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List of abbreviations

BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
BPVS III	British Picture Vocabulary Scale III
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CLT	Communicative language teaching
CPH	Critical period hypothesis
CUP	Common Underlying Proficiency
FL	Foreign language
IQ	Intelligence quotient
LAD	Language Acquisition Device
LD	Lexical diversity
LX	Additional language
L1	First language
L2	Second language
MTLD	Measure of Textual Lexical Diversity
SUP	Separate Underlying Proficiency
TPR	Total physical response
TTR	Type-token ration
TWI	Two-way immersion
UG	Universal Grammar
US	United States of America
ZPD	Zone of proximal development

Most important abbreviations used in the statistical analysis:

df	Degrees of freedom
N	Sample size
p	Probability value
SD	Standard deviation
t	T-static
Z	Standard score
χ^2	Chi square value

1. Introduction

Over the course of the past 100 years, the English language has gained great importance and pervasive influence. It is nowadays regarded as the dominant world language and is used internationally as a lingua franca across various fields such as science, medicine, technology, politics, finance, tourism, media and the entertainment industry (Baker & Wright 2017: 77, 409 and 411; Hoffmann 2000: 5; Seidlhofer 2011: 134-135). Hoffman (2000: 5) claims that the spread of English has also had an influence on bilingualism:

Although the dispersion of a language does not necessarily result in bilingualism or multilingualism, the spread of English has been a powerful promoter of both societal and individual bilingualism and multilingualism, and, in Europe at least, this is a new phenomenon.

Being able to speak more than one language is considered a valuable resource and is sometimes a requirement for specific professions. Learning an additional language can therefore constitute a potential to experience enhanced economic, cultural, vocational or educational opportunities (Baker & Wright 2017: 404; Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 1). Hence, the role that English plays has a major impact on education. However, it is not only English that has become important in education, but foreign language education in general has gained increasing attention in many countries, particularly in Europe and North America (Baker 2001: 374). As a result of this increase in foreign language education and the resulting bilingualism, the interest in studying bilingual subjects and different forms of bilingual education has grown. Most of the research conducted has focused on early childhood bilingualism or has concentrated on ways in which bilingual education is usually implemented, predominantly in the context of school (cf. Cummins & Corson 1997; García & Baker 2007; De Houwer 2009a). Bilingual kindergarten education, however, tends to be somewhat neglected.

Nevertheless, some studies did focus on the effect of early exposure to an L2. Nauwerck (2005), for example, focused explicitly on children who learn a second language in preschool, but concentrated mainly on children who acquire French in addition to German. Kromer (2009) focused on the difference between kindergarten-aged German monolinguals and German-English bilinguals in terms of their verbal development. Staudinger (2012) concentrated on picture book based storytelling in a German-English playschool and provides the reader with valuable insights into how certain factors, such as individual differences, affect

the learners' performance. However, the evaluation of receptive skills is missing in her study. Even though the works mentioned can be seen as important contributions to this field, it can be ascertained that further research is needed in order to shed light on the complexity of bilingual kindergarten education.

The thesis at hand explores the effectiveness of a German-English bilingual kindergarten: the English Playschool Linz. The main aims are to investigate the effectiveness of L2 instruction in this German-/English-speaking kindergarten, in terms of how proficient the children are when leaving the kindergarten, and also the development of the productive as well as the receptive English skills from year one (i.e. beginner group) until year three (i.e. advanced group). The focus will be on lexical abilities. It is also crucial to discuss how the lessons in this particular kindergarten are structured and whether any particular (language) learning approaches or methods are followed. This leads to the overall research question of interest in the present thesis: Which strategies are used in the English Playschool Linz to increase the children's lexical abilities and in how far can these strategies be considered effective?

Before addressing the accompanying study to this thesis in more detail, the relevant background information on bilingualism and bilingual education will be presented. The work at hand is divided into two main parts. The first part offers a theoretical perspective by giving insight into the current state of research in the fields of bilingualism and bilingual education and it serves as a basis for the second part, which addresses the empirical study conducted. The theoretical part is subdivided into two main sections. The first section offers an introduction to bilingualism and addresses the different perceptions of the term bilinguals, gives account of certain myths that have been associated with bilingualism in the past, covers a range of cognitive aspects and pursues the question what it means to be proficient in two languages. The second section focuses on the topic of bilingual education in childhood. Initially, different language learning theories will be explored, then different forms of bilingual education will be looked at in more detail, and lastly, particular teaching strategies will be dealt with. The empirical part is also composed of two subsections, the first of which serves to give an overall understanding of the study, its aims and the methods and test tools used. A triangulation of research methods was adopted. The British Picture Vocabulary Scale III (Dunn et al. 2009) serves to test the children's receptive skills, whereas the narration of the picture book story *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog] (Fechner 1982) aims to test the

productive skills. Furthermore, a parental questionnaire was used to capture relevant data on the children's linguistic background. In addition, interviews with the teaching staff were conducted in order to obtain information on the English Playschool Linz. In the second part, the data will be analysed and discussed and the research questions will be answered. In the final chapter, the findings will be summarised and expanded conclusions will be drawn.

A. Literature review

2. An introduction to bilingualism

2.1. Definition of bilingualism

2.1.1. The problem of defining bilingualism

There is not one straight-forward, agreed-upon answer to the question what it means to be bilingual. Instead, the definition of bilingualism has changed over time and from one researcher to another. Bloomfield (1935: 56), for example, defined bilingualism as "the native-like control of two languages". However, this definition seems very restrictive and raises the question of what native-like competence entails (Baker 2001: 6). Even native speakers of a particular language are not a homogenous group as they also differ in their language competences. Moreover, Bloomfield's definition implies a comparison to monolingual standards (Hamers & Blanc 2000: 6), an issue that will be addressed again in chapter 2.4.1.

On the other hand, there are contrasting definitions, such as Diebold's (1961: 99) concept of incipient bilingualism, which allows learners who are at the initial learning stage and who have a minimal proficiency only, to be considered bilingual. Another example is Macnamara's (1967: 59-60) definition which includes "persons who possess at least one of the language skills even to a minimal degree in their second language". What is important here is that he considers a person's minimal competence in (one of) the four language skills, namely speaking, listening, reading and writing, sufficient for describing this person as a bilingual. One reason for this is the argument that preschool children have not yet learned how to read or write, even though they are able to understand or even speak the respective language (Macnamara 1967: 59), a point that is highly relevant in the context of this thesis.

The examples listed above can be regarded as extreme viewpoints. However, other researchers have proposed more realistic definitions. Grosjean (2008: 10) views bilinguals as those “who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives”, which is similar to Hoffmann’s (2000: 3) definition - “the habitual use of two (or more) languages by individuals or speech communities” - and also to Butzkamm and Caldwell’s (2009: 217) idea of bilingualism as the possession of “sufficient skills in a second language to be able to carry out at least part of their social and intellectual activities in that language”. These explanations include around 50 per cent of the world’s population (Grosjean 2008: 118) and, therefore, may even lead to a transition from portraying bilingualism, instead of monolingualism, as the norm.

Another crucial point is that bilingualism is dynamic in a sense that a bilingual’s language profile is subject to change. One language may suddenly become more or less important, for instance, due to moving to a different country or due to an influential person entering or exiting one’s life, leading to a change in usage of as well as exposure to a particular language and, as a result, a shift in language proficiency (Butler & Hakuta 2004: 120; Grosjean 2013: 10). Furthermore, bilingualism cannot be studied as an isolated concept, since many factors play a role in becoming bilingual, such as the context of language learning, motivation, personality, aptitude, attitudes towards bilingualism or quality and quantity of input (Baker 1995: 39; Cenoz 2000: 48). This makes the endeavour of defining bilingualism even more complex.

As illustrated, various attempts to define bilingualism have been made, but many of these are neither precise enough nor universally applicable. In addition, most attempts at explaining bilingualism only address the dimension of proficiency although considering non-linguistic dimensions would be just as important (Hamers & Blanc 2000: 7). For this reason, it can be asserted that finding a universal definition of bilingualism is “essentially elusive and may ultimately be impossible” (Baker & Wright 2017: 15), or, using the words of Cummins (2001 [1976]: 32), there is not “one single phenomenon or state called 'bilingualism' which ought to influence the mental lives of all bilinguals in much the same way”. However, it is possible to refine the term ‘bilingualism’ or even to try to find appropriate categories with the help of which individual bilinguals can be classified or which enable a researcher to create individual language profiles (Baker & Wright 2017: 15; Butler & Hakuta 2004: 115). These refinements will be addressed in more detail in the following section.

2.1.2. Different types of bilingualism

The aim of this section is to further specify the term ‘bilingualism’. There are numerous ways of refining this complex concept; however, only those types relevant to this thesis and its accompanying study will be dealt with in greater detail.

The first distinctions that will be addressed here are what Hamers and Blanc (2000: 6) refer to as ‘bilinguality’ and ‘bilingualism’, respectively. These terms are concerned with whether an individual is able to communicate using two different linguistic codes (also known as individual bilingualism), or whether all members within a particular linguistic community can rely on two languages when communicating with each other as both languages are simultaneously present (often described as societal bilingualism). In the context of this thesis, individual bilingualism is of relevance.

Another differentiation can be made between ‘elective’ and ‘circumstantial’ bilingualism. The former denotes people who decide to become acquainted with another language. They usually already speak a majority language to which they add the second language. In contrast, the latter describes people who find themselves in the situation where they have to learn another language in order to integrate into society (Valdés 2003, quoted in Baker & Wright 2017: 4). The participants of the accompanying study are elective bilinguals (for a further description of the participants, see section 5.2.).

On the socio-cultural level, it is possible to distinguish between ‘additive’ and ‘subtractive’ bilingualism. In the first case, which is relevant in this context, the children learning a new language have already acquired the basic features of their first language and, even when the second language is introduced, the first language will still be valued and maintained. Moreover, the L1 might even operate as a tool for learning the L2 as language learning strategies and previous knowledge can be transferred, which may result in positive cognitive effects. Subtractive bilingualism, however, may have the opposite effect as here the acquisition of the L2 takes place at the expense of the L1 (Cummins 2001 [1979a]: 71; Hamers & Blanc 2000: 99-100; Pinter 2011: 75). A closely related and frequently negatively connotated concept is that of the so-called ‘semilingual’. This term describes someone who seems to lack certain skills, such as fluency, in both languages (Edwards 2004: 10), which may have the effect

of children missing out on potential cognitive and linguistic advantages of bilingualism or even of falling behind in their schooling and academic language proficiency (Cummins 2000: 100).

On the level of proficiency, the term 'balanced bilingualism' contrasts with the term 'dominant bilingualism'. A balanced bilingual, also known as an 'equilingual' or 'ambilingual', is someone whose competence in his or her languages is equally distributed (Baker & Wright: 9) and who is therefore believed to be "as competent as a native speaker of the same age in both languages" (Baker & Jones 1998: 12). However, this view is heavily idealised and an incorrect depiction of most bilinguals' real lives. The expectation of a bilingual as two highly linguistically skilled monolinguals in one person is unrealistic (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 265; De Houwer 2009b: 308; Grosjean 2008: 10). Bilinguals usually do not need both of their languages in every situation they encounter, but rather use their languages depending on who they speak to. For example, one language may be needed in work-related contexts, whereas the other is used to communicate with family members (Baker 2001: 7). This clearly shows that the environment that encompasses an individual has a considerable influence on his or her language development and that dominance of one language over the other may shift according to the different domains (Butzkamm & Caldwell 2009: 217; Puszta Nonn 2009: 21). Hence, the more realistic concept is that of dominant bilingualism, where one language tends to be stronger than the other.

The final refinement discussed in this section considers 'simultaneous' versus 'sequential', also termed 'successive' or 'consecutive', bilingualism, which both refer to the level of age of acquisition and which are possibly the two most important notions in relation to the thesis at hand. In basic terms, children can become bilingual "either by acquiring two languages at the same time (simultaneously) or by acquiring them one after the other (successively)" (Grosjean 2010: 178). It is more complex than this though as researchers are divided over the exact age which should be taken as a decisive point of reference of whether one is a simultaneous or a sequential bilingual. Ng and Wigglesworth (2007: 43) adopt the view that children have to start acquiring both of their languages before turning one in order to be categorised as a simultaneous bilingual and they bring forward the argument that children already begin to learn a language merely by being exposed to it. Thus, the time before children actually speak their first words is crucial. McLaughlin (1978: 8, quoted in Rocca 2007: 79) refers to those children who acquire their languages before the age of three as simultaneous bilinguals.

Taeschner (1983: 4) seizes on this idea as, in her opinion, children aged three and beyond have usually established their native language quite firmly already, and the gap between the first and the second, newly introduced, language would therefore be too substantial. Other researchers stretched the term simultaneous bilingualism even further by setting the cut-off point at the age of five (Grosjean 2010: 178; Meisel 2004: 109). Another possible way which may help to distinguish simultaneous from sequential bilingualism is to consider the context where a language is acquired. Often, though not always, simultaneous bilingualism occurs in naturalistic settings, such as one's home, where parents use different languages when communicating with their child. Consecutive bilingualism commonly involves formal instruction in a more structured setting, for example, when being taught a second language at school (cf. Baker & Wright 2017: 88; Grosjean 2010: 178-179, 184). The definition adopted for this thesis is the one offered by Ng and Wigglesworth (2007: 43) who claim that the age of one is the decisive cut-off point. Hence, most children in the English Playschool Linz would be considered sequential bilinguals. Furthermore, the English Playschool can be regarded as a more structured setting, which is another reason why the term consecutive bilinguals is a more appropriate description of the children in this particular kindergarten.

2.2. Myths regarding (childhood) bilingualism: do they really hold true?

Despite the fact that bilingualism is, and has always been, a widely spread phenomenon, it has still long been believed that it may negatively impact children. The list of these presumed negative effects, here referred to as myths, is long: bilingualism causes a delay in children's language learning, children raised with two languages are confused and therefore always mix their languages, bilinguals are less intelligent, both of the languages are underdeveloped, bilingual children are not as successful in school as monolingual children, bilinguals have a split personality, just to name a few (cf. Bialystok 1991: 2; Grosjean 2010: XV; Meisel 2004: 91; Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 54). Even though the view that bilingualism causes harm to children is outdated and studies have proven that these myths do not hold true, as will be shown in the following section, some of these still seem to have been preserved. These myths may lead to negative societal attitudes towards children learning two languages and to parents starting to doubt whether they should raise their children bilingually (De Houwer 2009b: 319). In the course of this chapter, some of the myths mentioned above will be revisited and it will be

shown that there are indeed reasons why certain myths have come into existence, but it will be argued that the cause of the belief that bilingualism is 'bad' is not bilingualism per se.

Most of the views that bilingualism leads to mental and linguistic disadvantages emerged in the 19th century. One reason for this was the rise of nationalism in Europe, which was characterised by the desire to build a unified Nationalist community. This manifested itself, among other things, in the increasing importance of homogenous language use, leading to monolingualism being regarded as the norm (Pusztai Nonn 2009: 13). During the 1930s, additional emphasis was placed on language, especially in Germany. Every endeavour had been made to keep the language as 'pure' as possible, which resulted in the discrimination against bilinguals. In National Socialist publications, particular depictions of bilingual children can be found, for instance, the claim that children speaking two languages have a split personality and are devious and mendacious (Pusztai Nonn 2009: 14).

Studies conducted from the 19th century until the 1960s provided what was believed to be evidence for the understanding that bilingualism indeed affects children negatively. These negative effects were argued to be writ large in children's intelligence (Baker & Jones 1998: 62). Laurie (1890: 15, quoted in Titone et al. 2017: 266), for example, expressed his view as follows:

If it were possible for a child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances. [original emphasis]

Such a belief stems from the assumption that the capacity of a human's brain is limited. Laurie is apparently convinced that children are unable to cope with two languages. Jespersen (1922: 148, quoted in Romaine 1995: 107) expresses a similar view:

First of all the child in question hardly learns either of the two languages as perfectly as he [or she] would have done if he [or she] had limited himself [or herself] to one. [...] Secondly, the brain effort required to master the two languages instead of one certainly diminishes the child's power of learning other things which might and ought to be learnt.

Both of these ideas can be related to the formula "A plus B is twice as difficult as A or B", meaning that "one is either well acquainted with A (or B) or one is poorly acquainted with

both A and B" (Taeschner 1983: 22). This would imply that it is impossible to develop thorough competence in each of the two languages, a viewpoint that is certainly not true.

One of the most frequently cited early studies regarding the relationship of bilingualism and intelligence is that by Saer (1924). He tested 1400 children, aged between 7 and 14 years, from five rural and two urban areas of Wales with either a monolingual or a bilingual (Welsh and English) background. He concluded that the monolingual children in rural districts are, in terms of intelligence, superior to the bilinguals living in the same area. Furthermore, he claimed that children who grew up with only one language have a broader lexicon and acquire vocabulary faster. He also inferred from his study that bilinguals are mentally confused (Saer 1924: 38). Romaine (1995: 110) heavily criticises Saer's study and addresses, for instance, the issue of the geographic gradient. She claims that the reason for the bilinguals' inferior performance in the rural areas traces back to the fact that they had been less exposed to English outside of school than those bilinguals living in more urban areas. Therefore, the results that Saer presented distort reality as they are not indicative of the actual cognitive and linguistic abilities of bilingual children.

The study by Saer is just one of many studies that concluded that bilinguals are somewhat confused and disadvantaged as far as intelligence is concerned, but, as mentioned above, most of the studies with such results were conducted before the 1960s. The question arises as to why the results of earlier studies differ so much when compared to the results of more recent research. A crucial difference is that, in earlier studies, the monolingual and the bilingual group were rarely matched on variables such as sociocultural background, age, gender or educational environment (Baker & Jones 1998: 63; Bialystok & Barac 2013: 192). Especially the social context is of major importance. In the US, for example, Hispanic immigrants, whose families were of lower socioeconomic status or whose education had not been as good as that of the control group, were frequently the chosen demographic for bilingual research. What Marian (2008: 18) infers from this is that "socioeconomic status is the confounding variable that drove the negative correlation". The reason underlying bilinguals' weaker performance is therefore not the fact that they speak two languages, but rather the confounding variables, such as poverty and poor education.

Furthermore, the degree of bilingualism has sometimes not been taken into account in the early studies. This is further affected by the issue of diverse conceptions of what being

bilingual actually means. In the studies conducted before the 1960s, the children were often tested in their weaker language, whereas today the focus is usually on balanced bilinguals (Cummins 2001 [1976]: 37; Cummins & Swain 1986: 4; Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 56). Romaine (1995: 117) even goes so far as saying that “the early studies essentially showed a correlation between subtractive bilingualism and negative effects”. This argumentation may stem from the fact that a considerable number of those early studies were conducted in Wales or in the United States (Baker & Jones 1998: 62), where English is often the socially favoured and more highly valued language.

Another important point is that the concept of intelligence is incredibly complex. Traditional ‘pencil and paper’ IQ tests are often claimed to be an insufficient instrument to measure intelligence as they only measure a narrow set of skills (Baker 1995: 49; Baker & Jones 1998: 65). The focus is usually on convergent thinking, which is the ability to find a single optimum solution for a particular problem, whereas divergent thinking skills, which are usually associated with creative intelligence, are excluded in these IQ tests (Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 58). In addition, IQ tests have been criticised in the past for being culturally biased and may therefore discriminate against bilinguals who grew up biculturally (Baker & Jones 1998: 65; Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 58; Pinter 2011: 77). What can be inferred from these arguments is that IQ tests are not as reliable as often thought and they cannot measure intelligence in its entirety. As a result, these kinds of tests should not be used as the sole measurement to compare monolinguals with bilinguals. Apart from that, comparing monolinguals and bilinguals can sometimes be regarded as questionable as a bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person in a sense that their two languages are isolated (Grosjean 2008: 13). Instead, the bilingual’s languages mutually influence each other. Therefore, bilinguals are language users in their own right and testing them against monolinguals would make as much sense as comparing apples to pears (Cook 2016: 2 and 4). This will be further discussed in section 2.4.1.

Further myths that are commonly addressed in the literature consulted are that bilinguals learn vocabulary more slowly and have a less extensive lexicon. However, the argument that there is a delay in vocabulary development has been proved otherwise. The rate at which monolinguals and bilinguals acquire words is “extraordinarily *similar*” [original emphasis] (De Houwer 2009b: 309). Children who grow up with two languages from birth usually say their first word when they are around eleven months old, which also holds true for monolingual

children (Grosjean 2010: 179-180). This shows that there is no delay in language development. As far as the lexicon is concerned, it should be emphasised that bilinguals do not possess a smaller range of vocabulary. This is often believed to be the case as lexical range is not measured as “the number of lexical items known, but as the number of conceptual representations that have lexical labels” (Marian 2008: 25), which may be a disadvantage to bilingual children. Furthermore, this may impact the conclusions drawn from bilingual research. The following example may illustrate this point: a monolingual English-speaking child may know three words, namely *flower*, *ball* and *book*. In contrast, a German-English bilingual child may know the English words *flower* and *book* as well as the German equivalents *Blume* and *Buch*. If the lexical knowledge is counted in the way discussed by Marian (2008: 25) above, then the bilingual child will be placed at a disadvantage as their lexicon will be regarded as consisting of two words, whereas the monolingual child is said to know three words. If, however, the conceptual representations are counted, then the bilingual child would have knowledge of four words and would therefore be said to have a larger lexicon than its monolingual peer (cf. Taeschner 1983: 56). Hence, counting the equivalents can have a major impact on research findings and subsequent opinions held of bilingualism.

The aim of this chapter was to present some of the key myths that existed in the past and to show how some of these came into existence. As discussed, the bias against bilinguals was in some cases driven by the common misconceptions held at the time or the methods used for the assessment of bilinguals. In the subsequent chapter, the focus will shift towards the potentially positive aspects of bilingualism.

2.3. Cognitive aspects

2.3.1. Possible cognitive benefits of bilingualism

It has been shown in the preceding chapter that bilingualism was frequently surrounded by certain myths and that these predominantly prevailed until the 1960s. However, since then, research in this field has advanced, in a sense that scholars have begun to realise that bilingualism does not cause detriment such as stuttering or mental retardation. On the contrary, bilingualism, and even more so balanced bilingualism, are now associated with cognitive benefits (Baker & Wright 2017: 153). The decisive turning point is often linked to

1962 as in this year Peal and Lambert conducted their pioneer study whose results were in stark contrast to the previous studies on bilingualism and cognition. In this section, the said study will be discussed in more detail and those areas in which bilinguals are sometimes said to be advantaged will then be presented.

The study by Peal and Lambert (1962) was conducted in Canada and featured 10-year-old children from Montreal. They were given verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests as well as tests which measured the children's attitudes towards the English- and the French-speaking communities respectively. The results obtained by the bilingual group were then matched against those of a monolingual control group. It was revealed that the monolingual group did not exceed the bilingual group in any of the non-verbal intelligence tests. On the contrary, the bilinguals outperformed the monolinguals in certain tasks, or performed just as well as the monolinguals (Peal & Lambert 1962: 12). The bilingual children did particularly well on those tests involving mental reorganisation or concept-formation. The authors argue that this is because an object has its own symbol in each of the child's two languages and children "may be forced to conceptualize environmental events in terms of their general properties without reliance on their linguistic symbols" and this "ability to think in terms of abstract concepts and relations, independent of the actual word, apparently is required in the symbolic reorganization type tests" (Peal & Lambert 1962: 14). A further finding was that the bilinguals were, against expectations, also superior on verbal intelligence, which led the authors to believe that this may be a sign of an overall intellectual advantage (Peal & Lambert 1962: 15). Moreover, in this study the bilinguals showed a significantly more favourable attitude towards to English speaking community, whereas the monolinguals seemed to favour Canadians who speak French (Peal & Lambert 1962: 12-13 and 17). The outcome of this study can be considered as revolutionary because, up until then, the dominant view was that growing up with two languages might be harmful to a child's cognitive development.

The results presented above give rise to the question as to why this study in particular came to such different conclusions than the majority of similar studies conducted around the same or slightly earlier period of time. Peal and Lambert (1962: 1) were aware that it is crucial to match the two groups of subjects according to their age, gender, socioeconomic status and educational background. In addition, they accentuated the importance of clearly defining the terms monolingualism and bilingualism and they also stated that bilinguals should be tested

in their more dominant language (Peal & Lambert 1962: 1). As has been discussed in the previous chapter, these factors were usually not considered in earlier research.

Baker and Jones (1998: 63) refer to this study as a “highly influential piece of research” that has had a great impact on subsequent studies. They provide the following reasons as to why the study by Peal and Lambert (1962) has been of such great value:

First, it rectified many of the methodological weaknesses of the period of negative effects. Second, the research found that bilingualism need not have negative or neutral consequences. Rather, that there is a real possibility that bilinguals, or at least a specific group of balanced bilinguals, have cognitive advantages over monolinguals. Third, the findings of Peal & Lambert have been widely quoted to support bilingual policies in different educational contexts. [...] Fourth, the research, while using IQ tests, moved to a much broader look at the processes and products in cognition. Other areas of mental activity apart from the narrow idea of IQ stimulated continuing decades of research into bilingualism and cognitive functioning. (Baker & Jones 1998: 65)

As illustrated, the study by Pearl and Lambert (1962) is seen as a turning point in the research of bilingualism and cognition and has set a standard for similar studies. After Peal and Lambert’s pioneer study, many other researchers reached similar conclusions, highlighting the positive effects that bilingualism can have on cognition. From the 1970s until the turn of the millennium, almost 150 empirical studies showing the positive influence that additive bilingualism can have on a child’s cognitive, linguistic and academic abilities were conducted (Cummins 2000: 37). Much of this research focused on English- and French- speaking middle-class students from Canada and Europe (Hakuta 1986: 15). Romaine (1995: 115) seconds this claim by stating that the research conducted during the second half of the 20th century mostly featured children who were given “extraordinary amounts of attention by their parents in a rich linguistic environment in order to facilitate the child's acquisition of two languages”. She relates this to the context of acquisition as it can influence the outcome of studies that focus on bilingualism and its impact on cognition. In her view, additive contexts which foster learning a second language are more likely to result in more balanced bilingualism, which in turn may engender positive cognitive development, whereas subtractive contexts with little support for the native language will most likely lead to unequal proficiency and may have a negative impact on the child (Romaine 1995: 115). This view is supported by many other scholars (cf. Baker & Jones 1998: 83; Baker & Wright 2017: 153 and 159; Cummins 2000: 37-38; Cummins 2001 [1976]: 41; Edwards 2004: 17).

When comparing studies which have found bilinguals to be superior in specific tasks, it becomes apparent that there are certain areas in which bilinguals did particularly well. It has been reported that bilinguals may have an advantage regarding language awareness, also referred to as metalinguistic abilities, and cognitive flexibility, which is often associated with divergent thinking and creativity (Baker & Jones 1998: 72; Diaz & Klingler 1991: 183; Hakuta 1986: 35; Marian 2008: 25; Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 61; Simonton 2008: 150). Metalinguistic awareness can be defined as “the ability to focus on different levels of linguistic structures such as words, phonemes and syntax” (Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 62) or as “the ability to reflect upon and manipulate spoken and written language” (Baker & Jones 1998: 72). This awareness also includes, for example, being able to direct attention to the content or meaning of an utterance (Baker & Jones 1998: 71), to differentiate between form and meaning, and may even lead to children developing the ability to read earlier than their monolingual peers (Baker & Jones 2017: 146). Hamers and Blanc (1989: 75; 2000: 330) argue that the reason for children’s advanced metalinguistic abilities stems from the interchangeability of the languages. This interchangeability can be achieved when, for instance, children already know their first language quite well and have developed a mental representation of this language that is fully functional, and then acquire a second language. The skills from the L1 can then be transferred to the L2 and will result in the formation of two functional representations whose communicative, cognitive and metalinguistic functions are interchangeable (Hamers & Blanc 1989: 75). Apart from language awareness, cognitive flexibility is often mentioned in the context of bilingual research and is associated with the “ability to use divergent thinking, such as the ability to generate multiple associations from one concept, or the ability to mentally reorganize the elements of a problem or situation” (Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 61). Divergent thinking is frequently seen as an index of creativity and it has often been claimed that bilinguals are more creative (Baker & Wright 2017: 142; Romaine 1995: 113). Simonton (2008: 157) suggests that increased creativity may not necessarily be a direct result of being able to speak two languages, but can rather be ascribed to the exposure to two different cultures. It has also been hypothesised that speaking two languages makes people more fluent, flexible, inventive and elaborate in their thinking, especially when they have developed adequate proficiency in both of their languages. A possible reason for this may be the fact that bilinguals have two words for one object or concept, which allows for more latitude and diversity when expressing their thoughts (Baker & Jones 1998: 67).

Another point that is worth mentioning in the context of cognitive benefits is that of executive function. Studies have revealed that early bilinguals have an advantage when it comes to their executive function, which can be described as the set of cognitive abilities that is “responsible for attention, selection, inhibition, shifting, and flexibility” (Bialystok & Barac 2013: 193). As the prefrontal cortex of a child matures, these executive functions develop simultaneously. However, those children who learn a second language at an early age may develop their executive function prior to their monolingual peers and may also be able to perpetuate these skills at a more advanced level into later stages of life (Barac et al. 2014: 711; Bialystok & Barac 2013: 193 and 202; Martin-Rhee & Bialystok 2008: 91). Evidence for the latter comes from studies that were conducted amongst bilinguals and monolinguals in their early adulthood. These studies have demonstrated that the bilingual subjects achieved better results when the task required inhibition and conflict resolution (Bialystok & Barac 2013: 206). In addition, studies have shown that speaking two languages may reduce the risk of age-related cognitive decline and may even be a preventive factor against dementia, or at least delay its symptoms. Schrauf (2008: 116 and 121) ascribes this to the use of language switching. Constantly alternating between languages stimulates the brain and can therefore positively affect cognitive functioning and combat cognitive aging. However, Schrauf (2008: 121) also argues that this has only been observed in bilinguals who were exposed to both of their languages from an early age and who developed approximately an equal amount of proficiency in both tongues. In other words, consecutive and dominant bilingualism were somewhat neglected in the past. Still, the latest research clearly disproves earlier conceptions of bilingualism being harmful. Bialystok and Barac (2013: 209-210) summarise the latest findings as follows:

Contrary to earlier views in which the capabilities of the mind were considered to be fixed, evidence for the impact of bilingualism on mental functioning across the lifespan demonstrates the essential flexibility and plasticity of the mind. Experience shapes our mind, just as our mind selects from the array of experiences in which we potentially engage. We have come a long way from the pervasive assumption that bilingualism is damaging to children’s cognitive development to demonstrating a protective effect of bilingualism in coping with symptoms of Alzheimer’s disease. Experience is powerful, and bilingualism may be one of the most powerful experiences of all.

Studies have shown numerous other positive cognitive effects that are linked to bilingualism. For instance, bilinguals are said to be more sensitive and patient in communication and more attentive to the communicative needs of their conversational partner; the reason being that

they habitually observe the conversational context in order to know which language to use (Baker & Jones 1998: 7). It has also been argued that bilinguals' attainment regarding communicative competence, theory of mind and selective attention is superior to that of monolinguals (Nicoladis 2008: 173 and 177). Another claim that is frequently linked to bilingualism is that they are better at learning additional languages (Cenoz 2000: 46 and 49). Bilingualism is also often seen as a cognitive stimulus (Nauwerck 2005: 72). Early bilingualism may, for instance, lead to increased involvement of both brain hemispheres. Monolinguals, in contrast, mainly rely on their left hemisphere as far as language processing is concerned (Vaid 2008: 140).

Apart from profiting from cognitive benefits, bilinguals may also experience cultural, social and economic advantages. Being able to speak two or more languages may alter an individual's perception of the world and often has a positive influence on how other communities or ethnic groups are viewed, in a sense that the bilingual person may have more acceptance for or show a more favourable attitude towards other cultures (Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 117 and 128). Bilingualism can also play a role in determining the vocational and, therefore, the economic future of a child. Due to increased international trade and globalisation, it may be beneficial to speak more than one language. Numerous professions, such as in the field of trade, business, diplomacy or academia, require the acquaintance with two languages (Baker & Jones 1998: 7; Festman, Poarch & Dewaele 2017: 3). Being bilingual can therefore predesignate future career options and can give a competitive edge when compared to a monolingual job candidate.

To conclude, the effects of bilingualism reach beyond verbal ability. Evidence for this comes from different studies that have shown that bilinguals are superior in resolving both verbal and non-verbal tasks. However, it still must be mentioned that being bilingual does not automatically mean having a cognitive advantage, just as it does not necessarily lead to cognitive disadvantages (Baker & Wright 2017: 153; Hamers & Blanc 2000: 101). Rather, both outcomes may occur. The definitive factors of how bilingualism affects cognition are often argued to be the context in and conditions under which a child acquires their two languages. Cummins (2001 [1976]: 32) emphasises the importance of age, how often and in which setting each language is normally used, the functions they occupy and the prestige that the respective languages have. Other influential variables are the child's motivation to learn a specific

language, the extent to which a communicative need exists or the educational context, including the attitude the school has towards bilingualism and, in concrete terms, towards the child's languages (De Houwer 2009b: 324). All of these factors can influence how proficient a child will become and also how learning the two languages at hand will affect the child's cognitive development. Even though there is a slight possibility of adverse cognitive consequences, most of the newer research indicates that bilingualism can improve cognitive functioning (Baker & Wright 2017: 153) and that "bilingualism can present another dimension of one's capacities, and in that sense be a repertoire expansion" (Edwards 2004: 17). In other words, bilingualism is more likely to "expand rather than contract the mind" (Baker 1995: 46).

2.3.2. The balance theory, the iceberg theory and the thresholds theory

In this chapter, three major theories that are concerned with bilingualism and cognition will be introduced: the balance, the iceberg and the threshold theory.

The balance theory

The underlying assumption of the so-called balance theory is that each human being only has a limited language learning capacity. This is exemplified by balloons, which represent the linguistic abilities in each language: Monolinguals have one fully inflated balloon, which contains information about grammar, vocabulary, relations between words, and further language related knowledge (Baker & Jones 1998: 81). In contrast, bilinguals have two half-filled balloons, which contest for the space available. When a person practises one language, the respective language balloon grows. However, due to the assumed restriction in mental capacity, the growth of one balloon happens at the expense of the second balloon (Baker & Wright 2017: 157). As the balance theory is based on the premise that the L1 and the L2 operate independently, it is also referred to as the Separate Underlying Proficiency Model (SUP). The balance/SUP model implies that bilinguals would never be able to fully master both of their languages and, therefore, they will always be inferior language users when compared to monolingual speakers (cf. Cummins 2001 [1980]: 130).

As previously mentioned, bilinguals are not inferior to monolinguals. In contrast, as shown in the preceding chapter, bilingualism is frequently linked to cognitive advantages. Furthermore, a bilingual's language configuration cannot be compared to that of a monolingual. Moreover,

even though the idea that the language learning capacity is limited is held by some, research suggests that this is not the case. On the contrary, the human brain's ability to store language related information is not restricted to a single language, but rather, an individual has the potential to learn multiple languages (Baker & Wright 2017: 159). Another critical point regarding the balance theory is that it suggests that there is no transfer between the languages known. Again, this has been proven to be incorrect. When an additional language is learned, then the particular concepts that have already been acquired in the first language do not have to be learned again (Baker 1995: 47; Baker & Wright 2017: 158). For example, when someone already knows the basic rules of physics, they can transfer this set of rules into their second language without having to internalise the whole concept again. Instead, only the equivalent lexical items need to be learned. As the balance theory is flawed, a similar, revised concept has been developed, which will be presented in the next section.

The iceberg theory

This theory is based on the idea that there is a transfer between the two languages a person is acquainted with. To illustrate this concept, the analogy of a dual iceberg is frequently used. This can be visualised as follows: Two icebergs protrude from the water's surface, each of which represents one of the bilingual's languages. Therefore, each language seems to be a separate system which has its respective surface features, such as phonology, grammar and vocabulary. However, beneath the surface of the water, the two icebergs are merged. This fusion is referred to as the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP), which serves as the central operating system (Baker & Wright 2017: 158; Cummins 2001 [1980]: 118). This means that the two languages are interdependent, which further implies that "experience with either language can, theoretically, promote the development of the proficiency underlying both languages, given adequate motivation and exposure to both, either in school or wider environment" (Cummins 2001 [1980]: 131). This understanding of language operation in bilinguals has a great impact on the perception of bilinguals in general as it supports the idea that knowing two languages may be cognitively advantageous.

Closely related to the notion of CUP is the developmental interdependence hypothesis. It was formulated by Cummins (1981: 29) and reads as follows: "To the extent that instruction in L_x is effective in promoting proficiency in L_x, transfer of this proficiency to L_y will occur provided there is adequate exposure to L_y (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation

to learn Ly". This highlights once again that the two languages of a child are interrelated. In other terms, the competence a child has in its L1 has a crucial effect on the level of attainment the child is likely to reach in its L2, meaning that the level of competence in L2 is partially a function of the skills that the child has attained in its L1. Furthermore, the developmental interdependence hypothesis indicates that if children are relatively advanced in their first language, then exposure to a second language will not impede their L1 progression. In contrast, this may even be considered as an ideal prerequisite for the successful mastering of both languages (Cummins 2001 [1979a]: 75; Hamers & Blanc 1989: 54, Pinter 2011: 79). Hence, this hypothesis is highly relevant in the context of those forms of bilingual education which promote additive bilingualism, such as immersion programmes. As the study which accompanies this thesis has been conducted within the framework of an immersion programme, where the children have acquired their first language relatively well before starting to learn an additional language, the relevance of Cummins' (1981) developmental interdependence hypothesis needs to be further emphasised.

The threshold theory

The third theory that will be dealt with is the threshold theory by Cummins (1976). It stems from the discussion as to whether bilingualism can be associated with either cognitive advantages or disadvantages. The resulting question is in what contexts bilingualism positively influences cognitive growth and how well a person must know their two languages in order to reap the potential cognitive benefits. The threshold theory proposes that the level of competence a child has attained in both of its languages is likely to determine the effect on its cognitive functioning. To be more precise, there may be a particular level of linguistic competence, called the threshold, which must be reached in order to allow for positive benefits of bilingualism (Cummins 2001 [1976]: 26). Cummins (2001 [1976]: 42) further refines this hypothesis by suggesting that there are two thresholds. The first threshold must be attained to avoid cognitive deficits, whereas the attainment of the second threshold may lead to an enhancement of cognitive functioning (Cummins 2001 [1976]: 71; Cummins & Swain 1986: 6).

The image that is frequently used in order to illustrate the relationship between bilingualism and cognition is that of the three-storeyed house (see figure 1) (Baker 2001: 167; Baker & Jones 1998: 74-75). The two arrows on each side of the house represent the language

development in both L1 and L2. It is presumed that the language competence steadily improves, which is why the arrows are directed towards the top floor of the house. The bottom floor of the house represents limited bilingualism, which is characterised by insufficient competence in both languages and which may therefore be detrimental to the cognitive development of a child. The middle floor is exemplary for those individuals who have age-appropriate knowledge in one of their languages, but less competence in their L2. These children will most likely experience neither positive nor negative cognitive effects on their mental development. When a child is positioned at the top floor of the house, then this would imply that they are highly competent in both languages and would probably be considered as balanced bilinguals. This type of bilingualism is often associated with cognitive advantages (cf. Baker 2001: 167). The two thresholds are positioned between the bottom and middle floor and the middle and top floor, respectively. To sum up, in order to avoid negative cognitive effects, the first threshold needs to be passed, thereby reaching the middle floor. If enhanced cognitive growth is desired, then the second threshold has to be crossed, or, in other words, it needs to be ensured that the individual reaches the top floor.

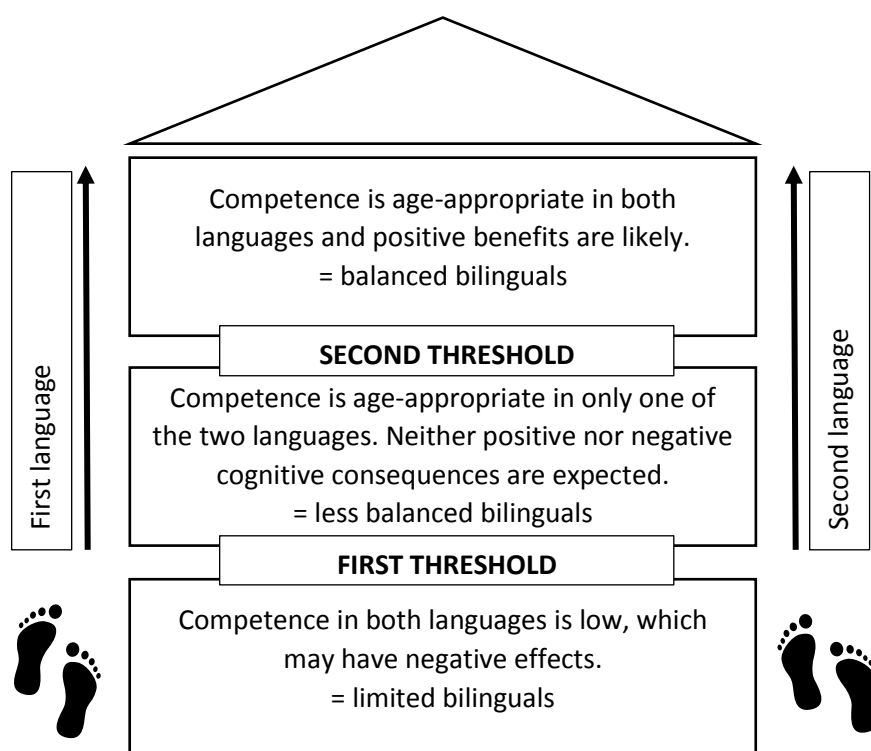


Figure 1: The three-storeyed house (adapted from Baker & Jones 1998: 74)

The threshold theory has several implications, particularly with regard to education. Bilingual programmes are likely to affect the mental development of children, depending on whether they actively promote bilingualism or not. Immersion programmes, just as most other strong forms of bilingual education, usually go hand in hand with positive benefits regarding a child's cognitive development. This is because in such programmes both languages are normally valued and fostered. In contrast, those models of bilingual education that are aimed at the development of one specific language, which happens mostly at the expense of the child's native language, may have the contrary effect (Cummins 2001 [1976]: 41; Cummins 2001 [1979a]: 73). The threshold hypothesis may therefore help to explain why minority language children, such as immigrants in the United States, sometimes have problems following the curriculum when being taught in a second language. This is because they have not yet developed sufficient language competence in their L2, while their L1 is not adequately promoted, which may then have an overwhelming effect on the children and their cognitive processing (Baker & Wright 2017: 160). For this reason, bilingual programmes should always have the development and maintenance of thorough proficiency in both languages as their ultimate goal (Cummins and Swain 1986: 6).

Nevertheless, the threshold theory has been subject to criticism in the past and attention has been brought to its limitations. Cummins (2001 [1979a]: 71) himself has observed that "the threshold cannot be defined in absolute terms; rather it is likely to vary according to the children's stage of cognitive development and the academic demands of different stages of schooling". Baker and Jones (1998: 75) address this issue by arguing that the thresholds may be regarded as artificial critical stages as it is not specified what exact level of competence a child needs to attain. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to determine where to draw the line between 'proficient enough' and 'inadequate proficiency', especially because this would also presuppose that an individual's competence in a language can be objectively quantified, which is an extremely difficult task (Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 67). Another point of critique is that this model tends to treat semantic and cognitive development as equal, which is problematic because the relationship between language and thought is a much more complex one (Romaine 1995: 267). Furthermore, it has been claimed that it does not automatically mean that a child is cognitively disadvantaged simply because it is considered to be located on the bottom floor of the three-storeyed house. It could simply mean that their linguistic abilities are temporarily limited. Children may, for example, experience language-related difficulties

during a cognitive test because their limited language knowledge does not allow them to understand the instruction or formulate the answer (Baker & Jones 1998: 75). Hence, the poorer results they may obtain do not represent their actual cognitive abilities, but rather provide information about their language skills.

2.3.3. The age factor

Whether or not there is a critical period for learning a language has been widely researched and has generated different sentiments among the academic community. Supporters of the critical period hypothesis (CPH) claim that a language can only be learned within a specific time frame. As soon as this period ends, the language learner may face certain problems with the attainment of the respective language. The critical period is sometimes also referred to as the sensitive period, a term which “suggests more of a window of opportunity rather than a time period” after which language attainment becomes more difficult (Li 2013: 147). To be even more precise, the notion of a critical period is often considered a sub-class of sensitive periods: “The term ‘sensitive period’ is a broad term that applies whenever the effects of experience on the brain are unusually strong during a limited period in development. [...] Critical periods are a special class of sensitive periods that result in irreversible changes in brain function” (Knudsen 2004: 1412). Hence, the term critical period is defined in more definite terms, which is why in the following the term critical period will be used.

This subject area has also frequently been discussed in the context of bilingualism and bilingual education (Baker 1995; DeKeyser & Larson-Hall 2005). The question has often been posed as to when additional languages should be taught in school. Research on the age factor therefore plays a major role when it comes to educational policies and curriculum design (Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 14). Moreover, as it seems to be a common belief that younger children are better language learners and will become more competent and proficient speakers (cf. Singleton & Ryan 2004: 61), this may be the reason why parents may want their children to start learning an additional language as soon as possible. This in turn may have an impact on their educational decisions, such as signing up their children for bilingual playschools where they are exposed to a second language from an early age onwards. For this reason, this section is highly relevant to the present thesis.

Before elaborating on the critical period and presenting influential studies, it should be mentioned that a differentiation between acquiring a first language and learning a second language is necessary. After Penfield and Roberts (1959) first introduced the notion of a critical period, Lenneberg (1967) further researched the concept. However, he predominantly focused on first language acquisition. He proposed that language learning is closely related to the physical maturation of a two to three-year-old child. During this time, children usually become more confident as far as their stance and gait are concerned and they also further develop their balance and coordination skills. Simultaneously, they become more proficient language users, which leads Lenneberg to the assumption that the ability to acquire language is a consequence of maturation. From this age onwards up until puberty, children seem to be most sensitive to certain stimuli and their brains are flexible, which is the prerequisite for developing speech. The ability to process these stimuli and the brain's plasticity rapidly decline around the age of twelve. Additionally, puberty is considered as the time frame within which cerebral lateralisation becomes firmly established. The term cerebral lateralisation denotes the functional and task-specific specialisation of the hemispheres, and, depending on which type of cognitive processing is needed, either the left or the right hemisphere will be activated (Fröhlich 1998: 279, quoted in Puszta Nonn 2009: 31). Due to the reasons mentioned, it is unlikely, yet not impossible, for learners to fully acquire a language after puberty (Lenneberg 1967: 158 and 178).

Newport and Johnson (1989) revisited Lenneberg's idea of the critical period hypothesis and investigated whether it also applies to second language learning. They conducted a study using grammar tests with Korean and Chinese native speakers living in the United States. According to their research, subjects who arrived earlier in the US outperformed those subjects who arrived at a later age. Those who arrived between the age of three and seven were able to attain native-like proficiency, but those who arrived at a later age seemed to have a noticeable disadvantage in learning English (Newport & Johnson 1989: 77-79). In contrast to Lenneberg (1967), who identified puberty as the decisive turning point, Newport and Johnson (1989: 96) came to the conclusion that the decline in performance starts earlier, namely between the ages of eight and ten. Up until puberty, this decline is gradual, but after the age of 15 it becomes less linear and more inconsistent (Newport & Johnson 1989: 97). In sum, they inferred that there must in fact be a critical period within which a language can be learned best.

These findings by Newport and Johnson are still considered highly relevant and this study serves as a model or basis for similar research projects. DeKeyser (2000), among others, based his study on Newport and Johnson's 1989 study and found relatively similar results, which caused him to strongly argue in favour of the critical period. In contrast, Birdsong and Molis' (2001) replication of the study, for instance, can be regarded as a refutation of the critical period hypothesis if the following criterion by Long (1990: 255, quoted in Birdsong & Molis 2001: 244f.) is applied: "a single learner who began learning after the [critical period] closed and yet whose underlying linguistic knowledge [...] was shown to be indistinguishable from that of a monolingual native speaker would serve to refute the [Critical Period Hypothesis]". As post-maturational age effects as well as native-like performances were ascertained in this study, it can indeed be maintained that it refutes the critical period hypothesis.

It is often claimed that it is particularly difficult for second language learners to attain near-native pronunciation (Herschensohn 2007: 3; Lenneberg 1967: 176; Moyer 2014: 444). Near-native speakers can be defined as "highly proficient speakers who are distinguishable from native speakers, but only in [...] small ways" (Gass & Glew 2008: 268). Herschensohn (2007: 231), for example, claims that after the age of five, children are less likely to develop a level of pronunciation that is close to that of native speakers. According to Asher and García (1969: 336) children who start to learn a language before the age of seven have the highest chance of achieving near-native pronunciation. They based their assumption on the results of their study, which included 71 Cuban children who had immigrated to the US at varying ages. Nevertheless, the claim that younger learners have an advantage when it comes to pronunciation fidelity (Asher & García 1969: 340), which can be described as the ability to achieve near-native pronunciation, is debatable. Studies have shown that it is possible for subjects to become highly successful speakers and master the pronunciation of a language, even if they had started to learn it after puberty (Abu-Rabia & Kehat 2004; Bongaerts et al. 1997; Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle 1978). The study by Abu-Rabia and Kehat (2004) focused on ten late starters with different language backgrounds, some of whom succeeded in attaining a Hebrew accent. The one by Bongaerts et al. (1997) concentrated on Dutch learners of English. None of the subjects had begun to learn English before the age of 12, but they were said to have an excellent command of English. The results then showed that the pronunciation of individual subjects did not differ from that of native speakers of English. Some of them even outperformed the native speaker control group (Bongaerts et al. 1997: 452). It is important to

mention though that the highly successful learners had received intensive pronunciation training (Bongaerts et al. 1997: 463). Moreover, they stated that it was important to them to speak English without a foreign accent, which can be considered a motivational factor (Bongaerts et al. 1997: 462).

As has just been illustrated, there are differing views on whether or not there is a critical period for second language learning. However, it is sometimes argued that the indications found in favour of a critical period are too vague and are therefore not qualified as proof of such:

The evidence for a critical period for second language acquisition is scanty [...]. There is no empirically definable end point, there are no qualitative differences between child and adult learners, and there are large environmental effects on the outcomes. [...] The view of a biologically constrained and specialized language acquisition device that is turned off at puberty is not correct. (Hakuta 1999: 11-12, quoted in Baker 2001: 98)

It is certainly justified to assert that specifying a concrete age after which learning a language is no longer as feasible is almost impossible. Still, instead of completely refuting the critical period, individual scholars advance the notion of a so-called advantageous period within which a language, or at least certain aspects of it, can be more easily learned (Baker & Wright 2017: 118; Baker & Jones 1998: 661). Starting to learn a second language at a young age may be of advantage as children tend to pick up language relatively effortlessly and more naturally as they often learn through play (Baker 1995: 39). Another argument for learning a second language in early years is that it simply gives a child more time to focus on that language (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 3).

Nevertheless, it is often claimed that it is not sufficient to confine the argument to age only. Instead, additional factors need to be taken into consideration. Foster-Cohen (2001: 341-342), for example, suggests that a person's development is influenced by a number of complexly interwoven areas and the respective capacity in each of these areas alternates:

[O]ver the age span from zero to 20, problem-solving skills rise, native-like second-language-acquisition ability falls, theory of mind capacities rise, and so do metalinguistic abilities, and so on. You do not find sharp cut-offs. You simply find different configurations of capacities and skills. (Foster-Cohen 2001: 342)

According to this view, age may play a role, but it is not the only determining factor. There are further variables that may have an impact on language learning. Motivation, for instance, is believed to be pivotal. Moyer (2014: 450) distinguishes between two dimensions of motivation, namely integrativeness, which denotes the positive perception of the target language and culture, and instrumentality, which refers to the extrinsic benefits that go hand-in-hand with language learning, such as increased employment opportunities. Other factors that are linked to motivation include the desire to have native-like and accurate pronunciation or to assimilate to the target culture (Moyer 2014: 450). In addition, social and educational variables may influence the potential outcome when learning a second language (Hakuta, Bialystok & Wiley 2003: 31; Herschensohn 2007: 141; Romaine 1995: 240). Overall, it can therefore be claimed that “age simply cannot be separated and examined in isolation” (Pinter 2011: 49), but that there are different factors which have an impact on the development of language.

A crucial point that should be mentioned in this regard is that nowadays, proponents often argue that the CPH can only be applied to naturalistic settings. Pinter (2011: 55), for example, claims that “in natural contexts older learners have an initial advantage over younger learners but younger learners tend to catch up in the longer run”. According to this view, younger learners have an advantage when it comes to ultimate attainment. However, in formal contexts, age does not seem to have as much of an impact. Pfenninger and Singleton (2016: 311) conclude that “age of onset is not a strong determinant of instructed foreign language (FL) learners’ achievement and that age is intricately connected with social and psychological factors shaping the learner’s overall FL experience”. Thus, the individual background of the respective learner is crucial, as has also been discussed in the previous paragraph. Pfenninger and Singleton (2017) also conducted a longitudinal study among 200 Swiss children aged 8 and 13, respectively, who learned English as their L2. Again, the data “provided no clear evidence that there is any special advantage in starting the study of an FL very early” (Pfenninger & Singleton 2017: 215). On the contrary, those who started learning English at a later age, had an advantage over younger learners. Results like these might be the reason why it is sometimes assumed that the CPH does not apply to formal settings. Having said this, it must still be considered that the quantity of language exposure is likely to differ tremendously in naturalistic and formal contexts. In other words, “L2 exposure-time involved in studies focusing on formal situations never approaches that involved in long-term naturalistic studies”

(Singleton & Ryan 2004: 115). In addition, it needs to be emphasised that L2 learners cannot be compared to native-speakers. Yet, it often seems as if the CPH is tested according to how 'native' a L2 learner's usage of language is. When nativelikeness is the main requirement, then this would imply that the CPH only applies to simultaneous bilinguals as they are the only ones who have two languages as their native tongues. However, this would "eventually reduce the idea of a CPH to absurdity" (Resnik, forthcoming).

In summary, it can be said that the subject area dealt with in this section is fairly complex and that scholars' opinions as to what effect age has on proficiency diverge. As a result, it is not possible to formulate a concrete answer to the question of whether or not a critical period in language acquisition exists. Nevertheless, the arguments supporting the idea that there is more to the effectiveness of language learning than age seem plausible. The social, motivational and affective background of the individual learners may play a vital role and may even be considered more important than the age of acquisition, meaning the age at which a child is first exposed to the L2 (Abu-Rabia & Kehat 2004: 96). At the same time, it can be asserted that it is not to a child's disadvantage to start early with learning an additional language as there seem to be no drawbacks on their further cognitive development.

2.3.4. Language alternations

In this chapter, different types of language alternations will be explored, namely code-switching, code-mixing and borrowings. There are other types of language alternations, but due to the limited scope of this thesis, only those named will be considered. This chapter also explores different functions of language alternations, which should then serve as a basis to better understand the examples of language alternations that will be featured in the empirical part of this thesis (see chapters 6.4.1. and 6.4.2.).

Defining the above terms is not as simple as it might seem at first glance as "code switching and code mixing have been variously defined to mean the use of two (or more) languages inter- or intra-sententially" (Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 120). Grosjean (2013: 19), for example, uses the term code-mixing as an umbrella term for two specific types of language alternations: code-switching and borrowings. He uses the former term for situations in which "bilingual speakers insert a word or phrase from the guest language into the base language" under the

premise that this switch “involves a total change, not only at the lexical but also at the phonetic level” (Grosjean 2008: 128). The following examples serve as an illustration of code-switches:

- (1) a. Darf ich das Bild mit lots of different colours malen?
- b. Ich mache mir später eine Lasagne mit extra cheese on top.

As can be inferred from examples (1) a. and (1) b., the base language is German, while the so-called guest language is English. The switches to English (i.e. (1) a. *lots of different colours* and (1) b. *extra cheese on top*) are not integrated into the base language, which is a typical characteristic of code-switching (Grosjean 2008: 201). This is exactly the opposite case in borrowings because they denote “the integration of one language into another” (Grosjean 2013: 18), as is displayed in the examples below.

- (2) a. Sein Flug wurde leider gecancellt.
- b. Ich habe das Foto geliket, das du gestern auf Facebook gepostet hast.

In sentences (2) a. and (2) b., the base language is German again, whereas English is the guest language. As can be seen, the prefixes and suffixes of the verbs are adapted in order to conform with German grammar conventions (i.e. prefix *ge-* and suffix *-t*). Integrating the guest language in such a way that it matches the morphosyntax and sometimes even the phonology of the base language, is a typical feature of borrowings (Grosjean 2008: 44).

In sum, Grosjean (2008; 2013) uses the umbrella term code-mixing for code-switches and borrowings and his main criterion to determine what type of language alternation an utterance is, is whether the guest language is integrated or not. However, not all scholars fully agree with this distinction, or they use the terms slightly differently. Baker (2001: 101), for instance, holds the view that code-switching is commonly used as an overall term, and that, for this reason, code-mixing is simply a sub-category of code-switching. Ritchie and Bhatia (2004: 337) distinguish between code-switches and code-mixes in terms of the syntactic boundary where the language alternation occurs. To be more precise, their main criterion is whether the alternation is intersentential or intrasentential. The former is indicative of code-switching, whereas the latter is associated with code-mixing, as will be shown in the examples below.

- (3) a. Kannst du die Kinder von der Schule abholen? The last lesson finishes at 3.20pm.
b. Ihr müsst euch beeilen, the train will depart any minute now.
- (4) a. Als ich sie gesehen habe, ist sie in Richtung train station gegangen.
b. Ich esse am liebsten chocolate and blueberry pancakes mit ganz viel maple syrup.

In examples (3) a. and (3) b., the initial part of each utterance is in German, whereas the latter part is in English. The switches from German to English are therefore intersentential as they occur at the sentence or clause level. Hence, the first two sentences are, according to the definition by Ritchie and Bhatia (2004: 337), examples of code-switches. However, if the language alternation is intrasentential, meaning that it takes place within one sentence or clause, as is illustrated in utterances (4) a. and (4) b., it is exemplary of a code-mix. In this case, the mix is often constrained by the grammatical or syntactical conventions of the base language (Ritchie & Bhatia 2004: 337). In this thesis, Baker's (2001: 101) view will be adopted and, consequently, the term code-switching will be used as an umbrella term for different types of language alternations.

Mixing languages used to have a negative connotation. This negative attitude was evident in the belief that mixing languages is a sign of confusion and laziness, and that children code-switch because they are unable to differentiate between their two languages or are sloppy speakers (Baker & Wright 2017: 100; Yip 2013: 113). In addition, it was often related to the notion of semilingualism (Grosjean 2013: 19) which indicates that an individual has mastered neither of their languages to an adequate extent. What is important to point out is that these views had once again pushed forward the concept of bilinguals as two monolinguals in one person who speak both languages equally and whose language systems are completely isolated and independent from each other. However, this view is not accurate and is outdated. For this reason, it is also not justified to regard code-switching as an indication of poor language competence. Over the past few years, academia has agreed on the fact that bilinguals use language alternation as a communication strategy (Grosjean 2013: 19; Nauwerck 2005: 42). Switching between languages is usually systematic, has a particular purpose and is used in to make communication more efficient (Baker & Wright 2017: 99-100; Yip 2013: 113). This relates to the notion of language modes. Grosjean (2008: 119) proposes that a bilingual moves along a situational continuum of different modes of language. On the end of the continuum, there is the monolingual mode, whereas on the other end, the mode is

bilingual. When a bilingual is surrounded by monolingual speakers, then the person in question will most likely find themselves in the monolingual mode, meaning that communication will be conducted in one language only, namely the one that all speakers involved know. In opposition to this, the bilingual may be in the company of other bilinguals who speak the same two languages that the respective individual is acquainted with. In this case, the mode will therefore be bilingual and more prone to language alternations. This clearly shows that the people with whom a bilingual converses have a great influence on the way that the bilingual uses their languages. Furthermore, if the interlocutors tend to switch between languages more frequently, then it is also more likely for the individual they communicate with to mix languages (Pinter 2011: 70; Puszta Nonn 2009: 134). It is therefore evident that children who grow up in a family where code-switching is common will presumably imitate the linguistic behaviour of their parents and siblings and will code-switch more often (Baker & Wright 2017: 100; Grosjean 2010: 199; Pinter 2011: 70).

The question that remains to be answered is what other motives for alternating between languages exist. Of course, one, but not the only, possible reason is a lack of language competence. Young children in particular are often faced with the problem that they have not yet learned the equivalent of a word or phrase from their L1 in their L2. This is why they have to draw on the lexical knowledge they have already gained and, thus, they will integrate words from their L1 into their L2 (Baker & Wright 2017: 101; Taeschner 1983: 173-174). Also, it has been shown that more language mixing occurs when bilinguals are using their weaker language (Grosjean 2008: 63 and 76; Yip 2013: 136). This shows that alternating between languages is a strategy to overcome language deficits. However, there are numerous other reasons which have nothing to do with language proficiency. For example, Festman, Poarch and Dewaele (2017: 10) reported that children may switch languages to reinforce a request in order to get their own way. Alternating between languages could also be fuelled by children's curiosity in the sense that they want to explore and play with the languages available to them. Grosjean (2010: 203-204) noted that bilinguals often try, for instance, to put a French accent on when saying something in English or switch between languages to amuse their parents or themselves. Other motives include socio-cultural and socio-political aspects such as raising one's status by using the more prestigious language or switching language to mark one's group identity (De Houwer 2009b: 323; Grosjean 2013: 19). Moreover, language alternations can have the purpose of reaffirming or clarifying a particular message, of further commenting on

or qualifying the subject matter, of either inviting someone to participate in or excluding others from a conversation, of changing the mood of a discussion, or of quoting or reporting something that someone else has said (Baker & Wright 2017: 101-10; Gumperz 1982: 75-84, quoted in Romaine 1995: 162-163). It is crucial to remark that language choice is always a matter of the participants, the topic and the context of a conversation (Baker & Wright 2017: 101; Puszta Nonn 2009: 133). With regard to the reasons mentioned, it can be reaffirmed that making use of language alternations is indeed not a sign of poor language competence, confusion or laziness, but certainly serves to fulfil various functions that prove to be of a complex and systematic nature.

2.4. The proficient bilingual

2.4.1. What does it mean to be proficient in two languages?

The question ‘What does it mean to be proficient?’ is difficult to answer in this context. Researches have proposed different definitions of bilingual proficiency, sometimes also referred to as bilingual competence (cf. Baker & Jones 1998: 5). Genesee (2004: 549), for example, defines bilingual proficiency as “the ability to use the target languages effectively and appropriately for authentic personal, educational, social, and/or word-related purpose”. However, the question arises as to what constitutes this ability. As mentioned in section 2.1.2., this issue is rather complex as bilinguals may not have the same level of competence in both of their languages and across all linguistic domains. This can be related to Grosjean’s (1997: 165) complementarity principle: “[b]ilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life require different languages.” This implies that bilinguals will only “develop competence in each of their languages to the extent needed by the environment” (Grosjean 2008: 16). The two languages may therefore develop unequally and the bilingual’s language use will enhance or regress, depending on which language is needed in a particular context (Grosjean 2008: 23-24).

In order to answer the question posed above and to determine what constitutes the language abilities needed to be considered proficient, different aspects of language have to be taken into account due to the reasons mentioned above. It has been suggested in the past to

consider the four language skills, listening, speaking, reading and writing, which can be allocated to two dimensions: receptive and productive skills, oracy and literacy (Baker & Wright 2017: 7; Macnamara 1967: 59-60), as is illustrated in table 1.

Table 1: The four language skills (slightly adapted from Baker & Wright 2017: 7)

	ORACY	LITERACY
RECEPTIVE SKILLS	listening	reading
PRODUCTIVE SKILLS	speaking	writing

The four basic skills can be further divided into sub-skills, such as pronunciation, size of the lexicon or accuracy of grammar (Baker 2001: 5; Edwards 2004: 8). It must be emphasised though that proficiency does not only consist of linguistic components, but also sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic ones (Baker & Jones 1998: 86), which further complicates the notion of bilingual proficiency.

Another definition of language proficiency is offered by Schrauf (2008: 110), who claims that proficiency “refers to the level of attainment an individual has achieved, relative to the idealized ‘native’ speaker”. He continues to argue that “language proficiency lies on a continuum between zero proficiency and ‘native-like’ attainment” (Schrauf 2008: 111). This definition has several problems though. First, what exactly does the term ‘native-like’ denote? Even native speakers vary in their proficiency and, therefore, are not necessarily highly competent in their respective languages (Hamers & Blanc 2000: 7). Second, the dichotomy ‘native’ versus ‘non-native speaker’ seems to portray the former as superior and can be interpreted as a bias towards monolingualism (Dewaele 2017: 1 and 4). Dewaele (2017: 4) therefore suggests using the terms ‘L1 user’ and ‘LX user’ instead as these terms represent equality. The definition presented above also reflects a monolingual perspective, meaning that “the L2 user’s proficiency in the second language is measured against the sole language of the monolingual” (Cook 2016: 1). This relates to the fractional view of bilingualism, which purports that a bilingual’s two languages are separate and isolated and can therefore be compared to monolingual language standards (Grosjean 2008: 10). In other words, the bilingual is seen as two monolinguals in one person and is believed to speak both languages equally well and fluently (Grosjean 2008: 10). However, as previously discussed, this view is unrealistic and outdated. Hence, it may be advisable to allow for a bilingual perspective which acknowledges that “the other languages are part of the L2 user’s total language system, each

language potentially differing from that of someone who speaks it as a monolingual” (Cook 2016: 1). The holistic view of bilingualism is similar to this, as it advances that “the bilingual is an integrated whole which cannot easily be decomposed into two separate parts” and, therefore, “is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration” (Grosjean 2008: 13). Grosjean (2008: 14) continues to argue that bilinguals develop their languages according to their needs, which may result in unequal competence. This is not seen as an unfavourable disamenity, but simply as a reflection of the unique language system of a bilingual.

A further implication of the bilingual perspective is the notion of multi-competence. This concept is based on Cook (1991). Cook (2016: 2) defines the idea of linguistic multi-competence as “the overall system of a mind or a community that uses more than one language” and he argues that “all the languages form part of one overall system, with complex and shifting relationships between them, affecting the first language as well as the others”. Thus, the languages are not isolated, but instead they are interrelated and influence each other. Additionally, the focus is not merely on the languages of an L2 user, but it involves the whole mind (Cook 2016: 2 and 10).

It is also essential to mention that L2 users should not be tested against monolingual native-speakers, for the reasons mentioned above. Simply put, bilinguals are unique and should not be compared to monolinguals:

If L2 users are independent persons in their own right rather than the shadows of native speakers, the comparison between L2 users and monolingual native speakers is about as revealing as, say, discussing how apples resemble pears, of little interest for those concerned with the distinctive qualities of apples. (Cook 2016: 3-4)

There are exceptions though as the comparison between bilinguals and monolinguals can provide useful insights. It needs to be assured though that the “underlying knowledge of the two types of speakers are targeted” (Meisel 2004: 93-94). The researcher should keep in mind that bilinguals are language users in their own right and that their language configuration is different.

2.4.2. Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)

As illustrated, defining proficiency is not a straightforward task. Cummins (2000: 55) argues that proficiency “cannot be conceptualized outside of particular contexts of use” and that one should discuss “different levels of accomplishment or expertise (or degrees of access) only with reference to specific contexts”. In more concrete terms, he proposed a model of proficiency that distinguishes between conversational and academic language aspects. The former refers to the language that is mostly used in interpersonal conversations which are context-embedded and relatively cognitively undemanding. Hence, he labels this type of proficiency ‘basic interpersonal communicative skills’ (BICS). The latter describes literacy-related skills, namely those skills that are required in more academic settings which are context-reduced and cognitively demanding. Cummins terms the skills needed in these types of situations ‘cognitive academic language proficiency’ (CALP) (Cummins 2001 [1980]: 112; Hamers & Blanc 1989: 55). What is important to mention in this regard is the relevance of BICS and CALP in the context of bilingual education. Cummins (2001 [1980]: 117) argues that “native-like L2 BICS in a bilingual situation tells us very little about a child's ability to survive educationally in an L2-only classroom” as “native-like L2 BICS may hide large gaps in L2 CALP”. This is because it takes much longer to attain CALP. Children normally reach BICS in a relatively short time, but it takes between five and seven years to reach grade norms in CALP (Cummins 2001 [1982]: 145). Teachers need to take this into consideration when setting tasks or assessing students.

3. An introduction to bilingual education in childhood

3.1. Child and language development in the preschool years

3.1.1. The development of the preschool child

According to Piaget, each child follows a particular order of stages of development, which he describes as ‘invariant stages of development’. He supposed that if a child is able to complete a Piagetian task that is appropriate for the respective age level, then what can be inferred from this is the success rate on similar tasks for the same age range (Pinter 2011: 9). The

successful completion of a specific task also provides information about the stage that the child currently resides in. In sum, there are four stages: the sensorimotor stage (from birth to 2 years), the pre-operational stage (from 2 to 7 years), the concrete operational stage (from 7 to 12 years) and the formal operational stage (from 12 years onwards) (Oakley 2004: 16). In the context of this thesis, mainly the second stage of development is of interest, namely the pre-operational stage. Children aged 2 to 7 years fall into this stage (Pinter 2011: 9). However, the pre-operational stage can be further refined into two sub-stages: the preconceptual period from age two to four, and the intuitive period from age four to seven (Oakley 2004: 18). The former is characterised by animism, which means that inanimate objects are believed to have a consciousness, and lifelike qualities, and egocentrism, which describes the concept of not understanding that other people can and may have a different perspective than one's own. The main characteristics of the latter are centration, which is the ability of focussing attention on one specific aspect of a situation while ignoring others, and the development of conservation, which reflects the ability to understand that the quantity of something does not change even when it is rearranged in terms of space or form (Oakley 2004: 18-19; Pinter 2011: 9). Piaget emphasised that children lack formal logic during the pre-operational stage, but still, it should be noted that they "begin to use language and imagery as meaning-making systems and make huge progress in their intellectual development" during that period (Pinter 2011: 10).

Even though Piaget's theories are considered highly influential, they still have been criticised. It has often been remarked that he underestimated the mental abilities of children in the pre-operational stage (Pinter 2011: 13). A further point of criticism is that the children tested by Piaget might have misunderstood certain tasks, did not understand the instructions or were not able to express themselves clearly enough (cf. Siegal 1997: 31). Donaldson (2006: 1), for example, claims that the studies conducted by Piaget presupposed that "the children already possess the linguistic and cognitive resources which are required to produce explanations, and therefore that failure to produce an adequate explanation is attributable to a deficit in the ability under investigation". She continues by arguing that "[i]f children's explanations are to be used as a window to their minds, then it is important to determine whether the window is truly transparent" (Donaldson 2006: 1).

Despite the criticism, Piaget's work is still seen as relevant, particularly in the field of education. Some of his ideas can also be applied to (second) language learning and are often considered in language classrooms. When planning activities for a particular age group, it may be reasonable to take the different stages of development into consideration. Further suggestions include incorporating hands-on tasks, providing room for creative endeavours, or explaining the instructions accordingly (Pinter 2011: 35).

Another influential psychologist was Lev Vygotsky. In contrast to Piaget, Vygotsky did not believe in preconditioned stages, but rather in continuous development. He also highlighted the importance of the social and cultural environment and he studied their influence on children's internal growth. He devised the so-called 'law of cultural development' in order to depict how social processes can influence learning: First, the child interacts with a more mature person and, as a result, new knowledge is generated (intermental stage). In the second stage (intramental stage), the child internalises the newly gained knowledge and is therefore able to reflect on or actively use it (Pinter 2011: 16-17). Related to this is the zone of proximal development (ZPD). Vygotsky's (1978: 86) research led him to the following insight:

[T]he capability of children with equal levels of mental development to learn under a teacher's guidance varied to a high degree, it became apparent that those children were not mentally the same age and that the subsequent course of their learning would obviously become different. This difference [...] is what we call *the zone of proximal development. It is the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers.* [original emphasis]

In other words, the ZPD illustrates how support by parents, teachers or other intellectually more advanced collocutors can affect the mental abilities and development of the child in question. Following Vygotsky's logic, interaction with adults induces a potential growth in mental capacities.

Similar to Piaget's approach, Vygotsky's work has had far reaching consequences and also has implications for language teachers. Pinter (2011: 21) states that the main consequence of Vygotsky's theory is carefully considering the communication between teacher and learners as classroom talk is where learning takes place. Teachers have to guide the thoughts of the children, but of course the scope of their ZPD should be taken into account. In addition, students should be given the chance to learn and scaffold in collaboration with their peers.

Other suggestions are to carefully choose the language used in a classroom in order to ensure effective learning, to consider that the individual children will interpret a task differently (even more so when they are from different cultural backgrounds), and to focus not only on the outcomes, but also on the process of learning (Pinter 2011: 35-36).

3.1.2. Language learning theories

In this chapter, different theories and approaches to language learning will be presented. First, the difference between nature and nurture will be explained and then some influential approaches will be introduced. Due to the restricted scope of this thesis, this chapter will give a brief overview and will include the most relevant schools of thought and theories, namely the behaviourist, the innatist/nativist and the interactionist approach.

In the context of first language acquisition, the terms nature and nurture often appear. The former describes “the genetic predisposition to learn and use a language”, while the latter can be defined as “the linguistic, social, cultural and emotional input that feeds acquisition” (Herschensohn 2007: 27). The nature-nurture debate is often depicted as an either-or debate. However, research has shown that the relationship is in fact a complex one and that the two notions are intertwined (Saxton 2010: 247). Still, certain approaches to language learning can be related to or said to be based on either the notion of nature or nurture.

The behaviourist school, for example, advocates the idea that “all learning, whether verbal or non-verbal, takes place through the establishment of habits”, and, to be more accurate, “when learners imitate and repeat the language they hear in their surrounding environment and are positively reinforced for doing so, habit formation (or learning) occurs” (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 213-214). Learning according to the behaviourist explanation is therefore based on experience, imitation and practice. The quality, quantity and consistency of the reinforcement have an impact on how well the language is learned (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 15). The presumption is that at birth a child’s mind can be compared to a tabula rasa or a blank slate, which will then be filled with experiences and shaped through the environment in which the child grows up (Pinter 2011: 38). Accordingly, the behaviourist tradition can be linked to the idea of nurture. It is often argued that the behaviourist explanation to language learning may be relevant when it comes to acquiring particular words or the more routine aspects of

language that have a clear pattern, but it cannot be deployed to the more complex aspects (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 19).

In response to the behaviourist approach, there is the concept of innatism, also called nativism, which can be ascribed to the theories of Chomsky. It assumes that a child is born with an innate linguistic set of skills, similar to a biological pre-programme or blueprint for language acquisition, which enables humans to learn language (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 20; Oksa 1977: 143-144; Pinter 2011: 38). In the 1960s, Chomsky proposed a mechanism called the Language Acquisition Device (LAD). It can be depicted as a black box which contains those principles that are universal to all existing languages. When the child is exposed to natural language, the LAD is activated and the child can then connect the pre-programmed linguistic knowledge with the actual use of the respective language present in the child's environment. The child can thereby discover the underlying rules of the language in question (Lightbown & Spada 1993: 8). In other words, "in-between language input and language production is a linguistic process that involves the activation of universal principles of grammar with which the learner is endowed" (Baker 2001: 129). During the 1980s, Chomsky developed the notion of the LAD further and renamed it Universal Grammar (UG). It can be defined as "the innate linguistic template that determines both language acquisition and the universal properties of human languages around the world" (Herschensohn 2007: 28). When comparing the definitions of the LAD and of UG, it becomes apparent that they refer to the similar, if not the same, underlying idea.

Another approach that has gained popularity is the interactionist position, which focuses on "the interplay between the innate learning ability of children and the environment in which they develop" (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 24). What is essential in this theory is that learners receive enough input, but also produce output and receive feedback on what was said. Therefore, communication and interacting with others is crucial as this chance to negotiate meaning fuels the language learning process (Pinter 2011: 38). The importance of modifying the language according to the child's proficiency level is often emphasised. Methods such as child-directed speech, also known as caretaker talk or motherese, support the comprehension and processing of the language used. Child-directed speech describes the simplified language that parents often use when speaking to their babies or toddlers. It is characterised by modifications such as simple syntax, shorter sentences, more content words, slower speech

rate, repetitions and paraphrases (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 26; Szagun 1996: 215). By applying these methods, the child's language acquisition will be facilitated.

There are numerous theories that relate to language attainment, three of which have been presented in this chapter. The question that remains unanswered is which of these theories can be regarded as 'correct'. However, there is no universally accepted answer. Lightbown and Spada (1993: 16), for instance, claim that all theories are valid to some degree and complement each other:

[E]ach may help to explain a different aspect of children's language development. Behaviourist explanations may explain routine aspects, while innatist explanations seem most plausible in explaining the acquisition of complex grammar. Interactionist explanations are necessary for understanding how children relate form and meaning in language, how to interact in conversations, and how to use language appropriately.

In other terms, each of these theories "offers a different point of view and a different emphasis to explain language acquisition phenomena" and they therefore all "contribute to our ever-increasing understanding of language learning" (Pinter 2011: 37). Taking these views into account, it can be concluded that the question posed above has to remain unanswered as there is not one 'correct' theory of language attainment.

3.2. Different forms of bilingual education

3.2.1. Strong forms vs. weak forms of bilingual education

The aims of this section are to ascertain what the term bilingual education means, to present different forms of bilingual education and to have a closer look at one specific type of educational programme, namely immersion.

Bilingual education can be defined in various ways. Genesee (2004: 548), for instance, specifies that bilingual education is "education that aims to promote bilingual (or multilingual) competence by using both (or all) languages as media of instruction for significant portions of the academic curriculum". However, his definition focuses predominantly on additive bilingualism and seems to exclude those programmes which are associated with subtractive bilingualism. Therefore, the definition used in this thesis is "*any system of school education in*

which, at a given moment in time and for a varying amount of time, simultaneously or consecutively, instruction is planned and given in at least two languages” [original emphasis] (Hamers & Blanc 1989: 189). This definition is broader and includes both additive and subtractive forms of education.

Bilingual education programmes can be divided into two subcategories: strong and weak forms. The former aims at adding a second language to a child’s language repertoire while still fostering the child’s first language. The school’s ambition is to enable the children to become bilingual, bilateral and maybe even bicultural (Baker & Jones 1998: 466). For this reason, the strong forms of bilingual education are also known as additive or enrichment programmes. Examples are immersion, maintenance or heritage language, two-way or dual language and mainstream bilingual programmes (Baker & Wright 2017: 215; Baker & Jones 1998: 470). Weak forms of bilingual education, in contrast, intend to teach the majority language in order to integrate the child into the majority community. However, this often happens at the expense of the child’s L1, or, in extreme cases, the child’s native language is replaced by the newly learned language. For this reason, weak forms of bilingual education are viewed as assimilationist (Baker & Jones 1998: 466 and 469). Examples are submersion, segregationist, transitional or separatist programmes (Baker & Wright 2017: 199; Baker & Jones 1998: 470). Cummins and Swain (1986: 46) criticise this division and refer to it as a “linguistic double standard” as “majority language children are praised for learning a second language even if the result is non-native-like in its characteristics, whereas minority language children must demonstrate dull native-like competence in the second language to receive the same praise”. In more general terms, it seems indeed odd that certain forms of bilingual education do not support bilingualism and/or biculturalism, especially since it has been frequently emphasised that those types of education that proceed at the expense of the child’s native language may have a negative impact on the child’s cognition (Cummins 2001 [1976]: 41; Cummins 2001a [1979a]: 73) (see also chapter 2.3.2.).

As the accompanying study of this thesis has been conducted in an immersion kindergarten, this type of programme will be dealt with in further detail. Immersion education has its roots in St. Lambert, Montreal, in 1965. English-speaking parents advocated an experimental kindergarten class which should enable their children

- (1) to become competent to speak, read and write in French;
- (2) to reach normal achievement levels throughout the curriculum including the English language;
- (3) to appreciate the traditions and culture of French-speaking Canadians as well as English-speaking Canadians. (Baker & Wright 2017: 230)

In other words, the objective was “for children to become bilingual and bicultural without loss of achievement” (Baker & Jones 1998: 496). The children are relatively homogenous as they tend to have the same linguistic and cultural background and they usually do not have any previous knowledge of the language of instruction (Cummins & Swain 1986: 8). It is typical for immersion programmes that the children’s native language is a majority language and that the additional language is either another majority or a minority language (Baker & Wright 2017: 233-234). The basic principles of immersion teaching include, for instance, the deployment of bilingual teachers who speak the target language, but who are also able to listen to the children’s utterances in their native language, the use of simplified language, repetition and paralinguistic cues, and the attainment of language through play and interaction with others (Baker & Jones 1998: 491-492; Cummins 2001 [1984]: 151).

The immersion programmes in Canada proved to be successful as they resulted in additive bilingualism without posing a threat to the children’s native language (Romaine 1995: 245-246). Students frequently attain an advanced understanding of their L2 and may even experience cognitive advantages (Hamers & Blanc 2000: 335). Moreover, the children’s performance in other areas of the curriculum does not suffer in the majority of cases (Baker 2001: 234). Still, it needs to be mentioned that it may take several years for children to be able to communicate in the L2 with other children in the programme and it may even take six to seven years to accomplish L2 achievement tests with the same results as their monolingual peers. Hence, Cummins and Swain (1986: 105) argue that it is necessary to “re-examine our expectation that bilingual education should be, or even can be, a short and transitory experience, if it is to be a successful one”. Nevertheless, since 1965, immersion education in Canada has undergone rapid growth: from 1992 to 2014 alone, the number of Canadian students who are enrolled in a French immersion programme increased by 47 per cent (Baker & Wright 2017: 232). After seeing how successful the Canadian immersion programmes were, many other countries and regions in the world, irrespective of whether they are officially bilingual or not, have started to implement this type of bilingual programme. Examples include Catalonia, Finland, Hungary, Switzerland, Japan, Hong Kong and South Africa (Baker & Wright

2017: 233). Consequently, immersion education is no longer a Canadian phenomenon, but has received recognition and is applied internationally. This global success also led to the development of various models of immersion programmes which vary according to the age at which the target language is introduced and the amount of time that the language is used (Baker 1995: 161). Johnstone (2007 [2002]: 23) distinguishes between the following models:

- Early total immersion
- Early partial immersion
- Delayed total immersion
- Delayed partial immersion
- Late total immersion
- Late partial immersion

It has been found that all models are effective (Cummins 2001b [1979b]: 97) and suitable for all children, irrespective of their background (Cummins 2001 [1984]: 169). Nevertheless, in the following, only early immersion programmes will be considered, in particular the early partial immersion model, as only they are relevant to this thesis since the accompanying study was conducted in an early partial immersion kindergarten. Early immersion students typically start their programme in preschools or in their first year of primary school. The difference between the total and the partial immersion programme is that in the former, the teacher uses the target language at all times, though the language is simplified and supported by non-verbal techniques (Johnstone 2007 [2002]: 23). The latter is characterised by the use of both the native and the additional language, often in a 50:50 ratio (Baker & Jones 1998: 496). Both models focus on content instead of form and there is no formal instruction. The children are not pressured to use the second language; if they decide to do so though, their errors are not corrected because they are regarded as a natural component of the learning process. In addition, it is considered important to train the receptive before the productive skills (Baker 2001: 206 and 361-362). According to Johnstone (2007 [2002]: 23), early immersion students may also “go through a ‘silent period’ in which they develop comprehension skills in the immersion language and use their first language in order to express themselves”. Furthermore, it has been observed that some children experience a temporary lag in their L1, but in the long run, they tend to achieve the same, if not even superior, L1 attainment (Baker & Wright 2017: 258).

As has been shown in this chapter, there are various bilingual education programmes, some of which are more effective than others. The next chapter will investigate what makes bilingual education successful and which factors may play a role.

3.2.2. Effectiveness of bilingual education

It has been briefly addressed in previous chapters that there are certain factors which influence language development. This chapter, however, focuses on the context of bilingual education. In relation to this, the points listed below are claimed to influence the outcome of bilingual education (cf. Baker & Wright 2017: 265 and 298-301; Nauwerck 2005: 162; Zangl & Peltzer-Karpf 1998: 69):

- the type of programme
- the teaching staff
- the parents
- the individual children

As far as the type of programme is concerned, there are several sub-categories that have an impact on effectiveness. It has been repeatedly claimed that additive programmes are superior to subtractive programmes with regard to language attainment and also to cognitive benefits (Edwards 2004: 17; Pinter 2011: 75; Romaine 1995: 115). The organisation of the programme, the methods used and the class sizes and compositions need to be considered (Genesee 2004: 551; Nauwerck 2005: 139). Furthermore, the quality and quantity of instruction is crucial. It is suggested that if children are exposed to the L2 every day in a holistic and communicative context then the teaching staff should be qualified and possess adequate language competence (Nauwerck 2005: 167-168). The more intense and consistent the input and the more diverse the possibilities a child has to explore the language in a fun way, the higher the chances of a successful learning outcome (Festman, Poarch & Dewaele 2017: 65 and 82). In other words, the “bilingual needs practice in speaking his [or her] two languages, just as an athlete needs to train, and a pianist needs to play” (Taeschner 1983: 192). Cummins and Swain (1986: 80) also argue that it is not only important for the learners to receive sufficient input, but it is also crucial that they understand the language used, which is particularly relevant for minority students.

The teaching staff are pivotal as they act as role models. Therefore, not only their linguistic and pedagogical competence is of importance, but also their attitude towards the L2 (Nauwerck 2005: 163; Ng & Wigglesworth 2007: 124). Other variables are their degree of commitment and enthusiasm, the goals that they set for the programme and the proportion of teachers to learners (Baker & Wright 2017: 298; Baker & Jones 1998: 495). It should also be highlighted that teachers should attend to each child's personality and use different styles of teaching. This may help to create a learning environment in which all learners feel comfortable and safe (Lightbown & Spada 1993: 50).

Parents certainly have an impact on the learning outcome too. It is essential that they value both of the languages that their child is growing up with (Nauwerck 2005: 171). Additionally, it may be beneficial if the parents show interest in, cooperate with and actively get involved in their child's education (Baker & Wright 2017: 301). In more general terms, what Baker (1995: 39) refers to as the "family language balance sheet" may also be of significance; i.e. what languages the parents use around the child and to what extent, whether they promote the attainment of both languages and whether they actively practise the language that their child learns in (pre-)school.

Lastly, the actual learners may play the most important role. It is evident that individual differences emerge. These may stem from a child's individual background, motivation, attitude towards the L2, learning style, aptitude, spontaneity, self-esteem or other personal traits (Baker 2001: 121). To achieve the optimum learning outcome, it is vital to be responsive to a child's individual characteristics and needs and to give them room for creative exploration of the language and for interaction with others. The learners should also receive personalised feedback and praise in order to gain confidence (Baker & Wright 2017: 301; Hedge 2000: 24).

Even though the factors mentioned above may influence the effectiveness of bilingual education, it still needs to be emphasised that there is not one universal answer to what makes the education effective and successful. In fact, the "recipe for success is unlikely to result from one ingredient" (Baker & Wright 2017: 265). Instead, the combination of and interaction between factors determine how successful a programme will be. For this reason, it should be kept in mind that generalising from one group to another is invalid (Baker 2001: 230).

3.3. How languages are taught

3.3.1. Approaches to and methods of teaching languages

In this chapter, some approaches to language teaching will be introduced, namely audiolingualism, total physical response (TPR), the natural method, and communicative language teaching (CLT). Furthermore, some general principles will be presented that may positively influence language learning. It needs to be emphasised though that there are more theories than the ones that will be dealt with here. Moreover, there is not one optimal approach for all scenarios as the methodological choice is determined by the desired outcome. Hence, different approaches may be chosen, depending on whether the aim is to become a fluent speaker, to be able to communicate in real-life situations, or to be able to read in a foreign language (cf. Baker & Jones 1998: 665-666). Furthermore, it should also be noted that teachers can be flexible in a sense that they may vary or use certain aspects from different methods and approaches, depending on the context.

Audiolingualism is based on the behaviourist tradition and focuses on listening and speaking skills. More specifically, grammar and pronunciation are practised by using drills and repetition. The language to be learned is carefully structured and presented in small doses (Baker 2001: 117; Baker & Jones 1998: 673). The importance of drills and repetition is often highlighted, not just in the context of audiolingualism, but of language learning in general. The input should be regularly repeated to consolidate what has been learned already (Nauwerck 2005: 169). Drills can be useful as they encourage children to actively use the language in a supportive setting, in a sense that the children can test new language items synchronously with their peers. Young children, in particular, often prefer to imitate and repeat chunks of language in chorus as it reduces pressure. Forcing children to speak before they are ready can in fact be harmful to their language development. The use of repetition and drills can therefore counteract this potential adverse effect. However, the teacher has to ensure that the children understand the new content and that the drills are incorporated in a fun and lively way (Cameron 2001: 117-118; Cusack 2004: 15). Audiolingualism is often criticised for its unsuitability to teach skills that are applicable to complex real-life situations. As the focus is predominantly on accuracy, learners may lack fluency and communicative skills (Baker & Jones 1998: 673; Lightbown & Spada 2013: 159). Consequently, audiolingualism is rarely used in contemporary classrooms.

The concept of total physical response centres on giving commands to which the children react by physically performing them. Naturally, the emphasis is on developing listening skills and, hence, rich and comprehensible input is crucial. Once the students have learned the basics, it is presumed that they then develop speaking skills (Baker & Jones 1998: 681). It can be claimed that TPR is suitable for young learners as this method can make activities more fun and challenges children to combine language learning with physical movements. The disadvantages of TPR are that the children are rarely given the opportunity to speak in the classroom and to communicate with their peers. Therefore, they may not reach any advanced language levels. For this reason, TPR should only be used at early learning stages to introduce basic phrases (Lightbown & Spada 1993: 88 and 91-92).

The natural approach was established by Krashen. To understand his approach, the distinction between acquisition and learning needs to be addressed:

Simply, acquiring a language is 'picking it up,' i.e. developing ability in a language by using it in natural, communicative situations. Children acquire their first language, and most probably, second languages as well. [...] Language learning is different from acquisition. Language learning is 'knowing the rules', having a conscious knowledge about grammar. [...] [I]t appears that formal language learning is not nearly as important in developing communicative ability in second languages as previously thought. (Krashen & Terrell 1983: 18)

As can be deduced from this quote, the natural approach draws comparisons to first language acquisition. Exposure to the language in question is viewed as substantial, whereas conscious rules play a subordinate role. If the students receive comprehensible input in the L2, then they will naturally acquire the skills needed for communication (Baker 2001: 121). In other words, content is more important than form. Krashen and Terrell (1983: 20-21) devised four principles in support of the natural approach: First, the students' comprehensive skills will develop before their productive ones. Second, the productive skills advance in six stages, namely from non-verbal response to complex discourse. Students are not pressured to speak during the early stages and minor errors will not be corrected. Third, the focus is not on grammatical structures, but on communicative goals and specific topics. Fourth, the activities and the atmosphere in the classroom must support the affective prerequisites in order to allow for successful language acquisition. A point of critique regarding the natural approach is that classrooms cannot be compared to the environment in which a first language is learned as they are context-reduced and therefore lack authenticity. Additionally, the teachers should

be highly fluent and, ideally, at a level comparable to those of L1 users, which is not always the case (Baker & Jones 1998: 671). Even though the natural approach has been subject to criticism and research has refuted some of its propositions, it can still be claimed that this approach has been highly influential and has had a great impact on the subsequent developments in the field of teaching and learning theories (Oxford 2007: 10).

Another approach that has gained much attention recently is communicative language teaching (CLT). This approach advocates that language is learned by using it in communication. It is based on the following underlying principles:

1. Language is a system of conveying meaning.
2. The primary purpose of language is interaction and communication.
3. Language can be analysed in terms of its grammatical structures, but also according to categories of meaning as used in speech events. (Baker & Jones 1998: 677)

In line with these characteristics, it can be ascertained that the main aims of CLT are to become fluent in the L2 and to be able to communicate in real-life situations by using different language skills. Hence, authentic and meaningful communicative activities and materials are pivotal and should facilitate L2 learning. Errors are regarded as natural and represent the process of creative construction of the language to be learned (Richards & Rodgers 2001: 172). During the early stages of learning, the input is modified and supported by contextual cues or gestures in order to assist the students in comprehension (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 127-128). CLT has had a great influence on the development of international standards for describing language proficiency, such as the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001), also known as CEFR, and, currently, CLT can be claimed to be the most frequently used approach (Duff 2014, quoted in Baker & Wright 2017: 13-14).

In this section, different teaching methods and approaches have been presented. However, it needs to be stressed that a “pedagogical approach cannot be reduced to a single method but must, on the contrary, combine a large number of different techniques each corresponding to specific aspects of the learning process” (Hamers & Blanc 1989: 243). Furthermore, even if the teacher varies between or combines different methods, this still does not guarantee learning, simply because there are various factors which have an impact on how successful the language education will be. Teachers cannot control all of these, but they can at least try to create learning opportunities and support the students as well as possible (Cameron 2001: 242).

3.3.2. Methods of teaching vocabulary

This chapter serves to deepen the understanding of language teaching. In particular, some methods that specifically foster vocabulary learning will be presented as they are of relevance to the empirical part included in the present thesis. These methods may also be helpful for language learning in general. Before going into detail, it is important to draw attention to the difference between active and passive vocabulary and between function and content words.

Active vocabulary refers to those types of words that can be produced and actively used in communication. Passive vocabulary describes the circumstance where an individual recognises words and knows their meaning, but does not use them in their own speech or writing. However, Hedge (2000: 116) proposes that vocabulary knowledge is not dichotomous, but can be seen as a spectrum that reaches from recognition to automatic production, with in-between phenomena such as the 'tip of the tongue effect' or the tendency to forget words that have not been used or encountered in a long time. What is important to remember though, is that understanding the input and being understood are prerequisites for learning (Gass & Glew 2008: 281).

Function words are used to express grammatical and structural relations (e.g. articles, prepositions, auxiliary verbs), whereas content words are words that carry meaning (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives). They require different teaching approaches. Function words are usually learned through continued exposure in different discourse contexts. In contrast, content words can be explained or taught in more direct, explicit and planned ways (Cameron 2001: 82; Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 83).

When it comes to learning vocabulary, there are certain considerations that should be discussed. First, it is important to have a realistic aim. Depending on the learning environment, time available and complexity of the words, approximately 500 words per year seems viable. Children often learn new vocabulary quickly, but in order for it to be stored in their long-term memory, frequent repetition is vital (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 81 and 89). It is suggested to teach high frequency words first because if learners know the 1.000 most frequently used words in English, they would understand approximately 75% of a random page of text (Nation 1993: 119). It may also be useful to start with words that are phonetically similar to the L1 counterpart and words that only have one meaning. Moreover, the introduction of words

should be hierarchically structured, i.e. simpler forms should be taught before more complex ones (Zangl & Peltzer-Karpf 1998: 15-16). It is motivating for children to be able to speak some words or phrases after the first few L2 sessions, even if these words only represent basic concepts such as colours or numbers (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 105). When teaching young children, the vocabulary should be presented in a context which connects to their immediate experience, meaning that the newly introduced words should be connected to an object that the children can see or touch and should also be related to the learners' fields of interest (Cameron 2001: 81 and 94). In general, contextualisation is crucial as it fosters understanding and processing (Hedge 2000: 120).

There are several techniques of teaching vocabulary, but it is difficult to determine which are most effective as individual learners, for example, prefer different methods (Campbell & Campbell 2009: 40 and 178; Meara 1993: 288). There are cognitive and metacognitive strategies for vocabulary learning. Cognitive strategies "are direct mental operations which are concerned with working on new words in order to understand, categorize, and store them in the mental lexicon" and include techniques such as learning words in clusters and establishing associations (Hedge 2000: 117). In contrast, metacognitive strategies are indirect and "facilitate learning by actively involving the learner in conscious efforts to remember new words", for example by gathering words from authentic materials and contexts or by creating word cards (Hedge 2000: 118). When teaching the meaning of a word, the following techniques can be useful: physically demonstrating a word with the help of miming and gesturing, explaining the word by referring to different contexts, teaching synonyms and antonyms, pointing at objects or pictures or letting the children draw a word (Hedge 2000: 126). Given the wide range of strategies, it might be best if teachers simply try different strategies to ascertain what works best with different classes, age groups or situations.

3.3.3. The importance of child-oriented activities: examples

When working with young children, there are certain activities that are particularly appropriate, such as using routines, rhymes, games, songs and stories, some of which will be explored in more detail in this section. All these are fun ways to learn language and foster learning by means of visual aids and tangible contexts (Prochazka 2004: 109). Moreover, these

types of activities are not only a linguistic resource, but also an affective, cognitive, cultural and social resource (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 162-163).

Routines “provide opportunities for meaningful language development; they allow the child to actively make sense of new language from familiar experience and provide a space for language growth” (Cameron 2001: 11). In other words, newly introduced or more complex language can sometimes be difficult to understand, but if the language used is supported by routines, then it is more likely that the child will understand and start to internalise it. Routines can also be easily incorporated via classroom management as the context is meaningful and similar patterns emerge on a daily basis (e.g. greeting the teacher, asking for help) (Cameron 2001: 112).

As social interactions and interactions through play are crucial for children, the importance of games should be highlighted as they help children to strengthen both their social and linguistic behaviour (Oksaar 1977: 117). When playing games in the L2, children practise their pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, and can make the newly learned language more accessible and memorable. The teacher’s role is to give instructions and monitor the children. Errors should not be over-corrected as this may diminish the learners’ motivation. Games may also create a homelike atmosphere and can therefore make the children feel safe and confident (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 172, 174 and 185).

Storybooks are also a great way to practice language or learn new vocabulary in an authentic way. However, the story should be appropriate to the children’s linguistic and conceptual level (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 189). Even if a story contains unfamiliar words, children usually manage to guess their meaning from the context. Additionally, stories are often predictable, include illustrations and can be supported by mime and gestures, all of which further foster comprehension and, subsequently, language learning and vocabulary growth (Cameron 2001: 163, 169; Nauwerck 2005: 170).

The activities mentioned simply serve as examples. There are, however, numerous other strategies that can be used to teach an L2 to children (e.g. rhymes, chants and role plays). What is most important though and determines the effectiveness of the language education is “**making language enjoyable**, fun and a thoroughly happy experience for children” [original emphasis] (Baker 1995: 35).

B. The study in the English Playschool Linz

4. An introduction to the study

4.1. Main aims and methods used in the study

In the empirical part of this thesis, the study that was conducted as part of this research project will be introduced and the results will be presented. The study was conducted in the English Playschool Linz, which is a German-/English-speaking kindergarten. The primary objective of the Playschool Linz is to teach the children English in a playful and fun way and, at the same time, equip them with the German skills needed for their future education. The study in question serves to explore the effectiveness of the English Playschool Linz in terms of how the language proficiency of the children develops from year one to year three. The focus is on their productive and receptive lexical skills in English. The reason why lexical skills were chosen as representative of language proficiency is because they can be regarded as a core component of language; without vocabulary, communication would not be possible. Furthermore, Cummins (2000: 133) argues that lexical knowledge is a crucial factor when it comes to language proficiency:

[K]nowledge of English vocabulary is a strong candidate to provide a sensitive index capable of distinguishing learners at different stages of English proficiency [...]. In other words, insofar as any notion of *general language proficiency* is defensible, it is likely to be reflected most clearly and sensitively in the individual's lexical knowledge. [original emphasis]

Another field of interest is to ascertain whether the English Playschool follows specific (language) learning approaches or methods in order to teach the children English. This leads to the overall research question: Which strategies are used in the English Playschool Linz to increase the children's lexical abilities and in how far can these strategies be considered effective?

In order to answer this research question, a triangulation of research methods was chosen. The reason for this is that a combination of several different factors can affect the results of a study. To counteract this issue, different research methods which complement each other are used (Pinter 2011: 101). In the present thesis, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods were used (also see figure 2). The British Picture Vocabulary Scale III (Dunn

et al. 2009), henceforth referred to as BPVS III, and the picture book *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog] by Fechner (1982) constitute the basis of the study at hand. The BPVS III serves to assess the receptive English vocabulary of the children, whereas the picture book, which the children are asked to narrate, seeks to elicit their productive skills. In addition, a parental questionnaire is used to collect information about the individual language backgrounds of the children. Moreover, interviews with the head of the kindergarten and the teaching staff are administered to identify the policy and objectives of the kindergarten and to learn about the teaching methods and strategies. A detailed description of the research methods and tests used can be found in section 5. In chapter 6., the data will then be analysed and the findings will be discussed.

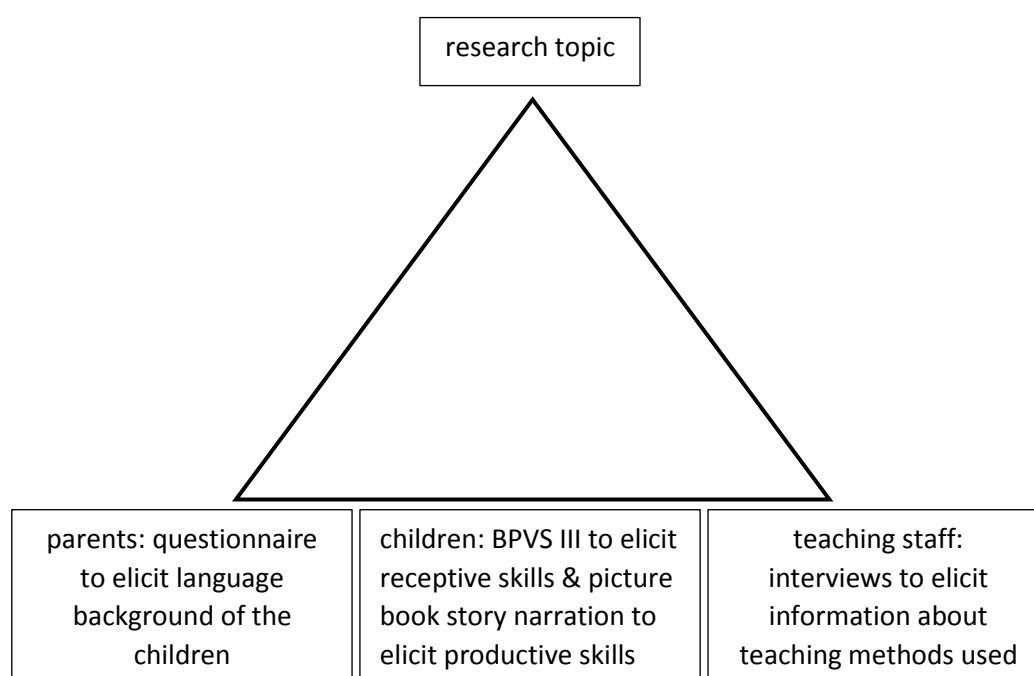


Figure 2: Triangulation of research methods in the present study

4.2. Research questions and hypotheses

The main research question of the present thesis has already been introduced in the previous chapter and will be referred to as research question 1, as can be seen below. Apart from this general research question, several narrower research questions and hypotheses were formulated, which will be presented below.

- Research question 1:
Which strategies are used in the English Playschool Linz to increase the children's lexical abilities and in how far can these strategies be considered effective?

- Research question 2:
How would the teaching staff evaluate this kindergarten and what makes it unique?

- Research question 3:
Do the children improve their language skills from year one to year three and, if so, to what extent and are there differences in their productive and receptive skills?
Hypothesis 1:
The children from the advanced group obtain significantly better scores in the receptive test than the children from the beginner group.
Hypothesis 2:
The children from the advanced group obtain significantly better scores in the productive test than the children from the beginner group.

- Research question 4:
Do children who are acquainted with an additional language other than German and English perform better on the two tests than children who solely speak German and English?
Hypothesis 3:
Children who are acquainted with an additional language other than German and English perform significantly better on the receptive part of the testing than children who solely speak German and English.
Hypothesis 4:
Children who are acquainted with an additional language other than German and English perform significantly better on the productive part of the testing than children who solely speak German and English.

- Research question 5:
Does practising their English skills at home have an effect on children's performance?

Hypothesis 5:

Children who practise their English receptive skills at home perform significantly better on the receptive part of the testing.

Hypothesis 6:

Children who practise their English productive skills at home perform significantly better on the productive part of the testing.

- Research question 6:

Does gender have an effect on the outcome of the tests?

Hypothesis 7:

Gender does not significantly affect the receptive part of the testing.

Hypothesis 8:

Gender does not significantly affect the productive part of the testing.

5. Description of the study

5.1. The setting: the English Playschool Linz

The accompanying study to this thesis took place in the English Playschool Linz¹, which is a bilingual education programme for children aged between 2.5 and 6 years. The English Playschool was founded over 60 years ago by Dr. Susanne Schönfelder. After the Second World War she began working at the 'Amerikahaus' in Linz, where she managed the children's library and also taught English lessons to children. Her work at the 'Amerikahaus' inspired her to establish the English Playschool Linz, whose doors opened in 1953. In the first year, only seven children attended the programme; in the second year, the number had already increased to 20 children. To date, the number of learners has continued to grow. In 1974, Dr Schönfelder's daughter, Sunhild Huber-Schönfelder, took over the Playschool and has had the function of the Head of the Playschool since then (Huber-Schönfelder 2013: 8-9). Currently, the teaching staff are composed of 18 so-called 'aunties'², some of which are native speakers.

¹ For more information on the English Playschool Linz: cf. <http://www.playschool.at/>

² To refer to teaching staff in kindergartens as 'aunties' is sometimes perceived as diminishing. From a personal point of view, the teaching staff in playschools are pedagogues who had to go through intensive training and

Over the years, the English Playschool Linz has developed a unique programme with the aim of teaching children English in a fun and secure environment. Still, close attention is paid to the development of age-appropriate German skills too (Huber-Schönfelder 2013: 10). As one of the main objectives of the Playschool is to assist children in acquiring a second language in addition to strengthening the children's native language, it represents a strong form of bilingual nursery education (cf. Baker & Jones 1998: 491). To link this back to chapter 2.1.2., the children attending the Playschool Linz undergo additive bilingual education, as they add another language to their existing language repertoire. Furthermore, they are elective bilinguals as the decision to become acquainted with another language is completely voluntary, even though in this case, the responsibility is placed upon the parents.

The main underlying principle of the Playschool is 'learning by playing', which also reflects the overall goal of the Playschool which is to spark the children's interest in English and to enable them to attain English in a playful way. The methods used reflect this fundamental leitmotif. The kindergarten has clearly structured daily routines which involve different activities such as 'circle games', 'table games', 'gym lessons' and 'story time', all of which should assist the children in naturally picking up the English language (Huber-Schönfelder 2013: 11). The Playschool also integrates Montessori elements and endorses one of the most well-known maxims of the Montessori approach:

According to the motto of Maria Montessori: 'help children to help themselves' we make it our aim to give the children the opportunity to put their individual skills into practice and to succeed with tasks without or only little help of a grown up. We want to foster the love for learning by giving the children the freedom to explore and to learn without pressure. Simply by playing the children should discover the power of words, the magic of numbers, the fascination of worldwide cultures as well as the importance of respecting and interacting with each other. (Huber-Schönfelder 2013: 13)

In other words, the staff should guide the children through learning, teach the children to think for themselves and learn on their own, and give them enough freedom to explore. The children should thereby acquire autonomy and develop to their full potential.

whose experience and expertise are of inestimable value, and, therefore, they should be acknowledged as such. However, the pedagogues in the English Playschool Linz refer to themselves as 'aunties' and they are also labelled as such on the official website (the whole team is referred to as 'the Playschool family'). Hence, the term 'aunty' will also be used in this thesis, but the term should not signify any lack of appreciation, but rather it should represent the familiar atmosphere which prevails in the English Playschool and which helps the children to feel comfortable in their kindergarten.

The English Playschool currently has six groups. Three of them are regular kindergarten groups which are divided by age into the beginner, the middle and the advanced group. Each of these groups is comprised of children who are homogenous as far as their age is concerned. The morning team group and the afternoon team group include children of varying ages. As the names suggest, the morning team group starts in the morning, whereas the afternoon team group commences at 12 noon. The remaining group is the conversation club, which is aimed at primary school children aged between 6 to 10 years who can join the club and practise their English skills once a week during a double lesson. The two groups of interest with regard to this thesis are the beginner and the advanced group. The times of operation for these two groups are Monday to Thursday from 7.15 a.m. until 5 p.m. and Friday from 7.15 a.m. until 3 p.m. (Huber-Schönfelder 2013: 27). If a child was to attend the English Playschool every day during the week from start to finish, then they would receive 46 hours and 45 minutes of exposure to both English and German per week. When first entering the kindergarten, the children are exposed to approximately 50 per cent English and this increases as they advance through the kindergarten. It needs to be emphasised though that usually the parents do not take their children to kindergarten at 7.15 a.m. sharp and they sometimes pick up their children earlier. Hence, the quantity of exposure may reduce drastically. Pinter (2011: 91) voices concerns as to how effective some bilingual programmes actually are:

In fact, a common experience of foreign language programmes in many countries is that children are not exposed to the target language sufficiently to learn to participate in meaningful communication. They may learn songs and rhymes, some basic vocabulary and carefully rehearsed dialogues, but they rarely progress further, and typically they are unable to express their own meanings spontaneously.

Even though Pinter's argument seems valid to a certain degree, it lacks a proposed solution. Furthermore, it does not provide a specification for 'sufficient exposure' to the L2. Taeschner (1983: 195), for example, argues that a minimum of three to four hours per day of actual verbal interaction suffice for a child to acquire a language. It needs to be emphasised though that apart from the quantity of input and practise, the form and quality play a major role too (Taeschner 1983: 192). As far as the quantity of input is concerned, the children attending the English Playschool Linz regularly receive adequate exposure to English, that is if the guidelines of Taeschner are adhered to.

5.2. The participants

In total, 24 children participated in the study. 12 of the children were in the beginner group and the remaining 12 were in the advanced group. All of the children were born in Austria, some children, however, have parents with a migration background. As far as the beginner group is concerned, 8 children were male and 4 were female. The youngest child was 3;10, the oldest 4;7 years old. The average age of children in the beginner group was 4;2 years. The distribution of participants in the advanced group was exactly the same, with 8 male and 4 female children. The youngest child was 6;0, the oldest 6;8 years old. The average age in the advanced group was 6;3 years. Most of the children of the respective age groups have spent a similar amount of time in the kindergarten. The average age of entry into the kindergarten was 3;1 years.

Five children learn at least one additional language besides German and English. Among these languages are Portuguese, Albanian, Bosnian, Slovakian, Chinese and Nepalese. One child has one parent with English as their L1 and in another case both parents speak English as their L1. Both of these children therefore grew up with English as one of their native languages. However, there are two reasons why they are still included in the study. First, they do not use English exclusively at home, and second, some other children were also exposed to English before they started attending the kindergarten.

5.3. The test battery

5.3.1. Evaluation of the kindergarten and its aims: the interviews with the pedagogical staff

The main aim of the interviews was to ascertain what makes the English Playschool Linz so special and how it distinguishes itself from other kindergartens. Moreover, the interviews served to gain knowledge as to how English is taught, which methods are used (in particular with regard to vocabulary teaching), and the general composition of the children and staff (i.e. background of the native speakers and the learners). Four experts were approached: Sunhild Huber-Schönfelder, the head of the English Playschool Linz, Sandra Ivanschütz, the deputy head of the kindergarten, both of whom represent the English Playschool as a whole, Aunty

Julia, the pedagogue who is responsible for the beginner group, and Aunty Karin, the pedagogue who teaches the advanced group. The four interviewees granted permission to publish their names in the thesis at hand. In total, seven questions functioned as the basis for the interviews. These cover the broad topics mentioned at the beginning of this section:

1. What is the main aim of the English Playschool Linz, generally as well as regarding language education?
2. Are there certain guidelines or aims concerning what the children should be able to do when they leave the kindergarten (particularly language-wise)?
3. Do you follow a specific method or a particular approach in order to teach the children English? Think especially about teaching vocabulary.
4. Where do the native speakers who teach in the Playschool originally come from and do they have a noticeable accent? Do you think the children may pick up or imitate that accent?
5. How much English do you use in relation to German? Try to give a percentage. Does your use of language depend on the activities?
6. Are the children in your group/in the respective groups very heterogenous? Do they differ a lot as far as their English proficiency is concerned?
7. How exactly is the English Playschool Linz different to other kindergartens? Or in other words, what makes the Playschool so special, apart from teaching a second language?

Most questions were suitable for all four of the experts; however, some of the questions, i.e. question 1, 2 and 4, were specifically directed at the head and the deputy head of the kindergarten, whereas one question, namely question 5, was designed for the actual teachers. It was made clear though that it was within the individual's discretion to answer all seven questions if they felt that they had something to contribute. They could also elaborate or bypass a question if they wished. The questions were given to the interviewees in written form and they were given the option of reading through the questions beforehand in order to mentally prepare answers. However, most of the pedagogues preferred to answer each question spontaneously. The interviews lasted between 5:35 and 12:10 minutes, depending on how extensively the interviewees answered the questions. The interviews with the deputy head and the two pedagogues were conducted in English, but the head of the kindergarten

wished for her interview to be conducted in German. The transcriptions of the interviews, which amounted to 4468 words in total, can be found in the appendix.

The interviews were analysed using Mayring's (2000) qualitative content analysis as it enables a systematic analysis of texts. This approach aims "to preserve some methodological strengths of quantitative content analysis and widen them to a concept of qualitative procedure" (Mayring 2000: 1). The analysis requires the material to be grouped into categories: "The aspects of text interpretation, following the research questions, are putted [sic] into categories, which were carefully founded and revised within the process of analysis (feedback loops)" (Mayring 2000: 3). As far as the interviews with the pedagogical staff are concerned, the seven questions mentioned above serve as the initial categories. These categories were then revised by taking the material (i.e. the answers to the interview questions) into account and by using the so-called feedback loops. In other words, the development of categories can be regarded as a dynamic process, which involves several stages of qualitative analysis.

5.3.2. Evaluation of the children's language background: the parental questionnaire

The parental questionnaire³ included ten questions in total, each serving a different purpose. The aim of questions 1 to 3 was to elicit the individual parent's native language(s), the child's country of birth, information about the languages which the child is exposed to at home and about the languages that the child is acquainted with, including the age of onset of acquiring English. According to De Houwer (2009b: 78), it is crucial to determine when exactly the child first received input in the respective languages and which languages are usually used in the child's home. Question 4 focused on the parents' motives for sending their child to the English Playschool Linz. Parents could choose any of the seven pre-specified response options that were available. An eighth option allowed them to provide further written information if required. Question 5 elicited the age at which the child entered the kindergarten. The aim of question 6 was to ascertain how often the children practise English at home and by what means. Possible answers were 'never', 'seldom', 'sometimes', 'often' and 'always'. Additionally, parents could specify how exactly their child practises English. Questions 7 and 8 collected data on how often the receptive and productive skills in English are practised at

³ The questionnaire is included in the appendix section of this thesis.

home. The pre-given answer options for questions 7 and 8 were 'daily', 'several times per week', 'approximately once per week', 'every few weeks' and 'never'. If a child receives more exposure to the language outside the educational institution, they may attain superior language skills in relation to children who do not receive any additional language exposure (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 223). Similarly, the interest and involvement of parents in the education of their children may have an effect on the overall learning outcome (Baker & Wright 2017: 265). Question 9 sought to obtain an evaluation of the children's receptive and productive skills in both English and German. The answers were distributed among an ordinal scale with possible answers ranging from 1 ('very good') to 5 ('insufficient'). If the parents could not assess their child's language skills in either German or English, they had the option of choosing the relevant boxes. With regard to question 9, Brewster, Ellis and Girard (2002: 265) claim that parents tend to overestimate their child's level of language ability. The last question, question 10, ascertained whether the child is acquainted with the picture book *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog] (Fechner 1982). This question was relevant as it may be possible that any familiarity with the book could have an impact on the result of the productive part of the study. In sum, the parental questionnaire had the purpose of collecting both general, language-related and education-related data. However, due to the limited scope of this thesis, not all of the variables and possible correlations will be analysed.

5.3.3. Evaluation of the receptive language skills: the BPVS III

Language competence is often reduced to how well a person can speak a language, but it needs to be emphasised that receptive skills are just as important and that they cannot simply be seen as a preliminary stage of speaking. Without listening and comprehension skills, communication would not be possible and, hence, these skills are indispensable (Pusztai Nonn 2009: 104). Consequently, examining the children's receptive skills in addition to their productive skills was considered essential. In order to test their receptive skills, the 3rd edition of the British Picture Vocabulary Scale, in short BPVS III, was used. The BPVS III is a standardised test by Dunn et al. (2009). It consists of 14 sets with 12 items respectively. For each of the items, four possible answer options in the form of four coloured pictures are given.

To elicit the answer, the test administrator asks questions such as "Put your finger on... Can you find ...? Show me ... Point to ... Find ... Where is ...?" (Dunn et al. 2009). The child then

points to what they believe to be the correct picture. The answer is then recorded on the performance record sheet. The test moves from one set to the next until the child in question makes eight or more errors. The set has to be completed though; only after all 12 items of the respective set have been completed will the test come to an end. After the completion of the test, the raw score is calculated by subtracting the total errors from the sum of all items in the sets completed, including the set in which the child made eight or more errors. However, “raw scores only become meaningful when converted to *derived* or *normative* scores” [original emphasis] (Dunn et al. 2009: 10), which “allow comparison of an individual’s performance with well-defined reference groups” (Dunn et al. 2009: 10). As the BPVS III is standardised, the standardised score and the age equivalent can be identified with the help of the included norm tables.

The standardisation process of the BPVS III took place by testing 3278 children from 147 schools (Dunn et al. 2009: 25). The advantages of standardised scores encompass the following:

- **They allow a person’s attainment to be placed on a readily understandable scale.** [...]
- **They permit an allowance to be made for the different ages of the individuals.** [...]
- **They allow scores from more than one test to be compared meaningfully.** [original emphasis] (Dunn et al. 2009: 11-12)

However, at this point, it needs to be indicated again that the majority of the subjects of this thesis’ accompanying study did not know any English before they entered the Playschool Linz and English therefore serves as their L2. As previously mentioned, non-native speakers should not be tested against native-speakers. Comparing a bilingual L2 user to monolingual language standards can be problematic for several reasons (see section 2.4.1.). In short, the monolingual native-speaker is an idealised figure and embodies a monolingual view. Moreover, the focus should never be on what learners of the L2 may lack in comparison to their monolingual peers as this would put the L2 user into an inferior position and make their use of language seem deficient (cf. Cook 2016: 3-4; Grosjean 2008: 11). Nevertheless, a comparison can in fact also be useful, for example, when wanting to determine a rough benchmark. However, the benchmark should not be regarded as the ultimate goal for the L2

user, but should simply serve as a vague base line. This view is supported by Romaine (1984: 251):

We need to look at the productive skills of speakers in terms of a strategic accomplishment in performance and not in terms of deficit or inadequacy in competence. It is impossible to define what constitutes the minimal competence one must have to be adequate except relative to the norms of a particular community.

For instance, when using the standardised scores or the age equivalent function of the BPVS III, it should be clear to the researcher that the L2 learner will likely be below the standardised score and that their age equivalent may be far below their actual age, simply because English native speakers were used to establish the norm tables. It also needs to be emphasised at this point that receiving lower scores than the norm does therefore not mean that the L2 learners are inferior in any way.

5.3.4. Evaluation of the productive language skills: the picture book *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog]

The overall aim of this part of the study was to elicit spoken text production in English from both members of the beginner and the advanced group. In order to elicit the children's productive vocabulary, the picture book *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog] (Fechner 1982) was chosen. The children were asked to narrate the story in English and their utterances were recorded. The story itself consists of 12 pictures, each of which is printed in colour over two pages. The main characters are a little dog and a little boy, who is presumably the dog's owner. The picture book gives an account of a typical day in the little dog's life including the adventures that it experiences and other animals that it meets along the way. The below is a description of the 12 pictures contained in the book:

1. A little brown and white Saint Bernhard dog is sitting on a fenced-off meadow, facing a little boy who is kneeling. In the background, there is a beige-coloured car, a bush and a ball.
2. In the foreground, there is a big wooden kennel. In the background, the little boy, who is holding a brown lead, is chasing the dog, who has a ball in its mouth. There is also a bush with pink and purple flowers.

3. The dog is wallowing in a flower bed with white, yellow, blue, pink and purple flowers. The dog's tongue is lolling out and he is panting.
4. This picture is set in a fenced chicken pen, where the little dog is chasing some white chickens and yellow chicks. Further in the background, some trees, a barn and a tractor are visible.
5. The dog meets a flock of sheep including two lambs who seem curious. The scenery in the background is rural as there are fields, trees and mountains.
6. The dog has found its way into a horse paddock with horses. Two horses are grazing and one is looking into the direction of the dog. There are also two foals galloping and the dog is running alongside them.
7. The dog can be spotted among a herd of six cows, one of them is a calf who is wearing a bell around its neck. Two of the cows are grazing, two are laying in the grass and one cow, who is located further away, is drinking. In the background, there are several trees.
8. The little dog is now standing in a river and is drinking water, while the little boy is standing on a bridge and watching the dog. He has the lead in his hand. Again, the scenery includes a meadow and many trees. In the distance, two cows can be seen.
9. The dog and the boy are walking through a meadow with high grass in the direction of a house. The dog is now on the lead. In the scene, there are different types of trees and bushes.
10. The dog is eating out of a yellow bowl. The boy is to the right of the dog and is holding a red bowl filled with water. In the background, the kennel can be seen again.
11. The dog is laying on grass while the little boy is brushing the dogs fur. The dog seems to be sleepy.
12. The story ends with a picture of both the little dog and the little boy sleeping. The boy is sleeping in his bed, whereas the dog is sleeping on the carpet beside the bed.

In order to elicit as many utterances as possible from the individual children, some guiding questions were asked, such as 'What is the dog doing?', 'What can you see in the picture?' or 'Which and how many animals do you see in this picture?'. The questions were formulated in a way that is suitable for the respective age and linguistic knowledge of the children. According to Pinter (2011: 216) this is vital when eliciting information from children as they may feel

threatened or overwhelmed if the questions asked contain too many unknown terms or phrases or are formulated in an unusual way. The children were also given time to think about the question and concoct their answers. Of course, depending on how talkative the individual children were, the use and frequency of questions differed slightly.

The reason why the picture book *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog] (Fechner 1982) was chosen is because the storyline as well as the formatting and layout of the book were specifically designed for young children. The main themes relate to the children's personal experiences as all animals, objects and actions featured in this story represent basic concepts and it can be asserted that it is highly probable that even very young children are familiar with the concepts in question. Therefore, the storyline of the book also had the potential of sparking the children's interest and motivation, both of which play an important role in language learning. The illustrations are unambiguous and provide visual stimuli, which are suitable for both age groups. In addition, the picture book is relatively short, making it suitable for young children as it is not too time-consuming and demanding to complete. Overall, the picture book is child-oriented and was therefore appropriate for the children's conceptual and linguistic level, which is a crucial factor for successfully utilising it (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 189).

5.4. Data elicitation and procedure

Before the whole project started, a letter was sent to the head of the Playschool, Sunhild Huber-Schönfelder, which included information about the study and which sought for permission to conduct the study at her kindergarten, which was kindly granted. The next step was to compile an information sheet for the parents, which was given to them at the same time as the questionnaire and the consent form, all of which can be found in the appendix section. It has to be emphasised at this point that the participation was entirely voluntary.

I then spent one day in the English Playschool in late June 2017. The purpose was to be able to get an idea of what 'a typical day at the English Playschool Linz' looks like, to learn more about the English Playschool and to meet the staff and the children. A few hours were spent with both the beginner and the advanced group in order to familiarise myself with the children and to get to know them better, for example by playing games with them and participating in

their daily activities. This should also serve as a means to attempt to avoid any feeling of unease or nervousness from the children which could have arisen if those who participated in the study had never met me before. As I had already spent some time with them, I was not a total stranger. One observation made during the initial visit was that the children often spoke German when communicating with each other or that they communicated non-verbally. DePalma (2010: 3) noted a similar experience following her observations at a Spanish-English two-way immersion kindergarten:

[C]hildren's interactions often did not require any language at all. Over and over, I witnessed children share classroom tasks and play-together happily without saying much at all, and the activity unfolded perfectly well without the linguistic interactions so fundamental to the TWI [two-way immersion] model.

However, when the teacher used English the children seemed to understand the instructions, commands and requests. Another observation was that the children often tried to speak English to the aunty in charge, but often switched to German when they wanted to express something more complex. These findings are in accordance with Baker (2001: 361) who claims that children who have only recently begun to learn an additional language tend to use their native language when interacting with one another and teachers, unless they are naturally willing to communicate using the L2. For this reason, the teachers should not pressure the children to use the second language. Hence, whenever I interacted with the children on that day, I primarily used English, but accepted answers or questions in German.

The actual testing with the children and the interviews with the teaching staff took place over three days in the week from the 3rd until the 7th of July. With regard to the testing, the two parts that comprised the examination of the children's language skills were conducted consecutively. Before starting with the tests, the children were asked some simple questions in English (e.g. their names and how they were doing) in order to establish a comfortable and pleasant atmosphere. These questions should also serve to activate their English language mode (cf. Grosjean 2004: 43; Grosjean 2008: 138). Furthermore, they were told that they were about to do two fun activities: storytelling and the 'finding the word' game. The productive part was rendered first. The children were asked if they have a favourite animal and whether they like dogs. A picture book about a little dog was then given to the children and they were encouraged to narrate the story. The children were also informed that they would be recorded, so their stories could also be listened to at home. When children had problems with

formulating ideas, used German or did not say anything at all, they were prompted by the use of guiding questions and by giving positive feedback. The BPVS III constituted the second part of the testing and it targeted the children's receptive language. To avoid the feeling of pressure, the BPVS III was referred to as the 'finding the word' game. The children were told that they would hear a word and that the goal was to find the illustrated equivalent of the word. Both parts of the study took approximately 20 minutes in total, of course depending on the individual child, i.e. how elaborative their narration was and which set of the BPVS III they reached. It is often suggested that activities should be paused as a child's concentration span is limited and can easily be exceeded if a task is too long (Pritchard 2009: 102). Some children indeed seemed tired and less concentrated during the second part of the testing. Hence, sometimes the children were asked whether they would like to take a little break, do a few jumping jacks or drink some water, which most of the children in question agreed to. After completing both parts, the children were allowed to choose a piece of candy. Some notes were taken immediately after the testing of a child to record any salience such as their assumed state of mind or concentration level.

All children were tested individually and did not have any preparation time. In the majority of cases, the testing took place in the dining room of the kindergarten, unless it was occupied. The alternative locations were unoccupied classrooms or the cloak room. The disadvantage was that neither of these rooms were soundproof, so there was a constant level of background noise, and sometimes other children or members of staff walked into the room while the testing was taking place. Hence, it was sometimes difficult to discern what the child was saying. Moreover, this of course may have interfered with the respective child's concentration and could therefore have influenced the overall performance negatively. Research has shown that environmental noise, besides other factors, such as mental fatigue, impair the output of the bilingual speaker and this effect may be amplified when the weaker language is used (Dornic 1978, quoted in Hamers & Blanc 2000: 194).

After the testing was completed, both the productive and the receptive part were analysed. The results of the BPVS III were evaluated in terms of the raw score that the children obtained. As mentioned earlier, the BPVS III manual contains norm tables which allow for conversions from the raw score to standardised scores and to age equivalents (cf. Dunn et al. 2009: 38-46). The narration of the picture book story was analysed with Text Inspector (2016), which is

an online tool for analysing texts. In more concrete terms, the statistical function and the Measure of Textual Lexical Diversity (MTLD) (McCarthy & Jarvis 2010), which enables a calculation of lexical richness, were used. The results of both the BPVS III and the picture book narration were then further analysed with the use of the statistics programme SPSS 25. In this step, the parental questionnaire was also taken into consideration as the aim was to investigate whether certain variables, such as the exposure to an additional language besides German and English, have an effect on overall performance.

The parents were given the option of receiving feedback on their child's performance and all of them wished to obtain this information. They therefore received an email with high-level feedback such as which set their child had reached during the BPVS III in comparison to the average set reached by the respective age group in the kindergarten and also individual feedback on their child's behaviour (e.g. level of concentration).

6. Analysis and discussion of the data

6.1. Results of the interviews with the teaching staff

In the following, the interviews with the teaching staff will be analysed in greater detail. As mentioned in chapter 5.3.1., the main aim of the interviews was to ascertain what makes the English Playschool Linz so special, how it distinguishes itself from other playschools and what the primary objectives are. In addition, the methods used to teach English (vocabulary) in the Playschool Linz will be covered and the general organisation of the Playschool and the composition of its members will be discussed, as these points were also addressed in the interviews. In order to analyse the interviews in a systemic way, Mayring's (2000) qualitative content analysis was used (also see chapter 5.3.1.). The initial categories (i.e. the seven questions which functioned as the basis for the interviews) were refined and specified by taking the interview material at hand into account. By means of the so-called "feedback loops" (Mayring 2000: 3), five categories were established, which will be elaborated on in the following.

a. The overall concept of the English Playschool Linz

As far as the overall concept of the English Playschool Linz is concerned, most interviewees emphasise the uniqueness of the Playschool. Sunhild contends that the concept of the English Playschool Linz is the only one of its kind in Europe. She further refers to the special method used in the Playschool as the 'Playschool method' or the 'Playschool pedagogy', which was founded by Dr. Susanne Schönfelder and was further perfected Sunhild herself. The 'Playschool method' combines various pedagogical approaches and different methodological ideas into one. One crucial component of the 'Playschool pedagogy' is the use of routines. Sandra, for instance, mentions the circle games in the mornings, which are then followed by lesson time, free play and story time. According to Julia, the routines and structures play a major part as they help the children feel secure:

[T]hey know what is gonna happen, they feel safe, they know [...] that there is [sic] no big surprises every day and that makes them feel safe and erm, it is nice that, for example, our lessons start the same all the time, we are always singing like a good morning song and they really like waiting for that and [...] when we forget it, everybody will [...] tell me to sing it because that's what they want. They are used to it and they love it and I think that's a very nice thing [...].

As far as the organisational structure of the Playschool is concerned, it has also been highlighted during the interviews that the division into homogenous age groups is special as this is not common in Austria. Furthermore, there are sufficient teaching staff employed and most of them are qualified pedagogues who have received extensive training. Due to the fact that there are several aunties in each group, Julia believes that they are better able to focus their attention on individual children, which is of course beneficial: "it's not that one pedagogue has to watch all the kids and can't really sit down with a child one and one, so it's nice that there are more people to really also take time for one child". Hence, each child receives adequate care and time from the teaching staff.

b. The strategies used to teach vocabulary

With regard to the methods of teaching (vocabulary), there are certain strategies that are characteristic of the English Playschool Linz. For instance, the use of rhymes, stories and songs, through which children acquire words and phrases, are repeatedly mentioned. However, the deeper analysis of the individual teacher's answers shows that they adopt different views and strategies to vocabulary teaching. Julia, who teaches in the beginner group, summarises her

assistant's and her own method as follows: "we do use a lot of picture cards [...], so the children can connect erm the picture and the word and we use like a lot of books as well to show the children what we are talking about and we do a lot of actions as well so like movements and saying the words". The actual activity has an impact on the choice of method though. To clarify this, Julia gives two contrasting examples:

[W]hen we are in the gym room, or when we are outside, I can show the movement, I don't even have to say it in German. I can always do it in English the whole time, because I just show them what to do, [...] and then sometimes in the lesson when there is a new topic, of course, you have to sometimes say the German things to let them know what it's about [...].

In summary, Julia draws on specific methods, such as picture cards and the combination of movements with words, which she chooses to suit the respective activity. Karin, who is the main pedagogue of the advanced group, has a slightly different point of view: "[t]eaching vocabulary [...] we don't do at all erm cause everything happens [...] during the day while playing. The children themselves don't even notice that they study another language. [...] [J]ust playing in English and talking in English for them is so normal". Karin therefore does not actively teach vocabulary, but rather she believes that the children will passively learn vocabulary through exposure and general socialising.

c. The amount of exposure to English and German

The way that English is used also depends on the age group. Generally, the younger the children, the more German is used. The use of English increases as the children advance in age and linguistic competence. Hence, in the beginner group, much more German is used than in the advanced group. Karin describes her use of English as follows: "[i]n the beginning I would say 50/50 per cent German and English, middle group German [sighing] (...) 60/70 per cent of English [...] and in the advanced like 80/90 per cent English." This coincides with Baker's (1995: 167) suggestion for successful immersion as he recommends that the second language should be used for a minimum of 50 per cent in the beginning and that the amount of instruction should accumulate concurrently with the children's advancing age. Karin continues by illustrating why the initial use of German is of importance and how the children are taught words and phrases:

[I]n beginners erm most of the children, let's say like 90 per cent, they don't speak English at all. [...] [W]e pedagogues [...] say everything erm in English and German

[...], for example, now you all go to the bathroom and wash your hands with soap. Und jetzt gehts alle aufs Klo and waschts euch die Hände mit Seife.⁴ And then the English [becomes] more and more and the German less and less.

Hence, the use of German is crucial at the beginning. Once the aunties realise that the children no longer need the German translations as they understand the English equivalent, they will adhere to the use of the English phrases. Similarly, Julia also emphasises the importance of using German at the beginning before slowly transitioning to English:

I would say in beginners I use like 60 per cent of English now, in the beginning of the year in autumn I used a lot more German because that was when the children started the Playschool and they were feeling a bit insecure when the mummy was gone, of course, I wanted to give them a feeling of (...), I don't know, safety [...]. I wanted to help them feel safe and sound. [laughter] Because English was also something very strange and new for them and speaking German, speaking more German, helped them relax quicker and that's why I used a lot of German, German in the beginning. But now they are all fine, they are used to the daily routines, they are used to the lessons and now I use a lot more English and I do find that they understand a lot already and that is why I'm using like, I would say 60 per cent English.

Another key point that is mentioned by Karin is the fact that German cannot be totally disregarded, not even in the advanced group. The reason is that the children will need German after kindergarten and, hence, the teaching staff at the Playschool Linz also regards it as their duty to make sure that the children develop age-appropriate German skills: "the children have to leave the English playschool also with [...] German erm skills, for school, so we have to make sure they are also perfectly speaking German".

d. The role of the native speakers

Both Julia and Karin stress the importance of the native speakers as they exclusively speak English with the children and also with the staff. Still, the more detailed analysis of their interviews reveals slightly different opinions. Julia views the native speakers, among other things, as a facilitation in terms of their language expertise. Due to their constant use of English, there is less pressure on the remaining aunties to use as much English as possible: "when there is a native speaker this person speaks English. It doesn't matter how much English I speak then". Additionally, she states that it is much easier to find the right balance between

⁴ The transcription conventions used for the interviews as well as for the story narrations can be found in the appendix section.

the use of German and English if there is a native speaker in the group and that she will then code-switch considerably less. Karin, in contrast, views the native speakers as a motivation to use more English herself, which may in turn have a positive impact on the children's use of English too: "because if there is a native speaker you automatically talk English to them so you become a role model and the kids erm speaks [sic] more English automatically". According to Sunhild, the first native speaker that was employed by the English Playschool Linz was American. Since then, the Playschool has had native speakers from a variety of countries, such as England, Australia and New Zealand. Furthermore, all of the aunties have spent some time in an English-speaking country. Hence, the children also get to know different cultures.

e. The role of the children's cultural and linguistic background

The theme of different cultures continues when reviewing the cultural background of the children. Sandra explains that the Playschool Linz educates "children from all over the world". In more concrete terms, the kindergarten accommodates children from 27 different cultures and, based on Sunhild's account, the Playschool Linz places great value on the appreciation and integration of these different cultures. For this reason, it can be claimed that the children are heterogenous on the level of cultural background. A further question is how heterogenous the children in the respective age groups are in terms of their English language proficiency, i.e. to what extent do they actually differ. Julia, for example, mentions that the language background of the individual learners has to be taken into account. Some children grew up with English as (one of) their native language(s), other children solely acquired German, and others again may have a completely different L1. In her opinion this does have an impact. English native speakers have an immense advantage, whereas children who spoke neither English nor German as they entered the Playschool may have a disadvantage in a sense that they needed to learn both languages while continuing to improve their actual native language. However, when only comparing the children whose mother tongue is German, then "[t]here are differences, but not as big". Karin mentions that the children's personalities also play a role, especially when it comes to speaking English:

I am pretty sure everybody in here understands me when I tell them something, whatever topic, but whatever they talk or if they they respond in English that is different from child to child. Some have like more erm self-confidence and just speak even if the grammar is not great or even if the grammar is great, it always depends. But some of them are shy, they don't really speak even if they know how to speak.

Many scholars have commented on the importance of personal and attitudinal factors and have argued that they can have an enormous influence on the learning outcome (cf. Baker 2001: 121; Cenoz 2000: 48; Pinter 2011: 101; Wells 1985: 394). Sandra summarises the discussion on heterogeneity by saying that “every child is different, so they pick up different things from different aunties and we pick them up from where they stand.” To rephrase this, each child is individual and needs individual care and the teaching staff carries the responsibility of detecting what each child needs and how they can help them grow as a person and also as language users. Lightbown and Spada (1993: 50) also view this as pivotal and claim that “a sensitive teacher, who takes learners’ individual personalities and learning styles into account, can create a learning environment in which virtually all learners can be successful in learning a second language”. This is the ideal, of course, but in reality, children may still differ in their language attainment, which will also be considered in the subsequent chapter.

6.2. Analysis of the BPVS III

6.2.1. BPVS III: overview of the results

In this section, the overall results obtained by the children on the BPVS III will be presented. The summary of the BPVS III results for both the beginner and the advanced group can be seen in table 1 and table 2 below. The BPVS III was used to determine the learner’s receptive skills. The following aspects will be the main focus of the analyses: the raw score, the standardised score and the age equivalent.

Table 2: Summary of the results: BPVS III in the beginner group

Summary of the results: BPVS III in the beginner group					
names of participants	gender	age (in years)	raw score	standardised score	age equivalent (in years)
Jonas	m	4.08	38	87	n/a
Adrian	m	3.83	21	70	n/a
Simon	m	4.58	41	85	n/a
Jakob	m	3.83	34	86	n/a
Ismael	m	4.58	42	86	n/a

Mateo	m	4.17	32	84	n/a
Emilia	f	4.58	60	100	4.50
Alexandra	f	4.08	55	100	4.00
Lara	f	4.25	57	100	4.25
Michael	m	3.92	32	85	n/a
Jan	m	4.33	13	n/a	n/a
Miriam	f	3.92	36	87	n/a

Table 3: Summary of the results: BPVS III in the advanced group

Summary of the results: BPVS III in the advanced group					
names of participants	gender	age (in years)	raw score	standardised score	age equivalent (in years)
Elias	m	6.00	44	n/a	n/a
Stefan	m	6.67	60	n/a	4.50
Milan	m	6.25	66	76	4.83
Daniel	m	6.25	58	n/a	4.33
Theresa	f	6.00	38	n/a	n/a
Viola	f	6.00	61	75	4.58
David	m	6.17	67	79	4.83
Luisa	m	6.17	31	n/a	n/a
Karim	m	6.33	45	n/a	n/a
Klara	f	6.58	67	74	4.83
Thomas	m	6.58	57	n/a	4.25
Eva	f	6.00	44	n/a	n/a

6.2.1.1. A comparison of raw scores

The median raw score for both age groups (i.e. beginner and advanced) was 44, the minimum score was 13 and the maximum score was 67. When calculating the differences between the groups, the scores are distributed as follows (see figure 3): The median score obtained in the beginner group is 37 with 13 as the minimum and 60 as the maximum score. In comparison, the median score of the advanced group is 57.5, while the lowest score is 31 and the highest score 67. It can clearly be seen, that the advanced group achieved higher raw scores. Whether these differences are significant will be explored in the subsequent chapter.

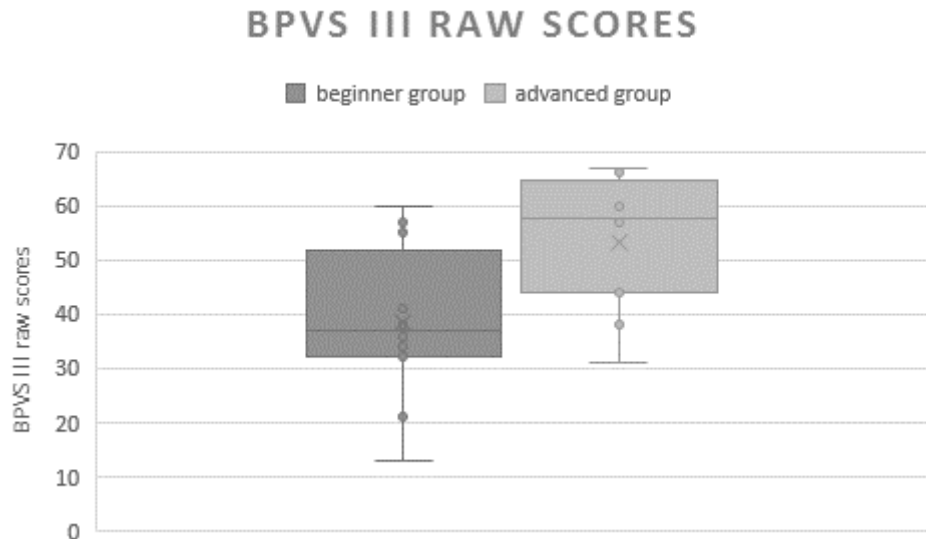


Figure 3: Boxplot BPVS III: raw scores

6.2.1.2. A comparison of standardised scores

With regard to the standardised score, it needs to be mentioned that 9 out of 24 children could not be assigned a standardised score. In order to determine the standardised score, the age in years and months of the individual subjects and their respective scores are compared to the norm table. However, if the scores that are sought to be transformed into standardised scores are exceptionally higher or lower than the scores that were obtained from the standardisation sample, then, instead of a value, only three asterisks (i.e. ‘***’) were provided. Dunn et al. (2009: 12) state that any standardised score below 70 or above 140 “cannot be given with any greater degree of accuracy because too few people in the standardisation sample had very low or very high scores”. This applied to 2.5 per cent of the tested sample. Hence, “these scores could not be calculated with a high degree of statistical accuracy” (Dunn et al. 2009: 12). In those cases where no definite value is given, it is suggested to record a score of ‘70-’ or ‘140+’. For the calculation of the median and mean standardised score, the 9 children who did not receive a score were excluded to ensure that the results are not distorted. The calculation resulted in a median standardised score of 85 and a mean score of 84.93 (SD= 9.45, N= 15). When comparing these results to the normal distribution’s probability curve (Dunn et al. 2009: 12), it is exactly between the ‘moderately low score’ and ‘low average score’ category. Furthermore, it is indicated that a result of 85 would equal a percentile rank of 15, which means that approximately 15 out of 100 participants from the standardisation

sample who are of the same age also obtained scores at or below 85 when tested on the BPVS III. Yet again, it needs to be mentioned that comparing the results of the children from the study at hand with the results of the children on whom the BPVS III was standardised requires caution as the language configuration of second language users is different from that of native speakers. As the difference between the beginner and the advanced group was of interest, the median and mean scores for these two groups were also calculated individually (see figure 4). The calculations revealed that the beginner group achieved a median standardised score of 86 and a mean standardised score of 88.18 (SD= 8.94, N= 11). Interestingly, the advanced group obtained lower standardised scores (median= 75.5, mean= 76, SD= 2.16, N= 4). Possible reasons for this will be discussed in chapter 6.5.

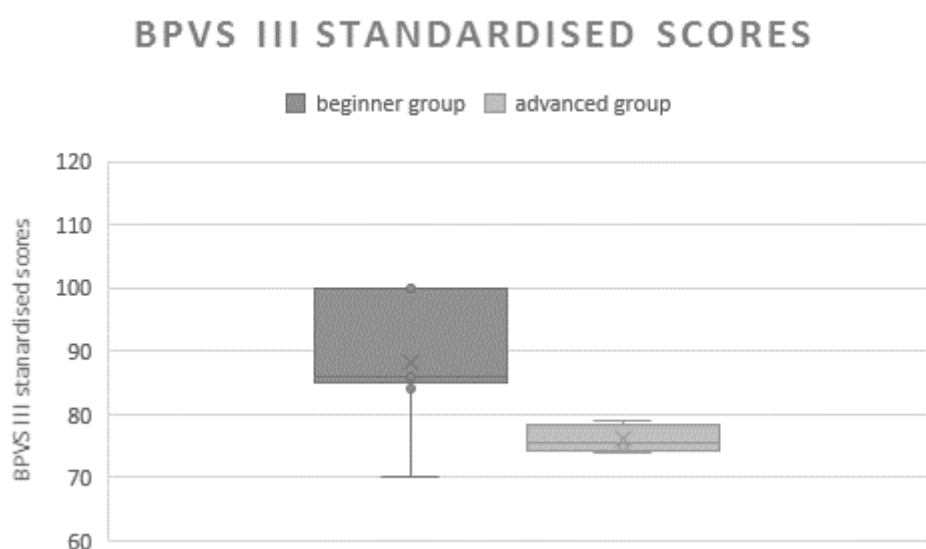


Figure 4: Boxplot BPVS III: standardised scores

6.2.1.3. A comparison of age equivalents

As far as the age equivalents are concerned, the same issue as with the standardised scores occurred as many children could not be assigned an age equivalent. The minimum required raw score was 54; if a child scored lower, then no age equivalent was provided. A possible option would have been to simply state 'below 3;9 years old', given that 3;9 is the age equivalent associated with a raw score of 54. However, as this may distort the results for the median and mean age equivalent calculation, those children who did not receive an age equivalent were excluded from the calculations. The results then showed that the overall

median age equivalent is 4.50 years and the mean is 4.49 years, which both equal 4;6 years (SD= .29; N= 10). In a next step, the results of both the beginner and the advanced group were calculated separately. Both the median and the mean age equivalent for the beginner group are 4.25 years (i.e. 4;3 years) (SD= .25, N= 3), whereas the median age equivalent for the advanced group is 4.58 years and the mean is 4.60 years (SD= .25, N= 7) (see figure 5). The advanced group therefore reached a higher age equivalent, but given that the members of the advanced group are in reality on average approximately 2 years older than the members of the beginner group, the difference in their age equivalent is relatively small. Possible reasons why this is the case will be discussed in chapter 6.5.

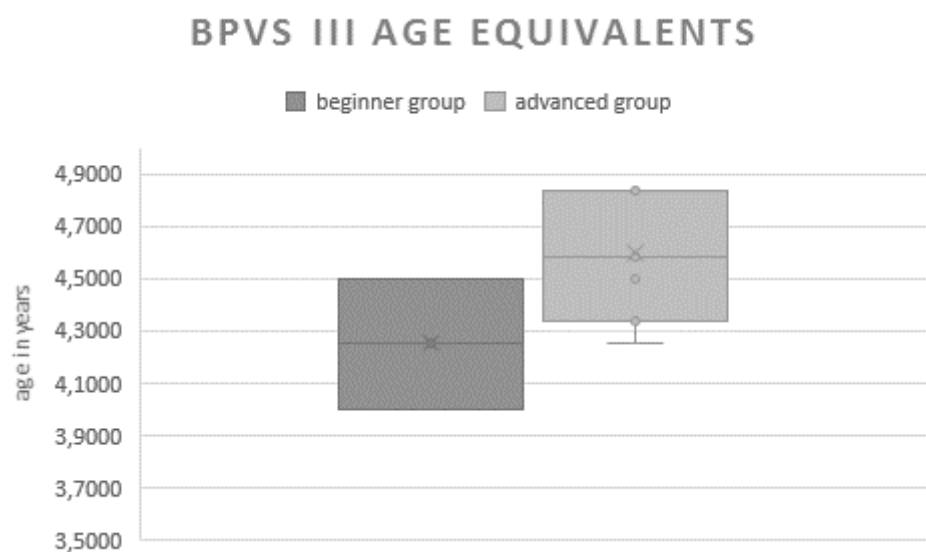


Figure 5: Boxplot BPVS III: age equivalents

6.2.2. BPVS III: in-depth analysis

This chapter serves to further analyse the data obtained from the BPVS III using the statistical tool SPSS 25. The raw scores of the BPVS III can be regarded as representative of the children's receptive skills. The statistical procedures used in SPSS aimed to test the hypotheses presented in chapter 4.1.

In order to test hypothesis 1, which centres around the difference in the mean scores of the beginner and advanced group, several statistical tests had to be conducted. The mean raw score across all participants is 45.79 (SD= 14.92), while the mean raw score of the beginner group is 38.42 (SD= 14.02) and that of the advanced group is 53.17 (SD= 12.25). A Shapiro-

Wilk test was used to ascertain whether the data is normally distributed. Consequently, it was shown that the raw scores for the whole group are normally distributed ($p = .236$, $N = 24$) and the same holds true for the beginner and advanced group, respectively ($p_{\text{beg}} = .676$, $N = 12$; $p_{\text{adv}} = .182$, $N = 12$). Thus, an independent samples t-test, which is a parametric test, was run to ascertain whether there is a significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups. The test indicated that there is in fact a significant difference ($p = .012$), as can also be seen in table 3.

Table 4: Differences in raw scores depending on age group (beginner vs. advanced)

t-test: age group & BPVS III raw scores									
N _{total}	p	t	df	Beginner group			Advanced group		
				N	mean	SD	N	mean	SD
24	.012	-2.745	22	12	38.42	14.02	12	53.17	12.25

With regard to the possible effect that the acquaintance with a language other than German or English has on the receptive skills, the following tests were run. First, the children were divided into two groups, group 1 being those children who speak an additional language other than German or English, and group 2 being those children who are not acquainted with an additional language. This information was captured in the questionnaire provided to parents. The mean raw score of the former group is 37.60 ($SD = 6.11$), whereas the mean raw score of the latter group is 47.95 ($SD = 15.89$). The Shapiro-Wilk test revealed that both data sets are normally distributed ($p_{\text{group1}} = .533$, $N = 5$; $p_{\text{group2}} = .106$, $N = 19$). Due to the normal distribution, an independent samples t-test was used to see whether there is a significant difference between the mean scores of the defined groups. The test results showed that there is a significant difference in favour of group 2 ($p = .036$), which is the group of children who are not acquainted with any additional languages besides German and English (see table 4).

Table 5: Differences in raw scores depending on additional language besides German and English

t-test: additional language & BPVS III raw scores									
N _{total}	p	t	df	Language other than English and German			No language other than English and German		
				N	mean	SD	N	mean	SD
24	.036	-2.272	18.147	5	37.60	6.11	19	47.95	15.89

A Chi-Square test was run to determine whether the frequency of practice of receptive skills has an effect on the performance in the receptive part of the testing. The subjects were divided into five subgroups based on the responses received from the parental questionnaire. These subgroups captured the frequency of practice of the receptive skills (i.e. daily, several times per week, approximately once a week, every few weeks or never). The results of the Chi-Square test showed that there is no significant relationship between frequency of practice and performance ($p = .235$, $N = 24$). However, as this study had a limited number of subjects and as they were divided into five subgroups, the number of children per subgroup was often lower than 5. Hence, the validity of the Chi-Square test is questionable. In order to increase the validity, the raw scores were folded into three categories, as can be seen on table 5 below:

Table 6: Performance groups BPVS III

Raw scores categories	BPVS III raw scores	Number of children per category
Performance group 1	< 38	$N = 9$
Performance group 2	$38 \leq x \leq 57$	$N = 6$
Performance group 3	> 57	$N = 9$

The Chi-Square test was run again, this time using the five subgroups on frequency of practice as the independent variable and the raw score categories (i.e. performance group 1, 2 and 3, as illustrated above) as the dependent variable. Again, the result yielded no statistical significance ($p = .206$). The five categories, which represented the frequency of practice, were then reduced to two categories. Category 1 includes those children who practise their receptive skills more than once a week ($N = 10$) and category 2 includes those who practise them once a week or less ($N = 14$). Once again, no significant relationship was found when using the Chi-Square test ($p = .226$), as also illustrated in table 6.

Table 7: Relationship between frequency of practice of receptive skills and performance on the receptive test

Chi-Square test: Frequency of practice (2 categories) & BPVS III raw scores (3 categories)			
N_{total}	p	χ^2	df
24	.226	2.971	2

As displayed in table 7 below, which represents a summary of the contingency table from SPSS, of the 9 children from the highest performing group (i.e. performance group 3), 7 practise their receptive skills once per week or less, whereas only 2 of them practise their receptive skills on a regular basis (i.e. more than once a week). These results go against the general intuition that the more a language is practised, the higher would be the results obtained. Nevertheless, it needs to be emphasised again that due to the small sample size and the fact that the Chi-Square test does not show any significance, no general conclusions can be drawn.

Table 8: Summary of the contingency table from SPSS on the relationship between performance groups (BPVS III) and frequency of practice

Raw scores categories	BPVS III raw scores	Number of children per category	Practise more than once per week	Practise once per week or less
Performance group 1	< 38	N= 9	4	5
Performance group 2	$38 \leq x \leq 57$	N= 6	4	2
Performance group 3	> 57	N= 9	2	7

Another factor that was investigated is the possible effect that gender can have on the performance on the BPVS III. The mean raw score is 43.33 (SD= 15.94) for the male children and 49.89 (SD= 12.85) for the female children. The Shapiro-Wilk test showed that the data is normally distributed ($p_{\text{male}} = .691$, $N = 15$; $p_{\text{female}} = .408$, $N = 9$). Subsequently, an independent samples t-test was used to determine whether there is a significant difference between the mean raw scores of males and females. It revealed no significant difference between the mean scores ($p = .308$) (see table 8).

Table 9: Differences in raw scores depending on gender

t-test: gender & BPVS III raw scores									
N _{total}	p	t	df	Male			Female		
				N	mean	SD	N	mean	SD
24	.308	-1.044	22	15	43.33	15.94	9	49.89	12.85

6.3. Analysis of the picture book narration

6.3.1. Picture book narration: overview of the results

In this section, the overall result of the children's narration of the picture book *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog] (Fechner 1982) will be discussed. The picture book was used to determine the learner's productive skills. The following aspects will be analysed: the number of tokens used, the number of types used, the average sentence length, and the MTLD, which is the Measure of Textual Lexical Diversity (McCarthy & Jarvis 2010). A summary of the results of the picture book narration can be seen in table 9 (beginner group) and table 10 (advanced group). As has been explained earlier (chapter 5.3.4.), Text Inspector (2016) was used as the tool for the analysis. The stories of the children have been analysed twice: with German utterances and without German utterances, and the results of both will be presented in this section. Inaudible utterances and filler words have been discarded in both analyses as they would have distorted the results of this study. In the following, the median is used as the benchmark to quantify performance. It was used in favour of the mean as it is less sensitive to outliers, which were present in the results.

Table 10: Summary of the results: narration of the picture book in the beginner group

Summary of the results: narration of the picture book in the beginner group										
names of participants	gender	age (in years)	no. of tokens (incl. German)	no. of types (incl. German)	Average sentence length (in words, incl. German)	MTLD value (incl. German)	no. of tokens (excl. German)	no. of types (excl. German)	Average sentence length (in words, excl. German)	MTLD value (excl. German)
Jonas	m	4.08	109	54	2.37	17.55	100	46	2.50	15.39
Adrian	m	3.83	181	69	2.38	13.3	164	55	2.45	10.24
Simon	m	4.58	130	66	3.17	20.04	93	38	3.44	12.93
Jakob	m	3.83	175	90	2.16	25.94	91	41	1.72	12.37
Ismael	m	4.58	132	66	1.71	18.00	98	41	1.58	11.62
Mateo	m	4.17	151	63	1.96	11.22	137	55	1.93	10.33
Emilia	f	4.58	216	74	3.79	12.84	212	72	3.66	12.23
Alexandra	f	4.08	382	115	10.32	15.04	324	83	9.53	10.56
Lara	f	4.25	164	68	3.73	23.94	158	62	3.67	20.05
Michael	m	3.92	210	100	2.16	22.78	119	45	1.78	9.41
Jan	m	4.33	77	39	1.75	14.37	25	12	1.56	n/a
Miriam	f	3.92	99	63	2.41	27.77	28	21	1.75	n/a

Table 11: Summary of the results: narration of the picture book in the advanced group

Summary of the results: narration of the picture book in the advanced group										
names of participants	gender	age (in years)	no. of tokens (incl. German)	no. of types (incl. German)	Average sentence length (in words, incl. German)	MTLD value (incl. German)	no. of tokens (excl. German)	no. of types (excl. German)	Average sentence length (in words, excl. German)	MTLD value (excl. German)
Elias	m	6.00	697	156	10.25	19.22	663	139	11.43	17.16
Stefan	m	6.67	161	54	3.74	13.56	161	54	3.74	13.56
Milan	m	6.25	143	64	3.76	19.13	142	63	3.74	19.00
Daniel	m	6.25	157	67	3.92	18.45	147	57	3.87	14.85
Theresa	f	6.00	166	73	4.05	19.39	123	41	3.51	12.59
Viola	f	6.00	140	65	4.12	16.22	120	48	3.75	12.77
David	m	6.17	152	80	3.62	36.24	150	78	3.57	28.00
Luisa	m	6.17	117	62	2.25	26.57	97	46	2.11	22.50
Karim	m	6.33	139	50	3.48	14.74	136	47	3.58	14.39
Klara	f	6.58	128	59	2.56	20.28	113	45	2.46	17.53
Thomas	m	6.58	147	71	2.41	18.93	81	38	1.93	12.62
Eva	f	6.00	61	40	1.69	27.23	47	28	1.57	n/a

6.3.1.1. A comparison of tokens

The number of tokens denotes the overall number of words that the individual children produced. The boxplot diagrams below (figure 6 and figure 7) serve to describe the minimum, maximum, median and mean values of the tokens used. Boxplot 6 illustrates the number of tokens in the story where German utterances were included, whereas boxplot 7 shows the number of tokens in the story where only English utterances were inspected. As can be seen, the exclusion of German words and phrases led to a decrease in the number of tokens. However, it needs to be mentioned once again that the language configuration of bilinguals is unique and cannot be compared to that of monolinguals. Some participants switched languages more often and produced more German utterances than others, but this was expected and should not be regarded negatively. What can also be inferred from the boxplots below is that the median value of the advanced group is lower than that of the beginner group when German words were included (beginner group= 157.5; advanced group= 145). However, when the German words were excluded, the advanced group produced more tokens than the beginner group (beginner group= 109.5; advanced group= 129.5). Hence, on average, the advanced group produced longer stories. Furthermore, the boxplots show that there are some outliers. Some of these will be examined in closer detail in chapter 6.4.

TOKENS (GERMAN WORDS INCLUDED)

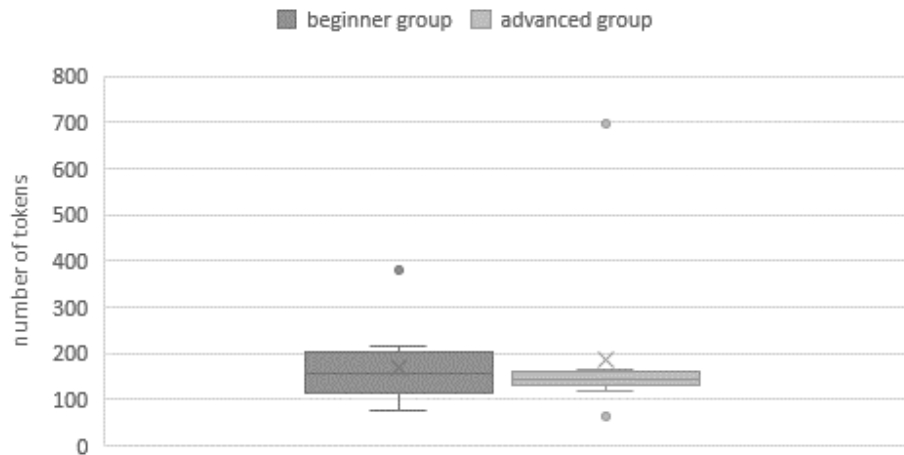


Figure 6: Boxplot story narration: tokens (German words included)

TOKENS (GERMAN WORDS EXCLUDED)

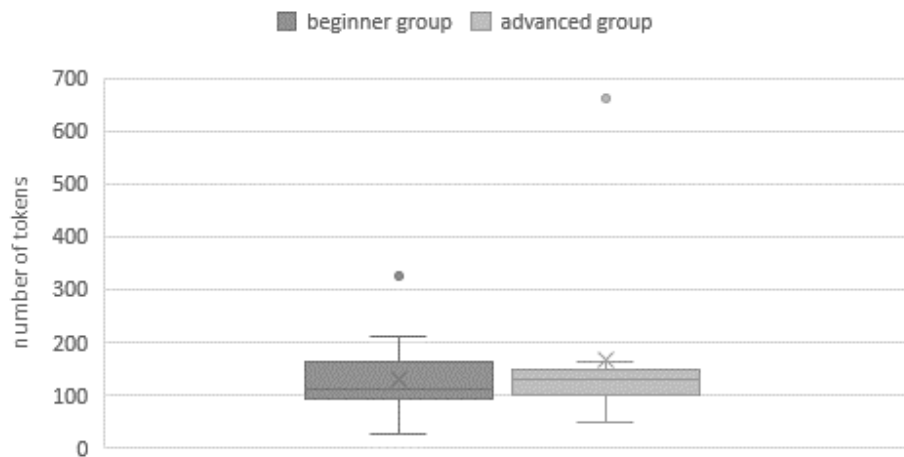


Figure 7: Boxplot story narration: tokens (German words excluded)

6.3.1.2. A comparison of types

With regard to the different types, which are the number of different words used, the beginner group produced more types than the advanced group, at least when taking their German utterances into account (median value of beginner group= 67; median value of advanced group= 64.5). However, as soon as German utterances are disregarded, the distribution of the types changes in favour of the advanced group (median value of beginner group= 45.5; median value of advanced group= 47.5). The boxplot diagrams below (figure 8 and figure 9) illustrate this. The overall distribution of types reads as follows: the collective

maximum (= 156) of the mixed language version of the stories was produced by a member of the advanced group, whereas the collective minimum (= 39) was produced by a member of the beginner group. Similarly, when analysing the English only version of the stories, a child from the advanced group yielded the maximum number of types (= 139), while the minimum (= 12) traces back to a child from the beginner group. Interestingly, in both of the categories (i.e. the narration including German words and the narration excluding German words) it was the same child from the advanced group who scored the maximum value both times and the same child from the beginner group who scored the minimum value also on both occasions.

TYPES (GERMAN WORDS INCLUDED)

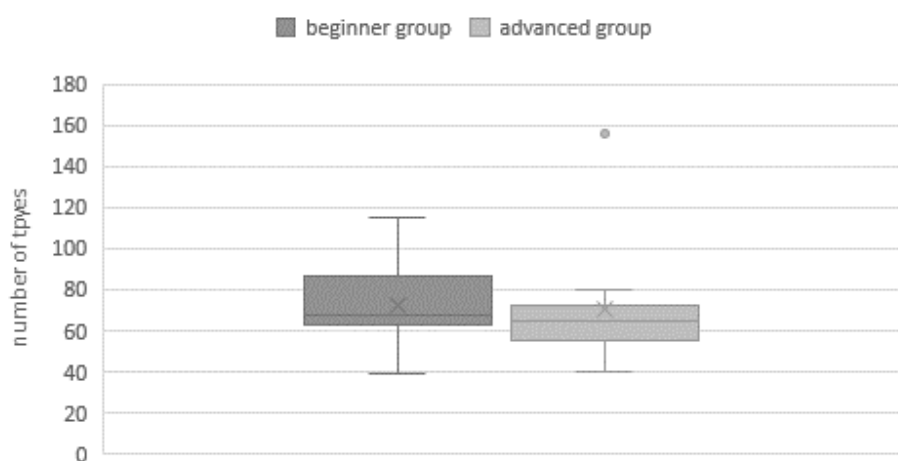


Figure 8: Boxplot story narration: types (German words included)

TYPES (GERMAN WORDS EXCLUDED)

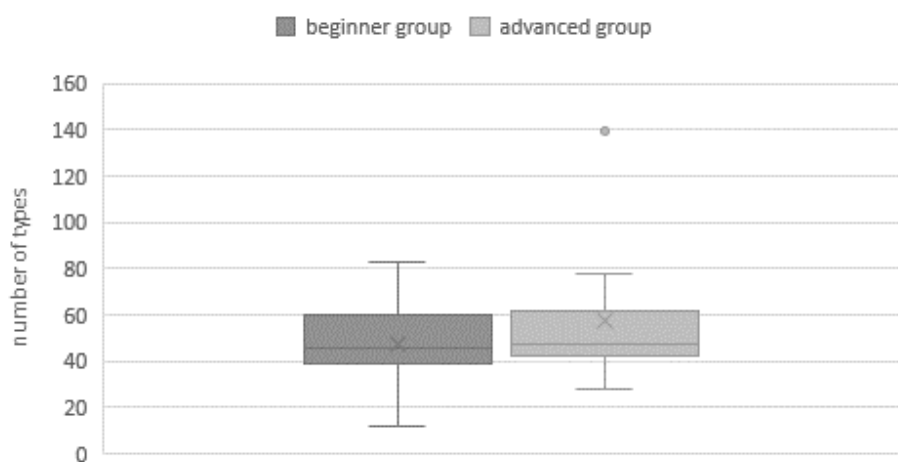


Figure 9: Boxplot story narration: types (German words included)

6.3.1.3. A comparison of average sentence length

As far as the average sentence length is concerned, the overall median value of the story with both English and German words is 2.87, whereas the overall median value for the English only story is 2.97. When looking at the beginner and the advanced group respectively (see figure 10 and figure 11), it is clear that the advanced group produced longer sentences in both the story including German words (median value of beginner group= 2.38; median value of advanced group= 3.28) and the story excluding German words (median value of beginner group= 2.19; median value of advanced group= 3.58). A very interesting observation is that the sentence length of some children increased as the German words were excluded. For example, the child who produced the longest sentences in the German and English narration did obtain an even higher count of words per sentence as soon as the German words were excluded (average words per sentence including German words= 10.25; average words per sentence excluding German words= 11.43). In total, 5 children improved their average sentence length, 3 of them were children from the beginner group, 2 of them were from the advanced group. A possible reason for this is that those children usually switched languages on the sentence level and their German sentences were on average shorter than their English sentences.

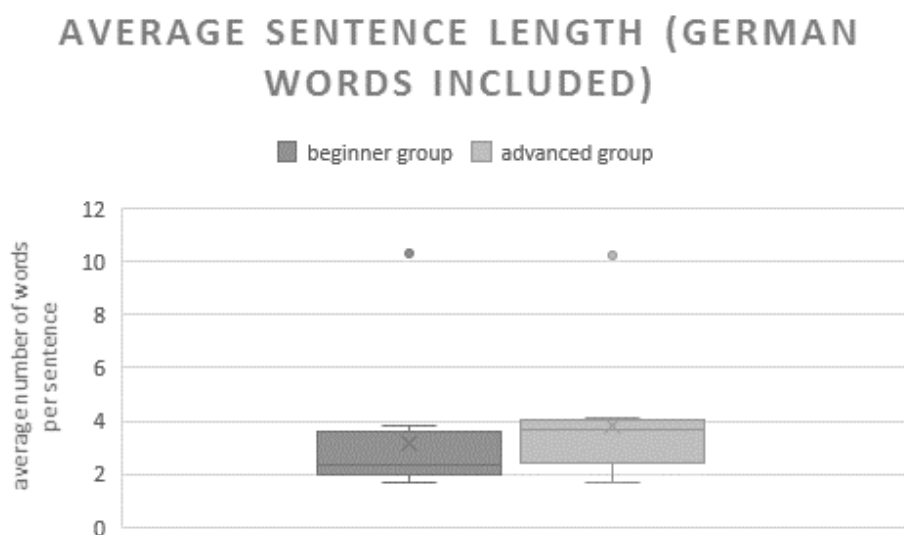


Figure 10: Boxplot story narration: average sentence length (German words included)

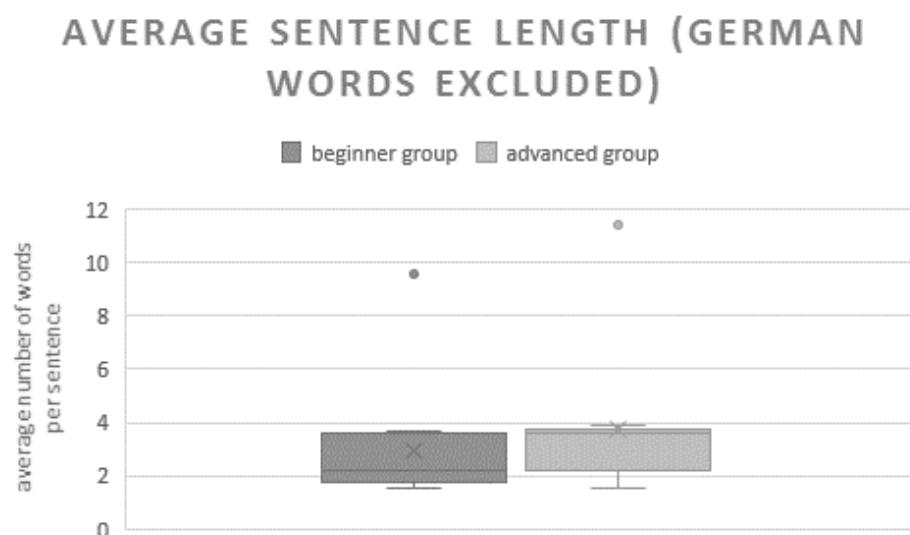


Figure 11: Boxplot story narration: average sentence length (German words excluded)

6.3.1.4. A comparison of lexical diversity

As neither the number of tokens, the number of types or the average number of words per sentence alone indicate language proficiency, a different tool to analyse proficiency is needed. Lexical diversity (LD), for example, is said to be an indicator for lexical development. LD “refers to the range of different words used in a text, with a greater range indicating a higher diversity” (McCarthy & Jarvis 2010: 381). In basic terms, this means that “the speaker or writer has to use many different words, with little repetition of the words already used” (Johansson 2008: 62). Johansson (2008: 77) also argues that LD is suitable for detecting differences between different age groups. There are different approaches to assess LD, but for the thesis at hand, MTLD (McCarthy & Jarvis 2010) was adopted. The reason why MTLD was chosen is because it is claimed to be reliable and less sensitive to text length (Kintz, Fergadiotis & Wright 2016: 88). MTLD evaluates LD by calculating “the mean length of sequential word strings in a text that maintain a given TTR value” and as soon as “the default TTR factor size value (here, .072) is reached, the factor count increases by a value of 1, and the TTR evaluations are reset” (McCarthy & Jarvis 2010: 384). Any remaining data is not discarded, but a partial factor value is calculated. In order to increase consistency and accuracy and to avoid variations, which can complicate the interpretation of results, a dual-processing sequence is applied, i.e. the test is run twice: forward and reverse (McCarthy & Jarvis 2010: 385).

When analysing the MTLD (McCarthy & Jarvis 2010), the results showed that the advanced group clearly outperformed the beginner group. A further observation is that the median value decreased in both groups when excluding German utterances. With regard to the story narration including German words and phrases, the MTLD median value of the beginner group is 17.78 and that of the advanced group is 19.18. This value shifted to 11.93 in the beginner group, which represents a decrease of 5.85 points, and to 14.85 in the advanced group, which is a decline of 4.33 points (see figure 12 and figure 13). It needs to be mentioned that the MTLD value could not be calculated for three of the children's narrations (excluding German utterances) as they did not produce the minimum number of 50 tokens.

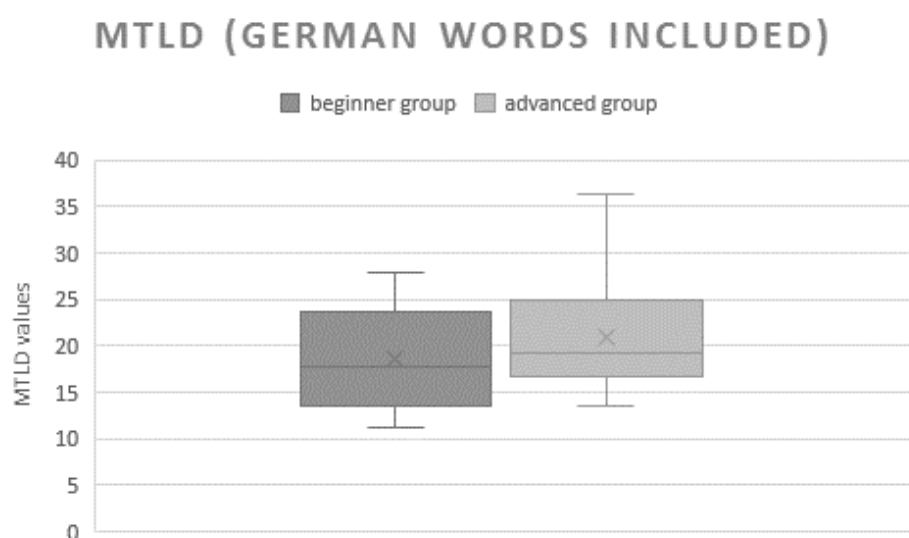


Figure 12: Boxplot story narration: MTLD (German words included)

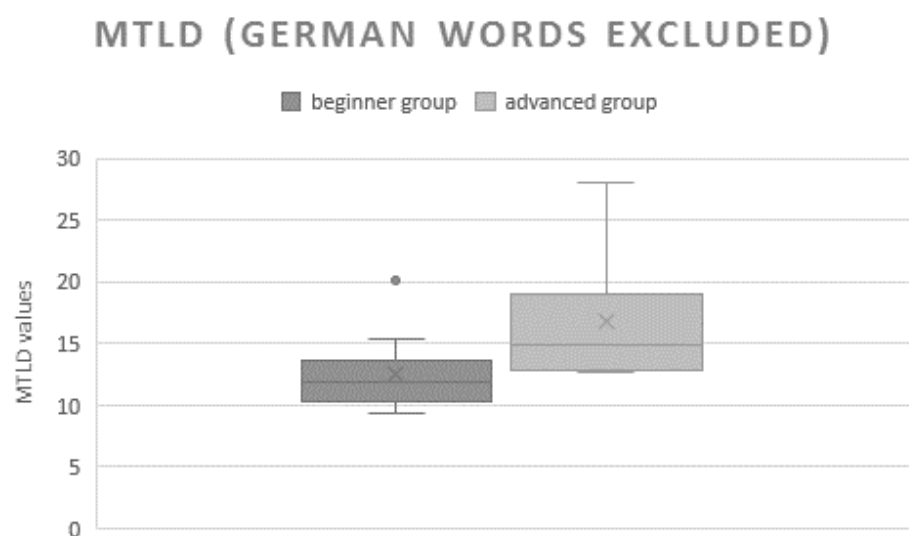


Figure 13: Boxplot story narration: MTLD (German words excluded)

When comparing the median values of MTLD to the table by Duran et al. (2004: 238), it can be seen that the language development of the beginner group can be compared to that of the lower range of 21-month-old children; that is when taking both English and German into account. When focussing on the English utterances only, this falls into the lower range of 18-month-olds. In contrast, the advanced group fall into the range of 21-month-old children if the German utterances are included. If they are excluded, then the MTLD median values of the children can be compared to those of 18-month-olds. However, as already mentioned, comparing language learners with native speakers can be problematic and can discredit the L2 users as they may seem inferior. This is not the case though, as their language configuration cannot be compared to that of a monolingual native speaker. It should also be mentioned that Duran et al. (2004: 229) originally created the comparison table as a means of comparison for vocd-D values obtained by different subjects. Vocd-D is also a tool to measure LD, but uses a different method of calculation. Even though the vocd-D and MTLD are both a means of calculating LD, they may produce slightly different results and, hence, the table of comparison may not be totally reliable. In order to illustrate this, vocd-D was calculated and the results of the beginner group shifted from 17.78 and 11.93 to 30.48 and 17.49, respectively, while the results of the advanced group progressed from 19.18 and 14.85 to 28.19 and 18.38. The change from the MTLD values to vocd-D would then result in the children being placed into a higher comparative age group, as can be seen in table 11 below when reviewing the median column.

Table 12: Vocd-D comparison table (based on Duran et al. 2004: 229)

Age (months)	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Median	Min.	Max.
18	18	14.80	10.31	13.60	1.48	36.99
21	20	21.49	16.70	19.09	2.60	67.24
24	28	27.44	20.52	25.41	2.50	84.64
27	29	34.77	17.70	31.16	7.48	65.76
30	29	41.53	16.93	45.59	4.05	69.67
33	29	43.67	15.45	45.47	10.38	73.88
36	29	47.83	13.97	47.14	13.26	69.95
39	30	49.48	15.41	49.08	11.22	80.78
42	29	53.12	13.55	53.80	10.57	73.54
60	15	64.02	8.46	63.48	50.83	83.30

6.3.2. Picture book narration: in-depth analysis

In this chapter, the quantitative data obtained from the MTLD calculation of the picture book narration will be analysed in depth using the statistical tool SPSS 25. The MTLD values were chosen as they indicate the lexical development of the individual children. For the calculations with SPSS, the MTLD values of the stories which excluded German utterances were used for the following two reasons. First, the BPVS III solely focused on receptive skills in English as the whole test was administered in English. Hence, it stands to reason to maintain consistency across the quantitative data used for the analysis with SPSS. Second, including German utterances may put children who are exposed to less German or use languages other than German at home at a disadvantage. The statistical procedures used in SPSS aimed to test the hypotheses presented in chapter 4.2.

In order to determine if there is a difference in the mean scores of the beginner and advanced group, the following analysis was required. First, a descriptive statistics test was completed which showed that the total group mean is 14.77 (SD= 4.59). The mean value is 12.51 for the beginner (SD= 3.15) and 41.20 for the advanced group (SD= 12.62). Second, a Shapiro-Wilk test was run to ascertain whether the data is normally distributed. It revealed that the overall MTLD values are not normally distributed ($p = .011$, $N = 21$). The same test was rendered again for the MTLD values of the beginner and the advanced group, respectively, and showed no normal distribution ($p_{\text{beg}} = .030$, $N = 10$; $p_{\text{adv}} = 0.035$, $N = 11$). As the data is not normally distributed, the t-test cannot be used. Instead, its non-parametric equivalent, the Mann-Whitney test, was conducted. It showed that there is a significant difference between the mean values of the beginner and the advanced group ($p = .008$, $Z = -2.605$) (see table 12). The comparison of the mean ranks revealed that the advanced group outperformed the beginner group and that their texts showed greater lexical diversity.

Table 13: Differences in MTLD values depending on age group (beginner vs. advanced)

Mann-Whitney test: age group & MTLD values						
N _{Total}	p	Z	Beginner group		Advanced group	
			N	Mean rank	N	Mean rank
21	.008	-2.605	10	7.30	11	14.36

Hypothesis 4 seeks to determine whether the acquaintance with a language other than German or English has an effect on productive skills. In order to test this hypothesis, the children were divided into two groups, group 1 being those children who speak an additional language other than German or English, and group 2 being those children who are not acquainted with an additional language. The data was collected from the parental questionnaire. The mean value was 14.85 (SD= 4.74) for group 1 and 14.74 (SD= 4.70) for group 2. A Shapiro-Wilk test was used again to test for normal distribution and showed that the data for group 1 was normally distributed ($p_{\text{group1}} = .414$, $N = 5$) and group 2 was not ($p_{\text{group2}} = .012$, $N = 16$). For this reason, the Mann-Whitney test was used again. It resulted in no significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups ($p = .968$, $Z = -.083$) (see table 13).

Table 14: Differences in MTLD values depending on additional language besides German and English

Mann-Whitney test: age group & MTLD values						
N _{Total}	p	Z	Language other than English and German		No language other than English and German	
			N	Mean rank	N	Mean rank
21	.968	-.083	5	11.20	16	10.94

The next analysis investigated whether frequency of practice of productive skills has a significant influence on the performance in the productive part of the testing. A Chi-Square test was used to establish whether there is a relationship between these two variables. It indicated that there is no significant relationship ($p = 0.358$, $N = 21$). However, as mentioned before, this study has a limited number of subjects and the distribution of those subjects across a high number of categories (i.e. the five subgroups which determine the frequency of practice) further impedes the calculation. In order to increase the validity of the Chi-Square test, the MTLD values were folded into three categories, as can be seen on the table below (table 14):

Table 15: Performance groups MTLD

MTLD categories	MTLD values	Number of children per category
Performance group 1	< 12.4433	$N = 7$
Performance group 2	$12.4433 \leq x \leq 15.2100$	$N = 7$
Performance group 3	> 15.2100	$N = 10$

The results still showed no significant relationship ($p = .556$), which is why the five categories of the parental questionnaire were put into two categories, namely those children who practise their productive skills more than once a week ($N = 13$) and those who practise them once a week or less ($N = 8$). The Chi-Square test was run one more time, but yet again it yielded no significance ($p = .137$), which can also be inferred from table 15.

Table 15: Relationship between frequency of practice of productive skills and performance on productive test

Chi-Square test: Frequency of practice (2 categories) & MTLD values (3 categories)			
N_{total}	p	χ^2	df
21	.137	3.975	2

An interesting observation revealed by the contingency table from SPSS was that out of the 7 children in the lowest scoring group (i.e. performance group 1), 6 claim to practise their productive skills more than once a week. In contrast, out of the 10 children in the highest performing group (i.e. performance group 3), only 4 practise their productive skills once per week, as can be seen in the table below (table 16). As mentioned in chapter 6.2.2., one would probably expect a different distribution since a common belief seems to be that practising a language will likely have a positive impact on the development of language competence. Yet, as previously mentioned, due to the limited number of subjects and the absence of statistical significance, no generalisations should be made on the basis of these observations.

Table 16: Summary of the contingency table from SPSS on the relationship between performance groups (MTLD) and frequency of practice

MTLD categories	MTLD values	Number of children per category	Practise more than once per week	Practise once per week or less
Performance group 1	< 12.4433	$N = 7$	6	1
Performance group 2	$12.4433 \leq x \leq 15.2100$	$N = 7$	3	4
Performance group 3	> 15.2100	$N = 10$	4	6

Another aspect that was investigated is a possible gender difference. The mean MTLD value is 14.42 (SD= 4.74) for the male subjects and 15.46 (SD= 4.56) for the female subjects. The data was tested for normal distribution using the Shapiro-Wilk test, which resulted in non-normal distribution for male results and normal distribution for female results ($p_{\text{male}} = .009$, $N = 14$; $p_{\text{female}} = .246$, $N = 7$). The Mann-Whitney test was used again to test for significant differences between the mean MTLD values of males and females. As can be inferred from table 17, it resulted in no significant difference ($p = .636$, $Z = -.522$).

Table 17: Differences in MTLD values depending on gender

Mann-Whitney test: gender & MTLD values						
N _{Total}	p	Z	Male		Female	
			N	Mean rank	N	Mean rank
21	.636	-.522	14	10.50	7	12.00

6.4. Individual differences: examples

This chapter serves to illustrate key differences between some individual children. For this purpose, three children from the beginner group and three from the advanced group were chosen. For each group, one child who received lower scores than the average, one child who received higher scores than the average and one English native speaker was selected. The focus of this chapter will be on the children's personal background, on characteristic features of their speech (e.g. code-switches) and on any salience (e.g. behaviour during the testing). The aim is to show the diversity between subjects and also to determine possible factors that may have had an influence on the test results. In addition, at the end of each subsection, the transcription of the picture book narration of the respective child will be provided.⁵ Although certain aspects of each story will be discussed in more detail below, their primary purpose is to illustrate the differences between the three children's productive skills.

⁵ The transcriptions provided in this section exclude pauses, unfinished and unintelligible words. The full transcriptions of all 24 children can be found in the appendix section.

6.4.1. Beginner group

The following three children have been chosen as the representatives of the beginner group: Jan, who was one of the weaker children, Alexandra, who was one of the stronger children, and Emilia, who grew up with English as her mother tongue.⁶

Jan

Jan, who was 4;4 years old at the time of testing, was born to German-speaking parents and grew up with German as his native language. When entering kindergarten, he was 3;6 years old. His parents stated the following reasons for choosing the Playschool Linz: they wanted Florian to learn English in a playful way, they liked the underlying principles of the English Playschool Linz and they think that knowing English is useful for Jan's future school life and career. Jan's parents practise his receptive skills with him several times a week, and they focus on his productive skills every few weeks. Jan obtained a raw score of 13 in the BPVS III, which was the lowest score in his group. When using the raw score to determine the standardised score and the age equivalent, no value was presented. Instead, only '***' was printed for both. The reason for this is that too few children from the standardisation sample, who were in Jan's age range, obtained scores comparable to Jan's (cf. chapter 6.2.1.; Dunn et al. 2009: 12). In line with the suggestion from the BPVS III manual, instead of a definite standardised score, '70-' was noted. An optional way to ascertain the age equivalent would be to conclude that Jan achieved a score below the age of 3;9 years as this age equivalent is the lowest provided in the norm table. A raw score of 55 would have been required to reach the minimum age equivalent. Still, it needs to be emphasised again that these numbers cannot be provided with an adequate degree of accuracy. In addition, it is crucial to emphasise once again that measuring bilingual language learners against monolingual native speakers would make just about as much sense as comparing apples with pears (Cook 2016: 3-4). In the context of this thesis, the standardised score and age equivalent simply serve as an approximate benchmark and it is expected that the language learners will most likely achieve lower scores. The reader should therefore consider that even when it is mentioned that the subjects of the accompanying study to this thesis obtained lower scores than the standardisation sample of the BPVS III, they are not in any way inferior. The analysis of Jan's picture book narration

⁶ All names have been changed in order to preserve anonymity and confidentiality.

showed that, when German utterances are taken into account, he produced 77 tokens. The MTLD calculation revealed a value of 14.37, which is just below the median value of the beginner group. However, only 25 of the 77 tokens were English words, which does not suffice to calculate the MTLD for the English only story as the minimum requirement of tokens is 50. Hence, no conclusions can be drawn from the MTLD analysis. Overall, Jan seemed very shy and, during the interview, he gave the impression that he was not concentrating. When he was asked to narrate the story, he seemed reluctant and mainly used German, even for words that he had previously said in English (e.g. *Hund* 'dog'), and for this reason he produced about three times as many German words than English words. Consequently, his condition on the day of testing may have had a negative impact on his test results.

Jan's story

Ein dog. Ein Bub. Ein Auto. Ein Ball. Ein Bub. Ein Hund. Dog. A Baum. Henderl. Small. Ein Traktor. Schaf. Ein Hund. Dog. Dog. One, two, three, four, five. Kühe. One, two, three, four, five, six. Schlafen. Hund. Dog. Ein Bub. Ein Fluss. Wasser trinken. Dog. Trinken. Kühe. Dog. Ein Bub. Zum Haus. House. Weiß ich nicht. Und der? Essen. Dog. Eine Schüssel. Water. Ein Haus. Schlafen. Dog. Schlafen. Sleep. Eine Decke. Ein Bett und ein Polster.

Alexandra

Alexandra's mother is Austrian and her father is of Hungarian descent, but Alexandra grew up with German as her mother tongue and has not been exposed to Hungarian. According to her parents, German is used mostly in their household (80 per cent) and sometimes they also use English (20 per cent). Alexandra first attended the Playschool at the age of 2;6 years and, at the time of testing, she was 4;1 years old. Her parents stated two reasons why they wanted Alexandra to attend the English Playschool Linz. First, they think that learning English will be beneficial to her school and professional career. Second, Alexandra started speaking English of her own accord after having watched English videos. Her parents also practise English with her on a regular basis, i.e. the receptive skills daily and the productive skills several times per week. Alexandra achieved a raw score of 55 in the BPVS III, which was the third highest score. When converting her score into a standardised score, she reached a value of 100, meaning that her receptive skills are comparable to the mean score of a native speaker in her age range. Her age equivalent is 4;0 years, which is extremely close to Alexandra's actual age. During the BPVS III, Alexandra frequently tried to incorporate personal anecdotes. For instance, at one point she saw the picture of an avocado and mentioned that her dad recently fed her avocado with a spoon. These anecdotes were usually formulated using English. With regard to her

productive skills, Alexandra's MTLD value was 15.04 when including German utterances and 10.56 when excluding them. Both of these values are just below the median values of 17.77 and 11.93, respectively. Alexandra's story did contain some code-switches, but most of them were intrasentential, i.e. on word-level, as illustrated by the following two examples:

(5) The, the dog wants to drink the water. And then want, then he wants the boy, they're climbing up and then wants to he has a Angel to fetch the dog.

(6) He lays down to the Teppich then he and he schlaft and then had the Bett, the Bett and, and then hide the Hund under, under the Teppich.

Even though Alexandra only reached average scores in the productive part of the testing, she showed knowledge of more elaborate words than her peers, such as 'to climb up', 'to fetch' and 'to hide'. Moreover, she showed awareness of specific grammatical rules, for example third person -s.

Alexandra's story

There is a dog. And there is a Bub. And there is a boy. And there is a a car. A ball. He, he wants to take the, now, the Bub wants to take the ball. And he wants to take the ball and fetch it again. And want, wants it all days and wants and then one and there there is a puppy house. He is in the grass. He is covered in the, in the grass and then in the flowers. He wants to, to eat the baby chickens. There is a car with families inside. The dog wants to get vorbei and then want the sheep had no gesagt. Why the dog wants to get to his families. This is a lamb. There is a Hund mit a horse and then he gotted idea and he wants to eat the flowers like the horse. One, two, three, four, five. He eat the grass. There is a Kuh, there is cow mit the dog and, and the dog wants to what the families do and then he wants to go back to the families and then he want meet and then he, the Kuh eating the grass and boy. They're, they're, they're, they're liegen on the Boden and relax. Bäumen. Trees. He, he's pulling the and he, and he go inside and then he want really. The, the dog wants to drink the water. And then want, then he wants the boy, they're climbing up and then wants to he has a Angel to fetch the dog. No. Eine Leine. A leash. Cow. He, and he going a park on the to the home. He go to a and he go für spielen und dann haben die ein, ein, und dann, und dann hat eine Leine and dann hat der Bub mit das Hunde geht und dann ist zu Hause. He, he, he, the, the dog eats the Frühstück and then he drinks that water. A puppy house. He, I, the Bub, the, the Hund lays down and the Bub streichelt mit dem. He lays down to the Teppich. Then he and he schlaft and then had the Bett, the Bett and, and then hide the Hund under, under the Teppich. In the Bett.

Emilia

Emilia was born in Austria to a German-speaking father and a German- and English-speaking mother. She grew up bilingually and has been exposed to both German and English since birth. Both languages are used at home with a ratio of 50/50. Emilia entered the Playschool at the

age of 2;9 and was 4;7 years old when the testing took place. Her parents cited the following reasons as decisive motives for enrolling Emilia in the Playschool Linz: they believe that English will be beneficial to her educational and professional life. Moreover, they know some of the teaching staff and the Playschool was recommended to them. They also like that the English Playschool Linz includes Montessori elements. With regard to the BPVS III, Emilia was the best in her group and reached a raw score of 60 points, which equals a standardised score of 100 points. Her age equivalent is 4;6, which is close to her actual age. During the BPVS III test, Emilia shared personal stories, which she associated with the pictures. For example, when she saw the picture which represented the verb 'swimming', she stated in English that she likes to swim in her pool in the summer time. Her MTLD score was 12.84 for the story with German words and 12.23 for the story without German words. This means that she maintained a relatively consistent score. When the German words were taken into account, her score was between the minimum score and the first quartile, meaning that she was within the lowest 25 per cent. However, an upwards shift occurred as soon as the German words were discarded as her score was then between the median and the third quartile. A possible reason for this is that, on average, she used more English words and also used these more diversely than most of her peers. Emilia only code-switched three times during her narration, all of which were intrasentential switches as shown below.

(7) And that is Strudel water.

(8) That is Strudel water.

(9) In, in the Teppich.

Two of the code-switches revolved around the same word. The picture showed swirls in the water and Emilia tried to describe the picture, but probably could not think of the word 'swirl'. The third code-switch was also at the word level and may have stemmed from the possibility that she did not know the word for 'carpet'.

Emilia's story

He, he, the dog is licking him. A girl. A car. A ball. He is running after the dog. He is playing with the dog. A, a hut from the dog. The ball. Licking the grass. Flowers. I, I have the same flowers. I have, I have all the flowers. I have a. A closed. He, he is running after the hen. the chicken. A. Baby chickens. No. A. All the sheep have come to the dog. All the sheeps they come to the dog. A sister. A sister? A sister sheep. And this is also. In the grass. now now the horses are running with the dog. Three. Three. One, two, three. One, two, three. Four, five, six. Six, six. Six. They are eating the grass. They like grass. The cows are are lying in

the grass. Eating the grass. Eating the. Eating. Trees. The dog is drinking the water. He is going over the bridge. And that is Strudel water. That is Strudel water. A bridge. Cows. He is sharing some grass. He's sharing some grass. The house. He is giving the dog some water and something to eat. A hut from the dogs. He is lying in the grass. I don't know. Sleeping. Sleeping in the bed. In, in the Teppich.

6.4.2. Advanced group

The children listed below have been selected as representatives of the advanced group: Eva, who was one of the weaker children, Klara, who was one of the stronger children, and David, who grew up with English as his mother tongue.

Eva

6;0-year-old Eva was born to German-speaking parents, who exclusively speak German at home. Eva was first exposed to English at the age of 3;5 years, which was when she first attended the Playschool Linz. Her parents like the underlying principles of the Playschool and they want their child to learn English in a playful way. Additionally, they think that knowledge of English will be beneficial to Eva's future education and eventual career. Eva practises her receptive skills several times per week and her productive skills about once a week, usually with the help of games and books. Eva achieved a raw score of 44 in the BPVS III, which is below the median value of 57.5. When trying to determine the corresponding standardised score and age equivalent, the norm tables showed '***'. On that account, 70- was noted as the standardised score and 3;9 years as the age equivalent, as has been shown previously when presenting Jan's scores. When Eva narrated the picture book story, she only produced 61 words, including German utterances, and she code-switched four times on an intersentential level. Her story was by far the shortest of her group in which the median number of tokens was equal to 145. Furthermore, her sentences often consisted of only one word. Her average number of words per sentences was 1.69 (German utterances included) and 1.57 (German utterances excluded). The following example illustrates her use of language:

(10) He run.

(11) A dog.

(12) Green.

(13) House.

(14) Tree.

(15) The boy.

(16) He sleep.

As can be seen, the utterances were extremely short and often consisted of only one word, usually a noun, with some exceptions. These examples also show that Eva did not use the third person -s. The MTLD calculation yielded a score of 27.23, which was above the median MTLD value of the advanced group (= 19.18). However, when discarding the German words, the number of tokens was 47, which did not fulfil the minimum requirement for a MTLD calculation. Hence, as was the case with Jan, no conclusions can be drawn from the MTLD analysis. It should also be mentioned that Eva seemed very timid, which might have influenced the overall results of the testing.

Eva's story

Ein Ball. Mensch. Boy. Und ein Hund. Car. This is a ball. Dog. Boy. There is a dog and some flowers. Sleep. Dog. Tractor. He run. A dog. Green. Tractor. House. Tree. Dog. Horse. Five. Weil drei plus zwei ist fünf. Dog. Kuh. Drink. Sechs. Clock. She drink. The boy. Cow. She go. House. He sleep. He sleep. Boy. In bed.

Klara

Klara, a 6;7-year-old girl, grew up with German as her native tongue. Both of her parents are German native speakers and communicate with Klara in German. Klara entered the Playschool at the age of 4;0 years, which is slightly later than most of her peers. The reason why Klara's parents enrolled her in the English Playschool Linz was that she wished to learn English. Klara practises her receptive skills in English every few weeks and her productive skills several times per week. She obtained a score of 67 in the BPVS III, which was the best score among the advanced group. Only David, whose scores will be discussed below, also managed to achieve the same score. Klara's standardised score is 74 and her age equivalent is 4;10. This means that her receptive skills are below the mean score of the standardisation sample and she is ranked slightly below her actual age. As far as the analysis of her productive skills is concerned, Klara achieved a score of 20.28 (MTLD including German words), which is just above the average. When excluding German words, the number shifted to 17.53, which is also above the average (median MTLD value of the advanced group = 14.85). All four code-switches that occurred during Klara's story were on the sentence level, which is interesting.

(17) Soll ich irgendwas machen?

(18) Ich weiß es ja selber nicht was das.

(19) Streicheln?

(20) On the floor. [...] Eigentlich am Teppich.

Examples (17), (18) and (19) seem to be representative of her uncertainty, while example (20) was used to correct an earlier statement. Generally, Klara seemed very interested and ambitious as she regularly wanted to know which of the four picture options was the correct answer for the respective BPVS III item. It can be claimed that she is highly motivated to learn English, which also fits her parents' motive for enrolling Klara in the English Playschool Linz.

Klara's story

A dog. A ball. Car. A boy. Playing. Dog. There's the dog. There's the boy. There's the ball and there's the. House. Dog. Sleeping. In by the flowers. The dog. Chickens. Baby chickens. Car? There are many sheeps and the dog. They are going. Yes. No. Countryside. Dog, horses, horses, horses, horses. He is running. They are eating. Flower. The dog. Cow? Cow! Six! Drinking. Sleeping. Clock? Drinking. Water. He is looking at the dog. Cow. They are going home. The dog is eating something. He brought him water. Dog house. There and dog and a boy and. Soll ich irgendwas machen? Ich weiß ja selber nicht was das. Streicheln? They are sleeping. In the bed. On the floor. The dog. Eigentlich am Teppich.

David

David has an interesting language background. He was born in Austria to parents of African descent. His father's native languages are Igbo and English, his mother's native tongue is English. His parents named English as David's native language. However, he is also able to speak German, which is one of the two languages used in his family when communicating with each other, although German only constitutes approximately 10 per cent of the family's language usage. The remaining time, English is used. He entered the kindergarten at age 3;5 and, at the time of testing, he was 6;2 years old. The reason why the English Playschool Linz was chosen as his kindergarten is because David's parents wanted to give him the chance to learn and deepen his English in a playful way, because they believe that English competence will assist him in both his school life and future career, and because a friend of his also attends the Playschool. David's productive skills are practised daily, whereas his receptive skills are only practised approximately once a week. The result of the BPVS III showed that David obtained, together with Klara, the best results, namely 67 points. When transforming his raw score to a standardised score, this amounts to 79. David's age equivalent is 4;10 years, which

is below his actual age. As far as his narration of the story is concerned, his MTLD value is 36.24, that is when the German utterances are included. When excluding German words and phrases, David's MTLD value is 28.00. Both times, David has reached the maximum value within his group. He only code-switched twice and both times the switches occurred on the word level:

(21) A flag. A Fussball flag. It's like France.

(22) The Kuhs are eating, lying down and playing with the dog.

The first time he was referring to the blue, white and red ball that was on the picture. These colours are also represented in the French national flag. The second code-switch is particularly interesting as David was trying to express the plural form of cow, which would be *Kühe* in German. However, he used the singular form *Kuh* instead and attached the suffix -s, which serves as a plural marker in English. David therefore applied an English grammar rule to a German word in order to mark the plural.

Overall, the analysis of the different children revealed that the learners are incredibly diverse as they display different strengths and weaknesses and show different levels of proficiency. It can also be maintained that some children are stronger in one particular area and weaker in the other. Alexandra, for example, did really well in the receptive part, but her performance was only average in the productive part. This highlights the importance of distinguishing between certain sub-skills when trying to define proficiency, such as between listening, speaking, reading and writing (cf. chapter 2.4.1.; Baker 2001: 4; Macnamara 1967: 59-60).

The two native speakers did particularly well, but it needs to be emphasised that growing up with English from birth is not a prerequisite for successful language learning. Klara is a good example as she only started to learn English when entering the English Playschool Linz, but still, she scored above average. For this reason, it can be claimed that whether language acquisition or learning is successful does not only depend on the age (e.g. from birth or at a later stage in life) at which English is introduced, even though this may play a role. The analyses of these six children showed that personal factors, for example, may have an effect on the overall performance, such as motivation, timidity or lack of concentration. It needs to be emphasised though that the observations made only show tendencies and, due to the limited number of subjects, the results cannot be generalised.

David's story

The person is copying the dog. A flag. A Fussball flag. It's like France. Car. Playing with the France ball. Doggie house. Lying down and taking care. This all, he is enjoying the flowers. Chasing all the chickens. Lots! Baby chickens. Yes, a tractor! He is in the farm. Mister happy! Baba. Baba. Ah, now I know, sheep. Wait, kid sheep. Tractor. In a farm. He's chasing the dogs. He is chasing the horses. Eating the grass. In the farm. The Kuhs are eating, lying down and playing with the dog. Eating, drinking milk. Trees. Drinking water. In a sea. Saying enjoy. Cows! Playing. I now know, that thing is house and they are going to the house. Eating his lunch. Giving him no more food. No. He is making the dog to sleep. He likes it. He is sleeping with his favourite boy. In a bed. In a floor.

6.5. Summary and discussion of the findings

This section will review the findings derived from the study in order to test the hypotheses and answer the research questions, which were introduced in chapter 4.2. Moreover, possible explanations for certain results will be presented and a link to the theoretical part of this thesis will be established.

As far as research question 1 is concerned, which addresses the effectiveness of the teaching strategies used in the kindergarten, the study clearly indicated that the language education provided by the English Playschool Linz is effective as the children, most of whom had not been exposed to English before they entered the kindergarten, exhibited an understanding of a number of words in English and they were also able to use English to narrate the story *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog] (Fechner 1982). Nevertheless, the children differed in their proficiency and some individuals clearly benefited more from the education than others. The English Playschool uses a variety of methods, as has been addressed in chapter 5.1. and 6.1. As Sunhild, the head of the kindergarten, explained, the English Playschool Linz has developed its own unique methodology. Even though there is an overall methodology which combines a number of approaches, the aunties of the respective groups still differ slightly in their teaching style and incorporate their own strategies. For this reason, it is difficult to determine which of the strategies used are pivotal for the overall success of the kindergarten. Hence, further research into the effectiveness of different pedagogical approaches may be useful as it could deepen the understanding of how the use of different teaching strategies impacts overall learning success.

Closely related to this is research question 2, which queries how the teaching staff evaluates the English Playschool Linz and which aspects make this kindergarten unique. The interviews have revealed that the kindergarten is perceived positively. The pedagogues mentioned, for example, that each individual child receives adequate care and time from well-trained aunties. Moreover, the importance of the kindergarten's familiar atmosphere was emphasised, which is fostered by the use of routines, and it became apparent that not only the staff, but also the children appreciate the overall structure and atmosphere as it makes them feel safe. The routines, among various other factors, are viewed as one of the most important aspects which contribute to the English Playschool's overall uniqueness. The importance of routines was also mentioned in the theoretical part of this thesis (chapter 3.3.2.). They allow new and more complex language to be easily introduced into the classroom and the repetition assists learners in internalising the newly learned language (Cameron 2001: 11).

Research question 3 approaches the question whether the children in the Playschool Linz improve their language skills from year one to year three and also seeks to detect whether there are differences in the children's productive and receptive skills. In general terms, the study showed that, on average, the advanced group performed significantly better on both the BPVS III and the narration of the picture book. Thus, the research question can be answered with 'yes' and hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported. It still needs to be emphasised though that ample differences between individuals emerged as illustrated in chapter 6.4. There are various possible reasons why there are such differences in the performance of the individual children. Baker (2001: 121) summarises these as follows:

Given the same contexts and same inputs, students still gain different levels of proficiency in the second language. Individual differences cannot be solely ascribed to differences of social, economic or political environment and input from classroom teaching methodologies. Individual differences also relate to personal characteristics. For example, the age at which somebody learns a second language, their aptitude for learning languages, cognitive style, motivation, attitude, previous knowledge, learning style, learning strategies and personality variables such as anxiety have variously been thought to influence second language acquisition.

It was also mentioned by Karin, the pedagogue from the advanced group, that individual differences, such as timidity impact the children's output: "some of them are shy, they don't really speak even if they know how to speak". On the one hand, the reasons mentioned aid in explaining why the children performed so differently. On the other hand, they imply that it is

difficult to accurately measure language proficiency as some factors may influence the child's performance and, thus, distort the overall outcome. For instance, some shy children may produce less language than their peers, but it remains unclear whether their shyness can be held accountable for their lack of utterances or whether they are not as proficient as their peers. This, of course, can also be seen as a drawback of the tests used during the present study as they only measured the children's output. The BPVS III may have been less prone to factors such as timidity since the children merely had to point at the picture cards. Yet, the productive part required language output as the children had to narrate the picture book story. When evaluating the tests, only the language provided was taken into account. Hence, it could be the case that certain factors affected the overall outcome of the study at hand.

With regard to the question whether children who are acquainted with an additional language other than German and English perform better on the two tests than children who solely speak German and English (research question 4), no overall answer can be given as the analyses of the receptive and the productive test yielded different results. The analysis of the BPVS III, which tested the receptive skills, showed that children who do not speak an additional language besides German and English, performed significantly better than children who speak more than these two languages. Hence, the exact opposite of hypothesis 3 occurred and, consequently, this hypothesis was clearly falsified. The analysis of the picture book narration, which represented the productive part of the testing, showed that there are no significant differences between those children who are acquainted with an additional language other than German and English and those children who solely speak German and English. Hence, the hypothesis that multilingual children perform significantly better on the productive part of the testing also needs to be discarded. This contradicts previous findings, which suggest that individuals who already speak two languages have an advantage when learning additional languages (Cenoz 2000: 46 and 49).

Research question 5 seeks to elicit whether practising English at home has an effect on the outcome of the test. The analysis revealed that the additional practice of English skills at home had neither a significant effect on the receptive, nor on the productive skills of the children. As a result, both hypothesis 5 and hypothesis 6 were falsified. However, as already mentioned in chapters 6.2.2. and 6.3.2., an interesting tendency was revealed when placing the children into different performance groups. For both the BPVS III and the narration of the picture book

story, a high number of children in the group who scored the highest marks seldom practise English at home. This is surprising, given that a common belief is that 'practice makes perfect'.

As far as research question 6 is concerned, which aims to determine whether gender has an effect on the outcome of the tests, it can be concluded that there is no significant relationship between gender and the results of either of the two tests. For this reason, both hypothesis 7 and hypothesis 8 are supported. Even though no significant gender differences were found in this study, it is still essential to consider the possible influence that gender could have on the overall outcome of a test, especially when the male and female subjects are unequally distributed. This is why it is suggested to match the participants on gender, among other variables (Baker & Jones 1998: 63).

Another fact worth discussing again is that many children did not obtain a standardised score or an age equivalent on the BPVS III. When examining this more closely, two further observations can be made. First, mainly children from the advanced group were not assigned a standardised score, namely 8 out of 12 children, whereas in the beginner group only 1 out of 12 children did not obtain a standardised score. Second, even though the advanced group scored, on average, higher raw scores than the beginner group, the latter achieved higher standardised scores than the children from the advanced group. A possible explanation for this is given by Cummins (2000: 36): "[e]very year English L1 students gain more sophisticated vocabulary and grammatical knowledge and increase their literacy skills. Thus, English language learners must catch up with a moving target." Cummins and Swain (1986: 105 and 211) also argue that it takes between five and seven years for L2 learners to attain "appropriate L2 academic skills". When applying this logic to the children who participated in the accompanying study to this thesis, then the observation described above seems to hold true. At the time of testing, the children from the beginner group were on average 4;2 years old. Their native speaking peers in the same age range can be said to be at the beginning of their language journey too and may have only acquired the basis of their L1. Hence, if the children from the beginner group learned the basic language skills within their first year of kindergarten, then they do not differ widely from their native peers. Therefore, they may also obtain similar standardised scores than the children from the standardisation sample from the BPVS III. In contrast, the children from the advanced group were on average 6;8 years old. Native speakers around that age are usually able to express themselves quite eloquently, use

more complex sentence structures and have built a comprehensive lexicon. When comparing the language skills of approximately 4-year-old native speakers to almost 7-year-old native speakers, then, normally, an enormous leap forward in language development can be observed. A possible reason for this is that children in the UK begin compulsory schooling from the age of four. However, even though the L2 learners from the advanced group have improved their English skills, as can be observed when comparing the raw scores to that of the beginner group, the gap between the L2 learners and the native speakers became much wider. This may be because the L2 learners had further deepened their L1 knowledge simultaneously to developing L2 competence. Therefore, the children from the advanced group were no longer able to keep up with the native speakers of the BPVS III comparison group and were no longer able to obtain similar standardised scores. Nevertheless, it needs to be emphasised again that the standardised scores and age equivalent were solely used to establish a rough benchmark. This thesis did not aim to measure the language skills of the bilingual language learners against those of monolingual native speakers as, due to linguistic multi-competence (see chapter 2.4.1.), their language use is incomparable and would be “about as revealing as, say, discussing how apples resemble pears” (Cook 2016: 4).

The testing of the productive skills has also shown that, on average, children performed much better when their German skills are taken into account. This again supports the point that a bilingual’s language configuration is different from that of monolinguals. The use of code-switching during the productive part of the study, which was briefly illustrated in chapter 6.3., also seconds this claim as it can be argued that the children effectively use both of their languages in order to express their thoughts. This can be seen as a strategy to overcome language gaps, especially when they are using their weaker language (see chapter 2.3.4.). The fact that the results of the children improved when both languages were considered in the analysis also demonstrates that a bilingual cannot be measured on the basis of only one of their languages, which goes hand in hand with the observations made in chapter 2.2. In the past, it was often believed that bilinguals had a smaller lexicon. However, research has proven that this myth is incorrect and has shown that the lexical knowledge of monolinguals and bilinguals is similar (De Houwer 2009b: 309). Some scholars support the view that bilinguals even have a wider lexical range at their command than monolinguals (Marian 2008: 25, Taeschner 1983: 56). Nevertheless, in this study, for the in-depth analysis with SPSS, only the English words produced were taken into account as the aim was to find out how the children’s

English skills progress from year one to year three. Given that the purpose of the in-depth analysis was not a comparison with native speakers, but served to compare the children from the English Playschool Linz amongst each other and to determine which variables may have an impact on the individual children's performance, the procedure used can be justified.

Although the study at hand has provided some interesting insights, there are still some limitations to it. A key limitation is the small sample size, particularly since the statistical analysis requires a minimum number of subjects in order for the analysis to be meaningful. Also, due to the limited number of participants, no generalisations can be made. A further issue, which is frequent in language research, is that many tests focus solely on one area of language proficiency (Nauwerck 2005: 101). As far as this study is concerned, the analysis of the productive part of the testing, for example, provided information about types, tokens, average sentence length and lexical diversity. However, it did not take grammatical correctness into account as all intelligible words produced by the children were included in the analysis, regardless of grammatical or syntactical accuracy. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the overall test results may have been influenced by factors which are difficult to mitigate, such as timidity, fatigue or lack of concentration. With regard to concentration, the testing environment was not optimal since there was, on occasion, some background noise and other distractions, which may have affected the children's ability to focus on the task at hand. A further controversial point is the inclusion of two children who grew up with English as one of their native languages. In the course of the analysis, it became apparent that they consistently scored above the average and, therefore, may have skewed the results. Possible reasons for their strong performance are that they have had more exposure to the language and that they acquired it in a more naturalistic setting. If conducting a similar study in the future, one would look to use a larger sample size, improve the testing environment and carefully match the subjects according to their language backgrounds, i.e. ensure that the groups are relatively homogenous.

7. Conclusion

The thesis at hand explored the effectiveness of bilingual education on the basis of one particular German-/English-speaking kindergarten, the English Playschool Linz, and aimed at

identifying what makes this kindergarten unique. The main focus of research was to determine how the lexical receptive and productive skills improve from year one (beginner group) to year three (advanced group) and also to link the language development to the teaching strategies used in the classroom. The connection of the aspects mentioned led to the main research question: Which strategies are used in the English Playschool Linz to increase the children's lexical abilities and in how far can these strategies be considered effective?

In addition to reviewing several theoretical aspects related to bilingualism and bilingual education, another intention of the literature review of the thesis at hand was to present key concepts relevant to understand the empirical part. The accompanying study to this thesis combined two tests which were conducted with the beginner and advanced group of the English Playschool Linz: the British Picture Vocabulary Scale III (Dunn et al. 2009), which aimed at testing the children's receptive skills, and the narration of the picture book story *Ich bin der kleine Hund* [I am the little dog] (Fechner 1982), which served as a means to elicit spoken language. A parental questionnaire was used to complement the two tests. The results were then analysed with the online text analysis tool Text Inspector (2016) and the statistical programme SPSS 25. Moreover, four expert interviews with the teaching staff were administered in order to identify the policies and objectives of the English Playschool Linz and to learn about the teaching methods and strategies. The interviews were analysed by the means of qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2000). The prior formulated hypotheses were then tested and the six corresponding research question were answered.

With regard to the main research question, which addressed the effectiveness of the kindergarten in terms of how the children improve their lexical skills from year one to year three and how this might be connected with the vocabulary learning strategies used in the English Playschool Linz, it can be said that the children definitely improved their vocabulary skills. The advanced group performed significantly better on both the receptive and the productive part of the testing and, in fact, these results confirmed that the children from year one to year three do advance in their proficiency. The results of the testing also allowed for inferences to be drawn about the overall effectiveness of the kindergarten, and, it was concluded that the English Playschool Linz is indeed successful in teaching English to young learners. Furthermore, it can be claimed that the kindergarten's methodology, which includes, for example, the use of routines, positively impacts language learning and aids the children in

their linguistic development. However, even though the methods used are believed to have an effect on overall learning, it is assumed that there are other influential factors at play. For example, due to the individual differences found in the present study, it can be claimed that personality, for example, can also affect a child's language competence. Consequently, it needs to be emphasised that language learning is a multi-faceted topic which is likely to be influenced by a variety of factors, many of which are difficult to control.

Even though bilingualism and bilingual education seem to be popular fields of investigation, further research, especially in the context of kindergarten, may shed more light on this complex topic. This thesis can also be seen as a starting point for further research. As far as the English Playschool Linz is concerned, a possible research option could be to monitor the children who have attended this kindergarten during their school education in order to determine whether they perform better than those children who have not attended a bilingual kindergarten. It would also be interesting to test the same population on initial admission into and before leaving the kindergarten, i.e. to conduct a longitudinal study which monitors the development of the children's lexical abilities throughout their education.

Despite the need for further research, this thesis can still be considered a valuable contribution to the field of bilingual kindergarten education in Austria and has shown that children are able to successfully learn a second language within a limited amount of time. The following quote by Cameron (2001: xxi) illustrates the learning potential of children:

It is [...] misleading to think that children will only learn simple language, such as colours and numbers, nursery rhymes and songs, and talking about themselves. Of course, if that is all they are taught, that will be all they can learn. But children always can do more than we think they can; they have huge learning potential, and the foreign language classroom does them a disservice if we do not exploit this potential.

With this in mind, policy makers, teaching professionals and parents should endeavour not to underestimate the true learning ability of young language learners in order to ensure that they are given the best opportunity to reach their full potential.

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Appendix

German abstract

Bilingualismus und bilinguale Erziehung gelten als überaus populäre Forschungsfelder. Schätzungen zufolge benutzt in etwa die Hälfte der Weltbevölkerung regelmäßig zwei (oder mehr) Sprachen und kann somit als bilingual angesehen werden (Grosjean 2008: 118). Gerade in Zeiten der Globalisierung hat Zweisprachigkeit eine bedeutende Position. Bilingualismus verschafft viele Vorteile und ist mitunter oft eine Voraussetzung für bestimmte Berufswege (Brewster, Ellis & Girard 2002: 1). Aus diesem Grund scheint es naheliegend, dass dem Erlernen von mehreren Sprachen, insbesondere Englisch, immer mehr Bedeutung zugeschrieben wird – oft auch schon im Kindergarten.

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit *Early exposure to English: a study on L2 proficiency in a German-/English-speaking playschool* beschäftigt sich mit dem Thema bilinguale Erziehung im Kindergarten. Die zugehörige Studie wurde in der English Playschool Linz durchgeführt, in der sowohl Deutsch als auch Englisch als Unterrichtssprachen fungieren. Zielsetzung dieser Arbeit ist, die Frage zu beantworten, inwieweit dieser Kindergarten als effektiv in Bezug auf dessen Sprachvermittlung angesehen werden kann. Der Fokus liegt dabei auf den rezeptiven und produktiven lexikalischen Fähigkeiten der Kinder in sowohl der Einsteiger- als auch in der Fortgeschrittenengruppe. Zudem versucht diese Arbeit herauszufinden, welche Rolle die Methodik dieses Kindergartens im Sprach- und Wortschatzerwerb einnimmt. Im theoretischen Teil dieser Arbeit wird ein Überblick über den gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand zu den Themen Bilingualismus, bilinguale Erziehung (im Kindergarten) und Spracherwerbsstrategien präsentiert. Die im theoretischen Teil behandelten Konzepte bilden zudem die Basis für das Verständnis des empirischen Teils dieser Arbeit, welcher sich auf die in der English Playschool Linz durchgeführten Studie konzentriert. Zuerst werden das Forschungsprojekt und dessen Methodik vorgestellt und anschließend werden die Ergebnisse der Studie dargelegt und diskutiert.

Um die rezeptiven Sprachfähigkeiten der Kinder zu testen wurde der British Picture Vocabulary Scale III (Dunn et al. 2009) verwendet, während eine Erzählung der Bildgeschichte *Ich bin der kleine Hund* (Fechner 1982) Rückschlüsse auf die produktiven Fähigkeiten der Kinder geben sollte. Die Analyse der Ergebnisse ergab, dass die Kinder der

Fortgeschrittenengruppe bei beiden Tests signifikant besser abschnitten als die Kinder der Einsteigergruppe. Die Untersuchung ergab zudem, dass jene Kinder, die neben Deutsch und Englisch noch (eine) weitere Sprache(n) sprechen, signifikant schlechter im rezeptiven Teil der Testungen abschnitten. Jedoch wurde auch gezeigt, dass es teilweise erhebliche Leistungsunterschiede innerhalb der jeweiligen Gruppen gab. Die Expertinneninterviews, die im Zuge dieser Studie durchgeführt wurden, gaben unter anderem Auskunft über die in der English Playschool Linz angewendeten pädagogischen Ansätze, welche die Kinder in ihrem (Fremd-)Spracherwerb unterstützen sollen. Diese Ansätze unterscheiden sich je nach Pädagogin geringfügig. Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass der Vergleich der Ergebnisse der beiden getesteten Gruppen für die Effektivität der English Playschool Linz spricht. Es bleibt jedoch fraglich, inwieweit dieses Resultat auf die von den Pädagoginnen verwendeten Methoden zurückzuführen ist beziehungsweise welche konkreten Methoden für den Erfolg der English Playschool Linz verantwortlich gemacht werden können. Dieser Aspekt bedarf daher noch weiterer Forschung.

Letter to the head of the English Playschool Linz

Sehr geehrte Frau Sunhild Huber-Schönfelder,

mein Name ist Katrin Jarolim und ich studiere an der Universität Wien Englisch und Geschichte auf Lehramt. Im Zuge meiner Diplomarbeit zum Thema Zweisprachigkeit im Kindergarten möchte ich eine Studie in dem von Ihnen geleiteten Kindergarten durchführen und bin daher auf Ihre Hilfe angewiesen – ich wäre sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mein Vorhaben unterstützen würden.

Meine Diplomarbeit trägt den Titel „Early Exposure to English – On the Effectiveness of Second Language Instruction in a German-/English-speaking Kindergarten“. Das Hauptaugenmerk liegt dabei darauf, wie sich die englischen Sprachkenntnisse von Kindern in einem bilingualen Kindergarten, in diesem Fall in der English Playschool Linz, entwickeln. Im Vordergrund stehen dabei die lexikalen Kompetenzen.

Um mein Projekt zu ermöglichen, sind folgende Schritte notwendig:

- Durchführung eines kurzen Interviews mit Ihnen, sowie mit zwei oder drei Pädagoginnen, um herauszufinden, wie den Kindern die englische Sprache vermittelt und mit welchen Methoden hauptsächlich gearbeitet wird (z.B. nursery rhymes, songs)
- Ausfüllen eines Fragebogens durch jene Eltern, die sich dazu bereiterklären, ihr Kind an meiner Studie teilnehmen zu lassen
- Durchführung von zwei Testungen mit den Kindern der beginner und der advanced group, deren Dauer sich im Gesamten etwa auf 15 bis 20 Minuten pro Kind belaufen wird:
 - British Picture Vocabulary Scale (BPVS): zielt auf das Wortverständnis ab
 - Nacherzählung einer Bildgeschichte („Ich bin der kleine Hund“ von Amrei Fechner): zielt auf die Produktion ab

Alle gesammelten Daten werden natürlich vertraulich behandelt und anonymisiert. Zudem werde ich selbstverständlich darauf achten, dass sich die Kinder während der Testungen wohl und nicht unter Druck gesetzt fühlen.

Ich würde die Studie gerne in der Woche vom 3. bis 7. Juli durchführen, wenn dies für Sie und für die zuständigen Pädagoginnen in Ordnung ist. Falls Sie mit der von mir beschriebenen Vorgehensweise einverstanden sind, bitte ich Sie, dieses Dokument zu unterzeichnen und an mich zu retournieren.

Ich wäre Ihnen für Ihre Mithilfe und Ihr Vertrauen sehr verbunden! Falls Sie Fragen haben, stehe ich Ihnen gerne unter den angegebenen Kontaktdaten zur Verfügung.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,
Katrin Jarolim

Datum und Unterschrift von Sunhild Huber-Schönfelder

Information sheet for the parents

Einverständniserklärung für die Teilnahme am Projekt: Early Exposure to English

Liebe Eltern!

Mein Name ist Katrin Jarolim und ich studiere an der Universität Wien Englisch und Geschichte auf Lehramt. Im Zuge meiner Diplomarbeit zum Thema Zweisprachigkeit im Kindergarten möchte ich eine Studie im Kindergarten Ihres Kindes durchführen und bin daher auf Ihre Hilfe angewiesen – ich wäre sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mein Vorhaben unterstützen würden. Bitte lesen Sie sich folgende Informationen bezüglich meiner geplanten Forschung sorgfältig durch. Bei Rückfragen stehe ich Ihnen gerne unter den oben angegebenen Kontaktdaten zur Verfügung.

Vorläufiger Arbeitstitel meiner Diplomarbeit:

Early Exposure to English – On the Effectiveness of Second Language Instruction in a German-/English-speaking Kindergarten

Inhalt meiner Diplomarbeit:

Das Hauptziel ist, herauszufinden, wie sich die englischen Sprachkenntnisse von Kindern in einem bilingualen Kindergarten, in diesem Fall in der English Playschool Linz, entwickeln. Im Vordergrund stehen dabei die lexikalen Kompetenzen.

Die Studie:

Um meine Forschungsfrage beantworten zu können, ist die Durchführung einer Studie notwendig. Diese besteht aus zwei Teilen: dem British Picture Vocabulary Scale (BPVS), der auf die rezeptiven Fähigkeiten der Kinder abzielt, und einer kurzen Nacherzählung der Bildgeschichte „Ich bin der kleine Hund“, die die produktiven Fähigkeiten testet. Beide Tests zusammen beanspruchen in etwa 15 bis 20 Minuten.

Die Studie wird voraussichtlich in der Woche vom 3. bis 7. Juli stattfinden. Alle gesammelten Daten werden vertraulich behandelt und anonymisiert – der Name Ihres Kindes wird somit keinesfalls in meiner Diplomarbeit aufscheinen, sondern nur zur Zuordnung der Testergebnisse verwendet. Zudem wird selbstverständlich darauf geachtet werden, dass sich Ihr Kind in vertrautem Umfeld befindet und sich während der Testungen wohl und nicht unter Druck gesetzt fühlt.

Falls Sie mit der Teilnahme Ihres Kindes an meiner Studie einverstanden sind, bitte ich Sie, den beiliegenden Fragebogen zum Sprachhintergrund Ihres Kindes auszufüllen.

Ich wäre Ihnen für Ihre Mithilfe und Ihr Vertrauen sehr verbunden!

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,
Katrin Jarolim

Consent form

Einverständniserklärung

Im Falle Ihres Einverständnisses, trennen Sie bitte diesen Abschnitt ab und retournieren diesen, gemeinsam mit dem von Ihnen ausgefüllten Fragebogen, bis spätestens 28. Juni. Mit Ihrer Unterschrift bestätigen Sie, die oben angeführten Informationen gelesen zu haben und stimmen zugleich der Teilnahme Ihres Kindes an meiner Studie zu.

Ich möchte über die Gesamtergebnisse der Studie informiert werden. ☐ JA ☐ NEIN

Ich möchte über die konkreten Ergebnisse meines Kindes informiert werden. ☐ JA ☐ NEIN

Email-Adresse: _____

(nur notwendig, falls Sie über die Ergebnisse informiert werden möchten)

Name meines Kindes: _____

Datum und Unterschrift: _____

Parental questionnaire

Elternfragebogen zum Sprachhintergrund des Kindes

Die folgenden Fragen beziehen sich auf den Sprachhintergrund Ihres Kindes und auf Ihre Motive, Ihr Kind in zwei Sprachen zu fördern. Bitte beantworten Sie die Fragen so genau wie möglich und lassen Sie keine der Fragen aus, da jede davon für die Studie von Relevanz ist. Alle Daten werden vertraulich behandelt und anonymisiert in meiner Diplomarbeit aufscheinen. Der Name Ihres Kindes wird ausschließlich zu Zuordnungszwecken verwendet.

Fragebogen für _____ (Name des Kindes)

Alter des Kindes (Jahre UND Monate, Bsp. 5 Jahre und 3 Monate): _____

1. Muttersprache(n) der Mutter: _____

Muttersprache(n) des Vaters: _____

Geburtsland und Muttersprache(n) Ihres Kindes: _____

2. Welche Sprachen werden bei Ihnen zu Hause gesprochen? Versuchen Sie, eine ungefähre Prozentangabe zum jeweiligen Sprachgebrauch anzugeben. (Bsp.: Deutsch: 70%, Englisch: 15%, Spanisch: 15%)

☐ Deutsch: _____ %

☐ Englisch: _____ %

☐ sonstige Sprachen, nämlich _____ : _____ %

3. Welche Sprache(n) spricht Ihr Kind und seit welchem Alter? Bitte geben Sie das Alter Ihres Kindes im Format Jahr und Monat an (Bsp.: 5 Jahre und 3 Monate).

☐ Deutsch – wenn ja, seit wann: _____

☐ Englisch – wenn ja, seit wann: _____

☐ sonstige Sprachen, nämlich _____ – wenn ja, seit wann:

4. Was waren Ihre Beweggründe, Ihr Kind in der Playschool anzumelden? Welche Aussagen treffen für Sie zu? Mehrfachantworten sind möglich.

☐ Die Playschool liegt in unserer Nähe und ist daher gut zu erreichen.

☐ Ich kenne das pädagogische Personal.

☐ Das Leitbild der Playschool hat mir gefallen.

☐ Ich wollte meinem Kind die Möglichkeit geben, die englische Sprache spielerisch zu erlernen.

☐ Ich denke, dass Englisch in der schulischen und beruflichen Laufbahn meines Kindes wichtig sein wird.

☐ Mir wurde der Kindergarten empfohlen.

☐ Ein bekanntes oder befreundetes Kind geht/ging auch in die Playschool.

☐ weitere: _____

5. Mit welchem Alter ging Ihr Kind zum ersten Mal in die English Playschool Linz? Bitte geben Sie sowohl die Anzahl der Jahre, als auch der Monate an (Bsp.: mit 2 Jahren und 6 Monaten):

6. Ich übe mit meinem Kind die erlernte englische Sprache auch zu Hause.

☐ nie ☐ selten ☐ gelegentlich ☐ oft ☐ immer

wenn ja, wie: _____

7. Abgesehen von der in der English Playschool verbrachten Zeit, wie oft übt ihr Kind Aktivitäten aus, die auf die *Rezeption* (=Verständnis) der englischen Sprache abzielen (z.B. englischsprachige Filme ansehen, englischsprachige Bücher vorgelesen bekommen)?

☐ täglich

☐ mehrmals wöchentlich

☐ etwa ein Mal pro Woche

☐ alle paar Wochen

☐ nie

8. Abgesehen von der in der English Playschool verbrachten Zeit, wie oft übt ihr Kind Aktivitäten aus, die auf die *Produktion* der englischen Sprache abzielen (z.B. Konversationen in englischer Sprache führen, Singen englischsprachiger Lieder)?

☐ täglich

☐ mehrmals wöchentlich

☐ etwa ein Mal pro Woche

☐ alle paar Wochen

☐ nie

9. Wie würden Sie die deutschen (D) und englischen (E) Sprachkenntnisse Ihres Kindes einschätzen? Die Wertung erfolgt über ein Schulnotensystem: 1 = sehr gut, 5 = nicht genügend.

	1		2		3		4		5	
	D	E	D	E	D	E	D	E	D	E
VERSTÄNDIS										
PRODUKTION										

☐ kann ich für Deutsch nicht beurteilen

☐ kann ich für Englisch nicht beurteilen

10. Kennt Ihr Kind das Buch „Ich bin der kleine Hund“ von Amrei Fechner?

☐ Ja ☐ Nein

Vielen Dank für Ihre Mitarbeit! Für Rückfragen stehe ich Ihnen gerne zur Verfügung – meine Kontaktdaten können Sie der Einverständniserklärung entnehmen.

Transcription conventions

C	child
T	teaching staff
I	interviewer ⁷
*	unintelligible word (number of * corresponds presumed number of words)
°	unfinished word
[overlap, placed at beginning of the turn
//	interruption
(...)	short pause
(5)	pause longer than 3 seconds, the number of second are indicated
[]	additional information, e.g. paralinguistic signals
?	question
!	exclamation
—	German word or phrase ⁸

⁷ With regard to the story narrations of the children, only some of the transcriptions include the utterances of the interviewer. The main reason for this is that the children's stories should be the main focus of attention. Nevertheless, the utterances of the interviewer were included at times in order to illustrate the procedure of the productive part of the testing and to indicate which questions were typically used to elicit spoken text from the children.

⁸ This does not apply to the interview with Sunhild Huber-Schönfelder, the head of the English Playschool Linz, as this interview was conducted in German.

Transcriptions of the interviews with the pedagogical staff

Interview: Sunhild

I: Sie sind halt jetzt auf Englisch. What is the main goal of the English Playschool Linz, generally as well as regarding the language education? (...) Also das Hauptziel vom Kindergarten?

T: Hmm, dass man es spielend lernt. Das ist das Wichtigste, dass kein Druck ist, die Kinder erm, lernen eine zweite Sprache mit Freude und mit Spiel und Spaß und sie brauchen einige Jahre, einige Zeit, bis es ihnen bewusst wird, dass sie eine zweite Sprache lernen. Also bei den Kleinen ist es einfach, sie haben halt zwei Namen, table oder Tisch, ganz natürlich.

I: Okay, hm, danke. Dann: Are there certain guidelines concerning what the children should be able to do when they leave the kindergarten? Hmm language-wise, also was sind die Ziele wenn das Kinder, wenn die Kinder

T: // Kinder nehmen aus, schöpfen aus den Vollen und jedes Kind nimmt nur das mit was es aufnehmen will.

I: Mmh. [agreement]

T: Also, da gibt es keine topics und erm aims, also jeder Pädagoge hat seine Ziele die die Kinder erreichen sollten. Da wird ein gescheites Backup jedes Jahr gemacht. Aber jedes Kind kommt nur soweit, soweit es will.

I: Ja das stimmt. [lacht] Dann nächste Frage: Ähm, do you follow a specific method or a particular approach in order to teach the children English and think especially about teaching vocabulary. Also gibt es einen bestimmten approach dem Sie folgen im Kindergarten?

T: // Erm, also unsere Methode, die wir haben baut sich auf allen Säulen der Pädagogik und Methoden auf. Daraus hab hauptsächlich ich, meine Mutter vorweg schon, ähm, die englische Spielschul-Methode-Pädagogik entwickelt, man evaluiert auch jährlich. Die guten Dinge herausgenommen, in einen Pot geschmissen und das ist unsere Spielschulpädagogik und wir sind sehr stolz, dass wir unique sind in ganz Europa mit unserer Methode, die eigentlich noch keiner nachmachen konnte, weil sehr viel Idealismus und persönlichen Einsatz dahinter steht und das was wir machen leben muss, da gibt's kein fertiges Konzept.

I: Mmh.

T: Eine Pädagogin die bei mir beginnt braucht drei Jahre, bis sie wirklich eingearbeitet ist. Also auch für meine Pädagogen gilt, learning by (...) doing, teaching, Erfahrung sammeln und sich zu entwickeln.

I: [doing

I: Mmh.

T: Es gibt 500 Lieder, Reime zu lernen und so weiter und so fort.

I: Okay, ja. Dann die nächste Frage ist: Where do the native speakers originally come from and do they have a noticeable accent and do you think the children may pick up or imitate that accent?

T: Das ist alles erlaubt bei uns. Bis auf den afrikanischen, harten accent, ist bei uns jeder accent erlaubt.

I: Und das heißt, auch die Pädagoginnen haben, kommen aus unterschiedlichen

T: [aus Amerika, aus Australien, aus England. Ähm, (...) das ist alles (...) üblich. Ähm (...) auch da ist die schöne Sprache gewünscht, man kann ein sehr schönes Amerikanisch sprechen, man kann ein schönes Englisch sprechen, ein schönes Irisch, [tiefer Schnaufer] ähm, ein schönes austr°

I: [das heißt, Sie zielen jetzt nicht darauf ab, dass ein bestimmter Akzent

T: [nein, absolut nicht, nein. Unsere erste Pädagogin 1953 war eine Amerikanerin, dann folgten viele Neuseeländer, viele Engländer und eine ganz natürliche Entwicklung.

I: [Einfach eine gemischte Gruppe. Okay. Dann: Are the children in the respective groups, very heterogeneous, erm, so do they differ a lot as far as the English proficiency is concerned. Also sind die sehr heterogen, sind die sehr verschieden innerhalb von den Gruppen oder kann man sagen, dass jede Gruppe ein bisschen°

T: // Selbstverständlich. Die Konstellation einer Gruppe ergibt sich durch die Aufnahme der Kinder. Die Kinder sind in einer homogenen Gruppe, Gruppe auch sehr unterschiedlich entwickelt. Weil wenn einer im September geboren ist und ein anderer erst im August, ist fast ein Jahr dazwischen und da klafft auch da schon ein großer Unterschied. Der eine ist der Aktive, der andere ist der Passive, einer ist der Kopfdenker, der erst alles einmal verstehen muss. Also es gibt so verschiedene Typen die man natürlich in, in, in Scha° in (...) Gruppen stecken kann. Wobei, aber jedes Kind ist unique, es gibt kein Patentrezept. Gibt es nicht!

I: [Hmm, ja, stimmt, ja.

I: Und dann sind wir eh schon bei der letzten Frage, das ist jetzt: How exactly is the English Playschool Linz different to other kindergartens and what makes the Playschool so special, apart from teaching a second language? Also was ist also besonders, außer dass sie eine zweite Sprache lernen?

T: Was ist so besonders? Das klingt jetzt, wir sind einfach in unserem Aufbau schon komplett anders. Wir haben klare Strukturen.

I: Mmh.

T: Das Konzept ist sehr durchdacht in in sich. Erm, der Unterschied ist einfach, dass wir auch homogene Gruppen haben, was es in Österreich nicht mehr gibt. Und ja, (...) ein einzigartiges Konzept * haben, das ist nicht dem der österreichischen (...) erm Ursprung her, in erm also gleichgestellt ist. Wir nehmen natürlich vieles auf, dass die Kinder nicht anders sind, aber das Wichtigste ist, dass die Kinder (...) frei (...) [sighing] von Werten, von, von aufoktroyierten Sachen sich entwickeln können. Also, das ist das Wichtigste!

I: Und da hilft es vielleicht eben auch mit einer zweiten Sprache, damit man einfach eine andere Kultur kennen lernt, und man mehr offen wird gegenüber anderen Kulturen.

T: [Wir haben 27 Kulturen herinnen und das ist auch etwas was ganz wichtig ist, dass wir erm, diese Kulturen (...) einbinden in unser System und erm gefördert werden und praktizieren.

I: Okay [laughter].

T: Wir sind eine kleine heile Familie. Das ist ein schönes – gibt's dich noch, du lebst? [lacht] * * *

I: [Das waren jetzt eh alle Fragen.

Interview: Sandra

T: The main goal of the English playschool is that the kids have fun with another language especially the language English of course, erm that they like to speak, that they are open and that they have fun with a new language. Ja, jetzt habe ich mich, glaube ich, wiederholt.

I: [laughter]

T: (...) Erm, number two (6) erm most important for us is that the children are able to speak and that they erm (...) they're open for it, that they don't have problems to talk to random people and to talk to * erm to talk speaking a language which that isn't their mother tongue (...) erm, but every child is different so you, we teach them the same things, but they take what they (...) what they what they can take [laughter]. Erm, * should be able to, erm nur von der language oder, dann * [whispering and mumbling]

I: Ja, das * * *.

T: Erm number three, erm yes we do have a specific playschool method this is what makes us different to other kindergartens. Erm we have routines, we erm do every day so e.g. circle games in the morning so we always try to have movement and language put together, we try to act it out in German and English or even put in other languages. Erm, then we have lesson time which always erm involves different projects, different (...)

I: // topics

T: Ja, ideas [laughter] And erm, there will be a lot of English, erm but there are also projects we do in German in particular because they are important for school or (...) erm, and then of course free play and story time and all the routines we do have. Erm, also going outside and having, erm (...) and having erm fun at the playground with different languages. Erm (...)

Number four, our aunties come from different countries, for example, South Africa, England, America. We do have aunties from everywhere, from all English-speaking countries, erm they do have a different accent erm main language in the playschool is British English, but we also teach them the differences, for example, American British the difference. We tell the kids, for example, Mistkübel you can also say, dustbin or bin or paper-bin, paper-basket, all the different words so that they children know that there are different countries, different erm English languages with different accent of course. Erm (5) and erm we even do that on purpose that we have different aunties that the children get to know different accents. Erm and all the aunties, they also have been to different countries for erm au pair or whatever, so they all speak different accents as well. Erm (...) I wouldn't say that any group is very heterogeneous, I mean they are in some ways and we we do the same thing with all of them, but still every child is different so they pick up different things from different aunties and we pick them up from where they stand.

Erm, number seven, yes, the different to other kindergartens is that we have a lot of teachers that our teachers are either native speakers or they have been to different countries so cultural thing is very important for us. Erm, we even have children from all over the world, that is maybe different to other kindergartens and our structure is different because we have all the routines we do almost every day. Erm yes (...) and that the kindergarten exists for already 64 years. That makes us different as well maybe.

I: Okay [laughter]

T: Okay [laughter]

I: Perfect.

Interview: Julia

T: Okay, number three. Do you follow specific methods? Erm, actually I do, we do use a lot of picture cards and the words so the children can connect erm the picture and the word and we use like a lot of books as well to show the children what we are talking about and we do a lot of actions as well so like movements and saying the words as well, so they always find a connection so they can always find out what it's about without even saying the German word. So this is actually the three main things we use in teaching vocabulary, like I use, erm, like pictures, movements and books as well. And for songs it somehow works the same because if you show them a new song you tell them what it is about and I try to do it in English as well but if they somehow, I don't know, like I don't mind if they don't small words that are not important for the theme but if the song is about ducks it is important for me, that they know what a duck is. If the duck is, I don't know, small, big, it doesn't matter, I mean they will understand easy words like that, but you know what I mean.

I: Mhm [agreement]

T: I don't, I don't, because they are still beginners I don't want, I don't. Yeah. It is okay for me if they don't understand each single word, yeah. So (...) yeah.

Number four, erm six, erm five sorry. Number five is about how much English I use. I would say in beginners I use like 60 per cent of English now, in the beginning of the year in autumn I used a lot more German because that was when the children started the Playschool and they were feeling a bit insecure when the mummy was gone, of course, I wanted to give them a feeling of (...), I don't know, safety or like a little bit (...) hmm. I wanted to help them feel safe and sound. [laughter] Because English was also something very strange and new for them and speaking German, speaking more German helped them relax quicker and that's why I used a lot of German, German in the beginning. But now they are all fine, they are used to the daily routines, they are used to the lessons and now I use a lot more English and I do find that they understand a lot already and that is why I'm using like, I would say 60 per cent English. Because we don't have a real native speaker speaking in our group yet, that is gonna be next year in the Middle group, that we gonna have a Middle, erm erm a native speaker, so (...) it's hard to really find a real balance because when there is a native speaker this person speaks English. It doesn't matter how much English I speak then, but in this case both, Angelika and I, my assistant, we do mix and we do speak more English than German now.

I: Mhm [agreement]

T: So (...), and erm, (4), and (...) about the the (...) and yeah it also depends on the activities, that's right, because some, erm, things I can use more English with, for example, all the gym stuff, when we are in the gym room, or when we are outside, I can show the movement, I don't even have to say it in German. I can always do it in English the whole time, because I just show them what to do, I don't, and then sometimes in the lesson when there is a new topic, of course, you have to sometimes say the German things to let them know what it's about, but yeah, with (...) with really like gym activities I don't, so it does depend on the actual activity for me. Erm, (...) number six: Are the children in your group (...), oh yeah. Erm, (...) there is a difference if I look at the whole room, it's different, because there are some English native speakers and some Chinese native speakers (...), with those children I see that there is a big difference in the English level, compared to German, erm, children, with a German mother tongue. Erm, there is big differences in this one group, it's just one age group but still there is big differences but if I only look at the German speakers it is not that big. There are differences, but not as big as, because some children have really a hard time speaking German, erm, because they don't speak German at home, for those they are actually like far behind the others but with only the German speakers there is not such a big difference, of course.

I: So, that means that people who have a different language background other than German, for example Chinese or, they are (...) worse in English than German speakers (...), did I get that right?

T: Exactly. Erm, yeah, not all of them but

I: // there is a tendency that they are as good as German speakers

T: [yeah kind of

I: Because they also have to learn German at the same time.

T: Yeah, it also depends on if those children, is like, if those children (...) have, other children visit them at home, if they kind of hear German at home sometimes or if they have a Nanny that speaks German, because some foreigners have Nannies that speak German with the children at home just to improve the German and some, some families only speak their own language at home and then those children have a hard time only picking up the German at the Playschool. So that is also what, what's important to know. Hmm, (...) alright and how is the Playschool different? Well, of course of the language, because of the language aspect, but (...) I would say that of course the age groups are divided, that's erm, different to most of the kindergartens erm, I find that's very good that we do that because of the language development, it's easier to work with them but it's also interesting how the afternoon team group and morning team group erm, manage to do it with different age groups and how the older children teach the little ones. Because they, the older children also they know a lot of English already and they, they start speaking English already, because with the beginners I don't, I don't make them speak so much because it is all about the input and all about the hearing how the language sounds, how the word sound, how it is spoken and with the big children in the mixed age group, erm, they teach the little ones as well and it is actually very nice to see that and yeah. That is, that is special, I would say about the Playschool and that our day is very like structured that we have like daily routines, and helps children to (...), you know to go through the day, they know what is gonna happen, they feel safe, they know what's, that there is no big surprises every day and that makes them feel safe and erm, it is nice that, for example, our lessons start the same all the time, we are always singing like a good morning song and they really like waiting for that and they're, they're, when we forget it, everybody will show, tell me to sing it because that's what they want. They are used to it and they love it and I think that's a very nice thing because I don't know, if other kindergartens do that so regularly, erm, like we do * and we do, I know they sometimes sit down together to sing a song or a rhyme, I don't know, but for us it's got like a real structure and a real routine and I really like that.

I: Mhm [agreement]

T: For a lot of children it's like a good preparation for school (...), erm, and what else is special (...) that there are a lot of pedagogues we do have a lot of, erm, qualified people to work with the children. It's not that one pedagogue has to watch all the kids and can't really sit down with a child, one and one, so it's nice that there are more people to really also take time for one child. It's special because there is something to, you know, practice or do, that's very nice to be honest (...) and that there is really only pedagogues, no, no, likes only qualified people [laughter], to say so. [laughter]

I: [Okay. [laughter]

T: Because in Austria we do have Helferinnen and they are not like, they do like a two weeks course and that's it. [laughter] So, we do, I'm really glad that everybody is like on the same level and I really like that everybody, erm, (...) respects everybody else as that.

I: Okay.

T: Yeah.

I: Alright. Then thank you very much.

T: You are welcome.

Interview: Karin

T: Alright so the first answer, the main aim. I think the main aim is of course is English to to to talk English with the children so they can leave the playschool with a erm with a a great English like understanding and talking.

I: Mhm mhm [agreement]

T: And to grow self-confident because we have erm I have had a lot of erm conversations with the parents now because I trained the kids for three years now and I stayed with the whole group the same kids for three years so I can see the difference and we erm we do circle games twice a week and in the circle games the children they have to perform something and it is everybody somebody else. So I think this is the reason that our children are really self-confident and that is also a main aim for English the self-confidence and of course erm preparing them for school.

I: Mhm [agreement]

T: The second question (10) well it is kind of the same answer.

I: Du kannst es auslassen.

T: Do you follow a specific method or practical approach in order to teach the children English? Think especially about teaching vocabulary. Teaching vocabulary does we don't do at all erm cause everything happens in during the day while playing. The children themselves don't even notice that they study another language. And the typical vocabulary learning that we had in school with the vocabulary booklet and the the string in the middle: left German, right side English. That does, that the kids don't even have to do that afterwards because erm just playing in English and talking in English for them is so normal that the the the Synapsen are already erm

C: // mama kommt *

T: Die kommt gleich ja. Die Synapsen sind schon so gelegt, dass sie sich dann später in der Schule auch nicht mehr schwer tun mit Vokabel lernen. And erm if there is a new topic, for example [clap] I don't know (...) the the hibernation [clap] something like this. And we anyways have to to get all of the vocabularies we we pedagogics, have to get all the the vocabularies and during we show the kids during we play we always have material. Erm they learn about the the hibernation of different animals or erm, I don't know, the names of animals who who hibernate, for example, the bear, the mole, whatever. So it is always a learning for us as well and to train the kids always new words. But we never prove something.

I: Mhm [agreement], so you don't test anything?

T: No no, we don't do that. And the method is erm (...) we (4) when we have new games, new corners we talk about the rules in German and English, and we show them how to play. And

C: // Wo is Tobias?

T: Der kommt gleich. Die sind schnell im Turnsaal. And erm while we show them how to play we use of course the English words to tell them and that's erm how they get to know their their vocabulary.

C: // Tobias?

I: Der ist Trommeln.

T: (...) Okay! How much English do you use in relation to German. Try to give a (...)

I: Percentage. Prozentangabe irgendwie.

T: Does your use of language depend on the activities? (4) Hmm well okay, so in beginners erm most of the children, let's say like 90 per cent they don't speak English at all. And

C: // Da drüben?

T: Magst einmal hinüberschauen?

C: Ja

T: Ja, schaust einmal, gehst einmal eine Runde dann kommst wieder zu mir. And the children, erm, nein, we pedagogues we talk like double we say everything erm in English and German and when we notice, okay they don't need the German words anymore, for example, now you all go to the bathroom and wash your hands with soap. Und jetzt gehts alle aufs Klo and waschts euch die Hände mit Seife. And then the English more and more and the German less and less. Especially in the middle group is erm the first native speaker. This year is a change for the beginners also a native speaker so the new round of erm beginners middle group advanced will be with from beginning to the end a native speaker. And they are anyways always used to speak English with that person that's also good for us pedagogues because if there is a native speaker you automatically talk English to them so you become a role model and the kids erm speaks more English automatically. Erm, yes, so in percent: In the beginning I would say 50/50 per cent German and English, middle group German [sighing] (...) 60/70 per cent of English, 60/70 per cent English and in the advanced like 80/90 per cent English.

I: Okay.

C: * * *

T: I would say he is lost. Komm her Spatzilein. Erm and it depends on the activities, I mean we mostly speak English.

C: * Tobias?

T: Ja, den suchen wir jetzt, komm.

I: [Laughter]

T: Erm, but when I do a new topic where the kids don't know the vocabulary in German as well.

C: [Tobias?

T: So with the hibernation example, der Winterschlaf, wissen ja nicht einmal was they don't even know what Winterschlaf is.

C: [Tobias? Tobias? Tobias? Tobias? Komm * * spielen

T: So Mausilein, wir müssen da jetzt noch ein Interview machen. Schau her einmal, du musst jetzt den Stift halten

C: Ja

T: Ganz wichtig ist das. Ja, so new topics we talk in English and German because erm the children have to leave the English playschool also with a German erm skills, for school, so we have to make sure they are also perfectly speaking German. Okay, Sechs, Sieben auch?

I: Ja, bitte.

T: Are the children your group in their respective groups very, was?

I: Heterogeneous. Also sind sie sehr unterschiedlich innerhalb von deiner Gruppe jetzt. Auch wann alle dieselbe age group haben, b es trotzdem extreme Unterschiede gibt oder würdest du sagen, dass alle relativ similar sind from * language

T: // was jetzt, vom Englisch?

I: Ja, vom Englischen.

T: Vom Können?

I: Ja.

T: Okay.

C: * * Tobias endlich da?

T: Der muss im Turnsaal schnell was erledigen, aber die kommen gleich wieder. In 10 Minuten sind sie wieder da. Okay? Und wir warten jetzt ganz schnell.

I: [Laughter]

T: (...) Erm, some children come with English skills.

C: [Mama da aufmachen, Mama * * * aufmachen da * Mama aufmachen
[asked repeatedly and kept mumbling in the background]

T: They, of course, speak more and understand more, but it always depends on on the children on the parents. Some parents travel a lot, so the children practice their English also on vacation. You can actually tell. But understanding...I am pretty sure everybody in here understands me when I tell them something, whatever topic, but whatever they talk or if they they respond in English that is different from child to child. Some have like more erm self-confidence and just speak even if the grammar is not great or even if the grammar is great, it always depends. But some of them are shy, they don't really speak even if they know how to speak.

C: [* * * Traktor * * Traktor [repeatedly]

T: Ja genau, voll. Ja, how exactly * * (10). Okay, apart from the the language erm (...) the children in our playschool, like I would say 90 per cent come with mother tongue German, or 80 per cent maybe, or they have like really good German skills, because this is the the expectation die Voraussetzung for a child to learn another language to to have like perfect skills in their mother tongue so that makes it different for us to work because when I tell, when I meet my my former kindergarten friends form from the from the kindergarten school, when we meet and we talk about our job and what they have planned that year, what the projects they do, whatever. Erm

C: [Mama da aufmachen, Mama da aufmachen

T: Nein, das müssen wir zulassen Schatzi. Erm, it is always, they they always like, I always have this wow effect when I tell them what we do cause our kids, I think, we we can we pedagogues we can do more with them because they are like cognitive

C: // Mama * * * *

T: [Laughter] Spatzilein. Cognitive they are really erm further than other children so that's why we can like do erm topics which are really tricky or which we can go more deep, tiefer in die in die verschiedenen topics. (...) Erm we don't have a garden, but we try to go out as much as we can which which also erm gives us more activities to do inside to tell them, to teach them, to play with them like games, memory, whatever [laughter]

and (...) erm, I think also the routines, we really stick to routines, we sing a lot of songs and nursery rhymes that's actually a playschool thing because of our circle games and because of erm the singing erm with all the groups in the gym room teaches the children a lot of songs which also teaches them a lot of English and a lot of new vocabulary words and everything. So that is also something that I also hear from my others friends, they do maybe a new song and they sing this one song for a week and in one week we sing like, I don't know, 20 different songs [laughter].

I: [laughter]

T: So they have like really (...) the the children from our playschool especially in our group right now, the advanced, they know at least a 100 different songs and also the vocabulary to those songs.

I: True [laughter]

T: Erm, that's definitely different to other kindergartens, (...) erm, naja okay?

I: Dann, dankeschön.

Transcriptions of the picture book narrations: beginner group

Lara

I: Okay, are you ready for the first picture?

C: Yes.

I: Okay. What can you see here.

C: A dog.

I: Right, a dog. And what else?

C: A car.

I: Mhm [agreement]! Very good.

C: A boy.

I: And what is this?

C: (...) a ball.

I: A ball, that's right, very good. What's happening in this picture?

C: The dog ran away.

I: Mhm [agreement], that's right. And what does he have in his mouth?

C: A ball.

I: That's right. And do you know what this is?

C: A dog house.

I: Very good, that's a dog house. And what is the boy doing?

C: Then want to fäng the dog.

I: That's right. He wants to catch the dog. And what is the dog doing now?

C: He rolling in the flower.

I: That's right, very good. And here?

C: He läuft to the Huhn.

I: Do you know what Hühner means in English? Chicken, a chicken is a Huhn. And do you know what this is?

C: Baby chicken.

I: That's right. And can you see this in the background? What's this?

C: A car.

I: Yes, that's right. That's a big tractor. Okay, what is happening now?

C: Sheeps.

I: There are lots and lots of sheep. And what is this?

C: A small sheep.

I: That's right, a very small sheep, that's a little baby. And where do you think are they if you look at this?

C: The grass.

I: They are on the grass, that's right. Very good, so it's very green and there are lots of mountains, very good Lara. And what is, what are they doing now?

C: There are horse.

I: Mhm [agreement]. And what are they doing?

C: They are frisst the grass.

I: They fressen the grass?

C: Yes.

I: They eat the grass. They're eating the grass. Yes. And how many horses can you see?

C: One, two, three, four, five.

I: Yes, that's right, 5 horses wow! And is happening here?

C: Cows.

I: Mhm [agreement], and how many cows?

C: One cow, two cow, three cow, four cow, five cows, six cow.

I: Six cows, that's right. And what are they doing?

C: They are laying.

I: Mhm [agreement], and they [pointing to the picture]?

C: They, they're eat the grass.

I: Yes, that's right. And do you know what this cow is doing?

C: No.

I: I think he is drinking something. Maybe, I don't know. And, do you know all this is?

C: The trees.

I: Yes, that's right. There are lots of trees. And if you look at this picture, what is happening here?

C: That's the river and the boy is on the (...) the bridge on the bridge.

I: The bridge, the boys on the bridge. And where is the dog?

C: In the river.

I: Mhm [agreement], and what is he doing?

C: He is drinks water.

I: That's right. And what's this?

C: The cows.

I: That's right, very good Lara. And do you know what this is called?

C: Stones.

I: Sorry?

C: Stones.

I: Stones, you're right, there are a lot of stones. Very good. And what are they doing now?

C: They're go back.

I: Mhm [agreement], and where?

C: To the house?

I: Good, they're going to the house. They're going home. And look now, they're at home and what are they doing?

C: The dog is eat and the boy brings some water.

I: Very good, the dog is eating his food nomnomnomnom [imitating the noise of eating]! And the boy brings him some fresh water and what's this? Do you know?

C: The house.

I: The house, and who lives in this house?

C: The dog.

I: Very good, that's a dog house. And what are they doing now? [background noise, a teacher speaking to a pupil]. It's okay, you can play later Lara. What are they doing now?

C: Simon, komm * * * *

I: Nachher kannst spielen. What is happening here Lara?

C: The boy it's got a hammer and it's hammering on the dog.

I: Sorry, can you say it again?

C: The boy has a hammer and he hammer on the dog.

I: That's right, and do you think the dog likes this?

C: Yes.

I: Yes, okay and this is the very last picture now. What are they doing now?

C: Sleep.

I: Sleep, and where does the boy sleep?

C: In the bed.

I: Right, and the dog?

C: On the carpet.

I: That's right, he is sleeping on the carpet. They're very tired and that was a very, very good story Lara. Very creative. I will save your story now.

Miriam

I: Let's go. What can you see on this picture? (...) What's this?

C: A dog.

I: A dog, right. And what is this?

C: Ein Mensch.

I: Ein Mensch, do you know this in English? (...) Is it a boy or a girl?

C: Boy.

I: Boy. And what is this? Do you know?

C: Auto.

I: And do you know it in English? A car, it's a car. And do you know what this is?

C: Ball.

I: A ball. That's right, very good. And what is happening here?

C: (...) Da läuft der Bub.

I: Mhm [agreement], so the boy is running. Do you know what this is?

C: Ein Hundehaus.

I: And do you know this in English? Do you know what this is? (...) In English.

C: (...)

I: A house. And who lives in this house?

C: Dog.

I: The dog right. And what does the dog have in its mouth?

C: A Ball.

I: A ball, that's right. And what is the dog doing now?

C: Kuscheln?

I: Kuscheln? Is he laying down?

C: [Child nods]

I: Yes, and where is he laying? Where?

C: Blumen.

I: Do you know what Blumen means in English. (...) Do you want to try? What is, what is this in English? It starts with (...) fl° (...) flowers, there are lots of flowers. All these are flowers and the dog is sleeping there. Okay, what is the dog doing now?

C: (...) Der mag die Pipihenderl essen.

I: Der mag die Pipihenderl essen? And do you know what a Henderl is in English?

C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]

I: No, it starts with ch°, chi°, chicken. A chicken, that's a chicken. And do you know what this is? (...) A baby chicken, that's a baby chicken. And what is this? (...)

C: Ein Zaun.

I: Sorry?

C: Ein Zaun.

I: Ein Zaun, das ist ein Zaun. Und das da?

C: Ein Baum?

I: Mhm [agreement]. Do you know what Baum is in English? (...) No? Shall I tell you? (...) It's a tree, a big tree. Okay, so what is a happening now?

C: Schafe.

I: Schafe, and do you know what Schafe means in English? (...) No? (...) It's sheep. And do you know what this?

C: Baby sheep.

I: Baby sheep, that's right? Very good. And what is this colour?

C: Grün.

I: And do know in English? It's green, everything is green. Okay, now next picture. What's happening

here? What's happening here Miriam? (5) Hmm?

C: Das der Wuffi raus geht.

I: What? [Loud background noise]. Just a moment okay? [Loud background noise for 10 seconds] What did you say Miriam?

C: * * * [Loud background noise]

I: Er mag das was? Es ist so laut gerade gewesen? Ich hab's nicht gehört. Magst du es nochmal sagen?

C: Weil, da der Wuffi, dass der raus geht.

I: Die mögen, dass der Wuffi raus geht? Okay, and do you know what they are called in English? (...) Horses, they are horses. And how many horses do you see?

C: Eins, zwei, drei, vier, fünf

I: And do you know this in English? Shall we count together?

C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]

I: One, you can do this. One

C: Two, three, four, five.

I: Well done, Miriam. And what are they doing? [Interviewer mimics the sound of an animal eating]

C: Grasses.

I: Grass essen, they're eating grass. Okay, and what's this now?

C: * * *

I: Eine Kuh, and how many cows? Do you want to count again in English?

C: One, eins, zwei,

I: //in English

C: Eins,

I: // in English: one.

C: One, two, three, four, five, six.

I: Well done, six cows. And what are they doing?

C: (...) Schlafen

I: And do you know this in English? They are sle°, sle°, they are sleeping. The cows are sleeping. And what is this?

C: (...) Ein Baum.

I: And can you say this English?

C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]

I: It's a tree. Okay. Now, are you ready for the next picture? [Loud breath to emphasize sentence] Where is the dog?

C: Im Wasser.

I: And do you know Wasser means in English? It's water, he is in the water? What is this colour?

C: Green.

I: Green. Yes, that is green you're right. Okay, where are they going now? Miriam, where are they going?

C: Spazieren.

I: Mhm [agreement], and do you know what this is?

C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]. Ein Haus

I: Yes, and in English es klingt fast gleich auf Englisch, a (...)

C: Ich weiß es nicht.

I: A house, a house, it's okay Miriam. We do the next picture. What's happening here?

C: Der, der isst was.

I: Mhm [agreement], he is eating. And what is the boy doing?

C: (...) Ich weiß es nicht.

I: Du kannst es auf Deutsch sonst auch probieren. Was macht er denn?

C: Die Schüsserl umtauschen.

I: Genau, das stimmt, schau. And what is in the bowl? What is inside?

C: (...) Spaghetti.

I: Spaghetti. Mag der Hund Spaghetti? Schmeckt ihm das? Ja. Okay, and what is happening now?
 C: (...) Yes (...), der ist müde.
 I: Der ist müde? So what is he doing?
 C: Sleep.
 I: Sleep. That's right Miriam, very good. And now, what is he doing now?
 C: Sleep.
 I: And where is he sleeping? Where?
 C: Am Teppich.
 I: Am Teppich. And where is the boy sleeping?
 C: Am Bett.
 I: Am Bett. On the bed, he is sleeping on the bed. That's right. That was a very nice story Miriam. Thank you very much.

Alexandra

I: Go. Okay what can you see Alexandra?
 C: There is a dog.
 I: Mhm [agreement]. That's right.
 C: And there is a Bub.
 I: And do you know in English?
 C: Erm, and there is a boy.
 I: That's right.
 C: And there is a erm, erm, erm, erm, erm, (...) a car.
 I: And, what's this? Do you know?
 C: A ball.
 I: That's right, very good Alexandra. And what is happening now?
 C: He, erm, erm, he wants to take the, erm now, the Bub wants to take the ball. And he wants to take the ball and fetch it again. And want, wants it all days and wants and then one and there there is a puppy house.
 I: That's right, there is a puppy house, as well. You are very good Alexandra. And what is the dog doing now?
 C: He is * in the grass.
 I: // What, what, what, sorry I didn't hear it?
 C: He is covered in the gr°, in the grass and then in the flowers *.
 I: Mhm [agreement], very good. And what is he doing now?
 C: He wants to, to eat the baby chickens.
 I: That's right. So, he's running after them fast. * * * * *
 C: *
 I: And all the chickens are running away, that's right. And can you see this? Do you know what this is?
 C: There is a car with families inside.
 I: Mhm [agreement], that's right. Okay. And what is happening here?
 C: The dog wants to get vorbei and then want the sheep had no gesagt. Why the dog wants to get to his families.
 I: Yes, very good and do you know what this?
 C: This is a lamb.
 I: Very good, a little lamb. Okay, now can you see here?
 C: There is a Hund mit a horse and then he gotted idea and he wants to eat the flowers like the horse.
 I: He wants to eat the flowers like the horses do? Okay, that's right. And how many horses can you see?
 C: One, two, three, four, five.
 I: That is correct. And what are they doing?
 C: He eat the grass.

I: Yes, that is right, they are eating the grass. And now, what's this now?

C: There is a Kuh, there is cow mit the dog and, and the dog wants to * * what the families do and then he wants to go back to the families and then he want * * meet and then he, the Kuh eating the grass and boy.

I: Mhm [agreement], and what are they doing? Do you know?

C: They're, they're, they're lieg°, they're liegen on the Boden and relax.

I: They relax [with emphasis], that is ri° right and do you know what all this is?

C: Bäumen.

I: And do you know in English?

C: Trees .

I: That's right. And can you see what this cow is doing?

C: He, he's pulling the * and he, and he go inside and then he want really [with emphasis]

I: Okay [laughter] very creative. And what is happening now?

C: The, the dog wants to drink the water. And then want, then he wants the boy, they're climbing up and then wants to he has a Angel to fetch the dog.

I: An Angel, do you think that's an Angel?

C: No.

I: That's, what is it? Do you know?

C: Erm, erm (...)

I: Eine Leine?

C: Eine Leine.

I: And in English it's a leash.

C: A leash.

I: Yes, and what's this again? Do, can you see them?

C: Cow.

I: Cows, right. Very good. Okay. And what are they doing now?

C: He, d° and he going a park on the * to the home.

I: Sorry, can you say it again?

C: He go to a * and he go * für spielen und dann haben die ein, ein, und dann hab°, und dann hat eine Leine and dann hat der Bub mit das Hunde geht und dann ist zu Hause.

I: So they are going home. Yes, that is right. Okay and now they are at home and what are they doing here?

C: He, he, he, the, the dog eats the Frühstück and then he drinks that water.

I: That's right. And again what is this, can you remember?

C: A puppy house.

I: A puppy house. Very good and now what are they doing?

C: He, I, the Bub, the, the Hund lays down and the Bub streichelt mit dem.

I: Mhm [agreement], that's right. He strokes him. Do you think the dog likes this?

C: [child nods to show agreement]

I: Yes, I think so too. And now are you ready for the last picture? Yes, what is happening here [whispers].

C: He lays down to the Teppich then he and he schlaft and then had the Bett, the Bett and, and then hide the Hund under, under the Teppich.

I: So the dog is sleeping on the carpet. And the boy, where is the boy sleeping?

C: Erm, in the Bett.

I: In the bed, that's right. That was a very nice story Alexandra, that was a really, really good story.

Emilia

I: Okay, this is the very first picture. What can you see, what is happening? What's this?

C: He, he, the dog is licking him.

I: [Laughter] And who is this? (...) Do you know? Is it (...) a, a, a big pers°

C: // A girl.

I: Is it a girl, yes. And what's this?

C: A car.

I: And this?

C: A ball.

I: Very good. Okay, and what is happening now?

C: He is running after the dog. He is playing with the dog.

I: That's right. And do you know what this is?

C: Erm, a, a hut from the dog.

I: That's right. So the dog lives in there. And what does the dog have in its mouth?

C: The ball.

I: [Laughter] That's right. So they are playing. What is the dog doing now?

C: [Laughter] Erm, licking the grass.

I: He's licking the grass. And what's all this, do you know?

C: Flowers.

I: Flowers, lots of pretty flowers

C: // I, I have the same flowers. I have, I have all the flowers.

I: Mhm [agreement], very nice Emilia.

C: I have a *.

I: That's very pretty. Very pretty.

C: A closed *.

I: And do you know what is happening in this picture?

C: Hmm, he, he is running after the hen.

I: That's right. And do you know what this is?

C: Erm, the chicken.

I: And are they big or small? (5) [Laughter] Are the grown up?

C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]

I: No, so what are they?

C: A ba° (...)

I: They are little babies. Baby chickens.

C: Baby chickens.

I: // And do you know what this is? Can you say it.

C: Erm, no.

I: Is it a tractor?

C: *

I: No? I think it is a tractor. There is a farmer inside and he is mowing the lawn.

C: A tract°

I: A tractor. Okay and what is happening now?

C: (8) All the sheep have come to the dog.

I: Sorry, can you say

C: // All the sheeps they come to the dog.

I: The sheep come to the dog?

C: Mhm [agreement]

I: That's right. And what's this?

C: Erm (...) a sister.

I: A sister?

C: A sister sheep.

I: It is a very small sheep. It is also a baby sheep. A little lamb.

C: And this is also.

I: Yes, this also a lamb. Very good. And do you know where they are when you look at the

background?

C: Erm, in the grass.

I: In the grass, that is right. So, I see there are lots of mountains and lots of grass. Very good. Okay and what is happening know?

C: Erm, (...) now now the horses are running with the dog.

I: That's right, they're running together and how many horses can you see?

C: Three.

I: Three, are you sure? Do you want to count again? (...) How many horses (...) are in this picture?

C: Three.

I: Three? Do you want to count together?

C: One, two, three.

I: One, two, three.

C: // one, two, three [laughter]

I: What's this?

C: Four, five, six.

I: Five, one, two, three, four, five. Five horses.

C: Six, six [loudly spoken and child hits the table twice]

I: One, two, three, four, five. Right? [Laughter] And a dog. Okay, and what are these horses doing?

C: // Six.

I: Yes, the dog is number 6. What are the horses doing, these two?

C: (...) They are eating the grass.

I: That's right. They're eating the grass. Nomnom [mimics sound of eating]

C: // They like grass.

I: They like grass a lot. You're right.

C: *

I: And what is happening here in this picture?

C: Erm (...)

I: What can you see?

C: The cows (...) are (...) are lying in the grass.

I: Mhm [agreement], and what else? What are they doing?

C: Eating the grass.

I: And can you see this cow? What do you think this cow is doing?

C: Erm (...) erm (...) eating the * *

I: Right.

C: Eating.

I: He is also eating?

C: Mhm mhm [agreement]

I: That's right. And what is all this, do you know?

C: (...) Trees.

I: Yes, there are lots of trees. Okay. Look at this picture, what is happening here?

C: (4) The dog is drinking the water.

I: And what is the little boy doing?

C: Erm, he is going over the bridge.

I: He is going over the bridge? That's right. And what's this?

C: //And that is Strudel water.

I: What?

C: That is Strudel water.

I: Strudel water?

C: Mhm mhm [agreement]

I: * es macht viele Strudel. It's a river. A big, big river yes. And what's this in the background, can you see them?

C: A bridge.
 I: Also a bridge, this? I think it's a fence. A Zaun. And these two (6). Moo (mimics the sound of a cow)
 C: Cows.
 I: Cows, you're right. Okay, and where are they going now? And what are they doing?
 C: Erm (...) he is sharing some grass.
 I: What?
 C: He's sharing some grass
 I: Mhm [agreement], and where are they going to?
 C: The house.
 I: Yes, they're going to the house. And look, now they are home. And what are they doing now?
 C: He is giving the dog some water and something to eat.
 I: And something to eat. That's right. And again, what is this? Do you remember?
 C: Erm, a hut from the dogs.
 I: Mhm [agreement], so the dog lives in this little house. Very good. (8) What can you see?
 C: He is lying in the grass.
 I: Mhm [agreement] and what is the child doing?
 C: (...) Erm, I don't know.
 I: Is he stroking the dog?
 C: Mhm mhm [agreement]
 I: Yes, do you think the dog likes this?
 C: Mhm mhm [agreement]
 I: Yes, I think so too. And know this is the last picture. What are they doing here?
 C: Sleeping.
 I: That's right. And where is the little boy sleeping.
 C: Sleeping in the bed.
 I: That's right. And where is the dog sleeping?
 C: In, in the Teppich.
 I: Mhm mhm [agreement], he's sleeping on the carpet, that's right. That was a very, very good story Emilia.

Mateo

I: It's okay. So don't worry about it. Are you ready for the first picture?
 C: Yes
 I: Here we go. What can you see here?
 C: A car.
 I: A cow? Are you s°
 C: // No, a car.
 I: Also, a car. Yes, you are right. That's a car. And what's this?
 C: A dog.
 I: A dog, and?
 C: (...) Hen.
 I: What?
 C: Erm (6)
 I: Is it a girl?
 C: A girl.
 I: Is it a girl, do you think? Or is it boy?
 C: Boy.
 I: A boy. Yes, that's a boy, I think so. And what's this, do you know?
 C: Yes.

I: What is it? [Whispers]
 C: A ball.
 I: A ball, you're right. Okay, and what is happening now?
 C: Erm (...), the dog, (9) *
 I: [mhm [agreement]
 I: Is he swimming?
 C: No [emphasized]
 I: Is he jumping?
 C: No.
 I: Is he sleeping?
 C: No [emphasized]
 I: What else is he doing?
 C: (5)
 I: What is he doing?
 C: (5)
 I: Is he may be running around? Is he running?
 C: No.
 I: No, isn't he running? Is he just going? Is he going?
 C: *
 I: I think he is going. What is the boy doing?
 C: One
 I: What?
 C: One.
 I: One?
 C: No [loud]
 I: Do you know what this is?
 C: Yes.
 I: Can you tell me?
 C: (4) Ein Hundhaus
 I: Mhm [agreement], can you say it in English?
 C: Yes.
 I: Yes. Tell me. A?
 C: A
 I: What's this? [whispering]
 C: A dog.
 I: And a?
 C: House.
 I: So, what's it called? A?
 C: Dog house.
 I: It's a dog house. Yes, you are right. Okay, now. What is the dog doing?
 C: (9) Do sleep.
 I: He's sleeping. Yes, and where?
 C: Flower.
 I: He is sleeping in the flowers, you're right. And what is he doing now?
 C: The chickens.
 I: The chickens, he running after the chickens. And what are they?
 C: (4) The baby chicks.
 I: Yes, that's right baby chicks. And what's this?
 C: (4) Eine *
 I: What?

C: Eine Grenze?

I: And a tree?

C: No [loud]

I: No? Eine Grenze meinst du? Das da? Aber das ist ein tree, oder? Yes. And do you know what this is?

C: [Yes]

C: Yes.

I: Can you tell me?

C: A * *.

I: Mhm [agreement], okay. * and what is happening now?

C: There are sheep.

I: Yes, there are lots of sheep. And what's this?

C: Erm, erm, a * sheep

I: What?

C: A * sheep.

I: You mean a baby sheep.

C: No [loud and prolonged]

I: [Laughter] Okay, and where do you think are they? If you look at this one?

C: Bagger Auto

I: [Bagger?] Mhm [agreement], and all this green stuff? What's this?

C: A cow.

I: A cow? This is a cow. Yes. Okay, so are they in the city? Are they are the city do you think? In a city?

C: [Yes.]

I: Okay, okay. Erm, what is happening now?

C: A horse.

I: Just one? Or how many horses? Can you count them? (4) How many horses?

C: Five.

I: Five horses. You are right. And what are they doing?

C: Erm, they're eating die flowers.

I: Yes, they're eating flowers. You're right. And (...) what is happening in this picture?

C: A cow.

I: Just one?

C: No, many.

I: And how many?

C: (4) seven.

I: Seven?

C: Yes.

I: Are you sure, do you want to count again?

C: One, two, three, four, five, six.

I: Six, so six. Yes. And what are they doing?

C: They sit

I: They sit, that's right. And what are they doing?

C: (5) key. (...) They are eating the grass.

I: They're eating the grass, that's right? Can you see what this cow is doing?

C: Yes.

I: And what is he doing?

C: (...) They're sh°

I: nomnomnom [mimic sound of animal eating]

C: They're eating this.

I: I know, they're eating this yes. Or maybe they're drinking. Eating or drinking, I don't know?

C: Drinking.

I: And what's this all?
 C: A tree.
 I: A tree. You're right. And what is happening here?
 C: (4) A dog fell in the, the water.
 I: You're right. And what is he doing now there?
 C: (4) Die erm, die drink.
 I: Mhm [agreement], and what is the boy doing? (5) Is he (5)? Do you know what this is?
 C: Yes.
 I: In English. Can you say, can you say it?
 C: Yes.
 I: Ihn anschauen? Weißt du, was das heißt? Schauen auf Englisch?
 C: Ja.
 I: Magst du mir das sagen?
 C: Ja.
 I: Was heißt dann schauen auf Englisch? (5) To (...) look? He is looking at the dog. And what's this? (...) Can you see them?
 C: Cow.
 I: Cows, you're right. Okay, and what are they doing now? (4) Are they swimming?
 C: No [loud]
 I: [Laughter] No. Are they, erm sleeping?
 C: No [loud].
 I: What are they doing? What are they doing? (7) Are they walking?
 C: Yes.
 I: Yes, and where are they walking to?
 C: (7) * *
 I: This? Are they, where are they walking to? Look?
 C: (4) Hmm? (4) To.
 I: What is this?
 C: A house.
 I: So they are walking to the house. You're right. And now they are home and what are they doing now?
 C: (4) The dog can eat them and then (...) they drink.
 I: [Hmm?
 I: What? To drink?
 C: Yes.
 I: And that he can drink? You are right. So, he is eating and then he's drinking something. And what is this again? Do you remember?
 C: Yes.
 I: What was it?
 C: A dog house.
 I: Very good, you remembered that. Very good. What are they doing now?
 C: They sleep and they, (...) they are not sleep.
 I: That's right. He is sleeping and he is not sleeping. You are right. And now, what's now?
 C: Die sleeping and die sleeping.
 I: [Laughter] That's right. And where is he sleeping?
 C: A bed.
 I: And the dog, where is he sleeping?
 C: Down.
 I: Down? He is down on the floor. You're right. That was very nice story Mateo. Now the story is over.

Adrian

I: So, are you ready for your first picture. Don't worry [laughter]. What is on the picture, what can you see?

C: Erm, a dog.

I: Mhm [agreement], a dog. And what else? (5) Who's this?

C: Children

I: A, a little child. Yes, you are right. And what is this?

C: Erm, (4) car.

I: A car. Is it a car?

C: Yes.

I: Yes. And what is this, do you know?

C: Erm, a ba°, a ball.

I: A ball, very good Adrian. Okay and what are they doing now?

C: Erm, dog, there she, the (...) the dog wants, he, she, there ball.

I: [Take your time that's okay

I: What?

C: *

I: Can you say it again, I didn't hear it?

C: Eats the ball.

I: He eats the ball?

C: Yes.

I: That is right. And what is the boy doing?

C: (...) Erm, he wants to *, he wants to (...) *

I: What? I didn't understand it, I'm sorry.

C: * (...)

I: Don't worry.

C: * *

I: Is he, is he running after the dog?

C: Yes.

I: Yes. And do you know what this is?

C: (...) A wat°, a house.

I: A house, and who lives in this house?

C: Erm, (...) Heu.

I: What?

C: Heu.

I: Heu ist drinnen.

C: Ja.

I: Mhm [agreement], and who does this belong to? Do you think the little boy lives in there or the dog?

C: A dog.

I: The dog. So, it's the house for the dog? Yes, so and what is the dog doing now?

C: [Dog

C: Erm, (...) sleeping.

I: He's sleeping. And where?

C: (4) Flowers

I: In the flowers? You're right Adrian. And what is he doing now?

C: The, (...) the dog wanted, the hen, fängen, fingi°.

I: The dog wants to catch the chickens.

C: Yes.

I: Yes. And do you know what this is?

C: Chicken.

I: And are they big and they are small right? So they are baby chickens? And what is this?

C: [Yes

C: Erm, (...) flower, Baum

I: A Baum, a tree. It's a tree. And can you this here in the background?

C: [It's a tree.

C: A tractor.

I: A tractor. You're right. Are you ready for the next picture? Yes

C: [Yes

I: [Loud breath to emphasize surprise] What is happening here?

C: The dog and *, the * to the * *

I: What?

C: One *

I: I didn't understand it can you say it again?

C: * *, an *

I: Ein Zaun? Was?

C: Anschauen.

I: Anschauen? So the dog ran to the sheep to look at them? Yes?

C: Yes.

I: And what's this? Do you know?

C: There is Schafe.

I: And this little one?

C: (...) * * *

I: It's a little lamb, a baby sheep. Very good. And what's all this in the background?

C: (...) Tree.

I: What?

C: Tree.

I: Tree. You're right. Trees. And wow, what is happening here?

C: The dog, (...) by the flowers, the, the flowers, the flower Wiese, * *

I: Do you know what these are?

C: Erm, da, da, Pferde.

I: Pferde, do you know it in English?

C: *

I: Horses. These are horses.

C: [Horse, horse

I: How many horses do you see?

C: One, two, three, four, five.

I: That's correct, five horses. And what are they doing?

C: Erm, eats.

I: They eat. And what are they eating?

C: The grass.

I: The grass. You're the grass. They're eating the grass. Okay, and where is the dog now?

C: There walk cow.

I: What? Cow?

C: Yes.

I: And how many cows are there?

C: One, two, three, four, five, (...) six.

I: Six cows, yes! And what's all this?

C: Trees.

I: Yes, trees. And what are the cows doing?

C: (...) They eat, they eat.
I: Do they eat?
C: No.
I: Do they
C: // this is sleeping
I: He is sleeping and they?
C: Eat.
I: They eat. And what is this cow doing, do you know?
C: They, are erm, they sleep, they are (...) * * * *
I: What, what?
C: * *
I: He's drinking? Is he drinking something?
C: Yes.
I: Yes, he is drinking. And where is the dog now?
C: In the water.
I: That's right. And what is he doing?
C: Drink.
I: Yes, that's right. And is the boy doing?
C: Watch the dog.
I: Watch the dog, the *
C: // There, there * *
I: Mhm [agreement] , very good and what's in the background, can you see them?
C: Cows.
I: That's right, cows. And what are they doing now?
C: The dog, erm, lie, * to the the (...) angreifen dog. * sh° is dog with a * * * and a sheep.
I: Halten?
C: Yes.
I: He's holding the dog on the leash, it's a leash, eine Leine and where are they going?
C: Flowers.
I: Yes, there are lots of flowers. And where are they going?
C: Trees.
I: Yes, there are also lots of trees, but in which direction are they going? Where are they walking to? Wo gehen sie denn hin? (...) Do you know?
C: To the trees.
I: To the trees and?
C: To the house.
I: To the house, that's right. And now they are at home. And what are they doing there?
C: Eats.
I: Who eats?
C: Eats.
I: So the dog does what?
C: Eats.
I: He eats. And what is the boy doing?
C: Water.
I: Water, so he gives the boy some erm the dog some water. It's right. Okay, and now what are they doing?
C: Erm (7) hammern [child bangs table to mimic hammer].
I: Hmm?
C: Hammer.
I: Er tut ihn streicheln? Glaubst du ist das ein Hammer? Ich glaube das ist eine Bürste. That's a brush. He is

brushing him.

C: He's brush.

I: Yes, he's brushing him. And now are you ready for the last picture?

C: Yes.

I: Yes, what are they doing now [laughter]?

C: Sleep.

I: Yes, and where is the boy sleeping?

C: Auch sleep.

I: Where is he sleeping?

C: Auch sleep. (...) dog sleep.

I: He is sleeping on the bed.

C: Yes.

I: And where is the dog sleeping?

C: Auf the floor.

I: On floor that's right. So, that was a very nice story Adrian.

Simon

C: A boy and a car and a dog.

C: Erm, eh eh [makes the sound of negation]

C: Hmm, boy, dog, ball and ahh house.

C: The dog.

C: Hmm, wutzelt.

C: Flowers.

C: Erm dog and they are die Hühner.

C: Erm Kücken.

C: Meine Oma hat ja drei schwarze und drei gelbe.

C: A Baum.

C: A tree.

C: Erm a toy.

C: There are sheep, there are sheeps and a dog.

C: A lamb.

C: Die Feld.

C: A *, a boy, die Straße.

C: There are horse and the door.

C: The dog.

C: One, two, three, four, five.

C: Gras essen.

C: Hmm, grass.

C: There (...) erm, a the dog (...) and cows.

C: One, two, three, four, five, six.

C: Erm, hinlegen.

C: Sleeping.

C: Eating.

C: Yes, drinking.

C: The boy, der Baums, the trees.

C: Erm, trinken. And are der boy, boy, cows (...) and dog.

C: A water.

C: Spazieren.

C: Eh eh [makes the sound of negation].
 C: Hau°, to a Hause.
 C: Der hat Hunger.
 C: Erm, they are eating.
 C: Drink * geben.
 C: Der ist müde.
 C: Hinlegen.
 C: Hmm, streicheln.
 C: Schlafen, sleeping.
 C: Bett.
 C: The floor.

Michael

C: Erm, a ein Kind.
 C: Erm, a girl.
 C: A boy.
 C: Erm, (...) a dog.
 C: A Auto.
 C: Erm, (5) * with *.
 C: A car.
 C: Erm, ein Fussball.
 C: A * ball.
 C: Erm, (...) eine Hundehütte.
 C: It's a house.
 C: Hund, dog.
 C: Dog dog house.
 C: Erm, wenn Junge Ball spielen.
 C: No.
 C: No.
 C: No.
 C: Laufen.
 C: Hmm.
 C: Running!
 C: Blumen aufessen.
 C: Mhm [agreement]
 C: Erm, (...) a Bläume.
 C: A flower.
 C: Yes.
 C: Erm (...) mhm [agreement].
 C: No.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: Erm, zu die Hühner gehen.
 C: Mhm.
 C: Erm, (6). He°.
 C: Chicken.
 C: Küken.
 C: No.
 C: Little chicken.

C: Baby chickens.
 C: Ein Baum.
 C: A *.
 C: A *.
 C: Der Bauer tut gerade Heu rein.
 C: Mhm [agreement].
 C: Der dog is bei Schaf.
 C: Sheep.
 C: Baby sheep.
 C: A lot of sheep.
 C: Erm, a house.
 C: The dog is spazieren.
 C: Yes.
 C: A Wiese.
 C: No. Horses.
 C: They are (6) galloppen.
 C: Mhm. [agreement]
 C: One, two, three, four, five.
 C: The dog is bei Kühe.
 C: Erm (5), erm (4), *.
 C: Cows.
 C: One, two, three, four, five, six.
 C: Erm, (...) ausrasten.
 C: Ausrasten.
 C: (4) hmm (...) hinlegen.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: Wiese essen.
 C: A cow Wiese essen.
 C: Milch trinken.
 C: Erm (...).
 C: Erm, ein Baum.
 C: A *.
 C: A *.
 C: The dog is auf ein Wasser drinnen.
 C: A water.
 C: Trinken.
 C: Water trinken.
 C: Trinken.
 C: Erm, schaut *.
 C: Four Kühe.
 C: Cows.
 C: A (...) a Baum.
 C: Erm, a tree.
 C: A Hause gehen.
 C: Erm, they are going.
 C: Heim.
 C: Yes.
 C: (8) hmm, fressen.
 C: A Hundefutter.
 C: Yes.

C: Hmm (4) hmm.
 C: Ahh (...).
 C: Eat.
 C: Ihm was zum Trinken geben.
 C: Water.
 C: Hundehaus.
 C: A Hau°. Ein Hundehaus.
 C: Ein Hundehaus.
 C: A H°, dog. Dog house.
 C: Hmm, (...) auf * schlafen.
 C: A dog schläft.
 C: Yes.
 C: Neben dem Buben schlafen.
 C: Auf einem Bett.
 C: A boy is auf ein way°.
 C: Auf ein way°.
 C: Auf ein bed.
 C: Erm, auf auf einem Teppich.
 C: A dog is auf ei° (...).
 C: Floor.

Jakob

C: Ein Auto, ein Hund.
 C: A dog.
 C: A baby.
 C: * Ei.
 C: Ein Bub.
 C: A boy.
 C: A dog.
 C: A ball.
 C: (...) Hundehütte.
 C: Yes.
 C: A dog house.
 C: (7)
 C: No, yes.
 C: No.
 C: No.
 C: He sleep in the grass.
 C: Blume.
 C: *
 C: Blume.
 C: Flower.
 C: The dog * the baby.
 C: A tractor.
 C: Sch°, Schäpfchen essen verjagen.
 C: Die Schäpfchen verjagen.
 C: No.
 C: Sheep.

C: Baby sheep.
 C: A tractor.
 C: *
 C: Gräser.
 C: Many sheep.
 C: Der Hund wird die Pferde verjagen.
 C: Eh eh [makes the sound of negation].
 C: Gras essen.
 C: (8)
 C: Eines, zw° (...) zwei, drei, vier.
 C: Eines, zwei.
 C: One, two, three, four, six.
 C: Seven.
 C: Five.
 C: The Hund will die Kühe verjagen.
 C: No.
 C: Cow.
 C: Gras essen.
 C: Die schläft.
 C: A apple Baum.
 C: T°, tree.
 C: A ein Baumhaus.
 C: No.
 C: Tree.
 C: One, two, seven, eight, nine, ten.
 C: (6) trinken.
 C: No.
 C: Drinking.
 C: Der Hund tut die Fische verjagen.
 C: Im Wasser.
 C: No.
 C: No.
 C: Water.
 C: Die Hand abschlecken.
 C: Die cows.
 C: Three.
 C: Eins und zwei.
 C: Two.
 C: (7) Blätter.
 C: Der tut den zurück ziehen.
 C: No.
 C: Ga° gehen.
 C: Going.
 C: To the house.
 C: Der gibt ihm Futter.
 C: Das alles wieder aufessen.
 C: No.
 C: No.
 C: Eating.
 C: Wasser, water.

C: Eine Hundehütte.
C: Dog house.
C: Der tut den klopfen.
C: The dog.
C: And (...) the Kind.
C: Boy.
C: Sleeping unter der bed.
C: Yes.
C: No.
C: On the bed.

Ismael

C: A dog.
C: (...) a *.
C: Yes.
C: A girl.
C: A car.
C: [laughter] a *.
C: No.
C: Ein Hundehaus.
C: Erm, a house.
C: The the dog.
C: Ball.
C: Yes, no, no.
C: No.
C: No [laughter].
C: Yes.
C: Running.
C: (4) erm (...)
C: No.
C: Sleeping.
C: Blumen.
C: No.
C: Flowers.
C: The dog.
C: Ran.
C: Ran.
C: Hühner.
C: (...) Chicken.
C: Pi°, (...) Küken.
C: No.
C: A Bauern°, a *, (...) ich kenn das nicht.
C: A tree.
C: A dog.
C: Sheep!
C: A baby sheep.
C: Trees.
C: Tractor.

C: And a house.
 C: Here.
 C: Pferde.
 C: Horses.
 C: One, two, three, four, five.
 C: (...) essen Gras.
 C: No.
 C: Eight.
 C: The dog and cows.
 C: One, two, three, four, five.
 C: Three.
 C: Six.
 C: Tree.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: No.
 C: [laughter] ding-dong.
 C: Erm, the dog drinks water.
 C: Erm, weiß ich nicht.
 C: The dog.
 C: The house.
 C: Trees.
 C: (4) Brücke.
 C: No.
 C: Fluss.
 C: Erm (...) they going.
 C: Weiß ich nicht.
 C: Houses.
 C: Eat. Der Hund eats.
 C: Oh, weiß ich nicht.
 C: Die das Teller halten.
 C: Not.
 C: Yes.
 C: Hundewasser.
 C: Water.
 C: A houses.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: Hmm.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: In a bed.
 C: Am Boden.
 C: No.
 C: No.

Jan

C: (...) ein dog.
 C: Ein Bub.
 C: Ein Auto.
 C: Ein Ball.

C: (...) erm (4).
C: Ein Bub.
C: [breaths heavily]
C: Ein Hund.
C: Dog.
C: A Baum.
C: Henderl.
C: Small.
C: Ein Traktor.
C: * Schaf.
C: Ein Hund.
C: Dog.
C: Dog.
C: Pfe°
C: One, two, three, four, five.
C: Kühe.
C: One, two, three, four, five, six.
C: Schlafen.
C: Hund.
C: Dog.
C: Ein Bub.
C: Ein Fluss.
C: Wasser trinken.
C: Dog.
C: Trinken.
C: [laughter] Kü° Kühe.
C: Dog.
C: Ein Bub.
C: Zum Haus.
C: House.
C: Weiß ich nicht [wispering].
C: Und der?
C: Essen.
C: Dog.
C: Eine Schüssel.
C: Water.
C: Ein Haus.
C: Schlafen.
C: Dog.
C: Schlafen.
C: Slee°.
C: Sleep.
C: Eine Decke.
C: Ein Bett und ein Polster.

Jonas

C: [laughter]
C: Boy. [wispers]

C: Auto.
 C: A ball.
 C: A ball.
 C: Fast.
 C: Ein Haus.
 C: This.
 C: [sighing]
 C: In a grass.
 C: Gras.
 C: Die Blumen.
 C: Flowers [wispers]
 C: A sheep.
 C: And a dog.
 C: Baby sheep.
 C: In a grass.
 C: Pferde.
 C: Horse!
 C: Eat.
 C: And die are running.
 C: One, two, three, four, five.
 C: One.
 C: A cow.
 C: One, two, three, four, five, six, seven. No this not!
 C: Six.
 C: (4) are tired.
 C: They are eating.
 C: Drinking.
 C: Drinking.
 C: Water.
 C: The cows.
 C: (...) tree.
 C: This.
 C: A tree.
 C: This * have not this here.
 C: This a h° * have not this here.
 C: This and this have not this.
 C: Going to the house.
 C: Eating.
 C: The dog.
 C: Bringing milk.
 C: He is tired.
 C: This is a cat.
 C: Ahh (...) cat.
 C: Sleeping in * sleep in the bed.
 C: Not here.

Transcriptions of the picture book narrations: advanced group

Stefan

I: Okay, than lets go. So, this is the first picture, ready?

C: Mhm [agreement].

I: Than lets go, what is happening here? What can you see?

C: A dog (...) and a child.

I: That's right and what's this?

C: A car.

I: This?

C: A ball.

I: That's right. And what are they doing now?

C: Hmm he (4), erm (...) a child (...) and the dog (...) and the ball (...) and the house.

I: [mhm mhm mhm [agreement]

I: That's right. And are they jumping?

C: No.

I: Are they swimming?

C: No.

I: What are they doing then?

C: They run.

I: They run, that's right, very good! Okay, [breathing in loudly] and now, what is the dog doing here?

C: He is lying.

I: That's right and where?

C: In the in the grass.

I: That's right and what is all this?

C: Flowers.

I: That is correct, very good. Okay, and now, what is happening?

C: The dog go to the to the (5) chickens, to the chickens and the chickens run away.

I: [ch°, (...) that's right!

I: That's right and what's this?

C: The baby chickens.

I: That's right and can you see this here?

C: Yeah.

I: Do you know what it is?

C: This is the (...) farmer.

I: The farmer, that's right, very good. And what is happening now?

C: The sheeps with the dog.

I: Yes and where is this?

C: A baby sheep.

I: That's right and if you look at this all here. Do you know, where they are?

C: Yeah (...) yes.

I: Are they in the city?

C: No! [emphasis]

I: Where else are they?

C: Erm (5) on the grass.

I: On the grass, right, so they are in the mountains with lots of grass, that's correct! And what is the what is the dog doing now?

C: The dog run * with the horses.

I: That's correct and how many horses can you see?

C: Erm (...) five.

I: Five, that's correct. And what are they doing?

C: They eat.

I: Mhm [agreement], that's correct. Okay and now?

C: [sighing] The dog go to the cows.

I: Mhh. And how many cows are there?

C: Hmm (4) six.

I: Six cows, that is correct. What are they doing?

C: They sleeping, they they sit in the grass.

I: That's right and they?

C: Eat.

I: That's right and do you know what this cow is doing?

C: [laughter]

I: Do you know?

C: No.

I: Maybe he is drinking something. I don't know. Do you know what all this is?

C: Yes, trees.

I: Trees, that's right. Okay and what is the dog doing now, what is happening?

C: He he drinks something in the water.

I: Mhm [agreement], and do you know what the boy is doing?

C: He go on bridge.

I: He goes onto onto the bridge. Yes, that is and what's this in the background again?

C: The cows.

I: Right, very good. Do you know what this is called?

C: Yes, the river.

I: The river, that's right, very good! Okay, and what are they doing now?

C: They go home.

I: They go home? Yes. And now look, they are at home and what are they doing there?

C: He eats and he brought him the plate.

I: Mhm [agreement]. Do you what do you think is in there?

C: Water.

I: That's right and again what is this?

C: The house.

I: And who lives in this house?

C: The dog.

I: Right, so it's a dog house. Okay, and what are they doing now?

C: They sleep.

I: They sleep, both?

C: No.

I: Only?

C: Only the dog.

I: That's right and the boy is.... Doing what? Do you know?

C: He (...) he make that he sleep, the dog.

I: That's right, so he is stroking him and the dog likes it a lot. And so he goes to sleep. And now this is the last picture, what are they doing?

C: They sleep.

I: They sleep? And where does the (...) boy sleep?

C: The dog sleep on the ground and the child sleep on the bed.

I: That is right, that was a very very nice story, Paul!

Elias

I: Okay, first picture is this. What can you see? What are they doing?

C: Erm, the dog and the boy (...) want the boy (...) the boy he show. Ahh ich habe keine Ahnung [whispering]
[laughter]

I: Macht nichts, you can take your time. (5) Take your time. That's fine.

C: (...) [laughter] the dog wa° is. Wie sagt man das verliebt auf Englisch?

I: He is in love.

C: He is in love in the boy, so he wants to. Wie sagt man * *? [whispering]

I: Just try it. It's okay if it's not correct. (...) What do you want to say?

C: Abschlecken.

I: He is licking, licking, to lick.

C: Ja! He want to lick the boy.

I: Yes! And what else do you see?

C: And the dog sees the ball and the dog want to play with the ball.

I: Alright. That's very good. Ready for the next page? Okay, go on.

C: And the boy have to drive with the Auto to school.

I: Mhm [agreement], very good. Next one.

C: (...) but the boy and the dad.

I: And the dog.

C: *

I: It's okay, sorry. [laughter] I, I I am quiet okay? You, you just talk.

C: And the boy said to to his mum: can I play a little bit now with my dog? And the mum said yes, so they played and played and played. And the dog have the ball in the mouth. And the little boy want to catch the dog.

I: Yes, mhm [agreement] [laughter]

C: But then from the running is the dog so so so (5) hmm (...) sleeping because from the run running he is sleeping. (4) But * he sleep then was the sleep gone. Then runned and runned and runned and seed the chickens. And the dog want to (4) catch the chickens and the little chickens.

I: Mhm [agreement].

C: But the little chickens was dog so hungry from the running, so he want to eat the small chickens.

(...) But then he sah so so much (4) hmm (5) hmm. Sheeps

I: [Sh° She° Sheep, yes.

C: So many sheep the dog. And then he want to cut to catch erm catch [wrong pronunciation],

I: [catch

C: catch the little ones and then all the sheeps running away, but the young ones want to eat because they were so so so small, so they want to eat because no day they have something to eat.

So and then he see horses again. * * and then he w° the dog want to be like the horses. Because the horses are so super quick.

I: Mhm [agreement].

C: And so he the dog (6) hmm (...). Erschreckt? [whispering]

I: Erschreckt. Is scared.

C: Scared the horses and then the three hors° horses run and run and runned away. But th° they cannot go out because there's something th° th° * that * * can * horses cannot go out. That's the (4).

I: A fence. There is a fence.

C: And then here is a fence so that the horses cannot go out. Three horses run in a circle because only the Zaun was only a circle, so they run in a circle the horses, but two horses not scared from the dog. So they eat grass again and again and again.

I: Very good.

C: Because not scared. So, and then where he comes out, then he seed (7) cows! And then he want to be like

the cows because they have a (...) Clock? Wie sagt man Glocke? Clock? [whispering]

I: A bell.

C: A bell! The * there's so the little guy and the mum and the dad knows where where (...) they are. So he want to be also so the dog. Because he wa° because he run every day a° away, so he so he want the he also have * * and so (...) he w° wa° go (...) no (...). He want to go and (...) then he see one what have a (...) bell and then he want to (...) put it (5) on the floor and put it hisself on.

I: Next page? Very good.

C: Then he goes so fast and fast and fast away, so he go in the water, accidentally. And then a little boy see that he is in the water.

I: Mhm [agreement].

C: And the little boy is so (...) is so scared because the dog is in the water. Next page [whispering]. So he want to jump in the water. Then with the line.

I: With the leash. Leash.

C: With the leash he can catch the dog and put it out of the water, so the boy, the little boy, and the dog will go home. (...) But then the boy have a mad idea! He want to give the (4) the (...) dog some food and some water. So he eat the food and then some water. (...) And then he is so so full. His tummy (...) also a little bit sad because his tummy hurts so bad because he because he eats sch° so much. So the boy have a (...) hammer and he want to make (...). Wie sagt man Reflektor auf English?

I: Was?

C: Wie sagt man Reflektor auf English? [whispering]

I: Ein Reflektor?

C: Mhm [agreement].

I: Einen Reflex meinst du?

C: Ja.

I: Erm, reflex.

C: Reflex. Want to give the dog, but the dog is not (...) a * some things, so (...) he have another idea. (...) It was night so he can, so he have to go to bed. And the little dog and the little boy sleep sleep * asleep.

I: And that's it. [whispering]

C: And that's it!

I: Well done, that was probably the best story!

Milan

C: Hmm (...) a dog.

C: Hmm (...) a car.

C: And (5).

C: A girl.

C: Yes.

C: A ball.

C: (8) Go, going Gassi.

C: A ball.

C: * (...) a dog house.

C: Erm, he rolling in the grass.

C: Flowers.

C: The dog goes to the chickens.

C: No.

C: He (4) hmm (...)

C: Yes they * *.

C: Erm, no.

C: Hmm (...) this is bigger and this smaller.
 C: (...) A tractor.
 C: Hmm (...) the dogs wait, the dog waits that's the sheep's go° * have gone.
 C: A lot.
 C: It's a baby sheep.
 C: Erm (...) on a mountain.
 C: The dogs the dog goes to horses and the horses are run away.
 C: Eating grass.
 C: Hmm (...) a dog go to the cows.
 C: They laying on the floor.
 C: Yes, they are drinking.
 C: The dogs the dog go into the water.
 C: He drinks.
 C: Look at.
 C: Cows.
 C: (5) hmm (...) they going home.
 C: The girls gets the dog some food.
 C: A dog house.
 C: The dog lays on the floor and the girl hmm (...) is touching the dog.
 C: They sleeping.
 C: In the bed.
 C: In the carpet.

Thomas

C: I see a car, I see a dog and I see erm (4).
 C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]
 C: Boy.
 C: And and a (...) the (4) ball.
 C: Mhm.
 C: Erm (...) a ball.
 C: A dog.
 C: Erm, no.
 C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]
 C: Laufen.
 C: Skipping.
 C: A ball.
 C: A Hundehütte.
 C: House.
 C: A dog house.
 C: Erm (7) der tut sich rollen.
 C: Der tut sich so rollen.
 C: Yes.
 C: Flowers.
 C: A hen.
 C: Chicken.
 C: Küken *.
 C: A tree.
 C: Tractor.

C: Der tut laufen.
 C: Erm (...).
 C: Running.
 C: Mhm.
 C: Er will auf die andere Seite.
 C: Er will auf die andere Seite.
 C: Erm lambs.
 C: Mhm.
 C: Auf einem Feld.
 C: A field.
 C: Pferde.
 C: Erm (...) horses.
 C: Fressen.
 C: Eating.
 C: Der running.
 C: Five.
 C: (...) a cow.
 C: Mo° more.
 C: Ahh (...) six.
 C: Die die liegen im Gras.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: Die tut trinken.
 C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]
 C: A tree.
 C: D° der ist im Wasser.
 C: A dog water.
 C: Drinking.
 C: Der steht auf der Brücke.
 C: And the dog.
 C: Cow.
 C: The dog is (...) going.
 C: (...) to house.
 C: Tut essen.
 C: Eating.
 C: Der bringt was zum trinken.
 C: Erm the boy bringing water.
 C: Ahh (...) dog house.
 C: Der tut in mit der Haarbürste frisieren.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: Yes.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: In einem Bett.
 C: Eh eh [Makes the sound of negation]
 C: On on Teppich.

Daniel

C: Ein Auto da oben.

C: A car.

C: A dog.

C: A boy.

C: A ball.

C: The boy wants to f° * the dog and the dog runs with the ball away.

C: A dog house.

C: [laughter] Sleep in the flowers.

C: He he run the chickens.

C: The chickens, they ran away.

C: Yes.

C: A small, that's a small chicken.

C: He ran to a lambs.

C: A lot.

C: No.

C: The grass is green.

C: C: He ran to the horse.

C: A few.

C: Five horse.

C: Hmm they frisst grass.

C: They fress grass.

C: They (...) the dog (...) run to the cows.

C: They eating grass.

C: They lay down.

C: He (...) he he he he ran with the * away.

C: The boy want to fang the dog.

C: And he can't catch him.

C: Be° Because he in the water.

C: He drink water.

C: The cows.

C: The boy have the dog.

C: In the house.

C: The dog get (...) to eat.

C: He has also a plate.

C: The dog is tired.

C: He (...) *.

C: Er putzt ihn.

C: They sleep.

C: On a bed.

C: On the floor.

Theresa

C: There (...) the dog (...) tut die Zunge rausstrecken.

C: Erm, ein Kind.

C: The boy (5) der kniet sich so hin und der Hund macht das so nach.

C: A ball and (...) a car.

C: The dog have in the (...) mouth a ball.
 C: Er rennt dem dog nach.
 C: Eine Hundehütte.
 C: A house.
 C: A dog.
 C: A ha°, a dog house.
 C: Liegig in the sun.
 C: Flowers.
 C: The dog running nach die hen.
 C: Chickens.
 C: Baby chicken.
 C: A tractor.
 C: The dog (...) schaut die (...).
 C: Hmm.
 C: [laughter]
 C: Lammchen.
 C: A tree.
 C: A tractor, a houses.
 C: The dog running and the horses auch.
 C: Gras.
 C: There to the dog doing there stand and the (...) Kuh also.
 C: Liegen in the grass.
 C: Hmm.
 C: * thing tut grasen.
 C: The dog in the water.
 C: Drinking.
 C: The boy doing (7) der tut ihn anschauen.
 C: The dog (...) go and the and the boy do also go.
 C: To the houses.
 C: Trees.
 C: The dog eating.
 C: And the boy do some water.
 C: A dog house.
 C: The dog liegen in the grass.
 C: Nice to the dog.
 C: Streicheln.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: The boy also sleeping.
 C: In the (...) bed.
 C: On the ground.

Viola

C: A dog and a child and a car.
 C: A ball.
 C: The dog and the ball and the house and the child.
 C: He is lying down.
 C: In the flowers.
 C: Hmm (...) he (...) erm (5). Ich weiß es jetzt nicht, wie ichs auf Englisch sag.

C: Erm, chicken.
 C: Die chicken (...).
 C: Er tut die chicken jagen.
 C: Yes.
 C: A car.
 C: He's looking at the Schafen.
 C: He's looking at the Schafen.
 C: Erm.
 C: Of the mountain.
 C: By the horses.
 C: He hunt the horses.
 C: He is eat.
 C: He look at the cows.
 C: He sleep, she is laying down.
 C: This stand and drink Milch.
 C: The child look at the dog (...) who is drinking the water.
 C: Erm (...).
 C: Two cows.
 C: Go home.
 C: A house *.
 C: He is eating. He is giving him to eat.
 C: A house.
 C: For the dog.
 C: For the (...) for the (4) dog.
 C: He is massiert ihn.
 C: Mhm.
 C: He is sleeping.
 C: In the bed.
 C: Under the bed.

Klara

C: A dog.
 C: A ball.
 C: Car.
 C: A boy.
 C: Playing.
 C: Dog. There's the dog, there's the boy (...) [laughter] there's the ball and there's the (...) *(...).
 C: House.
 C: Dog.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: In (4) by the flowers.
 C: [sighing] (6) [sighing] the dog.
 C: Chickens.
 C: (5) Baby chickens.
 C: Car?
 C: There are many sheeps and the dog.
 C: They are going.
 C: Yes.

C: No.
 C: Countryside.
 C: [laughter]
 C: [laughter] Dog, horses, horses, horses, horses.
 C: He is running.
 C: They are eating.
 C: Flower.
 C: The dog (...).
 C: [sighing]
 C: Cow? [whispering] Cow!
 C: Six!
 C: Hmm (...) drinking.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: Clock?
 C: (7) Drinking.
 C: Water.
 C: He is looking at the dog.
 C: Cow.
 C: Erm (...).
 C: They are going home.
 C: The dog is (...) eating something.
 C: He brought him water.
 C: Dog house.
 C: (5) hmm (...) there and dog and a boy and (4) hmm.
 C: Soll ich irgendwas machen?
 C: Ahh (...).
 C: [laughter]
 C: * *
 C: Ich weiß ja selber nicht was das * *.
 C: Streicheln?
 C: They are sleeping.
 C: In the bed.
 C: On the floor.
 C: The dog.
 C: Eigentlich am Teppich.

David

C: The person is copying the dog.
 C: A flag.
 C: A Fussball flag.
 C: It's like France.
 C: Car.
 C: Playing with the France ball.
 C: Doggie house.
 C: Lying down and taking care.
 C: This all, he is enjoying the flowers.
 C: Chasing all the chickens.
 C: Lots!

C: Baby chickens.
 C: Yes, a tractor!
 C: He is in the farm.
 C: Mister happy! [laughter]
 C: Erm (...) baba.
 C: Baba.
 C: Ah, now I know, sheep.
 C: Wait, kid sheep.
 C: Tractor.
 C: In a farm.
 C: He's chasing the dogs [laughter], he is chasing the erm horses.
 C: Eating the grass.
 C: In the farm.
 C: The Kuhs are eating, lying down and playing with the dog.
 C: Eating th°, drinking erm milk.
 C: Trees.
 C: Drinking water.
 C: In a sea.
 C: Saying enjoy.
 C: Mhm [agreement].
 C: Cows!
 C: Playing.
 C: I now know, that thing is house and they are going to the house.
 C: Eating his lunch.
 C: Giving him no more food.
 C: Hmm (...) no.
 C: He is making the dog to sleep.
 C: He likes it.
 C: He is sleeping with his favourite boy.
 C: In a bed.
 C: In a floor.

Luisa

C: Ein Haus.
 C: Ein Hund, lauter *.
 C: Ich kann nicht alles English. Ich kann nur die *.
 C: Erm.
 C: I see the ball.
 C: Erm, * erm (...) Autos.
 C: A *.
 C: A girl.
 C: Yeah.
 C: A little (...) dog.
 C: A house.
 C: The dog.
 C: A ball.
 C: Erm (...) erm (...).
 C: Running.

C: The dog (...) has sleep.
 C: Yeah.
 C: Yeah.
 C: He playing.
 C: Mit (...) erm (...) hmm (...).
 C: No.
 C: Chi°.
 C: Chick°.
 C: Chickens.
 C: He is playing.
 C: The dogs cooks.
 C: Hmm (...) a Schaf.
 C: Yes.
 C: Green.
 C: Grass.
 C: The dogs erm (...) erm (...).
 C: One, two, three, four, five.
 C: He is cook and she has drink.
 C: He is eating.
 C: Erm he (...) is (...) cook.
 C: Sleep.
 C: Big.
 C: *.
 C: Grass.
 C: Green.
 C: Water drink.
 C: Colder water.
 C: Cook.
 C: He sleeping.
 C: It's dog.
 C: No.
 C: He's go.
 C: To a house.
 C: He is eating.
 C: Water.
 C: Giving water.
 C: House.
 C: He is sleep and he has massage.
 C: Die two sleeping.
 C: In Bett.
 C: Am floor.

Karim

C: A dog and a Kind.
 C: Erm (...).
 C: A ball.
 C: A ball.
 C: They are (...) they are erm (...).

C: Laufen.
 C: He is running.
 C: A ball.
 C: He is running.
 C: Dead.
 C: The dog is sleeping.
 C: In a grass.
 C: Flowers.
 C: Chickens (...) and a dog running.
 C: There are lamas and a dog.
 C: Erm (...) there are the * (5) look at him.
 C: In a (...).
 C: It's a (4) it's a (4).
 C: Grasses and they are eating.
 C: There are horses and a dog.
 C: They are running.
 C: They are eating grass.
 C: There is the dog and cows.
 C: Erm (...) they are (...) they are looking the dog.
 C: A clock.
 C: Ring.
 C: They are in a water.
 C: He is drinking.
 C: He is looking the dog.
 C: The cows.
 C: And a tree.
 C: They're going home.
 C: The boy gives him eating.
 C: Water.
 C: He gives him food.
 C: The dog fell asleep.
 C: Yes.
 C: Sleeping.
 C: Because they are (...) so (4) tired.
 C: In a bed.
 C: In a carpet.

Eva

C: Ein Ball.
 C: Mensch.
 C: Boy.
 C: Und ein Hund.
 C: Car.
 C: This is a ball.
 C: Dog.
 C: Hmm (...).
 C: Boy.
 C: There is a dog and some flowers.

C: Sleep.
C: Hmm (...).
C: Dog.
C: Tractor.
C: He run.
C: A dog.
C: Green.
C: Tractor.
C: House.
C: Tree.
C: Hmm.
C: Dog.
C: Horse.
C: Five.
C: Weil drei plus zwei ist fünf.
C: Dog.
C: Kuh.
C: Drink.
C: Sechs.
C: Clock.
C: She drink.
C: The boy.
C: Cow.
C: She go.
C: House.
C: He sleep.
C: He sleep.
C: Boy.
C: In bed.