_ <L1> schlimm </L1> ah. - SH: *okay.* - ja. – SH: *okay. good.*

#### **F10 (non-CLIL)**

ahm one day a b- kid n-n-names ahm jack find a f-frog it was night and he must go to bed. ah how the kid sleep the frog run away and in the morning jack don't find it. - SH: *wait you skipped a page. yes here you go.* - ahm he (3) he (5) s- ah <L1> sucht </L1> he <L1> sucht </L1> the frog and he don't find it. he cried frog where are you. the dog fall out of the window and the kid was really angry. he cried and cried but the frog don't come. it was not in the hole and the frog play with the (2) ah (2) ahm (4) aha <L1> bienennest </L1>. it was not in the tree and the dog (3) ah and it's not <L1> also </L1> the frog was not in the tree (2) and the ne- <L1> bienennest </L1> fall out and the (2) ahm (.) <L1> bienen </L1> ahm fly away. - SH: *okay. @.* - it was not behind a sto-ah stone - SH: *Yes.* - and the guy cry (3) ahm (11) again hh cray again. the (5) the guy ahm st- ah the guy stand on a <L1> hirsch </L1> and the <L1> hirsch </L1> run and the (2) guy fall out of a- fall out. – SH: *okay.* - it l-land on a <pvc> pound {pond} </pvc> and then he hear a frog he show and there was-s-s a frog and there was the frog with a frog girl. they have (.) frog babies – SH: <lauging> yes </laughing>. - and jack (3)

take a frog and go home.

#### **M5 (non-CLIL)**

ahh once upon a time there was a little boy ah and he became a frog. ah the boy was very happy and the frog ah (2) was very (cute). but ah (6) in the night the frog ahm (2) ran away and in the next ahm morning the boy cannot find the frog. he looked at the frog ah in the garden in the woods and in the holes. but he can not find the frog. suddenly the boy fell fell ah fell in a pond (.) and there was the frog. the frog had a family (.) ah a family and were and was lucky. the frog ah gave him a little frog (11) the boy was very happy.

#### **M6 (non-CLIL)**

a boy a dog and a frog lives in the boy's room. in the night the boy and the dog sleep on the bed and the frog climbed out of the glass. *SH: mhm.* - <clears throat> in the morning the boy and the dog <ipa> lʊkəd </ipa> for the frog but they don't find it. the dog ah s-looked into the glass and jumped out of the window. the glass break and the dog was very happy. the boy ahm but the boy not very happy. - *SH: mhm.* - they ran to a wood and shouted for the frog but they don't find it. ahhh they went to a tree there are flies? <L1> was sind wespen auf englisch? das haben wir noch nicht gelernt </L1>. - *SH: <L1> okay macht nix </L1> .* – okay <L1> also </L1> the flies catch the dog. the dog went ah away the boy the the (2) dog ah <L1> nach </L1>. <L1> ich weiß nicht was das heißt </L1>. okay the boy climbed a rock - *SH: mhm.* - and jumped on a deer. the deer went to a <pvc> pound {pond} </pvc> and the dog and the boy jumped into the <pvc> pound {pond} </pvc>. they saw a frog family and take a little frog to his room.

#### **F11 (non-CLIL)**

once upon a time there was a boy named jack. he found a frog near a pond. one night the frog is cl-climbed out of the glass. on the next day jack can-couldn't find the frog. he searched ahm in his shoes and the dog (4) ah (2) and the dog (.) searched in the glass. ahm the jack-cried froggy froggy where are you and the dog falled-fall out of the window. jack was very angry. ahm (5) jack jack cried near the wood ahm ahhh but the frog didn't came. jack searched in a whole and his dog (3) and his dog jumped ahm and his dog jumped ahm yeah and his dog jumped and barked very loudly. ahm in the whole there was only a mouse.

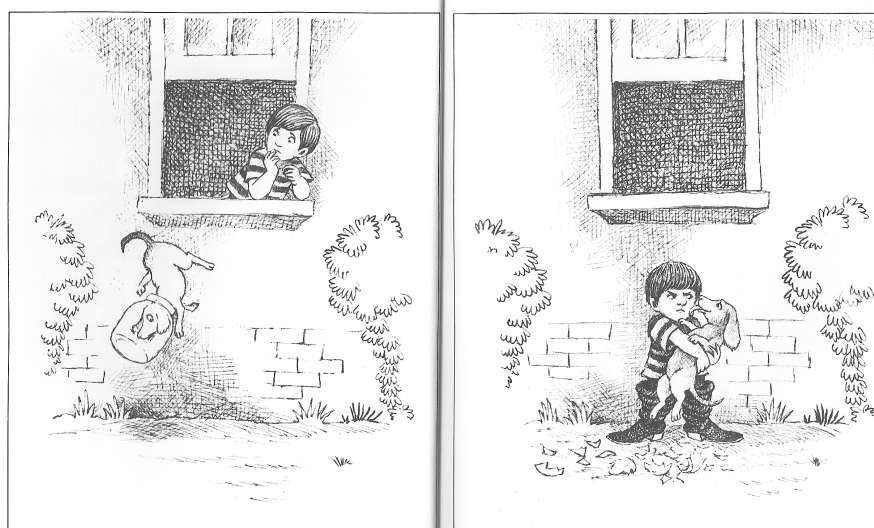
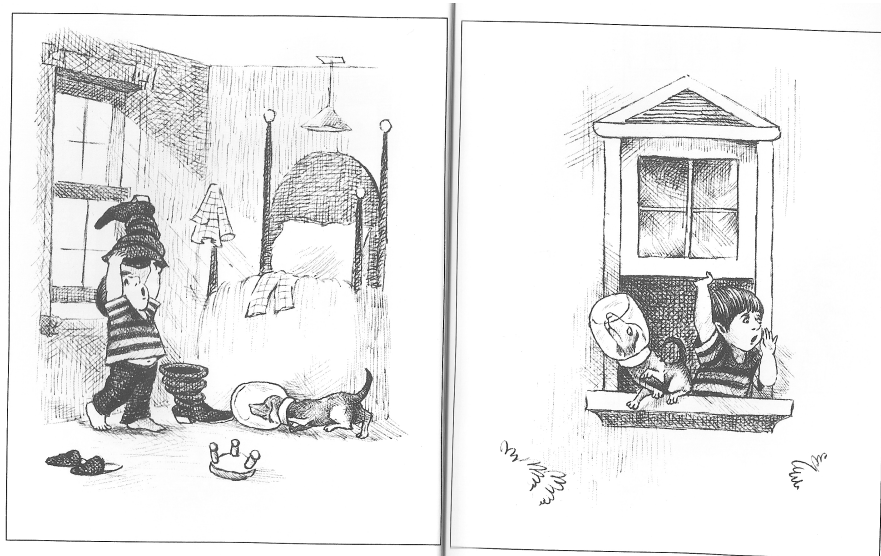
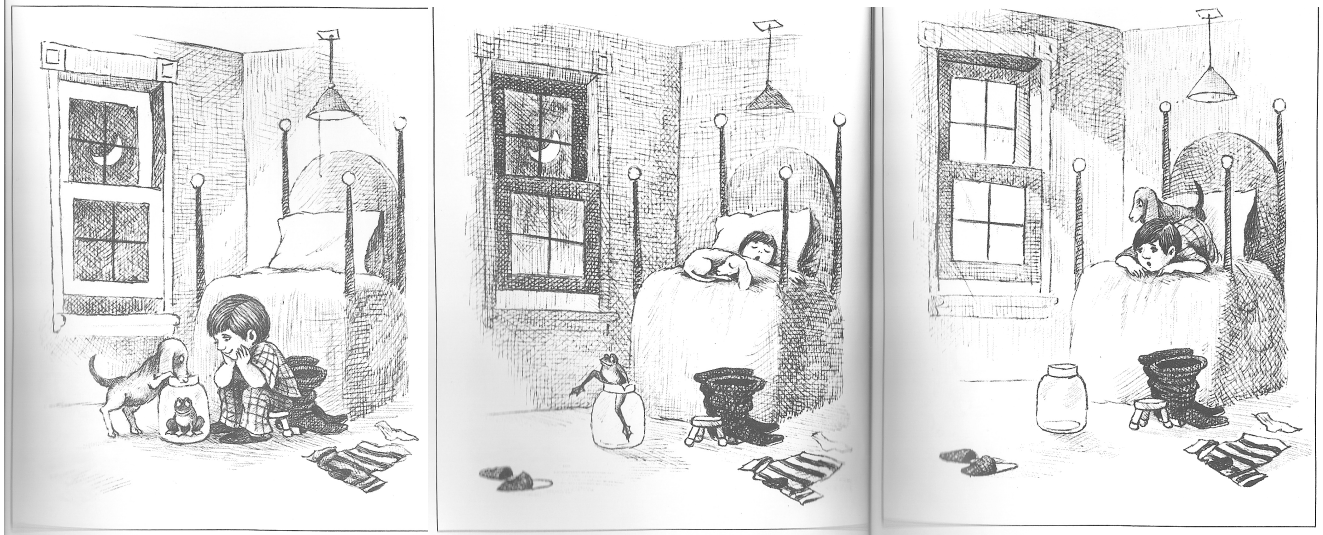
jack searched in a in a tree but there wasn't the but there wasn't the frog there was only a o-  
a owl an owl. the owl is follow him. jack cried again (.) but there wasn't the there wasn't the  
frog there was only a (5) <L1> ein hirsch </L1>. ahm (6) the (3) deer <L1> glaub ich wurscht  
</L1> - SH: *mhm.* - run away and jack sat on his hat. - SH: *mhm.* - near a (2) near a pond the  
dear ahm stopped. jack falled in the pond and the dog falled with him. jack was very ah jack  
was very (7) ahm (12) ahhhm. <whispering> <L1> Was heißt das? </L1> </whispering>. - SH:  
<L1> sag einfach was auf dem bild passiert. was passiert da? </L1>. - the dog climbed on  
jack's head because he saw a tree. ahm jack said shhht because in the tree ahm behind the  
tree ahm was something. ahm behind the tree there was the frog and ah and another fr-frog  
and very much little frogs. jack went back to his house and he takes a little frog with him.

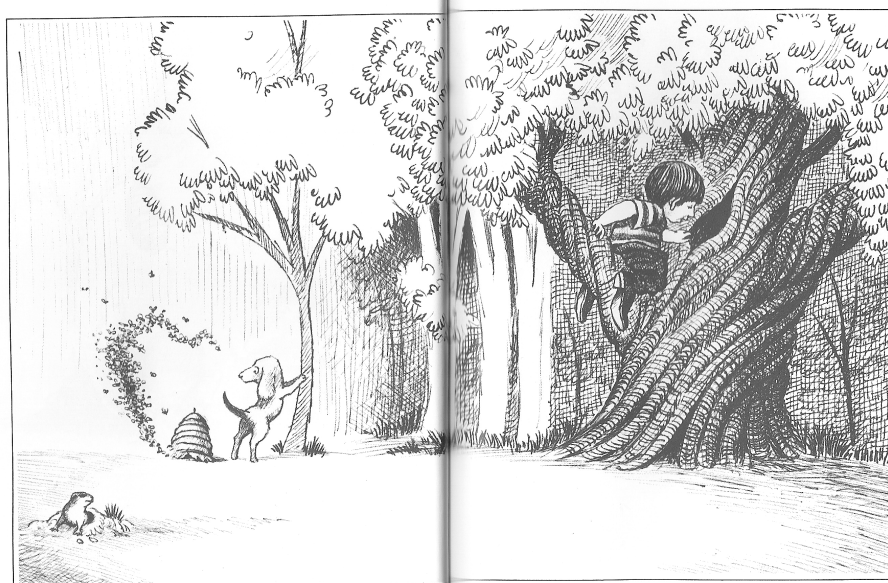
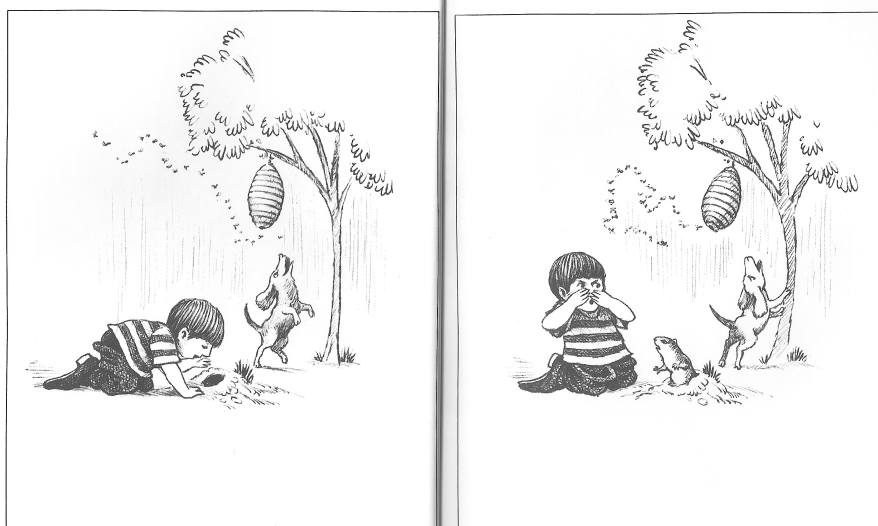
## **F12 (non-CLIL)**

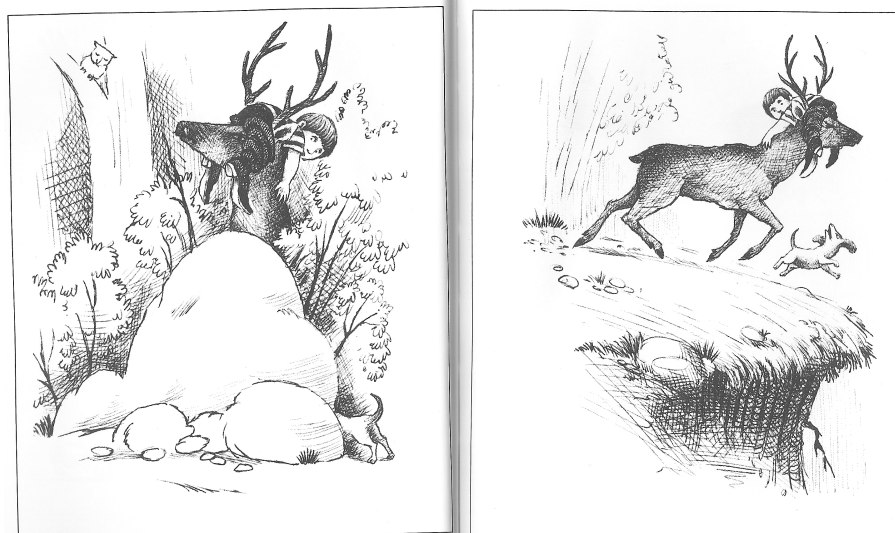
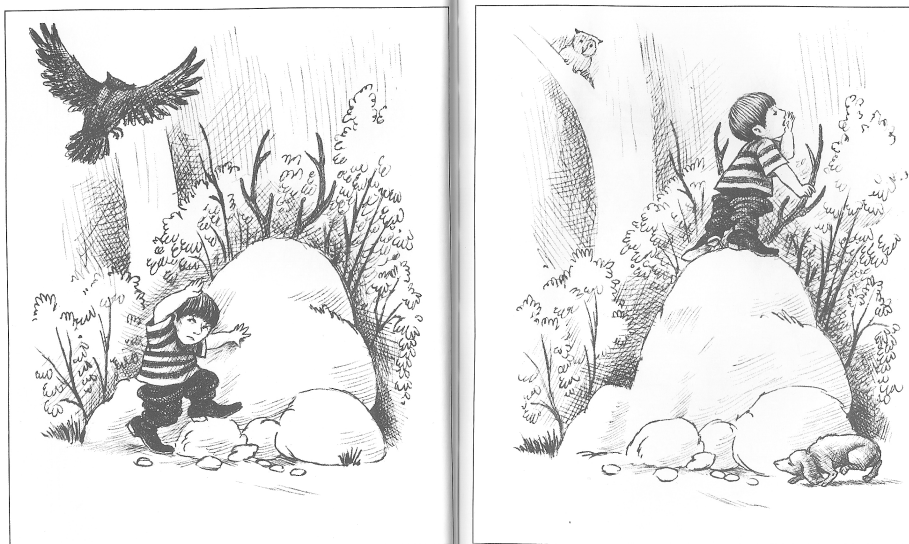
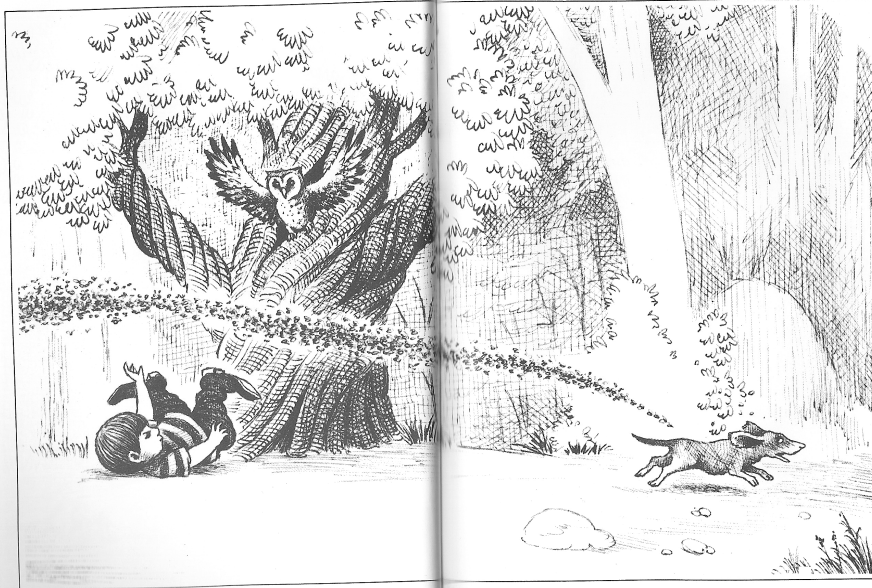
ahh a time there live a boy with a dog and a frog. at night they sleep but the frog go out of  
his glass. in the morning they wake up and the frog wasn't here. the boy turned over his  
shoes and the dog look at the glass. after time they look out of the window and shouted.  
then the dog <pvc> feel {fell} </pvc> out of the window. the boy <L1> ging </L1> ah @ went  
to his dog and save him @ - SH: *okay.* - bo-both both ge-go in the went in the wood and  
shouted. they looked ah they looked ahh to the tree and (3) ahh (3) look ah on the <L1>  
boden? </L1> floor <L1> und </L1> ah then the boy climb on a tree (4) the there came a owl  
and the boy falls from the tree the dog runs away. the boy saved him on a rock. suddenly  
there came a animal and ran (.) ahh away. then they sh- ahm the dog and the boy fall in a  
wa-water - SH: *mhm.* - then they climb out of the water and saw a tree. they climb over this  
tree and saw their frog with <pvc> money {many} </pvc> y-young frogs. they put ah a young  
frog and end.

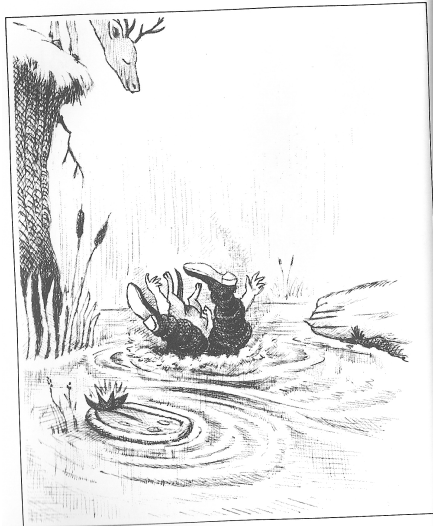
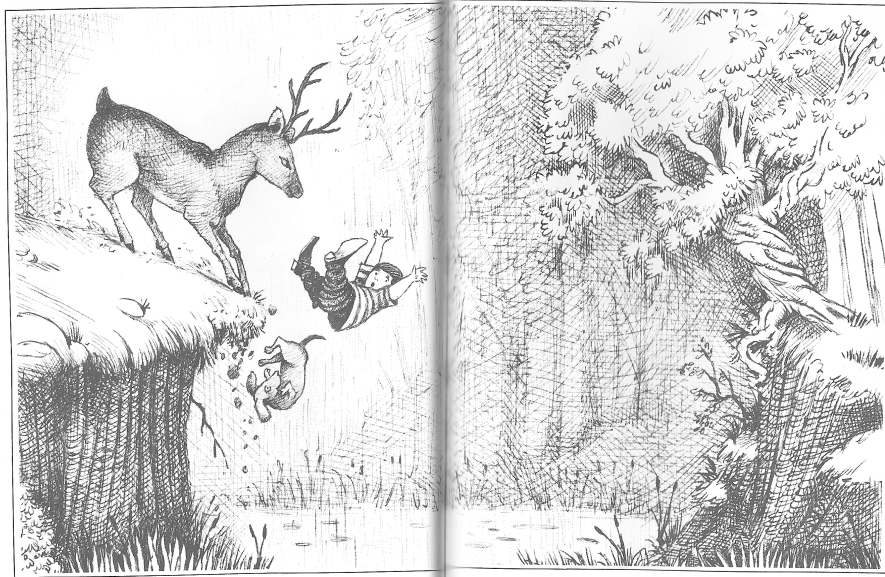


Appendix A3 – Picture story: “Frog where are you?”











## **APPENDIX B**

### **Abstract English**

This paper deals with oral narratives of children in order to reveal the possible differences between learners who had received extended foreign language instruction through CLIL in their primary school education in the International School St.Pölten (INS) and learners who went through traditional Austrian primary school EFL instruction. The learners were tested at the end of their first year in secondary school after they had spent one year in the same class without the former INS children receiving further CLIL instruction.

The first part of the paper presents the theoretical background for the analysis of oral narratives discussing narrative structure and the development of narrative competence in first language and second language learning. Furthermore, theories and models for the identification and classification of communicative strategies are presented. In addition to this, also the concept of CLIL, its supposed benefits and former research on CLIL in Europe is presented in the theoretical part of this paper.

The empirical part is aimed at the performances of the two groups of learners introduced above, discussing their narrative performances on two levels of analysis. The purpose of this paper was to find out in what ways the initial language benefit of the CLIL group is still noticeable after the first year of secondary school.

The results indicate that although effects of the extensive language instruction in the INS is still visible in some areas of the overall performance of the two groups, individual learners of the non-CLIL group show equally good results or even outperformed their CLIL peers to some respects. Therefore, the results of this study support the discussion of the sustainability of extended early foreign language programmes if the initial language benefit of the learners cannot be encouraged further in their secondary school education.



## **Zusammenfassung Deutsch**

Diese Arbeit befasst sich mit mündlichen Erzählungen von Kindern in Englisch als Fremdsprache mit dem Ziel, Unterschiede zwischen Kindern, die erweiterten Fremdsprachenunterricht durch Englisch als Arbeitssprache in der International School St.Pölten (INS) erhalten haben, und Kindern, die traditionellen Englischunterricht in verschiedenen Österreichischen Volksschulen erhalten haben, aufzuzeigen. Die Schüler und Schülerinnen wurden am Ende der ersten Klasse Gymnasium getestet, nachdem sie ein Jahr in der selben Klasse verbracht haben, ohne dass die Kinder aus der INS weiteren Unterricht in Englisch als Arbeitssprache erhalten haben.

Der erste Teil dieser Arbeit präsentiert den theoretischen Hintergrund für die spätere empirische Untersuchung der mündlichen Erzählungen und beschreibt Theorien für Erzählstrukturen und die Entwicklung der Erzählkompetenz bei Kindern in ihrer Muttersprache und in einer Fremdsprache. Weiters werden Modelle für die Erkennung und Klassifizierung von Kommunikationsstrategien in einer Fremdsprache erörtert. Außerdem wurden im theoretischen Teil dieser Arbeit das Konzept von CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), seine Vor- und Nachteile und ein Überblick über frühere Forschungsprojekte bezüglich CLIL in Europa vorgestellt.

Der empirische Teil der Arbeit konzentriert sich auf die Analyse der mündlichen Erzählungen der untersuchten Schülergruppen und bespricht die Ergebnisse auf zwei verschiedenen Ebenen. Das Ziel dieser Arbeit war es, herauszufinden auf welche Art die anfänglichen Sprachvorteile der INS Schüler und Schülerinnen nach einem Jahr im Gymnasium noch erkannt werden können.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass, obwohl gewisse Aspekte der erweiterten Fremdsprachenförderung in der INS noch immer erkannt werden können, wenn man die Gesamtleistung der beiden Gruppen betrachtet, einzelne Schüler und Schülerinnen der Gruppe, die keinen CLIL Unterricht erhalten hat, gleich gute oder teilweise bessere Ergebnisse aufweisen als manche Schüler der INS. Deshalb unterstützen die Ergebnisse dieser Studie die Diskussion über die Nachhaltigkeit von erweitertem Fremdsprachenunterricht in der Frühförderung von Fremdsprachen in der Volksschule, wenn keine weitere Förderung der erhaltenen Fremdsprachenkenntnisse im Gymnasium gegeben ist.

## APPENDIX C

### Curriculum Vitae

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#### **Personal Information**

Name	Sophie Hintermeier
Place of birth	St.Pölten, Austria
Nationality	Austrian
E-mail	sophie.hintermeier@gmx.at

#### **Education**

1994 - 1998	Primary School: VS Ratzersdorf (year 1 and 2) and VS Pottenbrunn (year 3 and 4)
1998 - 2006	Grammar School: Privatgymnasium der Englischen Fräulein" in St.Pölten
June 2006	school leaving examinations at „Privatgymnasium der Englischen Fräulein“ in St.Pölten
Since October 2006	Teaching degree studies in English and History at the University of Vienna

#### **Work experience**

2003-2006	Several summer jobs as nanny and shop assistant in a paper and toy shop in St.Pölten
Juli-August 2007	Summer-Au-Pair on the Isle of Man, UK
Oktober 2009-May 2010	Teaching Assistant for German as a Foreign Language in a Secondary School in Highcliffe on Sea, England

#### **Languages**

German  
English  
Spanish