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Multilingual discourse competence in minority children: Exploring the factors of transfer and variation

Abstract: The paper aims to explore the mutual influence of writing competences in L1 and L2 of early bilinguals growing up in migrant contexts. Referring to the framework of *Dynamic Systems Theory* the focus is on global textual competences in both languages. The article reports on a study conducted with nine- and ten-graders of Turkish, Italian and Russian background in Germany. Besides presenting a model of global features which is appropriate to investigate textual competence in various text types (narrative and argumentative), the analysis demonstrates genre specific differences across languages and subjects. There is evidence that text production abilities in both languages are interdependent, especially when the students have reached a certain underlying proficiency in one of the languages. Whether specific features can be transferred from one language to the other depends, however, on a variety of extralinguistic and attitudinal factors and cognitive prerequisites.

Zusammenfassung: Ziel des Artikels ist, zu zeigen, wie sich schriftsprachliche Kompetenzen in L1 und L2 bei Schülern mit Migrationshintergrund wechselseitig beeinflussen. Unter Bezugnahme auf die *Dynamic Systems Theory* soll dabei die umfassende Textkompetenz in beiden Sprachen erfasst werden. Es wird eine Studie vorgestellt, die mit Schülerinnen und Schülern des 9. und 10. Jahrgangs mit türkischem, italienischem und russischem Familienhintergrund in Deutschland durchgeführt wurde. Die Studie liefert ein Model, mit dem Textkompetenz in verschiedenen Texttypen (narrativen und argumentativen) global erfasst werden kann und zeigt die spezifischen Unterschiede in den jeweiligen Textsorten zwischen den beiden Sprachen und zwischen verschiedenen Schreibern auf. Es wird deutlich, dass die Textkompetenzen in beiden Sprachen sich wechselseitig beeinflussen, v. a. wenn die Schreiber ein bestimmtes Niveau in einer der beiden Sprachen erreicht haben. Andererseits spielen verschiedene außersprachliche Faktoren, Einstellungen und kognitive Voraussetzungen eine entscheidende Rolle, ob bestimmte Strukturen von einer Sprache auf die andere übertragen werden.

Resumen: El objetivo del presente artículo es demostrar la influencia mutua que existe entre las competencias escritas del idioma principal (L1) y el idioma secun-

dario (L2), en alumnos bilingües de menor edad en un contexto migratorio. Las competencias escritas de cada alumno en los dos lenguajes deben ser consideradas de acuerdo a la Dynamic Systems Theory. Se presenta un estudio realizado en Alemania con alumnos de 9.º y 10.º grado, quienes provienen de familias turcas, italianas y rusas. De este estudio se desprende un modelo, a través del cual se pueden comprender las competencias escritas de los textos narrativos y argumentativos de manera global, lo que demuestra al mismo tiempo las diferencias específicas de cada género de texto (narrativo y argumentativo) entre los idiomas como entre los diferentes alumnos. Se distingue que las competencias escritas en los dos idiomas se influencian recíprocamente, cuando el alumno ya llegó a un cierto nivel en alguno de los dos idiomas. Por otra parte, la transferencia de ciertas estructuras de un lenguaje a otro depende de varios factores extralingüísticos, la actitud personal así como las condiciones cognitivas previas.

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1 Introduction

As immigration and emigration increase around the world, the salience of multilingualism will intensify, including the need for multilingual writing abilities. In big European cities the numbers of students in primary and secondary schools with a multilingual background reach 40%. The vast majority of these children demonstrate high competency in L1 and L2 speaking abilities, however they remain monolingual in the written medium. Specifically in Germany, only a small percentage of migrant children are offered the option to attend lessons in their heritage language in order to become biliterate. The term 'biliteracy' denotes both the ability to read and write in two languages as well as so-called 'conceptual literacy', as expressed in Koch's and Oesterreicher's (1985ff) model, in two (or more) languages. Conceptual literacy is a notion similar to that of CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency), which was introduced by Cummins (2000): Both terms indicate a decontextualised, abstract type of speech, which contains not only a more elaborated vocabulary, but also morpho-syntactic constructions typical for written text types, specific formula and cohesive devices. Children who fail to acquire these specific kinds of features of literacy in their heritage language tend to remain monolingual in the written medium.

Similarly, Cummins (1979ff) claims that children who are unable to acquire the underlying skills expressed in the CALP-concept in their L1 have difficulties achieving high level language skills in their L2. He further states that there is a

mutual influence of the *common underlying proficiency* (CUP). This postulation has received support from recent approaches within the field of Applied Linguistics which suggest bilingual knowledge, competence and proficiency are not made up of separate or separable subsystems (L1, L2…) but consist of one holistic and dynamic system within which every change has ramifications throughout all subsystems (e.g. de Bot et al. 2007). In order to determine what conditions the overall development of this system, it is therefore necessary to investigate the development of a bilingual's languages not in isolation (acquisition of L2, maintenance and change of L1), but rather within one larger integrated framework. It thus becomes crucial to

1) develop a more integrated framework for predicting the success of L2 acquisition
2) assess the interdependency of bilingual skills in L1 and L2.

In this context, Herdina and Jessner (2002) developed a *Dynamic Model of Multilingualism* (DMM) which not only focuses on the dependence of the system on social, psychological and individual factors, but also includes the mode of language learning (natural and instructional learning and combinations of both). Furthermore the DDM model accounts for individual cognitive and affective factors (e.g. motivation, anxiety, language aptitude) and social factors. This type of holistic view assumes that the presence of one or more language subsystems has an impact on the development of the overall multilingual system.

A number of studies on SLA and L2- (or L3-)-writing in the classroom context (cf. de Angelis and Jessner 2012, Verspoor and Smiskova 2012) or studies with adult L2- or L3-learners (Cumming 1989, Jessner 2006) underscore this assumption. Yet despite some links between the fields of L2-writing and multilingualism (see de Angelis and Jessner 2012), bilingual writing in migrant settings differs substantially from the typical L2- (and L3-)writing setting in a number of different ways:

Firstly, early bilinguals usually acquire literacy first in L2 and literacy in L1 later – if at all. So, as case studies (e.g. Dirim and Döll 2009) have shown transfer of text type specific items is likely to occur in the opposite direction (from L2 to L1). At the same time the speakers often expose a high (native-speaker) oral competence in their L1 that often exceeds oral competence in L2. So in contrast to canonical L2- or L3-writing transfer processes from oral language have to be taken into consideration to a much higher extent.

Secondly, compared to the rather homogenous classroom situation, early bilinguals in a migrant setting form a completely heterogenous population: from children having no formal education in L1 to children enjoying some instruction in their heritage language and those attending bilingual programs where both languages are equally taught.

Thirdly, L2-writing and multilingual writing generally focus on different age groups: while research on L2-writing mainly considers adult writers – the vast majority being university students – studies in the ambience of migrant settings concentrate primarily on early biliteracy, i.e. multilingual writing in primary grades (see overview in Dressler and Kamil 2006, Fitzgerald 2006, Bialystok 2007). There are only a few studies on early bilinguals in intermediate and secondary grades which prove the impact of bilingual writing capacity and transfer across native and second-language writing (see Carlisle 1989, Wong 1993) or a more general positive impact of written discourse competence in L1 on L2 written performance (Turgut 1996, Knapp 1997, Verhoeven and Aarts 1998). So – as Ortega and Carson (2010:63) observe – "research concerning various populations where literate competencies are less than fully developed in the L1, or where L1 literacy cannot be assumed to exist at all, is still largely to be done."

The concentration on early biliteracy on the one hand and adult writing on the other also has an impact on the text types considered: The bulk of L2- and L3-writing research concentrates on the analysis of expository or even academic texts while the focus of studies on early bilinguals is on narrative text types. In addition, when studying younger subjects, developmental issues need to be considered (see Augst and Faigel 1986, Boueke 1995).

A further aspect to be mentioned is the varying research focuses that are based on different research traditions: Research conducted in the Anglophone tradition mainly focuses on writing strategies, i.e macro-strategies (including planning, writing, and revision), strategies that involve social and cognitive dimensions (including past experience, social context, teacher's demands etc.) as well as control-mechanisms and problem-solving strategies (cf. the review by Manchón, Roca de Larios and Murphy 2007). In contrast, research performed in the German tradition generally accentuates the aspect of textual competence (*Textkompetenz*)[1] which encompasses a broad range of skills that are necessary to produce an appropriate text (see mainly Portmann-Tselikas 2003ff, Becker-Mrotzek and Böttcher 2006, Schmölzer-Eibinger 2008ff). While Becker-Mrotzek and Böttcher (2006) refer to a more general model of competences which comprises the ability to produce written texts, the ability to read written texts, to refer to written texts in processes of knowledge acquisition and processing, and to produce conceptual literate texts in the oral medium, Schmölzer-Eibinger (2011: 51ff) subdivides the respective competences into global competences (the ability to write a coherent

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[1] This definition is in contrast to the Anglophone tradition where *textual competence* is generally defined as part of the organizational competence as it "includes the knowledge of conventions for joining utterances together to form a text" (Bachman 1990:87).

text, aspects of contextualisation, general communicative competence, competence of text-optimization, and strategic competence) and more specific competences (formulation competence, knowledge of text organisation, knowledge of textual patterns, stylistic competences). These competences are individuated by a thorough analysis of texts written by the students, i.e. product oriented. Drawing back on this framework, the focus of the currently presented study is on transfer of competences, not on transfer of strategies.

When exploring the mutual influence of competences in L1 and L2 of early bilinguals it is therefore necessary to:

– focus on later acquired L1-literacy based on L2-literacy and L1-orality
– analyse textual competence on the basis of global textual features and holistic text qualities
– examine written products in both languages
– consider different text types
– explore both educational, attitudinal and cognitive dimensions

This article will report on a pilot study which was conducted to investigate language groups to be recruited, to test writing prompts and questionnaire and to explore a model of analysis (see below). Despite gaining some valuable outcomes, due to its nature the study is limited to preliminary results.

This bearing in mind, the present article aims to

– present a model of global features which is appropriate to address textual competence
– demonstrate genre specific differences across languages and subjects
– discuss the levels of transfer and its dependence on educational, attitudinal and cognitive factors
– demonstrate desiderata for future research and educational development

The next section explains the types of features deemed relevant for an analysis of textual competence. Section 3 illustrates the selected research design and the underlying data, while section 4 presents the analysis of the data and demonstrates the different types of cross-influences occurring within a dynamic language system. The last section discusses the variation between the different students' populations considering educational and socio-economic aspects as well as internally motivated factors.

2 Features of textual competence

Various fields spanning educational research, literacy studies and discourse analysis have discussed features that constitute written discourse competence (among many others: Cummins 1979ff, Longacre 1983, Augst and Faigel 1986, Berman and colleagues 1993ff, Feilke 1996ff, Bhatia 2004). For an analysis of global-level textual competence it is necessary to draw back on a set of global features of the text products. Frameworks of analysis have been suggested by Sieber (1998), Riehl (2001), Berman and Nir-sagiv (2007). The later study encompasses both the "local linguistic expression" (lexical and semantic complexity, linguistic register, syntactic complexity; see p. 85ff) and the "global-level discourse structure", which includes "genre-appropriate principles" and "effective text performance" (ibd.:91).[2]

In the following a framework will be proposed based on the assumption that the appropriateness of texts is mainly built on knowledge of text organisation and textual patterns on the one hand and formulation and stylistic competence on the other (see Schmölzer-Eibinger 2011). While text organisation and textual patterns are reflected in the respective macrostructure of the text (see Section 2.1), formulation and stylistic competence are expressed in a genre-appropriate register which is mainly based on the knowledge of patterns of conceptual literacy in the respective languages (termed discourse mode; see Section 2.2). Additionally, a parameter originally included in the notion of discourse mode, is considered separately, namely discourse stance which – as argued in 2.3 – is part of stylistic competence.

2.1 Macrostructure

2.1.1 Macrostructure of narrative texts

Most publications that deal with the macrostructure of narrative texts adopt some form of the Labovian model (as developed by Labov and Waletzky 1967). This framework contains the following components:

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2 While Berman et al. define these criteria in a more general way so that they can be used for different genres, other studies, mainly in the German research context, focus on the development of particular written text types, e.g. on the formation of narrative texts (e.g. Boueke et. al 1995, Riehl 2001, Augst et al. 2007, Augst 2010, Becker 2011, Dannerer 2012), of argumentative texts (Augst and Faigel 1986, Feilke and Augst 1989, Coirier and Marchand 1994, Riehl 2001, Augst et al. 2007, Rapti 2005) and instructive texts (Becker-Mrotzek 1997, Riehl 2001, Bachmann 2002).

- abstract
- orientation
- complicating action
- evaluation
- resolution
- coda

It should, however, be emphasized here that Labov and Waletzky (1967, see also Labov 1972) analysed oral narratives of adolescents in New York City. Therefore the abstract is a kind of summary of the story. By contrast, in a written narrative, this summary is generally expressed in a very condensed way, i.e. in the title of the story. Moreover, it has to be pointed out that both abstract and coda are non-narrative parts of the text (see Riehl 1993). A similar classification was proposed by Longacre (1983) in his 'Grammar of Discourse'. He omits the abstract and introduces an additional component placed before the developing conflict (= *complicating action* in Labovian terms), i.e. the *inciting moment*. This has been defined as the crucial element of a narrative. In the German research tradition, it is normally termed *Bruch* (break) (see Quasthoff 1980, Boueke et al. 1995, Hausendorff and Quasthoff 2005 etc.) or *Unerwartetes* (unexpected) (Ehlich 1983).

In their developmental study on 5 to 10 year old children, Boueke et al. (1995) outlined a four-level developmental scale of this macrostructure:
1. the isolated type
2. the linear type
3. the structured type
4. the narrative-structured type

Criticism of this model (cf. Augst et al. 2007, Becker 2011) has focused on how type 4 conflates the structural level with the level of emotionalising. Boueke et al. (1995), who discern an *event structure* from a so-called *affective structure*, claim that children employ both the event structure containing the inciting moment (see above) and strategies of involvement at the highest level of narrative competence. Augst et al. (2007) and Becker (2011) found part of the involvement strategies also at lower levels. They therefore claim to speak of two separate competences: structural competence (in the sense of introducing tension and a surprising twist) and competence of emotionalising (see Section 2.3).

2.1.2 Macrostructure of argumentative texts

In contrast to descriptions of narrative texts, there only are few of argumentative texts. Van Dijk's definition of this text type (van Dijk 1980:147) refers to the concept of superstructure and is hierarchically organized: In his analysis, argumentation consists of two parts, *justification* (Rechtfertigung) and *conclusion* (Schlussfolgerung). Justification is composed of a *frame* (Rahmen) and the *facts* (Sachverhalt), which branches further into *starting points* (Ausgangspunkte) and *facts* (in a narrower sense) (Tatsachen). A starting point is composed of two parts, *legitimacy* (Berechtigung) and *support* (Unterstützung).

These macro-structural features generally indicate an ideal type of argumentative text. For the analysis of students' texts, it is more appropriate to adopt a framework which includes different levels of development of argumentative skills, as in the model proposed by Augst and Faigel (1986): In their analysis of the development of writing skills in students between the ages of 13 and 23 in Germany, the authors delineate four levels of textual organization of argumentative texts:

1. the *linear-developing type*, which describes an associative chaining of thoughts and argues from an intrinsic (subjective) perspective of the writer
2. the *material-oriented type*, where the order is based on the content and the text is organized in an individual order established by the writer
3. the *pattern-oriented type*, which follows a formal order and exhibits a consistent macro-structure which is not oriented on the content, but on a formal pattern
4. the *reader-oriented type*, which also follows a formal order and consistent macro-structure, but also includes the perspective of the addressee

These four criteria of classification have repeatedly been applied for similar studies (with some modification for adaptation to younger children in Augst et al. 2007:201ff) including bilingual text production (Rapti 2005) and have therefore been similarly applied for the current study.

2.2 Discourse mode

The term 'discourse mode' is used to describe the conceptual mode in which the text is written, whether it is more 'conceptual oral' or 'conceptual literate'. This approach is based on the model by Koch and Oesterreicher (1986ff), who claim that it is not the medium (oral vs. written), but the conception of orality vs. literacy which determines the formation of the text. The conceptual oral vs.

conceptual literate mode is expressed on various levels of the linguistic system, mainly on the lexical, morpho-syntactic and text-organisational level. It is, however, important to note that conceptual orality and literacy are situated on two extremes of a scale – most texts are to be located in between these poles. The following table illustrates the differences between the respective modes on the various levels:

Table 1: *Features of conceptual oral and literate modes*

linguistic levels	conceptual oral mode	conceptual literate mode
– lexical level	– basic or colloquial vocabulary – low type-token ratio – passe-partout words	– elaborated, literary or academic vocabulary – high type-token ratio
– morpho-syntactic level	– aggregative patterns[3] – elliptic constructions – agens-oriented structures	– integrative patterns – fully-structured clauses – structures of agens-omission
– text-organisational level	– basic particles of linear organization, semantically unspecified (*and then, therefore, but*)	– elaborated text organizers, semantically specified (narr. *one day, all of a sudden,* argum. *on the one hand ... on the other, otherwise*)

2.3 Discourse stance

A parameter that had been originally included in the model of conceptual orality vs. literacy is the factor of involvement vs. detachment. In general, conceptual oral texts show more involvement than conceptual literate ones. But as Tannen (1982) has pointed out earlier this factor is not necessarily connected with conceptual literacy and orality. The same holds true for the so-called *parlando*-style as illustrated by Sieber (1998). In his analysis of the final exams of Swiss students, he identifies a style which makes use of a conspicuous number of elements of conceptual orality, but contrary to conceptual oral texts shows rhetorical shaping. Part of this rhetorical style is effectuated by specific strategies of involvement,

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3 For the definition of integration and aggregation see Raible (1992). While aggregative patterns mean the addition of proposition in successive clauses, integration indicates the incorporation of propositions in one clause (either by subordination or nominalization strategies).

which arouse emotional effects on the reader. These emotional effects, however, can also be triggered by texts that utilize highly elaborated vocabulary and complex syntactic patterns. In particular, literary texts are characterized by a high level of conceptual literacy on the one hand, and a strong marking of the so-called affective structure (see Boueke et al. 1995, and below), which elicits more involvement from the reader. One typical characteristic of the involvement strategy is to create an immediate speaker-listener deixis through the presence of the writer and reader in the same textual space. This contrasts with detachment strategies that use patterns which try to create an objective framing by avoiding reference to the speaker or listener. Because the conceptualizing of written utterances is closely connected with strategies of detachment, in a default situation, conceptual orality is linked to involvement and conceptual literacy to detachment. However, as was just shown with respect to narrative literature, this is only an adequate condition, not a sufficient one.

In contrast to Chafe's (1982) original definition of involvement, the present study assigns a double meaning to this notion: the attachment of the speaker/ writer to the utterance (speaker-oriented involvement) and the involvement of the reader in the text (listener-oriented involvement). In narrative texts, this type of involvement is expressed by markers of the so-called *affective structure*. Boueke and his colleagues (1995) have coined this term in their analysis of narrative texts of young children, defining it as "jene Emotionalisierung und Strukturierung, durch die es dem Erzähler in besonderer Weise gelingt, den Zuhörer in das Geschehen einzubeziehen" (that type of emotionalising and structuring which enables the narrator to involve the listener into the action in a specific way, 1995:78). In order to achieve this type of involvement, the speaker employs specific features that evoke emotional effects and sympathy. On the textual level this can be triggered by mentioning emotional reactions to a particular event or by employing sequences of implicit emotional relevance (p. 98). Boueke et. al. (1995:109) assign these markers to three different categories:

1. linguistic elements circumscribing perceptions, thoughts or explicit verbal actions of the protagonist (category: 'psychologische Nähe' *psychological closeness*)
2. linguistic elements underlining the positive aspects of plan-compatible and the negative aspects of the plan-divergent events (category: 'Valenz' *valence*).
3. elements expressing the unexpectedness of events (category: 'Plötzlichkeit' *suddenness*).

The following table illustrates these categories by giving some examples of the respective features.

Table 2: *Categories of affective structure* (*involvement strategies of narratives*)

Categories	Examples
psychological closeness	direct speech inner monologue verbal actions (*crying, shouting, whispering, laughing*) perceptions (sounds, smells, visual impressions)
valence	use of elements with positive or negative connotations: i.e. evaluating adjectives or verbs (*beautiful, hilarious, sad, ugly, to disgust, to enjoy*) description of internal reactions (*he was happy, satisfied, delighted*) use of intensifiers (*very, extremely, totally*)
suddenness	use of temporal adverbs: *suddenly, all of a sudden* emphasizing the ignorance of the protagonist before the inciting moment (e.g. *he was cycling cheerfully and whistling a song – as he bumped into another cyclist*)

Heinrich and Riehl (2011) claim that while the category of suddenness seems to be restricted to narrative text types (marking the crucial constituent of a narrative text, i.e. the break), the other two categories have their counterparts also in argumentative texts. The category of valence is marked by evaluating adjectives (*excellent, intriguing, horrible*) and modal particles; psychological closeness can be evoked by involving the listener into the textual space. In narrative texts this is often effectuated by direct speech. In argumentative texts, a similar effect may be caused by rhetorical questions (*Did they ask the students? Are they happy?*). The thoughts of the writer are expressed in personal statements (*I think, I find* ...). The presence of writer and reader in the same textual space is also established by the use of inclusive *we* (*we all know*...) (see examples in Table 3).

Table 3: *Patterns of involvement and detachment in argumentative texts*

Patterns	Involvement	Detachment
speaker-hearer-deixis	self-reference address to the hearer	no self-reference (or only in framing parts) focus on topic
evaluation	use of evaluating adjectives or modal particles (*great, idiotic, surely*)	no evaluating adjectives objective forms of opinion- marking (*in view of the fact that*...)

While involvement strategies are essential in case of the narrative text – as expressed in the categories of affective structure marking – in the German discourse tradition involvement has to be avoided in argumentative texts. A 'good' argumentative text according to German curriculum standards is a text which is marked by features of detachment.

3 Method

In order to investigate the appropriateness of the model, to define groups of participants, to test materials and the questionnaire a pilot study was conducted in which narrative and argumentative texts of bilingual 9- and 10-graders in both L1 and L2 were collected. The aim of the study was to prepare a larger project on multiliteracy with different ethnic groups which will now start in October 2013.

3.1 Participants

To explore differences in textual competence between various school types a random sample of subjects was collected in the German city of Cologne (4th biggest city in Germany). The schools participating in the study were all situated in an area with a high percentage of children of migrant background, and include all types of secondary schools: one school type at the basic level (Hauptschule), two at the intermediate level (Gesamtschule, Realschule) and one at the upper level (Gymnasium). In total, 10 different classes took part in the survey [2 Gesamtschule, 3 Gymnasium, 1 Hauptschule and 4 Realschule]. In order to elicit texts which have already reached an elaborated level at the developmental scale (see Section 2.1.2) the study was carried out in year 9 and 10.

The whole sample includes 86 bilingual subjects and 98 monolingual Germans. The largest groups among the bilinguals were children with Turkish (65%), Russian (14.4%) and Italian (11.6%) as L1 and German as L2. The study also includes speakers of Croatian, Greek, Arabic, Farsi, Hindi/Urdu, English, French, Polish and Linguala. The present article focuses on a subsample of 45 bilingual subjects with Turkish, Italian and Russian as L1 and German as L2. According to the concept of multicompetence which claims that L2 competence is fundamentally different from the linguistic competence of a monolingual (e.g. Cook 2003) monolingual subjects will not be systematically included in the analysis.

The subjects wrote both a narrative and an argumentative text in their L1 Turkish, Russian or Italian and in their L2 German (= a total number of 180 texts) from intermediate level (Gesamtschule, Realschule) and upper level school types

(Gymnasium). There were 25 female and 20 male subjects, ranging in age between 14 and 17, with a mean age of 15.4.

3.2 Materials and criteria of analysis

In order to elicit the narrative text, two picture impulses were presented: the picture for the L1 task depicts a motorcycle accident with a girl calling for help. The L2 impulse shows another accident scene, but in a self-service restaurant. Here a girl gets caught on the handle of a handbag and falls down in front of her classmates with her tablet full of food spilling onto the floor (see *appendix 1 + 2*).

The argumentative genre was elicited using two pseudo-surveys where students were asked to formulate an opinion on two different issues: For L2 (German) the question concerned voting rights: "Do you think that the right to vote should already be granted to young people at the age of 16?" A similar argumentative text question was asked for L1 regarding rights of citizenship: "Do you think that Germany should grant dual citizenship to people with migrant backgrounds?" In both cases the task was formulated as follows: "Write a letter to a member of parliament and give reasons for your opinion!" The writing prompts were taken from test paradigms used for year 9 in North Rhine-Westphalia and were therefore considered appropriate for the age group analysed in this study. The type of argumentative text elicited is part of the curriculum from year 8 on.

The German texts were written by every student in the classroom (bilinguals and monolinguals) during the German lessons. Texts in the L1 were either written during the heritage language classes (for those attending the lessons) or during a free period (Freistunde) at school.

To elicit data on the social and socio-economic background, on language use and attitudes, a questionnaire was used which contained among others the following questions: age and duration of residence in Germany, profession and language of parents, use of L1 and L2 in different settings (including reading, writing and multimedia) and with different speakers, self-assessment of language skills, attitudes towards the respective languages and towards language mixing and multilingualism in general (see *appendix 3*).

The texts were digitalized (typed out), translated (L1 texts) and analysed. When analysing the macrostructure, the models of Labov (1972) and Longacre (1983) were used for the narrative text and the one of Augst and Faigel (1986) for the argumentative text, as they had been adopted already in previous studies (see above Section 2.1.2). In order to develop a specific framework to investigate discourse mode type-token-ratio, integrative and aggregative syntactic structures, register types, and features of involvement and detachment were scored. The individual features

were transferred into a framework and labelled according to three types: conceptual oral, conceptual literate and neutral. From these scores a condensed set of general text types (similar to the approach in Berman and Nir-sagiv 2007)[4] was derived. A similar framework was used for the analysis of detachment and involvement: Here all features of detachment vs. involvement appearing in the text were listed accordingly (for a detailed classification and rating of the features see Erl 2013). Rating of text types was carried out by three independent raters in order to achieve an objective classification.[5]

In the following section (4.), different types of text construction in both languages will be outlined starting with the narrative texts. In a second step the argumentative texts will be analysed and then differences between the discourse strategies in both text types and across L1 and L2 will be illustrated.

4 Results

To convey the characteristics of the respective text types, one typical example of the textual strategies employed by the students will be presented. Each example is followed by a short analysis illustrating the relevant features constituting the corresponding text type.

4.1 The narrative texts

For the narrative task, the present study differentiates among four different types of textual strategies: Type 1 reflects a very simple text in a conceptual oral mode and with marginal affect marking (mainly consisting of sequences of direct speech). The second type represents a narrative text with a more or less distinct narrative macrostructure and a complicating action; the discourse mode is located between the regular conceptual oral and conceptual literate mode and the

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4 Berman and Nir-sagiv (2007) delineate four levels of text construction, which they label *minimal representation, partial extension, well-formedness* and *beyond well-formedness* (p. 97) and define a particular set of criteria which are characterized not only by structural features, but also by genre-typical phenomena (including rhetorical expressiveness) and discursive features (elements of cohesion).

5 In contrast to microstructure analysis, elements of macrostructure are often included in qualitative writing analyses, such as in holistic or analytic scoring systems, or can be analysed quantitatively by counting cohesive ties or genre-specific text structure elements (see Hall-Mills 2009:7f).

texts show only marginal involvement strategies. Type 3 encompasses narratives containing the respective macrostructure and a conceptual literate discourse mode, as well as narrative techniques of involvement. In some cases, students do not write a narrative text at all, but either a description or a dialogue. These texts will be collected under the heading type 4.

4.1.1 Examples of the text types

Type 1:

Simple type
- simple narrative structure
- conceptual oral mode
- minimal affect marking

(1) Example (L1 Turkish, 9th grade, Realschule)

Aleyna'nın kötü günü
Aleyna motoruyla okula gidiyordu.
Yarım saat sonra bir arabaya çarpıştı.
Motoru çimende duruyordu. Aleyna'da çimene düştü. Kafası kanıyordu. Birdenbire, bir kız geldi ve ona yardım etti.
Kız: "Ne oldu sana?" Aleyna: "Birden bire kendimi çimende buldum. Gali ba bir arabaya çarptım." Kız: "Tamam, ben şimdi ambulansı çağırıyorum." Aleyna: "Çok teşekür ederim. Sen çok iyisin." Ambulans geldi ve Aleynayı hastaneye götürdu. Kız'da onun la gitti.
Aleyna bir hafta hastanede kaldı, kızın adı Burcu. Burcu telefon numarasını Aleynaya verdi. Ondan sonra birbirinle hep görüştüler ve arkadaş oldular, hem den en iyi arkadaş.[6]

Aleyna's bad day
Aleyna rode with her motor bike to school.
Half an hour later she crashed into a car.
Her motor bike stood on the grass. Aleyna had fallen onto the grass: Her head was bleeding. Suddenly a girl came and helped her.
The girl: "What happened?" Aeyna: "I suddenly found myself on the grass. Probably I crashed into a car." The girl: "Ok, I'll call an ambulance." Aleyna: "Thank you. You're very nice." The ambulance came and they took Aleyna to the hospital. The girl also came with them. Aleyna stayed in the hospital for one week, the name of the girl was Burcu. Burcu gave her phone number to Aleyna. Afterwards they met all the time and became friends, even best friends.

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6 All of the students' texts are edited in their original form including orthographical, grammatical and lexical errors and other norm-deviant features. Stylistic and lexical errors are also rendered in the translation.

The text shows a very simple structure without either marking the break in the story or developing a *complicating action*. The discourse mode is characterised by a rather simple, uninvolved type of conceptual orality, aggregative syntactic constructions (main clauses), basic vocabulary: *gitmek* ('go'), *düşmek* ('fall'), *gelmek* ('come'), *yardım etmek* ('help'), *okul* ('school'), *araba* ('car'), *kız* ('girl'), *hastane* ('hospital'), *arkadaş* ('friend') etc. without any variance, and oral expressions at the text organization level (*ondan sonra* 'afterwards'). The only type of affect marking is direct speech. This form of dialogue is rather typical for the texts written in L1 Turkish. The use of dialogical parts in the texts allows the writer to employ an oral mode and colloquial expressions of everyday language that they are familiar with: *Ne oldu sana?* ('What happened?'), *Çok teşekür ederim.* ('Thank you very much.'), *Sen çok iyisin.* ('You are very nice.') (see also below type 4).

Type 2:

Mixed type
- narrative structure
- written discourse mode with oral elements (in L1 as intended written mode with contact-induced patterns)
- minimal to medium affect marking

(2) Example (L1 Turkish, L2 German, 10th grade, Realschule)

Blinder Neid Hochnäsigkeit
Jeden Tag gibt es in der Schule um 12:30Uhr Mittagsessen und genau um 12:29 kommt Rebekka mit ihrem Essen Tablett und ihre langen Blonden Haaren rein getänzelt. Voller Hochnäsigkeit achtet sie auf andere herab, als wäre sie etwas besseres. Aber heute sollte sich diese Hochnäsigkeit zu ihrem Verhängnis werden. Ich saß wie immer mit Mikel und Jascha an einem Tisch. Und wie immer schaute Mikel ihr hinter her mit einem offenem Mund sodass das ganze Essen herausfiel. Ich und Jascha konnten Rebekka noch nie leiden, da sie zu Hochnäsig ist. Als Rebekka an uns vorbei geht, dreht sie sich um und winkt Mikel zu. Mikel kann es nicht fassen und haut sich Tablett gegen den Kopf, er macht sich Hoffnung das es vielleicht doch etwas mit Rebekka wird. Doch das Schicksal ist nicht weit entfernt und hört Mikels Gedanken. Rebekka geht Schritt für Schritt weiter aber was sie nicht weiß ist, dass sich Mikels Tasche beim Umdrehen um ihr Fuß schlingelte. Plötzlich hört man einen lauten Knall und lautes gekicher. Ich dreh mich um und Rebekka liegt auf dem Boden, mit Spaghetties in den Haaren und Ketchup im Gesicht. Mikel fasst es nicht, er weißt jetzt das es mit Rebekka nix mehr wird, da er sie unbewusst blamiert hat.

Blind envy conceitedness
Every day lunch is served at school at 12:30 and exactly at 12:29 Rebekka was skipping into the room with her lunch tray and her long blond hair. Full of herself, she looked down on others as if she were something better. But today her conceitedness would be her undoing. As always, I was sitting on a table with Mikel and Jascha. And as always Mikel was looking

at her with an open mouth so that everything he had eaten fell out again. I and Jascha had never liked Rebekka, because she is too conceited. When Rebekka passes us, she turns and waves to Mikel. Mikel cannot believe it and slaps the tray against his head. He is starting to hope that he may indeed have a chance with Rebekka. But destiny is not far away and hears Mikel's thoughts. Rebekka keeps moving step by step forward, but does not realize that Mikel's bag twisted round her leg when she turned. Suddenly there is a loud bang and loud giggling. I turn around and Rebekka is lying on the floor, with spaghetti in her hair and ketchup in her face. Mikel can't believe it, he knows now that he has no chance anymore with Rebekka because he unintendedly embarrassed her.

This text shows a typical narrative structure with *exposition, complicating action, peak, solution* and *coda*. *Solution* and *coda* however, are somewhat disproportional in comparison to the other parts. This is typical of type 2 narrations, where one part of the narrative is often not explicitly elaborated. The writer uses a rather neutral register, with some elaborated expressions such as *ihre Hochnäsigkeit sollte ihr zum Verhängnis werden* ('her conceitedness would be her undoing'), *das Schicksal ist nicht weit entfernt* ('destiny is not far away). On the other hand some colloquial expressions such as *dass es etwas wird* ('that he may have a chance'). The marking of the affective structure is mainly expressed by positive and negative connotations.

Type 3:

Elaborated type
–   narrative structure
–   written discourse mode (in L1 as intended written mode with contact-induced patterns)
–   medium or high affect marking

(3) Example (L1 Russian, L2 German, 10th grade, Realschule)

Unfall
Mascha und Sascha sind schon sehr lange zusammen. Noch im Kindergarten haben sie einander kennen gelernt, konnte man sogar sagen, die Liebe auf den ersten Blick. Die beiden sind jetzt 22 Jahre alt. Sie mögen Motorräder sehr und jeden Monat am dreizehnten. haben sie einen Wettkampf. Das war ein sonniger Tag. Auf der Trasse sammelten sich schon mehr als 20 Leute. Und nun, es begann... Motoren donnerten und Motorräder rasten fort. Sascha geriet nach vorne! Zum ersten mal in den letzten Monaten ist es Sascha gelungen, alle zu überholen. Mascha war 100 Meter hinter ihm. Aber plötzlich rannte über die Strasse ein Hirschkalb. Kleines, vollfleischiges, aber aus unbestimmten Gründen schwarz. Sascha versuchte auszuweichen, aber er hat das Gleichgewicht verloren und flog an den Straßenrand. Das Herz rutschte Mascha in die Hose. Sie fuhr schnell zur Straßenseite und rannte zu ihm. Er war im Halbliegen

auf der Erde, auf Ellenbogen stützend. Sein Motorrad war zwei Meter von ihm. Beine, halbge-
beugt, bis zu den Knien im Blut.
Mascha, weiß wie Mehl, mit runden Augen noch im Laufen fragte mit zitternder Stimme: „Ist
alles in Ordnung, Schatz?" „Ja, meine Liebe, alles gut...nur ein Kratzer" antwortete er leise.

Accident
Mascha and Sascha have been together for a long time. They met in kindergarden, you could
even say, love at first sight. Both are 22 years old now. They love motor bikes a lot and every
month on the thirteenth, they have a race. It was a sunny day. More than 20 people had
already gathered on the route. And now, it began...The engines thundered and the motor
bikes sped away. Sascha was in first place! It was the first time in months that Sascha had
succeeded in passing everybody. Mascha was 100 meters behind him. But suddenly a fawn
crossed the street. Small, plump, but for some reason, black. Sascha tried to get out of the
way, but he lost his balance and flew off the road. Mascha's heart fell into her boots. She
quickly pulled off to the side of the road and ran to him. He was lying on the ground, leaning
on his elbows. His motor bike was two meters away from him. Legs, half crooked, up to his
knees in blood. Mascha, white like flour, with round eyes, asked him, still running, with a
trembling voice: "Is everything alright, darling?" "Yes, my dear, everything's alright... just a
scratch" he answered quietly.

This particular example is rather exceptional in our sample, but it demonstrates
quite clearly that it is possible to transfer competences from one language to the
other, if one has a high command of a language. The author of this text attended a
Russian-speaking school in Latvia for eight years. He only spent four years in the
German school system. As his texts in L1 show, he has an excellent command in
the Russian language and transfers some typical features of his L1-writing also to
German. He uses an excellent macrostructure (exposition, complicating action,
peak, resolution, coda). Although he produces some minor grammatical errors
(use of article in the idiom *Liebe auf den ersten Blick*, word order in *plötzlich rannte
über die Straße ein Hirschkalb*), he excels at the tasks by using elaborate vocabu-
lary (*Trasse* 'road', *Hirschkalb* 'fawn', *vollfleischig* 'plump', *halbgebeugt* 'half
crooked'). This is another point for Cummins' claim of a "common underlying
proficiency" (CUP) that can be transferred from one language to the other. This
example also underlines the findings by Knapp (1997) and Dannerer (2012:411ff)
who found out that students who had spent a few years of their school career in
their country of origin and had already developed written narrative competence
in this language generally outperform those who had started school in L2 German.
They exhibit better structural organization of texts, though with less precision in
grammar.

Typ 4:

Compensation strategies

Diverging from the required task, a few students use different patterns such as descriptive texts or pure dialogues. While the first case may be explained by lack of engagement on part of the students, the latter case use of alternative patterns can be seen as a compensation strategy, especially because these patterns are used in L1. Students who are not familiar with conceptual literacy in their heritage language may have attempted to write an attractive text employing colloquial formula and vocabulary. Use of a dialogue-structure is able to evoke reader's interest without the need for an elaborate writing style.

3.1.2 Text types in the subsample

As illustrated by Figure 1, the scores for the respective text types in both languages are much higher for the less elaborated types 1 and 2 (79%) than the numbers for the elaborated type 3. In addition, the students produce more elaborate texts in L2 than in their L1. While 42% of the subjects use type 1 in their L1, the same figure was observed for type 2 in L2. The elaborated type 3 is only attained by 21% of the students in L2, and even to a lower degree (12%) in L1. Type 4, which includes text types such as dialogues and description, occurs only in L1, supporting the assumption that these types are used as compensation strategies.
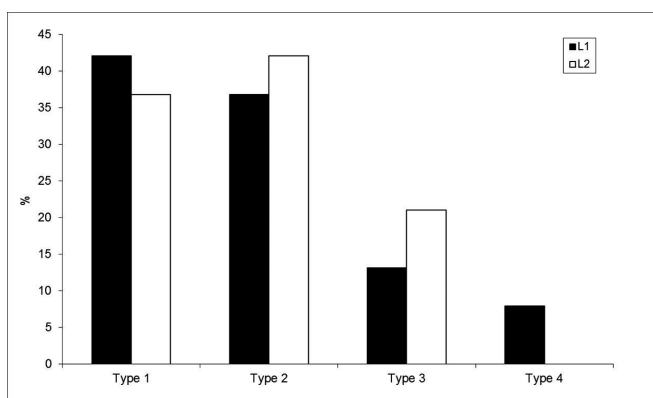
Figure 1: Narrative texts in L1 and L2

A more differentiated picture can be observed when ethnic groups are considered separately: Due to the exploratory nature of the current study, the number of participants in the respective ethnic groups is not proportional. Although the group of Turkish subjects is large enough to attain meaningful results, the Italian and Russian groups only allow for a formulation of general tendencies: One tendency to note, however, is that Italian subjects use type 1 in the vast majority and no type 3, while Turkish subjects tend to use more L2 type text features and equal Russian subjects in the use of type 3. Only Turkish subjects employ the compensational strategies as in category 4 (see Figure 2).
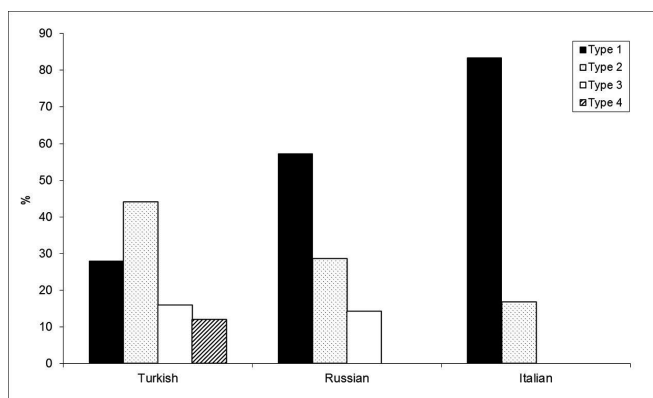
Figure 2: Differences between ethnic groups: narrative texts

4.2 The argumentative texts

The argumentative texts can be separated into three different textual strategies: The first type combines a linear-developing structure with an oral discourse mode and the discourse stance of involvement. The second type, a 'mixed' type combines a material-oriented-structure with written discourse mode containing oral elements (in L1 as intended written mode with contact-induced patterns) and the discourse stance of detachment (+/-self-reference). The third type, an elaborated type, contains a pattern-oriented structure (*pro-contra-conclusio-*structure), is authored in a written discourse mode, and displays features of detachment (self-reference only in the framing parts or *conclusio*).

4.2.1 Examples of the text types

Type 1:

Simple type:
– linear-developing structure
– oral discourse mode
– involvement: self-reference & narrative elements

(4) Example (L1 Italian, 10th grade, Realschule)

> *Cara Siniora Zambrota,*
> *Come lo o letto nella wostra lettera non capisco ce woi walete ce onjuno die Personi ce abitono al lestero abiano due Passaportie.*
> *Nelle mia opinione lo pennso ce non e gusto ce una persona pua avere due Passaportie, perce in un domani non sa se è un Italiano o un straniro Sie sucedera ce una Persona pua avere due Passaportie sucede ance ce, si sarano molti in dicesioni con altre Persone. Obure si una Persona wa in wacanse con la sua famiglia non si sa si io sono il padre o mia mogli e la sua madre perce io e lei a diverse cetitinansa.*
> *Per questa cose io Penso ce avere du Passaportie e inutile e complicato.*
> *Con Molto attenzione*
>
> Dear Signora Zambrota,
> As I have read in your letter, I don't understand that you want that every person who lives abroad has Außtwo passports.'
> In my opinion, I think, it's not justified that one person can have two passports, because one morning you don't know if he is an Italian or a foreigner.
> If it happens that one person can have two passports, it also happens that there will be a lot of indecisions with other persons. Or, if a person goes on holidays with their family, one doesn't know whether I'm the father or my wife is the mother, because I and she have different citizenships.
> Because of this thing, I think, to have two passports is not useful and complicated.
> With a lot of attention

In this example the writer argues from an intrinsic perspective without a recognizable internal structure. He lines up his arguments in an associative framework. The discourse mode is conceptual oral: a basic vocabulary and low type-token-ratio (repeating *passaporto* 'passport', *persona* 'person', and using a very basic vocabulary: *padre* 'father', *madre* 'mother', *famiglia* 'family', *moglie* 'wife' etc.). He mainly employs aggregative structures, only subordinate clauses introduced by *come* ('how'), *che* ('that'), *si* ('when'). The textual organization is unspecified; the only particle to indicate causal order is *perche* ('because') and *per questa cosa* ('because of this thing'). The writer also exposes a very strong subjective discourse

stance: *non capisco* ('I don't understand'), *nella mia opinione* ('in my opinion'), *credo* ('I think').

Type 2:

Mixed type
– material-oriented-structure
– written discourse mode with oral elements (in L1 as intended written mode with contact-induced patterns)
– detachment (+/-self-reference)

(5) Example (L1 Turkish, 10th grade, Realschule)

> *Sayın bakanım,*
> *Avrupa birliğindeki vatandaşların iki tane pasaport eddinmeye hakkı olacaktır. Ama bunun iyi bir fikir olup olmadığını düşünmek gerekir. Bence bu iyi bir fikirdir çünkü bu vesileyle başka ülkelerde yaşayan vatandaşlar gerçek kişiliklerini koruya bilecek.*
> *Ama bu hak sadece avrupa birliğindeki kişiler için geçerlidir ve bu gerikalan kişiler için işe yarayacak bir yasa değildir. Böyle bir yasayı uygulamadan geride kalanları düşünmenizi isterim.*
> *Saygılarla*

> My Dear Minister,
> The citizens of the European Union will be granted the right to have two passports. Yet I think it should be considered whether this is a good idea. In my opinion it is a good one because those living abroad are then able to maintain their true personality.
> But this right only holds true for persons living in the European Union and this law is of no use for persons who remain outside. Before you apply a law like this, I would like you to reflect on the non-considered persons.
> Yours faithfully,

In this case the writer presents an elaborated text which does not entirely meet the criteria of the discourse type: The macrostructure is not yet pattern-oriented, but remains material-oriented. The author advances a single argument, i.e. having a dual citizenship enables people to maintain their true identity, and discusses the possibility of non-EU-citizens to be granted the right as well.

In contrast to the simple type, this mixed type (despite its plain macrostructure) shows patterns of conceptual literacy as well as an objective discourse stance. This characteristic is expressed by a more elaborated vocabulary: *hak* ('right'), *yasa* ('law'), *eddinmeye hakkı* ('right to have'), *düşünmek gerekir* ('it should be considered'). Moreover the student uses some complex converb and participal constructions: *olup olmadığı* ('whether this is'), *başka ülkelerde yaşayan vatandaşlar* ('those who are living abroad') and even a very complex subordinate

construction containing a converb and nominalisations: *uygulamadan geride kalanları düşünmenizi isterim* ('before you apply ... I would like you to reflect on the non-considered persons').

Type 3:

Complex type
– pattern-oriented structure (*pro-contra-conclusio*-structure)
– written discourse mode
– detachment (self-reference only in the framing part or *conclusio*)

(6) Example (L2 German, 10th grade, Realschule – same subject as in ex. (5) with L1 Turkish)

> *Sehr geehrter Herr Abgeordneter,*
> *nach Auffassung vieler Menschen, vorallem Jugendlichen, sollte man in Deutschland schon mit 16 wählen dürfen. Sie wären reif genug, um Mitspracherecht zu erhalten, jedoch sollte man auch beachten, dass viele Jugendliche zu wenig informiert sind. Im Folgenden will ich ihnen die Meinung vorstellen.*
> *Vor allen Jugendliche finden, dass sie ein Recht auf Mitsprache hätten, da viele von ihnen schon mit 16 arbeiten würden und Steuern zahlen würden. Sie seien somit reif genug.*
> *Auch viele Eltern denken, dass dies gut für ihre Kinder sei. Man müsse sie früh genug mit der Politik und ihrem System vertraut machen. Jedoch raten die Experten davon ab. Sie meinen, dass sie zu leicht beeinflussbar seien und meist kein Interesse für die Politik hätten. Sie hätten zu wenig Lebenserfahrung und ihnen wäre die Tragweite ihrer Entscheidung meist nicht bewusst.*
> *Ich vertrete den Standpunkt, dass 16 jährige viel zu jung sind, um wählen zu können. Sie sind nicht reif genug und haben zu wenig Lebenserfahrung. Ihnen ist die Folge ihrer Entscheidung meist nicht bewusst. Sie handeln oft aufgrund von Gruppenzwang und bilden sich deshalb keine eigene Meinung.*
> *Ich hoffe, dass Sie ihre Entscheidung gut bedenken und hoffe auf ein baldiges Ergebnis.*
> *Mit freundlichen Grüßen*

> Dear Sir,
> In the view of many people, mainly young persons, people in Germany should be allowed to vote at the age of 16. They would be mature enough to gain the right to share in decisions. But it also has to be considered that a lot of young people are not sufficiently informed. In what follows, I will present my opinion.
> Particularly young people think that they have the right to share in decisions, because many of them already work at the age of 16 and pay taxes. Thus, they are mature enough. Also many parents think that is a good thing for their children. One has to familiarize them with politics and their system. However, experts advise against it. They are of the opinion that they are easily influenced und have no interest in politics. They would have little experience of life and would often not be aware of the consequences of their decisions.

> I take the view that 16-year-old persons are much too young to be able to vote. They are not mature enough and have not enough life experience. They are not aware of the consequences of their decisions. They often act out of peer pressure and therefore do not form an opinion of their own.
> I hope that you reflect well on your decision and hope for a quick result.
> Yours sincerely

This text type follows the patterns which are usually taught at school in L2 German. The student uses the typical *pro-contra-conclusio*-structure in an exemplary way: She starts with an introduction to establish the topic and addresses the reader. Then she gives pro-arguments: 16-year olds already work and pay taxes, they are sufficiently mature, they have to be familiarized with politics. In a second step, she introduces the contra-arguments (from experts' perspective): 16-year olds can be influenced easily, have no interest in politics and little life experience. Finally the author comes to the conclusion that she denies the option of giving the right to vote to 16-year olds and ends by addressing the reader.

This pattern-oriented macro-structure is accompanied by a written discourse mode which is expressed using a rich, elaborate vocabulary, e.g. *Mitspracherecht* ('right to share in decisions'), *vertraut machen* ('to familiarize'), *Tragweite* ('consequences'). There are also features of syntactic integration such as *nach Auffassung vieler Menschen* ('in the view of many people'), *die Folge ihrer Entscheidung* ('the consequences of their decision'), *aufgrund von Gruppenzwang* ('out of peer pressure'). Typical collocations of advanced discourse competence are *Mitspracherecht erhalten* ('to gain the right to share in decisions'), *sich eine Meinung bilden* ('to form an own opinion'), *den Standpunkt vertreten* ('to take the view'). Typical features at the text organisational level are: *im Folgenden will ich Ihnen die Meinung vorstellen* ('in the following I will present my opinion').

The text is presented in an objective discourse stance: self-reference of the author is only expressed in introduction and conclusion, but not in the main body of the text. The distance of author and text is not only conveyed through the use of expressions like *man* (impersonal 'one') or *beeinflussbar* ('easily influenced'), but the main body of the text is presented from an outside perspective either of young people, the parents or the experts, and is put in the subjunctive mode.

4.3 Representation of text types in the sample

It is important to mention that in the complete sample, including monolingual German speakers, only 26% of the participants follow the patterns which are

normally taught at school, i.e. type 3 patterns. The vast majority utilizes the mixed type, i.e. 50%. In contrast, the bilingual subjects of our subsample espouse a slightly higher percentage of type 1 (26%) and type 2 (58%) and a lower percentage of type 3 (14%) than monolinguals in L2 German. In their L1, however, only a small number of students reach the type 3 level (7%), 20% use type 2-patterns and the overwhelming number of subjects (72%) employ the simple type in their native language (conceptual oral, simple argumentation, involvement). The different realisations of text types in L1 and L2 are illustrated in Figure 3:
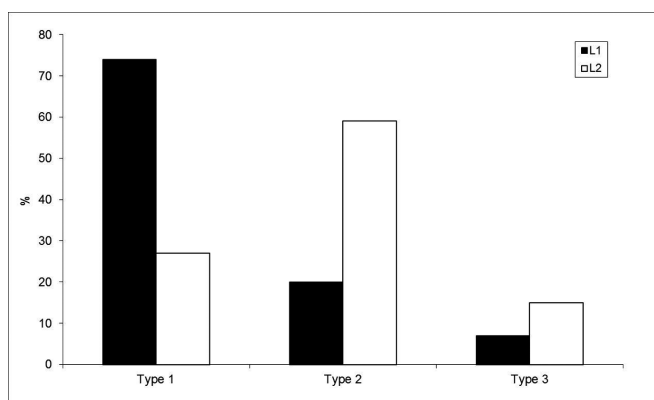
Figure 3: Argumentative texts in L1 and L2

Similar to the narrative texts, there are differences between the diverse ethnic groups concerning the correlation between competence in L1 and L2. Although – as mentioned above – the sample of Italian and Russian texts is not sufficient to make generalizations, it should be pointed out that the highest scores for type 3 text realisations are in the Russian group. In view of this preliminary result, it should be noted that two students with Russian background, who had realised either type 2 or 3 of the argumentative text in L1, had spent at least 4 years of their schooling in Russian-speaking schools. In contrast, only one subject with Italian background had had formal training in L1. The larger group of students with Turkish background conveys a more differentiated picture, reaching from subjects with very low to very high competency in both languages (see Figure 4).
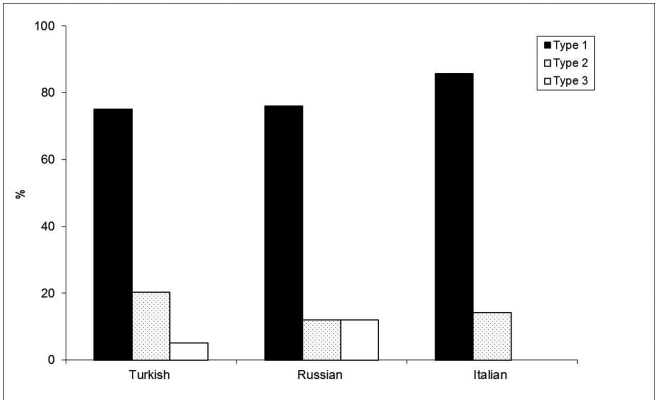
Figure 4: Differences between ethnic groups: argumentative texts

4.4 Relations between text types in L1 and L2

When comparing the different text types in both languages, it is evident that almost all combinations of text type realizations in L1 and L2 are possible: In both genres, the scores for realization of a simple text in both languages are rather high, indicating low overall textual competence of the writers. In general, the texts in L2 are more elaborated than in L1. Only a small percentage of students (10%) exhibit a higher competence in their first language, but only for the narrative text (see Figure 5). In contrast, they reach at maximum the same level in the argumentative genre (but only 8% for the elaborated type). Here, the highest scores are achieved by the simple text type in both languages (50%) (cf. Figure 6).
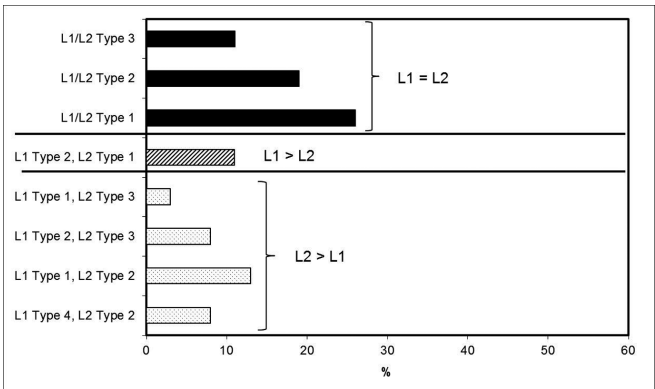
Figure 5: Correlation of text types: narrative texts
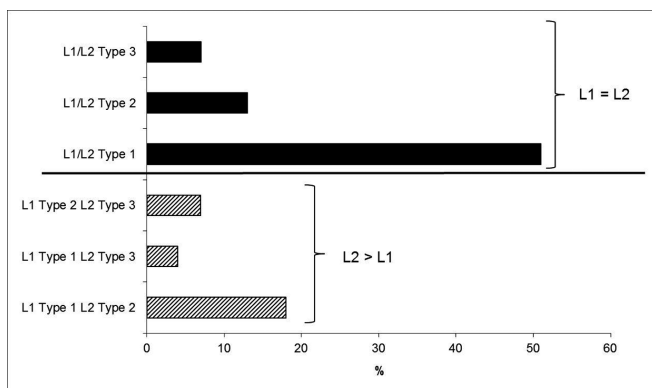
Figure 6: Correlation of text types: argumentative texts

In the following some of the factors which could explain these differences are discussed. Both sociolinguistic components, such as bilingual instruction and socio-economic status, and psycholinguistic components, such as cognitive overload and metalinguistic awareness, are dealt with in more detail.

5 Factors of variation: discussion

5.1 Impacts on L1 competence

5.1.1 Bilingual instruction

Only 25% of the subjects in the subsample have had formal instruction in L1 two hours a week, usually only from grade 1 to 4 (two Russian subjects, however, passed some years in the Russian school system). This helps explain the good command of writing a narrative text in L1 in this subgroup (50% reached type 2 or 3). Conversely most of the students who had formal training in L1 have difficulties performing the argumentative task in their heritage language as they had only acquired these specific discourse patterns in their L2 German (language of instruction) and lacked training in L1 in this specific text type. On the other hand, two girls of the Turkish group who exhibited a high competence in L1, had no heritage language instruction at all. This suggests a high command in L1 writing cannot be explained by instruction alone, so additional factors such as the impact of the socio-economic status and the educational background of the parents have to be considered.

5.1.2 Socio-economic background of parents

In contrast to the results in assessment tests, where a strong correlation between social background and language competence was attested (see e.g. the results of the PISA study, Klieme et al. 2010), the current sample does not confirm similar outcomes. There is no explicit correlation between social background and language competence of the children: While migrant children from higher class migrant backgrounds usually exhibited higher scores for overall textual competence than lower class children (33% vs. 17% low textual competence), middle class children showed almost the same numbers than the lower class subjects (31%). Adopting the Fisher Exact test, a p-value of 0.7013 was found, which is not significant.

There is, however, a significant correlation between school type, discourse competence in L2 and discourse competence in L1 (p-value 0.01493 according to Fisher Exact test): Almost all students with a high competence (level 3) in at least one genre attended either Realschule or Gymnasium. Only one student with low competency in both languages attended a Gymnasium, i.e. students attending the upper level school type also exhibit higher textual competences.

Factors that are often, but not necessarily connected with socio-economic and educational background of the parents are reading activities in L1 and parents' attitudes towards bilingual education: The majority of the subjects who mastered text type 2 or 3 reported to read books and write emails in L1 (85%), others read magazines in their first language. These students often reported that their parents pushed them to read in their heritage language.

5.2 Factors influencing transfer of competences

5.2.1 Cognitive overload

The analysis of the sample demonstrated that students do in fact transfer macro-structures of L2 to L1 and vice versa. Comparing the texts written in L1 and L2, students who show a high command in L2 and are able to compose an elaborated text of type 3 are not always able to transfer this capacity necessarily to L1 (see ex. 5 and 6 from the same student). These findings can be explained by the concept of cognitive overload: If the writers are unable to process all the competences needed for written composition in the act of writing, they fall back upon compensation strategies.

The concept of cognitive overload in the writing process is based on psycho-linguistic findings on the development of writing skills (Hayes and Flower 1980). In its original form, this model characterizes writing as a complex activity that

consists of a small number of high-level processes (planning, translating, reviewing) and some low-level processes (handwriting and spelling). For advanced writers, the latter are automated skills which are not resource-demanding. A number of studies on writing strategies in L2-writers (using thinking-aloud-protocols and other measures of introspection) revealed that writers usually tend to concentrate on the morpho-syntactic and lexical levels and neglect the rhetorical and textual dimensions (see Whalen and Ménard 1995, review in Manchón, Roca de Larios and Murphy 2007, Manchón 2013).

The concept of cognitive load implies that performance on all talks will not cause detriment to any of them as long as the total demand does not go beyond the available capacity. If this capacity is exceeded, one or more tasks will be performed less productively (Torrance and Galbraith 2006). Alternatively, capacity may also be considered as fractionated, i.e. different tasks are served by different resource pools. There is evidence that during text production a distinction has to be made between phonological and visuospatial resources. Kellogg (1999) observed that the planning activity involves more visuospatial processing by manipulating preverbal codes, while translating the ideas into sentences involves phonological encoding.

The different components involved in text production have different levels of demands on cognitive processes. In general, the writer has to control activities on three different levels (see Drechsler 1997, modifying a model by Stuss):

– The level of the language system: at this level grammatical features, spelling etc. have to be controlled
– The level of executive functions: at this level features concerning the macrostructural organization of the text will be checked
– The level of self reflexivity: at this level the writer controls the appropriateness of the text, social expectations and expectations of the reader as well as context conditions

We adopt the assumption that the writer only has a limited capacity of short term memory at their disposal which allows them to control the writing task. If the total demand of processing tasks exceeds this capacity, the writer will process one or more of the tasks less efficiently. Thereby they may use one of the following strategies:

1. They ignore formal correctness
2. They ignore text organizing procedures such as structuring
3. They ignore appropriateness features such as using the adequate repertoire

This use of such coping strategies explains why the student, who produced an exemplary type 3 argumentative text in L2 German, does not succeed in transfer-

ring the macrostructure of this type to her L1 text although she has a very good command of the language. There are two possible explanations: 1. the writer has been familiarized with narrative writing in L1, so that she has already automated some of the procedures and the overall capacity is not exceeded when writing a narrative text. 2. the cognitive processes that are particular to persuasive writing are more complex (Kellogg 2001) and, as her L1 processing of conceptual-written features is not as automated as in L2, this higher demand exceeds her short-term processing capacity and leads to cognitive overload. As a consequence, the writer neglects the macro-structural planning. This is also reflected in the fact that her Turkish text is much shorter than the German one and her vocabulary is more limited than in L2. It may be the case that the writer is so absorbed in finding the reader appropriate expression and register that she is not able to simultaneously control textual structure. So while she is able to produce a high quality narrative text in L1 at the same level as in L2, she lacks the ability to produce an equivalent argumentative text in her first language. In L2, however, she is more practiced and is therefore able to accomplish the task.

This theoretical claim is in line with findings by Cumming (1989), Pennington and So (1993) and others which demonstrated that the writing behaviour of more expert writers entailed greater use of problem-solving mechanism whereas less expert writers displayed an "unmonitored production of writing" (Cumming 1989: 113).

This same correlation was found with other bilingual students: There was a small group (11%) who performed very well in the narrative text in L1 showing that they have a remarkable command of conceptual literacy in their heritage language – but failed to reach type 3 level of the argumentative text. It is not only important that writers are able to transfer macrostructural features, discourse mode and discourse stance and other features from L1 to L2 and vice versa, but it is equally important that the overall language command in the respective language has reached such a high level that the text production process is not impeded by cognitive overload.

5.2.2 Language awareness

Another cognitive factor that may play an essential role in text production abilities is so-called "language awareness". "Language Awareness is understood [...] as explicit knowledge about language and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use" (ALA = Asssociation for Language Awareness). This definition includes self-assessment of language competence as well as awareness of appropriateness of language use and the sensitiv-

ity for genre-appropriate writing (see Luchtenberg 2008). It has been widely acknowledged that language awareness plays an essential role in second language development (see overview in Jessner 2006:36ff) and second language composing (Cumming 1990). It should, however, be considered whether there is a correlation between textual competence and the degree of language awareness. From the pilot study presented here we can only report on a few preliminary findings in this respect, one concerning the relation between competency and self assessment, the other originating from meta-linguistic comments appearing in the texts.

In the questionnaire accompanying the text elicitations, all students with high competence in both languages evaluated themselves 100% bilingual or almost bilingual. The same holds for those students who had similarly low competency in both languages. The picture was different with students who had apparently high competency in German, but a low competency in Turkish: they evaluated their multilingual competency very differently ranging from 'not bilingual at all' to 100%. It seems that writers who have a high command in at least one of the languages evaluate their own linguistic competences rather realistically. Students with low command of both languages sometimes judge their linguistic competencies higher than they apparently are.

Apart from the data obtained through the questionnaire, additional meta-linguistic comments were added to the texts. One student who excelled in L2 German both in the narrative and the argumentative task (in both cases type 3) remarked that he was not able to express himself in Turkish adequately ("*mir fallen kaum Wörter auf Türkisch ein, die die Geschichte spannend machen könnten*" 'I hardly can think of words in Turkish which would make the story more exciting'). This proves that the student is aware of the necessary components of the text, but in this case, his linguistic repertoire is just too poor to serve the demands of the task. Another student corrects her conceptual oral expressions and replaces them by oral written ones. This behaviour illustrates that the writer is aware of the discourse stance that is required in this text type. While these observations remain anecdotic, they nevertheless demonstrate that it is worthwhile to include the factor of language awareness systematically into the study of textual competence (i.e. by adopting a language awareness test).

6 Conclusion

The present article has attempted to show that a global feature model (including macrostructure, discourse mode and discourse stance) can help determine competences in L1 and L2 text production of bilingual speakers. By defining different levels of text types it was possible to demonstrate the mutual influence of textual

competence in both languages. But beyond this observation the present analysis includes high variation between speakers: Generally, students who have low competency in L1 normally transfer patterns from oral discourse (type 1). If they have higher competency, they also transfer patterns from L2, e.g. discourse mode and macro-structure. High competence in L1 is reflected in the narrative text (all subjects with argumentative texts in written modes wrote well-structured conceptual literate narratives). Only a minor percentage of students reach the elaborated type 3 in both languages. There is also a difference between ethnic groups: The majority of the Italian subjects use the simple mode for both languages, whereas the Russian group shows the highest score for the intermediate type (type 2) in both languages.

There is evidence that points to the independence of text production abilities in both languages, especially when the students have reached a certain underlying proficiency in one of the languages. Whether specific features can be transferred from one language to the other is, however, dependent on a variety of extralinguistic factors and internal cognitive prerequisites. Accordingly, it became quite obvious that instruction in the heritage language has an impact on written discourse competence in L1, but mainly on the performance of the narrative text. It seems that L1 instruction in the way it is performed in the so-called *Muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht* ('additional instruction in the mother tongue') is not sufficient to obtain a satisfactory command in the heritage language. Those students who showed high competency in L1 text production in both genres had either been additionally instructed by their parents or do some voluntary reading and writing in L1 outside of a school context. It has been further demonstrated that textual competence of the students is not significantly connected with the socioeconomic status of the parents, but rather seems more influenced by the role of parents' attitudes towards education and literacy. This is, however, an aspect that has to be systematically addressed in future research.

Finally, it has been demonstrated that variation among students cannot be explained by educational and socio-economic factors alone, but also by a set of cognitive factors: It turned out that students with a high competence in both languages in the narrative genre and a high competence in the argumentative genre in L2 often do not reach the same level in the argumentative text in L1. That means they are not able to transfer all the components deemed necessary for textual competence (macrostructure, discourse mode, discourse stance) from L2 to L1. This observation can be explained by the concept of cognitive overload, i.e. the production of argumentative texts with higher complexity exceeds the mental capacity due to less automated language processing. These findings in turn suggest that training in more complex text types is essential in order to automate specific textual patterns and should be tested in interventional studies. Another

aspect that could only be mentioned due to lack of experimental data is the correlation between the level of language awareness and the level of textual competence. This facet should also be included in future research on writing in early bilinguals.

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Appendix 1

Überlege dir, wie es zu diesem Motorradunfall gekommen sein könnte.
  • Wer sind die Personen?
  • Was ist passiert?
  • Wie geht es weiter?
  • ...

Aufgabenstellung

Schreibe eine Geschichte über diesen Unfall.
Berichte aus der Sicht einer der Personen, die du auf diesem
Bild sehen kannst.

Appendix 2

Missgeschick beim Schnellimbiss

- Was ist hier passiert?
- Wer sind die Personen?
- In welcher Beziehung stehen die Personen?
- Was wird dem Vorfall vorangegangen sein?
- Wie wird es weiter gehen?
- ...

Aufgabenstellung

Schreibe eine interessante Geschichte zu diesem Bild

Appendix 3

Fragebogen zur Mehrsprachigkeit

Schule _____
Klasse _____

I. Persönliche Daten

Alter:	
Geschlecht: ☐ männlich ☐ weiblich	
Erstsprache (Muttersprache):	
Welche weiteren Sprachen sprichst Du?	
Geburtsort:	
Staatsangehörigkeit(en):	
Andere Wohnorte (wo und wie lange):	

II. Eltern (und andere Erwachsene im Haushalt):

	Vater	Mutter	Andere:
Erstsprache (Muttersprache):			
Staatsangehörigkeit:			
Beruf:			
Wohnhaft in Köln? Wenn, seit wann?			
Du wohnst mit...			

III. Sprache und Sprachgebrauch

1. Wenn Du Deutsch sprichst, findest Du es…
☐ leicht   ☐ eher leicht   ☐ eher schwer   ☐ sehr schwer

2. Wenn Du Deutsch schreibst, findest Du es…
☐ leicht   ☐ eher leicht   ☐ eher schwer   ☐ sehr schwer

3. Wenn Du Deine Muttersprache sprichst, findest Du es…
☐ leicht   ☐ eher leicht   ☐ eher schwer   ☐ sehr schwer

4. Wenn Du Deine Muttersprache schreibst, findest Du es…
☐ leicht   ☐ eher leicht   ☐ eher schwer   ☐ sehr schwer

5. Wenn Du eine dritte oder vierte Sprache kennst, bitte beantworte die folgenden Fragen:
5a. Wenn Du (eine dritte Sprache) _____ sprichst, findest Du es…
☐ leicht   ☐ eher leicht   ☐ eher schwer   ☐ sehr schwer

5b. Wenn Du (eine dritte Sprache) _____ schreibst, findest Du es…
☐ leicht   ☐ eher leicht   ☐ eher schwer   ☐ sehr schwer

5c. Wenn Du (eine vierte Sprache) _____ sprichst, findest Du es…
☐ leicht   ☐ eher leicht   ☐ eher schwer   ☐ sehr schwer

5d. Wenn Du (eine vierte Sprache) _____ schreibst, findest Du es…
☐ leicht   ☐ eher leicht   ☐ eher schwer   ☐ sehr schwer

1

6. In welcher Sprache…

				(eine) weitere Sprache(n) =
…liest Du Zeitungen/ Zeitschriften?	☐ Deutsch	☐ Muttersprache	☐ beides	☐
…liest Du Bücher?	☐ Deutsch	☐ Muttersprache	☐ beides	☐
…hörst Du Radio?	☐ Deutsch	☐ Muttersprache	☐ beides	☐
…surfst Du im Internet, schreibst Du Emails etc.?	☐ Deutsch	☐ Muttersprache	☐ beides	☐
…machst Du Notizen?	☐ Deutsch	☐ Muttersprache	☐ beides	☐
…träumst Du?	☐ Deutsch	☐ Muttersprache	☐ beides	☐
…rechnest/ zählst Du?	☐ Deutsch	☐ Muttersprache	☐ beides	☐
…fluchst Du?	☐ Deutsch	☐ Muttersprache	☐ beides	☐

7. Mit wem sprichst Du Deutsch?
Mit…

der Mutter	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
dem Vater	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Geschwistern	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
Lehrern (außerhalb des Unterrichts)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
Freunden	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Großeltern (mütterlicherseits)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Großeltern (väterlicherseits)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie

8. Mit wem sprichst Du Deine Muttersprache?
Mit…

der Mutter	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
dem Vater	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Geschwistern	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
Lehrern (außerhalb des Unterrichts)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
Freunden	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Großeltern (mütterlicherseits)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Großeltern (väterlicherseits)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie

9. Mit wem sprichst Du _____ (eine weitere Sprachen, die Du sprichst)?
Mit…

der Mutter	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
dem Vater	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Geschwistern	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
Lehrern (außerhalb des Unterrichts)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie

2

Freunden	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Großeltern (mütterlicherseits)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Großeltern (väterlicherseits)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie

10. Mit wem sprichst Du _____ (eine weitere Sprache, die Du sprichst)?
Mit…

der Mutter	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
dem Vater	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Geschwistern	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
Lehrern (außerhalb des Unterrichts)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
Freunden	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Großeltern (mütterlicherseits)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie
den Großeltern (väterlicherseits)	☐ immer	☐ oft	☐ manchmal	☐ nie

11. Sprichst Du manchmal eine Mischung aus mehreren Sprachen?
☐ Ja, oft   ☐ Ja, manchmal   ☐ Nein   ☐ Weiß nicht

11a. Wenn ja, aus welchen Sprachen? _____

11b. Wenn ja, mit wem?
☐ Eltern   ☐ Geschwistern   ☐ Freunden   ☐ Lehrern   ☐ Andere Leute_____

IV. Sprachempfinden

1. Empfindest Du Dich als mehrsprachig?
☐ 100%   ☐ eher ja   ☐ eher nicht   ☐ gar nicht

2. Empfindest Du Mehrsprachigkeit als positiv oder negativ?
☐ positiv   ☐ ziemlich positiv   ☐ eher negativ   ☐ negativ

3. Was sprichst Du am liebsten?
☐ Deutsch   ☐ Muttersprache   ☐ Sprache 3   ☐ weiß nicht

4.
a) Welche Sprache beherrschst Du am besten, wenn Du sprichst?
☐ Deutsch   ☐ Muttersprache   ☐ Sprache 3   Sprache 4 _____   ☐ weiß nicht

b) Welche Sprache beherrschst Du am besten, wenn Du schreibst?
☐ Deutsch   ☐ Muttersprache   ☐ Sprache 3   Sprache 4 _____   ☐ weiß nicht

3

5. Besuchst Du Ergänzungsunterricht in der Sprache, die Du als Erste gelernt hast?
☐ Ja   ☐ Nein

Wenn ja, seit wann? wieviele Stunden/Woche?_____

6. Benutzt Du eine Deiner Sprachen als „Geheimsprache"?
☐ Deutsch   ☐ Muttersprache   ☐ Sprache 3   ☐ nein, nie!

b) Wenn ja, mit wem und wo? _____

7. Wie empfindest Du es, wenn einer Deiner Mitschüler/ Freunde seine erste Sprache (Muttersprache) nie benutzt oder gar nicht beherrscht?
☐ schlimm   ☐ ist mir egal   ☐ ist okay   ☐ verstehe ich gut

8. Wie bewertest Du die Sprachen, die Du sprichst?

	cool	praktisch	schwer	schrecklich
Deutsch				
Muttersprache				
Sprache 3				
Sprache 4				

9. Welche Sprache gefällt Dir am besten?
☐ Deutsch   ☐ Muttersprache = _____   = Sprache 3 _____   = Sprache 4 _____

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