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Early Second Language Acquisition in Saxony's Nursery Schools

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List of Transcription Symbols

I	=	person who holds the interview
K	=	Kooky
C17	=	child who participated in the interview
...	=	pause
[...]	=	omission
He	=	conspicuous volume
((smiles))	=	non-verbal modulation
<points to picture 3>	=	own comments
Mm	=	affirmative marker
Hm	=	insecurity marker

1. Introduction

Germany is a monolingual country. Although Germans learn foreign languages at school, one can not consider this society as bilingual. There are, of course, bilingual speakers most of whom have a migrant background and do not possess a German passport, yet the majority of people grow up with one language only.

Even today ordinary Germans believe that the overwhelming percentage of their fellow countrymen are monolingual. They may be surprised to learn that this assumption is disproved by experts. Following recent insights into the linguistic condition of the world population, one should note here that “[o]ver half of the world’s population is bilingual.” (Harding and Riley 1992: 27)

At the beginning of the last century, a person’s mother tongue was regarded to be of immense significance to the development of his or her character and morality. Two co-existing languages were viewed as unnatural and mind-splitting, a phenomenon therefore having to be avoided vehemently.

A hundred years elapsed before a fundamental change in the attitude towards the ability to speak more than one language occurred. Languages are nowadays viewed as a vital prerequisite to successfully rising to the challenges of modern life. Globalisation is most likely to determine the destiny of future generations. Countries are amalgamating, the European Union being only one of the most outstanding examples. Language is at the very fundamentals of social and economical development. When projecting this inescapable fact onto the current socio-economic situation in Germany where the unemployment rate is fairly high and where especially young people are forced to find a job elsewhere, one comes to acknowledge the importance of speaking an additional language.

This necessity is furthermore underlined by the fact that Europe is growing together in various fields, one such field is the educational sector. When it comes to determining school curricula, a much higher level of communication, cooperation, and coordination of common educational goals is observable than it used to be a decade ago. Take for instance the relatively new Common European Framework as one fruitful result out of countless partnerships and projects in the educational sphere.

Within these new conditions especially the English language seems to play a crucial role. Apart from the political and social relevance that languages, first of all the English language, have gained not only in a European context, the process of language acquisition and foreign language teaching enjoys a much higher status and far-reaching attention in linguistic circles.

Now that it has become obvious that English is not only a necessity but also a chance in the context of the EU, this chance should be used to raise children bilingually at an early age to prepare them for their future lives. Therefore, it seems to be a strong imperative for children born and bred in the European Union to master the English language fluently.

While in earlier times it used to be a widely acknowledged fact that bilingual children would almost automatically face problems at school (Döpke 1992: 3), already early and middle 20th studies such as those conducted by Ronjat (1913), Leopold (1939-1949), Peal & Lambert (1962), and Lambert (1982) easily refute this claim. According to these studies, bilingual children performed well, if not even any better, than monolingual children at school.

Meanwhile experts have come to the insight that the skill at mastering languages is at its peak between the age of three and ten. The imparting of language should therefore be promoted from an early age onwards regardless of whether first or second language is concerned.

Numerous publications and studies characterize the academic field of language acquisition and language per se. Yet the circle connecting the various processes involved in first, second and foreign language acquisition and the numerous schools of thought dealing with this exclusively human phenomenon could not have been closed so far. Especially when it comes to the study of early second language acquisition through instruction or immersion respectively, not much can be learned from the prevalent findings, although a number of researchers, to mention Wode and its pioneering work as an outstanding example, have shown ongoing commitment to the field. When the academic branch of early second language acquisition was still in its infancy, linguists even observed their

own children in longitudinal studies.¹ To cut a long story short, although a lot of articles and books have been published in this area, only few works exist that concentrate on early second language acquisition. Being aware of this challenge, this paper shall rise to the obstacles in the path that pursues thorough understanding of early second language acquisition.

Before analysing early second language acquisition, it must be made clear what this paper means by *early* and *second language acquisition*. In this study, the attribute *early* shall be related to processes occurring with nursery school and kindergarten children aged two to six years. The terms *nursery school* and *kindergarten* are used as synonyms and reflect the German concept of *Kindertageseinrichtung*. With respect to *second language acquisition*, I will refer to the unconscious gaining of knowledge in a language that follows the first language. This gaining of knowledge, in Krashen's nomenclature (1985), constitutes for acquisition and is consequently distinguished from conscious studying that again results in learning. While learning is closely connected to language instruction, acquisition is not. Nevertheless, since the borderline between unconscious acquisition and conscious learning is not always clearly definable and understandable in the case of kindergarten children, I will use both terms interchangeably in this paper.

When talking about early second language acquisition, the day nursery as a primary educational institution has become a focal point. But it is not only because of language education that this institution is enjoying increased attention. It is also due to the current search for the roots of socio-economic dissatisfaction and an obvious lack in the education of the young generation that the kindergarten has increasingly been in the focus of public attention in the last decade. The debate on deficits in education discussed on political, economic and social grounds calls for an educational curriculum that lays the foundations of an extensive and profound education in early childhood. Not underrating the other relevant issues, this paper is designated to concentrate on the nursery school as a linguistic opportunity for the majority of the three- to five-year-olds who

¹ Linguists who watched the language development of their children are, amongst others, Ronjat (1913); Leopold (1939-1949); and Harding/Riley (1986).

experience the kindergarten as the first yet not the lowest in the hierarchy of educational steps.

Fully recognizing the findings in early second language acquisition and following the prevailing upward trends towards early bilingual education, authorities were fast to further develop Saxon day nursery curricula in 2005 yet without satisfactorily defining the role that language education should take over in the newly introduced curriculum.

While most parents nowadays want their children to be raised in two languages at an early age, they automatically face the serious problem of how to reach this aim. Even though many of them might have been taught the English language in school, only a small percentage might still use this knowledge actively. Their language competence and performance in the other language then fossilizes or even diminishes to a degree of quasi non-existence. Let alone cases in which neither parent speaks any language other than German. As a consequence, an overwhelming percentage are, for what ever reasons, not in the position to impart the English language to their children. As a logical consequence, parents have to look for adequate ways to grow their children bilingually.

Although parents increasingly welcome kindergartens offering such programmes based on the lofty ideal of early bilingualism, deeper problems are inherent in the realization of this goal. Most nursery school teachers are not on a sufficient level of proficiency in the target language.

The seemingly contrasting existence of well-meant intentions on the one hand and prevalent difficulties in their realization on the other hand clearly determines the focal point of this thesis: How can children be raised bilingually in a monolingual country such as Germany with the help of non-native English speaking nursery school teachers? Despite the above mentioned challenges, this paper argues that children can easily be raised bilingually in German and English by their nursery school teachers. To answer the question raised, I will base my argumentation on a study elaborated within the framework of an early second language acquisition project conducted in West Saxony.

As I am a member of the staff of the Bénédict School Zwickau, I had the opportunity to not only witness, but gradually become involved in an extended

vocational training programme designated for kindergarten teachers to function as teachers of English in the kindergarten sphere. Despite my initial scepticism and hesitation concerning the success of the project, I became deeply involved in a plan that was hitherto widely unknown and often regarded to be adventurous.

Even before the Saxon government discussed the new curriculum, the Bénédict School Zwickau had already seen the necessity for early childhood education in nursery schools; especially with regard to language. Under this condition, an advanced educational training was developed that concentrated on second language instruction (carried out by kindergarten teachers) suitable for nursery school children. The English training included a didactic and methodical approach for passing on English playfully to children aged from two to six.

In cooperation with the Jugendamt Zwickau, a pilot project started in 2003 with 150 nursery school teachers participating. The project has received favourable response in Saxony and Thuringia. Since 2003, more than 700 nursery school teachers have been trained. Most of the advanced educational classes were documented by the press.

As this paper focuses on early second language acquisition in Saxony's nursery schools, the main questions to be answered are: (1) What is meant by being bilingual?, (2) Why should nursery school children grow up bilingually?, (3) How do people raise young children in two languages, and finally (4) How effective is the implementation of English in nursery schools? The first part of the paper follows a descriptive course whereas the second part of this discussion is practically oriented.

I will begin by defining the most controversial terms used in literature in chapter (2). First of all, I will clarify what is meant by *first language* and *mother tongue* (2.1.). Then I will concentrate on the distinction between *second language* and *foreign language* (2.2.). I will finish the first chapter by elucidating the term *bilingualism*. As will be shown, this is not an easy task because various aspects could and even should be considered such as the level of competence and age of acquisition. Within this chapter, I will try to answer question (1).

Chapter 3 will then reason why nursery school children should be raised bilingually in nursery schools and will therefore answer question (2). To illustrate

this, I would like to differentiate between linguistic (3.1.) and non-linguistic reasons (3.2.). With regard to the first, I will highlight only those motives referred to most often in the relevant literature. These factors are the impact of age, the first language and cognitive effects on second language acquisition. Non-linguistic reasons will then provide incentives found on political, economical and social grounds.

Question (3) shall then be answered in chapter 4 which focuses on establishing bilingualism in Saxony's nursery schools. The method most often referred to is the 'one person – one language' principle (4.1.) which arose in bilingual families (4.1.1.). Since this principle has proved to be a very effective method, it was converted to a teaching aid in second language instruction. With regard to nursery schools, three possibilities can be found: English teachers (4.1.2.), native speakers of English who work as nursery school teachers (4.1.3.) or non-native speakers of English who also work as nursery school teachers (4.1.4.). I would like to claim here (but can not prove) that all adaptations will gain positive results if enough input is given and if the given input is comprehensible for the children. The importance of input will be the main object of (4.2.), grounded on the most common theories of language acquisition. Due to the fact that nursery children like puppets and games, I will also outline the significance of these two within this chapter (4.3. and 4.4.).

The effectiveness of raising children bilingually with the help of second language instruction suitable for children and carried out by non-native speakers of English who work as nursery school teachers, will be the main object of chapter 5. The sample kindergarten was part of the pilot project in 2003. I shall therefore say a few more words about the project launched by the Bénédict School Zwickau (5.1.) and the tests I carried out in November 2005 (5.2.) before I will present the results. I had the children involved in three different experiments that took place in the course of three weeks. Experiment I aimed at learning English by playing a game (5.3.). This was to be proven in experiment II in which the children were asked to recognize pictures showing the movements they should have learnt in experiment I (5.4.). Experiment III then focuses on telling a story in

English, again by using the verbs of motion that the children had come across in experiment I and II (5.5.).

Chapter 6 will review the progress children make when they are raised bilingually in day nurseries. As an outcome of the discussion led in the various chapters, I will strengthen my hypothesis that children can easily acquire a second language while attending a nursery on a regularly basis. The argument put forward can only be plausible and valid if bilingualism is defined within a broad understanding of the concept inherent related to the term.

2. Terminology

2.1. First Language and Mother Tongue

The terms *first language* and *mother tongue* are often used synonymous in the literature. *First language* refers to the language a person learns first. Since children are normally raised by their mothers, the first language a child speaks is his mother tongue. This is especially true for monolingual children being raised in monolingual communities, e.g. Germany. A child who grows up in Germany with only German speaking parents, relatives and acquaintances acquires only the German language. It could then be seen as the child's first language and his mother tongue.

Günther & Günther (2004), however, differentiate between first language and mother tongue.² They state that the first language is not necessarily the language a child acquires first but its dominant language.³ Reasons for this can be found in the circumstances of life. A child, for example, who lives in Italy the first years of his life, is raised by his Italian speaking mother. The father may then find

² Due to the fuzziness of definition Günther & Günther (2004: 32-33) prefer the term first language in their book.

³ Weinreich (1979: 75) refers to bilinguals who have a weak and a dominant language. The language the person has the greatest proficiency in is called dominant. Nevertheless, "[i]t inheres in the fact that the criteria by which a language might be characterized as dominant are numerous: proficiency, order of learning, attitudes might all be considered." He continues by stating that the first learnt language normally is the mother tongue in which a person has its greatest proficiency in. Weinreich believes that a child who learns two languages has two mother tongues (ibid.: 76-77).

a job in Germany and his family moves there. If the need to use Italian decreases, the child’s proficiency to speak German will probably be better than his Italian.⁴ Although his mother tongue is Italian, his dominant language will become German. German is then considered his first language.

2.2. Second Language and Foreign Language

The terms *second language* and *foreign language* are distinguished according to how the knowledge of a language is obtained (see Tab. 1). While a second language is acquired naturally, a foreign language is learnt systematically.⁵

Table 1. Differences between second language and foreign language

	second language	foreign language
knowledge obtained	naturally acquired	systematically learnt
usage	essential for everyday life	rarely used
age	infancy, childhood	adolescence, adulthood

In the words of Dulay et al. (1982: 10) second language acquisition (SLA) is “the process of learning another language after the basics of the first have been acquired, starting at about five years of age and thereafter.” A process that some researchers call sequential acquisition. A point to keep in mind is that Dulay et al. (1982) regard SLA as learning a language either in a foreign language context or a host language environment. This leads Dulay et al. (1982: 10f.) to use the term *target language* no matter if they speak about “ a language being learned or taught.” Hence, they use the terms *acquisition* and *learning* interchangeably. In

⁴ In the worst case, the child does not have to use his Italian anymore. He will then forget his mother tongue. This process of forgetting is called fossilization.

⁵ Günther & Günther (2004: 33-34), Götze (1995: 649), Dulay/Burt/Krashen (1982: 11)

contrast to that Götze (1995: 649) who defines foreign language learning on the basis of a completed first language acquisition.⁶

According to Günther & Günther (2004), a second language is acquired naturally after it reaches a performance similar to the first language. The second language then is used for coping with the everyday life. In their view, second language acquisition is seen as crucially important and is therefore part of the education programme of German primary schools. Although second language teaching counts for only one to two hours per week, the authors consider these lessons as second language offers not as foreign language ones. In their opinion, foreign languages are then learnt systematically via instruction and serve only as a restricted, i.e. rarely used, medium of communication.⁷

It would also seem useful to take the factor age into account. Since a second language is acquired during childhood, a foreign language is learnt in adolescence or adulthood. Yet, going even further one may argue that age plays a role in distinguishing second from foreign language but not to classify if someone is bilingual or not. The next part of the chapter will concentrate on the term *bilingual*.

2.3. Bilingualism

2.3.1. Definition of the Term

If bilingualism is compared to monolingualism, it appears easily definable. *Monolingual* consists of two parts: ‘mono’ denoting one and ‘lingua’ referring to language. Hence, a person who has one language to communicate with is monolingual. *Bilingual* can also be subdivided into two parts: ‘bi’ meaning two and again ‘lingua’ for language. Therefore, any person can communicate in two languages is bilingual, no matter if it is a second or a foreign language. Although

⁶ These two views are partially contradictory because both Dulay et al. (1982) and Götze (1995) talk about building upon the basics of first language acquisition. However, Götze does not state any age at which first language acquisition is understood as completed.

⁷ Günther & Günther (2004: 34)

both definitions may be right as such, difficulties are likely to arise when it comes to classifying people as bilingual or not. The term *bilingualism*, in its definitions, is more than debatable.

2.3.2. Bilingual's Competence

No bilingual is like another bilingual, they do not form a homogenous group. Consequently, the greatest problem lies in how to determine if a person is bilingual or not. In the opinion of Günther & Günther (2004: 36) any person who speaks and uses two (or more) languages is regarded as bilingual. A similar definition can be found in Lyon (1996: 47): "Bilingualism is connected with the speaking of two languages or expression in two languages and it can be used to describe societies and individuals."⁸ This would mean that any person regardless of their level of competence, is bilingual.

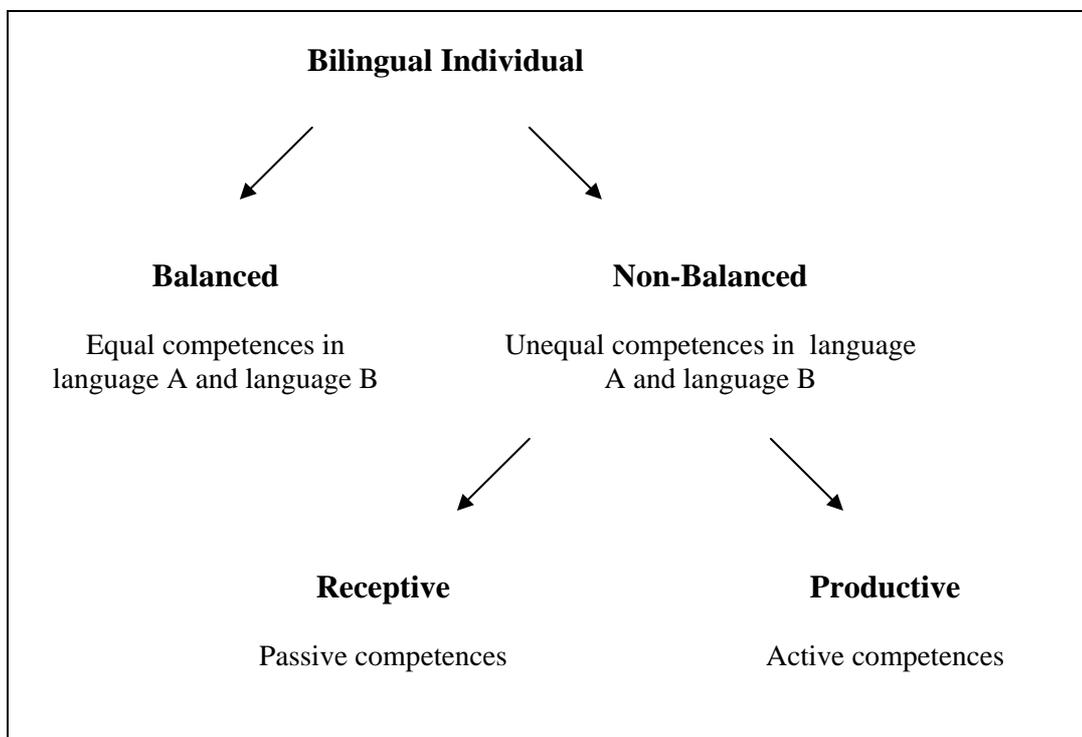


Figure 1. The competence of a bilingual

⁸ Harding & Riley (1992: 23) also differentiate between bilingual societies and bilingual individuals.

Individuals can be balanced or non-balanced bilinguals (see Fig. 1). Balanced bilinguals speak their two languages with equal proficiency after having those acquired simultaneously. Non-balanced bilinguals are not able to speak their languages equally well although they might also have acquired them simultaneously. Non-balanced bilinguals can be subdivided into receptive and productive bilinguals. Receptive bilinguals can only understand one of the two languages they acquired but are not able to talk in this language⁹ and are therefore also referred to as passive bilinguals. Productive bilinguals for their part are skilled in talking. They are called active bilinguals.

Döpke (1992) criticizes some experts who do not consider passive bilinguals as bilinguals. Especially with regard to the second language acquisition of children, the distinction between passive and active bilinguals seems useful. In general, children comprehend language even before they are able to talk. Furthermore, she argues that “passive language skills can easily be activated when the linguistic environment changes and a real need for speaking the minority language is experienced by the child.” (ibid.: 2f.) Keeping this in mind, bilingualism also includes passive competence in a second language.¹⁰

Nevertheless, Bloomfield (1933: 56) claims that a person is only bilingual if he has native-like control over two languages. A person who is able to communicate in two languages but does not use them like a native speaker is not bilingual in Bloomfield’s view. Is this person then only monolingual? This again does not correlate with the definition of monolingual: having only one language to converse with. Even more, what is with children who acquire two languages before starting school, for instance? With regard to age, they might have the same competence as monolingual children. However, if one compares these children with native-speaking adult, the children have not yet reached a native-like control of this kind. Yet, they should be regarded as bilinguals.

Wode (1995: 36) also believes that no person is able to speak his language(s) to complete perfection. He rather suggests to set a scale on which to

⁹ Harding & Riley (1992: 34) go even further by stating that „the individual concerned understands the language, but cannot, will not or does not speak it.“ According to the authors, this is a very common case among immigrants.

¹⁰ Mention should be made of the fact that the nursery school children tested and evaluated in chapter 5 showed more passive than active knowledge of English.

compare bilinguals and their performance. His continuum starts with a rudimentary knowledge of a language and ends with a native-like level.¹¹ Furthermore, he refers to modern definitions which emphasize the degree of perfection as well as the function of language(s).

Another definition is given by Kielhöfer & Jonekeit (1983: 11f.) who claim that bilinguals rarely share the same skills within all domains in their two languages. They rather consider bilinguals to have a dominant and a weak language.

2.3.3. Age of Acquisition

A person's age seems to play a crucial role in acquisition processes as numerous attempts to categorize bilinguals show (see Tab. 2).

Table 2. Age of Acquisition

Fthenakis et al. (1985)	Harding & Riley (1992)	Piper (1993)
Early Bilingualism	Infant Bilingualism	Home Bilingualism
	Child Bilingualism	School Bilingualism
Late Bilingualism	Later Bilingualism	

Fthenakis et al. (1985) differentiate between early and late bilingualism. Early bilingualism occurs with people who acquire two languages simultaneously during infancy and childhood. In contrast to that late bilingualism is characterized as successive or sequential acquisition after childhood.

¹¹ Also Harding & Riley (1992: 31-32) underline that “[b]ilingualism is a matter of degree”. They suggest a division between relative competence (“He speaks Swedish and Italian equally well.”) and relative use (“He speaks Swedish and Italian every day.”).

Harding & Riley (1992) distinguish between four ages (infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood) and group these into three classes of bilingualism (infant bilingualism, child bilingualism, later bilingualism).

Infant bilingualism is related to children who directly speak two languages from birth.¹² They acquire both languages simultaneously and have a native-like pronunciation. Harding & Riley (1992: 40) state that this is the most common and most successful type of bilingualism. Although bilinguals in this category share the same degrees of variation as monolingual children do, their start in speaking is slightly later than monolinguals of the same age.

Child bilingualism refers to children who acquire two languages successively. Harding & Riley (1992) proclaim a family moving to another country as the most common cause. As an example, they list two children who moved from Portugal to France and learnt French there within five months in a nursery school. Children who acquire a second language at this age will also achieve a native-like pronunciation.

Later bilingualism is understood as learning a language after puberty. Harding & Riley (1992), however, do not mention if second language acquisition and foreign language learning can both be taken into consideration. Since the degrees of bilingualism reach, however, from rudimentary knowledge to native-like control, both types cause later bilingualism.

Piper (1993) sees a difference between home bilingualism and school bilingualism. She talks about home bilingualism when a person gets in contact with two languages from birth on or before starting school. Thus, language acquisition takes place at home, day care or preschool. Home bilingualism can also be related to early bilingualism since the two languages are acquired simultaneously. School bilingualism is connected to second language learning during a person's school years. Compared to home bilingualism language is learnt differently due to growing cognitive abilities. Piper (1993) takes only children

¹² Due to the fact that cognitive and language facilities are beginning to develop, babies can not talk from the very beginning on. Yet they are said to comprehend both languages. When they start talking, they only speak one of the two languages until they reach the age of three. Then they will communicate in both languages.

into account. Consequently, there is no distinction drawn between child bilingualism and adult bilingualism as it is the case in Harding & Riley (1992).

2.3.4. Relationship between Bilingualism and Thought

Bilingualism can furthermore be characterized by cognitive organization in bilingual individuals. Weinreich (1979) differentiates between three types: co-ordinate, compound and subordinate. To illustrate these types he used an example taken from the English and the Russian language (see Tab. 3).

Table 3. Types of Bilingualism

co-ordinate bilinguals	compound bilinguals	subordinate bilinguals
<p>‘book’ ‘kníga’</p> <p> </p> <p>/buk/ /'kn'iga/</p>	<p>‘book’ = ‘kníga’</p> <p> / \</p> <p>/buk/ /'kn'iga/</p>	<p>{ ‘book’ }</p> <p> /buk/ }</p> <p> </p> <p> /'kn'iga/</p>

The co-ordinate type of bilingualism shows two linguistic systems that exist in parallel to each other. In the words of Harding & Riley (1992: 38) the co-ordinate type “applies to two completely different systems both of meaning and expression”. Compound bilinguals share two expressions for a single meaning. Weinreich (1979: 9ff.) calls compound bilinguals as the “pure” bilinguals. Furthermore he claims that both types can be found in the cognitive organization of the bilingual’s mind. Subordinate bilinguals are strongly dominant in one system of expression. This type occurs mainly when a language B is learnt with the help of language A. From this, one must conclude that this person cognitively translates from language A to language B and vice versa.

Harding & Riley (1992: 37) think of this division of bilinguals as not fashionable anymore. They only refer to it in their book because this

differentiation was once very influential and an important characteristic of the bilingual individual.

3. Reasons for Growing Children Bilingual in Saxony's Nursery Schools

In this chapter, I will outline the main reasons for raising Saxony's children bilingual in the kindergarten. Although, there might be more reasons than listed below, I decided on these because they were mentioned most often in the literature. I distinguished between linguistic (3.1.) and non-linguistic reasons (3.2.). Linguistic reasons focus on language itself. I therefore concentrate on:

- The Relation between SLA and Age (3.1.1.)
- The Relation between SLA and First Language (3.1.2.)
- The Relation between SLA and Cognition (3.1.3.)

Non-linguistic reasons are those which are not primarily concerned with language. They rather deal with the advantages a bilingual education will have on an individual. Hence, I will have a look at:

- Political and Economical Factors (3.2.1.)
- Nursery Schools as Educational Centers (3.2.2.)

3.1. Linguistic Reasons

3.1.1. The Relation between SLA and Age

A great deal has been said and written about the importance of age in second language acquisition¹³. The question whether this really is the case has been preoccupying the experts for some time. It is a well-known fact that children find it easier to acquire a second language than adults.¹⁴ This assumption, however, induces that age could be seen as a predictor for second language proficiency and

¹³ Penfield & Roberts (1959); Lenneberg (1967); Singleton & Ryan (2004); Fthenakis et al. (1985); Wode (1981/1993); van Els et al. (1984)

¹⁴ Wode (1981: 72): "It was pointed out that (younger) children acquire native-like control with great ease and speed, whereas adults struggle hard and never acquire it."

that therefore younger acquirers are much better than older ones. Hence, it is claimed that the ability to learn a language, in general, decreases with age. As a consequence, it is argued to better start learning languages at an early age: the earlier, the better. This results then in supporting programmes on second language acquisition in early childhood.

There is certainly no question about the importance of age in language acquisition. Nevertheless, it is questionable if it can be examined as an isolated variable as it was the case in the works of Penfield & Roberts (1959) and Lenneberg (1967). According to these experts, children are more advanced in second language acquisition because they have a greater brain plasticity. This brain plasticity decreases with age and leads to lateralization. In their remarkable studies, Penfield & Roberts (1959) as well as Lenneberg (1967) support their hypothesis with evidence they found in people with brain damages. It was clearly proved that people suffering from brain damage before puberty managed to re-learn their language skills whereas older ones hardly did. On reflection, one is forced to conclude that there is a critical period for second language learning which allows to acquire languages naturally until puberty, i.e. age 12 to 14. Anyone who wants to acquire a language then will not succeed without proper language instruction¹⁵.

However, with regard to numerous examinations on age and its relevance on second language acquisition, the above mentioned hypothesis is neglected. It is argued that the variable of age can not be examined without also taking other variables into account.

Van Els et al. (1984) distinguishes between three arguments which might be drawn into consideration: the biological argument, the cognitive argument and the affective argument.¹⁶ Within the biological argument, he listed Penfield & Roberts (1959) as well as Lenneberg (1967) who examined age independently of other factors but were criticized by Krashen (1973) who found out that lateralization occurs at the age of 5. Consequently, anybody older than age 4 would be unable to acquire language properly. Another evidence was given by 'Genie', a girl that

¹⁵ van Els et al. (1984: 105)

¹⁶ Wode (1993: 307-317) also offers the same three approaches to explain why children outperform adults in second language acquisition.

grew up orally isolated. When found, she had already been through puberty. Still, she managed to learn language naturally, i.e. without any language instruction.¹⁷ The cognitive argument is based on findings by Rosansky (1975) and Krashen (1975) who reasoned the fact that children learn language differently from adults in Piaget's theory. There it is said that adolescence and adults are provided with a capacity for abstract thinking. This again leads into blocking natural language learning. The affective argument is underlined by Taylor (1974) and Schumann (1975) who claim that children have a greater emphatic capacity. It is supposed that children are less afraid to talk than adults. Adults might be negatively influenced towards the other language, the speakers of the other language, or the other culture. These negative attitudes serve as a strong filter which lowers their motivation to learn the new language¹⁸.

All in all, van Els et al. (1984) conclude that the critical period hypothesis is incorrect. Although children in an L2 environment performed better than adults, the variable of age was not responsible for the results given but other factors such as age-related affective and cognitive factors.

In spite of the fact that new data does not support the critical period hypothesis, Tomasello (2003: 286) reinforces the validity „that children typically make more process in second language acquisition in a given amount of time than [...] adults [do] [...]“. There is, however, another factor which should not be ignored, namely the reasons Tomasello offers. First of all, he argues that adults already acquired a language for a longer period of time. As a result, this language interferes with the second language. Children rarely face interference because they are not as proficient in their first language as adults are. Secondly, children

¹⁷ Foster-Cohen (1999: 96) compares 'Genie' to deaf children of hearing parents who also managed spoken language but lacked to acquire real language without sign language at an early age. She therefore concludes that the critical period is not a bounded period but that acquisition is dependent on input at the right time.

¹⁸ Fthenakis et al. (1985: 117) claim that children who are not seen as unbiased towards a new language are more motivated than adults. Wode (1993: 317) adds the point that language could be seen as a marker for identification. Since adults are already more bound to their language group and culture, they are less motivated to identify with the new one. Children, however, do not have such a self-identification. Hence, Wode concludes: „Je älter ein Kind, desto weiter fortgeschritten ist dieser Prozess; und je fester das Individuum in die Verhaltensweisen, Wertsysteme und Normen der Bezugsgruppe eingebunden ist, desto schwerer gelingt es ihm, sich mit den Normen einer neuen Gruppe und ihrer Sprache zu identifizieren oder sich in sie einzufügen, wenn dadurch die Bezüge zur früheren Gruppe verändert oder aufgegeben werden müssen.“

moving into an L2 environment gain better language skills in the second language than adults. Tomasello (2003 286f.) explains this by a better language experience the children meet. Most children spend their days at all-day schools whereas adults might only be surrounded by speakers of their own language background. Thirdly, he claims that children are more flexible in learning, especially with regard to skilled activities. Allowing for the fact that a person who learns to play the piano is normally more skilled than someone who learns to play the piano as an adult because the latter did not spend as much time on playing the piano as the former one. One might argue that any person who acquires a (second) language during childhood will be more proficient than a person who starts the second language in adulthood.

Krashen (1987) refers to an empirical study he carried out with Long and Scarcella. In this study, they investigated the effect of age and second language acquisition and proved the assumption that younger acquirers are better than older ones to be false. Moreover their study proved that:

- Adults proceed through early stages of second language development faster than children do (where time and exposure are held constant).
- Older children acquire faster than younger children, time and exposure held constant.
- Acquirers who begin natural exposure to second language during childhood generally achieve higher second language proficiency than those beginning as adults.

(Krashen 1987: 43)

Although Krashen verified that age plays a role in second language acquisition but proved that not necessarily the younger acquirers only benefit from it, why should kindergarten children then acquire a second language at an early age? The answer to this question is already shown in the quotation above where it says that natural exposure of a second language during childhood results in a better proficiency than adults as beginners might reach. Krashen explains this phenomenon by the Input Hypothesis (cf. Chapter 4).

Acquiring a second language at an early age provides more comprehensible input. Since children are believed to acquire a language rather than learning it at this age, they will benefit from second language acquisition differently than adults. In spite of that, some adults might also reach a high

proficiency in a second language where some children might not. Krashen (1987: 44) argues that this is due to the Affective Filter which is normally strengthening at about puberty. If the filter is strong, neither an adult nor a child will acquire a second language. If the filter is weak, than both the adult and the child will acquire the second language.

The filter can be influenced by various language acquisition methods such as motivation. In a nursery school, a higher motivation could be reach by using language implicitly in games, songs, rhymes, and other activities which suit the children's age and interests.

The arguments given above prove that language acquisition and lateralization do not necessarily depend on each other. Age does not primarily has an effect on second language acquisition but age-related factors such as affective and cognitive development have. Further effects on gaining a high proficiency in a second language result from the form, the amount and the time of input given.

3.1.2. The Relation between SLA and First Language

This chapter concentrates on the interconnection between the first and the second language. Research on second language acquisition differentiates between effects the first language has on the second language (Chomsky in Cook & Newson 1996; Wode 1981,1993; Fthenakis at al. 1985) but also on the effects a second language has on the first language (Cook 2003a, 2003b; Jarvis 2003; Murphy & Pine 2003).

3.1.2.1. Effects of L1 on L2

The first language seems to play a crucial role in the acquisition of a second language. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) studied Finnish children of different ages who had migrated to Sweden. All children who where ten years and older mastered the two languages Swedish and Finnish well, whereby the majority of children under

ten years did not achieve a high-level competence in their second or in their first language. Most of the children were in danger to develop these languages only partially – a phenomenon that is called “Halbsprachigkeit”¹⁹.

Cummins (1982) therefore claims that the competence level of an L2 depends on the competence level of the L1. If the L1 has been developed on a high level, the L2 will also reach a high level (‘Interdependenz-Hypothese’). If a child does not attain a certain level in his L2, the child will harm his cognitive development (‘Schwellenhypothese’). Cummins concludes that second language acquisition can effect cognition positively or negatively depending on the level of language development.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) and Cummins (1982) findings mainly focus on children of migrants. Similar results could also be found in Germany. The reasons for failing to reach a high standard of the L2 were claimed to have reasoned in socio-culturell and socio-economical backgrounds.

When a child spends the first ten years of his/her life in the home country, he/she will, of course, experience the first language in a different way from those children who lived there only the first six years. Cultural awareness and identity are crucial factors. Not surprisingly, older children are culturally more aware than younger ones who often slip into an identity crisis. Depending on the dimension of this crisis, it might have a tremendous effect on success or failure in achieving the second language. As a result, first language development should be regarded carefully, especially when migrant children are involved who belong to a minority group.

Apeltauer (1997) holds a contradictory view by claiming:

Je jünger die Kinder sind, und je weniger sie von ihrer Erstsprache bereits erworben haben, desto eher wird die Lernsituation der Ausgangssituation beim gleichzeitigen Erwerb zweier Sprachen gleichen.

Apeltauer (1997: 11)

Consequently, a child would not depend on his L1 when it acquires an L2 since it would develop according to his first language. If the early acquisition of a second

¹⁹ Hansegård cited in Fthenakis et al. (1985: 56) calls this unsatisfying competence of L1 and L2 ‘Semilingualism’.

language is similar to the acquisition of an L1, one must consider the theories of first language acquisition.²⁰

In the literature, three main theories attempt to explain how a first language is acquired: Behaviourism (Thorndike 1932; Bloomfield 1933; Skinner 1957), Nativism (Chomsky 1959; Cook & Newson 1996) and Cognitivism (Piaget 1971; 1974).²¹

According to Skinner (1957) learning, in general, is related to behavior which is based on a stimulus and a response. A child is exposed to various stimuli offered by the environment to which it responds. This way, the child imitates verbal input and reproduces it. If the outcome is obtained as desired, the response was successful and the stimuli will be reinforced. A repeated reinforcement will sooner or later become a habit. Regarding stimulus-response pairings, learning means forming habits. Mitchell & Myles (2004) argue that this process is relatively simple concerning first language but problematic if second language is considered.

When learning a first language, the process is relatively simple: all we have to do is learn a set of new habits as we learn to respond to stimuli in our environment. When learning a second language, however, we run into problems: we already have a set of well-established responses in our mother tongue. The SLL [Second Language Learning; noted by S. V.] process therefore involves replacing those habits by a set of new ones. The complication is that the old first-language habits interfere with this process, either helping or inhibiting it. If structures in the second language are similar to those of the first, then learning will take place easily. If, however, structures are realized differently in the first and second language, then learning will be difficult.

(Mitchell & Myles 2004: 31)

Hence an L1 can have either a positive effect on an L2 if the habits are somehow the same or a negative effect if the habits between the two languages differ. This might all be true for L2 learners. The present study, however, focuses on children who are said to acquire a second language naturally at an early age. I therefore claim that this can not be valid for these children since they acquire the second language like their first language.

²⁰ Nauwerck (2003: 37)

²¹ These first language theories were further developed and lay the foundation to explain second language learning.

Chomsky (1959) criticizes Skinner's theory since language is not stimulus-bound²² and not only learnt by imitating the language environment or by repeating the same structures over and over again. If children would do so, how comes that

- children do not necessarily adopt mistakes they hear,
- they produce errors they have never been exposed to,
- they produce sentences they have never heard before.

Thus, Chomsky assumes that human beings have an innate language facility (LAD – Language Acquisition Device) that guides them in acquiring and learning languages. He comes up with the idea of a Universal Grammar (UG) as a mental construct that enables children to learn their first languages quickly and effortlessly. As mentioned above, early second language acquisition follows the same development as first language acquisition. For that reason, the LAD is also effecting the acquisition of an L2.

Piaget (1971; 1974) believes language acquisition to be closely connected to the cognitive development of a human being. Language and thought are therefore tightly linked to each other. With regard to second language acquisition, it can be assumed that children who are further up the ladder of cognitive development will verbally perform better than children who are further down. This also implies that children with a low intelligence quotient (IQ) will have a lower verbal competence than children with a higher IQ (cf. 3.1.3. The Relation between SLA and Cognitive Development).

Wode (1981) raises the question whether second language acquisition functions like first language acquisition. To answer this question, he mentions two positions found in the L2 research: the Identity Hypothesis, which claims that the acquisition of an L1 and an L2 is identical, and the Interference Hypothesis, which asserts that the acquisition of an L2 differs from an L1.

The Identity Hypothesis deemphasizes the role of interference but emphasizes parallel structures that can be found between an L1 and an L2. Wode (1981: 48) argues that “developmental structures may be parallel, but that they need not occur at the same stages in the developmental sequence(s).” He reasons

²² Cook & Newson (1996:77): “One stimulus apparently has many responses. There can be no certain prediction from stimulus to response.”

this in major differences between the naturalistic L2 acquisition and the L2 acquisition based on foreign language teaching. He concludes that “it cannot be assumed that L1 and L2 acquisition are parallel in terms of identical developmental sequences.” Moreover, how can adults and children share the same strategies in acquiring or learning another language when age seems to play a crucial role?

The Interference Hypothesis is grounded in the contrastive analysis hypothesis which says that the acquisition of an L2 is based on the experience of the L1. Hence, all L2 structures are said to be substituted by L1 elements. For that reason, interferences are quite common.

Wode (1981: 51), however, suggests that the L1 is part of the natural ability to acquire a second language for “neither the identity nor the interference hypothesis can be accepted unmodified.” This implies that human beings could not acquire a second language without a first language, i.e. the ability to acquire a language at all.

3.1.2.2. Effects of L2 on L1

The previous paragraphs underlined the fact that an L1 has an important impact on the development of an L2. This common-sense belief can be confirmed by foreign accents, i.e. on the phonological level.²³

Weinreich (1953) goes even further by stating that an L1 influences an L2 as well as an L2 influences an L1. Hence, there is a deviation from either language.

About fifty years later, various researchers focused on positive and negative effects a second language can have upon a first language (cf. various articles in Cook 2003a).

Cook (2003b) presupposes that languages are not hold isolated in one’s mind as it is claimed by Weinreich (1953) and by Selinker (1972).²⁴ Cook

²³ Children who learn languages before puberty can easily master to speak without a foreign accent.

(2003b) suggests that the two languages are interconnected, i.e. they are not totally isolated nor totally integrated (see Fig. 2).

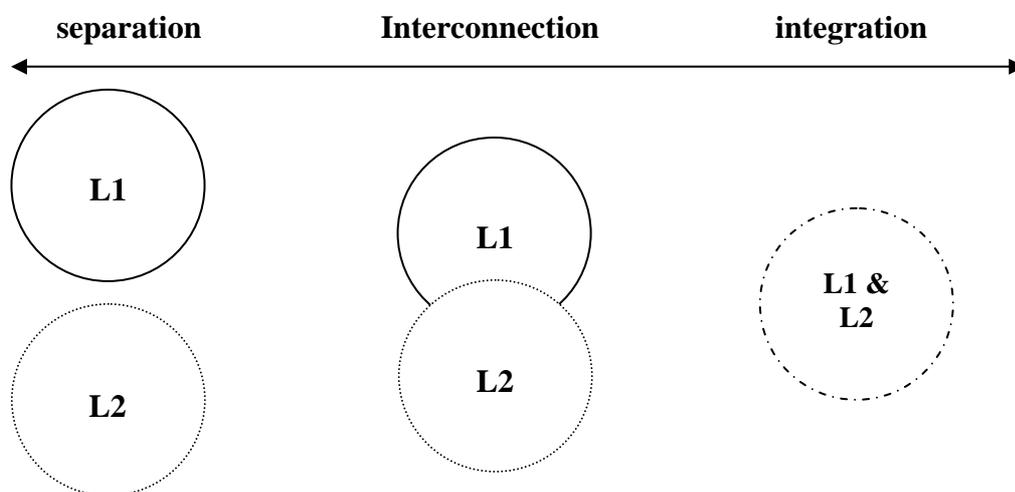


Figure 2. The integration continuum (Cook 2003b: 9)

Cook (2003b: 11) says that there are three possible effects an L2 can have upon an L1: positive, negative or neutral effects. An L2 can therefore enhance an L1 for “knowing another language benefits your use of your first language”. Bialystok (2001) found out that bilingual children had greater metalinguistic skills than children who only knew one language but do not “show any advantages over monolinguals in terms of analysis”²⁵. Murphy & Pine (2003: 146) claim that “bilinguals should have more analysed or explicit knowledge” than monolinguals do.

A second language can also have a harmful effect on an L1. This was mainly proved by children of migrants (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). If there is no use of an L1 anymore, an L1 can provoke a loss or an attrition. Jarvis (2003) differentiates between an L1 attrition and an L1 maintenance. On the one hand, attrition is the inability of a person to access, comprehend or even to produce L1

²⁴ Weinreich (1953) argues that co-ordinate bilinguals separate the languages they acquire. Selinker (1972) comes up with an interlanguage system which is believed to be an independent language system.

²⁵ Cited in Murphy & Pine (2003: 146)

structures. Maintenance, on the other hand, is the ability of a person to fully perform L1 language functions and to express oneself in the L1.

It seems obvious that an L1 differs from an L2 which does not imply that it has to be judged as either good or bad. Cook (2003: 12) says: “The L2 user mind is bound to have differences in the first language element because of its more complex linguistic organisation, whether through linking or integration.”

3.1.3. The Relation between SLA and Cognitive Development

Today we are repeatedly confronted with the problem of how and when to support language skills for these count as the most probable variable with regard to scholastic achievements.

Rau (1973: 37) argues that language programmes should be implemented very early because intelligence tests mainly base on language. The results gained are then taken as a prediction for any success at school. She reasons this in teaching methods used at school where knowledge is perceived via language only.

The question whether language has an effect on intelligence has been preoccupying the experts for some time. One should note here, however, that it is rather difficult to examine whether there is a relation between language and thought. Before analysing a possible interrelation of language and intelligence, it must be made clear that the subjects are chosen carefully, especially with regard to age, socioeconomic status, and languages spoken²⁶.

The last mentioned criterion is probably the most difficult to judge. As already outlined in Chapter 2, the term *bilingual* is rather difficult to define. Nevertheless, to test whether language has an impact on intelligence it seems to be obvious to divide the subjects into two groups, namely *monolingual* versus *bilingual*. That may be true, but when is a subject *monolingual* and when is it to rate as *bilingual*? Regarding bilingualism, the boundaries are quite fuzzy and so are the results that researchers claim to have gained from their studies in the early

²⁶ According to Peal & Lambert (1962: 5), “important variables to control seem to be socioeconomic class, sex, degree of bilinguality, age, and the actual test used.”

20th century. The official version of that time was that language and intelligence are related to each other, and that two and more languages cause a negative effect on the cognitive development of a child.²⁷

Hence Peal & Lambert (1962: 1) raised the question again if monolingual and bilingual children differ in intelligence. To answer this question, they had a look at various research that had been done so far: the majority claimed that bilingualism had a harmful effect while the minority believed that bilingualism would hardly have any effect on intelligence. In their remarkable study, Peal & Lambert list three possible effects of bilingualism on intelligence detrimental, favorable and no effects (see Tab. 4).

Table 4. Effects of bilingualism on intelligence

			
Studies by ...	Sear (1923) Pintner (1932) Jones & Steward (1951)	Davis & Hughes (1927) Stark (1940) Peal & Lambert (1962)	Darsie (1926) Hill (1936) Pintner & Arsenian (1937)
Claim	monolinguals performed better than bilinguals	bilinguals performed better than monolinguals	slight differences between monolinguals and bilinguals
Assume	Negative effect on intelligence	positive effect on bilingualism	no effect on bilingualism

Peal & Lambert (1962: 5) themselves concluded from their study that “a bilingual has an intellectual advantage over a monolingual because his thinking is not restricted by language [...]”. In their opinion, intelligence comes from experience and not necessarily from language itself. To illustrate this, one needs only to refer to the argumentation Peal & Lambert (1962) offer:

A large proportion of an individual’s intelligence is acquired through experience and its transfer from one situation to another. The ‘factors of intellect’ are gradually developed

²⁷ Peal & Lambert (1962: 1-7)

through a series of learning situations. This learning process may proceed in different ways for different individuals depending on their experience.[...] The developmental process for monolinguals and bilinguals is certainly different in respect to language, and the learning of abilities depends greatly on language. Bilinguals could have different and more complex contexts for learning than monolinguals.

(Peal & Lambert 1962: 6)

Therefore the authors hypothesize that the structure of intelligence differs.

According to Dodd & Crosbie (2002: 471), children who failed normal language functions often show cognitive defects. They conclude, therefore, that language is modular but not a prerequisite for cognitive development.

Piaget shares a similar belief namely that language is a product of cognitive development. However, Vygotski claims that language develops first. Therefore, thought should be seen as a product of language. He argues that language is learnt first by interaction and instruction which are again essential for cognitive development.

Piaget also believes that social context is important but not interaction as such. He claims that an individual develops allegedly in isolation. Intelligence would therefore not necessarily correlate with its development. The latter is seen as an evolutionary act while the first is said to influence all acts of thinking. Hence, Piaget concludes that “intelligence arises neither from the ‘inside’ nor from the ‘outside’ alone, but from the action of the individual on external objects.”²⁸

Mussen (1977) offers a similar approach. He argues that children acquire language and cognitive abilities through an interplay of maturity and experience.²⁹ The first one refers to an organic and neuro-psychological as well as biochemical change within an organism. This change does not depend on environment. Maturity then includes learning and practise. Mussen (1977) proposes, therefore, that children do not start speaking, i.e. adding words together, until they did not reach a certain level of maturity.³⁰

Other experts would like to convince us that on the one hand language (in this case the first language) progresses parallel to the development of the brain in the first four years of an individual. On the other hand language causes changes in

²⁸ Das Gupta & Richardson (1995: 169)

²⁹ Mussen (1997) uses the term ‚Reifung‘ and ‚Erfahrung‘ for what I translated as ‚maturity‘ and ‚experience‘.

³⁰ Mussen (1977: 33): „Kinder beginnen nicht mit dem Sprechen oder Aneinanderreihen von Wörtern, solange sie nicht eine bestimmte Reifungsstufe erreicht haben, ganz gleich wie intensiv man sich bemüht, ihnen das Sprechen beizubringen.“

the brain.³¹ From this, one must conclude that language and cognitive skills go hand in hand, i.e. the one promotes the other.

3.2. Non-Linguistic Reasons

3.2.1. Political and Economical Factors

In the 1970s, there has already been a debate on education in German nursery schools which primarily focused on economic and political reasons. In the last years, there has been another educational debate which concentrated more on globalisation. While the former debate aimed to built up a competitive economic system with qualified workforces, the latter forces to re-think education in chance of a globalised economy.³²

In this context, re-thinking education for meeting the interests of globalisation means to promote second language acquisition. Since second language acquisition is most effective acquired in early years, the aim of the debate was to open the market for bilingual education in nursery schools.

Fuchs (2003: 78) proclaims a systematic second language promotion in the kindergarten which includes an embedding of language within everyday life, language promotion within small groups, and an embedding of language within the concept of nursery schools. The question on how to implement a second language in nursery schools, will be considered in chapter 4.

3.2.2. Nursery Schools as Educational Centers

Nowadays most young children spend parts of their day in so-called nursery schools where they are normally watch by special trained teachers. These institutions became essential in the Western society due to changes within the family structure. In former times, extended families provided the opportunity to

³¹ Günther & Günther (2004: 54)

³² Oberhuemer (2003)

take care of the children under the age of six. Due to an increasing mobility and a different job market, most families only consist of mother, father and child(ren). Familiar caretakers live too far away to watch the child(ren) when the parents are at work. Thus, nursery schools became very important.

Nursery schools are institutions that offer a daycare for all children from toddler to schoolchild³³ which exist in various ways (see Tab. 5).

Table 5. Types of nursery schools³⁴

Finance	privately-run	state-funded
Time	few hours	full-time
Organisation	informal play group; free, unstructured play	formal play group; structured program of activities
Aim	no specific educational aim	specific educational aim
Employees	no formal qualification	appropriate qualification
Status	compulsory schooling	statutory schooling integrated in total educational system

This figure shows that nursery education may differ from privately-run and state-funded institutions in various respects. Most privately-run nursery schools employ caretakers that do not necessarily need a formal education and that may therefore not concentrate on a specific educational aim. Instead children enjoy a free and unstructured play. State-funded institutions normally belong to the educational system. Hence, this kind of schooling aims at a specific educational goal which is to be achieved by appropriately qualified nursery school teachers. In Baker & Prys Jones (1998: 486f.) the following aims of nursery education are mentioned:

³³ Baker & Prys Jones (1998 : 486): „Nursery education is an umbrella term that covers any organized provision for pre-school children from birth until the beginning of compulsory formal education at the age of five, six or seven years. It includes crèches, nurseries and day-care for infants under two to three years. However, the term is generally used to refer to provision for children from the age of two or three onwards.”

³⁴ Adapted from Baker & Prys Jones (1998: 486)

- **Social integration**
The children learn to interact with adults outside the family and to socialize with their peers.
- **Cultural integration**
The children learn about their local culture and community, which may be a minority or a majority culture.
- **Physical development**
The children have the opportunity to run, climb, ride tricycles, dance to music and go for walks.
- **Cognitive development**
By means of games, activities and discussions, the children develop spatial awareness, understanding of mathematical concepts and logical reasoning.
- **Readiness for literacy**
The children learn to follow a story in a book, to recognize symbols and individual words, to make patterns with a pencil.
- **Oral language development**
This is the most crucial and fundamental factor in a child's total development. Through activities, stories, songs, interaction with the teacher or helper, the child is exposed to a linguistically rich environment.

In this chapter, the main focus will be on the oral language development; especially with regard to second language acquisition as a part of nursery education.

Oberhuemer (2003) underlines the fact that language development and competence is a process which starts in the early years. These years are mostly spent within the family or private caretakers. Hence, parents are the first step in the educational system. The second step in the educational system is the kindergarten, since by the age of 2, most children spend parts of their day there³⁵.

Gerade die Entwicklung von Sprache und Sprachkompetenz ist ein Prozess, der bereits in den ersten Lebensjahren anfängt, ein komplexer und gemeinsamer Konstruktionsprozess zwischen Kindern und Familienmitgliedern und später mit engen Bezugspersonen in nicht-formellen Bildungsarrangements wie der Kindergruppe oder dem Kindergarten.

(Oberhuemer 2003: 4)

As a result, nursery schools are responsible for continuing the language process. Language proficiency is regarded as a basis for school and vocational success.³⁶ Thus, nursery schools are seen as educational systems necessary to provide language input. In comparison to school, Götte (1993) argues that nursery schools have a greater possibility to promote language. Firstly, the decisive phases of language in early childhood are not yet completed. Secondly, younger children are said to imitate language of caretaking persons more than older children. Thirdly, nursery schools offer more possibility for free interaction. Small groups enable

³⁵ Reiche (2003: 194)

³⁶ Reiche (2003: 192)

nursery school teachers to observe their children better and to train weaknesses in language skills more easily.³⁷

Language, therefore, seems to be an important role in nursery school education. One should not forget the importance German has in the institution. Especially areas which have a high percentage of immigrants, German is the second language for immigrant children. One should note here that about 69% of immigrant children who attend a German nursery school have neither no or hardly any knowledge of German at the beginning. After two years, still 32% of these children only slightly improved their German.³⁸ All of this points to the fact that nursery schools have to be improved with regard to language education.

The importance of knowing two languages increased throughout the last decade. Most parents now want their children to be raised in two languages at an early age which seems to be more problematic if neither of the parents speaks another language than its first one.

Germany, for instance, is a monolingual country, i.e. that the majority of people only acquire one language, namely German. Even when taught another language at school, most people never use this foreign language. Their language competence and performance in this other language then fossilizes or even diminishes to a degree of forgetting all the foreign language knowledge. As a consequence, parents have to look for other possibilities to grow their children bilingually. One opportunity is said to be the nursery school since this is the first institution most children visit for about three to five years. However, this raises the next problem. Most nursery school teachers do not know another language beside German.

In a survey, nursery school teachers were questioned about second language acquisition by the IFP (Staatsinstitut für Frühpädagogik). Generally speaking, second language acquisition was valued positively. The majority of the teachers affirmed second language acquisition as a chance for children and adults. Moreover, 82% supposed that children could easily manage two languages

³⁷ Götte (1993: 19-20)

³⁸ Ulich (2003: 22)

without being overtaxed. Furthermore, 95% would like their own children to grow up bilingual.³⁹

Raasch (2003) states that all Europeans shall speak at least two other languages next to their first language. Since language is widely believed to be most proficient when acquired most effectively during childhood, kindergarten children are now seen as the subjects for bilingual education.⁴⁰

4. On the Establishment of Bilingualism in Saxony's Nursery Schools

This chapter focuses on the implementation of a second language in Saxony's nursery schools.

First of all, I will present the most prevalent method used in raising children bilingually (4.1.). This method is known as 'one person – one language'. Since this principle was born in bilingual families, I will focus on its emergence afterwards (4.1.1.). It is a form which has been very successful and has therefore been adopted to areas outside the family, too. Thus, it is used as a teaching method in second language acquisition and foreign language learning; especially with regard to immersion programmes.⁴¹ Hence, I will have a look at various possibilities to implement English as a second language in Saxony's nursery schools on the basis of the 'one person – one language' principle (4.1.2. – 4.1.4.).

This form of bilingual upbringing is already seen as part of the input a child gets from its caretakers in a nursery school. Krashen's Input Theory has shown that input is very important within language acquisition. For that reason, I will focus on the role of input when children acquire a second language in a German kindergarten (4.2.).

To implement the 'one person – one language' principle in a monolingual nursery school in Saxony, a hand puppet was chosen. I will explain the reason for

³⁹ Ulich (2003: 21)

⁴⁰ Raasch (2003: 115) argues that the ability to speak several languages can only be reached when second language acquisition starts before entering school. According to Zimmer (2003: 161), children raised in bilingual families were more successful in speaking the two languages when their parents started in the early childhood.

⁴¹ For further information look up Troike & Modiano (1975) or Johnson & Swain (1997), to name just a few.

the usage as well as the function of this puppet at the end of this chapter (4.3.) before I focus on the role of playing games (4.4.).

4.1. The 'One Person – One Language' Principle

The most common method to establish and maintain bilingualism used in raising children bilingually is the 'one person – one language' principle. This approach is based on the assumption that a young child acquires a language with the help of caretakers. In the first three years, parents, other family members, relatives or nannies spend their days with the child. So basically, the child gets the verbal input from these people.

A young child unconsciously relates a language to the person who speaks it. In bilingual families, i.e. in families where children hear two languages from birth on, each language is connected to its speaker.

To illustrate this, one may refer to a bilingual family in which the father, for instance, is English and the mother is German. The mother might address the child only in German, the father only in English. In this case the child will acquire German from its mother and English from its father.

4.1.1. Parents as Teachers

A great deal has been written about bilingual families.⁴² The first records of bilingual children came from parent-linguists who had observed the speech of their own children.⁴³ They mainly used a kind of diary-type data. Other records were written by non-parent linguists and served more as a guideline for parents who like to raise their children in two or more languages.⁴⁴

⁴² Ronjat (1913); Leopold (1939); Saunders (1982, 1988); Kielhöfer & Jonekeit (1983); Harding & Riley (1986); Arnberg (1987); Döpke (1992)

⁴³ Ronjat (1913); Leopold (1939-1949); Saunders (1982, 1988)

⁴⁴ Harding & Riley (1986); Arnberg (1987)

Interestingly, they all used the ‘one person – one language’ method to establish bilingualism at home. However, not all of them obtained the same results. Although all of them used the previously mentioned procedure, only some of them were successful in bringing up their children bilingually whereas others failed to do so. Hence, productive bilingualism is not as easy to achieve as one might suppose.

Figure 7 lists various studies and its results of establishing bilingualism in the home. The parent-linguists’ records seem to be the successful ones since their children achieved productive skills in the second language. Non-parent linguists were obviously not as successful since their children gained none or only receptive competences in their second language.

Table 6. Results of establishing bilingualism in the home

	Productive bilinguals	Receptive bilinguals
Studies by ...	Ronjat (1913) Leopold (1939) Saunders (1982, 1988) Kielhöfer & Jonekeit (1982)	Arnberg (1981) ⁴⁵ Søndergard (1981) ⁴⁶ Porsché (1983)
Status	Parent-linguist	Non-parent linguist
Outcome	Success	Failure

Although non-parent linguists proved here not to be as successful as parent linguists, it does not mean that all non-parent linguists failed to establish productive bilingualism in the home. As previously mentioned, it is a difficult

⁴⁵ Cited by Döpke (1992).

⁴⁶ Cited by Döpke (1992).

path to establish active bilingualism. One must therefore consider the reasons for the fruitless growth of passive bilingualism.

Döpke (1992) mentions various possibilities why some failed to implement two languages in the home (cf. Fig. 8). The first thing to point out is the society the family is surrounded by. Usually this environment predominantly speaks the child's dominant language. The input of the minority language was often restricted to one parent only. Hence the child grew up isolated from other people who spoke that minority language. Secondly, the parent who addressed the child in the minority language did not stick to this language only. As a result, the child lost its motivation to speak the minority language for there was no necessity to do so; especially if the language also enjoyed a low prestige. Thirdly, most parents are unprepared and uninformed about how a bilingual develops its two languages. Some parents suppose that their child does neither succeed in its dominant nor in its non-dominant language. Consequently, most parents give up to speak the minority language prematurely. Fourthly, the child is not given enough verbal input. Extensive conversations, provision of books and records as well as trips to the monolingual homeland and monolingual housekeepers or nannies are missing.

Environmental point of view:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lack of contact• Lack of consistency• Lack of motivation
Psychological point of view:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Local prestige of a language• Lack of knowledge about bilingual language development• Lack of aptitude for learning languages
Interactional point of view:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Richness of verbal input

Figure 3. Reasons for failing success in establishing bilingualism

What conclusions may be drawn from these findings? If bilingualism shall be established successfully in German nursery schools, the second language must be implemented by the ‘one person – one language’ principle. This method must be rigorously used by a second language speaker. Children must feel the necessity to use this second language. To benefit from the second language, enough input must be offered by conversations, book readings, songs, rhymes, games, and so forth. The second language should not be restricted to one speaker only. Hence, a German nursery school shall make use of the opportunity to employ more than just one second language speaker.

One must seriously ask what kind of second language speaker should be employed in a German nursery school to establish English as a second language there.

4.1.2. English Teachers

In the beginnings of implementing two languages in a German kindergarten, most nursery schools had an English teacher come once a week for an hour in the morning.⁴⁷ This English teacher was either a parent, a student or a real language teacher from an elementary school able to speak English to some degree, or a native speaker of English.

The effect of establishing bilingualism this way has not yet been determined. Since the English teacher does not spend a lot of time with the children, s/he does not have the status of a caretaker. In addition to that, this kind of teacher is not present on a daily basis. Thus, not enough verbal input is been offered the children. Without enough language input, children will not learn to speak the language appropriately. Furthermore, this kind of ‘teaching’ English relates more to a subject at school and can not be implemented during the day. It is therefore hypothesized that an English teacher is not that effective for

⁴⁷ I was told by a kindergarten teacher that children concentrate the most between 9 and 10 o’clock in the morning. This was therefore also the time when I collected my data for chapter 5.

establishing productive bilingualism in a German kindergarten.⁴⁸ Not to forget that parents have to pay for the English teacher additionally. This leads one to the conclusion that not all children experience the English language – but only the privileged ones. For these reasons, other teaching approaches must be considered.

4.1.3. Native Speakers

Bilingual nursery education is viewed as a strong form of establishing bilingualism. It is a well researched fact that immersion education is probably the best way to raise children bilingually. Immersion means that the children hear a second language from a person with native or native-like proficiency.

There are different types of immersion which should not be ignored. Immersion education can be classified according to two variables: age and time. As for age, “[t]his may be at the kindergarten or infant stage (early Immersion); at nine to ten years old (delayed or middle Immersion), or at secondary level (late Immersion).”⁴⁹ With reference to time, immersion is divided into total immersion, i.e. commencing 100 percent in the L2, and partial immersion, i.e. providing close to 50 percent in the second language.⁵⁰

Immersion as an educational method emerged in Canada in 1965. The first experiments became popular with the immersion movement in St. Lambert, Montreal, where English-speaking parents wished their children to be raised in both English and French. Hence, French was established with the help of total immersion at an early age. The results achieved were significant. With regard to receptive language skills, children achieved native-like performance in the target language at the age of around 11. However, in the first six years, progress in the first language was behind that of monolinguals in the same language. This was to be expected because no first language instruction was offered to the children. Baker & Jones (1998: 498) even argued that early bilinguals have a possible

⁴⁸ There is no scientific research on this matter. Therefore, it can only be assumed from the reasons mentioned that this teaching method is not very efficient for establishing bilingualism in German nursery schools.

⁴⁹ Baker & Jones (1998: 496)

⁵⁰ Baker & Jones (1998: 496)

cognitive advantage since they have an “increased linguistic awareness, [are; by S.V.] more flexible in thought, [and have; by S.V.] more internal inspection of language [...]”.

Early partial immersion also generated positive results, whereby its performance differed from early total immersion. After a certain time, children raised bilingually via early partial immersion also caught up with mainstream peers.⁵¹

Baker & Jones (1998: 497) argue that language teachers provide the target language and are therefore “important language models through their status and power”. Their kind of speech is often called ‘caretaker speech’ and compared to ‘motherese’ or ‘foreigner talk’ because they use a limited vocabulary and a simplified grammar and syntax during the first few years of immersion. In addition to that “[t]eachers will deliberately speak slowly, giving the child the time to process the language input and understand the meaning.” (ibid.: 503) By constantly questioning, the teacher makes sure that the child has understood. During the first stages of immersion, children will develop an interlanguage which is also marked by errors. However, one should note here that “[l]anguage errors are a normal and important part of the language learning process. Errors are not a symptom of failure. They are a natural part of learning.” (ibid.: 503)

However, a point to keep in mind is that Germany has long been a monolingual country that has lacked the necessity to establish bilingualism in the educational system. At the end of the 20th century, this issue started to change, especially after the demand for the ability to speak three languages as a citizen of the European Union. Nevertheless, only few studies were published that concentrate on early second language acquisition via immersion in Germany.⁵²

In addition to that, it is important to mention that the majority of people in the Eastern part of Germany have hardly any native-like control over the English language. The reasons for this can be found in their school education. Most of them grew up during the GDR era during which Russian was the popular foreign language. English was only offered for students who did well in Russian or attended a higher education. Nevertheless, English classes were held on a

⁵¹ Baker & Jones (1998: 498)

⁵² One of the most popular studies in this field was done by Wode (1995; 1997; 2001).

voluntary basis. As a consequence, only a handful of nursery school teachers learnt English. In the framework of the Cold War, English was not on the educational agenda. Furthermore, hardly anyone was allowed to travel to Western countries. Consequently, it was close to impossible to make use of the English language in everyday life. If a language is not productively used on a regular basis, people are most likely to forget it, a process known as fossilisation in linguistics.

When Saxony decided to introduce English into the elementary school curriculum, not enough trained primary school teachers could proficiently speak the English language. Thus, in a short time, teachers were trained in teaching the basics of English to schoolchildren. In this study, this is called non-native speakers as language mediators and is adapted to nursery school education.

4.1.4. Non-native Speakers

The 'one person – one language' principle has been proved to be very promising in the early bilingual upbringing of children. For this reason, this method should be used when a second language is to be established in a nursery school. One should note here that hardly any German kindergarten can afford to employ more than one native speaker of the target language. In a nursery with about 100 children, one native speaker would not be enough to guarantee at least 50 percent for a partial immersion.

To overcome financial hindrances, it was proposed by the Bénédict School Zwickau to use a hand puppet instead. This hand puppet speaks English (or whatever language shall be established) only. Since a puppet is no real life object that can talk on its own, it needs qualified target language speakers who work with this hand puppet; in this case specially trained nursery school teachers whose native language is the majority language. This way, the principle 'one parent – one language' is realised (cf. 4.3. The Role of Hand Puppets).

Furthermore, nursery school teachers are accepted caretakers who are in contact with the children on a daily basis. They profit from their pedagogical

knowledge and experience with the children much more than a native speaker of the target language who might lack the majority language and an English teacher who might be present only once a week. Nursery school teachers are able to implement the target language within the normal daily life in the kindergarten. This again allows the children to experience the target language via immersion. However, to ensure bilingual success, the hand puppet should only speak and understand the target language and in addition to that, it should offer enough verbal input (cf. 4.2. Role of Input).

It has been proven that children learn most effectively from the known to the unknown. A nursery school teacher who knows the native language and culture of the majority, can easily connect the new language with familiar gesture and mime as well as songs, games, rhymes, etc. It is important to keep the language simple and to watch out for a correct pronunciation because children acquire language via its sounds and prosody.

At the moment, however, there has been no scientific research on the effectiveness of this approach. According to various talks with nursery school teachers, it was claimed that they had observed a progress within the children's second language knowledge. Nevertheless, it remains unknown what kind of outcome has been drawn into consideration. The present study is consequently the first attempt to investigate the effectiveness of this method. Most of the nursery school teachers who were trained to use a hand puppet to implement English to kindergarten children by the Bénédict School Zwickau, can not speak English on a native-like level. Hence, the results gained from the collected data must differ from those of Wode. One might even assume that the Saxony's nursery school children involved in the project have developed sensibility to the English language but do not yet meet such an acquisitional level as do Wode's subjects. From this one can conclude that the form of input influences children's language competence.

4.2. Role of Input

The importance of input can not be denied in second language acquisition as can be seen in various studies on this issue. Without any input, a child would be unable to produce language. However, researchers have different opinions on the role of input in SLA. Some state that language as such is an innate facility that is triggered by input (Chomsky's Universal Grammar). Others claim that input can only effect the innate black box if it is comprehensible (Krashen's Input Theory). And again others argue that input is essential but only with regard to interaction (Long's Interaction Hypothesis). I will therefore have a look at these three different but related approaches.

4.2.1. Triggered Input

Behaviourists believe that children acquire a language by imitating and reproducing the input they are faced with. However, nativists such as Chomsky claim that children also hear ungrammatical sentences which they themselves do not use⁵³, and that children perform errors which they have never heard before. Hence, input plays a crucial role but is effected by other factors, too. Moreover, nativists argue that "language is simply not learnable from the normal type of input, which provides mostly positive evidence of the structure of the target language, and lacks negative evidence in the form of, for example, grammar corrections."⁵⁴

Wode (1993) says: "Niemand spricht druckreif und fehlerfrei." To understand erroneous utterances, additional helpers have to be offered which serve as a basis for hypothesis formation by which the target language is acquired.

Positive and negative evidence count as comprehension helpers. Caretakers' speech often provides positive evidence in first language acquisition whereby negative evidence such as corrections can hardly be found. Although the

⁵³ Wode (1993: 19ff.) calls this "entstellter Input" since it consists of errors, slips of the tongue, ungrammatical and incomplete sentences, etc.

⁵⁴ Mitchell & Myles (2004: 177)

necessity of negative evidence in second language acquisition remains unclear, it is supplied quite often. Negative feedback appears in form of clarification requests, confirmation checks and recasts. Furthermore, it seems to be questionable if second language learners notice this kind of evidence and if they make any use of it.⁵⁵

4.2.2. Comprehensible Input

Krashen (1989: 8) maintains that the “ability to use second language comes mostly from what we have acquired, not from what we have learned.”⁵⁶ He, therefore, questions how people acquire language and reasons then that human beings do so “by understanding messages or by obtaining ‘comprehensible input’.” (ibid.: 9) Furthermore, he believes that speaking is a result of language acquisition and of input that is understandable. This again would explain why children and even second language learners have a silent period at the beginning in which they have not reached an acquisitional stage but a beginning competence. He calls this the Input Hypothesis⁵⁷.

Krashen’s Input Hypothesis (1987: 20f.) claims that comprehensible input is a prerequisite for language learning. Only due to this kind of input, a language learner can progress from stage *i* (i.e. current competence) to stage *i+1* (i.e. next level). To understand *i+1* before it has been acquired, extra-linguistic information or context is required.

Especially when talking to young children or non-native speakers, a different type of addressing these groups can be observed, which researchers have called ‘baby talk’ or ‘foreigner talk’.⁵⁸ In other words, a simplified code is used in a discourse with children and language learners. However, caretakers’ speech aims at a communicative goal and language teachers mostly aim at the target

⁵⁵ Mitchell & Myles (2004: 177ff.)

⁵⁶ He distinguishes between acquisition (a subconscious process) and learning (conscious knowledge of language).

⁵⁷ Krashen (1987: 21) says that “[t]he input hypothesis relates to acquisition, not learning.”

⁵⁸ Mitchell & Myles (2004: 164) define ‘baby talk’ as a “simplified register used to talk to children” and ‘foreigner talk’ as a “simplified and pidgin-like variety sometimes used to address strangers and foreigners”.

grammar.⁵⁹ Hence, children are normally faced with positive evidence and language learners with negative evidence.

Krashen (1989: 10) points to the fact that even comprehensible input might not reach the Language Acquisition Device (LAD). Verbal input which does not make it to the LAD will not be acquired. As a consequence, a person will not achieve these language skills given by comprehensible input. As an explanation, Krashen offers the Affective Filter Hypothesis which states that a low motivation, a high anxiety and a low self-esteem may all be responsible to keep the filter high and to cause an unsuccessful acquisition process.

Nevertheless, Krashen (1989) is strongly in favour of comprehensible input in second language learning, especially with regard to the beginner's level. Here he notes that comprehensible input is necessary but might not be sufficient without some helpful supplementary instructions, such as: making input more comprehensible, lowering the affective filter, and going outside the LAD.

There are two ways to make the input comprehensible. First of all, the target language should be simplified by using short and less-complex sentences, an easy grammar and known words. Secondly, input is comprehensible if background information is provided either by L1, by pictures, or by familiar topics.⁶⁰

To enhance the learning process the affective filter should be lowered by a comfortable and relaxing classroom atmosphere, or by not forcing the learner to speak accurately at an early age.⁶¹

Using various teaching techniques such as deductive or inductive teaching or error correction, the language learning process activates mental faculties that are not designed for language acquisition. Krashen (1989: 30) calls this "going outside the LAD".

⁵⁹ Mitchell & Myles (2004: 163)

⁶⁰ Krashen (1989: 28), Ellis (2003: 45f.)

⁶¹ Krashen (1989: 29)

4.2.3. Interactive Processes

In contrast to the behaviourists and the cognitivists enumerated above, there is a third way of looking at the role of input, namely the importance of language in interaction as Long (1985) or Ellis (2003) emphasize.

Ellis (2003: 44), for instance, argues that “[l]earning takes place as a result of a complex interaction between the linguistic environment and the learner’s internal mechanism.” He reasons this by pointing to the fact that a learner is, first of all, supplied with modified input, i.e. simplified language. However, a learner might still have difficulties to understand his conversation partner. According to Ellis (2003: 46), “[t]his results in interactional modification as the participants in the discourse engage in the negotiation of meaning.”

This was also proven in Long’s (1985) interaction hypothesis in which he claims that comprehensible input is essential for language learning. Nevertheless, input becomes most effective in an interaction for then learners can either clarify what they did not understand or at least receive some kind of evidence for what they verbally expressed with the given input.⁶² This would also raise the question on the importance of output.

Allowing for the fact that interaction seems to play a crucial role in connection to comprehensible input, it seems obvious that also output must take an important position. In a discourse of, for example, two people the output of person A is the input of person B. Therefore output must be as comprehensible as input should be. Actively taking part in a conversation offers the possibility to test one’s own hypothesis which again is either right or wrong. In an interaction, a speaker normally gets some kind of evidence: positive or negative evidence. Both help the speaker to reflect his output and to test if his hypothesis is correct.

Selinker (1991: 23f.) argues that second language acquisition goes along with the development of an interlanguage (IL). He distinguishes between two different angles to look upon this issue: a productive and a comprehension point of

⁶² According to Mitchell & Myles (2004: 167), Long studied conversations between native speakers and discourses between native speakers with non-native speakers. He discovered that the latter “use conversational tactics such as repetitions, confirmation checks, comprehension checks, clarifying requests”. These tactics were also found in child-directed speech.

view. On the one side, the production point of view claims that “non-native (NN) speaking students do not learn to produce second languages; what they do in fact is to create and develop ILs in particular contexts”. On the other side, the comprehension point of view sees it differently “since NN students do seem to learn to understand second languages as well as native speakers [...] do.”

Studies on interlanguage focused on language transfer and cessation of IL. Language transfer mainly looks upon the role and influence a language has upon another one (cf. 3.1.2.). Cessation of an IL is often related to fossilization, i.e. that an IL does not progress anymore. Selinker (1991: 29) states that fossilization “appears to make second language different from the first [...] [whereby; S.V.] its application is individualistic and variable.” Furthermore, Selinker (1991: 31) notices that IL depends on the context in which it is used. He argues that “learners construct ILs within discourse domains, so that they possess a number of different domains with a somewhat different IL associated with each.”

Educationalists also focus on interaction to enhance the cognitive development of children. Dietz (1994), for instance, claims that interaction should be a didactic method used because it enables nursery school children to develop not only their cognition but also their language competence.

4.3. Role of Hand Puppets

Today we are repeatedly confronted with the problem of how to implement a second language in early childhood. A possibility would be to use a hand puppet to maintain the ‘one person – one language’ principle. Although nursery schools have been working with hand puppets for a long time now, hardly anybody has done any research on this matter.⁶³ This raises the fundamental question of what effect a hand puppet may have – especially with regard to second language acquisition in early childhood.

⁶³ Hand puppets have been used in nursery schools for many years now. However, using a puppet to implement a second language is a new development. This might also be the reason why no research has been done on this issue so far.

Montanari (2005: 54f.) believes that a hand puppet has a positive effect upon children when there are more languages than caretakers involved. However, she refers to a bilingual child that should still progress within its languages, for instance, after its parents got separated.

Ashworth and Wakefield (1994: 10) state the fact that there is a difference if a children learn English as their first or second language. A hand puppet can serve for both situations. It either functions as a mask for a shy English-speaking child or as a mediator for a child who acquires English as a second language.

Schliewert (2003: 126f.) claims that a hand puppet is indispensable for foreign language instruction in a kindergarten. She emphasizes that any kind of puppet can be used for this task, either a human-like puppet or an animal puppet. There is only one thing to keep in mind, namely to use the same puppet for language teaching so that the children relate the second language to the hand puppet. Furthermore, Schliewert (2003) suggests that nursery school teachers with a high level of the foreign language competence should speak the unknown language whereas the hand puppet would speak the children's mother tongue, i.e. German, instead. If the kindergarten teachers does not have a perfect-like proficiency in the second language then the teacher has the hand puppet only speak the foreign language.

In contrast to this, Beensee (2002) suggests that the hand puppet should not be able to understand a word of the majority language if it is used to teach a second language. Therefore, it is necessary to address the hand puppet only in the second language. This way, the children are forced to make use of the second language actively by using their productive skills. However, the following quotation raises the question whether this would really work or not: "Jedes Wochenende begleitet sie ein Kind nach Hause, um am Montag zu berichten, was sie alles erlebt hat." (ibid.: 64) If a child takes the hand puppet home, how does the nursery school teacher prove that the hand puppet does not start talking German all of a sudden?

To maintain the 'one person – one language' principle the Bénédict School Zwickau also decided to use a hand puppet to accomplish English in Saxony's nursery schools. In their case, they chose an Australian bird named Kooky that

was intended to teach English to elementary school children by Cornelsen. In contrast to Schlievert (2003), the Bénédict School Zwickau takes the position that the hand puppet shall only speak English and, consequently, shall not be given into the hands of children.

The hand puppet is not only used to implement English into Saxony's nursery schools but also to take away the fear from the unknown, i.e. the English language. With regard to this, Kooky serves so as a language mediator but also as a multiplier for motivation⁶⁴ and imagination. This again wakes the interest in the unknown language because all children like Kooky to be their friend.

Montanari (2005) points out that a hand puppet is to be connected to the aspect of play which is important for children of all ages (cf. Chapter 4.4. Role of Playing Games). To use a hand puppet that speaks another language than the children do, is definitely part of children's play who themselves like to invent their own little language that nobody else is supposed to understand. They may call it their secret little code. From this one must conclude that Kooky has a positive effect on the development of a child; even if the child discovers sooner or later that the hand puppet's voice is the same as the one from the nursery school teacher.

In general, the children are very fond of the little bird from Australia; with the younger children seeming to depend more on Kooky than the older ones. To illustrate this, one needs only to refer to the reaction observable in experiment I (cf. Chapter 5.3. Learning English by Playing). When Kooky appeared the younger children focused more on the bird than the older ones which forced me in experiment II to do the interview without the bird when I was confronted with the six-year-old.

⁶⁴ According to Krashen (1985), a high motivation leads to low Affective Filter. A low Affective Filter then serves as an ideal instrument for a successful language acquisition.

4.4. Role of Playing Games

It is an undeniable fact that children in general like playing games. They enjoy it because it is fun, wakes their sense of curiosity and meets their will to acquire knowledge. Games, therefore, help to prepare them for their future lives by training important skills that are essential. Many educationalists have done research on the role of playing games and have found out that it is a fundamental requisite for children at all ages.

Kim (1997) points out that children experience different benefits through playing games, such as forming their personality and skills to assimilate as well as adopting norms and values of the society. Last but not least, children also train their communicative skills, i.e. language.

Das Lernen beim Kleinkinde geschieht jedoch eher zufällig und beiläufig, d.h., mehr oder weniger durch Spielen. Das Kleinkind erwirbt seine Umwelt im aktiven, entdeckenden, neugierigen und spielerischen Umgang mit Gegenständen in Form von spontanen, später bewussten Handlungen.

Begleitet werden diese Prozesse von der unmittelbaren sprachlichen Umgebung des Kindes. Spracherwerb und Sprachentwicklung beeinflussen diese Lernweise, die z.B. Gruppen- und individuelle Spiele wie Kommunikationsspiele betrifft.

(ibid.: 242)

According to Kim (1997) this means that playing a game, first of all, differs from age-dependent stages of development and, secondly, that playing does not necessarily provoke a learning effect. Thirdly, playing games depends not only on age but also on language skills gained so far.

Winter (2003) once again draws our attention to the communicative challenge a game has. Children are actively taking part in playing games. This way, they experience language within various paths of perception. Thus, language is embedded in action. Action again helps the children memorizing new words, for instance.

Schäfer (2005) agrees that playing games can be seen as an exercise that functions on a cognitive, an emotional and a social level. He emphasizes that children play at all ages and in all cultures but that the way games are played varies.⁶⁵ Furthermore, he underlines the fact that playing games does not only

⁶⁵ Schäfer (2005: 173): "Am Anfang mögen es die eigenen Finger sein, der eigene Körper, die motorische Geschicklichkeit, später die Phantasie, die sozialen Rollen und die Gegenstände der natürlichen und kulturellen Umwelt bis hin zum geistig-kulturellen Erbe einer Gesellschaft."

hold a developmental function but can also be categorized as an ongoing, independent behavioural process.

The statements given above seem to prove that playing games is essential for children of all ages. Consequently, I decided to choose a game to ‘teach’ English vocabulary to nursery school children. It was to be expected and proven that children would behave differently in the game (cf. Chapter 5.3. Learning English by Playing).

5. English for Kindergarten Purposes – A Project by the Bénédict School Zwickau

5.1. Description of the Project

The necessity of and reasons for having a command of more than one language nowadays have been precisely reflected in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 has then focussed on some possibilities which lead to bilingualism in early childhood.

The Bénédict School Zwickau, a private-owned educational centre, has worked on the necessity of bilingualism and has designated a programme of how the aim of bilingualism can be realized in the framework of early language acquisition. In 2001, the school therefore initiated an extended vocational training programme called *„Englisch im Kindergarten“ für ErzieherInnen – eine didaktisch-methodische Herangehensweise für die spielerische Weitergabe der englischen Sprache an Kinder im Vorschulalter*“. As the title already clearly indicates the focal point of the programme is the kindergarten in its function as an educational institution in which the kindergarten teachers are supposed to impart the English language. On the one hand the Bénédict School Zwickau has decided to apply the ‘one person – one language’ principle, on the other hand the kindergarten teachers themselves are not native speakers of English. As a plausible solution, the school decided to rely on the usage of an exclusively English speaking hand puppet⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The hand puppet used by the Bénédict School Zwickau is called Kooky and was published in a Cornelsen textbook series. However, the concept of Cornelsen publishing house is rather pointed to the primary school instead of the kindergarten so that the Bénédict School Zwickau had to

(4.1.4.). The hand puppet is supposed to help the children overcome the hurdle of dealing with an hitherto unknown topic and at the same time strengthen their motivation to communicate in English.

90 lesson is the framework designated not only to teach the kindergarten teachers the basics of the English language, but also to provide them with suitable methods to impart the target language in their workplace, namely to the children. Consequently, the training focuses on such topics that can directly be interwoven into the daily kindergarten routine and, moreover, that will later be dealt with in more detail in primary school.

Since the year 2001 more than 500 kindergarten teachers from Saxony and Thuringia have successfully attended the training, during which they were already encouraged to teach English to the children with the help of the hand puppet. To reach this aim, the training included the practising of small dialogues between the kindergarten teacher and the puppet as well as songs, games, rhymes and cooking, painting and handicrafts.

The methods for the playful teaching of the English language to children were adapted to the situational approach⁶⁷, which again is at the very educational fundamentals in most kindergartens and which is suitable for the action-oriented behaviour of children aged three to six. The Bénédict School Zwickau aims at a complete immersion of the English language in the daily kindergarten routine. This would help kindergartens to become independent from regular schedules, thereby enabling them to follow the situational approach.

modify and supplement the programme through other text books in order to meet the needs and demands of kindergarten children.

⁶⁷ For information see Krenz (1997) und Krenz & Raue (1996).

5.2. Testing the English Language Skills of Nursery School Children

5.2.1. Research Question

In this chapter I shall first draw attention to the starting situation of the kindergarten teachers of a Zwickau-based kindergarten⁶⁸, a relevant step to secure understanding of the target language input the children were provided with. As a next step, I will present the children's knowledge of English with the help of a test series that included three different experiments.

In the year 2003, nine kindergarten teachers from a local kindergarten took part in a Bénédict School Zwickau extended vocational training in which they became familiar with the English language. Since all of them had different levels of proficiency, the basics of the target language were imparted in a crash course. As a next step, the women were trained in didactic and methodical processes preparing them for the implementation of the target language in their workplace without necessarily having to possess native-like proficiency. The training included mainly those topics that bear immediate relevance to the daily routine in the kindergarten, e.g. animals, food and drinks, clothes, the body, the seasons etc.

It was still during the training that the kindergarten teachers began to impart English in a playful way to the children and it was soon that they encountered the first difficulties. These difficulties were due to the fact that some of the participants did not feel comfortable enough in the target language yet. Besides, as for their age, the groups of children were inhomogeneous. When it came to introducing a new complex topic, this inhomogeneity was dissolved and the children were taught within their own age groups. According to the kindergarten teachers, all of the children were fast in learning the new vocabulary, with the older children being especially active in memorizing the newly learned contents.

Since each kindergarten teacher taught her group on an individual basis, the children of the same kindergarten will not have the same level of knowledge in the target language. Because of this fact I decided to apply a test series over the

⁶⁸ For purposes of data protection the kindergarten wanted to remain anonymous

course of three weeks. Experiments 1 to 3 succeeded each other at weekly intervals. The reasons for this three-way-division were (1) to enable the children to build up a common amount of knowledge of the target language and (2) to set a parameter of knowledge to be evaluated easily.

The conduct of the three experiments shall therefore lead to an answer to the question if the Bénédict School Zwickau is able to evoke early bilingualism among nursery school children by training their teachers. I would like to remind of my rather broad definition of bilingualism which leads me to the assumption that playful methods can be regarded as a suitable means to lay the fundamentals of knowledge of the English language. It also seems to be most likely that the older kindergarten children, thanks to their progressed cognitive development, have advantages in comparison to the younger ones.

This assumption determines the object of the following analysis, namely the language output of the children. In order to conduct the analysis I chose one Zwickau-based kindergarten for testing purposes to stand in for the other institutions who had also taken part in the Bénédict School Zwickau project.⁶⁹

5.2.2. Subjects

With its almost 60 children aged two to six, the kindergarten chosen by me is rather one of the smaller of its kind. The number of children is splitted up into three groups, each of them consisting of 15 to 20 children. There are a few *Integrativkinder*⁷⁰ in the groups. Nine kindergarten teachers are responsible for the groups, so that each group is cared for by three women, who again work in shifts of five hours in the age-group heterogeneous groups.

Due to a certain lack of concentration on part of the two-years-old, only children aged three or older took part in the analysis. This decision was strongly

⁶⁹ I am completely aware of the fact that the results could have been of a different kind had more than one institution been analysed. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the dimensions of this paper, I decided to test one kindergarten only. Yet the results shall not only serve as reliable conclusions to stand in for other potential objects of analysis, but shall also be regarded as an incentive to further investigations.

⁷⁰ *Integrativkinder* are those children who are to some respect disabled, i.e. they do not have the same learning skills as children of the same age who are rated as normal.

supported by the local youth welfare office and the employees of the kindergarten, who had already noticed this lack of concentration in their daily work with the children.

Since the kindergarten is an institution with special integrative goals, *Integrativkinder* took part in the test series, but were not regarded when it came to observations and results, because they had either misunderstood the task or were simply more than they were able to cope with.

5.2.3. Design

The experiments took place in the course of three weeks in November 2005. As mentioned above, there were three experiments, i.e. one experiment per week.

All of them took place at the same time of every day. As a consequence of the children's ability to concentrate and their arriving at the kindergarten, it was not before nine in the morning that the tests started. First the younger children were tested and then the older ones.

In order not to destroy the daily kindergarten routine, I decided to conduct experiments I and II on two days each. As a consequence, only the five- and six-year-olds were tested on the first day of experiment I and the three- and four-year-olds on the second day.

In experiment I the children to be analysed played a game of motion together with one of the kindergarten teachers. This game served as a prerequisite to experiment II in order to make sure that all children knew the vocabulary to be tested in experiment II. Experiment III then tested the vocabulary that had been introduced in the first week and repeated in the second week through a story that the children only knew in German.

5.2.4. Instruments

On the days on which the analysis were conducted different instruments were made use of: a video camera, a hand puppet, the kindergarten teacher, the interviewer, pictures and a picture story.

During all of the experiments the children were recorded by a visible video camera. The children were aware of the fact that they were being recorded. However, in some cases there was a causality between the camera the children's shyness, especially during the experiment II und III.

Since the children had acquired some English through the hand puppet, the latter played a role in the experiment and was there to test the children's knowledge of English "in person".

Since the project of the Bénédict School Zwickau trains kindergarten teachers for working as English teachers who shall impart the target language to the children with the help of the hand puppet and in a playful way, one of the kindergarten teachers was responsible for experiment I. I was present only in the back part of the room, a position that combined two advantages: (1) the children could already get to know me through seeing me so that I was not a stranger anymore when I conducted the interviews later and (2) I could observe the group carefully.

In the experiments II and III the task of the single interviews was given to the interviewer who already knew the children from the week before and whom the kindergarten teachers had introduced to the children as an English teacher.

In order to support the purpose of experiment II picture cards were used that reflected the vocabulary from experiment I. In experiment III as picture story was offered in order to ease the storytelling for the children.

5.2.5. Expectations

In general it is to be expected that the children will have a certain knowledge of English, while age-specific and individual differences can be taken as a steady variable. Furthermore, I expected the five- and six-years-old to outperform the younger ones, especially in experiment III where the children had to tell a story.

5.3. Experiment 1 – Learning English by Playing

5.3.1. Aim

As already mentioned before, each group of the kindergarten has three caretakers who again work shifts so that there is a different kindergarten teacher in the group every five hours. Each group is „taught“ the English language by their caretakers with one and the same caretaker always introducing a new topic and the other two practicing the newly learnt contents with the children. Despite their defence of age-group homogenous groups and after some difficulties had occurred in the beginning the kindergarten teachers agreed to introduce new topics in age-group homogenous groups only in order to prepare the children for the English language more effectively. Those kindergarten teachers who have a better command of English than their colleagues and who feel more comfortable in the usage of the target language implement this method more often than the others. Due to the fact that the nursery school teachers work differently in their groups, they spend a different amount of time on the English language. Consequently, some groups managed to work on more topics than others. Keeping this in mind, one must conclude that the children's knowledge of English varies between the three kindergarten groups.

Experiment I was therefore designed to implement the same vocabulary stock to all nursery school children. Since children like playing, the author decided to do a game similar to „Simon says“.

The aim of that game was to prove if children learn new words by playing a game. The older children were expected to perform better than the younger.

5.3.2. Research Participants

In experiment I, 17 German nursery school children at the age from three to six were tested. Since the nursery school teachers implement English by dividing their classes according to age, the children were also gathered in three different age groups: (1) three-year-olds, (2) four-year-olds, and (3) five- and six-year-olds⁷¹.

5.3.3. Procedure

First I would like to give a short description of the starting situation. In order to achieve the best possible results and to leave the children in the playing schemes they were used to so as to engender a feeling of security even in a new topic I gave the kindergarten teacher enough leeway to act in the way they had hitherto followed. In this framework aspects such as the beginning of the game with the gathering of the children, the producing of a suitable mood for playing the game, the generating of a concentrated group atmosphere were attached importance to.

However, in order to be able to play the game in the planned form anyway, the hitherto practised communication variables should be combined with my specific commands. These commands consisted mainly of the prohibition of verbalising the German equivalents in of the English commands. In contrast to this, following Piaget's thought, I permitted sensomotoric instruction, which is especially adequate when it comes to meeting the openness to the receiving of signals that children of this age group possess.

⁷¹ For organizational reasons the children aged five and six were integrated into one group.

I would like to remind of my definition of the concept of early childhood which I gave in the introductory chapter and in which I associated early childhood with the kindergarten age.

Because of their experience and with respect to general pedagogical processes on the one hand and on the basis of their individual work with the children on the other hand the kindergarten teachers made a decision for a mixture of the both languages English and German, while an obvious dominance was attached to the latter as mother tongue.⁷²

Die Kindergarten Teacher starts the experiment by commencing with the introduction of a story in which the puppet Kooky is involved in an imagined incident characterized by supposedly real life features. She intends to have talked to the bird the day before in which she learned from the bird that it would like to play with the children in the near future. She then again reminds the children of Kooky's Australian origin because of which he only speaks English. She herself appears as a mediator between the Australian visitor and the children by preparing the children for the game to be played soon. This preparation includes an explanatory overview of the rules and a message of what Kooky expects from the children.

As a next step she introduces the relevant six expressions, three of them being one word expressions and the others holding more than one lexical unit. As a categorization we will find "smile", "jump" and "turn around" belonging to the first group of imperatives and "clap your hands", "stamp your feet" "nod your head" belonging to the latter.

The Kindergarten Teacher elaborates the imperatives through first mentioning them while exerting them herself and then by encouraging the children to get involved themselves. Surprisingly, although having been provided with an age-group adequate presentation of the movements resulting from the verbalized imperatives, they rather tend to imitating the utterances instead of the sensomotoric elements of the game.

⁷² In the chapter that deals with terminology I referred to a rather broad definition of bilingualism that does not necessarily prescribe both languages to be performed on the same native-like level of proficiency, but that allows different performances. This leeway again leads us to the conclusion that one language can be dominant in comparison to the other (see Kielhöfer and Jonekeit 1983).

Based on the widely acknowledged assumption that children, on input-driven fundamentals, learn best when learning conditions enable them to use their senses. So the Kindergarten Teacher encourages the children in the circle in front of her to imitate her movements, and her frequent repetitions lead us to the deduction that she is using a pattern-drill exercise, a teaching method praised by the behaviourist school of thought. This first step lasted about ten minutes and it was only then when Kooky entered the scene, keeping his promise to play the game with the children.

This procedure was the same in all groups, varying only in the number of participating children and the age group specific practice of the Kindergarten Teacher, such as prosodic elements.

5.3.4. Observations and Evaluations

In this section the focus will be laid on the analysis of the children's ability to concentrate on the input given throughout the game, that is to say, on their ability to concentrate during the preparatory steps by the teacher, their ability to concentrate during the exercise and final, during the game with Kooky. As far as the hand puppet is concerned, it will be of importance to illuminate the participants' reaction to it. Eventually, I shall draw attention to the children's realization of movement patterns during the exercise on the one side and on their realization of movement patterns during the game with Kooky on the other. My evaluation concludes with a short summary in terms of age group specific behaviour.

The ability to concentrate on the input given is one of the key factors in learning successfully, but also a variable dependent on the quality of instruction or presentation respectively. Not surprisingly, the children's performance in terms of their ability to concentrate is significantly marked by their age as well as by their individual development. This observation clearly paves the way to the conclusion that age and the ability to concentrate are indirectly proportional. While the three-years-olds rather enjoyed the setting in which the game took place, namely the

gym, the older ones showed a much higher degree of concentration on the game per se. Although the older children made a significantly bigger group the teacher needed less for the preparatory stages. The fact that these children were more attentive may result from their progressed experience in the course of kindergarten games.

The preparatory stage ended in the naming of the first imperative “nod your head”. The apparent difficulties in the realization of this imperative on part of all children may be due to the fact that this lexical construction is one they may not have come across in earlier game situations and to a lack of understanding the subject of the game. In addition to this, many of them might not have been aware of the game already having entered a next stage. This again caused the teacher some nervousness and uncertainty resulting in enforced encouragement and appeal.

The unsatisfying performance of the children with regard to this imperative may be evaluated as an outcome of lacking involvement in the exercise again resulting from the nursery school teacher raising her voice and so blaming the children for non-reaction to non-explanation on her part. Through her utterance “Jetzt mal alle mitmachen” she didn’t express the task of bodily imitation explicitly, but misled the children towards verbal imitation.

This expression was soon under evaluated and substituted by the other lexical units to be learned, so that the aim of pattern-drill was not completely met. In contrast, all the other expressions were trained more frequently, however, not all of the commands received equally positive response by the participants. Obviously, the children preferred those commands leading to noisy and vivid movements. As for all other games of this kind, children’s affiliation to noisy and free movements has brought a certain benefit in favour of increased concentration, motivation and memory.⁷³

As for the younger children a certain lack of self-confidence is observable when it comes to reacting to the command provided. This uncertainty finds its expression in the individual child orienting himself towards another individual child who has already received positive evidence for his response to the stimulus

⁷³ cf. Krashen (1985) Affective Filter Hypothesis

offered.⁷⁴ The child who had before shown an outstanding performance now took the role of a group leader.

The situation proved to be a completely different one in the group of the older children aged five to six. In this group one of the girls took the initiative to tell her mates what to do out of her own conviction regardless of whether her translation was correct or not and regardless of whether the addressee needed correction or not, thereby giving negative evidence. Despite her own positive intentions, her help was hardly ever welcome nor was she accepted as a group leader. In conclusion, group dynamics seem to have less significance for older children. Speaking in the words of Piaget who has differentiated four developmental stages of cognitive maturation, and in order to build a mental bridge between the schools of behaviourism and cognitivism, I shall emphasize the fact that the proportion of behaviourist oriented thinking processes decreases with age and therefore with experience-based cognitive strategies. However, age alone can not be taken as a guarantee for cognitive maturity, but rather as a variable promoting the existence and usage of cognitive strategies. This means that for purposes of correct evaluation each single child should be observed as an individual.⁷⁵ To illustrate this, one needs only to refer to a three-year old that showed the same performance as a five-year old, for instance, in the commands provided.

The final stage guided by Kooky showed similar results as the preparatory and the pattern-drill stages. Although the younger children were fond of Kooky per se, they had already lost interest in the bird's game. Nevertheless, they joined the game once in a while, especially when vivid and noisy movements were required. Besides, the younger ones outperformed the older children in their response to the imperative "smile". This again proves that the younger children's response is rather anchored in positive evidence that is not expressed verbally but through gestures and mimes. In contrast, when the stimulus was not directly oriented towards a response accompanied by vivid bodily involvement, the older children seemed to be confused and tended to compensate their uncertainty by

⁷⁴ cf. Skinner's stimulus-response scheme

⁷⁵ Unfortunately, this would suit neither the dimension nor the purpose of this study.

choosing one of the five remaining movements or by helping each other with the German translation.

In general, the older ones reached a higher score in the presence of Kooky than the younger ones. This might not only be explained by a higher degree of concentration but also by their previous knowledge of some of the relevant movement terms such as “clap your hands”, “stamp your feet” and “jump”.⁷⁶

Another interesting fact was that all children restrained from verbal imitation and stuck to the bodily performances while Kooky was giving the commands.

To return to the question raised on the role of hand puppets (chapter 4.3.), one should note here that the age groups differed in the children’s affection for Kooky. Although Kooky was visible all the time, the children did not take notice of him until he was introduced by the teacher, except for a girl aged four who repeatedly left the circle to get close to Kooky. She even petted and removed him from his place. The three-year old rejoiced about the bird’s appearance, stopped talking immediately and made efforts to pet him. The older children welcomed Kooky by waving their hands and replying to his saying hello.

This pattern-drill exercise clearly shows that older children seem to benefit more from this method than younger ones although the latter depend more on behaviouristic strategies for the older are more advanced in cognitive abilities. Regarding the affection towards Kooky, the younger children were much fonder of him. As for the ability to concentrate, the older children outperformed the younger ones.

Keeping in mind that normally the classes are age-mixed such exercises are beneficial for all ages. Due to the fact that younger children look for an idol to imitate, they might tend to copy the older children. The latter reached the highest score in that stage of the game led by Kooky and are therefore a useful source of learning. On the other hand the older children themselves do not only serve as a source of learning, but they are also aware of their role as an idol and act as a (language) instructor.

⁷⁶ The nursery school teacher had explicitly highlighted the fact that the children had been exposed to these movements before.

The older children already benefit from their cognitive maturity with regard to consciously knowing that their mother tongue has an equivalent to the English word uttered by Kooky or the nursery school teacher. Due to this, they tend to offer the German translation to ensure comprehension of the task.⁷⁷

So far, it could not have been proved if children learn new words by playing the game only. Although my intention was to elaborate on the question if children learn new words by playing a game, I must now assume that the children might have acquired the new vocabulary through the pattern-drill method. However, to prove that acquisition has actually taken place, I have to test the children again after a certain time has passed by. This shall be covered by experiment two.

5.4. Experiment II – Picture Recognition

5.4.1. Aim

In experiment II, I sought to find out if the participants would remember the words and expressions they had learnt a week before. To simplify the task for the children, I offered them pictures of the movements done in experiment 1.

I expected younger children to perform less well than older children for the latter were believed to have a better brain development in general and therefore to be further up the language acquisition ladder. I reckoned that older children remember more English words actively than younger children who were thought to have a greater passive than active knowledge.

⁷⁷ Cf. Chapter 3.1.2 The Relation between SLA and first language

5.4.2. Research Participants

Twenty-two German nursery school children at the age of four to six years were tested.⁷⁸ However, only seventeen children could be regarded due to misunderstandings in the interview. All of the children tested in experiment II took part in experiment I.

5.4.3. Procedure

Experiment II took place in the arts and crafts room, which is next to the gym. The arts and crafts room could not be closed by a door. However, since the children not tested were watched in their playing rooms, the interviews could be held separately.

There stood a table in the middle of the room. The two chairs were placed opposite, one for the child and one for the interviewer. On the side of the interviewer's chair, there stood a basket on the floor with Kooky inside. On the other side, there was a video camera recording the interviews. On the child's side of the table lay six pictures which showed the movements learnt in experiment I (see Fig.4).

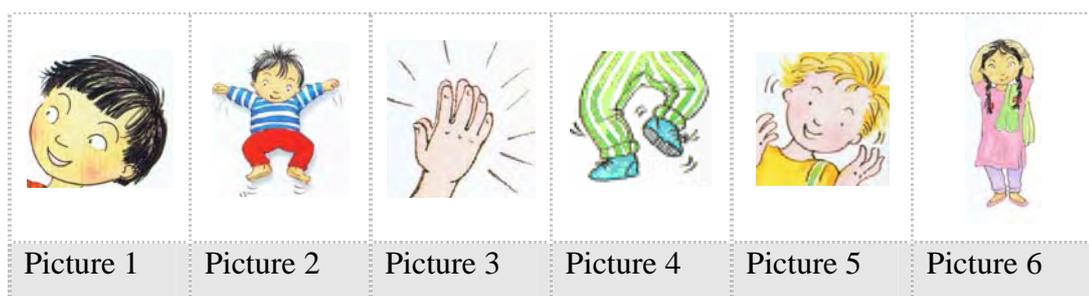


Figure 4. Pictures of Movements

Participants were tested individually for about five to ten minutes. This time I interviewed the children in person for two reasons. First of all, the children

⁷⁸ The three-year-olds were rejected because of their poor concentration abilities. Only seventeen could be evaluated because the interviews were conducted on a completely voluntary basis.

have met me before. Thus they know me and would talk to me, even the shy ones. Secondly, the focus of the interview was not primarily on the method of implementing the English language but on the knowledge of it.

The interview was held in German and in English. First I talked German to the children to clarify the important facts (such as names and ages) and to make sure that the children had understood the task. Then I used the hand puppet named Kooky to change from the German into the English language. During the English part of the interview, I sometimes had to switch between the two languages to keep the interview going.

All interviews followed the same structure. I asked the children for their names and ages and introduced myself before asking for the game played in experiment I.⁷⁹ By introducing each other, I hoped to get the children into a feeling of a conversation rather than of a testing situation. The question for the game played a week before should show the ability of the children's memory in general. Again, older children were expected to remember the game whereas younger children were believed to have forgotten about it.

After some small talk I asked the children to have a look at the pictures that lay in front of them. I explained that these were all the movements learnt by Kooky last week. Next, I asked the children to name the pictures in German (see Fig. 5). If the children had problems in identifying, I would help by acting or telling the movement.

⁷⁹ Cf transcripts in appendix

I	Aber ich weiß ja, was es war. <points to the pictures> Ich hab' nämlich gesehen, dass ihr all diese ... Kommandos gelernt habt. Ja? Da hat die Petra bzw. der Kooky ein Kommando gesagt ... auf Englisch, weil der Kooky spricht ja gar kein Deutsch, ne, ... und dann habt ihr das alle gemacht.
C 35	((nods)) Mm.
I	Ja? Zum Beispiel hier. Was hab'n wir denn hier? <points to picture 1>
C 35	Lächeln.
I	Lächeln. Und hier? <points to picture 2>
C 35	Springen.
I	Und hier? <points to picture 3>
C 35	Klatschen.
I	Und hier? <points to picture 4>
C 35	Springen.
I	Naja, stampfen soll es darstellen. Was haben wir hier? <points to picture 5>
C 35	Drehen.
I	Na, soll das hier sein ((nods)) Kopfnicken.
C 35	<points to picture 6> Drehen.
I	Also, Deutsch kannst du die alle. Weißt du auch wie das auf Englisch heißt?
C 35	((shakes head))
I	Nein? Dann müssen wir wohl mal den Kooky rufen?

Figure 5. Naming the pictures

After making sure that the children had understood the pictures in German, I began to ask for the English words. I wanted to find out if there was any active knowledge of the English language.

Then I called Kooky. We talked shortly with each other about how to continue the interview. Before Kooky proceeded with the interview, I translated our dialogue to the child.

Kooky, speaking and understanding English only, said a movement which the child was supposed to show. For the six-year-olds disliked Kooky to do the interview, I switched languages without the bird.

I	Kooky, I think you should interview C19.
I – K	I can interview C19.
I	Yes.
I – K	Cool.
I	Ich hab' ihm jetzt gesagt, dass er dich interviewen soll. Okay?
C 19	((nods))
I	Kooky, you tell her the movements and she shows you the pictures. Okay?
I – K	Okay.
I	Ich hab' ihm gesagt, dass er dir eine Bewegung nennt, also die Bewegungen nennt, und du auf die Bilder zeigst. Wollen wir das so machen?
C 19	((nods))
I – K	Clap your hands.
C 19	<points to picture 3>
I – K	Nod your head.
C 19	((claps hands)) ... <whispers> klatschen
I – K	Mm. Stamp your feet.
C 19	Stampfen.
I	Richtig. Auf welchem Bild haben wir das?
C 19	<points to picture 2>
I	Das war das Springen, ne?
I – K	Turn around.
C 19	<points to picture 6>
I – K	Jump.
C 19	<points to picture 6>
I – K	Jump.
C 19	<points to picture 6>
I – K	Smile
C 19	<points to picture 4>
I – K	Very good.

Figure 6. Pointing at the pictures

5.4.4. Observation and Evaluation

The structure of the interviews makes obvious that it was mainly I who guided through the interview and that the children subordinated themselves to my direct method of asking questions. That is why most of the interviews followed a rather strict question-response scheme. Unfortunately, and probably because of this scheme some of the children were rather shy in the beginning and even the obligatory „ice breaker“ at the beginning of the interview sometimes failed to achieve its purpose. The recording of the scene by the video camera might also have contributed to this result.

Language wise interaction

It was especially conspicuous that the younger children held back more than the older ones. This observation allows the assumption that the older children might already have had more experience in the conversation with other people, first of all with adults. However, regardless of age, most children tended to answering in a nonverbal way (through nodding or shaking their head) or through paraverbal utterances such as “*Mm*”, markers of consent “*Ja*”, one-word-expressions “*Vier*”, “*Auto*” and, more seldom, in sentence-like structures such as “*Aber dann schon sechs*”, “*Das-das muss dann alles in die Schule lernen*”, “*De Susi macht manchmal*”, “*Nee, weiß nicht mehr*”. The latter phenomenon occurred especially in the utterances of the older five-year-olds and the six-year-olds.

The examples demonstrate most clearly that sentence-like utterances were not always grammatical (compare Vgl 4.2.). This fact should be taken into consideration when the children realize English as a second language.

Memory Skills

I had expected the younger children to perform less well than the older ones. When the children were asked if they would remember the game played a week before, most of them claimed they would. However, only six nursery school children could really tell what the game was actually about. Surprisingly, no five-year-old could say anything about the game, but two four-year-olds and four six-

year-olds managed the task. Nevertheless, as the numbers show, the majority of the six-year-olds and only a minority of the four-year-olds really remembered the game. The results are to be explained by a more advanced brain development.

Picture Recognition

In this part the movements on the pictures were analysed separately, starting with picture 1 (see Fig 1). In the analysis of the single pictures the age of the children played an important role and it was interesting whether they would be able to recognize the pictures in German. As a next step it will be relevant to illuminate the results reached in the matching of English expressions with the pictures. The conclusion will consist of an examination if a) age again plays a role and b) if the expressions of the previous week had really been acquired.

Furthermore, it was asked of the children if they were able to memorize the other English expressions. In this case, the picture was shown and it was asked for the English expression. This goal could, however, be met by one child only.

Normally the children would not have been able to remember the contents since test 1 was input-driven so that the receptive capacity was above the productive. In contrast, the second and later the third test were output-driven. Despite my expectations the children had been provided with much less input in the last years than one might think. The reason might have been the input in connection with the individual learning experience in a second language. This learning experience was completely different from what I had expected it to be. This is why the supposedly known words could not be verbalized by the children which might be due to a lack of experience. In addition to this, the imparting of English had mainly based on games, rhymes and songs that did not result in proper output. These methods were not aimed at the generation of output, but should rather sensitise for the English language. I would like to come straight to the result: On day two it could be proven that all of the children, no matter their age-group, had a certain amount of passive competence in the target language which they had acquired through their receptive capacities.

Picture 1 Smile

Picture 1 shows a smiling boy. There was no help necessary for the identification of the picture although not all of the children could recognize it unambiguously. 76.47 % identified the picture as „lachen“ or „lächeln“, 11.76% said „ein Junge“ and 5.88% identified the picture as „Zähne“ or „Kopf gekreist“ each.

In comparison to the others the six-year-olds reached the best results in the identifying of the German word, while only 50% of the four-year-olds described the picture correctly. In English the accuracy of the six-year-olds was highest with 80%, whereas 50% of the four- and five-year-olds each reached the goal.

Interestingly there occurred a double naming of „Stampfen“ and „Klatschen“, since faces could be seen on both pictures. 11.76% of the children referred to the picture „nod your head“ when Kooky said „smile“. Anyway, this choice could be evaluated as the right option as there was a smiling face on this picture as well. However, the analysis of picture 1 made clear that the six-year-olds outperformed the younger children.

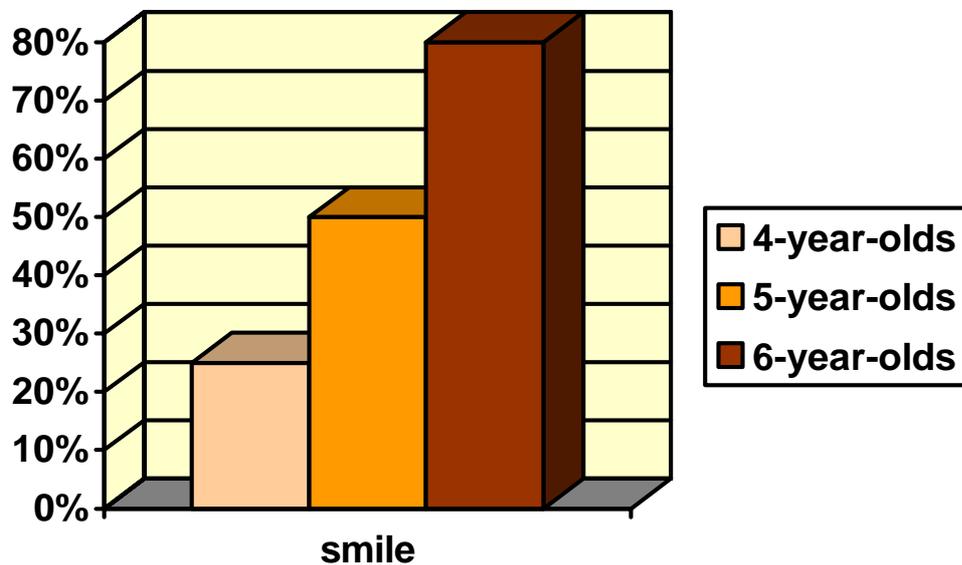


Figure 7. Picture Recognition 1

Picture 2 *Jump*

This picture shows a boy who stretches out his arms and who bends his legs evenly to present the movement ‚jump‘. This picture was again recognized correctly as “hüpfen” or “springen” by the majority, 94.11%. Only 5.88% named the movement as „rennen“. As far as the English naming is concerned, 80% of the six-year-olds, 37.5% of the five-year-olds and 25% of the four-year-olds recognized the picture.

5.8% (a six-year old child) translated the English word correctly into the German version, but referred to picture 4 (stamp your feet). In the case of the command ‚jump‘ 28.578% referred to picture 4, too. For this reason, one should maybe consider this option as right as it could be interpreted as jumping from the floor. If this option is accepted as right, 100% of the six-year-olds, 50% of the five-year-olds and 37.5% of the four-year-olds have achieved the correct result in the question. This result, however, does not change the overall picture, the six-year-olds still outperform the other children.

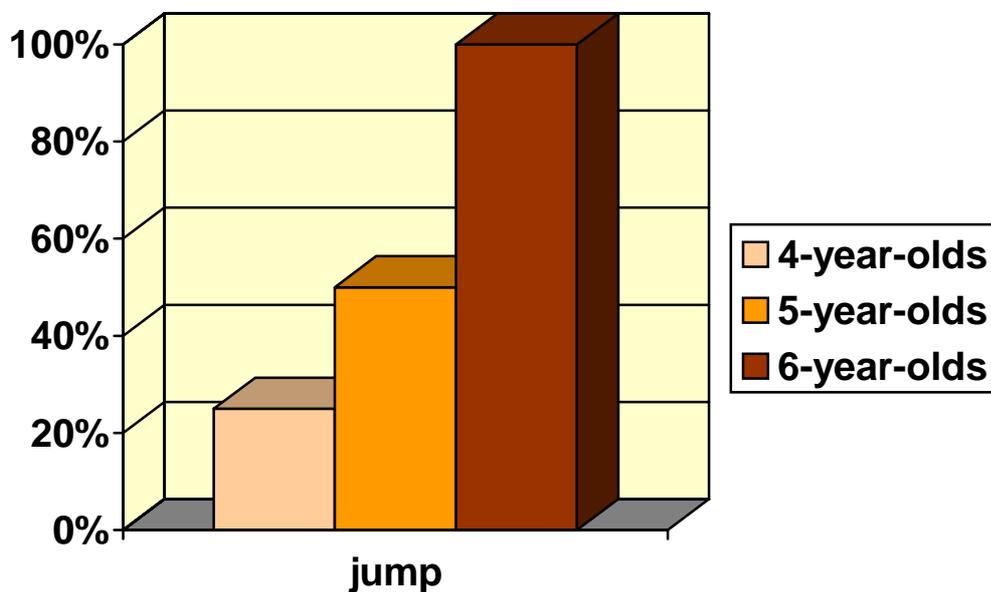


Figure 8. Picture Recognition 2

Picture 3 *Clap your hands*

Picture 3 shows two hands that lie above each other and that are supposed to express the motion of „clapping one’s hands“. The majority of the children were able to recognize the picture and match a German expression without any help though some four-years-old said “Handzange”, “Fingerabdruck” and “Fingerklatschen”. Interestingly 76% of the children chose the right option. If one adds those 5.88% who pointed to picture 5 and those 11.76% who referred to picture 6 (both pictures show two hands) one comes to a result of 100% of the children being able to find the right option without any age-group specific differences. Supposedly the children had been familiar with the movement before the game or they had experienced the movement especially strongly during experiment I.

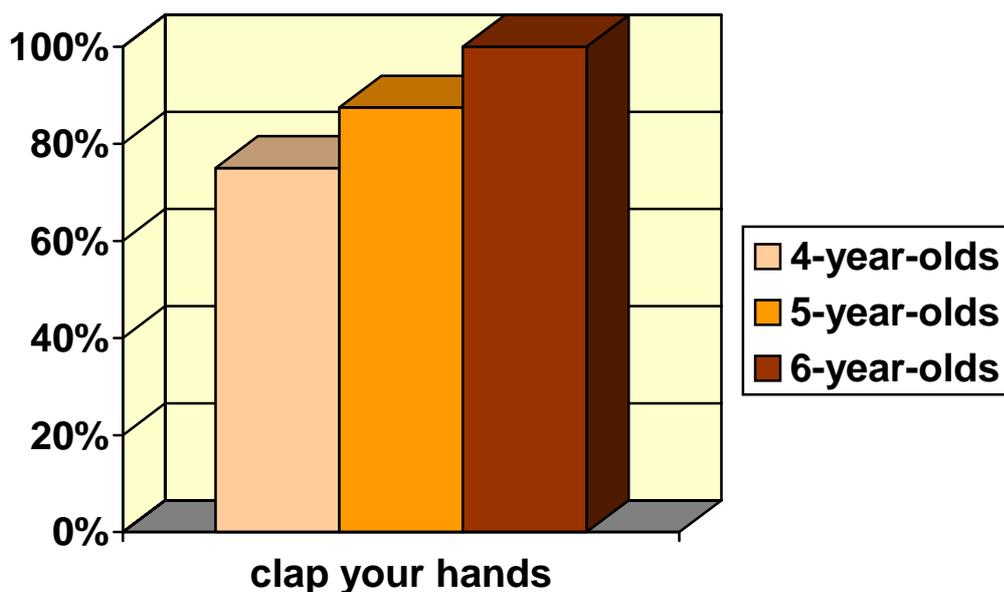


Figure 9. Picture Recognition 3

Picture 4 *Stamp your feet*

Picture 4 only shows to legs one of which is bended stronger than the other. The children did not need any help but uttered some interesting German expressions such as „Schuh”, “ne Hose”, “klopfen”, “ein Bein so und ein Bein so”. When it came to the English naming of the picture, 52.9% matched the picture correctly, 23.52% pointed to picture 2 which showed “jump” and could therefore be evaluated as a right option. If picture 2 is accepted as a right option, 76.47% of the children were able to match the picture with the command. 5.88% identified the expression as nodding. The recognition of picture 4 shows no far-reaching difference in the performance of the age-groups which can be regarded as an indicator that the children could have been familiar with the imperative and the movement even before the experiment or that this is an imperative the children can memorize extraordinarily well.

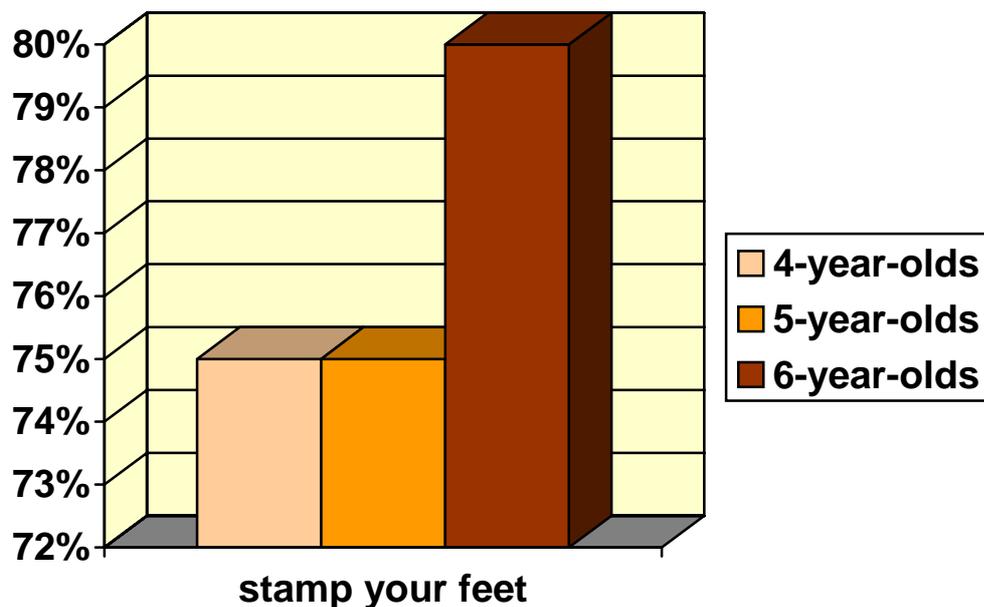


Figure 10. Picture Recognition 4

Picture 5 *Nod your head*

Picture 5 shows a smiling boy who raises both hands up to the height of his face. Grey stripes on the picture shall signal the movement of the hands. As I considered the picture as non-identifiable for the children I offered them help by showing the movement myself and then asking what could have been meant by it. This led 64.70% of the children to identifying the picture as nodding. In this case there were also interesting German expressions such as „mit dem Kopf ja sagen“, „das hier (schwankt) drehen“. If one takes into account the insufficient presence of the word during experiment I, one should not find it surprising that most children had problems matching the picture with the English imperative. Only 23.57% went for the right option while 23.52% identified the picture as clapping your hands. Maybe this association is due to rhythmic and prosodic similarities between the two imperatives. Picture 5 caused no age-group specific differences in choosing the right option.

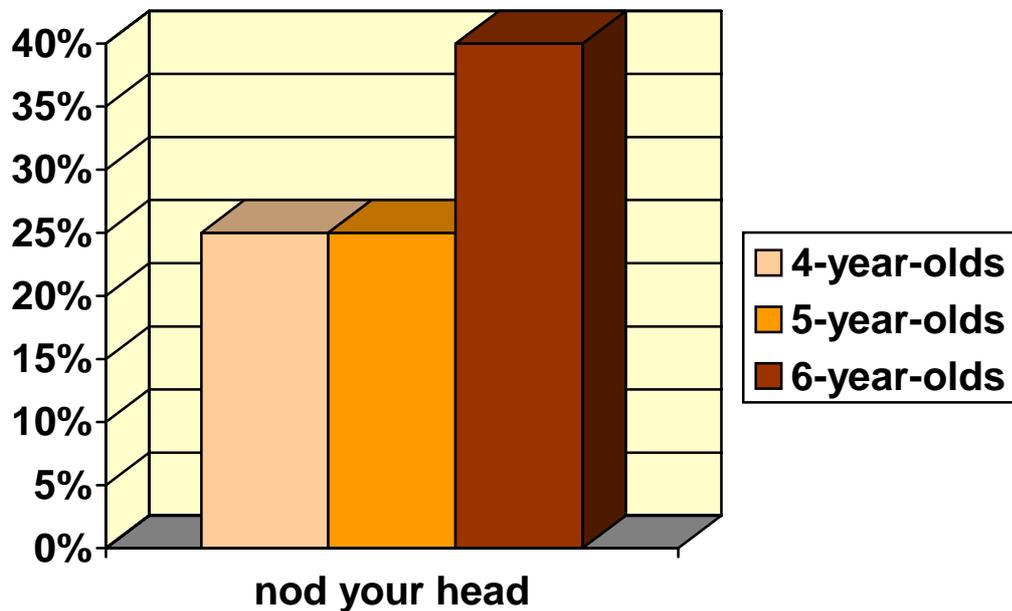


Figure 11. Picture Recognition 5

Picture 6 Turn around

Picture 6 shows a girl from her feet to her head who throws her hands up over her head. Half of the children welcomed the help offered. However, no matter if help was accepted or not, surprising German expressions occurred: “tut de Arme hoch”, “die rennt”, “Ballett”, “Kopfnicken”, “macht die Hände so aufn Kopf”. However, 41.17% were able to match the picture with the right English imperative, 23.52% pointed to picture “jump”, 11.76% chose “nodding” and 5.8% “clapping your hands”.

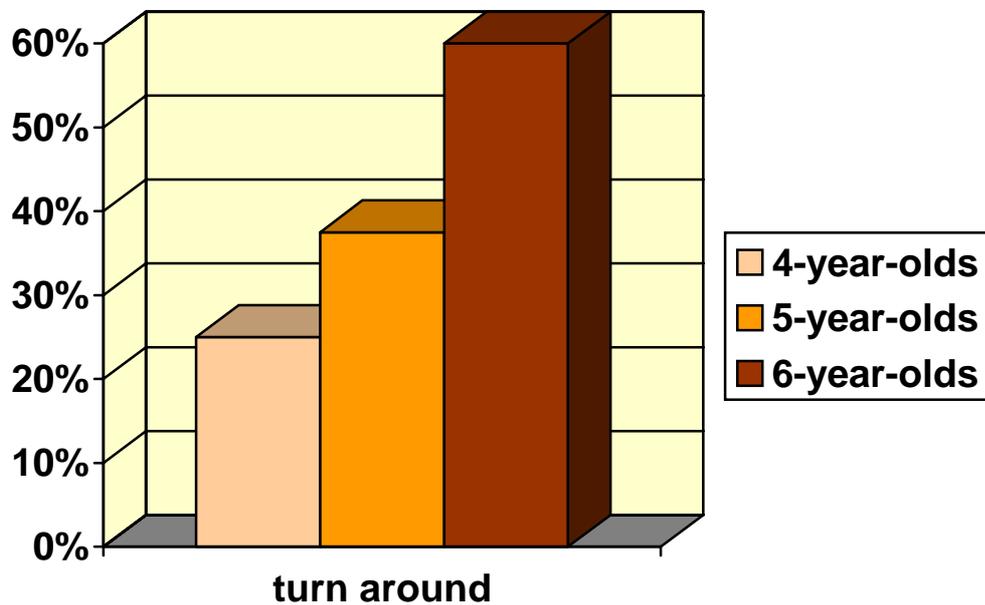


Figure 12. Picture Recognition 6

To conclude, one can say that the older children performed better than the younger ones. This meets the hypothesis claimed above. Although the numbers sometimes vary tremendously, one should note here that results might have been different when all of the tested age groups had been of an equal size (see Fig. 13).⁸⁰

All age groups performed best on picture 3 ‘clap your hands’ and picture 4 ‘stamp your feet’. The 6-year-olds also scored high on picture 1 ‘smile’ and picture 2 ‘jump’. Nevertheless, all children tested had difficulties with picture 5 ‘nod your head’ and picture 6 ‘turn around’. Hence, all ages possess a passive knowledge of English but at a different level.

The results gained can be explained by age-dependent factors such as a higher cognitive development, more input and therefore a longer language experience by the older children.

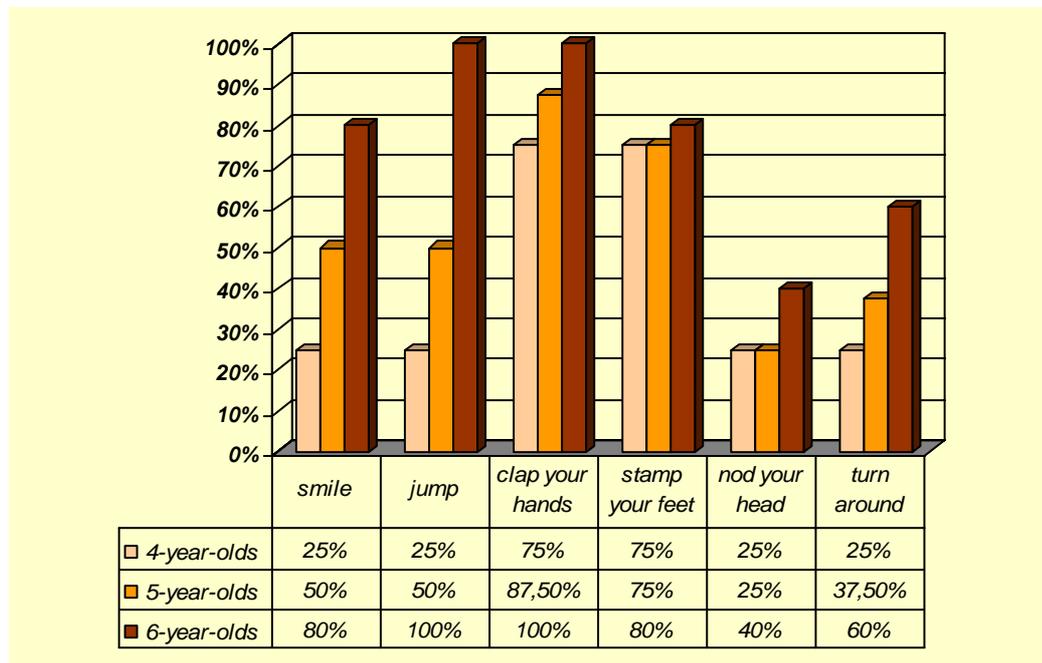


Figure 13. Comparison all pictures

⁸⁰ Due to absence of children or misunderstanding of the task, I had only four 4-year-olds. The 5-year-olds outnumber the groups tested with eight children. I interviewed all of the 6-year-olds in the kindergarten, which had no more than five of them.

5.5. Experiment 3 – Story telling

5.5.1. Aim

Experiment III was designed to prove the productive skills in the English language of nursery school children with regard to telling Kooky a story they were familiar with in German. To simplify the task, I used a five-picture story that the nursery school teachers had read out to them a couple of days before.

Experiment III contained all the verbs of motion from experiment I and experiment II. I expected the older children to perform better than the younger ones because they already possessed the skill to tell stories in German. I was therefore forced to conclude that they could handle this task with relative ‘ease’.

Nevertheless, after I had obtained the results from experiment II in which no child made use of their active language knowledge in English, I supposed not to get any valuable discourses. Surprisingly, this was not the case as will be shown later on (see 5.5.3 Observation and Evaluation).

5.5.2. Research Participants

This time, I chose the nursery school children randomly. Since the four-year-old children had performed less well in all the experiments before, I decided to test only two of them. The number of the five- and six-year-olds was equal with five children for each age group. Despite the fact that the same amount of subjects was present in the test, only three five-year-olds could be evaluated because one refused to talk to Kooky and the other one had missed experiment II due to sickness. As a result, one should note here that the real numbers within the age groups varied again.

5.5.3. Procedure

When the testing sequence started in the sample kindergarten, I handed over a picture story to the nursery school teachers with the task to read out this story in their groups.⁸¹ On the backside of the pictures, the kindergarten teachers found simple German sentences to read out loud. This way, all children heard the same story.

I decided to have the story presented to the children by the nursery school teachers before experiment III took place because I did not want the children to closely connect the story to the experiment at first glance.

This picture story consisted of five pictures with a dog and a cat as protagonists. Both animals met at the playground to play a game together. It was the same game the children had played two weeks before in experiment I, whereas this time less movements were chosen.⁸²

In this story, there was no Kooky to play the game with the cat and the dog because I expected the children to tell this story to the hand puppet in experiment III. For this reason, I had the dog say the commands while the cat was supposed to carry out the movements. The dog's instructions were visualised in speaking bubbles in which I took the pictures the children had come across in experiment II. While the dog looked the same on all pictures except for the last one on which it was smiling, the cat looked differently on every single picture because of the movements it had to perform.

I actually wanted to conduct most of the interview in English. Due to the fact that then most of the children would have had difficulties to understand the task and would maybe have restrained from participating, I switched to German whenever it seemed necessary. This time Kooky was present by sitting on the table during the experiment.

⁸¹The kindergarten teachers read out the story only once to the children. However, the story contained only very simple pictures and German sentences, it was no difficult task for the children to memorize the story in German (see Appendix).

⁸²The movements shown in the picture story were actually those all age groups had acquired passively.

5.5.4. Observations and Evaluations

I started to interview the four-year-olds first. As already mentioned earlier, I had only two of them randomly chosen to represent their age group. I had assumed that they would perform poorly compared to the other age groups. Keeping in mind that the four-year-olds were outperformed in all tests by the older children, it was not surprising that this was proven again in experiment III. However, I am aware of the fact that the results might have been slightly different if I had tested more than two four-year-olds. Nevertheless, I claim that the general results would have remained the same (see Fig. 14).

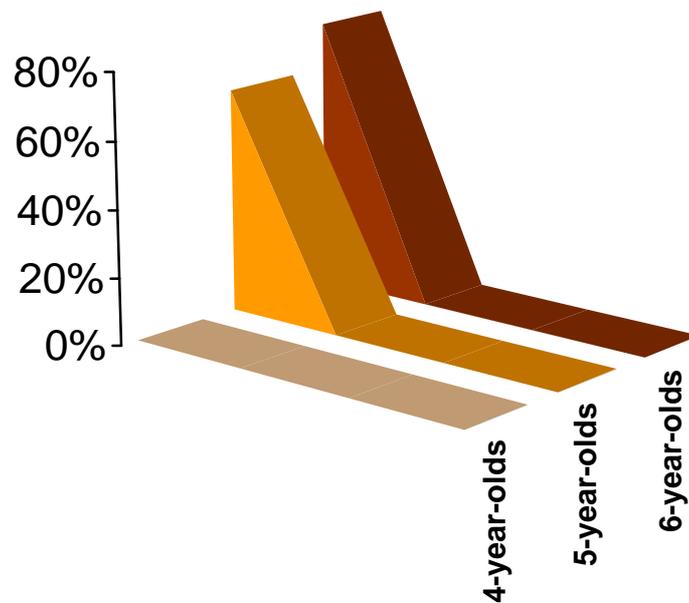


Figure 14. Story Telling

Although the two four-year-olds remembered the story well and could tell it with the help of the pictures to some extent at least in German, they were unable to tell Kooky the story in English. This again reinforces the results gained in experiment II where I found out that the four-year-olds had some knowledge of English but only on a passive level.

In contrast to that, the group of five-year-olds achieved different results with either passive or active competence. Nevertheless, one should note here that only one five-year-old child remembered most of the verbs in the picture story actively.

Almost all of the six-year-old children randomly chosen and tested in experiment III were able to tell Kooky the story in English. Although I assumed them not to recall the verbs in English after experiment II supported the passive knowledge of English, they surprisingly could name the movements this time.

To underline my findings, I would like to focus on the following three sample conversations that I chose for demonstrating purposes. As one can clearly see, the four-year-old had difficulties remembering the English words.

I	Ich hab' gehört, dass ihr eine Geschichte erzählt bekommen habt.
C17	Mm ((nods))
I	[...] Das war die hier, ne? <shows the picture story>
C17	Mm. Ja, das weiß ich noch.
I	Das weißt du noch? Sag' mal, kannst du die Geschichte auch so erzählen, dass der Kooky die versteht?
C17	Weiß ich nicht mehr wie die ging... Weiß nicht mehr, was der Hund sagt.
I	Na, was ist denn auf dem ersten Bild. Kannst du dem Kooky mal sagen, was auf dem ersten Bild ist? <shows the first picture>
C17	Em, da sind die auf dem Spielplatz. Die spielen ein ... Spiel.
I	Weißt du, was das auf Englisch heißt? Weißt du? So verstehst der Kooky nicht, ne.
C17	... Also Hund weiß ich.
I	Mm, was'n Hund?
C17	Dog.
I	So there is a dog and a
C17	...
I	... and a cat. Ja? Ok, and they're at the playground. <shows the second picture>
C17	Dann der klatscht der in de Hände.
I	Who? ...
C17	<looks puzzled>
I	Who he <points to the dog>
C17	He
I	He... or he? <points to the cat>
C17	((nods)) ... dog.

I	The dog ... the dog
C17	Klatscht in de Hände
I	Ja. What is klatscht in die Hände? What is ((claps))? What is it in English? Was'n das auf Englisch gewesen?
C17	((claps))
I	Weißte, das noch?
C17	...
I	War das smile? ... War das smile?
C17	((shakes his heads)) [...]
I	So the cat is clapping hands.
C17	((nods))
I	Ja? And here? <shows the third picture>
C17	Em ... Da stampft die Katze.
I	And what is it in English? ... Kooky does not understand. Der versteht doch nicht, wenn wir auf Deutsch reden.
C17	...
I	Was isn das? Was war denn stampfen auf Englisch?
C17	...
I	[...] War irgendwas mit feet, ne?
C17	Mm.
I	Dim dim feet. Dim dim feet. Erinnerst du dich?
C17	((nods))
I	<whispers> Was heißt dasn? ... Stamp your feet. <Child joins in speaking> Ne, stamp your feet. Und das ... macht die Katze auch, ne?
C17	((nods))
I	Was war Katze noch mal auf Englisch?
C17	Em ...
I	War cat, ne? Cat.
C17	((nods))
I	Dann mal zum nächsten Bild. <shows the fourth picture>
C17	Da sagt der Hund hüpfen.
I	Und was heißt hüpfen in Englisch? ... Whats it in English hüpfen?
C17	Hüpf hüpf you
I	The dog says jump and the cat jumps.
C17	((nods))
I	And on this picture <shows the fifth picture>
C17	Hier sagt der Hund fein gemacht.
I	Well done. [...]

Figure 15. 4-year-old telling a story

while the five-year-old knows half of the terms.

- I [...] Ihr habt eine Geschichte erzählt bekommen.
C33 Mm.
I Hat die dir gefallen?
C33 Ja.
I War die lustig?
C33 Ja.
I Ihr habt die aber auf Deutsch ... gehört.
C33 Mm.
I Der Kooky versteht aber nur Englisch. Ich möchte, dass du versuchst, ihm die Geschichte auf Englisch zu erzählen.
C33 Das weiß ich aber nicht.
I Wolln wirs zusammen versuchen.
C33 Mm. ((nods))
I Was haben wir denn hier? <shows the first picture>
C33 Nen Hund.
I Weißt du noch, was Hund auf Englisch war?
C33 ((shakes her head))
I Dog, ne. ... Und Katze?
C33 ...
I Cat. Also haben wir dog and cat. Schauen wir mal aufs zweite Bild <show the second picture> Was macht denn der Hund auf dem zweiten Bild? ...
C33 Weiß ich nicht.
I Na, der sagt was.
C33 Ja. Klatschen.
I Der sagt klatschen. Weißt du noch, was klatschen auf Englisch war?
C33 Clap your hands.
I Super. The dog says clap your hands and the cat "..."
C33 Die klatscht in die Hände.
I And the cat claps her cats. Very good. And here <shows the third picture>
C33 Der Hund sagt spring.
I Hm, das ist stampfen eigentlich.
C33 Ja, stampfen sagt der Hund.
I Was war denn stampfen auf Englisch? ...
C33 ... stamp your feet.
I Super. So the dog says stamp your feet and the cat?
C33 Die stampft.

I	She stamps her feet. Very very good. And here? <shows the fourth picture>
C33	Sagt der Hund, dass sie springen soll.
I	Und was war springen auf Englisch?
C33	... Weiß ich nicht.
I	Jump. Ja. Jump. And the cat?
C33	Die springt.
I	She jumps. Und auf dem Bild? <shows the fifth picture>
C33	Sagt der gut gemacht.
I	Mm. ... Und was machten der noch? Schau mal.
C33	Lachen.
I	[...] Weißt du noch, was lachen auf Englisch war?
C33	... Smile
I	Smile. Super. Du kannst ja schon richtig Englisch reden. Ich bin ja begeistert.

Figure 16. 5-year-old telling a story

In contrast to the 4- and 5-year-old the 6-year-old seems to have hardly any problems telling the story in English.

I [...] und der C40 hat die Geschichte gehört, die vor dir liegt.
C40 Mm.
I Die kennst du also.
C40 Ja.
I Kannst du die dem Kooky erzählen, auf Englisch? Kannst du das schon?
C40 <shrugs his shoulders> Hm, weiß ich nicht.
I Probier'n mirs einfach mal. Oder?
C40 Mm.
I Was ham wir denn da? <shows to the first picture>
C40 The cat and a dog.
I Cat and dog. Very good. And here? <shows to the second picture>
C40 Hier is klatschen.
I Klatschen? Was war denn klatschen auf Englisch?
C40 Äh, clap your hands.
I Clap your hands
C40 Und jetzt?
I Was isn mit dem Klatschen?
C40 So hier <claps his hands>
I Mm, das ist klatschen, aber ... warum isn das hier drauf auf dem Bild?
C40 Ja, weil ... weil der Hund sich das gerade ausdenkt und der sagt das der cat.
I Der cat, genau. And the cat...
C40 Clap your, clap your hands.
I And the cat claps her hands. Very good. And here? <shows to the third picture>
What does the dog say now? What does the dog say?
C40 The dog say? Hm ...
I Das hier <stamps her feet>
C40 Trampeln?
I Mm ... stampfen.
C40 Stampfen. Mm.
I Was war denn stampfen auf Englisch? [...]
C40 Uäh ...
I ... Stamp ...
C40 Stamp ...
I Stamp your feet.
C40 Mm. Stamp your feet.
I Jetzt kommt's wieder.

C40	Mm. Und the dog denkt sich das gerade aus und the cat macht das.
I	Very good. And the cat stamps. And here? <shows to the fourth picture>
C40	Ei ... was war denn hüpfen <thinks for quite a long time> Hüpfen ...Hm
I	Hm, war das smile?
C40	Nee, das war's lachen.
I	War das ... clap your hands?
C40	Nö.
I	War das stamp your feet?
C40	Mm.
I	Nö. War das jump?
C40	... Hm ... vielleicht. Ja. Jump war ... Der dog sagt jetzt der cat, soll springen, ne?
I	The dog says ...
C40	The dog ...
I	Jump. Right. And the cat?
C40	Die macht das.
I	She jumps. Very good. And here? <shows to the fifth picture>
C40	So und hier ... hier, hier lacht der dog, ne, und freut sich.
I	Was war denn lachen auf Englisch? The dog ...
C40	Äh, smiles.
I	Smiles.
C40	Mm.
I	Very good. Das kannst du ja ganz toll. [...]

Figure 17. 6-year-old telling a story

Taken together, I would like to conclude that the older children again outperformed the other age groups. Experiment III proved that the children did not only have passive knowledge of the English language but also some active competence. This points to the fact that the teaching method is an effective one. Nevertheless, one should always keep in mind that the results would have been of a different quality had more children been questioned and had the age groups been equal in size. Furthermore, I would like to propose that the results might also have varied had the nursery school children had another type of input. As I outlined in chapter 4, it is not only the quality but also the quantity (as long as comprehensible) that causes language acquisition. As a result, a nursery school teacher with native-like competence in English might have been able to make more input for the children available.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has focused on early second language acquisition in Saxony's nursery schools. After having outlined the necessity to know more than one language in an amalgamating Europe, I referred to a project by the Bénédict School Zwickau in which I was involved myself. The project concentrated on establishing the English language in German nursery schools by non-native English speaking kindergarten teachers. In the beginning, I claimed that with the help of this teaching method nursery school children could easily be raised in two languages. Bilingualism was seen as a proven result.

Chapter 2 was designed to explain some of the terminology which was seen as a basis for the other chapters. As I had intended to show, the terms per se show some leeway for debate.

My emphasis was first put on the slight differences between the terms *first language* and *mother tongue* which are mostly used as synonyms, especially in cases where a person grows up with one language only. As soon as the individual acquires a language other than his/her mother tongue, it will be of relevance to see which of the two languages will be the dominating one. The dominant language of an individual is always seen as the first language that is why the mother tongue might not necessarily be the dominant language.

As a second step I concentrated on the terms *second language* and *foreign language*. As for the distinction of the terms a three-way division seemed to be suitable: (1) with regard to language acquisition, (2) with regard to usage, and (3) with regard to age. This division raises the question as to whether all three criteria have to be met when a language is to be classified as either *second language* or *foreign language*. Nonetheless, the prevalent literature cannot be regarded as a great help when it comes to finding an answer to this question. From this lack of insight, one must conclude that there must exist mixed types, too. One should dare a look at fifth graders in German schools where children at the age of ten learn a language other than their mother tongue via instruction. Can this language be regarded as a second language or a foreign language then? Whatever the answer to this question might be, it is fair to conclude that second language and foreign

language learners can become bilingual. As one often encounters such remarks, one also has to examine what constitutes bilingualism.

Bilingualism was the most difficult term to define in Chapter 2. Bilinguals cannot be regarded as a homogenous group but rather as people who speak two languages with different performances. *Bilingualism* does, therefore, require gradual measurement. Nonetheless, it is quite problematic to find appropriate parameters to measure the degree of bilingualism. To explain *bilingualism*, three parameters were chosen that occurred most frequently in the relevant literature: competence, age, and cognitive organization.

The lack of consensus within *bilingualism* discourse points to the fact that actually any person without paying too much attention to language competence and age, can be regarded as bilingual. It must then be supposed German nursery school children who obtain the English language through non-native nursery school teachers receive bilingual education.

Chapter 3 has focused on the reasons why nursery school children should be raised bilingually in the kindergarten. I differentiated between linguistic and non-linguistic features. With regard to linguistic features, I put emphasis on the relation between the factors age, first language and cognition. Non-linguistic reasons were represented by political and economic factors in the same way as nursery schools by educational institutions.

It is an undeniable fact that age plays an important role in second language acquisition since it is assumed to be the predicator of second language proficiency. The golden rule says: the younger, the better. This formula underlines the assumption that the ability to learn languages decreases with age. The advantages that children seem to have are supported by their greater brain plasticity until puberty. However, age must also be combined with the amount of input provided, which again should be made comprehensible and imparted at the right time. Regardless of age, language acquisition is closely connected to motivation and those emotional components that are determined in Krashen's Affective Filter Hypothesis. This statement leads us to the conclusion that age does not primarily has an effect on second language acquisition but that age-related factors do.

Another aspect outlined in chapter 3 was the role of the first language in early second language acquisition. Mention was made of two positions, namely the mutual interface between the first and the second language. The former is based on findings that migrant children's first language suffers from the appearance of a second language when the children come to another country before turning ten years. To come back to the golden rule mentioned above, second language learning at an early age seemed to work better because at that stage children were not as much influenced by their first language as they would have been at an older age. Concerning the effect a second language can have on a first language, one should notice three possibilities: positive, negative or no effects. Positive effects enhanced meta-linguistic skills whereas negative effects resulted in an attrition of the first language. Nonetheless, the arguments listed emphasized that the first language plays an essential role in second language learning.

Excellent language competence and performance is usually related to noteworthy intelligence. However, most intelligence tests are based on language only. It is, therefore, not surprising that a child with first-class language skills is rated as being exceptionally bright. Much as earlier studies promoted the idea that a second language would harm a child's cognitive development, later investigations refuted those findings. It was rather suggested that a second language would enhance the development of cognitive skills. Others, however, claimed that intelligence is not only restricted to language but includes experience as well. If a child is exposed to two languages, he or she obviously faces another language background than a monolingually raised child. In this context one can observe that language most probably promotes intelligence and vice versa.

Non-linguistic reasons for establishing English in Saxony's nursery schools encompassed political, economic and educational factors. Education was proclaimed to start in day nurseries. Although these educational institutions do not pro forma belong to the German school system, the discourse on embedding language promotion led to heated debates in politics and society.

Chapter 4 investigated the various methods of establishing bilingualism in early childhood. The basics for all methods mentioned were the 'one person – one

language' principle. This principle emerged in bilingual families with parents as language mediators. Parent-teachers could measure a successful second language acquisition if they stuck to their language only. If they did not do so, their children failed to achieve a bilingual status. It was therefore proven that children acquire their language from their caretakers.

This practice was then adapted to educational institutions. First to English teachers, then to native English speakers and finally to non-native English speaking nursery school teachers.

The most widespread method of introducing a second language in a Saxon kindergarten involves sending an English teacher to the day nursery. This person visits the nursery school once a week for an hour or two. As a consequence, English teachers are not regarded as caretakers. Due to the limited time frame, not enough input can be provided so that the results will differ tremendously from other methods to establish bilingualism in the kindergarten. Last but not least, an English teacher has to be paid for additionally by the parents. Children whose parents do not pay the fee are not allowed to participate.

Another quite well-researched method involved sending a native speaker of English to a nursery school. Using the 'one person – one language' principle, the native speaker of English is only allowed to speak English then. This method is quite common and referred to as immersion in the literature. However, one native speaker in a kindergarten with more than 100 children, for instance, would not be enough. Although this person could easily provide the right amount of input, not all children would benefit from it.

Therefore the project by the Bénédict School Zwickau aimed at filling this gap by training non-native nursery school teachers to establish bilingual day nurseries. The advantages are obvious: the kindergarten teacher is regarded as a caretaker, she knows the children and is familiar with the daily routine in a kindergarten, she spends the whole day (if possible) with the children, and can link existing language skills to new skills, i.e. taking the German concept of colour, for example, to 'teach' the English equivalents. The Subject of this paper was to investigate if the children would benefit from this method and would become bilingual.

The nursery school teachers had two main tasks to fulfil: first of all, to offer a certain amount of comprehensible input and to wrap this input into activities suitable for children. Secondly, the kindergarten teachers were supposed to stick to the 'one person – one language' principle by using a hand puppet. I therefore had a closer look at the importance of input and the usage of hand puppets within this chapter. At the end of chapter 4, I emphasized the role of games for children in which the hand puppet was present as well.

The first four chapters reviewed early second language acquisition from a rather descriptive point of view, whereas chapter 5 dared a more practical approach. It was therefore necessary to give a short yet detailed description of the Bénédict School Zwickau project. I continued with a testing sequence of three experiments that took place in the course of three weeks. These experiments were carried out in a kindergarten that participated in the pilot programme of this project. All nursery school teachers of this sample kindergarten were trained in establishing a bilingual education to nursery school children.

In experiment I, the children learnt to play an English game which included verbs of motion to be later tested in experiment II. In the second experiment, the nursery school children had some pictures in front of them which they were supposed to name in English. For whatever reason, the naming did not fully work. Hence, I asked the hand puppet to say the words in English and the children to refer to the pictures. This task was surprisingly well done. Experiment III was the toughest one. I had the nursery school teachers read a story to the children. This story was made of five pictures with a dog and a cat as protagonists playing a game together. The children heard the story only once in German but had to tell it in English later. Unexpectedly, the five- and six-year-olds managed the task to various degrees.

All in all, I could prove my hypothesis that children can easily be raised bilingually by their non-native English speaking nursery school teachers. As anticipated, the older children outperformed the younger children in all three experiments which is why I dare to express the supposition that the older children were much more experienced in English, in how to play games and in how to go through various tests. Results might have been slightly different, had more

children been tested or had there been at least an equal amount of children within the age groups observed.

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Appendix

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Four-Year-Old (C16)

- I Ja, woll'n wir da direkt auf Englisch miteinander reden?
- C16 Mm.
- I Soll'n wir? Okay.
- C16 Mm.
- I My name is Sylvia. What's your name?
- C16 Hm. ...
- I Doch lieber auf Deutsch?
- C16 Mm. Ich war – war – war – ich bin ... de – ich war ...
- I Wie heißt du denn?
- C16 C16.
- I C16. Genau. Und wie alt ist der C16?
- C16 Vier.
- I Vier. Nein, so alt?
- C16 ((nods))
- I Boa, kannst du denn schon zählen?
- C16 ... <counts with his fingers> Eins, zwei, drei, vier.
- I Tatsache. Wahnsinn. Vier ganze Jahre. Super. Letzte Woche habt ihr ein Spiel gespielt. Richtig?
- C16 ((nods))
- I Erinnerst du dich an das Spiel?
- C16 ((nods))
- I Ja? ... Wie habt ihr das Spiel denn gespielt?
- C16 Hm ... Auto.
- I Auto habt ihr gespielt?
- C16 ((nods))
- I Und letzte Woche, als ihr in der Turnhalle mit Petra und Kooky – und Kooky –

wart, hab' ich in der Ecke gesessen. Erinnerst du dich noch an das Spiel?

C16 ((nods)) Mm.

I Was habt ihr denn da gemacht?

C16 Hm ... da, da zu Hause.

I Aha, da warst du zu Hause? Ich weiß, worum es in dem Spiel ging. Und zwar habt ihr in dem Spiel sechs Bewegungen gelernt. Ja?

C16 Ja.

I Die hab' ich mal versucht hier <point to the pictures> mal abzubilden. Gehen wir mal kurz durch, was abgebildet ist. Auf Bild 1 <points to picture 1>, was siehst du denn da? Was macht denn der Junge?

C16 Hm ...

I Der macht das hier, ne? (lächelt)

C16 ((nods))

I Is'n das?

C16 Zähne

I Zähne zeigen. Weint er?

C16 Nein.

I Macht er ((cries)).

C16 ((shakes his head))

I Nee, ne? Der macht das hier ((smiles)) Is'n das?

C16 Zähne.

I Is' lachen, ne?

C16 ((nods))

I Und was macht der Junge hier? <points to picture 2>

C16 ...

I Der macht das hier ((jumps))

C16 ((nods)) So hat keine ... <point to the boy's feet on picture 2>

I Mm, der hat keine Schuhe an. ... Wie heißt denn das?

C16 Hm, ... ko – hüpfen.

I Hüpfen. Sehr gut. Sehr gut. Und was macht er hier? <points to picture 3>

C16 Handzange.

I ((claps her hands))

C16 Handzange.

I Handzange. Klatschen ..., klatschen, ne? ((claps her hands)) Klatschen. Sehr gut. Und was macht der Junge hier? <points to picture 4>

C16 Schuh.

I Der macht so hier ((stamps her feet)), ne?

C16 Mm.

I Wie heißt denn das?

C16 Schuhe.

I Stampfen, ne? Oder trampeln.

C16 ((stands up and stamps his feet))

I Genau so. Genau so. Super. Und was macht der Junge hier? <points to picture 5> Schau. Da macht er das hier. ((nods))

C16 ((nods))

I Wie heißt'en das?

C16 Ja.

I Genau. Er macht ja, ne? Das ist nicken. Mit dem Kopf nicken. ... Und was macht das Mädchen? <points to picture 6>

C16 <puts his hands on his head>

I Sie macht so <puts her hands on her head> und dann so hier ((turns around))

C16 Mm.

I Is'n das?

C16 Umdrehen.

I Drehen. Sehr gut. Also wir haben lachen, springen, klatschen, stampfen, mit dem Kopf nicken und drehen. <points to the corresponding pictures> Weißt du denn auch wie man auf Englisch dazu sagt – wie der Kooky dazu sagt?

C16 ... Phil <points to picture 5)

I Mm.

[...]

I Pass auf, wir machen so. Ich ruf' den Kooky einfach mal, ne? Und der Kooky

interviewt dich. ... Was hältst du davon?

C16 ((nods))

I Kooky. ... Come out of your basket.

C16 ((smiles))

I Good morning, Kooky.

K Good morning.

I Kooky, this is C16.

K Good morning, C16.

C16 ((smiles))

I Kooky ... I want you to interview C16.

K Okay. How?

I Well, you tell him the movements and he shows you the pictures. Okay?

K Okay.

C16 ((smiles))

I Weißt du, was ich dem Kooky jetzt gesagt hab?

C16 ((nods))

I Ja? Hast du verstanden?

C16 ...

I Ich hab' zum Kooky gesagt, dass er dich jetzt interviewen soll.

C16 Mm.

I [...] Und er macht das so, er nennt Bewegungen und du zeigst einfach auf das bild <points to various pictures> Ja? Was er gerade sagt. Woll'n wir das so machen.

C16 <points to picture 5>

I Verstehst du?

C16 ((nods))

I Okay.

K Smile.

C16 ((smiles))

I Auf welchem Bild ist das denn abgebildet?

C16 Die <points to picture 4>

I Mm.

K Jump.

C16 <points to picture 1>

K ... Clap your hands.

C16 <points to picture 5>

K ... Stamp your feet.

C16 <points to picture 2>

K Nod your head.

C16 <points to picture 6>

K ... Turn around.

C16 <points to picture 3> ((smiles))

K ... Thank you for the interview. Goodbye.

C16 <points to picture 5>

I Hat sich verabschiedet von dir. ((smiles)) Woll'n wir auch Goodbye zum Kooky sagen?

C16 ((nods))

I Goodbye, Kooky.

C16 Bye, Kooky.

K Goodbye.

I So, Kooky. Go back into your basket.

K I don't wanna go...

C16 ((smiles))

I Ich hab' gesagt, geh zurück in den Korb und er hat gesagt, ich will nicht, ich will nicht.

[...]

I War nicht schlimm, oder?

C16 Ja.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Four-Year-Old (C17)

- I Du bist also der C17.
- C17 Mm.
- I Du bist auch vier Jahre alt. Wie alle anderen.
- C17 Ja, vier.
- I Bow, da bist du aber schon richtig alt.
- C17 Mm. Eins, zwei, drei, vier <counts with his fingers>
- I Wahnsinn, Wahnsinn. Ich bin die Sylvia und ich bin nicht vier Jahre alt. Und wenn ich zähle, reicht nicht eine Hand. Ich brauch' ... dann fünf Hände, fünf Hände brauch' ich. ... sechs Hände? ... Ich brauch' ganz viele Hände, um mein Alter zu zeigen. Bow. ((smiles))
- C17 ((smiles))
- I Du kennst mich noch von letzter Woche, ne. Da hast du ganz alleine ein Spiel gespielt – mit der Petra und dem Kooky zusammen. Erinnerst du dich?
- C17 ((nods))
- I Hat dir das Spass gemacht?
- C17 ((nods))
- I Ich hab' da gesehen, dass du bei dem Spiel Englisch gelernt hast. ... Stimmt's?
- C17 ((nods))
- I Weißt du noch, wie das Spiel hieß?
- C17 ((shakes his head))
- I Nee? Weißt du noch, wie das Spiel funktionierte? ...) Was man da machen musste?
- C17 <looks at all the pictures> ((shakes his head)) Weiß' ich nich'.
- I Weißt du nicht mehr. Macht nix. Macht gar nix. Wussten die meisten Kinder nicht mehr. Ist nicht schlimm. ... Ich weiß aber noch, was man bei dem Spiel machen musste. Ich habe aber auch die Aufzeichnungen gehabt, um mich daran zu erinnern. Ja, ist gemein, ne?
- C17 ((nods))
- I Ihr habt, äh, letzte Woche ein eine Bewegung gesagt bekommen und die musstet ihr dann machen. Und das waren sechs Bewegungen, die ihr da gelernt habt.
- C17 ((nods))
- I Einmal die Bewegung, die wir hier sehen. <points to picture 1> ... was macht denn der Junge da? Schau mal auf den Mund.

C17 ...

I Der macht das hier ((smiles)) ... Weint er?

C17 ((shakes his head))

I Macht er denn?

C17 Lachen.

I Er lacht. Genau. Und was macht der Junge hier? <points to picture 2>

C17 Da tut der hüpfen.

I ((smiles)) Hüpfen. Genau. Und was macht der Junge hier? <points to picture 3>

C17 ...

I Da macht er das hier. ((claps her hands)) Ne?

C17 Mm.

I Is'n das?

C17 ((claps his hands)) Klatschen.

I Klatschen. Genau. Und was macht denn der Junge hier? <points to picture 4>

C17 Mit de Füße trampeln.

I Genau. Trampeln, ne. Stampfen. Das Bild <points to picture 5> ist etwas schlecht geworden. Da macht der Junge das hier ((nods))

C17 ((nods))

I Is'n das?

C17 Nicken.

I Nicken. Siehst'e! Und das Mädchen? <points to picture 6> Was macht das Mädchen?

C17 So <puts his hands on his head>

I So und dann macht es so <puts her hands on her head and turns around> Is'n das?

C17 Drehen.

I Drehen. Genau. Super. Weißt du denn auch noch, wie der Kooky zu den Bewegungen gesagt hatte?

C17 ((shakes his head))

I Nein? Na, dann würd' ich sagen, holen wir den Kooky einfach mal dazu. Vielleicht redest du ja lieber Englisch mit dem Kooky als mit mir. Wollen wir das so machen?

C17 ((nods))

I Wollen wir mal rufen?

C17 ((nods))

I Willst du's selber machen?

C17 ((shakes his head))

I Kooky. Kooky.

C17 <when Kooky arrived> Äh, wie sieht denn der aus? Wie sieht denn der aus?

K Good morning. Good morning.

C17 Wie sieht denn der Kooky aus?

I Ich halt ihm einfach mal den Schnabel zu, dass er jetzt nix sagt. Weißt du, was gemacht hat? Letzte Woche schon. Letzte Woche ist er rausgeflogen als ich ein Kind geholt hab, war das Fenster einen Spalt auf. Da ist der hinausgeflogen und hat draußen im Schlamm gespielt. – im Sandkasten im Dreck. Und da hab' ich zum Kooky gesagt. Kooky, das geht so nicht. Da muss ich dich waschen. Da musst du in die Waschmaschine. Und da hat er gesagt, nein. Und dann wollt ich ihn waschen. Und weißt du, was er gemacht hat?

C17 ((shakes his head))

I Da ist er einfach hoch auf den Schrank geflogen, dass ich nicht rankam. Also nicht hier. Bei dem anderen Schrank.

C17 Dort ganz hoch?

I Mm. Dort ganz hoch und dann hab' ich ihn nicht mehr waschen können ... und deshalb ist er jetzt immer noch so dreckig.

C17 ... A... waru... Kann – der kann – der kann doch nicht alleine fliegen.

I Der konnte alleine fliegen. Der ist ja auch alleine rausgekommen – durch's Fenster.

C17 Mm.

I Wirklich. Da musste ich mal schimpfen.

C17 Welches Kind wollt's du denn da holen?

I Hm, ich glaube die Azisa war's, aber ich bin mir nicht mehr ganz sicher. Das waren ganz viele Kinder das letzte Mal. Soll ich den Kooky sagen, dass er dich jetzt interviewen soll?

C17 ((nods))

I Kooky, this is C17.

K Good morning, C17

C17 Good morning.

I I think, Kooky, you should interview C17.

K Okay

I And you do it by telling him the movements and he shows you the pictures.

K Okay

I Ich hab' ihm jetzt gesagt, er soll dich interviewen. Er zei, äh, er sagt dir die Bewegung, die Bewegungen und du zeigst einfach auf die Bilder, wo die Bewegung drauf ist, die er sagt.

C17 ((nods))

I Okay.

K Clap your hands.

C17 ((claps his hands))

K Stamp your feet.

C17 ((stamps his feet))

K Jump.

C17 ((jumps))

K Nod your head.

C17 Weiß ich nicht mehr, was das ist.

I Weißt du nicht mehr. Macht nix!

K Turn around. ... Turn around.

C17 Is'n das für'n Wort?

I Auch vergessen. Macht nix.

K Smile.

C17 ((smiles))

I ((smiles)) Ja.

K Thank you, C17. Goodbye.

I Goodbye, Kooky. Thank you for the interview. Hat der Kooky schön gemacht.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Four-Year-Old (C19)

- I Erinnerungst du dich noch an mich?
- C19 ((nods))
- I Ich bin die Sylvia und ich hab' gehört, dass ihr hier Englisch im Kindergarten macht.
- C19 ((nods))
- I Und da hab' ich mir das Spiel damals angesehen und war total überrascht, wie schnell ihr Englisch spricht. Hat mich total fasziniert. ... Du bist also die C19.
- C19 Ja.
- I Und die C19 ist wie alt?
- C19 Vier. <shows four fingers>
- I Vier ganze Jahre.. ... Kannst du dich an das Spiel von letzter Woche erinnern.
- C19 ((nods))
- I Ja? Weißt du wie es heißt?
- C19 ((nods))
- I Wie heißt's denn?
- C19 <thinks and remains silent>
- I Vergessen?
- C19 ((nods))
- I Ja? Ich auch. ... Ich glaube, giving commands. Das hat einen komischen Namen gehabt.
- C19 ((nods))
- I Kannst du dich erinnern, wie das Spiel gespielt wurde?
- C19 ((nods)) In Englisch.
- I In Englisch. Was musstet ihr denn da machen?
- C19 Drehen.
- I Drehen. Und was noch?
- C19 Hüpfen.
- I Drehen, hüpfen. Was noch?
- C19 ...

I War so viel. Das kann man sich gar nicht alles merken.

C19 ((nods))

I Ich hab' versucht, mir alles zu merken, was ihr gemacht habt und da sind diese <points to the pictures> sechs Bewegungen raus gekommen. Ja? Was macht denn der Junge hier? <points to picture 1> Gehen wir mal die Bewegungen durch. Was macht'en der hier?

C19 Lachen.

I Lachen. Genau. Und was macht er? <points to picture 2> Was macht er?

C19 ((smiles))

I Er macht so. ((jumps))

C19 Er stampft.

I Nee, stampfen nicht. Dieses hier. ((jumps))

C19 Hüpfen.

I Hüpfen, ne. Der hüpf. Und das hier? <points to picture 3> Kennst du das hier?

C19 Fingerabdruck.

I Fingerabdruck. Nicht ganz. So hier. ((claps her hands))

C19 Klatscht.

I Klatschen. Super. Kannst du dir vorstellen, was das hier darstellen soll? <points to picture 4>

C19 Ja. Ne Hose.

I Mm, ne Hose, ne? Und am Ende der Hose sind Schuhe, ne?

C19 ((nods))

I Und die Schuhe machen das hier ((stamps her feet))

C19 <remains silent>

I ((stamps her feet)) Was'n das?

C19 <whispers> Stampfen.

I Stampfen. Genau. Das Bild ist etwas schlecht geworden <points to picture 5>. Das soll das hier darstellen. ((nods))

C19 ((nods))

I Was ist das?

C19 Nicken.

I Mm. Nicken. Genau. Und das Mädchen? <points to picture 6>

C19 Tut de Arme hoch.

I Tut die Arme hoch. Genau. Die macht so und dann macht die so hier ((turns around))
Oooohhh. Was'n das?

C19 Drehen.

I Drehen. Genau. Super. Also haben wir die Bilder schon mal zusammen. Lachen, Springen,
ähm, Klatschen, Stampfen, Nicken und Drehen. <points to each picture while speaking>
Weißt du denn auch noch, wie der Kooky dazu sagt?

C19 ((shakes her head))

I Nein? ... Hm, was machen wir denn? ... Ich denke, wir rufen mal den Kooky. <to Kooky>
Kooky. Kooky.

K Good morning.

I Good morning, Kooky. Kooky, ther is C19

C19 ((smiles))

K Good morning, C19

C19 <strechtes out her armes to Kooky> Hallo.

K Hello. How are you?

C19 <remains silent>

I Kooky, I think you should interview C19.

K I can interview C19.

I Yes.

K Cool.

I <to C19> Ich hab' ihm jetzt gesagt, dass er dich interviewen soll. Okay?

C19 ((nods))

I Kooky, you tell her the movements and she shows you the pictures. Okay?

K Okay.

I Ich hab' ihm gesagt, dass er dir eine Bewegung nennt, also die Bewegungen nennt, und du
auf die Bilder zeigst. Wollen wir das so machen?

C19 ((nods))

K Clap your hands.

C19 <points to picture 3>

K Nod your head.

C19 ((claps her hands)) ... <whispers> klatschen

K Mm. Stamp your feet.

C19 Stampfen.

I Richtig. Auf welchem Bild haben wir das?

C19 <points to picture 2>

I Das war das Springen, ne?

K Turn around.

C19 <points to picture 6>

K Jump.

C19 <points to picture 6>

K Jump.

C19 <points to picture 6>

K Smile

C19 <points to picture 4>

K Very good.

C19 <points to picture 2>

I ((smiles)) Sehr schön hat der Kooky gesagt.

C19 <looks at all the pictures>

K Thank you for the interview. Goodbye.

C19 ((waves goodbye))

I Goodbye, Kooky. ((smiles)) Er hat gesagt, danke für das Interview und hat Auf Wiedersehen gesagt. Das war schon alles.

C19 ((nods))

I War's schlimm?

C19 ((shakes her head)) Nein.

I Und du hast sogar drei stück richtig gehabt. Toll, ne?

C19 ((nods))

I Von den vielen Wörtern hast du dir ganz schön viel gemerkt – von dem Spiel. Oder

kanntest du die vorher schon?

C19 ((nods))

I Ja? Durch ein Lied?

C19 ((nods))

I Ja? Welches Lied?

C19 Von Kookaburra sits. <sings the first stanza>

I Das wie süß. Wie süß! Kennst du auch das? If you're happy and you know it clap your hands?

C19 Ja [...]

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Four-Year-Old (C20)

- I Du bist also der C20.
- C20 ((nods))
- I Ich bin die Sylvia. Wir kennen uns schon, ne?
- C20 ((nods))
- I Weißt du noch woher?
- C20 ((shakes his head))
- I Nein? Ich war letzte Woche in der Turnhalle und habe gesehen, dass ihr an ganz tolles Spiel mit dem Kooky gespielt habt. Stimmt's?
- C20 ((nods)) Mm.
- I Und, ähm ... bei dem Spiel habt ihr ganz viele Bewegungen kennen gelernt..
- C20 ((nods))
- I In Englisch, ne?
- C20 Mm. ((nods))
- I Weißt du, wie das Spiel hieß?
- C20 ((shakes his head))
- I Weißt du, wie man es gespielt hat?
- C20 Englisch.
- I Auf Englisch, ne?
- C20 Mm.
- I Was musstet ihr denn machen?
- C20 Englisch sagen.
- I Englisch sagen. Noch was?
- C20 Weiß' nicht mehr?
- I Weißt'e nich' mehr?
- C20 ((shakes his head))
- I War es so, dass die Petra euch, ähm, Bewegungen gesagt hatte, ne, bzw. der Kooky dann euch Bewegungen gesagt hatte und ihr die dann gemacht habt. Ne? Richtig?
- C20 Mm.

- I So und die Bewegungen, die ihr gemacht habt, sind hier auf diesen sechs Bildern <points to the pictures> abgebildet. Auf Bild 1 haben wir? <points to picture 1>
- C20 Kopf gekreist
- I ((smiles)) Nee, das hier auf dem Bild <takes a pen and circles around the mouth on the picture> Was macht denn der Junge? Schau mal auf den Mund!
- C20 Lachen.
- I Lachen. Genau. Und was macht der Junge auf Bild 2? <points to picture 2>
- C20 Hüpfen.
- I Hüpfen. Genau. Und auf Bild 3? <points to picture 3> Was macht da der Junge?
- C20 ... Finger klatschen
- I Klatschen. Genau. Klatschen. Und auf Bild 4? <points to picture 4>
- C20 ...
- I Ist das hier ((stamps her feet)) mit beiden Beinen.
- C20 Ja.
- I Was'n das?
- C20 Stampfen.
- I Stampfen. <.points to picture 5> Das ist die Bewegung hier ((nods)), die ist schlecht getroffen. Was macht man da?
- C20 Kopf – mit'm Kopf ja sagen.
- I Ne, nicken. Genau Mit'm Kopf ja sagen. Und auf Bild 6, was macht man da? <points to picture 6>
- C20 Weiß ich nicht.
- I Guck mal, das Mädchen – das Mädchen ist auch schlecht abgebildet. Das Mädchen macht so hier. ((turns around)) Oooooohhh.
- C20 Drehen.
- I Drehen. Genau. Super. Da hätten wir zumindest die Bewegungen soweit zusammen. Weißt du, was die auf Englisch hießen?
- C20 ((shakes his head))
- I Nee? Hm, dann denk' ich, da sollten wir den Kooky mal rufen.
- C20 ((nods))
- I Vielleicht redest du ja lieber Englisch mit ihm als mit mir?

C20 ((nods))

I Kooky. Kooky.

C20 ((smiles))

K Good morning.

I Good morning, Kooky. Kooky, this is C20.

K Good morning, C20.

C20 Guten Morgen.

I Kooky, I think you should interview C20.

K How?

I Ah, you tell him the movements and he shows you the pictures.

K Okay.

I Ich hab' zum Kooky gesagt, dass er dich jetzt einfach interviewen soll. Ja? Und hab' zu ihm gesagt, dass er dir die Bewegungen nennen soll und du zeigst einfach auf das Bild, was er sagt. Ja, wollen wir das so machen?

C20 ((nods)) <points to picture 4>

I Er hat doch noch gar keine Bewegung gesagt. Soll er mal eine Bewegung sagen?

C20 ((nods))

I Okay, Kooky. You can start.

K Clap your hands.

C20 <points to picture 3>

K Very good. ... Jump.

C20 <points to picture 6>

K Nod your head.

C20 <points to picture 5>

K Very good. Smile.

C20 <points to picture 4>

K Stamp your feet.

C20 <points to picture 1>

K Turn around.

C20 <points to picture 2>
K Thank you very much. Goodbye.
I Goodbye, Kooky. Bye bye.
C20 ((smiles))
I Ist der Kooky schon wieder fertig mit dem Interview.
C20 Mm.
I Ging schnell, oder?
C20 Mm.
I War gar nicht weiter schlimm.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Five-Year-Old (C23)

- I Ich bin die Sylvia und du bist der C23.
- C23 ((nods))
- I Und der C23 ist wie alt?
- C23 Fünf.
- I Fünf Jahre. Kommst du auch bald in die Schule.
- C23 ((nods))
- I Was machst du denn in der Schule? Was lernst du denn da?
- C23 Hm, Sachen.
- I Ganz viele Sachen. Lesen ... Schreiben.
- C23 ((nods))
- I Weißt du, was ich in der Schule gelernt habe?
- C23 ((nods))
- I Englisch. Und weißt du, was ich gehört habe? Ihr lernt Englisch schon im Kindergarten. Ist das richtig?
- C23 ((smiles and nods his head))
- I Ja, wer bringt euch denn das Englisch bei?
- C23 Schön.
- I Is schön? ... Das Englisch? Ich habe letzte Woche in der Turnhalle gegessen und mir angeschaut, wie ihr ein Spiel gespielt habt. Mit der Petra und dem Kooky zusammen, ne? Das war lustig.
- C23 ((nods his head and smiles))
- I Weißt du noch, wie das Spiel hieß?
- C23 Hm ((shakes his head))
- I Nee, weißt du noch, wie das ging – das Spiel?
- C23 Hm.
- I Nee?
- C23 ((shakes his head))
- I Ich weiß noch, wie's ging. Und zwar habt ihr da diese <points to the pictures> Bewegungen gemacht, sobald ihr das Kommando dazu hattet, richtig?

C23 ((nods))

I Was waren das denn für Bewegungen? Schau' mal hier. Was macht denn das Kind hier? <points to picture 1>

C23 Lachen.

I Lachen, genau. Und hier? <points to picture 2>

C23 Hüpfen.

I Hüpfen. Und hier? <points to picture 3>

C23 Klatschen.

I Klatschen, super. Und hier? <points to picture 4>

C23 Trampeln.

I Trampeln, genau. Und hier? <points to picture 5>

C23 Hm.

I Das ist das hier. ((nods))

C23 ((nods)) Nicken.

I Und hier? <points to picture 6>

C23 Drehen.

I Drehen. Genau. Super. Das ging ja toll. Weißt du, was das auf Englisch alles heißt?

C23 ((shakes his head))

I Nee? Dann müß'n wir wahrscheinlich den Kooky dazu holen, ne? ... Oder?

C23 ((nods))

I Kooky! It's your time for the interview.

K Oh, cool. I can do the interview.

I Yes, you can. ((smiles)) There is C23.

K C23?

I Yes.

(...)

K Hello, C23.

C23 ((smiles))

I Kooky, well you should do the interview with C23. Ja? Because you did the game last

time. <to the child> Ich hab' zu ihm gesagt, dass er mit dir das Interview machen soll, weil er auch mit dir das Spiel gespielt hat, ne? <to Kooky> Kooky, there are six pictures. Okay? And on each picture there is a movement. And you just say the movement and C23 will show you. Okay?

K Okay.

I Ich hab' gesagt, er soll dir einfach die Bewegungen nennen, die ihr hier <points to the pictures> auf den sechs Bildern habt und du, ähm, zeigst einfach auf das Bild, was er gerade sagt. Okay?

C23 ((nods))

I Okay, Kooky, go on.

K Okay, C23, smile.

C23 <points to picture 3>

K Jump.

C23 <points to picture 2>

K Stamp your feet.

C23 <points to picture 1>

K Turn around.

C23 <points to picture 4>

K Nod your head.

C23 <points to picture 5>

K Clap your hands.

C23 <points to picture 6>

K Okay, smile.

C23 <points to picture 3>

K Stamp your feet.

C23 <points to picture 2>

K Turn around.

C23 <points to picture 1>

K Nod your head.

C23 <points to picture 4>

I Okay, Kooky, you did a good job and C23 too. Right?

K Yes, C23 did a very good job.

C23 ((smiles))

I Hast du ganz toll gemacht. Hat auch Kooky gesagt. <to Kooky> Okay, Kooky, I think the interview has finished – finished.

K Oh, already?

I Yes, already. You can go back to your basket and can say goodbye to C23.

K Okay, goodbye, C23.

C23 <waves goodbye>

I Ja, ich hab' gesagt, das hat der Kooky ganz toll gemacht und der C23 auch. Und damit hab'n wir das Interview auch schon abgeschlossen. War nicht schlimm, ne?

C23 ((shakes his head))

I War's leicht?

C23 ((nods))

I Ja, ne? Okay.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Five-Year-Old (C28)

- I Ich bin die Sylvia und du bist die
- C28 C28.
- I Die C28. Und wie alt ist denn die C28?
- C28 Fünf.
- I Fünf. Dann kommst du auch bald in die Schule. Was lernst du denn in der Schule?
- C28 <no reaction>
- I Was lernst du denn in der Schule?
- C28 <looks out of the window and remains silent>
- I Man lernt da Schreiben, ... Lesen
- C28 Rechnen.
- I Rechnen. Weißt du, was ich in der Schule gelernt habe?
- C28 ((shakes her head))
- I Englisch. Und weißt du, was ich gehört habe?
- C28 ((shakes her head))
- I Ihr lernt Englisch schon im Kindergarten. Stimmt das?
- C28 ((nods))
- I Ja. Von wem lernt ihr denn das Englisch?
- C28 <no reaction>
- I Weißt du nicht? Vom Kooky eigentlich.
- C28 ((nods))
- I Letzte Woche hab' ich zugeschaut, wie ihr, ähm, zusammen mit'm Kooky und der Petra ein Spiel gespielt habt – in der Turnhalle. Erinnerst du dich?
- C28 ((nods))
- I Weißt du noch, wie das Spiel hieß?
- C28 ((shakes her head))
- I Weißt du noch, wie es ging – wie es geht – wie man's spielt?
- C28 ((shakes her head))

I Auch nicht. Aber ich weiß es. Ihr habt nämlich die Bewegungen gemacht. <points to the pictures> Ihr habt ein Kommando bekommen, richtig?

C28 ((nods))

I Und ihr habt die Bewegung gemacht, die gesagt worden ist. ... Und das waren die Bewegungen, die hier abgebildet sind. Da haben wir einmal dies Bewegung hier. <points to picture 1> Was haben wir denn hier?

C28 <no reaction>

I Was macht denn der Junge?

C28 <no reaction>

I Er lächelt, ne?

C28 ((nods))

I Und was macht der Junge hier? <points to picture 2>

C28 ... Der springt. ((smiles))

I Der springt. Und hier? <points to picture 3>

C28 Die klatscht.

I Klatschen, genau. Und hier? <points to picture 4>

C28 ... Mit de Füße stampfen.

I Richtig, mit den Füßen stampfen. Und hier? <points to picture 5>

C28 <thinks>

I Mit dem Kopf nicken, ne?

C28 Mm.

I Und was macht das Mädchen hier? <points to picture 6>

C28 <no reaction>

I Sie macht das hier. ((turns around))

C28 ((smiles))

I Das dreht sich, ne? Weißt du auch wie der Kooky dazu sagt? <points to the pictures>

C28 ((shakes her head))

I Nein? Dann würde ich sagen, holen wir den Kooky dazu und der hält jetzt das Interview mit dir. Okay?

I Kooky, come out of your basket.

K Good morning. Hello.

I Hello, Kooky. How are you?

K Oh, I'm fine, thank you. Who's there?

I It's C28.

K Oh, good morning, C28, how are you?

C28 ((smiles))

I Ahm, Kooky, I think you should do the interview with C28.

K Okay.

I I think you should tell her the movements.

K Okay.

I And she will show you the pictures.

K Okay.

I Ich hab' zum Kooky gesagt, dass er mit dir das Interview jetzt führen soll. Ja? Und er sagt dir ganz einfach die Bewegung und du zeigst einfach auf das Bild. Okay? Ja?

C28 ((nods))

K Smile.

C28 <thinks and points then to picture 3>

K Jump. ... Jump.

C28 <looks at the pictures>

K Stamp you feet.

C28 <looks at the pictures>

I Auf welchem Bild siehst du das, ... was er gesagt hat?

C28 <no reaction>

I Weißt'e nicht?

C28 ((shakes her head))

K Clap your hands.

C28 <no reaction>

K Nod your head.

C28 <looks at the pictures>

K Turn around.

C28 <looks outside the window>

I Auch nicht?

C28 ((shakes her head))

I Hm, well, Kooky, I think the interview is over. She doesn't know. She can't remember.

K Oh, ... okay. Well, then goodbye.

I Ich hab' zu ihm gesagt, dass das Interview da vorbei ist. Ja, weil du dich nicht daran erinnern kannst, was es hieß. Okay?

C28 ((nods))

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Five-Year-Old (C29)

- I Ja, ich bin die Sylvia und du bist die C29. Und die C29 ist schon ganze fünf Jahre alt.
- C29 ((shakes her head)) <shows five fingers>
- I So alt <shows also five fingers>
- C29 ((nods))
- I Super. Da kommst du auch bald in die Schule, oder?
- C29 ((nods))
- I Mm, was lernst du denn in der Schule?
- C29 <remains silent> ((smiles))
- I ... Rechnen, ... Lesen, ... Schreiben. Ja? Schreiben?
- C29 ((nods))
- I Weißt du, was ich in der Schule gelernt habe?
- C29 ((nods))
- I Ich hab' Englisch in der Schule gelernt. Und weißt du, was ich gehört habe, dass ihr im Kindergarten Englisch lernt. Stimmt das?
- C29 ((nods))
- I Ja? Ich habe letzte Woche zugesehen, wie ihr zusammen mit Petra und Kooky ein Spiel gespielt habt in der Turnhalle. Erinnerst du dich an das Spiel?
- C29 <no reaction>
- I Ja? Weißt du, worum es in dem Spiel ging? Was ihr da gemacht habt?
- C29 ... ((shakes his head))
- I Ich erinnere' mich noch dran. Ich weiß, dass ihr diese Bewegungen <points to the pictures> gemacht habt. Ne?
- C29 ((nods))
- I Was haben wir denn hier? <points to picture 1>
- C29 Ein Jung'
- I Mm, was macht denn der Junge?
- C29 <no reaction>
- I Der lächelt, ne?

C29 ((nods))

I Und was macht der Junge hier? <points to picture 2>

C29 Der rennt.

I Der rennt, nein, er springt.

C29 ((nods))

I Ja, und hier? <points to picture 3>

C29 Ne Hand.

I ((claps her hands)) Und was machen die Hände?

C29 Die klatschen.

I Die klatschen. Und was machen die Füße hier? <points to picture 4>

C29 <no reaction>

I ((stamps her feet))

C29 Klopfen.

I Klopfen, ne? Die stampfen. Genau. Und was macht der Kopf hier? <points to picture 5>

C29 <no reaction>

I ((nods))

C29 So ((nods))

I Nicken. Und was macht das Mädchen hier? <points to picture 6>

C29 <no reaction>

I ((turns around))

C29 Die rennt.

I Die rennt? Nee, die dreht sich.

C29 Dreht sich.

I Ne, das ist auf Deutsch. Wie ist es denn in deiner Sprache? Was sagst'en du hier dazu? <points to picture 1>

C29 <no reaction>

I Auch Lächeln? Nee, ne? Weißt du nicht?

C29 ((shakes her head))

I Weißt du, was wir machen? Wir holen uns einfach den Kooky dazu. Ja? Da machst du

das I mit dem Kooky. Okay? Ja?

C29 ((nods))

I Kooky

K Yes, Sylvia. <to the child> Oh, hello, C29.

C29 ((smiles))

K Hello, hello.

I Ahm, Kooky, I think you should do the I with C29.

K I can do the I?

I Yes. <to the child> Ich hab' gesagt, dass er jetzt mit dir das I machen kann.

C29 ((nods))

I <to Kooky> I think you tell her the movemnts and she shows the pictures. Okay?

K Okay.

I Ich hab' ihm gesagt, er soll dir einfach die Bewegungen nennen, ja, und du zeigst einfach auf das Bild. Ja? Okay?

C29 ((nods))

I Ready, Kooky?

K Yes, I'm ready.

I Er ist soweit.

K Jump.

C29 ((smiles))

I Auf welchem Bild haben wir das denn? ((looks at the pictures))

K Jump.

C29 <points to picture 6>

C29 Stamp your feet.

K <points to picture 5>

K Smile

C29 <points to picture 3>

K Ahm, turn around.

C29 <points to picture 1>

K ...

C29 <points to picture 2>

I ((smiles)) Was ist dann denn jetzt?

C29 ((smiles))

K Clap your hands.

C29 <wants to point to picture 3, but points to picture 6>

K Smile.

C29 <points to picture 3>

K Jump.

C29 <points to picture 4>

K Stamp your feet.

C29 <points to picture 2>

K Nod your head.

C29 <points to picture 3>

K And, turn around.

C29 <points to picture 1>

K Well done.

C29 <points to picture 6>

I Gut gemacht, hat er gesagt. <to Kooky> So, Kooky, I think the I is over. And you can go back to your basket.

K Okay. Bye bye.

I Ich hab' jetzt gesagt, das I ist vorbei und er kann wieder in seinen Korb gehen. <to Kooky> So, Kooky, there you are.<to the child> Da hast du's schon geschafft. War nicht schwer, ne?

C29 ((smiles))

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Five-Year-Old (C30)

- I So... da kannst du mal Platz nehmen.
- C30 <has a seat>
- I Oh... Hast du Angst? Nee, nor?
- C30 Nee.
- I Nee, bist ein großer Junge. ... Du bist also der C30.
- C30 Ja.
- I Ich bin die Sylvia. ((smiles)) Wie alt bist du denn?
- C30 Fünf.
- I Fünf ganze Jahre. Das ist ja Wahnsinn. Da kommst du bald in die Schule. Hm?
- C30 Letztes Jahr.
- I Nächstes Jahr schon?
- C30 Letztes Jahr.
- I Letztes Jahr bist du in die Schule gekommen? Da lernst du Schreiben, ne, und Rechnen, ne? Und ganz wahrscheinlich auch Englisch. Das hab ich auch in der Schule gelernt. Ich bin nämlich Englischlehrerin. Ham' se euch erzählt, ne? Und ich hab' gehört, dass man hier im Kindergarten, ähm, mit dem Kooky Englisch lernt. Ist das richtig?
- C30 Mm.
- I Was lernt man denn da alles so Tolles?
- C30 ... Schreiben.
- I Schreiben lernt ihr vom Kooky?
- C30 Ach, nee.
- I Nee, ne? Was lernt man da? Weißt du das noch?
- C30 <remains silent and looks to the floor>
- I Weißt du nicht mehr?
- C30 ((shakes his head))
- I Macht nix. Der Kooky spricht ja kein Deutsch. Der spricht ja gar nicht so wie wir. Der hat ja so ne andere Sprache.
- C30 Mm.
- I Mm. Und letzte Woche in der Turnhalle hat er euch ein Spiel – habt ihr mit dem Kooky

ein Spiel gespielt, ne? Weißt du noch, wie das Spiel hieß?

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Nein? Weißt du noch, was ihr bei dem Spiel gemacht habt?

C30 ... Ja.

I Ja? Was habt ihr denn gemacht?

C30 Übungen ((smiles))

I Was denn für Übungen?

C30 <looks at the pictures>

I Die Übungen die hier liegen, ne? <points to the pitures>

C30 Mm.

I Wie – wie war das denn? Wann habt – wann habt ihr denn welche Übung gemacht?

C30 ...

I Weißt du das noch?

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Nee, ne? Immer wenn, ähm, der Kooky gesagt hat ..., was weiß ich, turn around, zum Beispiel, ne? Dann habt ihr etwas gemacht. ((smiles)) Was siehst du denn hier auf den einzelnen Bildern?

C30 Lächeln.

I Lächeln. Und was ist hier? <points to picture 2>

C30 ... Springen.

I Springen. Und da. <points to picture 3>

C30 Klatschen ((smiles))

I Und was haben wir hier? <points to picture 4>

C30 Stampfen.

I Super! Und hier? <points to picture 5>

C30 <remains silent>

I Ist schwer! Soll das hier darstellen. ((nods her head))

C30 <remains silent>

I Is'n das?

C30 Nicken.

I Nicken. Genau. Was haben wir hier?

C30 ... Im Kreis dreh'n. ((smiles))

I Im Kreis dreh'n. Super! Ist ja ganz toll! Also, Deutsch kannst du ja super. Hm, weißt du auch noch, was der Kooky dazu gesagt hat – zu den einzelnen Bildern? ... Der sagt ja nicht drehen, ne? Da sagt der etwas anderes. Weißt du noch, was das war? <points to picture 6>

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Nein, weißt du noch, was er zum Kopfnicken sagte? <points to picture 5>

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Hm. Und hierzu? <points to picture 4>

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Und hierzu? <points to picture 1>

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Auch nicht? Und hierzu? <points to picture 2>

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Und hier auch nicht?

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Pass mal auf, dann mach'n wir das wie folgt. Wir hol'n einfach den Kooky hinzu. Oder?

C30 Hm.

I Vielleicht geht's dann leichter? <Kooky appears> So, hello Kooky.

K Hello, Sylvia. Hello <greet the child>

C30 Oh ((smiles)) Der hat sich danz schön dreckig demacht..

I Ja, soll ich dir was sagen <whispers> aber niemanden weitersagen. Ich hab gesehen, wie er im Schlamm draußen gespielt hat.. Da hat er sich so <pretends to turn around> gedreht.

K Yeah, that was fun. That was fun.

I Das hat ihm auch noch Spaß gemacht.. Pass mal auf, der Kooky macht jetzt einfach das Interview. Oder?

C30 ((nods))

I Ja. <to Kooky> Kooky, how about, when you do the interview?

K O yeah, that sounds fun. I, ehm, say the movements and he shows me.

I <to Kooky> Okay. >to the child> Hast du verstanden, was er gesagt hat?

C30 ((shakes his head))

I Er hat gesagt, dass er das Interview jetzt gerne mit dir macht. Und er nennt dir einfach die Bewegungen und du zeigst auf das Bild. Okay?

K Are you ready?

C30 ...

I Ahm. Bist du soweit?

C30 ((nods))

I Mm, <to Kooky> he's ready. Okay?

K Smile.

C30 ... <points to picture 5>

K Jump.

C30 <thinks> ((smiles)) <points to picture 2>

K Clap your hands.

C30 <thinks and then points happily to picture 3>

K Stamp your feet.

C30 <point happily to picture 4>

K Turn around.

C30 ((smiles)) <points to picture 6>

K Nod your head.

C30 <points to picture 2>

K ... Well done.

C30 ((smiles))

I Sehr schön gemacht. <to Kooky> That was really a good job.

K Yes, it was. He's clever.

C30 ((smiles))

I Ha ((smiles)). Weißt du, was er gesagt hat?

C30 ((smiles))

I Er hat gesagt, dass du total schlau bist.

C30 ((smiles))

K Goodbye. Bye bye.

I Bye bye, Kooky. Da geht er wieder. Ins sein Körbchen. ... Das hast du ganz toll gemacht. War leichter, ne, wenn er's sagt, verstehst du's?

C30 <no reaction>

I Hm, hast du ganz toll gemacht. Damit hast du's auch schon geschafft. Hm, war's schlimm?

C30 Nö

I Nee, war's schwer?

C30 Nö

I Nö ((smiles)). Sehr schön. ... Dann kannst du wieder zu den anderen Kindern spielen gehen.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Five-Year-Old (C31)

- I Ja, ich bin die Sylvia. Und du bist die C31, ne?
- C31 Ja.
- I Und wie alt bist du?
- C31 Fünf.
- I Fünf. Kommst du in die Schule bald, ne?
- C31 Ja, nächstes Jahr.
- I Wow.
- C31 Aber dann schon sechs
- I Mm, dann kannst du auch ganz viele Sachen in der Schule machen. Dann kannst du dort schreiben.
- C31 Ja, ich kann ja schon ein bisschen schreiben.
- I Mm, und lesen kannst du auch.
- C31 Nein.
- I Das geht aber auch gar nicht so schwer.
- C31 Das – das muss ich dann alles in die Schule lernen.
- I Genau. Weißt du, was ich in der Schule gelernt habe?
- C31 Nein.
- I Ich hab' Englisch in der Schule gelernt. Und weißt du, was ich gehört habe?
- C31 Nein.
- I Ihr lernt Englisch schon im Kindergarten.
- C31 ((nods))
- I Wer bringt euch denn Englisch bei?
- C31 Hm ...
- I Wer macht mit euch denn Englisch?
- C31 De Susi macht manchmal.
- I Die Susi mit euch.
- C31 Ja, und manchmal de Birgit

I Oder die Birgit. Mm. Und wie machen die das?

C31 Manchmal die, ähm, ...

I Weißt du nicht? Okay. Ich hab' mir gedacht, ich, ähm, frag' mal nach dem Spiel von letzter Woche. Weißt du noch, wie das heißt?

C31 ((shakes her head))

I Nee, ne? Weißt du, was ihr da machen musstest? Und was ihr gemacht habt bei dem Spiel?

C31 ((shakes her head))

I Nein, hast du auch vergessen.

C31 Hm.

I Hm, ich weiß noch, was ihr gemacht habt. Ihr habt nämlich die Bewegungen hier <points to the pictures> gemacht.

C31 <looks at the pictures>

I Stimmt's?

C31 Mm.

I Was sehen wir denn auf den einzelnen Bildern. Was haben wir denn hier? <points to picture 1>

C31 Ein Junge.

I Mm, was macht den der Junge?

C31 Der lacht.

I Und auf dem zweiten Bild. Auf dem hier? <points to picture 2>

C31 Da – da hüpf er und macht die Arme breit.

I Richtig.

C31 Da hüpf er so <stands up and shows it>

I Genau, super.

I Und was macht er hier? <points to picture 3>

C31 Da tut der so machen <puts his left hand palm on the table> ... die Hand legen.

I So, na, das soll das hier darstellen ((claps her hands))

C31 ((claps her hands)) Klatschen.

I Klatschen, genau, super.

C31 Clap your hands, ist das.

I Super und das da? <points to picture 4>

C31 <stand up and steps beside her chair> Ein Bein so und ein Bein so. <lifts her left and right leg>

I Na, soll das hier darstellen ((stamps her feet))

C31 ((joins in))

I Is'n das hier?

C31 Stamp your feet.

I Stamp your feet. Wow! Und was ist das hier? <points to picture 5>

C31 Hm.

I Das soll das hier darstellen. ((nods))

C31 ((nods))

I Was'n das?

C31 Den Kopf so ((nods)) nicken.

I Weißt du auch, was der Kooky zum Nicken sagt?

C31 ... Weiß ich nicht genau.

I Weißt du noch nicht so genau. Und hier? <points to picture 6>

C31 Hier tut, ähm, das Mädchen so machen. ((lifts her arms))

I Mm, die macht das hier ((turns around)) noch dazu.

C31 ((smiles))

I Was'n das hier?

C31 Hm, drehen.

I Drehen, genau. Das macht Spaß, ne?

...

I Weißt du, was ich mir gedacht habe? Ich ruf' den Kooky mal aus seinem Korb. Der ist nämlich hier mit dem Korb gekommen.

C31 Wo denn?

I Da unten habm' mir den. Ruf mir'n mal. Kooky!

K Good morning. Good morning. Good morning. Good morning. <to the child> Good morning. Hello.

C31 ((smiles)) Hello.

I Hello, Kooky.

K Good morning. What are you doing?

I Ah, I interview C31.

K No.

I Yes, I do.

K No, I want to interview her.

I ... Weißt du, was der machen will?

C31 Nein.

I Der hat gesagt, er will dich interviewen. Ich darf das gar nicht.

C31 ((smiles))

I How will you interview her?

K Well, I say the movements and she shows me the picture. Okay?

I Er hat gesagt, er nennt dir einfach eine Bewegung und du zeigst ihm das Bild. ... Ja?

C31 Ja.

I Mm. <to Kooky> Okay?

K Are you ready?

I Bist du soweit?

C31 Ja.

I Mm. Okay.

K Smile

C31 ((smiles)) ((stands up and turns around))

I Kannst du's mir auf den Bildern zeigen? Brauchst gar nicht vormachen. Nur auf den Bildern zeigen. Smile

C31 <points to picture 6>

K Mm, clap your hands.

C31 ((claps her hands))

K Mm, stamp your feet..

C31 ((stamps her feet))

K Nod your head.

C31 ((nods))

K Jump.

C31 ... Was war denn das gleich nochmal?

I Mach'n wir ein anderes derweil. <to Kooky> Do another one, Kooky!

K Okay, turn around.

C31 <remains silent>

I <points to the pictures> Guck auf den – die Bildern. Vielleicht ist es da.

K Turn around.

C31 <points to picture 2>

K ... Jump.

C31 ((turns around)) Das ist das Mädchen. <points to picture 6>

K Smile.

C31 ...

I Vergessen?

C31 Mm. ((nods))

I Mm, macht nix. Hast du aber gut gemacht. <to Kooky> She did a good job, didn't she?

K Yes, she did. Very well done. So, the interview has finished and I go back to my basket. Goodbye.

C31 Goodbye.

I Na, da geht er in den Korb. Er hat gesagt, das Interview ist zu Ende. Er geht wieder in seinen Korb.

C31 Mm. ((smiles))

I ((smiles)) Der ist trollich drauf. Der ist lustig drauf, ne?

C31 Mm.

[...]

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Five-Year-Old (C33)

- I So ... Ach ... Ja, ich bin die Sylvia. Kennst mich noch von letzter Woche, ne?
- C33 ((nods))
- I Hab' ich in der Ecke gesessen und angeschaut, wie toll ihr gespielt habt. Ich hab gehört, du bist schon fünf Jahre alt. Stimmt das?
- C33 Mm ((nods))
- I Kommst ja bald in die Schule! Freust du dich auf die Schule?
- C33 Ja.
- I Ja? Da lernst – da lernst du ganz viele Sachen. Da lernst du Schreiben und Rechnen und sogar Englisch. Ich hab' nämlich auch Englisch in der Schule ... und jetzt sitzt' ich hier und bin Englischlehrerin. Lustig, ne?
- C33 ((nods and smiles))
- I Und ich hab' gehört, dass ihr hier vom Kooky lernt, wie man Englisch spricht.
- C33 ((nods))
- I Weil der Kooky spricht ja gar nicht so wie wir, ne?
- C33 Ja, der spricht nur Englisch.
- I Der spricht Englisch, genau. Ihr habt letzte Woche ein ganz ganz tolles Spiel mit dem Kooky gespielt. Weißt du noch, wie das heißt?
- C33 ((shakes her head))
- I Nein? Weißt du noch, wie das ging ... und was ihr da machen musstet?
- C33 ((shakes her head))
- I Auch nicht mehr? Ihr habt letzte Woche ein Spiel gespielt, das aus den Bewegungen bestand, die hier abgebildet sind, ne? <points to the pictures>
- C33 ((nods))
- I Was siehst du denn auf den Bildern?
- C33 ... Klatschen.
- I Wo ist denn Klatschen?
- C33 <points to picture 3>
- I Richtig. Und was siehst du noch?
- C33 <no reaction>

I Weißt du, was das hier darstellen soll? <points to picture 1>

C33 Ja.

I Ja? Was macht er?

C33 Lächeln.

I Lächeln. Und was macht er? <points to picture 2>

C33 Springen.

I Und was ist das hier? <points to picture 4>

C33 Mit de Füße trampeln.

I ((smiles)) Genau! Das macht Spaß, ne? ((stamps her feet))

C33 <no reaction>

I Und was ist hier? Das ist schwer. Das soll das hier darstellen. ((nods)) Is'n das hier?

C33 Nicken.

I Und was macht sie? <points to picture 6>

C33 ...

I ((turns around)) Is'n das?

C33 Drehen.

I Drehen. Genau. Weißt du auch, wie der Kooky dazu sagt?

C33 <no reaction>

I Nee?

C33 ((shakes her head))

I Ich denk', wir rufen mal den Kooky. Der soll uns mal helfen. Ne?

C33 ((nods))

I Kooky?

K Yes, yes. Here I am.

I Good morning, Kooky.

K Good morning, Sylvia.

I I do an interview with Josephine.

K An interview with Josephine? I want to – I want to do the interview.

I Oh, hast du verstanden, was er gesagt hat?

C33 ((shakes her head and smiles))

I Er hat gesagt, dass er doch das Interview mit dir führen. Na gut, dass wir ihn gerufen haben.

C33 Mm.

I Mm.

K Ahm. I say a movement and Josephine will show me.

I Okay. Er sagt, er nennt dir eine Bewegung und du zeigst einfach auf das Bild. Ja?

C33 ((nods))

K Okay, Josephine, are you ready?

I Bist du soweit?

C33 ((nods and smiles))

I Ja?

K Turn around.

C33 Hm. ...

I Siehst du hier irgendwo das Bild? <points to the pictures>

K Turn around.

C33 Hm.

I Einfach draufzeigen.

C33 ...

I Nehm'n wir erstmal ein anderes.

K Clap your hands.

C33 <points to picture 3>

I Super.

K Stamp your feet.

C33 <points to picture 4>

I Ganz toll.

K Jump.

C33 <no reaction>

K Jump.

C33 <no reaction>

K Smile.

C33 <points to picture 5>

K Nod your head.

C33 ... <no reaction>

I Weißt du noch?

C33 ((shakes her head))

K Jump.

C33 <no reaction>

K Turn around.

C33 Drehen. ((smiles)) <points to picture 6>

I Richtig. Das war drehen.

K Smile.

C33 <points to picture 5>

K And, nod your head.

C33 Nicken.

K ... Well done.

I Hm, sehr schön gemacht, hat er gesagt.

C33 ((smiles))

K Goodbye, Josephine.

C33 ((smiles))

K Goodbye. Bye bye. Bye bye. Uih. Uih. Uih. <goes back into his basket>

C33 ((smiles))

I ((smiles)) Zurück ins Körbchen. War nicht schlimm, ne?

C33 ((shakes her head))

I Hast es auch schon geschafft. Das hast du ganz toll gemacht.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Five-Year-Old (C34)

- I Ja, ich bin die Sylvia. Und du heißt?
- C34 Hm, C34.
- I C34. Das ist aber ein schöner Name. ... Auch selten, ne? Heißen gar nicht viele Kinder C34.
- C34 Mm.
- I Wie alt ist denn die C34?
- C34 Fünf.
- I Auch fünf, wie die C33. Bist du auch bald in der Schule.
- C34 ((nods))
- I Mm. Ich war auch in der Schule. In der Schule lernt man viele Sachen, ne?
- C34 ((nods))
- I Deutsch, also Schreiben. Und Lesen
- C34 Und Rechnen
- I Genau. Was lernt man noch in der Schule?
- C34 Lesen
- I Mm, und auch Englisch. Aber ich hab' gehört, Englisch lernt ihr sogar schon im Kindergarten.
- C34 Mm, ja, mach'n wir auch mit dem Kooky.
- I Mit dem Kooky, ne? Letzte Woche hab' ich mir das mal angeschaut. Da habt ihr ein Spiel mit Kooky gespielt.
- C34 Mm.
- I Weißt du noch wie das Spiel hieß?
- C34 ((shakes her head))
- I Weißt du noch wie das Spiel funktionierte? Wie das ging? Was du da machen musstest?
- C34 ((shakes her head))
- I Weißt du auch nicht mehr. ... Das war ein Spiel. Da habt ihr die Bewegungen hier gemacht. <points to the pictures> Ne?
- C34 Mm.

- I Was bedeuten denn oder was siehst du denn auf den einzelnen Bildern. Was haben wir den hier auf Bild 1?
- C34 Ähm, der lacht. ((smiles))
- I Mm, er lächelt. Und auf Bild 2?
- C34 Springt.
- I Springen. Genau. Und hier? <points to picture 3>
- C34 Arm hoch. <lifts her left arm>
- I Mm, Arm hoch, oder? ((claps her hands))
- C34 Klatschen. ((smiles))
- I Klatschen. Genau. Was haben wir hier? <points to picture 4>
- C34 Trampeln.
- I Genau. Trampeln. Hier? <points to picture 5>
- C34 Das hier <moves from left to right> drehen.
- I Drehen, das hätten wir hier <points to picture 6>. Das soll Kopfnicken ... darstellen. Ne? Weißt du denn wie der Kooky zu den einzelnen Sachen sagt?
- .C34 ((shakes her head))
- I Nein. Hast du vergessen? Naja, vielleicht holen wir ihn besser mal dazu. Hm?
- C34 ((nods))
- I Kooky, wake up! <knocks on the basket> Kooky, wake up!
- K Oh ((yawns))
- C34 Sieht aber ganz schön braun aus.
- I Weißt du, was er vorhin gemacht hat?
- C34 ((shakes her head))
- I Da hab' ich ein Kind geholt, ne,
- C34 Mm.
- I und das Fenster ein Stück auf. Und da ist er rausgeflogen und hat im Schlamm gespielt. Mm, und da hab' ich gesagt, da musst du heute in die Waschmaschine. Und da hat er gesagt, nein, lieber in die Badewanne.
- C34 ((smiles))
- I Mm, mal seh'n, ob's klappt. So. ... Oh, das kennen wir auch schon <We hear a song from the room next door> Ist ähnlich, ne?

C34 Mm.

I So <to Kooky>, Kooky, I think you should interview C34.

K I can interview C34? Hello, C34.

C34 Hello.

K I'd like to interview you.

C34 Was bedeutet das?

I Der will dich gerne interviewen.

C34 Mm.

I Darf er das?

C34 ((nods))

I <to Kooky> What will you do?

K Well, I'll tell the movement and she shows me the picture

I Er sagt, er nennt dir die Bewegung und du zeigst einfach auf das Bild. Das klingt leicht., ne?

C34 Mm.

K Clap your hands.

C34 <wants to clap her hand sput searches then happily for picture 3>

K Very good. Now, turn around.

C34 <points to picture 6>

K Very good. Now, stamp your feet.

C34 <points to picture 4>

K Very good. Now smile.

C34 <points to picture 1>

K Now, jump.

C34 <points to picture 2>

K Now, nod your head.

C34 <searches, thinks and wants to point to picture 5, finally points to picture 3>

K Smile

C34 <points to picture 1>

K Stamp your feet.

C34 <points to picture 2>

K Turn around.

C34 <points to picture 6>

K Very good, jump.

C34 <thinks>

K Jump.

C34 <points to picture 2>

K Very good, nod your head.

C34 <points again to picture 3>

K Very good.

C34 ((smiles))

I Das hast du ganz toll gemacht! <to Kooky> She did a good job, didn't she?

K Yes, she did. That was very, very, very well. ... I think I say goodbye to you because the interview has finished.

C34 Was heißt das?

I Er hat gesagt, er sagt jetzt Auf Wiedersehen zu dir, weil das Interview jetzt beendet ist.<to Kooky> Okay, bye bye, Kooky. Go back into your basket.

K Okay. <Kooky flies back to his basket>

I Das hast du ganz toll gemacht.. Guck' mal, du hast hier ganz viele Hacken stehen, das heißt du hast die Bewegungen alle richtig gehabt – bis auf eine. <points to picture 5> Das war nod your head.

C34 Achso.

I Aber war toll, ne? War's schwer?

C34 ((shakes her head))

I Nee, ne?

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Five-Year-Old (C35)

- I So, dann setzt du dich erstmal hin. Geht ganz schnell. Bist gleich wieder oben bei deinen Freunden.
- C35 Ja.
- I Ich bin die Sylvia. Und warst der?
- C35 Der C35.
- I Der C35.
- C35 Mm, der C35.
- I Der C35. Und der C35 ist schon wie alt?
- C35 Fünf.
- I Oh, wow, das heißt du kommst auch schon bald in die Schule.
- C35 Mm.
- I Freust dich, ne?
- C35 Mm. Nächstes Jahr.
- I Was macht man denn in der Schule?
- C35 Rechnen, Lesen, Schreiben.
- I Genau. Weißt du, was ich in der Schule gemacht habe?
- C35 ((shakes his head))
- I Ich hab' da Englisch gelernt. Und weißt du, was ich gehört habe?
- C35 ((shakes his head))
- I Dass ihr hier Englisch lernt – im Kindergarten.
- C35 Ja.
- I Ja? Wer bringt euch denn das Englisch bei?
- C35 Hm, de Petra.
- I Die Petra. Mm, letzte Woche wart ihr in der Turnhalle und da hat die Petra und der Kooky zusammen mit euch ein Spiel gespielt. Und das hab' ich mir angeschaut. Weißt du noch, wie das Spiel hieß?
- C35 ((nods)) Ja.
- I Ja?

C35 Nee, ich weiß nicht mehr. ((shakes his head))

I Nee, weißt wie's hieß. Weißt du noch, wie's ging? Wie es funktioniert? Was man da machen musste?

C35 ((shakes his head))

I Aber ich weiß ja, was es war. <point to the pictures> Ich hab' nämlich gesehen, dass ihr all diese ... Kommandos gelernt habt. Ja? Da hat die Petra bzw. der Kooky ein Kommando gesagt – auf Englisch, weil der Kooky spricht ja gar kein Deutsch, ne, – und dann habt ihr das alle gemacht.

C35 ((nods)) Mm.

I Ja? Zum Beispiel hier. Was hab'n wir denn hier? <points to picture 1>

C35 Lächeln.

I Lächeln. Und hier? <points to picture 2>

C35 Springen.

I Und hier? <points to picture 3>

C35 Klatschen.

I Und hier? <points to picture 4>

C35 Springen.

I Naja, stampfen soll es darstellen. Was haben wir hier? <points to picture 5>

C35 Drehen.

I Na, soll das hier sein ((nods)) Kopfnicken.

C35 <points to picture 6> Drehen.

I Also, Deutsch kannst du die alle. Weißt du auch wie das auf Englisch heißt?

C35 ((shakes his head))

I Nein? Dann müssen wir wohl mal den Kooky rufen?

C35 Mm. ((nods))

I Kooky, come out of your basket.

K Good morning. Good morning. <to the child> Good morning.

C35 ((smiles)) Morgen, Kooky. <touches Kooky's wing>

K Hello. How are you?

C35 Hello.

K Hello. Ahm, I want to do the interview.

I No, I'm doing the interview.

K No, I want to do the interview.

C35 ((smiles))

I ... No, I'm doing the interview.

K No, I'm.

C35 ((smiles)) Nein.

I Verstehst du, was er sagt?

C35 Nein.

I Der will das Interview halten, aber ich hab' gesagt, ich mach' das. Und er hat gesagt, nö. Soll er da das Interview etwa mit dir machen?

C35 ((shakes his head))

I Nein, soll ich da das Interview mit dir machen?

C35 ((nods))

I Und der Kooky guckt zu?

C35 ((nods))

I Okay, da mach' ich jetzt folgendes. Das der Kooky auch versteht, was ich sage, werde ich dir ... die Bewegungen nennen, ... aber ich wird' die auf Englisch sagen. Okay? Und du zeigst mir einfach das Bild. Ja?

C35 ((nods))

I Jump.

C35 <points to picture 4>

I Smile.

C35 <points to picture 1>

I Clap your hands.

C35 <points to picture 3>

I Turn around.

C35 <points to picture>

I Nod your head.

C35 <points to picture 2>

I Ahm, stamp your feet.

C35 <points to picture 5> ((smiles))

I Damit haben wir's schon. Du hast dir alle Bilder gemerkt. War's schwer?

C35 ((shakes his head))

I Nö, ne? Wollen wir uns vom Kooky noch verabschieden?

C35 ((shakes his head))

I Nee, soll'n wir Kooky einfach wieder zurück in seinen Korb tun?

C35 ((nods)) Ja.

I Okay, Kooky, go back into the basket.

K I don't wanna go into the basket.

I You go into the basket.

K <is sad>

C35 Was – was hat'n der Kooky gesagt?

I Ich hab' gesagt, geh in deinen Korb zurück. Da hat er gesagt, er will nicht. Da hab' ich gesagt, doch, geh jetzt in deinen Korb.

C35 ((smiles))

I Weißt du, was er heute nämlich gemacht hat?

C35 ((shakes his head))

I Da war ich grade ein Kind holen, ne? Und da hatte ich das Fenster auf. Und da ist er hinausgeflattert und hat sich im Dreck gewälzt. Deshalb ist er so dunkel.

C35 Achso.

I Mm. Macht man nicht, ne?

C35 Frechheit.

I Mm, Frechheit, ne. Woll'n wir den Child XY holen?

C35 Ja.

I Ja, komm.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Six-Year-Old (C36)

- I Jetzt muss ich kurz gucken ... C36.
- C36 Mm
- I Ist aber auch ein ausgefallener Name. ... C36, du bist sechs Jahre alt?
- C36 Ja.
- I Wow. ... Ihr habt vor ungefähr zwei Wochen – na, ne Woche – zwei Wochen wart ihr in der Turnhalle und habt ein Spiel gespielt mit dem Kooky und der Petra zusammen.
- C36 ((nods))
- I Und ich hab' in der Ecke hinten gesessen.
- C36 Mm.
- I Ich hab' mich ja noch gar nicht vorgestellt. Ich bin die Sylvia.
- C36 ((smiles))
- I ((smiles)) Ich bin keine sechs Jahre alt. Ich brauch' ganz viele Hände, ((smiles)) um zu zeigen, wie alt ich bin.
- C36 <looks out of the window>
- I Kannst du dich an das Spiel noch erinnern?
- C36 ... Ja. ((smiles))
- I Ja? Was habt ihr denn da gemacht – bei dem Spiel?
- C36 <looks at the pictures> Hüpfen.
- I Ihr seid gehüpft. Was habt'en ihr noch gemacht?
- C36 <looks at the pictures> Klastchen.
- I Und was noch?
- C36 <looks at the pictures> Stampfen.
- I Und was noch?
- C36 <looks at the pictures> Lächeln.
- I ((smiles)) Lächeln, genau. Und was noch?
- C36 ((smiles)) <looks at the pictures>
- I ((smiles)) Guckst schon auf die Bilder. Das ist richtig. Die Sylvia hat nämlich sich gedacht, ... dass ihr auf den Bildern vielleicht euch be bes b ((smiles)) – langsam – dass ihr mithilfe der Bilder euch besser an das Spiel erinnern könnt, ja, das sind nämlich genau

- die Bewegungen, die ihr gemacht habt. Wir haben auf Bild 1 <points to picture 1> einen Jungen, der
- C36 Lächelt.
- I Richtig. Und auf Bild 2 <points to picture 2> einen Jungen, der
- C36 Hüpf.
- I Genau. Und auf Bild 3 <points to picture 3> macht er was?
- C36 Klatschen.
- I Genau. Und auf Bild 4? <points to picture 4>
- C36 Sp stampfen.
- I Genau. Und auf Bild 5 <points to picture 5> macht er das hier ((nods)).
- C36 Nicken.
- I Nicken. Und was macht das Mädchen? <points to picture 6>
- C36 ...
- I Die macht das hier ((turns around))
- C36 ((smiles)) Ach, drehen.
- I Gut, oh, jetzt wird mir aber gleich ganz schwindelig. Genau. Drehen. Weißt du denn auch, wie der Kooky dazu sagt – zu den Bewegungen.
- C36 ...
- I Wie sagt denn er da? Spricht Englisch der Kooky, ne?
- C36 Mm. ((nods))
- I Weißt du da, wie der zu den einzelnen Bewegungen sagt? Zum Beispiel zu ... springen? ... Weißt du, was er da sagt?
- C36 <remains silent>
- I Nee?
- C36 Nein.
- I Macht nix. ... Pass mal auf! Ähm, soll ich den Kooky hinzuholen oder soll ich dich weiter interviewen?
- C36 Ja. ((smiles and nods))
- I Ich soll dich weiter interviewen?
- C36 Mm.

I Ja? Kooky brauchen wir nicht?

C36 Mm. ((nods))

I Bleibt er im Korb.

C36 Mm.

I Oder soll er zugucken?

C36 ((smiles)) ... Nein.

I Nein. Lass'n wir im Korb. Pass auf! Ich sag' dir die Bewegungen auf Englisch. Hm?

C36 Mm.

I Ja? Weil ich ganz toll Englisch sprechen kann. Und du zeigst mir einfach das Bild, wo die Bewegung drauf ist, die ich dir sage.

C36 Ja. ((nods))

I Okay? Jump.

C36 ... Hüpfen. <points to picture 4>

I Hüpfen. Ja. ... Clap your hands.

C36 Klatschen.

I Smile.

C36 Stampfen.

I Nod your head.

C36 Lächeln.

I Turn around.

C36 ... <looks at the pictures> Drehen.

I Was hat ich denn jetzt noch nicht. Ach ja, stamp. Stamp your feet.

C36 ... Lächeln.

I Stamp your feet ist Lächeln?

C36 <looks at the pictures but remains silent>

I Damit haben wir's schon. Da hatten wir smile, jump, clap your hands, stamp your feet, nod your head und turn around.

C36 ((smiles))

I So, I thank you for the interview. Thank you very much. Now you're allowed to go outside and play at the playground.

C36 ((smiles))

I Hilfe, wie spricht denn die Frau ((smiles))

C36 ((smiles))

I Englisch, ne?

C36 Mm. ((nods))

I Eines Tages kannst du auch so schnell sprechen. ... Glaubst du mir das?

C36 Ja.

I Gut, dann machen wir das <video camera> aus.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Six-Year-Old (C37)

- I So (...) du bist also der C37.
- C37 ((smiles and nods)) Ja.
- I Ich nicht. Ich bin die Sylvia. Du bist sechs Jahre alt?
- C37 ((smiles and nods)) Ja.
- I Ich nicht.. ((smiles))
- C37 ((smiles and nods)) Mm.
- I Ich nicht. ((smiles)) Ich bin ganz alt. Ich brauch' ganz viele Hände.
- C37 ((smiles))
- I Ja, ich war letzte Woche schon da und hab' mir ein Spiel angeschaut, dass ihr gespielt habt – in der Turnhalle mit Petra und Kooky zusammen.
- C37 ((nods)) Ja.
- I Und da habt ihr Englisch gelernt – bei dem Spiel.
- C37 ((nods)) Mm.
- I Wie ging denn das Spiel?
- C37 Mm. ... Weiß ich nicht mehr.
- I Weißt du nicht mehr. Vergessen?
- C37 ((nods)) Mm.
- I Alles vergessen?
- C37 ... Ja.
- I Macht nix. Macht gar nichts. Ich hab' ja meine Aufzeichnungen gehabt und da wusste, dass ihr diese sechs Bewegungen gelernt habt. Bei der ersten Bewegung sehen wir was? <points to picture 1>
- C37 ((smiles)) Lachen.
- I Lachen. Genau. <points to picture 2>
- C37 Hüpfen.
- I Mm. <points to picture 3>
- C37 Klatschen ((claps his hands))
- I Mm. <points to picture 4>

- C37 Trampeln.
- I Mm. <points to picture 5>
- C37 ...
- I Das ist das hier ((nods)). Das ist ein schlechtes Bild.
- C37 Lachen?
- I Nee, das ist das hier. ((nods))
- C37 ((smiles and nods)) ... Nicken.
- I Nicken. Genau. <points to picture 6>
- C37 ...
- I Hm, was macht denn das Mädels?
- C37 <lifts his arms above his head> Ballett.
- I Ballett, genau. Die macht das hier ((lifts her arms above the head and turns around))
Oooooohhhh. ... Was macht man denn, wenn man so macht?
- C37 Drehen.
- I Genau. Man dreht sich, ne? Die ganzen Bewegungen gelernt.
- C37 ((nods))
- I Weißt du denn auch noch, wie die auf Englisch hießen?
- C37 ...
- I Was sagst du denn hier <points to picture 2> auf Englisch?
- C37 ... Weiß'sch nich!
- I Weißt du irgendeine noch?
- C37 <looks at the pictures> Hm ... ((shakes his head))
- I Nee, aber ... ich weiß, wie die auf Englisch heißen. Ich sprech' nämlich zwei Sprachen. Ich sprech' nämlich fließend Deutsch und Englisch. Und deshalb würd' ich sagen – weil du schon so ein großer Junge bist – machen wir das mal so ohne Kooky. Oder?
- C37 ((nods))
- I Hab' ich nämlich bei den anderen 6 Jährigen auch gemacht. Die wollten den nämlich nicht haben. Den Kooky brauchen wir nicht, wenn du Englisch sprichst reicht das. Machen wir das so?
- C37 ((nods))
- I Ich nenn' dir die Bewegungen und du sagst, äh, sag' nicht, zeigst mir einfach das Bild, ja,

dazu. Ich hab' zu jeder Bewegung, die ich sag', ein Bild und du zeigst einfach darauf.
Okay?

C37 ((nods))

I Jump.

C37 ... Das? <points to picture 2>

I Super. War schon mal einfach.

C37 Mm.

I Stamp your feet.

C37 <points to picture 4>

I Super. Nod your head.

C37 <points to picture 3>

I Super. Turn around.

C37 <timidly points to picture 5>

I Mm. Clap your hands.

C37 <points to picture 3>

I Super. Hm, ... was haben wir denn noch nicht gehabt? Oh, smile.

C37 <points to picture 1>

I Zwei waren nicht ganz richtig zugeordnet. Versuchen wir es noch mal. Nod your head.

C37 <points to picture 1>

I Turn around.

C37 <points to picture 5>

I Ja, das wäre <points to picture 5> nod your head. Und das <points to picture 6> turn around. Aber all die anderen hast du richtig.

C37 Das, das, das und das <points to pictures 1 to 4>

I Super ... vier Stück. Und damit bist du auch schon fertig. Das war schon das ganze Interview.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Six-Year-Old (C38)

- I So ... du bist also die C38. [...] Und die C38 ist wie alt.
- C38 Sechs.
- I Sechs. Ich heie nicht C38 und bin auch nicht sechs Jahre alt. Ich bin die Sylvia und bin so, so, so alt <shows her hands more than once>
- C38 ((smiles))
- I Ich hab' gehrt, dass ihr hier Englisch lernt – im Kindergarten. Stimmt das?
- C38 ((nods))
- I Hm, letzte Woche habt ihr ein Spiel gespielt. Ja?
- C38 ((nods))
- I Mit der Petra und dem Kooky zusammen in der Turnhalle.
- C38 ((nods))
- I Das hab' ich mir angeschaut – das Spiel. Weit du noch, wie das Spiel ging?
- C38 ((nods))
- I Wie denn? ... Was habt ihr denn da gemacht – bei dem Spiel?
- C38 ... Uns gedreht.
- I Euch gedreht. Mm. Was habt ihr denn noch gemacht?
- C38 Gehpft.
- I Und was noch?
- C38 Gelacht.
- I Mm. Und was noch?
- C38 Geklatscht.
- I Super. Und was noch?
- C38 Gestampft.
- I Du kannst dich ja an alles erinnern. Und was noch?
- C38 ...
- I War alles, oder? ... wann habt ihr denn die Bewegungen gemacht?
- C38 <remains silent>

- I Weißt du nicht mehr?
- C38 <shakes her head>
- I Immer, wenn Petra oder Kooky eine Bewegung gesagt haben, ne. Also, wenn sie gesagt haben, klatschen, dann habt ihr geklatscht, ne?
- C38 ((nods))
- I Aber die haben's ja nicht auf Deutsch gesagt. Richtig?
- C38 ((nods))
- I Sie haben's auf Englisch gesagt und ihr wusstet trotzdem, was ihr machen musstet.
- C38 ((nods))
- I Weißt du noch, wie die Bewegungen auf Englisch waren?
- C38 ((shakes her head))
- I Nein? Gehen wir einfach mal die Bilder durch. Vielleicht helfen uns die Bilder. Was ham' wir denn auf dem Bild 1? <points to picture 1> Was macht'en der Junge?
- C38 Lachen.
- I Lachen. Und auf Bild 2? <points to picture 2>
- C38 ...
- I Macht der das hier ((jumps)), ne?
- C38 Hüpfen.
- I Hüpfen. Genau. Und auf Bild 3? <points to picture 3>
- C38 Klatschen.
- I Mm. Und auf Bild 4? <points to picture 4>
- C38 Stampfen.
- I Bild 5? <points to picture 5> Macht er das hier ((nods)).
- C38 ((nods)) Nicken.
- I Mm. Und auf Bild 6? <points to picture 6> Das Mädal macht das hier ((turns around)), ist auch ein bisschen ungünstig.
- C38 Drehen.
- I Drehen. Sehr gut. Ja. ... Mit den anderen haben wir es so gemacht, dass wir den Kooky weggelassen haben – beim Interview bei den 6 Jährigen. Haben wir gesagt, den brauchen wir nicht. ... Ich spreche zwei Sprachen. Ich spreche Englisch und Deutsch. Und deshalb würde ich sagen, gehen wir in den englischen Teil über. Ja? Da sprech' ich jetzt Englisch mit dir. ... Ich nenn' dir ganz einfach die Bewegungen, die hier abgebildet sind, und du

zeigst mir die Bewegung, die ich sage. Okay, machen wir das so?

C38 ((nods))

I Jump. ... Jump.

C38 <points to picture 4>

I Clap your hands.

C38 <points to picture 3>

I Nod your head.

C38 <looks at the pictures for quite a long time and points then timidly to picture 5>

I Very good. Smile.

C38 <points to picture 1>

I Very good. Stamp your feet.

C38 <points to picture 2>

I Turn around.

C38 <points to picture 6>

I Very good.

C38 ((smiles))

I Damit haben wir's auch schon. War nicht schlimm

C38 ((shakes her head))

I Da sind wir fertig.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Six-Year-Old (C39)

- I So ... du bist die C39.
- C39 ((nods))
- I Ich bin die Sylvia. Du bist sechs Jahre alt?
- C39 ((nods))
- I Ich nicht.
- C39 ((smiles))
- I ((smiles)) Du brauchst zwei Hände für dein Alter. Ich brauch' ganz viele.
- C39 ((smiles))
- I Ja, ich hab' gehört, dass ihr hier im Kindergarten Englisch lernt, ne?
- C39 ((nods))
- I Und das Englisch lernt ihr mithilfe vom Kooky.
- C39 ((nods))
- I Ihr spielt Spiele. Ihr singt Lieder. Ja?
- C39 ((nods))
- I Ganz viele Sachen macht ihr. Und bei einem Spiel war ich dabei. Letzte Woche in der Turnhalle habt ihr mit Petra und Kooky ein Spiel gespielt. Erinnerst du dich?
- C39 ((smiles)) <remains silent>
- I Weißt du noch, wie das Spiel ging? Was ihr machen musstet?
- C39 ... <looks at the ceiling> Kreis drehen ((smiles)).
- I Im Kreis drehen ((nods)). Was habt ihr denn noch gemacht?
- C39 Mit'n Fuß – mit'n Füßen gest...
- I Mit den Füßen stampfen. Sehr schön. Was habt ihr denn noch gemacht?
- C39 Mit dem Kopf nicken.
- I Super. ... Und was noch?
- C39 Mit den Händen klatschen.
- I Genau. ... Noch was?
- C39 ... Lächeln.

I Du kannst dich ja an alles erinnern. Das ist ja Wahnsinn. Darf ich dein Gehirn haben?

C39 ((shakes her head and smiles))

I Nein? ((smiles)) Ich fang' nämlich schon an, die Sachen zu vergessen. Hm, vielleicht weil ich so alt bin? Nee, ne?

C39 ((shakes her head))

I Wann habt ihr denn die Bewegungen gemacht, die du gerade aufgezählt hast?

C39 ... <makes faces>

I Weißt du nicht mehr?

C39 ((shakes her head))

I Immer wenn die die Petra oder der Kooky das gesagt haben, ne? Wenn die gesagt haben, klatschen, dann habt ihr geklatscht, ne?

C39 ((nods))

I Richtig?

C39 ((nods))

I Aber das war auf Englisch, ne?

C39 ((nods))

I Weißt du denn, wie die Begriffe auf Englisch heißen? Erinnerst du dich daran?

C39 ... <makes faces>

I Nein? Geh'n wir mal die Bilder durch <points to the pictures>. Ich hab's mal versucht abzubilden. Wir haben hier die eine Bewegung. Das ist das? <points to picture 1>

C39 ... Lächeln.

I Lächeln. Genau. Und was haben wir hier? <points to picture 2>

C39 ... Springen.

I Springen. Sehr schön. Und hier? <points to picture 3>

C39 ... In de Hände klatschen.

I Sehr schön. Und hier? <points to picture 4>

C39 Mit den Füßen stampfen.

I Sehr schön. Und hier? <points to picture 5>

C39 ... <makes faces>

I Das ist die Bewegung. ((nods))

- C39 ((nods)) Mit dem Kopf nicken.
- I Genau. Und hier? <points to picture 6> ... Das ist das hier. ((turns around))
- C39 Kreis drehen.
- I Genau. Drehen. Genau. ... Ja, dann kommen wir zum englischsprachigen Teil. Ich hab' das mit dem C40 und C36 so gemacht, das wir das ohne Kooky gemacht haben. Die ham gesagt, die woll'n das nicht, dass das d der Kooky das Interview macht. Woll'n wir's da auch einfach zu zweit weitermachen?
- C39 ((nods))
- I Ohne Kooky? Pass auf! Mach'n wir das so. Ich sag' dir eine Bewegung und du zeigst mir das Bild. ... Ja?
- C39 ((nods))
- I Ich sag' die allerdings auf Englisch. Ja? Ich sprech' nämlich zwei Sprachen. Ich sprech' Englisch und Deutsch. ... Und das wahrscheinlich noch schneller als der Kooky.
- C39 ((smiles))
- I Ich hab' ja keinen Schnabel, ne? Ich hab' ja einen Mund. Ich kann also besser sprechen.
- C39 ((smiles))
- I Ja? Du zeigst also einfach die Bewegung, die ich sage. [...] ... Okay. ... Bist du soweit?
- C39 ((nods))
- I Jump. ... Jump.
- C39 ... <points to picture 2>
- I Richtig. ... Clap your hands.
- C39 ((smiles and points to picture 3))
- I Nod your head.
- C39 <points to picture 5>
- I Sehr gut.. ... Turn around. ... Turn around.
- C39 <points to picture 6>
- I Ja. ... Stamp your feet.
- C39 <points to picture 4>
- I Smile.
- C39 <points to picture 1>
- I Eh, du hast ja alle richtig. Du hast gesagt, du wüsstest das nicht mehr. Du weißt ja alle

noch. ... Soll ich dir was verraten? Du bist die Einzige, die alle wusste.

Experiment II – Naming Pictures – Transcription of a Six-Year-Old (C40)

- I Und dann geht's auch schon los. Du bist der C40?
- C40 Mm.
- I Und der C40 ist sechs Jahre alt?
- C40 Ja.
- I Bist du aber ganz schön alt.
- C40 Mm.
- I ((smiles)) Ja, ich bin die Sylvia und ich brauch' ganz viele Hände, wenn ich sagen will, wie alt ich bin. ((smiles))
- C40 Mm.
- I Bei dir reichen noch zwei Hände, ne?
- C40 Mm.
- I Ich hab' gehört und auch gesehen, dass ihr hier im Kindergarten Englisch lernt.
- C40 Ja.
- I Und da habt ihr ja letzte Woche – vor zwei Wochen knapp – ein Spiel gespielt – in der Turnhalle mit Petra und Kooky.
- C40 Mm.
- I Was habt ihr denn da gespielt?
- C40 Hm, hm, ... mir ... da da ham wir gespielt. Da hat se immer eine Bewegung gesagt auf Englisch, ne, und dann ham wir das gemacht.
- I Sehr gut.
- C40 Mm.
- I Weißt du noch, wie das Spiel hieß?
- C40 Hm, ... weiß ich nicht.
- I Macht nix. Was waren das denn für Bewegungen?
- C40 Zum Beispiel, klatschen ((claps his hands)), drehen <looks to the ceiling>, hüpfen, und andere noch, und was ... dann noch ... hm ... nee.
- I Macht nix. Ich weiß, was ihr für Bewegungen alle gemacht habt und hab' versucht, die alle mal auf ein Bild zu bringen. <points to the pictures>
- C40 Mm.

- I Das sind sechs Bewegungen gewesen, die ihr gelernt habt. Und die eine Bewegung
<points to picture 1>
- C40 Lachen.
- I Lachen. <points to picture 2>
- C40 Ähm, ... Hüpfen?
- I Hüpfen. Genau.
- C40 Hüpfen.
- I <points to picture 3>
- C40 Klatschen.
- I <points to picture 4>
- C40 ... Tr trampeln.
- I Trampeln. Genau. <points to picture 5>
- C40 Und ...
- I Das ist ein schlechtes Bild. Das ist das hier ((nods)). Schau mich mal an.
- C40 Hm, ((nods)) nicken.
- I Nicken. Genau. Und was macht das Mädchen <points to picture 6>
- C40 Hier das ... macht die Hände so aufn Kopf.
- I Mm. Und dann macht's das hier ((turns around)).
- C40 Drehen?
- I Drehen.
- C40 Mm.
- I Ja. Also haben wir alle Bewegungen.
- C40 Ja.
- I [...] Woll'n wir's mit oder ohne Kooky machen?
- C40 Was?
- I Das Interview – woll'n wir das mit Kooky zusammen machen oder ohne Kooky?
- C40 Ohne Kooky.
- I Ohne Kooky. Brauchst du gar nicht den Kooky. Hm?
- C40 Mm.

- I Pass auf! Die Sylvia spricht nämlich fließend Englisch. Ja? Ich habe zwei Sprachen. Ich spreche Deutsch und Englisch.
- C40 Mm.
- I Und ich würde jetzt einfach in den englischen Teil übergehen. Ich nenne dir die Bewegung, die ihr letzte Woche gelernt habt, und zeigst mir einfach das Bild, wo die Bewegung drauf ist.
- C40 Mm.
- I Woll'n wir das so machen?
- C40 Ja.
- I Clap your hands.
- C40 <points to picture 3>
- I Stamp you feet.
- C40 Äh ..., hier <points to picture 4>
- I Mm, nod your head.
- C40 Nod your head. Das <points to picture 6>
- I Smile
- C40 <points to picture 1>
- I Jump.
- C40 Jump. ... Ist ... das hier. <points to picture 2>
- I Ja. Und dann hätten wir noch eins übrig. Ähm, turn around.
- C40 Das? <points to picture 5>
- I ... Hast du ganz toll gemacht. Das war's schon.
- C40 Mm.