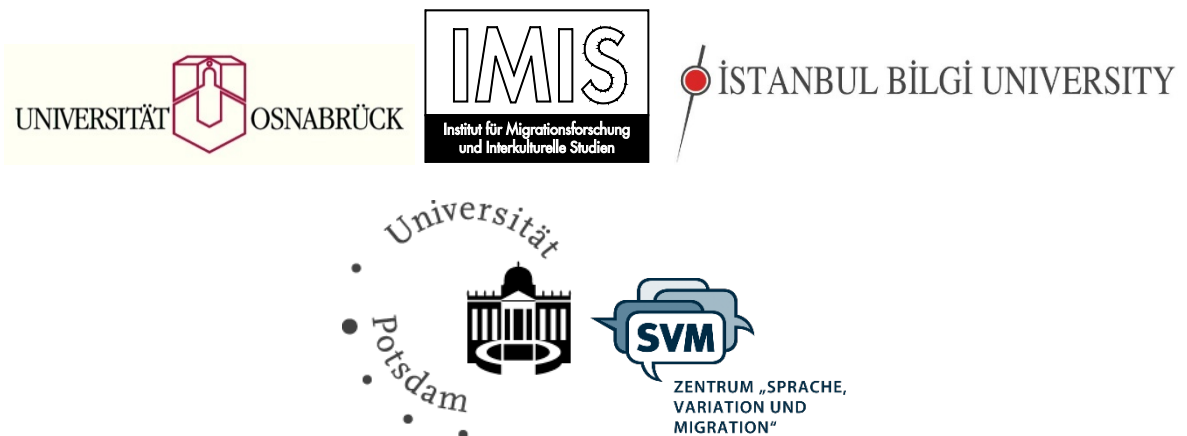# Literacy Acquisition in Schools
in the Context of Migration and Multilingualism

Research Report

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Literacy acquisition in schools in the context of migration and multilingualism

Research report (2007–2011)

Editors' note

This research report is the revised but full version of the final study project report from 2011 that was until now not available as a quotable publication. While several years have passed since we finished our primary research, the addressed issues have lost none of their relevance. We hope that readers will profit from the in-depth portrayals and analyses that might contribute to 'the bigger picture' of multilingual pupils' literacy acquisition in school. The report is accompanied by numerous publications in the frame of the LAS project, as well as by a web page (https://www.uni-potsdam.de/de/daf/projekte/las), which also contains the presentations from the final LAS-Conference, including valuable discussions of the report from renowed experts in the field.

We are very grateful to Jupp Krüger for his tireless editorial assistance.

Potsdam, April 2020

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Introduction

Michael Bommes, Inken Sürig & Christoph Schroeder

The aim of the interdisciplinary and comparative project "Literacy Acquisition in Schools in the Context of Migration and Multilingualism" (LAS) was to investigate the practical processes in schools that lead over time to the accruement of literacy competence by pupils in two countries, Germany and Turkey, where schools find themselves in the social context of migration and multilingualism. Literacy acquisition processes were empirically observed and data was collected making use of video recordings of a series of school lessons, ethnographic observations, and the literary production of the school children. This data was analysed from two disciplinary, i.e. sociological and linguistic perspectives. The investigation took into account two groups of school children (mono- and bilinguals) from different age groups (first and seventh school grades) and their social backgrounds.

The acquisition of literary skills on the part of bilingual children was investigated and compared with that of monolingual children both in its production process and in its results in the institutional place where it is supposed to take place, i.e. the school. The aim of the project was to investigate the reciprocal enabling and restriction potentials of social and linguistic structures, and how these two factors convene in the process of the acquisition of literacy. For these processes and their results, several factors were regarded as playing important roles. Firstly, the school as an educational organisation is usually seen as the central institutional location where literacy acquisition takes place; the structural conditions of the practical organisation of these processes and of all other social processes can be regarded as the related reproduction of the school itself by its participants. Secondly, migration and multilingualism result in the emergence of specific language and minority constellations that enter the school in the form of different linguistic and cultural qualities of the participating individuals. Finally, the acquisition of literacy and its organised conveyance in schools are embedded in historically and culturally shaped views concerning knowledge and language, which are both deeply rooted in schools and shape the school children's attitudes towards learning.

These conditions come together in the acquisition process of literacy because they are made relevant by the school as the organisation of the educational function system and by the pupils who enter school already socialised in the context of migration, multilingualism and the resulting social and linguistic constellations. With the country-comparative approach, several aspects come to the fore:

– the differently organised education processes aimed at promoting literacy acquisition and their embedding in the context of different national education systems and the related institutionalised education styles;
– the differences between views on knowledge acquisition and language in each country;
– the differing experiences with migration: Germany as a country of immigration in which the organisations of the education system have only slowly adjusted themselves to migration and multilingualism; Turkey as a country of emigration whose education

system has however at the same time included internal migrants and increasingly migrants from other countries;

– the differing migrant and minority constellations: Whereas in Germany such minority constellations have developed as a direct result of migration, in Turkey, minority constellations are largely a consequence of the history of nation-state building that have resulted in later migration processes to the west of the country;

– the varying structural forms of languages: Differences both in written languages and writing systems imply different mediation problems, being related in different ways to registers and forms of usage in the relevant written languages.

The particular access to the research problem, i.e. investigating the reciprocal enabling and restriction potential of social and linguistic structures in the concrete process of literacy acquisition at its institutionally designated place, the schools, differs from previous research in that it considers literacy acquisition and its products as the result of its involvement in the execution of sociality. Schools are the organisations of the education system embedded in different nation-states and migration contexts, involving specific social requirements and social expectations. Pupils are confronted with these requirements in everyday schooling, and it is a central concern of the LAS project to investigate these requirements and the articulated social expectations as conditions enabling or restricting children to deal with the cognitive tasks of acquiring literacy skills and the related ability to participate in society. This way, light is shed on the question in what way everyday school activities and the related structural necessities of schools provide pupils with an access to the acquisition of literary skills that they can utilise in their adult life, or whether this opportunity is denied to them as a result of the daily demands that they are submitted to by the schools. Problems of doing school and managing a lesson in accordance with the school curriculum, the time frame of school hours, and the tasks of evaluation etc. are not congruent with the problems that pupils have to deal with, i.e. mastering cognitive activities and being acceptable pupils. Pupils cope with these tasks and the ways they are engaged by the school based on their cultural and linguistic repertoires acquired biographically and providing them with more or less productive options. The solutions for the differing problems faced by teachers and pupils stand in a dynamic reciprocal relation potentially enabling or restricting each other. LAS research scrutinises the social and linguistic conditions of this dynamic relation of enabling and restriction.

Moreover, although the essential importance of language for the social integration of migrants is broadly accepted, the relation between integration and language has been, up till now, solely investigated unilaterally by linguistics and sociology, while LAS attempts to bring together the disciplinary perspectives with a strictly operational concept: as the implementation of sociality in connection with the reproduction of the school itself by means of the participants' contributions, and as the realisation of literacy in connection with the production of textuality and the associated knowledge structures and notions of language. In doing so, literacy acquisition turns out to be the result of an at least three-dimensional process. Unlike oral competences, it is documented in individually composed texts, and such texts are always the result of cognitive strategies that are developed by

individuals based on the confrontation with texts and, where applicable, with the interactive elaboration of the text. This process is socially embedded in such a way that the confrontation with texts and their production is in many respects the execution of sociality or relating to the execution of sociality.

1 School as the Social Place of Literacy Acquisition

1.1 Literacy acquisition in school as a formal organisation

The school is the place of the acquisition and the mediation of written language. Literary processes, like all other academic contributions, are always relating to and part of the reproduction of school as an organisation. The organisation is structuring the course of events whereby all processes are structured. Organisations are decision-based, i.e. they rely on the recursive linkage of decisions (Luhmann 2000). By this means, school instruction as the interactive core event is accomplished through decision; it takes place in classes as the institutionalised organisation form, it is situated in its own organisation time, cut into school years, terms, lessons etc., and it is limited by fixed starting and ending times. Through decision, it is determined who is to be lectured (children/ pupils), when the process can be continued and what is to be taught (contents), and it is decided how this is to be carried out within the schedule of the organisation (curricula).

With school enrolment or the admittance to "the school class as a social system", it is part of the central social requirements for pupils to adjust to the role expectations and the related structural demands of a formal role concept (Parsons 1959). This concept replaces the individual peculiarity of the parent-child-relation by the equality of pupils within the interaction with teachers. The differentiation of all pupils according to their cognitive and ethical capacities refers to the role concept of equality (Luhmann 1990). At the latest at school – and, as the case may be, in the line of previous experiences made outside the family (such as in kindergarten) – the acquisition of role requirements and the connected structural readjustment of the pupils' self-comprehension ("decentration") emerges as an inescapable demand of the school to shape the participant role. This structural demand is emphasised by the expectation to accomplish cognitive (and ethical) tasks, especially regarding literacy acquisition and mathematical thinking. Pupils have to master these tasks in the triangle of family, school and peer groups (Dreeben 1968). With school enrolment, the social structural challenge is connected with the challenge of the conversion of language attitudes within the process of literacy acquisition. In the seventh grade, the requirement of literality extension (*Schriftsprachausbau*) is incorporated into the reference field of school, family and extended sociality like peer groups, clubs, and mass media.

In this context, school events are continuously affiliated with evaluation since the very purpose of education is originally directed at evaluation – one cannot educate without observing and evaluating the results regarding the achievement or non-achievement of expected outcomes. Evaluations are fixed on the pupils' scheduled achievement of the expected output like communicative contributions and texts that are treated as

documentations of punctual[1] factual knowledge, social competence and individual development (maturity). The points in time when evaluations are due are defined by the organisation – even if from a pedagogical point of view, these would be scheduled differently.

Organisation denominates a condition of enabling as well as restriction for education[2], but this condition is not reduced to organisation only. Education is the alignment of communication with the purpose of educating (Luhmann 1992) and the question of knowledge transfer (Kade 1998). Education itself does not occur in the form of decision, but in the form of instruction and therefore as interaction. The dependence on interaction of educational organisations is based on its technology deficit (Luhmann/ Schorr 1982),[3] and thus its members are mainly professionals, i.e. teachers[4]. Schools and universities substantially rely on interactions between teachers and pupils so that the instruction process is characterised by a high degree of uncertainty and an undefined relation between input and success. Didactics have to handle this uncertainty of learning factually, socially and temporally, and the undefined relation between input and success is articulated in the form of didactic conceptions in the communicative contributions of teachers.[5] Instruction as interaction remains decision-based not least because of the uncertainty of everything that happens, while decisions serve to reconstruct the irretrievable "eventness" (*Ereignishaftigkeit*) of educational interaction in terms of evaluation, grading, relocation, or the like. They absorb the uncertainty of their results by providing them with a structural quality – they become the evidence for learning aptitude, social competence or personal disruption. This facilitates the succession of further decisions.

Notwithstanding the contextualisation of migration and multilingualism, it is first of all the social place of literacy acquisition that shapes the participation in organised education. Everything that happens here exists within the horizon of structural reference and demands alignment from the participants. Correspondingly, the acquisition and production of written language is embedded in the interaction of instruction as the realisation of school. In this context, literacy competence at school refers to the practical competence of fabricating written products as part of the execution of class instruction. It furthermore refers to socially ascribed (in)competence in terms of the reflexive evaluation of these products with regard to decisions. This again defines the social restrictions for every cognitive effort to

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[1] Thus in the first and not in the second grade, or in the fifth and not the sixth grade.

[2] For a long time, pedagogics have treated "organisation" under the aspect of restriction by means of bureaucracy. Here, the discussion has changed in the meantime; see Terhart/ Böttcher 2004. For the discussion on organisational learning, see Tacke 2004, 2005.

[3] However, each organisation possesses a kind of "core technology" in terms of the institutionalised belief in means-to-an-end-relations – in education, this is dealt with as the problem of didactics (Prange 1983, 1991; Diederich/ Tenorth 1997).

[4] Therefore, schools are organisations with flat hierarchies.

[5] See Prange 1983, Bommes/ Dewe/ Radtke 1996, and, with special consideration of literacy acquisition, Röber-Siekmeyer 1997, 2002, 2004, of teacher-student interactions Ehlich/ Rehbein 1986, Fienemann/ von Kügelgen 2003, of textuality Weinhold 2000, Böttcher/ Becker-Mrotzek 2003, Feilke 2003, Schmidlin/ Feilke 2006. However, in this context, didactics continuously ignore the embedding of pedagogical action in the structural requirements of organising as the condition of enabling and restriction.

produce textuality (not only) on conditions of individual multilingualism. It is this social and linguistic horizon of restriction and enabling that has to be empirically investigated.

1.2 Regarding the national embedding of literacy acquisition in school

In terms of the formal structural conditions of education, the schools in Germany and Turkey can initially not be expected to differ from each other. Still, due to the particular national processes regarding the evolution of the educational system, the formal structural conditions are differently configured regarding what is considered an adequate performance of the teacher's role, what kind of programmes are imposed on education, and how the relations between teachers, pupils and parents are conceived.

Because of national agency, the world-wide institutionalisation and differentiation of the educational system (Meyer/ Ramirez/ Soysal 1992, Meyer 2005) is situated in an area of conflict between knowledge/ competence mediation on the one hand, and the need for educating individuals to be loyal members of the national community of citizens on the other hand. The design of this area of conflict is based on the history of national nation-building. This is particularly true for the problem of language instruction where the teaching of the written language as an extension of language in terms of the potentials of writing systems (Maas 2008) is at the same time the instruction in the language of the national community (Anderson 1988, Maas 1984, 2001). In 19th and early 20th century Germany, schools acted mainly as "the school of the nation" where, besides basic qualifications, discipline and national loyalty were conveyed (Nipperdey 1998; Wehler 1995). This concept changes after World War II. In Turkey, the entanglement of literacy instruction and national language instruction with the explicit contentual orientation of education towards Kemalist state ideology (Lewis 1968) has remained since the foundation of the republic in 1923. Thus, the process of the differentiation of education and politics is at a different stage in the respective countries.

In Germany, the concept of the "schools of the nation" is no longer applicable due to its instrumentalization during the Nazi era. Schools are lawfully protected against religious or political functionalisation. In the course of the expansion of the educational system in the wake of the educational reform of the 1960s and the submission to self-formulated access criteria, namely the ability to be educated regardless of social origin, education obtained a "pedagogisational" kick-off. "Pedagogisation" implies the focus of educational activity on the task of mediating knowledge and competence and therefore the restructuring of the teacher's role (substitution of authority with pedagogical competence), the programmes (relevant knowledge and competence for modern life), and the relation between teachers, pupils and parents (coping with learning problems). Not without a reason, a key concept of language instruction in the teacher-training of the 1960s and 1970s was the conveyance of "communicative competence".[6] However, this way of transforming the language problem into a pedagogical task leads to a significant long-ranging self-misunderstanding, namely

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[6] The prominence of this keyword was not established due to the philosophical, sociological or linguistic substance of the consulted theories, but rather due to the symbolisation of the modernisation of the educational system (see v. Friedeburg 1992).

the accentuation of language education as the conveyance of especially oral communication skills. The consequence is a reductionist concept of literary language that considers reading and writing to be derivatives of oral communication through another medium. Whether implicitly or explicitly, this concept guided didactic activities for a long time. Ever since the 1980s, one has been able to observe the establishment of academic research with stronger emphasis on literacy acquisition (*neuer Spracherwerb*; Günther 1988, Röber-Siekmeyer 1997, Weingarten/ Günther 1998), also referred to as "text competence" (Bereiter/ Scardamalia 1987, Feilke/ Portmann 1996) by means of language extension, but with quite some distance to the problems of orthography[7] and school practice. Against this backdrop, the structural linguistic challenge of literary competence acquisition in contrast to oral competences, school does meet this challenge practically, but not in the explicitly systematic and reflective way required. Assumingly, school empirically continues its self-misunderstanding by means of a language concept that does not consider the specific difference between oral and literal structures or that focuses on the classical patterns of essay instruction[8], which implies the successful literacy acquisition in a medial sense.

In Turkey, school remains the "school of the nation" based on the Kemalist ideology of the educational system. This is stipulated in article 2 of the constitution on national education (*Millî Eğitim Temel Kanunu*); curricula and textbooks are to follow the Kemalist principles up until university level. Even though newer developments in the course of an Europeanisation of the educational system as well as recent political discussions concerning cultural autonomy for the Kurdish population in the South-East suggest changes to come, in the discourse of education, the normative attitude prevails[9], continuing the implicitness of a pedagogical and intellectual authority of the teacher's role even over the parents. This is also visible in the language/ literacy concept that suppresses the specific difference between oral and literal structures. The framework for this is provided by the writing and language reform introduced in the wake of the foundation of the republic in 1923 and its ascribed social importance. The Turkish language was transposed into a Latin-based orthographic system only at the beginning of the 20th century (Durgunoğlu 2005), which respectively is not characterised by the processing of problems like in historically older orthographical systems. At the same time, an agglutinating language like Turkish does not show the same problems of representation of complex morphological structures like German. Furthermore, the language reform was coupled with the modernisation of society and nation; linguistic and literal education in alignment with the state-promoted language reform aimed at education permitting the inclusion into modern society (Huber 2003). Here, the myth of the simplicity of Turkish orthography on whose grounds structural problems are systematically

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[7] In the course of an internal work division, research on the medial part of literacy acquisition focuses on the problems of basic competence development (first reading/ first writing as the acquisition of graphematic and graphomotoric abilities), and on problems of orthography as a formal system (Meiers 1998, Schenk 2004, Valtin 2003). The language experience approach concentrates on the attempt to overcome writing blockades by motivational (so-called "spontaneous writings"; Brügelmann 1983, Dehn 1988, 1999). There is a lack of correlating both to adequately understand orthography as the evolutional condition of literateness (Maas/ Mehlem 2003).

[8] On essay education, see Ludwig 1984, 1988, critically Spitta 1992, Böttcher/ Becker-Mrotzek 2003.

[9] See summary in Gök 1999. By means of the results of the investigation of discourses in textbooks, this is made clear in Ozil/ Tapan 1991 and Ceylan/ Irzig 2004.

blinded out (Duman 2004) establishes the separation of orthography instruction and conveyance of grammatical and textual competence (whereas grammar and textual competence are being taught separately as *Dilbilgisi* and *Kompozisyon*). Also, the myth of (written) language as the instrument of modernisation of the society accounts for the negation of oral structures, informal registers or even non-Turkish first languages at school (Ceylan 2004, Menz & Schroeder (to appear)).

1.3 Migration and multilingualism in school

The basic conditions on which schools in Germany and Turkey attend to their central task of instruction in the written language as the institutionalised lingua franca were historically established during the national differentiation of the educational system with different concepts of language, society, and the desired effect of language education. In both countries, literacy instruction has taken place in the context of migration and multilingualism.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the consequences of labour migration for education and learning have initially been viewed as temporary constellations (Diehm/ Radtke 1999, Menk 2000). In the course of the stabilisation of the "minority situation"/ immigration situation, the question of the pedagogical equalisation of migrant children was raised: The then dominant discourse on communicative competence turned out to be extremely unsuitable for comprehending language extension (directed at conceptual literateness) as a special problem for migrant children. The observation of semi-linguality (*Halbsprachigkeit*) or double-sided semi-linguality of migrant children (for a critical survey see Wiese 2011) in analogy to the construct of "bicultural identity" (Schrader/ Nikles/ Griese 1976) since the mid-1970s is an expression of this structural helplessness. Literacy competences did not come into focus again until the recourse to international research (Toukomaa/ Skutnabb-Kangas 1977, and especially Cummins 1979, 1984), whose foundation was, however, one-sidedly conceived as it was limited to the language of origin. Claims for widespread bilingual instruction resulted from this research, something which was organisationally implemented in, for example, the Berlin pilot project of bilingual alphabetisation in the 1980s, and in the concept of the European Schools. However, these experiments quickly turned out to be unsuitable for drawing general conclusions (and are deservedly criticised by Esser 2006 and Hopf 2005). Furthermore, the recourse to concepts of intercultural education in multilingual classes shaped up as a pedagogical "placebo" since the requirements of language and literacy instruction were avoided by implementing a diffuse pedagogical goal of mutual understanding (critically discussed by Auernheimer 1990 and especially Radtke 1995, Diehm/ Radtke 1999). Only since the increasing pressure provided by the results of the PISA study, attempts have been made to apply methodical approaches to the school subject German as a Second Language (*Deutsch als Zweitsprache*, DaZ) in elementary school education for migrant children.[10] However, up till now, a

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[10] See the curricula developed for Bavaria, "German as a second language", that has been taken over by other *Bundesländer* and integrated into the curricula of elementary schools (http://nibis.ni.schule.de/nibis.phtml?menid=1129); see also aligned new teaching guidelines like, for example, Tamburin (Büttner et. al. 1996ff).

merging of the problems of second language acquisition and literacy acquisition has not been carried sufficiently.

Unlike Germany where the organisations of education increasingly attempt to adjust to migration-indicated multilingualism, Turkey is a country with indigenous minority constellations and therefore originally multilingual (Andrews 1989), but with a restrictive language policy (Eraydin-Virtanen 2006, Çoşkun/ Derince/ Uçarlar 2010). In schools, an official and public recognition and acknowledgement of linguistic minorities as a pedagogical task and challenge is avoided – except amongst the religiously defined minorities of the Peace Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, which includes Jews, Greek-Orthodoxes and Armenians who are permitted to found their own schools. Disparities in the educational system are explicitly communicated as the results of economical and therefore socio-cultural disadvantage: The largest linguistic minorities (the Kurdish- and Arabic-speaking populations) reside mainly in the underdeveloped Southeast of the country, and the unsuccessfulness of students[11] originating from the respective provinces is usually registered within this matrix regardless of the minority problem. This is continued in the large cities in the West: The old-established and socially better off minorities are quantitatively barely important and attend their own schools. In contrast, multilingualism is a problem in the poorer quarters where, besides the old-established urban minority of the Roma (International Romani Studies Network 2005), particularly Kurdish-speaking migrants from the Southeast have settled during the past two decades (İçduygu/ Sirkeci 1999, Şen 1996), and where in the past ten years (partly irregular) migrants from the Arabic neighbouring countries and from North Africa have been increasingly making their home.[12]

Against the outlined political background, linguistic factors are not considered adequately in the educational discussion und are primarily regarded as register or dialect problems (Yılmaz 1999, Sağır 2004, but critical: Dinçer/ Gökçe 2009). However, an important exception is an unpublished research from 2002 (Aksu-Koç/ Erguvanlı-Taylan/ Bekman 2002) in which monolingual Turkish and Turkish-Kurdish first- and second-grade pupils with a similar socio-cultural background were observed. According to the results of this investigation, bilinguals are significantly less successful at school than monolinguals. In contrast to the national guidelines of not treating school problems as problems of multilingualism, the teachers' union *Eğitim-Sen* is meanwhile calling for mother-tongue education for bilingual children (Küçüker 2005), as are recent reports by the Diyarbakir Institute for Political and Social Research (Coşkun/ Derince/ Uçarlar 2010) and the Education Reform Initiative (Ayan Ceyhan/ Koçbaş 2009).

However, these lines of argumentation – pro- or contra mother tongue education – have in common that they do not consider the structural problems of the acquisition of Turkish as a second language.

Germany and Turkey are also characterised by different constellations of migration and multilingualism. In Germany, constellations of multilingualism are mainly the result of

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[11] However, this has not been investigated thoroughly yet and is primarily documented via the results of university entrance exams (e.g., in Ünal/ Özsoy 1999).
[12] İçduygu 2003; see also Yılmaz 2003 on the migration profile of the Istanbul district of Tarlabaşı.

immigration in the post Second World War history of the country, and respective processes of adjustment, although with some delay, have been recently taking place. Turkey is a multilingual country of emigration with an educational system that always has been confronted with an internal minority problem. Recent constellations of internal migration are part and expression of this minority history. Further to this, externally immigrating minorities enter the country nowadays. The public and scientific discussion has reacted to these changed circumstances hesitatingly and with exceptional political caution.

In Germany as well as in Turkey little is known about how teachers and pupils operationally create class instruction beneath the respective political and pedagogical discourses and how such (different) discourses and language attitudes influence their activities.

2 Literacy Acquisition as Language Extension (Sprachausbau) in the Context of Migration and Multilingualism

Previously, the participation in organised education has been shown as the social place of literacy acquisition. Everything happening here occurs within the outlined reference horizon and demands alignment from the participants. Respectively, the acquisition and production of written language is embedded in class interaction and implemented by the school itself. Against this backdrop, literary competence simultaneously refers to at least three constellations: a) the cognitive, linguistically structured competence of the individual, firstly as the condition and then as the result of participation in class; b) the practical competence of the production of literary products in the class based on extracurricularly acquired resources, something embedded in its implementation; c) the socially ascribed (in-)competence regarding the reflexive evaluation of the products of class instruction in relation to decision.

Literacy acquisition is a process that goes beyond the sheer learning of cultural skills (reading and writing) and that initially includes text analysis – however, in different forms at the different stages of acquisition: The attention of beginners of writing is focused on graphematisation, i.e. the transformation of spoken language into letters and its graphomotoric conversion (Weinhold 2000). But even in this phase, given the opportunity, children make observations on the peculiarities of written language through spatias, punctuation and the question of upper and smaller case. Therefore, it does not make sense to differentiate between a specific orthographical developmental stage and an alphabetical or phonological one (Röber-Siekmeyer 1998). At advanced stages of acquisition, questions of textuality are successively given special emphasis so that besides the expressive writing of the beginner, performative, communicative and finally epistemic stiles of writing can be distinguished (Bereiter 1980, Bereiter/ Scardamalia 1987). However, pupils beginning the acquisition of writing skills often face complicated challenges regarding the structural and communicative peculiarities of the text even in the first grade (problems of planning, of the textual structure and the missing interaction/ *zerdehnte Sprechsituation*; Ehlich 1983, Weinhold 2000).

Different forms of text production are respectively related to sociality in different ways: On the one hand, text production at school is part of the execution of sociality as long as writing is the compliance with a request. It is furthermore embedded in the instruction process in school as interaction, understood as communication on condition of attendance; and the production of texts therefore occurs on condition of reflexivity of perception, i.e. the perception of being perceived. On the other hand, text production, be it for school, be it in a letter to a concrete addressee, be it for a book, a newspaper or a department, is related to sociality as far as such texts are written in relation to potential communications of affiliation, but their writing is not itself involved in the communication process. Right here lies the possibility and the requirement of increasing the differentiation potential of communication through the written language – and, on the other hand, the grammaticality of language through writing, which requires the individual to acquire this potential, this being a condition of participation in society. A third distinction has to be made concerning the production of texts and the utilisation of written language for structuring thoughts – i.e., the gain of psychological possibilities of structuring, e.g. in diaries, fictional letters, notes etc. This multiple structural requirement turns out to be different for seventh-grade pupils due to the fact that most of them enter the mentioned reference horizons based on the so far acquired literacy competence and have to catch up with the confrontation with the developmental tasks of beginning puberty (Blos 1978, Erikson 1973, Döbert/ Habermas/ Nunner-Winkler 1980).

The specific form of interaction in the instruction process at school can be effective as the condition of restriction and/ or enabling: School can appear as a condition of restriction, which has a negative impact on the motivation of the writers, at least as long as the writers are not sure who the addressees of their texts are and what their purposes are (Ossner 1996). Conversely, school contexts, with the corresponding instructional intervention of the teacher as the writer's partner of interaction, initially produce an enabling condition of text production (Bereiter/ Scardamalia 1987). In this context, the different stages of literacy acquisition have to be distinguished: In the various acquisition stages, learners have to handle the three outlined relations between text production and sociality differently; whereas pupils beginning to acquire the written language have to find their bearings in the starting socialisation process at school where their attempts to write are solution-guided strategies within this social learning process, advanced learners are confronted with connecting communications differently since here, they either increasingly attempt to come to terms with literacy in its extracurricular social functionality, or internalised a specific orientation towards the expectations of the school. But even at this stage, difficulties on the medial level (orthography, especially markers of word boundaries and markers for the structuring of texts as formal markers of text production, see Maas/ Mehlem 2003) can occur as a restriction of textuality.

Pupils attempt to come to terms with the expectations and challenges of school as already outlined. They do this on the basis of their different cultural and linguistic configurations. In a narrow sense, these are their already existing linguistic registers, referring to the corresponding social conditions of involvement in which the pupils are biographically and presently situated. The whole set of registers constitutes the structural linguistic

configuration of the pupils on the basis of their cognitive starting conditions. It is true for mono- and multilingual pupils that with school enrolment, the acquisition of the formal register of the lingua franca as the written language is given priority: The extension of linguistic and social opportunities of participation depends on the access to the written language (Maas 2008).

For monolingual pupils, literacy acquisition is the extension of already existing linguistic structures. For bilinguals, there is a systematic difference since the written language they have to learn is not directly connected to their structural linguistic first language configuration. At the same time, an assumption on previous basic experiences with the formal register cannot be made due to the sociolinguistic dynamics of migrant languages.[13] Literacy acquisition for multilingual pupils is therefore second language acquisition and the acquisition of a new register. The register that has to be learned is perceived on the basis of a different configuration of language structure.

Acquisition strategies are regulated by universal principles of second language acquisition, and emerging grammatical structures, filtered through the initial structure, can be described as mediation or interference (Ellis 1994). Especially on the textuality level, for learners who start learning the second language at a later date such acquisition strategies appear to be strongly influenced by the amount of previous experiences with literality in the first language (Knapp 1997, Verhoeven 1994, Cummins 1979, 1984). On the other hand, research on the acquisition of text competence of school beginners in German-speaking Switzerland shows that the greater linguistic distance of the formal register is not necessarily a barrier or a blockade, but can even prevent interferences with the informal register (Schmidlin 1999).

Also with regards to possible extracurricular adjacent communications, German texts written by people with migration background are differently embedded than those of monolingual speakers. In such tests, the use of German is often dysfunctional due to less knowledge of the language in the family; it does not correspond with the (only orally used) particular intimate register, and in some cases may violate both the opposite role expectations of generational behaviour and the language valorisations of the parents, for whom the success of inner-familial communication and therefore the language of origin is of utmost importance.

Different linguisticality of pupils with migration background furthermore plays a central role in school interaction concerning communication problems caused at multiple levels: the lack of ability to orally communicate in German, the increasing requirements due to standard language use of teachers, the cultural barriers that arise when teachers' remarks refer to world knowledge that is not shared by the pupils, and finally misunderstandings

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[13] Again, there has to be made a difference between the migrant languages: in Turkish and Russian the register differentiation appears to be less dramatic than in Arabic which is determined by the conditions of diglossia (Maas/ Mehlem 2003); on the other hand, the situation of the minority language Romanes in Turkey is not comparable to Kurdish: whereas Romanes does not have a literary horizon whatsoever (at least not in Turkey) and therefore Turkish is not doubted as the written language, the publically stigmatised Kurdish more frequently employs a written register even in Turkey.

concerning the purpose of the teacher's intervention (corrections that have to be understood as requests, non-committal advice etc.).[14]

When literacy acquisition in school is in summary defined as language extension on the condition of migration and multilingualism, then the process of coping with this task by pupils of the first and seventh grade is empirically adequately recordable only by means of investigating it in terms of simultaneously coping with social and structural linguistic requirements.

3 Report Outline

The present research report, which should be considered a still preliminary version, is subdivided into five parts following this introduction. Part I is concerned with the description and conduction of sociological and linguistic methods. Parts II and III, containing the results from Germany and Turkey respectively, provide school ethnographies, brief descriptions of the LAS case pupils, condensed summaries of first- and seventh-grade lesson analyses, and comparisons of mono- and bilinguals on the national level. International comparisons of lesson analyses are recorded in Part IV. Finally, the Conference Outlook comprises brief concluding remarks particularly regarding the comparative results and research outlooks.

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[14] This aspect of complicated interaction based on the "monolingual habitus" was also focused in an European research project in the context of the DFG-programme FABER (Gogolin 1994, 1997, Gogolin/ Kroon 2000). In what respects relevant questions of literacy acquisition are treated here becomes visible in the title of the last publication (Gogolin/ Kroon 2000: *Man schreibt, wie man spricht*, "One writes like one talks"), however without incorporating the texts produced at school into the documentation of communicative developmental correlations.

Part I: Description and Conduction of Methods

1 Sociological and Ethnographical Data: Acquisition and Analysis

Inken Sürig

1.1 Data acquisition and preparation

1.1.1 Video documentation

In today's social research, the documentation of social interaction by film is a very common way of data acquisition, providing a comparably neutral observation tool that captures the "natural" event in every detail (cf. Jordan & Henderson 1995; Schubert 2006). In the case of LAS research, with the focus on literacy acquisition in schools, the concluded physical and chronological space of the German lesson in the classroom as the very scene of literacy acquisition simplified the initial, camera-wise access to the setting, as no decisions had to be made in terms of what to document by film and what not because everything that happened in the classroom was defined as potentially interesting for analysis beforehand. A much more crucial point were the given limits of such a space; the basic objective of LAS video recordings was to document the lessons in the first and in the seventh grade as completely as possible in the least invasive way in order to maintain the "naturalness" of the situation to the greatest possible extent.

This, first of all, concerned the positioning and operating of the cameras in the classrooms where it had to be made sure that the whole scene was covered by means of four steady cameras and one manually operated camera from different angles, but in positions where they would not interfere with the regular course of lesson-making by means of obstructing views or paths. Particularly in the German first grade, due to the classroom design and the conduction of assignments, this turned out to be not always practicable so that sometimes, cameras had to be moved during the lesson, whereas other times, the cameras did not capture the whole setting, but had to be focused on the case pupils and the teacher only. Furthermore, in the course of the frequent changes of table and seating arrangements in the German first grade, there was no feasible sample solution of camera positioning employable throughout the school year, which was not the case in the seventh grade. In the Turkish case, one particular difficulty in the first grade was physically protecting the cameras before the classes started and also during the lesson as the pupils usually moved in the class untimely and could have accidentally hit the cameras so that the investigators had to sit close by to prevent this. The choice for this specific class was based on the seating arrangement (not in rows as in other classes) that facilitated both video recording and observation.

Illustrations I.1.-4. show typical camera line-ups in the classrooms of the first and the seventh grades in Germany and Turkey respectively.
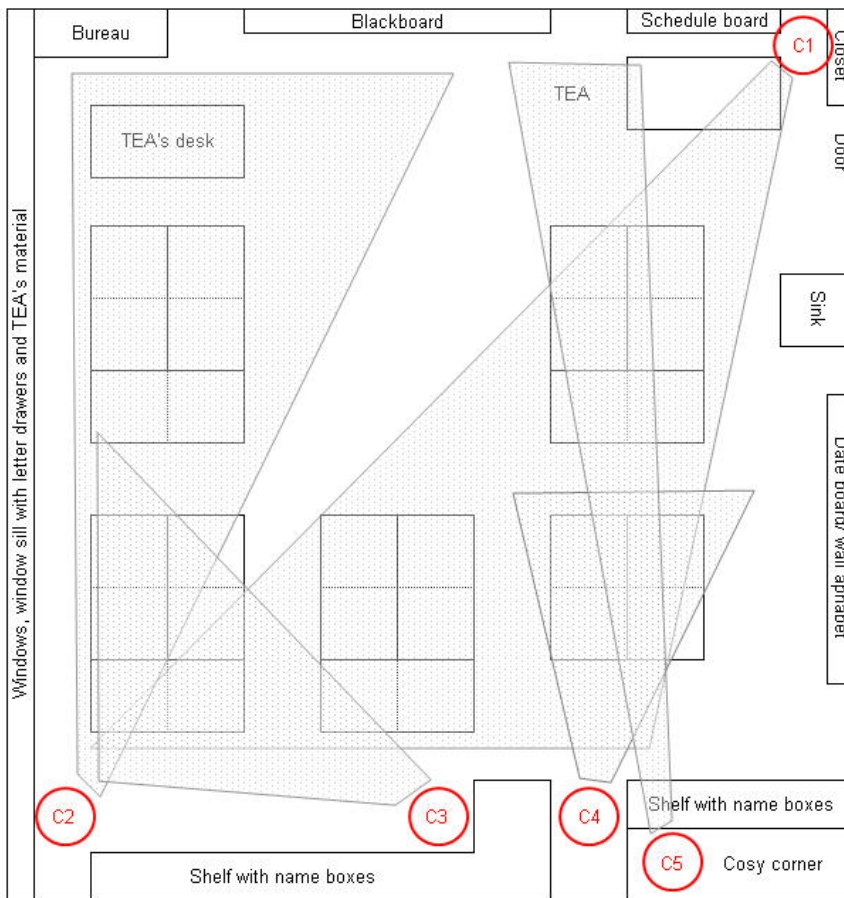
Fig. I.1.1. Germany 1st grade classroom: Camera positions (C5 = manually operated camera)
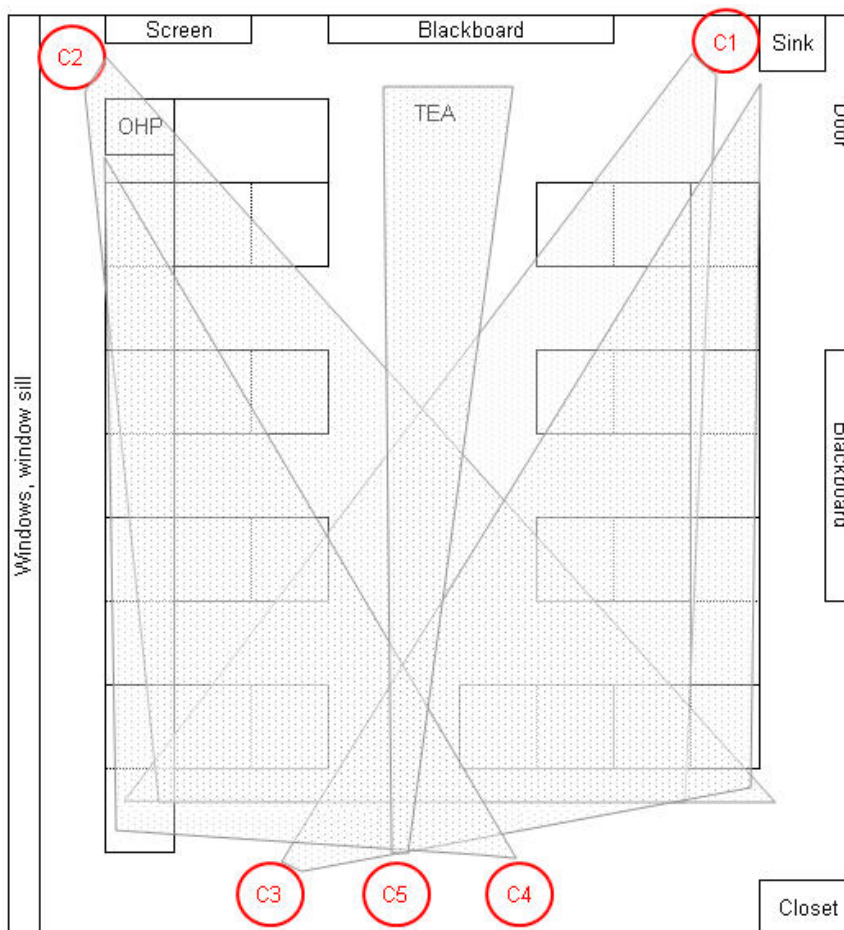
Fig. I.1.2. Germany 7th grade classroom: Camera positions (C5 = manually operated camera)
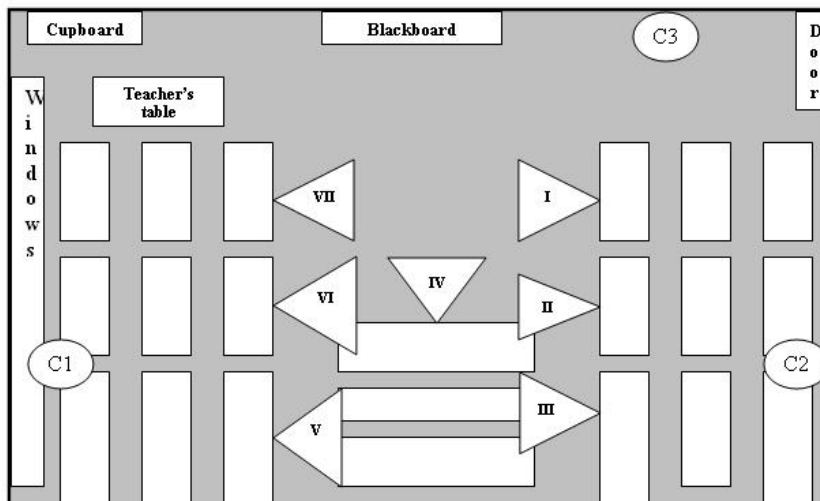
Fig. I.1.3. Turkey 1ˢᵗ grade classroom: Camera positions
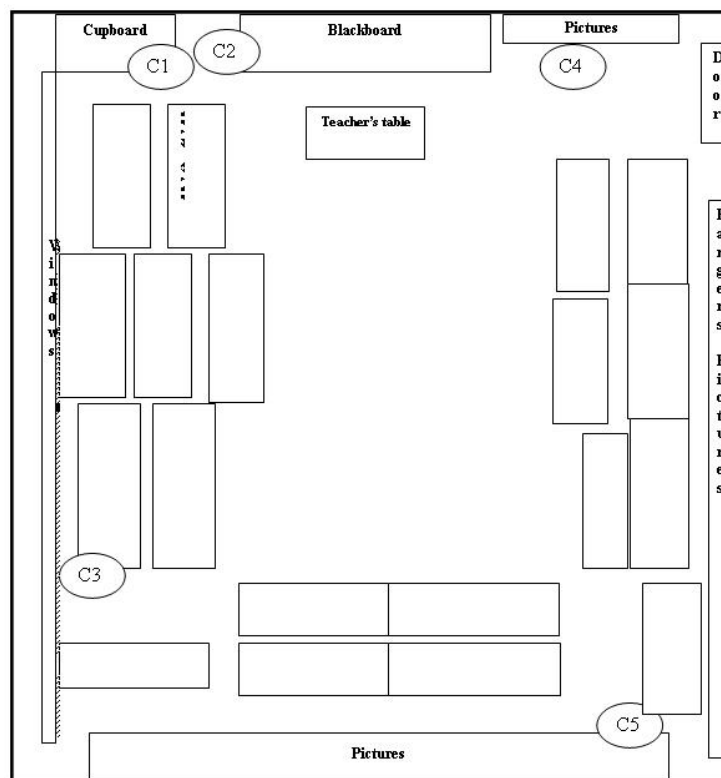
Fig. I.1.4. Turkey 7ᵗʰ grade classroom: Camera positions

Whereas the mere presence of the investigators and the cameras influenced the "natural" situation of the classroom unavoidably to some degree (especially by unforeseen continuous references to the filming, and approaches to the investigators, on part of the teachers), "participant" observation was tried to be kept on a minimal level in terms of not interfering with the lesson discourse, and the investigators took their positions in the back of the classrooms as far as possible.

In the German case schools, the investigators' presence was basically limited to the German lessons and the adjacent recess periods as access was only granted by the respective teachers and not in general (see Chapter II.1 on school ethnography). In Turkey, considering the unlimited access to the premises, the investigators were able to spend time with the pupils not only during classes, but often also in recess periods or other "class-free" periods. This was not least due to the fact that for a considerable number of times, classes

in the Turkish school were cancelled on short notice while the researchers stayed in the school/class in these instances, being good opportunities for not only establishing rapport with the school participants, but also to collect unique data that would not have presented itself during the Turkish lessons. The relationship thus established with the school participants and especially the pupils facilitated great degrees of sharing thoughts and standpoints beyond the expectable so that the investigators' presence in the school was considered much more "natural" than in the German case.

The participants' dealing with being video-recorded was initially unproblematic in the German schools since both teachers explicitly agreed to this kind of research beforehand and therefore were basically comfortable with the general idea. For the teachers, it was rather being observed by peers that tended to cause uncertainties, this being an entirely unfamiliar situation that was repeatedly coped with by addressing the investigators after the lessons, revising and evaluating specific incidents, and offering thoughts and explanations on didactics and pupils' behaviours. It is thus not unlikely that to some degree, the German teachers designed their lessons by taking into account the presence of peers. For the pupils, on the other hand, their being monitored by adults constitutes the normal case, not the exception. The seventh-graders appeared to accept the presence of additional adults in the classroom unperturbedly; even clowning around in front of the cameras occurred only a few times during recess. However, the seventh-graders were also very polite and mindful of the researchers, and had no particular problems to open up to them during the case pupil interviews. For the first-graders, it was seemingly much harder to accept that the additional adults in the classroom were neutral observers and not tutors or playmates; a lot of bonding went on between the children and the researchers before and after the lessons, and the LAS visits remained an exciting and welcome event throughout the school year. While being recorded on film was not a primary concern for the first-graders, the setup and dismounting of the tripods and cameras as objects was always an attractive undertaking that they were allowed to take part in in turns.

In Turkey, the first-grade teacher seemed to be utterly at ease with the idea of being recorded and behaved as if neither the cameras nor the investigators were there, except for a few occasions when she made a couple of comments to or related to the researchers. The seventh-grade teacher, on the other hand, appeared to be uncomfortable with the idea of being recorded particularly at the beginning of the field research when he demanded the cameras to be switched on only after he said so. During those beginning weeks, he even warned the pupils that they were recorded and that they had visitors in the classroom and therefore should behave. After a number of lessons, however, he seemed to have become relatively comfortable with the situation as he felt no reservation to shout or swear or even hit pupils. Both first- and seventh-grade pupils appeared to be rather at ease with being observed and recorded, especially after a few weeks of LAS presence.

During field research in the school year 2007/ 2008, on the German part of the study project, 102 school lessons were recorded from five camera angles each, accumulating to more than 380 hours of footage in total. In Turkey, 32 lessons were video-recorded (twice a month); because classes were frequently cancelled, recording and observing schedules had

to be changed often. The complete video footage was initially prepared and processed in the form of transcripts, lesson logbooks and individual observation logbooks, seating charts, and panel reconstructions. For each recorded lesson, a separate file was set up, containing all different sorts of materials from the original films to texts used in the lesson.

1.1.1.1 Transcripts

The first analytical access to the films was the general transcription of all videos, compatible with CHAT[15] transcription standards for further linguistic analysis. A main objective of the transcripts was not only to note down spoken language, but also accompanying non-verbal activities in order to gain relatively consistent written versions of the films with a comprehensible line of action. Of course, such transcripts were not meant to be exhaustive reproductions of the lessons since they concentrate on the "main events" of the spoken discourse for pragmatic reasons, and do not contain further observations. Whereas the original transcripts do not have a structure beyond the chronological series of utterances, the next step of transcript sequencing, i.e. content-wise segmentation in terms of meaningful lesson portions by means of the footage and the rough transcripts, basically following Jordan & Henderson (1995) and Hornecker (2004), allowed for structuring them thematically. This way, a certain degree of readability was reached, facilitating a grasp of the surface structure of the lesson as it was then documented in the logbooks.

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[15] The CHAT system provides a standardised format for producing computerised transcripts of face-to-face conversational interactions. http://childes.psy.cmu.edu. We also carry out the morphosyntactic analysis of the texts with the help of the CHAT transcription conventions and the CLAN data analysis program. For Turkish and German, we were able to rely on the established conventions developed in the frame of the CHILDES/Talkbank project, see MacWhinney (2000). For Kurmanjî, we developed our own glossing standards, also with the help of other academics. See Appendix B "Kurmanjî-Kurdish Glossing Rules for CHAT transcripts".

Fig. I.1.5. Example for sequenced video transcript (1st grade Germany), extract

6: Stundenabschluss/ End of lesson

SO 6/1 Aufräumen/ Tidying-up

1035	*TEA:	gebt die blätter vorne ab .
1036	%eng:	bring your sheets to the front.
1037	%com:	EMM, EVA, FRA, LOU approach TEA's desk, deliver sheets; it is noisy
1038	*TEA:	so jetzt alle blätter zu mir nach vorne mit namen drauf .
1039	%eng:	right now all sheets to me with names on.
1040	%com:	positions herself in front of BB; PUPs deliver sheets one by one; it is noisy, PUPs run around; TEA
1041		collects sheets from table 1, waits for KON finishing, takes his sheet, then collects sheets from table 5,
1042		waits for SEV and MIC to finish, goes to her desk, positions herself in front of BB, uses sound bowl;
1043		PUPs go to their seats one by one
1044	*TEA:	so dann räumt bitte auf .
1045	%eng:	right then tidy up please.
1046	%com:	makes silence gesture; it is noisy
1047	*TEA:	louis tu das mal eben in den [/] in den mülleimer .
1048	%eng:	louis put his into the garbage can.
1049	%com:	hands LOU a crumpled piece of paper; it is getting a bit more quiet; TEA goes to her desk, puts away
1050		sheets and sound bowl; PUPs start to tidy up
1051	*OSM:	wo ist der schwarze mülleimer ?
1052	%eng:	where is the black garbage can?
1053	%com:	stands in front of BB, TEA approaches him
1054	*OSM:	wo ist der schwarze mülleimer ?
1055	%eng:	where is the black garbage can?
1056	*LOU:	ey@i wo ist der mülleimi .
1057	%eng:	hey where's the garbage canny.
1058	*LOU:	mülleimer .
1059	%eng:	garbage can.
1060	%com:	TEA looks around
1061	*TEA:	da da da .
1062	%eng:	there there there.
1063	%com:	points to garbage can under sink, positions herself in front of BB

SO 6/2 Ruhe und Ordnung Herstellen/ Establishing quiet and order

1064	%com:	TEA makes silence gesture, puts finger on mouth
1065	*ALE:	ähm@i frau müller francesca hat grade meinen xxx genommen .
1066	%eng:	um miss müller francesca just took my xxx.
1067	%com:	heckles; FEH approaches TEA, delivers her sheet; TEA goes to her desk
1068	*TEA:	ähm@i benedict und xxx könnt ihr diese blätter mal zusammen .
1069	%eng:	um benedict and xxx could you these sheets together.
1070	%com:	holds up sheet; FEH brings garbage can to the front; BEN brings sheets to TEA; it is noisy
1071	*TEA:	osman räumst du die sachen bitte weg .
1072	%eng:	osman would you please put away the things.
1073	%com:	OSM is occupied with playing cards, puts them away; it is getting more quiet

SO 6/3 U-vorbereitende Maßnahmen/ Preparatory measures

1074	*TEA:	so ich brauch mal zwei assistentinnen hier vorne .
1075	%eng:	right I need two assistants up front here.
1076	%com:	takes a rolled-up poster from her desk; many PUPs raise a hand
1077	*LOU:	warum .
1078	%eng:	why.
1079	*TEA:	die müssen mir helfen etwas festzuhalten .
1080	%eng:	they have to help me to hold something.
1081	*TEA:	francesca und michelle kommt mal her .
1082	%eng:	francesca and michelle come here.
1083	%com:	with raised hands; disappointed shouts, PUPs chatter; FRA and MIC approach TEA

The sequenced transcripts provided the basis for logbook preparation (1.1.1.2), served as supporting devices for lesson analyses (1.2.1), and were used for some quantitative evaluations (1.2.2).

1.1.1.2 Logbooks

The sequenced transcripts were transformed into lesson logbooks, a tabular, chronological display of the main lesson events and accompanying features. The logbook approach (cf. Jordan & Henderson 1995) provides a systematic, chronological overview of all filmed lessons by means of the categories "Teaching unit", "Lesson section", and "Social design",

and records additionally incidences of "Correctional action", references to "Rules and roles", "Special occurrences", "Pupils participating", and extra-topical "Work on language". For each "Social design" portion, the respective duration was noted down in a timeline.

The "Teaching unit" is the general theme or topic of a lesson portion, like work on grammar, work on orthography, or work on a specific text. Within a topic, "Lesson sections" are the respective approaches to the given topic, for example "repetition", "writing assignment", or "developing topic". The "Social design" determines the way how a lesson section is carried out didactically (e.g., "preparatory measures", "collecting contributions", "individual writing exercise") and is complemented by qualifying descriptions, like the material used. A teaching unit usually consists of several lesson sections, and a lesson section is regularly conducted by means of various consecutive social designs. For example, in a teaching unit "work on specific text", a lesson section "writing assignment" might be introduced by the teacher's instructions, followed by preparatory measures, a "Q & A" (questioning and answering) on the repetition of the instruction, the actual individual writing exercise, and the formal ending of the exercise.

Within the different social designs, re-occurring features of interaction were recorded. "Correctional action" was subdivided into social and factual corrections and noted down as the specific pupils rebuked and what they were rebuked for (e.g., "Factual: X for using wrong gender"). The explicit reference to classroom "Rules and roles" mainly comprises teacher's instructions on social behaviour, for example "do not talk before you are called up". In the category "Special occurrences", such incidents were recorded that were not a *consequential* part of a social design section, like external interruptions (e.g., an outsider coming into the classroom). The "Frequency" column indicates how often a specific social design was brought into action. "Pupils participating" is a list of the pupils verbally contributing to a discursive social design section, with information on the frequency of their contributions, and also annotating "default" contributions (withdrawal, termination) and "zero" contributions (being called up involuntarily and not contributing). Finally, the category of extra-topical "Work on language" records specific linguistic problems that are discussed incidentally.

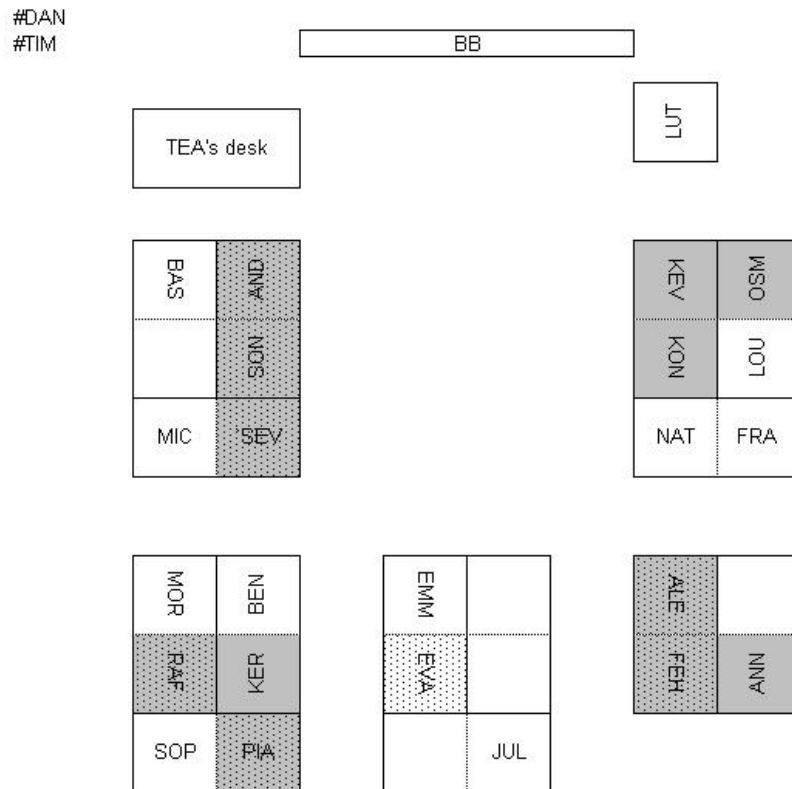*Fig. I.1.6. Example for lesson logbook (7th grade Germany), extract*

II. Continuing work on topic: Poetry, "John Maynard"

Time	Section			Frequency	Pupils
	II.1. Repetition			regular	
T 1008-1081 0:04:10	II.1.1. Elaboration & preparatory measures TEA repeats last lesson's assignment, chooses NIN to present; NIN prepares for presentation			regular	MUS, NIN
T 1082-1145 0:03:15	II.1.2. Presentation NIN presents last lesson's results of analysis of JM			rare	NIN
T 1146-1363 0:08:29	II.1.3. Collecting contributions PUPs ask questions on NIN's presentation			regular	BIA, NIN (10/1x0), AZA (3x), GÜL, BAR, ALI, MUS (2x), ISA, CIG, CEM (0), HIL, WAL (0), MUR, JAN (0)
			TEA addresses IVs		
		Factual: MUR for wrong gender			
	II.2. Developing topic			regular	
T 1364-1394 0:02:22	II.2.1. Instruction TEA orders PUPs to draw a "mood graph" on first part of JM			regular	
T 1395-1472 0:07:35	II.2.2. Individual exercise PUPs draw "mood graph" (passengers), TEA wanders around			regular	
T 1473-1523 0:02:05	II.2.3. Comment TEA comments on class's work, with JON as bad example, CEM as good example			occasionally	SAS, ISA, MUS

Prepared for each recorded lesson, logbooks provided an orientation-wise access to lesson analysis (see 1.2.1), and were evaluated quantitatively (see 1.2.2).

For the lessons chosen as "core lessons" (see 1.2.1), the lesson logbook was also used as a matrix for individual case pupil observation, with the observations on every case pupil's behaviour noted down for the respective lesson sections. This way, the pupils' individual behaviour was aligned with the chronological surface structure of the given lesson, allowing for evaluations of lesson sections as well as for comparative analyses of individual orientations towards a lesson's surface structure.

Fig. I.1.7. Example for case pupil observation logbook (1ˢᵗ grade Germany), extract

Time	Teaching Unit	Lesson Section	Social Design	KEV	OSM	ANN	AND	KON	KER
	IV. Reading practice: Lesepässe								
		IV.1. Reading assignment							
T 720-765 04:31 min			*IV.1.1. Preparatory measures* PUPs get material; TEA, MIC give out material (with PUPs to RM)	gets material from TEA, walks to his box, comes back with his LP and starts working immediately and with concentration	gazes, watches SEV behind him; rummages in bag, goes to name box, gets LP, goes to desk, remains standing; browses material, looks around, sits down, browses, gets pencil-case	raises hand for LL, gets material, rumages bag for LP, browses LP and files lengthly, then starts working with some concentration	raises hand for LL, rummages bag, gets out LP, looks around, browses LP, IA TIM, KER, RAF; gets PC, starts working	has to wait for material (not LL); goes to his name box, rummages lengthly, comes back without LP, rummages bag lengthly, finds LP, gets folder from TEA last, talks with LUT about it, then browses folder	raises hand for LL, looks around, walks to name box, gets material on the way, comes back with folders, stands at his desk, IA AND, looks around, goes to name box, gets LP, then sorts material lengthly, standing, prepares material, gets out PC, standing
T 766-770 00:23 min			*IV.1.2. Reading exercise* PUPs work individually (Lesepass, Leselupe); TEA sits at her desk, PUPs approach her for support; then wanders around, gives individual support						

Organising the case pupil observation logs (CPOs) by means of the lesson's surface structure facilitates general comparability, but it does not necessarily work the other way around in that it would be possible to identify a lesson section on the grounds of case pupil behaviour (see example in Fig. I.1.7 above). Nevertheless, the universal assumption here is that pupils, by coming to school, entering the classroom and taking their seats, are submitting themselves to the general organisational time of the school (if they were not, they simply would not show up). For the lesson, this means that they position themselves within the surface structure as provided by the teacher, and adapt to it one way or the other, because they are able to identify (or learning to identify) the general social features of the lesson structure (i.e. indicated behaviour).[16] The case pupil observation logbooks constituted a crucial device for core lesson analysis (1.2.1).

1.1.1.3 Seating charts

Another way of video preparation was the compilation of pupils' seating charts for each lesson, documenting changes in seating arrangements and, as the case may be, changes in the array of tables in the classroom. Case pupils were specifically marked. Moreover, also absent pupils were noted down.

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[16] Adapting to the chronological-contentual frame set by the teacher then means to maintain a "low profile", which can range from participating actively to simply avoiding to attract the teacher's attention. Of course, what constitutes "attracting attention" depends on the participants' subjective assessment in the respective situation.

Fig. I.1.8. Example for seating chart, 1ˢᵗ grade Germany
(highlighted in grey = case pupils; shaded = in different seat than week before; # = absent)

Seating charts served as an orientation device for lesson analyses (see 1.2.1), and were quantitatively evaluated in terms of absence quotas and seat changes.

1.1.1.4 Panel reconstructions

For an easier access to lesson contents, writings on the blackboard were separately noted down in their final state at the end of a lesson, and all texts discussed in the lesson were added to the respective lesson's data file. These additional data proved to be useful for core lesson analysis (1.2.1).

Fig. I.1.9. Example for final blackboard panel, 7ᵗʰ grade Germany

1.1.2 Observationnaires

In German LAS research, the observationnaire was, first of all, used as a pragmatic solution of the problem that thirteen persons (one teacher, twelve case pupils) had to be observed by usually three investigators in the short period of a school lesson. As an additional data source (the main one being the video films), initial field observation was supposed to produce immediate, generalisable data on the observed participants to be aligned with the results of detailed individual observation in the context of video analysis. That also meant that a tool had to be found that allows for systematic and thus comparable observation, i.e. that each investigator regarded the same categories of observation for each observed participant without needing too much time to note down the individual findings.

The basic idea of the observationnaire stems from the assessment centre method[17], an observation method that was developed in order to systematically evaluate job applicants and trainees in constructed situations to scrutinize their competences and abilities by means of observation categories like, for example, problem-solving strategies or teamwork behaviour. Generally, these categories are subdivided into several features to be focused and checked during the observation of the respective person; as for the original tool, several ways of annotation and observationnaire evaluation are supposed to provide valid information on the observed person's qualities regarding the predefined categories. As opposed to the assessment centre tool, which, as it is in the name, serves to actually assess the probands, the observationnaires used in LAS research were not designed to qualify behaviour in detail, but merely to record occurrences by means of a simple yes/ no notation (as "+" and "−"). LAS observationnaires are therefore basically check-lists that, of course, allowed for individual comments and additional observations, but mainly served as a structured, organised access to individual observation.

The observationnaires were designed to be applicable for both the first and the seventh grade for reasons of comparability. In contrast to field notes, working with the observationnaire does not require a thorough training in ethnographic methods. The specific categories and aspects of observation were designed along the lines of the LAS research problems; very similar to a questionnaire, the observationnaire guides the observation in terms of what is of interest and what needs to be documented, and thus, naturally, excludes occurrences that were not predefined as crucial.

In each lesson, each investigator filled out the observationnaire "teacher" and was assigned four case pupils to observe, while it was ascertained that all case pupils were observed equally by each researcher in the course of the school year in order to avoid obvious biases. Due to the time-saving yes/ no structure of the observationnaires, some of the aspects in focus were already normatively formulated, like, for example, "orderly, clean appearance". This item was defined beforehand as "clothes are clean and in order, hair is combed, CP is washed" so that the investigators knew what to watch out for. Each category allowed for a "not significantly" evaluation, noted down as a "~", meaning that the respective item occurred, but not regularly, like, for example, in the column "raises hand often". A tilde

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[17] For further information see Sarges 2001: www.sarges-partner.de/artikel/Sarges%20-%20Assessment-Center.pdf

here would mean that the CP was observed raising his/her hand to an extent and on occasions that initially did not seem significant as to discourse behaviour. Since not every item on the list occurred in each observed lesson, and since it is next to impossible to observe five persons thoroughly at the same time, items remained unchecked if they could not be evaluated. A question mark indicates that something was observed, but could not be qualified; this mostly happened in the column "material in order", for example when two pupils were sharing a book, but the investigator could not clearly determine who of the two was the one who did not bring the book in the first place.

Fig. I.1.10. Example for filled-out observationnaire, case pupil, 7th grade Germany

Observationaire: Schüler
Datum: 14/04/08   Beobachter: IV3   Beobachteter Schüler: ■   Schule/ Lehrer: ■

Konzentration/ Disziplin	Teilnahme	Wahrnehmung durch den Lehrer
Ordentliche, saubere Erscheinung + Arbeitsmaterial in Ordnung + ~~Kommt pünktlich~~ ~~Hat Hausaufgaben erledigt~~ Hört aufmerksam zu + Konzentriert sich auf Aufgaben + Sitzhaltung ist diszipliniert/ konzentriert + Ist leicht abgelenkt — Lenkt andere ab — Zeigt großen Lerneifer + Gehorcht dem Lehrer +	Zeigt häufig auf +++ ~~Meldet sich für spezielle Aufgaben~~ Stellt Fragen — Bittet um Hilfe — Wird von Mitschülern um Hilfe gebeten — ~~Nimmt an Diskussionen teil~~ Ermutigt andere zum Mitmachen —	Wird angesprochen/ aufgerufen +++ Wird gelobt — Verhalten wird korrigiert — Arbeit/ Beiträge werden korrigiert — Wird bestraft — ~~Wird bevorzugt~~ ~~Wird benachteiligt~~
Lautes Lesen/ Textverständnis	**Schreiben**	**Mündliche Interaktion mit Lehrer**
Meldet sich für Leseaufgaben + Liest erst leise für sich, dann laut — Liest flüssig/ ~~stockend~~ + Angemessene Textgestaltung durch Intonation ∿ Legt Zeigefinger unter Lesezeile ? Hat Schwierigkeiten mit unbekannten Wörtern + Wird vom Lehrer unterstützt — *Während andere laut lesen:* Liest mit, konzentriert sich auf Text, hört zu + Ist unaufmerksam, abgelenkt — *Textverständnis:* ~~Kann gelesene Texte zusammenfassen~~ ~~Kann Texten Informationen entnehmen~~	Hört der Aufgabenstellung aufmerksam zu Geht die Aufgabe strukturiert an Hat notwendiges Material Bleibt konzentriert während Aufgabe Arbeitet zügig und zielorientiert Überlegt länger Macht längere Pausen während der Aufgabe Wendet „Sprechen für Schreiben"-Strategie an Bespricht Aufgabe mit Banknachbarn Sieht sich die Arbeit des Banknachbarn an Bittet Lehrer/ Mitschüler um Hilfe Kaut auf Stift Benutzt häufig Radierer/ Löscher Fängt noch mal ganz von vorn an Macht sich Notizen Meldet sich, um an Tafel zu schreiben Schreibt an Tafel Hat klare, leserliche Handschrift an der Tafel	Spricht flüssig/ ~~stockend~~ + Fragt nach korrekten Wörtern — Kann Gedanken angemessen ausdrücken + Spricht in vollständigen Sätzen + Spricht laut, klar, selbstbewusst + Spricht leise, unsicher ∿ Spricht undeutlich, zu schnell, nuschelt — ~~Strukturiert Beitrag angemessen~~ ~~Verliert Faden während des Beitrags~~ Spricht Wörter richtig aus + ~~Zeigt großen Wortschatz~~ Sprachverwendung ist standardnah + Verwendet andere Sprache als das U-Medium —

Kommentare: *macht* ■ *auf Fehler an Tafel aufmerksam*

At the end of the school year, up to 25 observationnaires had been filled out for each observed participant, being a relatively dense account of the probands in the German lessons. Observationnaires were evaluated quantitatively (1.2.2) in order to complement case pupil observations of core lesson analyses (1.2.1).

1.1.3 Field notes

In Turkey, field notes were taken by three investigators who attended the classes. A total of 150 field note files was gathered. To be able to rid these notes of any presuppositions that

might exist about the studied situations on the part of the investigators, and in order not to impose presuppositions and let the data speak for itself, things were observed and noted as they happened in their natural setting, with the researchers frequently participating in the ongoing action of the school organisation and pupils' and teachers' cliques.

In German LAS research, field notes were taken on occasions not recorded on video (e.g. meetings with teachers), and compiled in the field reports for the first and the seventh grade research respectively. Obviously, it fell to the field researcher with ethnological training to keep the field log on general observations and on episodes that occurred in the school context, but outside the school lessons. Such occurrences were mostly noted down from memory (except for the LAS workshop conducted in the comprehensive school where notes could be taken simultaneously) on the respective field days usually twice a week. Certain occasions were additionally discussed with the field team in order to evaluate the individual perspectives on ambiguous after-lesson utterances or actions of the teachers, and on the extracurricular school activities that were observed. The thus-created field diaries were then compiled in the form of chronological field reports covering, on the hand, school-related observations and non-lesson incidents descriptively, but also with regard to the investigators' assessment and personal experience. They also serve as accounts on the daily business of field research including the limitations and obstacles that had to be dealt with, for example when accesses to events like conferences were denied, in order to document not only what was done, but also what was not done. Chronologically for each month of research, it was thus documented: the number and dates of field days, the investigators present on each field day, the after-lesson conversations with the teachers, encounters with other members of the school, after-lesson occurrences in general, and special school events the researchers participated in. It goes without saying that the field reports on both German schools mainly represent the subjective perspective of the researchers and their momentary experience of a given situation. Still, the field reports served as a valuable basis for the school ethnographies, and as additional data for case pupil profiles.

1.1.4 Interviews

The interviews conducted in the course of field research represent additional data acquired beyond the boundaries of the school lessons, complementing the sociological data. Interviewees were the parents of the case pupils, the teachers of the first and the seventh grade, and, on the German part, the case pupils in the seventh grade. In Turkey, additional interviews were conducted with various school representatives. Here, setting up interviews with the case pupils' families was extremely difficult as they did not note down the time of the interview and the investigators had to return from the doorsteps, finding no one at home, and had to keep trying for a number of times. Most interviews were not allowed to be tape-recorded. 7 out of 12 families of first-graders accepted to be interviewed, while of the seventh-graders, all families agreed to meet the researchers for this purpose. Assumingly, the seventh-graders were able to tell their parents what the LAS research was about so inhibition thresholds were lower than in the first grade where the case pupils probably could not inform their parents adequately to trigger their interest in the research. In Germany, on the other hand, parents were informed on LAS by the schools and/ or the

investigators already in the beginning of the school year, and only in one case, an interview was flatly denied, while in two cases, personal circumstances led to a definite cancellation of the appointments. In Germany, all case pupils' parents were contacted by telephone.

Tab. I.1.1. Number and form of interviews conducted

Respondents	Germany	Turkey
Parents/ family	21 Tape-recorded: 20	19 Tape-recorded: 4
Teachers/ other officials	4 Tape-recorded: 4	6 Tape-recorded: 0
Case pupils	12 (only 7th grade) Tape-recorded: 12	
Others		1 (head of school's parents association) Tape-recorded: 0

All interviews were based on guidelines aiming at the elicitation of the participants' subjective attitudes towards the specific issues addressed, allowing for ingenuous, not predefined answers.

The main part were the interviews with the case pupils' parents[18]; two investigators interviewed mothers and/ or fathers of the pupils in their homes based on an interview guideline that included questions concerning the social backgrounds (in the case of immigrant parents also the migration background), e.g. the parents' education and professional careers, and the attitudes towards their children's education. The main reason why interview appointments were made in the case pupils' homes, besides the pragmatic consideration on the German project part that LAS itself had no home base in the city of field research, was to have the opportunity to assess the family's living conditions first-hand, and only one family refused to let the researchers into their home. It turned out that the strategy of home interviews had its specific limitations as the interviewers were initially always intruders, strangers let into the private sphere of the home for sheer generosity, which put them in a somewhat ambivalent position as private guests with a professional objective. Apart from the factual information that could be extracted from all family interviews without exception, expectable differences in interview conduction and outcomes came about due to the specific circumstances of the interviews, but also based on diverging linguistic capacities of the interviewees. It has to be noted here that on the German LAS part, all interviews were conducted in German in order to get an idea of the parents' language competences particularly in the case of the parents with German as a second language. In Turkey, there were some families where especially the mother did not speak Turkish at all, so they were interviewed in Kurmanjî-Kurdish; in most of the Kurdish family interviews, code-switching between Turkish and Kurmanjî occurred regularly.[19] In Germany, except for one case where the knowledge of German was so limited that no

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[18] The basic family interview guideline for both project groups can be found in Appendix A1.

[19] Kurmanjî refers to the Kurdish language spoken bei the bilingual LAS pupils in Turkey. We refer to the language by "Kurmanjî" or "Kurmanjî-Kurdish". Whenever questions of identity or ethnicity are dealt with, however, we use the established term "Kurdish".

actual conversation could be effected (this was also the only interview that was denied to be digitally recorded), language problems mostly meant disruptions to the flow of the interview in order to clarify misunderstandings and to reformulate questions and answers respectively.

In Germany, another difficulty arose in the four cases where the fathers, not the mothers, were the interview partners, and turned out to be not very well-informed about their child's life in general and his/her school life in particular; this was also the case in several interviews conducted in Turkey. While this is, of course, a finding in itself, many aspects of interest could only be covered superficially in these interviews; for example, when a father never helped his child with the homework, he could not possibly tell how this would take place. Note here that in Germany, interviews solely conducted with the father only occurred in families where the mother was attested a too deficient German competence by the father, i.e. in families with migration background. Here, the mothers were present in all but one cases, but never uttered a word during the conversation, not even when directly addressed. In contrast, in the monolingual families, the mothers contributed to the interview without exception. All but one of the twenty family interviews were digitally recorded, and observations made during the interview were noted down after the conversation in order to record impressions of the interview situations and the general living conditions in the homes as far as accessible during the interview.

In addition to the family interviews, teachers and school officials were interviewed based on a different guideline in order to collect supplementary data concerning the teachers' backgrounds and attitudes towards different school issues, and on organizational aspects of the schools. Among other things, the teachers were asked to give an evaluation of the case pupils' development and a prognosis regarding their future school careers. In Germany, these interviews turned out to be largely unproblematic as the professionals seemingly rather enjoyed to be asked for their personal opinions and impressions. In Turkey, these interviews were all conducted at an informal level that allowed the participants to be more open about certain issues.

On the part of the German project group, it was decided to interview the case pupils of the seventh grade as well (by means of a separately developed guideline). These interviews aimed at the aspired graduation and the career aspirations as well as at background information on the pupils, e.g. hobbies, friends, etc. For solely pragmatic considerations, the interviews took place in the school parallel to the German lessons on different locations (sometimes an empty classroom, sometimes the cafeteria, or the school yard), which was supported by the teacher. Apart from the fact that some pupils were more communicative than others, no particular obstacles were met in this interview loop. The case pupils' interviews were conducted after the family interviews so that references could be made and occasionally, unclear aspects could be clarified. In two cases, the pupil's interview had to serve as the only source of background information since the respective family interviews were not carried out.

The tape-recorded interviews were transcribed according to CHAT transcription standards and mainly used for the compilation of case pupil profiles (see 1.2.3), but also factored into the school ethnographies.

1.2 Data analysis

1.2.1 Core Lesson Analysis (CLA)

For the LAS method of video analysis, a middle ground between different methodological approaches was decided to be most feasible. On the one hand, the sheer amount of footage did not allow an in-depth analysis of all recorded lessons; thus, the logbook access (as described before) provided the evaluation of all video films on a rather quantitative basis to be used as the starting point for thorough interpretation of relevant lesson portions. On the other hand, the identification of these relevant lesson portions could not exclusively follow the surface categorisation of lesson events, but had to be guided by less obvious criteria as well, such as the development and application of reading and writing strategies, didactic patterns, and responsiveness of pupils, just to name a few. Moreover, a purely relevance-directed approach only to "key scenes" would have precluded the comprehensive investigation of the lesson as a whole, its composition and progress. Hence, the decision was made to select four (seventh grade) to five (first grade) "core lessons" to be analysed in depth, whereas "core lesson" does not refer to the quality of the lessons, but to the idea that these lessons are meant to be the core of analysis itself. Basically, the core lessons were chosen regarding chronology, displaying the progress of the school year in regular intervals. Other (solely quantitative) criteria involved case pupil presence and availability of text products for the respective lesson. Accessing the material in terms of core lessons therefore meant to a) reduce the quantity of in-depth analyses to a manageable amount, and b) to provide the overall analysis with a thoroughly compiled interpretational basis.

Methodologically, video analysis for LAS was mostly determined by the setting, i.e. the classroom with a rather large number of participants (in Germany, up to thirty-six persons including the investigators). Most of the literature treating the analysis of school lesson videos is directed towards didactics for the use in teacher training (see, e.g., Fleer 2009; Kuhn 2003; Rahm 2006), and methodology is therefore oriented towards the evaluation of teachers' didactic and pedagogic strategies. But with the main question of LAS research being how children practically learn to read and write in the classroom, didactics and pedagogy were only of interest in terms of what the pupils make of it, not regarding normatively acceptable or unacceptable teaching methods. For example, the method according to Sommer-Stumpenhorst employed as the tool of literacy acquisition in the German first grade was not evaluated in terms of its overall feasibility or the teacher's capability of implementing it, but only with regard to the pupils' actual handling of the learning strategies they were offered by this means.

Other publications deal with video analysis of entirely different settings, like doctor-patient conversations (e.g., Frers 2009) or museum visitors (e.g., vom Lehn & Heath 2006), methodologically mostly based on general hermeneutics or conversation analysis, but investigating mostly concluded one-on-one interactions. For the LAS research problem, the analysis of teacher-pupil interaction as a crucial aspect of lesson design had to include

passive participation as well as the actual lesson dialogue, i.e. what everybody else is doing during classroom conversations, attempting to find out how the pupils interpret such discourses individually, and how they integrate them into their own agendas of learning.

This means that for LAS video analysis, there was no single precedent to draw on, but a number of different approaches to be combined, interpretation-wise as well as regarding annotation. Although in the main steps referring to, amongst others, Goodwin (2001), Knoblauch (2006), Raab & Tänzler (2006) (sequentiality, reflexivity, visible orientation), LAS video analysis had to be additionally shaped according to the research project's interdisciplinary approach, investigating the films both sociologically and linguistically; therefore, interaction analysis comprised meaning as well as structure from both disciplinary perspectives. This strategy proved to be utterly fruitful in terms of understanding the lesson (as a whole) as a co-production of all participants, socially as well as language-wise, with relation to actual- vs. ontogenesis (cf., e.g. Quasthoff 1995) and ethnomethods of acting (cf., e.g., Goodwin 2001, Garfinkel 2006). Additionally, the specific LAS approach allowed for a systematic differentiation between the structural aspects of interaction, and the individual contributions to interaction of selected participants.

The primary access to the core lessons were the lesson logbook and the case pupil observation logbook as tools for structuring analysis, but in the practical process of interpretation in group discussions, the lesson logbook played a role only regarding the general agreements on basic operational categories (e.g., a sequence "collecting contributions" is characterised by specific components that distinguish it from other sequences). In the group sessions, the basic aim was to generate a mutual understanding of "what is going on". In a first step, this understanding was gained from the lesson exclusively, with no reference whatsoever to other lessons, alleged didactics or teaching methods, or other contexts not accessible in the very videos. This was, of course, in order to refrain from early generalisations, but also for the sake of avoiding hasty judgements, e.g. subsuming actions as part of a certain method and thereby evaluating the method, not the action; or attributing a case pupil's behaviour to circumstances at home and thereby evaluating the home context, not the behaviour itself.

For CLA, the whole set of respective lesson videos was on the agenda. The group of investigators watched the video(s) together in intervals by stopping after each "meaningful unit" (verbal or non-verbal), and although this might sound pretty vague, in the process itself there was hardly any disagreement on when to stop the video in order to find out the meaning of a unit, with the unit at issue usually being much shorter than the lesson unit according to lesson design, since a lot of things happen in twenty or ten seconds or even less. The discussion started with a description of "what happened" after each interval, and the attempt to agree upon what happened often already contained a discussion of "what it means" (and several replays of the video). For the minutes of the group discussion, the sequence description and its evaluation were noted down separately. The elementary evaluation of the core lessons was based on a holistic approach, meaning that initially,

everything that happened was considered to be subject to analysis, with the following guiding features of interpretation:

- Reconstruction of meaningful units (e.g., wording, posture, facial expressions, but also the "actual information" provided in the scene)
- Sequentiality of actions (e.g., immanent connectivity of utterances, non-verbal activities, movements)
- Participation structures
- Role of artefacts (handling, meaning of artefact in the respective scene)
- References/ recourses to the participants' shared understanding of "what is going on"

The general assumptions of interpretation were, referring mainly to Knoblauch (2006):

- Actions within the structural units are always systematically connected to preceding and succeeding actions.
- Each action comprises the clues as to how it has to be interpreted by the participants, so everything that happens "makes sense".
- For interpretation, everything is relevant that is relevant for the participants ("visible" orientation).

For example, in an individual reading exercise in the first grade (Germany), one of the case pupils is not actually doing the work she is supposed to do according to the given task, but, by observing her table neighbour, imitating the mechanical work steps of the assignment with some diligence and confidence, showing no signs of confusion or frustration; instead of reading and assorting index cards, she shuffles and re-boxes them, making sense of the activities going on around her, adapting to what she interprets as the requirements of the situation.

In the final annotation, it proved to be useful to put down the summary of a lesson's interpretation in a standardised way for clarity's sake (oriented by the logbook), and in order to maintain the chronological-contentual structure. Various aspects of the interpretation log were represented graphically or schematically (photos, diagrams).

The step-by-step analysis of a core lesson provides a very profound and reliable understanding of "what is going on" from the participants' perspective, and the interpretation became more and more complex with the proceeding of the lesson since the evaluation also contained the scrutinising of previous hypotheses. At the end of each lesson section, a summary of the interpretation (including assessments of enabling and restricting potentials) followed.

The detailed case pupil observation logs were helpful for the understanding of "meaningful units" particularly in the lesson sections when the pupils work individually or make an active contribution, but of course one has to bear in mind here that it is next to impossible to interpret pupils' random behaviour conclusively. For example, that a pupil is excessively fidgeting in a scene alone does not necessarily mean that she/he is not listening to the classroom discourse, and even if one would label this as "not listening", there is still no way to say whether this is due to boredom, excessive demand, refusal of performance, or a

need to go to the bathroom. Long-term observation, however, reveals patterns of congruence and deviance, so that "excessive fidgeting" might be evaluated as typical or untypical behaviour for a pupil, and scenes with deviant behaviour can be revisited in order to determine possible reasons for the deviance. The integration of CPOs therefore turned out to be most feasible at the end of a sequence or lesson section in the form of descriptions and momentary evaluations in terms of if and how they were "maintaining a low profile", annotated as "Adaptation", and additionally as case pupil evaluations referring to the complete CLA/ CPO. This basically meant a comparison of case pupil behaviour during explanatory/ instructional sequences with their behaviour during a given writing exercise, and with the final written text produced in the process, which shed light on the actual output of the lesson for the individual case pupil, e.g. following instructions, or drawing back on problem solutions as elaborated in the classroom discourse.

Fig. I.1.11. Example for annotation of "CP Adaptation" (7th grade Germany, individual exercise), extract

AHM   Work phases: 1. preparing material lengthily; 2. reading and writing alternately, with longer contemplation pauses. Transition to writing after break: smooth. Total working time: 17 min. Handling of assignment: needs some time to pick up pace, then concentrated, dedicated. TP available (but makes changes to it during I.5.3.).

SAS   Work phases: 1. reading for 1 min.; 2. preparing material; 3. reading and writing alternately, uses blotter often; in the second half less concentrated than in the first, makes longer pauses to observe TEA, fumbles. Transition to writing after break: difficult, needs some time to pick up pace. Total working time: 11:45 min. Handling of assignment: losing concentration subsequently, but rather dedicated. TP available.

SÜH   Work phases: 1. preparing material; 2. reading for ca. 4:10 min.; 3. biefly prepares essay sheet; 4. writing/ reading, uses blotter now and then; total ca. 11:30. Transition to writing after break: smooth. Total working time: 15:40 min. Handling of assignment: concentrated, dedicated, confident. TP available.

CEM   Work phases: 1. preparing material; 2. reading and writing alternately, only few brief contemplation pauses. Transition to writing after break: smooth. Total working time: 15:05 min. Handling of assignment: concentrated, dedicated. TP available.

Evaluation of work phases: Most of the CPs have finished their preparations (sorting sheets, writing names and date) when the actual exercise part starts in I.3.4. Basically, the CPs display two different strategies of approaching the writing assignment. The smaller lot, AZA, CIG, and SÜH, first read the text completely before turning to writing/ reading; the others start in medias res, working closely to the text (for example, BAR and BIA align their text sheets with their essay sheets in a way that they always have the text paragraph they are working on lying at the top of the essay sheet, see pictures). Since the original text was read aloud and discussed before (and everyone took notes on it), the fact that most of the CPs do not read the whole text first is probably not that remarkable, but note here that even the CPs who take the time to read the text first before starting to write consult the text frequently while producing their own, and are not finished earlier than the others; regarding the mere procedure, they do not gain a visible advantage by reading the text first. Interestingly, when BAR and CIG insert orientation phases, they are doing so at some point during work and not so much at the beginning, indicating that their irritation, and thus their need for reassurance, arises from the specifics of the task, and not from the assignment in general (BAR even tries to get TEA's attention by raising a hand (is ignored), and interrupts her work for more than a minute until she realises that TEA is not going to help her). With all CPs, the reading/ writing phase is accompanied by longer or shorter stretches of contemplation in between, none of them writes a text in one go.

Evaluation of text products: In alignment with the teaching sections before, the CPs' text products reveal particularly one deficit that already announced itself in I.2.6.-I.2.8.: Although all of them are addressing the 'w-questions' to some degree, none of them puts them in a self-developed order (e.g., as TEA suggested implicitly in I.2.7.); without exception, the aspects mentioned in the CPs' texts occur in exact the same order as they do in the original. Therefore, for example, all text products start with the date ('when', TEA's item number 4) instead of the topic ('what', TEA's item number 1). Moreover, none of the CPs is able to restrict their reports to the 'important information' only; each mentions at least one neglectable aspect. Only BIA, AZA, HIL, and ISA seem to have finished their texts (last aspect mentioned in TP is last aspect of original), all others appear to just have stopped suddenly, sometimes (BAR, CEM) even without finishing the sentence. This is obviously due to the fact that all but AZA, HIL and ISA basically paraphrase or even quote the original instead of transforming it into an entirely different genre. Thus, the 'different genre', as it was briefly addressed, but not elaborated in I.2.8., proves to be another severe obstacle for producing an adequate text here. At the very least, the CPs' TPs show that the neglection of tools and techniques in favour of memorisation and contentual comprehension (see above) deprives them of developing their ability of structured approaches to the original text and to their writing. Note here that during the elaboration and instruction episodes, the pupils never show any signs of distress or utter irritation, and only few seem to be aware of a certain over-challengedness during the writing exercise. This means that the pupils themselves basically feel that they measure up to the given task, not at all indicating that they are missing analytical strategies or text competence (no comments or inquiries). Thus, one has to come to the conclusion that they think they are generally capable and delivering adequate work. Of course, considering TEA's commonly approving or encouraging discourse behaviour (see above), the pupils indeed have no reason to question themselves.

1.2.2 Quantitative lesson analysis

For LAS research, the aim of quantitative lesson analyses was mainly to substantiate and to complement the results of CLA. Sources of such evaluations were the lesson transcripts, but only for the quantification of speech ratios (counting words), the lesson logbooks, and the observationnaires. The evaluation of seating charts, lesson logbooks and observationnaires, all of which recording occurrences, aimed at frequencies.

Seating charts were used to investigate pupils' attendance and seat changes in the course of the school year. As for the evaluation of lesson logbooks, statistical data extracted concerned the duration and distribution of lesson designs, case pupils' relative ratios of participation, and occurrences of types of correctional action. Frequencies were determined within the respective German lesson and in the course of the school year (progression).

A quantitative approach to the CLAs themselves related to the case pupils' time management during writing assignments, which was withdrawn from the CPOs. In this context, also the efficiency of time management was estimated against the backdrop of the resulting text products according to features like number of words, ratio of mistakes, and task accomplishment, for example "writing as instructed" and text completion.

Due to the complex situation of observing several persons at once, the evaluation of the observationnaires revealed only tendencies, as it should be obvious that even systematic observation is still subjective observation. And it goes without saying that an instrument as schematic as the observationnaire was only feasible because there was the parallel video documentation to correlate. As was pointed out in 1.2.1, the detailed observation of individuals by means of the video films is a very time-consuming work step that is simply not manageable to execute for every recorded lesson. But in combination with the observationnaire, video observation can be justifiably reduced to a limited number of recorded lessons without risking validity because the comparison with the generalised results of observationnaire evaluation reveals consistencies as well as systematic inconsistencies. When addressing such inconsistencies, the first step would always be to compare the core lesson results with the specific observationnaires of the respective lessons in order to exclude the possibility that the same features were differently interpreted depending on the situation of observation (immediate, thus rather superficial observation during the lesson, versus microscopic, in-depth observation of the video film). It is, after all, very likely that the unlimited possibilities of video observation reveal many details that immediate observation does not, and one has to thoroughly differentiate here between the general impressions and the detailed evaluations, the former not being necessarily less important than the latter, as was elaborated above in 1.1. If the immediate and the video observation were congruent, deviations from the general trend could usually be explained by the specific, momentary circumstances as present in the respective core lesson. In the case of LAS observation, there were no constant inconsistencies, i.e. the general tendency extracted from the observationnaires never systematically contradicted the findings of video observation and individual lesson observation.

Final results of observationnaire evaluation in the form of general tendencies for each case pupil are mostly only conclusive by means of comparison. For example, three out of 21

cases when the material was not in order would not be significant in absolute terms, but if this concerns only one or two case pupils, whereas the rest was always equipped adequately, it might be deemed to be a significant finding. Or, on the other hand, making longer pauses during individual work in ten out of 20 cases might sound a lot in absolute terms, but is not that conspicuous anymore when the majority of the case pupils display a similar feature. Thus, observationnaire evaluation does not only convey information on the individual case pupil, but also allows for identifying regularities and deviations regarding the group as a whole, which is actually the basis of whatever qualifying assessment can be made.

1.2.3 Interview analysis

Basically, interview analyses were conducted as content analyses (cf. Mayring 2007), i.e. structured by means of predefined categories in the form of a code system that was here processed with MAXqda[20], a tool for text analysis. The main categories, subdivided into sometimes numerous subcategories, were "General information on family", "Migration background", "Family's educational background", "Family's profession/ career/ recent work", "Literacy background", "Education and socialisation in parental household", and "CP's school performance and career".

In a first step, utterances on relevant thematic units were paraphrased and summarised. With content analysis, information provided in utterances are initially treated as facts, which means that the tool does not regularly offer a contextualised interpretation (i.e., in which particular order and context utterances were made). Thus, in a second step, specific statements and particularly those with ambiguous quality were retraced in the original interview text and contextualised in order to explain deviances. For example, a mother might approve of integrated education on a theoretical level when talking about school in general, but rather disapprove of it when she talks about her own children's schooling, indicating a political standpoint colliding with her pragmatic approach to the issue.

 Furthermore, utterances of parents, pupils, and teachers were aligned with each other to illustrate possible different perspectives on a given topic, and to assess the quality of the respective utterances. For example, a father might address his son's problems with doing homework regularly when complaining about the teacher's strategies to support the pupils, but leave out this aspect when talking about his son's studying strategies; the case pupil himself might recount that he does his homework irregularly, and the teacher might state that he pointed this out to the father several times. A (reduced) interpretation here would be that both the father and the teacher are aware of the problem, but do not consider it their problem to solve, which finally facilitates the case pupil's ongoing deficient strategy of doing homework. Such results were then collated with LAS observations from the German lessons themselves; for example, the case pupil not doing his homework regularly also often did not bring the appropriate material, and displayed a rather defiant behaviour towards the teacher, showing a disciplinary problem reflecting the family's attitudes towards the subject.

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[20] For further information see www.maxqda.com.

Partly, information gained from the interviews with parents, pupils, and teachers were also used for the compilation of the school ethnographies.

2 Linguistic Data: Acquisition and Analysis

Helena Olfert, Christoph Schroeder & Yazgül Şimşek

2.1 Linguistic tests: Design and implementation

In both investigated grades, linguistic tests were conducted in Turkish (in Turkey), German (in Germany), as well as in the first languages of the Turkish and German bilingual speakers. The purpose of these tests was to gain additional expressive data that was perfectly adapted for the analysis of literacy acquisition. While in the seventh grade, the elicited texts from the linguistic tests were additionally used for orthography analysis, special tests focusing only on orthography were designed for the first grade.

2.1.1 Tests in the 1st grade

In the first grade, two types of tests were conducted: One test was designed in order to elicit orate and literate structures, conducted once at the beginning and another time at the end of the school year.

In Germany, also a pseudoword test and the *Hamburger Schreibprobe*, both focusing on orthography, was carried out in the middle of the second term. Additionally to this, the orthography acquirement was analysed by means of picture-word-tests that were autonomously conducted by the teacher.

In Turkey, a pseudoword test was conducted in March 2008 in addition to the two tests eliciting orate and literate structure.

2.1.1.1 Orate/ literate structures tests

In the project, acquisition of literacy is defined as the expansion of linguistic competence. In order to investigate this issue, a special test was designed focusing on the pupils' use of orate and literate structures. By means of this test, it is possible to reveal those differences in linguistic structures of spoken and written language that are crucial for the process of literacy acquisition, assuming that literacy acquisition implies the acquisition or the use of literate structures opposed to orate structures in spoken language. Thus, the comparison of spoken and written text versions of the same pupil allows for the identification of those structures that were changed by the respective pupil in the written text and those structures that were carried over from the spoken to the written text.

Testing the performance also in the first language of the bilingual speakers in both Turkey and Germany was indispensable in order to clarify if the ascertained literate competence in Turkish and German respectively corresponds to the one in the first language, or if literate competence is acquired only or mainly in one of the two languages. In this context, a considerable difference between the first and the second language with regard to orate and literate structures in favour of the first language might indicate that though the notion of literate devices is already acquired, it has not been yet transformed into the second language. We assume that register differences that are already acquired in the first language can also be transformed into the second language, but if a pupil had not been already

confronted with literate structures in the first language, they would be more likely to face difficulties in acquiring those in the second language. However, major differences between the status of the first languages of the bilingual pupils in the two countries (in terms of language policy) affected both the conduction of the tests in the first languages and the interpretation of the data that was obtained. We will refer to this in the following chapters wherever necessary.

In the first test design that was tried out, the pupils were supposed to narrate a personal story first, e.g. vacation activities, and write it down afterwards. But as trial test recordings in Germany revealed, especially the first-graders had difficulties in narrating a story without any input so that this type of test was discarded for being too complex. The use of a picture story as a tool of elicitation was also rejected for several reasons; on the one hand, it enables the pupils to refer to the pictures by means of gestures and enforces the use of deictic elements. Additionally, with picture stories, neither the introduction of referents nor the sequential order of events and the linguistic devices by which it has to be indicated can be analysed since they are both predetermined by the pictures and the order of their appearance.

Finally, a short film sequence turned out to be the elicitation tool of choice, serving the objectives of LAS testing best without the limitations of the tools mentioned above. Since the film needed to be applicable for all tested languages, its plot had to be intelligible non-verbally; it had to be clearly structured, of an appropriate length and easy to understand for first-graders. As no adequate material could be found, a special film according to a script written by the LAS researchers in Osnabrück was professionally shot. In the silent film ("The Lost Envelope"), a woman is seen walking down the stairs in the hallway of an office building where she loses an envelope by accident, which is later found by a man and a woman. When they look inside the envelope and find money in it, they have a short argument on whether to keep the money or to search for the owner, finally deciding to give the money back. Next up, the two finders knock at an office door, enter, and ask the woman inside about the envelope. She tells them that the money does not belong to her and refers the couple to the next office. Here, they find the woman who lost the money, give it back to her, and accept her gratitude with mutual hand-shaking. The film has a total length of 3:07 minutes and was recorded entirely without tone, so one can see the actors' lips move, but not hear what they say. Thus, the contents of what is being said have to be extracted solely by means of gestures, mimics, and courses of action.

It has to be noted that the film might have a certain cultural (German) bias. The pupils in Istanbul seemed to feel the need to explicitly mention the institutional setting; the protagonists are doctors, teachers or businessmen in their narratives.

2.1.1.1.1 Test 1 (Germany and Turkey)

In Germany, the first run of the test was conducted in German at the end of October/ beginning of November with all pupils of the class. They watched the film in groups of four in a specially assigned room, being instructed before to watch carefully because they would have to perform a task on it afterwards. The researchers were present while the pupils watched the film, but were not to attract the pupils' attention. After the film, each pupil was

interviewed by a researcher, and first asked to retell the film. When some important parts of the plot were missing, the researcher was allowed to ask for more information or further details of the story.[21]

Since this test was conducted at the very beginning of the school year, the pupils were not fit yet to write down the story by themselves, so they were told to dictate it to the interviewing researcher.[22]

The same test was conducted in Turkish under the same conditions at the end of November with four pupils with Turkish as their first language, the research assistant eliciting the data being a Turkish native speaker who was told to exclusively speak Turkish with the pupils to avoid a priming for German. A test for the sole Albanian L1-speaker could not be conducted due to the absence of a native Gheg dialect speaker, who was yet found for the second text loop.

In Turkey, since it was not possible to apply the test after school because parents would collect their children then, it was necessary to test the pupils during school time, hence to get the permission of the teacher to do so. However, the teacher was highly reluctant to give permission, in particular with students she regarded as not successful in class. Testing, thus, went on for a period of time between end of November and end of January. Only the case pupils were tested, and one of them, HAV$^{\venus\text{MON}}$, could not be tested at all. Testing was carried out in the guidance teacher's room. The pupils watched the film each at a time, being instructed before to watch carefully because they would have to perform a task on it afterwards. One of the researchers was present while the pupils watched the film, but was not to attract their attention. After the film, each pupil was interviewed by a second researcher who was not present in the room while the student was watching the film, and first asked to retell the film. When some important parts of the plot were missing, the researcher was allowed to ask for more information or further details of the story.[23] Subsequently, the pupils were asked to dictate it to the interviewing researcher, to which pupils responded enthusiastically.[24] Only one case pupil, TUR$^{\mars\text{BIL}}$, who is a shy person outside of the classroom, did not talk at all in the first test. Therefore, the researchers carried out the task with him twice. In the second trial, he was accompanied by one of his best friends in class. In addition, the researchers gave some support to TUR during the second trial to help him overcome his timidity.

In Turkey, the first test could not be carried out in the first language of the bilingual pupils.

Notes on Test 1 (Germany and Turkey)

Only during analysis, it turned out that it probably would have been more feasible to tell the pupils that their dictated version would be shown to a third person who never saw the film; since the first-graders had not yet been exposed to literate structures to a great extent, this information would have been crucial in order to ensure that already existing proto-literate

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[21] See Appendix A2 (1) for an example from Germany.
[22] See Appendix A2 (2) for an example from Germany.
[23] See Appendix A2 (3) for an example from Turkey.
[24] See Appendix A2 (4) for an example from Turkey.

structures were revealed. The way the test was conducted the pupils had no particular incentive to develop literate structures in the dictated version to the maximum. Still, the mode of dictation revealed at least the potentials of already existing knowledge of literate structures – proto-literate structures – by means of transforming a narrated story into a written text.

2.1.1.1.2 Test 2 (Germany and Turkey)

The second run of the test took place in Germany at the beginning of May, and in Turkey in April, in both countries with case pupils only. At this time of the year, the pupils were mostly able to write by themselves. Again, in Germany, the pupils watched the film in small groups of three or four in a separate room, and in Turkey, they watched it each at a time in a separate room in the school. The pupils were again told before to watch attentively in order to solve the following assignment.[25]

In Germany, in the one-on-one interviews after the film, each case pupil was asked to dictate the plot of the film to the respective researcher, and afterwards to write the story down by themselves. By letting the pupils dictate the first version in contrast to re-tell it orally, a direct comparison with the second version of Test 1, also a dictation of the film plot, becomes possible, in the course of which the temporal linguistic development of the pupil can be determined with regard to orate and literate structures.

In Turkey, the case pupils were not asked to dictate but to narrate the plot of the film to the researcher, and afterwards to write the story down by themselves. In consequence, it is not possible to relate the first version directly to the dictated version of the first test, but to the first, oral version of the first test. Out of the twelve case pupils, the written text of one, REH$^{\male BIL}$, is not accessible for an orthographical analysis (see the respective case pupil profile). A further pupil, MEL$^{\female MON}$, did not write at all but dictated her text to the researcher. A third case pupil, HAV$^{\female MON}$, did not participate because she was absent from school for the largest part of the time (see the respective case pupil profile).

Neither in Germany nor in Turkey were the pupils explicitly told to keep in mind that the written (resp. dictated) text would be read by another, not present person, and, as mentioned above, without this particular incentive, the literate maximum of a text can probably not be reached and is likely to remain at least partly contextualised.

In Germany, during the conduction of this test, in two cases the researcher extremely influenced the pupil's output by giving too much support, like hints on the story's plot, assistance in the choice of words, and offering correct grammatical and orthographical forms. These tests were not entirely excluded from the final evaluation, but only the clearly distorted parts that could easily be identified by means of the transcripts were taken out of consideration.

In both countries, the test was repeated with the bilingual speakers – at the end of May in Germany, and in the beginning of June in Turkey. For the first version of the test, the pupils were told to re-narrate the plot of the film instead of dictating it to the researcher first.

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[25] See Appendix A2 (5) for an example from Germany, and (6) for an example from Turkey.

Again, the research assistants were native speakers and spoke with the pupils exclusively in their first language.

In Germany, this resulted in five tests in Turkish and one in the Gheg dialect of Albanian. Unlike with the German execution of this test (and similar to the setting in Turkey), pupils were told to immediately re-narrate the plot of the film instead of dictating it to the researcher first. Again, the research assistants were native speakers and spoke with the pupils exclusively in their first language.[26]

When the German bilingual speakers carried out this test in their first language, some difficulties occurred. As the pupils were not as used to writing in their L1 as they were to writing in German, one pupil absolutely denied to write in Turkish, and a second one persuaded the research assistant to take turns with her in writing. The respective text product therefore consists of one line written by the pupil herself and one dictated by her to the research assistant alternately. Although the lines written by the research assistant cannot be used for orthography analysis, they are still fruitful for the analysis of orate and literate structures. In another case, the research assistant did not record the oral narration of the film plot but only the pupil's comments while she was writing the story down. Here, the research assistant also gave too much support to this pupil, especially in terms of orthography. The same pupil was invited to perform this test a second time one week later, with the pupil first re-narrating the plot of the film and then asked to dictate it instead of writing it down, which was not according to test design; however, the pupil was very eager to write the story again by herself later. Of course, the results of this test are in no way comparable to the ones of the other German bilingual pupils; particularly the effect of practice should not be underestimated. Since the result was generated under completely different conditions, it was considered in the analysis with a different status.

In Turkey, the test in the first language Kurmanjî could not be carried out in the school, but the pupils were tested at the beginning of June in a location outside of but near to the school. This led to organisational problems since a specific permission had to be obtained from the parents. When asking for this permission, it was stated that the pupils were invited to a language competence test, without specifying the language at issue because due to the socio-political conditions in Turkey, it was expected that the parents might not have given permission if they had been told that their children were going to be tested in their first language. Except for one (REH$^{\male\text{BIL}}$), all parents agreed. The tests were carried out on two subsequent days; each day, three case pupils were tested. Always one pupil at a time was tested by two researchers with Kurmanjî as their native language. One of the researchers belonged to the permanent staff of the project, and for some of the pupils it was irritating to speak in Kurmanjî to somebody they had up till then only communicated in Turkish with even though this researcher had already communicated to the pupils that he spoke Kurmanjî. The pupils responded in very different ways to the task asked of them in the Kurmanjî test, as will be discussed in more detail in the case pupil profiles, and which, in our eyes, also bears relevance for the comparison between Turkey and Germany. One pupil (EME$^{\female\text{BIL}}$) more or less refused to speak or write in Kurmanjî, but she had not the slightest

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[26] See Appendix A2 (7) for an example from Germany.

problems understanding what was asked of her to do (in Kurmanjî). ÖYK$^{♀BIL}$ and DAM$^{♀BIL}$ had difficulties at first in coping with the specific linguistic situation, but while ÖYK$^{♀BIL}$ refused to write a text, but dictated it (in Kurmanjî), DAM$^{♀BIL}$ immediately responded positively to the writing task. Also TUR$^{♂BIL}$ asked to write in Turkish first, but agreed to write in Kurmanjî when his request was denied. Only POY$^{♂BIL}$ did not show any discomfort in communicating and writing in Kurmanjî in the test situation.

After the pupil completed the L1 task, she/ he was sent to another room where he/ she was taught a children's song in English with other pupils who had finished the L1 task. All pupils cooperated in this second activity with amusement.

2.1.1.2 Orthography tests

Since the acquisition of basic orthography rules is one of the central issues of lessons in the first grade, it was essential to conduct tests solely aimed at orthography in order to clarify what rules had already been acquired and which orthographic subfields still posed problems. In contrast to freely written text products (like the one produced in LAS Test 2 or the texts written in the lessons that were also analysed with regard to orthography), the tests created especially for examining orthography principally allow for concentrating on orthography-related questions only, with all relevant categories being covered, and the data produced by the pupils being absolutely comparable.

In Germany, in order to analyse the knowledge of orthographic rules, the following tests were conducted: *HamburgerSchreibprobe* (Hamburg Writing Test), a pseudoword test, and three picture-word-tests.

In Turkey, a pseudoword test was developed by the research team and conducted to gather further information about the case pupils' knowledge of orthographic rules.

No additional orthography tests were carried out in the first language of the bilingual speakers in Turkey and Germany. In order to evaluate their orthographic knowledge in their L1, only the written text of the LAS Test 2 was taken into account.

2.1.1.2.1 Hamburger Schreibprobe *(Germany)*

The *HamburgerSchreibprobe* (HSP) is a test especially developed for examining the knowledge of orthographic structures in general and the implementation of different orthographic strategies. Since this test is regularly applied in schools nationwide, a classification of the case pupils' results with regard to the performance of other pupils throughout Germany was additionally possible. In order to ascertain this comparability, the HSP was evaluated according to the analysis method determined by the test designers; an analysis focusing on parameters set by the LAS researchers was carried out supplementary.

The HSP was conducted with the whole class at the end of April with the assistance of the teacher. It took approximately eight minutes. Each pupil received the HSP booklet where eight different items are depicted. On an additional page, a picture is supposed to illustrate a sentence.[27]

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[27] See Appendix A2 (8) for an example from Germany.

At the beginning of the test, the teacher named the depicted items without using an orthography-oriented pronunciation (*Pilotsprache*), but speaking slowly and with enunciation. As opposed to the test instruction, she read the sentence twice immediately after naming the items instead of waiting until each pupil had finished this first part of the test. This way, many pupils forgot the exact wording of the sentence they were supposed to write when they reached the second part of the test. The teacher read the sentence with distinct pausing after each word and also dictated the full stop. This mode of instruction of course manipulated the pupils' output particularly in terms of identification of word boundaries and sentence marking.

For these reasons, the second part of the HSP had to be repeated three weeks later again with the entire class, taking circa three minutes. This time, the teacher first read the entire sentence and then dictated it word per word to the pupils without dictating the full stop at the end. Although by means of this test repetition it was ascertained that every pupil referred to exactly the same input, the category of word boundary recognition still could not be evaluated, which is a limitation of the test itself.

2.1.1.2.2 Pseudoword test (Germany)

An additional pseudoword test was specially designed by the LAS researchers in Germany in order to make sure that the tested orthographic rules were indeed consciously applied on the written words. By using words that are unknown to the pupil and thus not stored in the lexicon, it is possible to certify that the word's spelling is not simply recalled from memory, but has to be deducted from applying the learned orthographic rules on unknown forms.

The pseudoword test was carried out immediately after the HSP test also with the entire class participating. It was conducted by a LAS researcher and took approximately ten minutes, consisting of twelve single words and one sentence. The researcher first read the single words one by one, waiting after each word till all pupils finished writing, and repeating words in cases of mishearing. The pseudoword sentence was read out completely once and then dictated word per word.[28]

The pseudowords were designed according to the phonological and morphological structure of German words and supposed to retrieve the knowledge of certain orthographic rules, but also the comprehension of morphological markers that have a major effect on upper and lower case marking.

During the conduction of this test, it was temporarily not possible to guarantee ideal testing conditions. As the pseudowords were new to the pupils, an entirely quiet surrounding would have been helpful to understand the researcher's exact pronunciation, but being confronted with such an unfamiliar assignment type in a classroom situation, the pupils partially got quite excited and could possibly not concentrate on the given words and/ or were not able to hear them correctly in the partly noisy setting.

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[28] See Appendix A2 (9) for an example from Germany.

2.1.1.2.3 Picture-word-test (Germany)

The picture-word-test (PWT) is a test that was specially designed by Norbert Sommer-Stumpenhorst, the creator of the teaching method used in class; the teacher conducted such tests as part of her own teaching evaluation independent of LAS research. This data was used by the researchers to gain additional insights on the pupils' orthographic knowledge.[29]

In the PWT, the pupils write the names of 29 depicted items that the teacher names beforehand by using explicit, but not orthography-oriented pronunciation. The pupils are not allowed to use their initial sound ruler (see II.3.2.1.3) during the test. Since the researchers were not present during the conduction of these tests, no further information is available with regard to the actual testing conditions.

The PWT was carried out at three different points in the course of the school year, always with the same 29 items depicted. The first run was accomplished at the end of September/ beginning of October, the second at the beginning of January, and the last one at the beginning of April. Every time, the whole class was tested.

Although the test designer suggests a certain method especially with regard to sound-letter-correlation to analyse this test, for LAS purposes, the pupils' results were evaluated according to parameters set by the project researchers.

2.1.1.2.4 Pseudoword test (Turkey)

A pseudoword test was specially designed by the LAS researchers in Turkey in order to understand the degree of phonological and orthographical awareness of the first-graders. The phonological and morphophonological rules of Turkish as well as the graphemes and the syllable types that pupils had learned in the lessons were taken into account when creating the pseudowords used in the test. By using words that are unknown to the pupils and thus not stored in the lexicon, it was possible to certify that the word's spelling was not simply recalled from memory, but deducted from applying the learned orthographic rules on unknown forms.[30]

The test was carried out in March with all first-grade case pupils. One LAS researcher worked with case pupils one by one in the guidance teacher's room. The room provided a quiet setting where the pupil was able to hear the researcher's pronunciation. There were 43 items in total (i.e., 36 single words and 7 sentences) in the test. In the subsequent analysis, however, only those 30 forms were used to which the majority of the pupils responded. The researcher read each pseudoword one time, waited for several seconds, and then repeated the word again. If the pupil hesitated or asked the researcher to repeat it, the researcher repeated the pseudoword for a few more times. All case pupils cooperated with enthusiasm and tried to do their best.

2.1.2 Tests in the 7th grade

In the seventh grade, special tests were conducted in order to elicit orate and literate structures. In the first test, the pupils watched a film that stimulated an oral personal

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[29] See Appendix A2 (10) for an example from Germany.
[30] See Appendix A2 (11) for an example from Turkey.

narration and then wrote it down. In the second test, they edited their own text written in the first test. The third assignment was to write an instruction on how to use a mobile phone. No particular tests examining orthography were conducted in the seventh grade; thus, the orthography analysis was based on the text products created in the LAS tests and during the core lessons; in addition, in Germany, also three regular class tests were used for orthography analysis.

2.1.2.1 Orate/ literate structures tests

For the elicitation of orate and literate structures, the pupils were to narrate a story first and then asked to write it down. Analysing the differences between these two versions, one gains the best impression of the respective pupil's knowledge and awareness of register differences.

A film created by the project team coordinated by Ruth Berman for the "Spencer Project on Developing Literacy across Genres, Modalities and Languages" (see Berman & Verhoeven 2002) was chosen as the input for the first run of the tests for similar reasons as in the first grade. This three-minute film consists of several wordless video clips depicting segments of different conflict situations (moral, social, or physical) in a school setting. The video clips illustrate only the conflict itself without its resolution, and this circumstance is supposed to evoke the pupils' own narration on a similar situation, assumingly preventing them from simply re-narrating the plot. By asking the pupils to revise their own texts in the second run of the test, an increase of literate structures was to be evoked.

In addition to the first two tests where texts of the narrative genre were elicited, the knowledge of register differences and the use of literate structures were ascertained by reference to another text genre: instruction. To that end, the pupils were assigned to describe the use of a mobile phone, a device that they could be expected to be genuinely familiar with.

In Germany, all three tests were conducted in German as well as in the first language of the German bilingual speakers.

In Turkey, all three tests were conducted in Turkish. At the end of the school year, the first test design was repeated in Kurmanjî, the L1 of the Turkish bilingual speakers. The test was not carried out in the school, however, but in a location nearby.

2.1.2.1.1 Test 1 (Germany and Turkey)

In Germany, the first test was carried out at the end of October with the whole class; in **Turkey**, it was carried out at roughly the same time, but only with the case pupils.

In both contexts, before watching the film, the pupils got the instruction to consider it carefully in order to choose a particular scene afterwards that reminded them of a similar situation, and to narrate this personal incident to the respective researcher subsequently. **In Germany**, the pupils saw the film in groups of two in a separate room and afterwards individually narrated the personal incident they were reminded of by watching the film to the respective LAS researcher in a one-on-one interview. **In Turkey**, the pupils watched

the film one by one in the guidance teacher's room and were afterwards asked to carry out the same task as in Germany.

The narration was audio-taped, with the researchers not allowed to insert questions except for cases when the pupil produced a re-narration of the film plot or the like.[31]

Having told the personal incident, the pupil was asked to write the same story down with the help of the audiotape if required. This written text was additionally used for orthography analysis.[32]

In Turkey, all pupils narrated a personal story triggered by a particular film scene, some of them, e.g. DIL$^{\female}$MON, also commented on some of the scenes. Generally, the task was interpreted as "narrating a bad experience". **In Germany**, not all tested pupils narrated a personal situation similar to one seen in the film. This might be due to the fact that the teacher prepared the pupils for the test in class against the researchers' instructions, apparently with the (mistaken) information that the task would be to answer questions on a previously watched film, to formulate arguments on the depicted conflicts, and to write down an opinion. Since many pupils did not narrate a story despite of the researchers' instructions, one might assume that they were sustainably misguided by the teacher's previous announcement so that often, approving or disapproving comments on the protagonists' behaviour were uttered. Moreover, some conflict situations shown in the film are quite delicate, e.g. being shut-off by a group of peers, or cheating in an exam, which might have limited the pupils' willingness to narrate a similar personal experience to a complete stranger despite the fact that they were repeatedly told that their texts would not be shown to the teacher or their classmates. Therefore, instead of producing a narration of a personal character, some pupils simply re-narrated a film scene.

In both the German and the Turkish context, the pupils were not obliged to use the recordings of their narration for their written texts, but most of them took the opportunity to listen to the complete recording at least once before they wrote down their story, whereas none of them transformed the orally recorded version into the written version sentence per sentence. Only in one case in Germany, the researcher insisted on a pupil using the recording by pressing the play and pause buttons himself after each utterance. Since this method basically resulted in a transcription of the oral recording, this pupil's text product was dealt with tentatively as far as the analysis of orate and literate structures was concerned.

In Germany, the same test was carried out with the 14 German bilingual speakers in their first languages in mid-December. The research assistants who conducted this tests were native speakers of Turkish, Kurmanjî, or Russian respectively, with the same test conditions as in the previous test in German.[33]

In Turkey, the same test was carried out with seven Turkish bilingual speakers in their first language Kurmanjî at the beginning of June. As with the first-graders, the Kurmanjî test

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[31] See Appendix A2 (12) for an example from Germany, and (13) for an example from Turkey.
[32] See Appendix A2 (14) for an example from Germany, and (15) for an example from Turkey.
[33] See Appendix A2 (16) for an example from Germany.

could not be carried out in the school, but the pupils were tested at a nearby location. When asking for the permission from the parents for the pupils to come, it was stated that the pupils were invited to a language competence test, without specifying the language at issue. All parents agreed. The tests were carried out on one particular afternoon after school. One pupil at a time was tested by two researchers with Kurmanjî as their native language. The seventh-graders responded to the test with much less discomfort than the first-graders (see above).[34] The English test was carried out in a separate room after the respective pupil was done with the actual L1 test. In the English test, pupils one by one were asked to write a different text in English, in which they readily cooperated.

2.1.2.1.2 Test 2 (Germany and Turkey)

Being able to decontextualise a text from the situation where it was produced and making it accessible for third parties are two of the major aspects of literacy. Thus, in order to ensure the requirement of decontextualisation, a second test was designed to that end. In this test, the pupils were given back their own texts from Test 1, but typed and corrected by the researchers with regard to orthography, punctuation, and grammatical and syntactic errors. The objective of editing the pupils' text products in this manner was to ensure that in their revision, the pupils would place special emphasis on the decontextualisation, i.e. the literate function of the text, instead of focusing on error sources as mentioned above. Error types like colloquial expressions, discourse particles, hedges, lexis, mistakes with regard to logic and reference as well as tense use remained unchanged as they are subject to register differences. Both in Turkey as well as in Germany, the pupils were told to revise their texts so that they would be suitable to be published in a school magazine read by other pupils who did not see the film and do not know what the writing assignment was.[35] **In Germany**, this test was again conducted with the entire class in the beginning of March; in Turkey, it was only carried out with the case pupils because also the previous test was.

By explicitly calling attention to the fact that the edited text should be understandable for others, the test aimed at the maximisation of literate structures especially in terms of decontextualisation. This aim, however, was not reached with most of the pupils. **In Germany**, instead of modifying their texts with regard to literate structures, most of the pupils rather wrote a continuation of the story they described in Test 1, or added a personal opinion. The new texts produced in this test were not used for orthography analysis. Here, the editing test was also conducted with all German bilingual speakers in their first language on the same day under similar conditions. **In Turkey**, four pupils wrote a completely new text, six added text – only one within the text, the other five added text at the end, one merely copied the text and another one did not to do anything. The new texts in Turkey were used also for the orthographical analysis.

2.1.2.1.3 Test 3 (Germany and Turkey)

A third test on orate and literate structures was designed in order to determine the influence of different text genres on the pupils' performance. Since the first two tests treated the

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[34] See Appendix A2 (17) for an example from Turkey.
[35] See Appendix A2 (18) for an example from Germany, and (19) for an example from Turkey.

narrative genre, the pupils were to compose a descriptive/ instructive text in the third test, namely a description of a mobile phone as well as an instruction on how to use it in order to make a phone call and to send an SMS. The choice of this task was based on the consideration that the same test would be applied not only in several languages, but also in two countries, assuming that pupils in both Germany and Turkey are comparably familiar with a mobile phone as opposed to, for example, a particular game or tool.

In Germany, the test was conducted at the beginning of April with the whole class; the three subtasks of the assignment were written on the blackboard. The pupils were told to answer these questions by imagining that they had to explain the mobile's functions to someone who never saw or used a mobile phone before, and they were instructed to draw a picture of a mobile under their text in order to illustrate the details they were referring to in the text. For this purpose, the pupils were allowed to take out their own mobile or received one from the investigators when they had not brought one themselves.[36]

The test was carried out in Turkish with all German bilingual speakers one week later on the same conditions.

In Turkey, the test was conducted at the end of May only with the case pupils. They were taken into an empty room to carry out the task. The instructions were the same as in Germany. The only difference was that since the students were not allowed to bring mobile phones to the school, the researchers did not mention the opportunity to have an actual mobile phone in front of them while writing the text.

2.1.3 Class tests (Germany)

Additionally to the texts produced in Tests 1 and 3 and during the core lessons, in Germany, three class tests were used to examine the knowledge of orthographic rules. Supplementary orthography tests were not conducted in the seventh grade because for one, the acquisition of basic orthography rules is supposed to be accomplished by the end of grade six according to the curriculum, which means that orthography is no longer being generally practised from grade seven on when only certain rules are rather randomly repeated. The application of these rules can be perfectly observed on the basis of class tests since here, the pupils not only have to concentrate on the contents of their compositions, but also on the spelling that is always included in the grading. Moreover, the significantly greater extent of the texts produced during the class tests (as compared to the amount of words written in the LAS tests or in the core lessons) allows for a more reliable insight into the pupils' knowledge of orthographic and punctuation rules.[37]

The class tests considered in LAS analysis were written at the end of October, at the beginning of February and at the beginning of May. While the second class test bridges the gap between the text products elicited during LAS Test 1 (end of October) and LAS Test 3 (beginning of April), facilitating the documentation and reconstruction of a possible orthography development, the first and the third class tests more or less coincide with LAS tests or with text products from the core lessons in the time of the survey. This fact allows

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[36] See Appendix A2 (20) for an example from Germany, and (21) for an example from Turkey.
[37] See Appendix A2 (22) for an example from Germany.

for a direct comparison of the pupils' achievements with regard to different elicitation situations that might have influenced the output in terms of pressure to perform, with an assumingly greater willingness to concentrate or to make an effort in class tests than on other occasions. While all case pupils were present for the first class test, two of them did not participate in the second one, and one was missing for the third one.

Content-wise, the first class test was to write a dialogue dealing with the prohibition of mobile phones in schools with arguments for and against such a regulation. In the second class test, the pupils had to write a play in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and some pupils including stage directions. The third class test comprised two assignments, the summary of a book chapter and its interpretation with regard to the protagonists' behaviour.

2.1.4. First-graders' notebooks (Turkey)

In conjunction with the linguistic tests, in Turkey, also the 1st-graders' case pupils' notebooks were analyzed in order to gain a deeper understanding about the process of learning development for each case pupil. One of the researchers in the Turkish group went through the pages of all the case pupils' notebooks collected and created an observation log of what case pupils had written. Observation logs for each case pupil's notebooks were entered into an excel spreadsheet. This excel sheet functioned as a flat database to demonstrate similarities and differences in the notebooks in comparison with one another.

2.2 Analysis of linguistic tests

2.2.1 Analysis of orate and literate structures in German, Turkish and Kurmanjî

Preliminary remarks on the analysis of German

In general, an analysis of orate and literate structures is based on complexity on the one hand, and on the notion of register difference and decontextualisation on the other hand, and the pupils' knowledge of these concepts was assumed to be proven best by means of transformation of a spoken text into a written one. An orally uttered text is always constrained by the limitations of online production as well as by cognitive and respiratory processing so that the transported information is automatically being divided into several units. In a written text, however, the information can be presented in a much denser way because of the possibility of pre-structuring and organisation, which allows the creation of more complex syntactic structures. Similarly, an awareness of register differences is also supposed to be best illustrated by the contrast of a spoken and a written version. Since during the spoken version, the recipient of the information is present, known to the speaker, and familiar with the situation, the information can be conveyed in a highly contextualised way, and the speaker can remain vague and unassertive with regard to certain factors without causing any confusion on behalf of the hearer because both can access the same situational information. Additionally, the hearer constantly gives feedback on his processing of the information, verbally or by means of gestures etc. In case the hearer would signal that he is not able to follow, the speaker would have the possibility to revise his way of presenting the information and to thus ascertain the common state of knowledge. These factors are, of course, all absent when writing a text. Since the potential reader of the text is unknown to the writer, a maximum of decontextualisation needs to be guaranteed for

only this way, a reader who is not familiar with the origination context of the written product will be able to follow. By using a more literate register when writing a text, the access to it is facilitated for a larger circle, which is the main objective of a written text as such.

In order to determine the literate competences of each case pupil and to ensure the comparability of the data, every text (oral and written, first- and seventh-graders) was analysed based on exactly the same criteria that reflect the notions of complexity, decontextualisation, and register differences as described above. These criteria can be subdivided into five basic linguistic branches: complements, pragmatics/ discourse, predicates, syntax, and semantics. For these five areas, features of the analysed unit (see below) were determined and classified as orate, unmarked, +literate, or ++literate. These classifications were summarised for each category and represented in a chart, making a comparison of different texts accessible.

Preliminary remarks on the analysis of Turkish

While there is a considerable amount of research on the linguistic structures of colloquial spoken German, research on Turkish in this linguistic area is still not that advanced and conclusive. Thus, information on the grammar of spoken language is limited; we therefore base our descriptions of the Turkish language structures mainly on Göksel & Kerslake (2005), compound grammar of Turkish also accounting for structures of spoken language.

The list of criteria for the analysis of Turkish (containing pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and genre-specific criteria) was also subdivided into five basic linguistic categories: complements, TAM-marking, syntax, connection and function. For these five areas, features of the analysed information unit were determined and classified as orate, unmarked, +literate, or ++literate. These classifications were summarised for each category and represented in a chart, providing a comparison of different texts of all pupils.

Although the categories mentioned above for German were taken as valid for Turkish, too, in some categories differing structures were included, thereby making some language-specific adaptations that will be commented on separately in the below sections.

Preliminary remarks on the analysis of Kurmanjî

As it is the case for Turkish to some extent, descriptions and assessments of Kurmanjî test results are complicated by the fact that detailed investigations on Kurmanjî-Kurdish are missing, including investigations on spoken varieties and on practices of writing, which are virtually non-existent. The classifications of linguistic structures used to develop the criteria of analysis in the present study are mostly based on Aygen (2007), Haig (2008) and Bedir-Xan (1998).

Given the language background of the bilingual case pupils who are acquiring the language only via oral interaction in their families, the fact that more formal and elaborate forms are missing seems only understandable. Consequently, the most expectable outcome of the tests in Kurmanjî is the nearly not existent difference between orate and literate structures.

The limited language practice in Kurmanjî and the dominance of Turkish in everyday interactions outside the family makes transfer from Turkish and/ or creative solutions based on Turkish morphological principles expectable. Consequently, the description of the relevant features of Kurmanjî must also contain contrastive viewpoints, which until now have not been an issue in linguistic studies on Turkish.

Hence, the criteria established for the analysis has to be motivated by the language skills the bilingual case pupils display in Kurmanjî and to focus on a more descriptive methodology. Consequently, the outcome of the analysis has to be understood as highly preliminary and individual case-based.

Because of the given unique language practices, the description will have to answer the question of how the structures the children are using in Kurmanjî relate to Turkish. Clearly the children compensate their Kurmanjî language use with their Turkish ressources in order to accomplish tasks like the experiment situation, in particular in those areas where Kurmanjî morphological and syntactic rules are different from Turkish. Therefore, typological differences between the languages are especially accounted for in the development of analytical criteria and in the evaluation of linguistic structures on the orate/ literate continuum in the areas of analysis. These considerations will be commented on below within the specific area of analysis.

The basic unit of analysis in German

The basic unit of analysis varied depending on the medium of the text: A spoken text was first divided into intonation units. The prosodic segmentation in intonation units was carried out by analysing phonetic indicators for intonation unit boundaries suggested by Chafe (1987): re-adjustment of the fundamental frequency, pauses, and anacrustic entry at the beginning of an intonation unit in contrast to a tendency towards an elongation of the last syllable of an intonation unit. These intonation units were further merged into syntactic units of clauses. Of course, the boundaries of an intonation unit frequently do not coincide with the clause boundaries; in fact, this phenomenon is a characteristic of spoken language that will be further discussed below. The units of clauses were additionally categorised according to sentences. The analysis of written texts was based on the initial classification into syntactic clauses, ensued by the category of sentence. These different segmentation units, prosodic and syntactic, were the basic elements to which the criteria for analysis of orate and literate structures mentioned above were adapted. These criteria, and especially their subdivision into several branches, will be further described in the upcoming sections.

The basic unit of analysis in Turkish and Kurmanjî

In contrast to the analysis for German, in the analysis for Turkish and Kurmanjî, the basic unit of analysis was not defined depending on the medium of the text. Instead, the same unit based on information delivery was used for both oral and written texts. Such an information unit is, of course, in spoken language signalled as a cohesive whole through intonation, variable in syntactic complexity, formed by a single element, a nominal phrase or a syntactically complete unit with a finite verb and its obligatory components.

Since incomplete units were oral on every occasion, there was no need to differentiate between intonation units and complete sentences. Consequently, syntactically not complete information units were in oral and in written texts classified as orate, while complete units, for instance, short units with only a finite verb bearing the required tense/ aspect and, numeral suffixes in Turkish, were regarded as neutral in oral as well as in written texts. This approach made it more plausible to use the same orate/ literate scale for all text products.

Similarly, also for Kurmanjî, the same unit, matrix clause with a finite verb component, was defined to be the basic unit for analysis, and not an intonation unit. Such a matrix clause was regarded as neutral in both contexts of information delivery. Incomplete units, information units, which were syntactically incomplete, were anyway mostly produced in reaction on questions and requests for clarifications in the face-to-face interaction in the course of the oral narrations. However, such incomplete units do also occur in written language in both languages, Turkish and Kurmanjî. In those cases, the unit still was functional within the whole text and a part of the information structuring. Even when incomplete in grammatical sense, those units still convey decisive information.

2.2.1.1 Analysis of orate and literate structures: structure of complements

Complements forms in German

The first domain that was analysed with regard to orate and literate structures were the complements. As a first step, the form of the complement was considered and evaluated especially concerning its complexity. The simply structured complements like the demonstrative pronouns *der* 'he' or *die* 'she', the indefinite pronouns *jemand* 'someone', *man* 'one' or *nichts* 'nothing', the reflexive pronouns *sich* 'himself' or *mich* 'myself', the non-referential *es* 'it', as well as the 1st and 2nd person pronouns *ich* 'I', *du* 'you, SG', *wir* 'we' and *ihr* 'you, PL' were rated as unmarked. Full lexical nominal phrases like *die Frau* 'the woman' and prepositional phrases containing a full lexical nominal phrase like *in der Schule* 'in school' were rated as +literate. Of course, a simple nominal phrase like *die Frau* is cognitively not more difficultly to produce in terms of complexity than the pronouns (in spite of the required agreement between the determiner and the noun). However, a full lexical nominal phrase is more decontextualised and precise than a demonstrative or personal pronoun it could be replaced by. A compound noun like *Schulhof* 'school yard' was not rated more complex than a simple full lexical nominal phrase since its complexity is based on derivational and not syntactic processes. The 3rd person singular and plural pronouns *er* 'he', *sie* 'she', and *sie* 'they' were classified as +literate in contrast to the other personal pronouns. Here, especially the normative parameters set in school play an important part: While using the demonstrative pronouns *der* or *die* when referring to an entity in the 3rd person singular is entirely adequate in an oral text, these forms are absolutely not accepted in the written language and have to be replaced by *er* or *sie*. Certainly, the personal pronouns are neither more decontextualised nor are they of a more complex syntactic structure. Nevertheless, using the 3rd person pronouns instead of the demonstrative pronouns, a pupil shows an awareness of different registers and knowledge of existing standards.

Nominalisations of verbs like *das Laufen* 'the running' from *laufen* 'to run' were rated as +literate. Though such nominalisations enable a compression of information that would otherwise be expressed by a separate verbal clause, they formally are equivalent to full lexical nominal phrases:

(1)   a.   *PUP: es ist verboten, **einen Hund mitzunehmen**
           %mor: PRO|it&3SG&N COP|be&PRS&3SG PTCP2|forbidden
                   DET:INDF|a&ACC&SG&M N|dog&SG&M
                   PTL:V|with~PTL:INF|to~V|take-INF
           %eng: it is forbidden to take a dog with you

           vs.

   b.   *PUP: **das Mitnehmen eines Hundes** ist verboten
           %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&N V:NMLZ|take_along&SG&N
                   DET:INDF|a&GEN&SG&M N|dog&GEN&SG&M COP|be&PRS&3SG
                   PTCP2|forbidden
           %eng: the entrainment of a dog is forbidden

The subordinate clause with a non-finite predicate (marked in bold in (1.a.)) is transformed into one single nominal phrase by means of nominalisation in (1.b.), which evokes a density of information within this clause. However, the sole nominalised form *Das Mitnehmen* 'The entrainment' is formally a lexical noun and was therefore rated as +literate only. On the other hand, complex nominal phrases, e.g. caused by nominalisation of a verb as in (1), were counted as ++literate.

The following types of nominal phrase extensions were classified as complex: extension by an adjective (2.a.), a prepositional phrase (2.b.), a relative clause (2.c.), or by an adjunct in the genitive case (2.d.). Consider the following examples for illustration:

(2)   a.   *PUP: ein einfallsreiches Geschenk
           %mor: DET:INDF|a&SG&N ADJ|inventive-SG&N N|present&SG&N
           %eng: an inventive present
   b.   *PUP: ein Geschenk mit einer Schleife
           %mor: DET:INDF|a&SG&N N|present PREP|with DET:INDF|a&DAT&SG&F
                 N|ribbon&SG&F
           %eng: a present with a ribbon
   c.   *PUP: ein Geschenk, das ich dir gekauft habe
           %mor: DET:INDF|a&SG&N N|present&SG&N PRO:REL|that&SG&N
                 PRO|I&1SG PRO|you&2SG&DAT PTCP|buy V:AUX|have-PRS&1SG
           %eng: the present that I bought for you
   d.   *PUP: ein Geschenk der Familie
           %mor: DET:INDF|a&SG&N N|present&SG&N DET:DEF|the&GEN&SG&F
                 N|family&SG&F
           %eng: a present of the family

Additionally, it should be mentioned that in case of extension by an adjective, only lexical adjectives were counted. If the extension was made by a numeral adjective like in *ein anderes Mädchen* 'another girl' or by a formulaic expression as in *das grüne Gras* 'the green grass', the nominal phrase was rated as +literate only because these extensions are more than common and stored in the memory as such. Furthermore, every occurrence of the genitive case was classified as ++literate, occasionally generating multi-complex nominal phrases as in (1.b.) or (2.d.) As the genitive case is almost always replaced by the dative case in writing, but especially in speech, it is clearly a sign of a different register use:

(3)   a.   *PUP: wegen **des Regens**

%mor: PREP|because_of DET:DEF|the&GEN&SG&M N|rain-GEN&SG&M
%eng: because of the rain

vs.

*PUP: wegen **dem Regen**
%mor: PREP|because_of DET:DEF|the&DAT&SG&M N|rain&SG&M
%eng: because of the rain

b. *PUP: das Auto **der Mutter**
%mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&N N|car&SG&N DET:DEF|the&GEN&SG&F
       N|mother&SG&F
%eng: the mother's car

vs.

*PUP: das Auto **von der Mutter**
%mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&N N|car&SG&N PREP|of
       DET:DEF|the&DAT&SG&F N|mother&SG&F
%eng: the car of the mother

Another case phenomenon can be found especially in the Ruhr area: The dative case is often substituted by the accusative case in the spoken language. In writing, this case use is of course not acceptable due to normative parameters and thus a matter of register variation:

(4) a. *PUP: mit **den Füßen**
%mor: PREP|with DET:DEF|the&DAT&PL N|foot-DAT&PL
%eng: with the feet

vs.

*PUP: mit **die Füße** (Ruhr area)
%mor: PREP|with DET:DEF|the&ACC&PL N|foot&ACC&PL
%eng: with the feet

b. *PUP: gib **mir** das Buch!
%mor: V|give&IMP PRO|I&1SG&DAT DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&N
       N|book&SG&N
%eng: give me the book!

vs.

*PUP: gib **mich** das Buch! (Ruhr area)
%mor: V|give&IMP PRO|I&1SG&ACC DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&N
       N|book&SG&N
%eng: give me the book!

Mistakes with regard to the complement's form (gender, number, case, wrong plural form) were also marked but not counted in the analysis of orate and literate structures.

All referential complements were further analysed concerning the mode of their introduction in the text. The introduction of a new referent in a spoken text is carried out differently than in a written text, especially in the context of LAS tests. In speaking, the pupil could refer to the film's protagonists by using definite marking of the complement since the interviewer was also present during the film screening and thus familiar with the situation so that both the pupil and the interviewer knew who the definitely introduced complement referred to. In writing, the pupil had to decontextualise from this situation and make the information easily accessible for every potential reader. This means that every referential complement had to be marked as previously unknown to the reader, which is accomplished by indefinite marking:

(5)   *PUP: **die Frau** hat **den Brief** verloren
%mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|lose
%eng: the woman lost the letter

vs.

*PUP: **eine Frau** hat **einen Brief** verloren
%mor: DET:INDF|a&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
DET:INDF|a&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|lose
%eng: a woman lost a letter

In the example above, the two referents *Frau* 'woman' and *Brief* 'letter' are introduced in connection with the definite determiners *die*/ *den* 'the' in the first sentence. This way of referent introduction was acceptable in the interview situation since the pupil's counterpart exactly knew that the pupil saw a film beforehand where a woman with a letter was depicted. In the written version, this introduction was not possible because the reader would not be aware of the film context. Therefore, the referents had to be marked as indefinite like in the second sentence in (5). However, a definite introduction of a referent is not necessarily incorrect, even in writing:

(6)   *PUP: ein Mann und **sein Hund**
%mor: DET:INDF|a&SG&M N|man&SG&M CONJ:COORD|and
DET:POSS|his&SG&M N|dog&SG&M
%eng: a man and his dog

The nominal phrase *Hund* 'dog' is marked as definite by the possessive pronoun *sein* 'his'. Still, this introduction is correct because the pronoun creates a connection to the previously correctly introduced nominal phrase *ein Mann* 'a man'. Hence, though the referent *Hund* 'dog' is definitely marked, this marking is coherent within the text. Like in (6), also other pronouns or inherently definite nominal phrases can be used in a referent introduction though definite.

Apart from its introduction, a referent needs to be explicitly marked throughout the text. The notion of explicitness can be explained as follows: After having introduced two referents like *Mann* 'man' and *Junge* 'boy', it is not possible to refer to both of them by using the personal pronoun *er* 'he' because the reference of the personal pronoun would not be precisely determinable as it can refer to both of the nominal phrases. A major task of a competent writer/ speaker is to create a coherent text by disambiguating such unclear references by, e.g., using different numeral adjectives like *der eine* 'the one' and *der andere* 'the other', or by lexical variation like *Lehrer* 'teacher' and *Schüler* 'pupil'.

Since both the correct referent introduction and the explicit referent marking are indispensable for a coherent text in speech and writing, these categories were not rated with regard to orateness and literateness, but instead taken into account with regard to global text structure and coherence.

Complements forms in Turkish

The introduction of referents with NPs and the referent structure in Turkish shows some typological language specifics which were taken into consideration, hence the orate/ literate continuum in this differs from German. Turkish belongs to the so called 'pro-drop

languages'. Reference to a subject referent is allowed to be empty, once the introduction into the discourse has taken place. This structure is therefore rather neutral in Turkish, see example (7).

```
(7)        *PUP:  ben # [/] kadın merdivenlerden iniyo(r)du .
           %mor:  PRO|I&1SG N|woman N|stair-PL-ABL V|go_down-IPFV-PST .
           %eng:  I # [/] woman was going down the stairs .
           *IV3:  hı: .
           *PUP:  bi(r) tane kağat [: kağıt] düşürdü .
           %mor:  QUANT:CARD|one CLF|piece N|paper V|fall-PST .
           %eng:  Let a piece of paper fell down .
```

In (7), the referent is introduced through the unmarked lexical NP *kadın* ('woman'). In the continuing information unit, the reference is lexically empty. The information on the previously introduced referent has to be inferred by the recipient.

One might argue that in written language, empty reference should be classified as orate, because written language has to be explicit in the conveyance of information and cannot rely on a participants' discourse knowledge. Still, also in written language empty referebce is a possible option. Therefore those kinds of referent markings on the verb were classified as neutral.

The explicit lexical NPs introducing a referent were regarded as +literate forms. This class of +literate elements does also include unmarked lexical NPs (like in the first unit in example (8.a.)), indefinite lexical NPs (like in (8.b.)), generic lexical NPs (as in (8.c.)) and POSS NPs (as illustrated in (8.d.)):

```
(8)   a.   *PUP:  Kadın merdivenlerden iniyordu.
           %mor:  N|woman N|stair-PL-ABL V|climb_down-IPFV-PST .
           %eng:  Woman was going down the stairs .
           *PUP:  adam geldi.
           %mor:  N|man V|come-PST .
           %eng:  Man came .
      b.   *PUP:  bi(r) tane kız geldi .
           %mor:DET:INDF|a CLF|piece N|girl V|come-PST .
           %eng:  One girl came .
      c.   *PUP:  tinerciler yakmıştı .
           %mor:  N|thinner-NMLZ-PL V|burn-PFV-PST .
           %eng:  Snnifer people had burned .
      d.   *PUP:  kocası gelmiş o kağadı [: kağıdı] almış .
           %mor:  N|husband-POSS&3SG V|come-PFV PRO:DEM|that N|paper-ACC
                  V|take-PFV .
           %eng:  (Her) husband came took that paper .
           *PUP:  sonra arkadaşlarım gö(&2)rdü .
           %mor:  ADV:TEMP|later N|friend-PL-POSS&1SG V|see-PST .
           %eng:  My friends saw .
```

In terms of orate/ literate, the pronominal (personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns) NPs are identical to their German counterparts and thus neutral, although the pronominal NPs co-occur with the marking of subjects on the verb and are to be seen in relation to them.

The simply structured complements like those referring to subjects only through the indefinite pronoun *bir* ('one') or through the dummy word *şey* ('thing') were counted as

orate structures. The very discourse dependent demonstrative and deictic determiners, as well as the deictic pronouns (case or possessive marked) were also counted as orate forms, like in (9) where the referent is not previously introduced:

(9)   *PUP: **öteki** de gitti .
            %mor: DET:DX|other CO|de V|go-PST .
            %eng: The other went too .

Case marked demonstrative pronouns were not analysed in terms of being correct or not, because correct case marking was regarded as an issue to be addressed on the morphological level and thus part of an explicit error analysis.

Extensions of NPs by an adjective or by a relative clause were classified as complex extensions, as in German. C.f. example (10):

(10)   *PUP: **Şehirde yaşayan çocuklar** vardı.
            %mor: N|city-LOC V|live-NMLZ:AN N|child-PL EXIST|exist-PST .
            %eng: There were those children living in the city .

Especially in the first grade, those kinds of extensions were nearly not existent. Therefore extensions of NPs were considered to be a part of syntactic complexity and thus included in the category syntax. On the other hand, complex nominal phrases, caused by nominalisation of a verb combined with the finite verb were counted as ++literate as they were in German, but also within the category syntax.

Unlike the criteria for German, the analysis of referent structure was concerned with text-external references. The reference to the video like *bitti* ('ended') made by nearly every pupil in the first grade is such an external reference, orate in either way structural and topical. Also references to the speaker and to the hearer were handled similarly as orate references. References to the reader or to the writer were considered literate text-external markings.

In sum, the analysis of complements for Turkish tried to avoid evaluating linguistic structures to the same extent as it has been done for German, because the basis for such evaluations is not given in Turkish. Consequently, the question of a referent being explicit/correct (+literate) or non-explicit/ incorrect (orate) was not judged upon and not included in the criteria.

Complements forms in Kurmanjî

Since Kurmanjî is typologically sharing more similarities with German than with Turkish, the criteria for locating elements of referent structure on the orate/ literate continuum show some identical characteristics. But for the reasons mentioned above, the criteria catalogue had to be done according to what could be expected from the children and not according to a certain language standard. Even in spoken language, such a standard is not established yet.

The main non-explicit markers of referent, demonstrative determiners in Kurmanjî distinguish between proximate and distal on the one hand and between gender and number in the oblique forms, see the following list of those forms: [38]

```
DET:DEM|
Ew kitêb              DET:DEM|that N|book
Ev kitêb              DET:DEM|this N|book
Wî kurikî             DET:DEM|that&OBL&M N|man-OBL&M
Wê kitêbê             DET:DEM|that&OBL&F N|book-OBL&F
Vî kurikî             DET:DEM|this&OBL&M N|man-OBL&SG
Vê pirtuké            DET:DEM|this&OBL&F N|book-OBL&SG
van pirtukên          DET:DEM|this&OBL&PL N|book-OBL&PL
wan pirtukên          DET:DEM|that&OBL&PL N|book-OBL&PL
```

Apart from the correct marking of case, gender and number, the deictic nature of those determiners gave the reason to rate them as orate referent markings, like in the following example (11):

```
(11)        *PUP:  Ew kağet jé ket .
            %mor:  DET:DEM|this N|sheet
                   ADP:PREP|from&RED+DET:DEM:RED|that&OBL V|drop&PST
            %eng:  That paper fell from her.
```

First mentions or introducing protagonist with personal pronouns was also rated as orate referent structuring. The sheer differentiation of those pronouns, in particular the differentiation between the personal pronouns (casus rectus) and the adnominal possessive pronouns, was observed to be very difficult for the pupils, compare the following forms:

Personal pronouns (casus rectus):

```
Ez          PRO|i&1SG
Em          PRO|we&1PL
Tu          PRO|you&2SG
Hûn         PRO|you&2PL
Ew          O|he/she/it&3SG
Ew          PRO|they&3PL
```

Adnominal possessive pronouns in the oblique case:

```
Min         PRO|i&1SG&OBL
Me          PRO|we&1PL&OBL
Te          PRO|you&2SG&OBL
We          PRO|you&2PL&OBL
Wê          PRO|she&3SG&F&OBL
Wî          PRO|he&3SG&M&OBL
Wan         PRO|they&3PL&OBL
```

Following this observation, the NPs with possessive pronouns were considered +literate. The same consideration applies to NPs with reciprocal and reflexive pronouns, similarly difficult to employ correctly by the pupils. To this class of +literate NPs with pronouns belong also the indefinite pronouns *tişt(ek)* (PRO:INDF|something) and *hemu* (PRO:INDF|all). When these pronouns were used without a lexical element to refer to referents, places and objects, they were rated as orate. Pupils oftern dropped the

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[38] See Appendix B for the Kurdish glossings.

prepositional element in those morphological units: as in _ji+vir_ (PRO:DX|from+here) and _li_ _+vir_ (PRO:DX|at+here). In cases where the prepositions _ji_ and _li_ were dropped, the elements were analysed as deictic pronouns and rated as orate structures.

Indefinite lexical NPs in Kurmanjî have to be marked with the indefinite suffix _-yek/ek/ik_, when required by context, especially in first mentions. Where the indefinite marker did not occur but was required, because the agents in the video are not known personally to the pupils, the NP was rated neutral. When the indefinite marker was used, it was rated as +literate. This handling of indefinite NPs of Kurmanjî was similar to the judgement about their correctness in first mentions, which had been made in the analysis of German text products.

When lexical NPs were unmarked they were considered neutral. Because Kurmanjî is not a pro-drop language like Turkish and the drop of a subject NP is less context based, markings on the verb as first mentions were clearly to be rated as orate referent structure, probably influenced by Turkish.

The extension of NPs in Kurmanjî involves a specific order of elements: determining elements are placed before and extending or modifying elements are placed after the noun, cf. the following example (12):

(12)   *PUP: **Jinika gözlükli** got „ne livire" .
              %spe: **Jinika bi berçavk** got ne li vir e .
              %mor: N|woman-EZF&F N:tr|eyeglassfor+PREP:tr|with V|say&PST
                     ADV:NEG|not PRO:DX|at+here COP|be &3SG
              %eng: woman wearing/ with glasses said "is not here" .

This example shows the extensions of an NP with an adjective, which is correctly placed after the nominal element, even if the adjective is a Turkish loan. Such extensions with adjectives were included in the category syntax, namely the analysis of word order, and were rated as +literate, being an indication of adequate linguistic knowledge of Kurmanjî (in this case the preposition, which is missing in the child's utterance would have to be placed before the adjective).

As it was practiced in the analysis for Turkish, also in the Kurmanjî analysis text-external references to the video, to the speaker or to the hearer were classified as orate.

2.2.1.2 Analysis of orate and literate structures: tense

Tense in German

The next category to be analysed were the predicates. This category was further subdivided into form, tense, mood, and voice. With regard to the predicate's form, it was necessary to consider if a lexically full verb (13.a.), a modal verb construction (13.b.), or a copula (13.c.) was used:

(13)   a.   *PUP: er **öffnet** das Fenster
              %mor: PRO|he&3SG&M V|open-PRS&3SG DET:DEF|the&SG&N
                     N|window&SG&N
              %eng: he opens the window
       b.   *PUP: er **will** das Fenster **öffnen**
              %mor: PRO|he&3SG&M V:MOD|want&PRS&3SG DET:DEF|the&SG&N
                     N|window&SG&N V|open-INF

%eng: he wants to open the window

c.   *PUP: er **ist** Arzt
%mor: PRO|he&3SG&M COP|be&PRS&3SG N|doctor&SG&M
%eng: he is a doctor

The copula construction used in (13.c.) can be also regarded as a semantic equation of the form *er=Arzt* 'he=doctor'. This representation thus illustrates that a copula does not add any semantic value to a clause, but is only of a functional nature because in German, every predicate needs to be expressed by a verbal form. In contrast to that, both the lexical verb in (13.a.) and the infinitive in the modal verb construction in (13.b.) add semantic content to the clause. With regard to complexity, the modal verb construction in (13.b.) is of course more complex than the simple verb in (13.a.) due to the verbal frame created by the modal verb and the infinitive, which has an impact on the word order. However, such frame constructions, though more complicated, are commonly used in both oral and in written language and thus obviously easy to process. Hence, none of these structure types were rated higher than the other with regard to literateness. Nevertheless, the analysis of the predicate's form is very fruitful when considering the different tested text genres: In a narrative like in LAS Tests 1 and 2, one would expect more full lexical verbs than in an instruction like in LAS Test 3 where mainly modal verb and copula constructions should be found.

The tense of each predicate was also listed and classified. In this category, only present (*er sagt* 'he says') and present perfect (*er hat gesagt* 'he has said') were counted as unmarked. The use of simple past (*er sagte* 'he said') prevalently indicates the formal register and was therefore rated as +literate. However, the simple past is the more common tense form for auxiliaries, modal verbs, and copulas so that in these instances, it was classified as unmarked. Despite the simple past being formally not as complex as the present perfect that forms a verbal frame, the present perfect is used more frequently and can therefore be processed without problems. The same is true for the periphrastic future (*er wird sagen* 'he will say') that can also be expressed by using the simple present in the same context. The past perfect (*er hatte gesagt* 'he had said') was also counted as +literate, but only in cases where it expressed anteriority. Being used as a substitute for present perfect forms, it was rated accordingly. The doubly marked present perfect (*er hat gesagt gehabt* 'he had said' vs. *er hat gesagt* 'he has said') that is characterised by an additional present perfect of the auxiliary is an indicator for the informal register and was therefore rated as orate.

In addition to the used tense form the tense continuity was analysed. The tense form used for narrations is usually the semantic past, expressed by either the present perfect or the simple past. Tense shift is only to be expected in case of anteriority in order to express future events, or in direct speech. Incorrect tense shift occurs when in a narration the semantic past tense is changed for present tense or vice versa. In an instruction, the prevalent tense form is the simple present; semantic past or future forms are not to be expected. Tense shift or tense continuity was not rated according to orate and literate criteria. It is rather a feature of a coherent text in both oral and written language and was therefore regarded separately.

With regard to mood, the indicative (*er geht* 'he goes') was assessed as unmarked, while the subjunctive I, both in the present tense (*er gehe* 'he would go') and in the present perfect (*er sei gegangen* 'he were gone'), was counted as +literate. The subjunctive I is being used primarily in written language and highlights indirect speech. Using this mode, the speaker dissociates from what was said and indicates that he does not report his own opinion. It is highly uncommon in spoken language and therefore a clear indicator of the formal register. The subjunctive II is used for expressing the irrealis and can be found in both spoken and written language. Here, a distinction had to be made between the subjunctive II in the simple past tense (*er ginge* 'he would go') and in the pluperfect (*er wäre gegangen* 'he would have gone'). While the use of the simple past tense form of subjunctive II is comparable to the one of the simple present of subjunctive I and was therefore also rated +literate, the subjunctive II pluperfect can be found quite often in speech when irrealis needs to be expressed and was thus classified as unmarked. Another quite common subjunctive form is the following periphrastic subjunctive II: *er würde gehen* 'he would go'. It is originally the future form of subjunctive II and frequently used to substitute the uncommon subjunctive II simple past form. Since this periphrastic form can be often found in speech, it was counted as unmarked.

In the category of voice, the active voice (*er ruft Maria* 'he calls Maria') was rated unmarked due to its frequent usage. In case the passive voice was chosen to express a circumstance (*er wird von Maria gerufen* 'he is being called by Maria'), it was classified as +literate. The passive voice is rarely used in spoken German and therefore a feature of the formal register. The stative, on the other hand, is quite common (*das Fenster ist geöffnet* 'the window is opened'). Thus, it was counted as a copula construction with a past participle in the predicative position and as unmarked as such.

Mistakes with regard to the predicate's form, especially concerning congruency with the complement and the choice of the auxiliary, were also marked, but were not a component of orate and literate structures analysis.

Tense in Turkish

The category tense, or TAM-marking, in Turkish is enormously different in comparison to German, because the tense forms are hard to classify according to the orate/ literate continuum. Tense forms cannot per se be differentiated according to adequateness in oral and written language production but instead can be classified according to the specific genre they are used in, cf. Johanson (1971). In that respect the narrative genre was regarded to be an orate genre, since also oral everyday narrations were elicited. The instructive text on the other hand was seen as a typical written genre.

Narration as a communicative activity in Turkish gives the speaker/ writer the opportunity to reconstruct past events from his unique perspective and to verbalize information according to his epistemic primacy to the information he is delivering; the speaker can, for instance, differentiate between factual information and hearsay through the use of aspect and tense forms in combination. Contrasting sequences of events can be done by combinative use of *-dI* (simple past tense) and *-mIş* (PFV). The genre characteristic of

narratives to express feelings, plans and wishes of the protagonists, is the more eloquently done the high the ability of the speaker is, to combine TAM-markers correctly.

We thus arrive at the following scaling of TAM-markers of Turkish on the orate/ literate continuum:

Tense													
+ orat		neutral		+ literat					++ literat				
unmarked (PRS)	IPFV: YOR	PST: DI	PFV:MIŞ	COND: sA	AOR	IPFV+PST YORDU	PFV+PST MIŞDI	IPFV+PFV YORMUŞ	PASS+AOR: mAktAdIr	IPFV+COND	FACT	NEC	POT+AOR

The two opposite poles of the continuum are paralleled representations of morphological complexity in TAM-marking. The unmarked (PRS) forms represent the +orate pole, while combined suffixes, as well as FACT and NEC$^{♂MON}$, that are typical for instructive or informative, mostly written genres, are located at the ++literate pole of the continuum.

Unmarked utterances, often nominal phrases, important within the information structure in narratives, were rated +orate. With those kinds of constructions the conveyance of background information and the evaluations on the topic are managed, like in (14), for instance:

> (14)   *TXT: **adı üstünde cep+telefonu**.
>   %mor: N|name-POSS&3SG N:LOC|on-POSS&3SG-LOC N|pocket+phone-CM .
>   %eng: Its name is on it, pocket phone .

This example, taken from an instructive text product, illustrates that such orate units are not only used in Turkish in ongoing interaction in course of a narration, but also as a timeless statement in a written genre, thereby adding to the personalizing style the pupils performed in their instructions. In narratives the unmarked (PRS) is functional in oral versions and in evaluating units in written versions, in nominal phrases build with the existential *var/yok* (EXIST|exist/EXIST:NEG|exist). See the second unit in the following extract (15).

> (15)   *PUP: Şincik [: şimdi] Türkçe_sınavın**dayız** .
>   %mor: ADV:TEMP|now N|Turkish N|exam-POSS&3SG-LOC-1PL .
>   %eng: Now, we are in a Turkish exam.
>   *PUP: Batuhan diye bir arkadaşım **var** .
>   %mor: N:PROP|Batuhan CONJ|say DET:INDF|a N|friend-POSS&1SG EXIST|exist .
>   %eng: There is a friend of mine named Batuhan.
>   *PUP: Bak**tım** kopyaları çıkarı**yor** şeyin altından # ceketinin .
>   %mor: V|see-PST-1SG N|copy-PL-ACC V|take_out-IPFV N|thing-GEN N:LOC|under-POSS&3SG-ABL N|jacket-POSS&3SG-GEN .
>   %eng: I looked, he is pulling out the copies from beneath thing, his jacket.

In this starting sequence of an oral narration the PUP uses unmarked forms in the first two units. It becomes clear that the narrated events are not referred to as to a past state of

affairs, but as ongoing in the communication situation. In unit three, however, there is a combination of two verbal phrases marked differently, the first with *-dI* and the second with IPFV *-yor*. Such variations are a tool used to contrast sequences of events and to signal anterior events, thereby putting events and actions in perspective. The +literate combinations of TAM-markers are used for just the same purpose to express a sort of stance.

The AOR may be a form that is arguable within the +literate class of elements, hence, one might argue for AOR to be a neutral form, since it is not a complex combined morphological unit. Because of the AOR being very genre specific, and given that, as mentioned above, the criteria catalogue was concerned with genre specific use in this area, AOR was rated +literate.

Unlike the analysis for German, in the Turkish coding the tense forms in direct speech were not counted, although the differentiation between units with direct/ reported speech was made within the category syntax. TAM-marking in those units was observed to be less variable than in the texts from Turkey.

Tense in Kurmanjî

Tense morphology in Kurmanjî is rather complex, operating via irregular verb forms and prefixes and suffixes to mark tense, mood and voice; for an extensive list of tense, mood and voice compare Thackston (2006). Not all these complex verbal forms could be expected from the pupils, neither was it possible to make assumptions on the appropriateness of forms in a specific written genre, since such genres are not likely to be part of the pupils experience with written language.

Under the influence of Turkish, the number of tense and mood forms of Kurmanjî seems to be highly reduced in the knowledge of the pupils, leaving only the DUR (prefix *-dI* + past tense verb stem), PST (simple past marked in the verb stem) and PRF (perfect, combines past stem and personal marker) available. Among the 1st graders only the DUR, comparable to the gerund *-ing* in English rather than IPFV in Turkish, and the PST markings were known and practiced in the text products. In direct speech also IMP markings do occur. Among the seventh-graders also the PRF tense forms were used, some pupils also used the SUBJ (subjunctive prefix, combined with present tense stem) forms. Also the FUT (future auxiliary, combined with the subjunctive prefix attached to the verb root), used in direct speech units, was present in the language use of the bilingual pupils.

It becomes clear, that oratness/ literatness can be understood as the level of linguistic knowledge in this category. Following this assumption, only a reduced number of tense, mood and voice forms could be included in the coding, as listed below:

Tense and Mood

+orat		neutral			+literat				
PRS	DUR	PST	PRF	EXIST	FUT	SUBJ	IMP	IND	OPT

The tense forms of present and durative were rated as orate, being mainly employed in direct speech and to mark conditions of long duration. Cf. example (16), one of the most elaborate text products in the category tense:

(16)   *TXT: Caraki ez û havalemin Aylin, Rabia, mine, Özlem û Tuba tope **liistbane**.
       %spe: Carekî ez û hevala min Aylîn, Rabîa Mîne, Özlem û Tuba bi topé di lîstin.
       %mor: ADV:TEMP|once PRO|i&1SG CONJ|and N|friend-EZ&F PRO|i&1SG&OBL N:PROP|Aylin Rabia Mine CONJ|and Tuba ADP:PREP|with N|ball-OBL&F SUBJ-V|play&PST-OPT&PL
       %eng: Once me and my friend Aylin, Rabia, Mine, Özlem and Tube were playing ball.
       *TXT: ma gruba **çekır**.
       %spe: Me grup/kom çékir.
       %mor: PRO|we&1PL&OBL N|team V|form&PST
       %eng: We formed (a) team.
       *TXT: Ez, Tuba, mine **derketin**, Aylin Rabial û Özlem **derketin**.
       %spe: Ez, Tuba û Mîne (di grubek da) derketin, Aylîn, Rabîa û Özlem (jî di grubek da) derketin.
       %mor: PRO|i&1SG&OBL N:PROP|Tuba Mine V|go out&PST&PL N:PROP|Aylin Rabia Mine CONJ|and N:PROP|Özlem V|go out&PST&PL
       %eng: Me, Tuba and Mine came out, Aylin, Rabia and Özlem came out.
       *TXT: Em herseji **nizanıbun** liyize le Rabia, Aylin û Özlem **zanîbun**.
       %spe: Em her sé jî nizanî bûn lîstiné lé Rabia, Aylin û Özlem zanîbun.
       %mor: PRO|we&1PL ADV:DX|three ADV:DX|too DUR-NEG-V|know&PST&PL N|play-OBL&F CONJ|but N:PROP|Aylin CONJ|and Rabia DUR-V|know&PST&PL
       %eng: The three of us we were not knowing playing but Rabia, Aylin and Özlem were knowing.

The DUR is used correctly with the past verb stem. To signal anteriority, in the first unit the PUP uses subjunctive marking and than changes to simple past to reconstruct the chain of past events.

The existential was included into the class of neutral markings, because this form operates with the past verb stem. In narratives the function of the existential, in some instances also DUR, is to convey background information, enabling the hearer/reader to follow up on events. The +literate pole of the continuum is containing the FUT, SUBJ and the mode categories IMP, IND and OPT. Modal forms are very rarely employed. The IMP was more often employed in direct speech.

As could be expected, some parallels with Turkish, inferred by bilinguals in their text products, could be found. The DUR form, for instance, seems to be used in the Kurmanjî narrations in parallel to the IPFV in Turkish.

2.2.1.3 Analysis of orate and literate structures: syntactic structures

Syntax in German

One of the most significant categories with regard to orate and literate structures is the area of syntax. Here, orate syntactic phenomena, the structure of clauses and their synthesis to sentences, as well as the connection of independent sentences were examined in detail. The following syntactic structures were considered as orate: phrase dislocation (17.a.), syntactic

contamination (17.b.), apokoinu constructions (17.c.), modal verb construction without an infinitive (17.d.), and first position of the finite verb (17.e.).

(17)   a.   *PUP: und dann hat **die** das gefunden, **die Frau**
            %mor: CONJ:COORD|and ADV|then V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                    PRO:DEM|she&3SG&F PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N PTCP|find
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F
            %eng: and then the woman found it

                    vs.

            *PUP: und dann hat **die Frau** das gefunden
            %mor: CONJ:COORD|and ADV|then V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F PRO:DEM|it&SG&N PTCP|find
            %eng: and then the woman found it

       b.   *PUP: ich habe mich für die Szene ausgesucht […]
            %mor: PRO|I&1SG V:AUX|have-PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG&ACC PREP|for
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|scene&SG&F PTCP|choose
            %eng: I chose the scene […]

                    vs.

            *PUP: ich habe mich für die Szene entschieden […]
            %mor: PRO|I&1SG V:AUX|have-PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG&ACC PREP|for
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|scene&SG&F PTCP|decide
            %eng: I decided upon the scene […]

                    vs.

            *PUP: ich habe mir die Szene […] ausgesucht
            %mor: PRO|I&1SG V:AUX|have-PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG&DAT
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|scene&SG&F PTCP|choose
            %eng: I chose the scene […]

       c.   *PUP: das war dann **die Frau, die das verloren hat**, hat sich dann bedankt
            %mor: PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N COP|be&PST&3SG ADV|then
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F PRO:REL|she&3SG&F
                    PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N PTCP|lose V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                    V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG PRO:REFL|herself&3SG ADV|then
                    PTCP|thank
            %eng: this was the woman who lost it thanked [them]

                    vs.

            *PUP: das war dann **die Frau, die das verloren hat**
            %mor: PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N COP|be&PST&3SG ADV|then
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F PRO:REL|she&3SG&F
                    PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N PTCP|lose V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
            %eng: this was the woman who lost it

                    vs.

            *PUP: **die Frau, die das verloren hat**, hat sich dann bedankt
            %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F PRO:REL|she&3SG&F
                    PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N PTCP|lose V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                    V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG PRO:REFL|herself&3SG ADV|then
                    PTCP|thank
            %eng: the woman who lost it thanked [them]

       d.   *PUP: und dann **musste** ich auch dahin
            %mor: CONJ:COORD|and ADV|then V:MOD|must-PST&1SG PRO|I&1SG
                    ADV|too ADV|there
            %eng: and then I had to [go] there, too

                    vs.

            *PUP: und dann **musste** ich auch dahin **gehen**
            %mor: CONJ:COORD|and ADV|then V:MOD|must-PST&1SG PRO|I&1SG
                    ADV|too ADV|there V|go-INF
            %eng: and then I had to go there, too

       e.   *PUP: **sag** ich ihr so […]

%mor: V|tell&PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG PRO|she&3SG&F&DAT ADV|like_this
%eng: *then I tell her like […]*

vs.

*PUP: ich **sage** ihr so […]
%mor: PRO|I&1SG V|tell-PRS&1SG PRO|she&3SG&F&DAT ADV|like_this
%eng: then I tell her like […]

In (17.a.), the nominal phrase *die Frau* 'the woman' is dislocated from the rest of the clause with a reference to it created by the demonstrative pronoun *die* 'she'. This way, the informational content (*gefunden* 'found' and *Frau* 'woman') is subdivided into two separate units and is thus easier to process when speaking/ listening. The respective literate structure would include the nominal phrase into the clause, which means a density of information in one unit, as illustrated in the second example in (17.a.).

In a syntactic contamination like in (17.b.), two different constructions are merged into a single one that to this effect is wrongly constructed, a type of construction that occurs due to online production when the speaker is simultaneously planning the second and the third examples in (17.b.). Because of limited processing capacity, syntactic contamination can be the result.

The same reason explains the apokoinu construction (first example) in (17.c.). Here, the nominal phrase *die Frau, die das verloren hat* 'the woman who lost it' is both a syntactic constituent of the second and the third example in (9.c.). In the one case, it is the nominal predicative of the sentence, while in the other case, it is the subject. Merged together, these two sentences result in an apokoinu structure. Though this very special construction type has quite often been used as a stylistic device in classic German literature and thus might be regarded as literate, one can assume that its use in the first or seventh grade rather indicates a restraint of handling information due to online production.

The first sentence in (17.d.) is lacking the infinitive so that the sentence becomes only morphologically finite without the semantic meaning that would be provided by the infinitive. However, this semantic meaning is given to the sentence implicitly by the addition of the adverb *dahin* 'there' that indicates the notion of movement. This implicit semantic denotation is being specified by the use of the infinitive as in the second example in (17.d.), which makes the sentence decontextualised and thus more literate.

The unmarked word order of the German declarative sentence is SVO. Especially the finite verb has to be placed in the second position. The word order demonstrated in the first example in (17.e.) with the finite verb in the first position is used in interrogative clauses[39] and was therefore counted as marked.

The internal structure of sentences was the next syntactic category to examine. In order to perform this analysis, first the sentence boundaries were determined and then the sentence was classified with regard to its completeness as complete (S+), incomplete (S-), or interrupted (S*), which of course can be applied only to spoken texts). A sentence was counted as complete when it contained all obligatory syntactic constituents that are required

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[39] Though in imperative clauses, the finite verb is also placed in the first position, these clauses usually have no subject and thus differ from the first example in 17.e.

by the predicate. In speech, also answers to the interviewer's questions that implicated a coordinate reduction were classified as S+:

> (18) *INT: und was **haben sie** dann gemacht?
>   %mor: CONJ:COORD|and Q|what V:AUX|have-PRS&3PL PRO|they&3PL
>   ADV|then PTCP|do
>   %eng: and what did they do next?
>   *PUP: [sie haben] den Brief zurückgebracht.
>   %mor: [PRO|they&3PL V:AUX|have-PRS&3PL] DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M
>   N|letter&SG&M PTCP|return
>   %eng: [they have] returned the letter.

Structures like the one in (18) are quite common in spoken language and were therefore assessed as orate. The grammatical markers from the interviewer's question (highlighted in bold) do not necessarily need to be carried over to the speaker's answer. Here, only the new, semantically heavy information is presented. Since complete sentences are very rare in spoken language, they are rated as +literate. In writing, on the other hand, complete sentences are the anticipated norm and were here counted as unmarked.

Sentences were classified as incomplete both in writing and in speech when they lacked an obligatory syntactic component:

> (19) *PUP: dann haben sie *[**sich**] geschlagen
>   %mor: ADV|then V:AUX|have-PRS&3PL PRO|they&3PL
>   *[PRO:REC|each_other&3PL] PTCP|hit
>   %eng: then, they were fighting *[with each other]

Since the verb *schlagen* 'to hit' is transitive, it needs a direct object – in this case the reciprocal pronoun *sich* 'each other'. Without the direct object, this sentence is incomplete regardless of whether it was uttered orally or in writing.

Interrupted sentences are of course also incomplete, but while sentences like (19) are only syntactically incomplete, interrupted sentences hypothetically could have been developed into a complete sentence. However, for reasons of online production and planning, such sentences are truncated and often replaced by another sentence. Naturally, interrupted sentences are only found in spoken language:

> (20) *PUP: und dann sind sie +//
>   %mor: CONJ:COORD|and ADV|then V:AUX|be&PRS&3PL PRO|they&3PL
>   %eng: and then they have +//.
>   *PUP: dann ist der Brief hingefallen
>   %mor: ADV|then V:AUX|be&PRS&3SG DET:DEF|the&SG&M N|letter&SG&M
>   PTCP|fall
>   %eng: then, the letter fell down.

As a next step of syntactic analysis, the sentence was evaluated with regard to its internal structure in terms of complexity. A sentence was rated simple if it was composed of only one clause that contained only the obligatory syntactic components demanded by the verb:

> (21) *PUP: die Frau hat den Brief genommen
>   %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
>   DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|take
>   %eng: the woman took the letter

The non-extended sentence was rated as unmarked in contrast to the simply extended sentence that was counted as +literate. The following examples demonstrate a simple extension by an adverb or an adjective in an adverbial position (22.a.), a prepositional phrase (22.b.), a nominal phrase (22.c.), or by an apposition (22.d.):

(22)   a.   *PUP: die Frau hat **vorsichtig** den Brief genommen
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                    ADJ|careful DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|take
              %eng: the woman carefully took the letter

         b.   *PUP: die Frau **mit den Locken** hat den Brief genommen
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F PREP|with
                    DET:DEF|the&DAT&PL N|curl-PL V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                    DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|take
              %eng: the woman with the curls took the letter

         c.   *PUP: die Frau hat den Brief **des Mädchens** genommen
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                    DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M
                    DET:DEF|the&GEN&SG&N N|girl-GEN&SG&N PTCP|take
              %eng: the woman took the girl's letter

         d.   *PUP: die Frau, **eine Lehrerin**, hat den Brief genommen
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F DET:INDF|a&SG&F N|teacher-
                    SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M
                    N|letter&SG&M PTCP|take
              %eng: the woman, a teacher, took the letter

The previously illustrated simple extensions are all non-clausal. Of course, an extension can also be made by means of another clause, which was always rated as ++literate. The next example demonstrates an extension by a coordinated clause in combination with a coordinate reduction:

(23)   *PUP: die Frau hat den Brief genommen und **ist weggegangen**
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                    DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|take
                    CONJ:COORD|and V:AUX|be&PRS&3SG PTCP|go_away
              %eng: the woman took the letter and went away

The first clause *die Frau hat den Brief genommen* 'the woman took the letter' is extended by the second clause *ist weggegangen* 'went away'. Both clauses are connected to one sentence by means of the coordinating conjunction *und* 'and' as well as by the coordinate reduction of the subject *die Frau* 'the woman' in the second clause.

In terms of complexity, subordinated structures are less complex than coordinate ones and were thus rated +++literate. Additionally, subordinate structures were classified with regard to their connection to the main clause (syndetic or asyndetic), the grammatical finiteness of the verb, and the position of the subordinate clause in relation to the main clause. An asyndetic connection of the main and the subordinate clause is a characteristic of the spoken language and can most frequently be found in correspondence with cognitive or speech act verbs. In writing, this type of connection needs to be explicitly highlighted by a subordinating conjunction in order to clearly mark the relation of the two clauses. Consider the following examples that illustrate both an asyndetic (24.a.) and a syndetic (24.b.) connection:

(24)   a.   *PUP: ich habe ihr gesagt, sie soll das machen

```
       %mor:  PRO|I&1SG V:AUX|have-PRS&1SG PRO|she&3SG&F&DAT
              PTCP|say PRO|she&3SG&F V:MOD|should&PRS&3SG
              PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N V|do-INF
       %eng:  I told her she should do that
  b.   *PUP:  ich habe ihr gesagt, dass sie das machen soll
       %mor:  PRO|I&1SG V:AUX|have-PRS&1SG PRO|she&3SG&F&DAT
              PTCP|say CONJ:SUBORD|that PRO|she&3SG&F
              PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N V|do-INF V:MOD|should&PRS&3SG
       %eng:  I told her that she should do that
```

Note further that although the clause *sie soll das machen* 'she should do that' in (24.a.) is the direct object of the clause *ich habe ihr gesagt* 'I told her' and thus subordinated to it, it has the word order of a main clause (the finite verb is placed in the second position) because of the non-present conjunction *dass* 'that'. In (24.b.), on the other hand, the subordination of the second clause is not only explicitly marked by the subordinating conjunction *dass* 'that' but also by the marked word order (the finite verb is placed in the last position).

The subordinate clause can be further subdivided with regard to the finiteness of its verb. Subordinate clauses that contain a non-finite verb are even more complex than the ones containing a finite verb. This complexity is evoked by the tight connection between the main and the subordinate clause. Since the non-finite predicate is unmarked for person, gender, or number, its reference needs to be indirectly extracted from the main clause. In the example below, the clause *ihn zu suchen* 'to look for him', consisting of the non-finite verb *zu suchen* 'to look for' and its direct object *ihn* 'him', is subordinated to the main clause *ich habe die Aufgabe* 'it is my task'. Additionally, the subordinate clause is the adjunct of the nominal phrase *die Aufgabe* 'the task':

```
(25)   *PUP:  ich habe die Aufgabe, ihn zu suchen
       %mor:  PRO|I&1SG V|have-PRS&1SG DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|task&SG&F
              PRO|he&3SG&M&ACC PTL:V|to V|search-INF
       %eng:  it is my task to look for him
```

In addition to the connection to the main clause and the grammatical finiteness of the verb, the position of the subordinate clause in relation to the main clause plays an important role with regard to orate and literate structures. Since the unmarked position of the subordinate clause is after the main clause, a subordinate clause positioned before the main clause was considered as +literate. Compare the following examples for illustration (the subordinate clause marked in bold):

```
(26)   a.   *PUP:  ich habe nicht geahnt, dass er das war
            %mor:  PRO|I&1SG V:AUX|have-PRS&1SG NEG|not PTCP|anticipate
                   CONJ:SUBORD|that PRO|he&3SG&M PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N
                   COP|be&PST&3SG
            %eng:  I did not anticipate that it was him
       b.   *PUP:  dass er das war, habe ich nicht geahnt
            %mor:  CONJ:SUBORD|that PRO|he&3SG&M PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N
                   COP|be&PST&3SG V:AUX|have-PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG NEG|not
                   PTCP|anticipate
            %eng:  I did not anticipate that it was him
```

In both examples, the subordinate clause is the direct object of the verb *ahnen* 'to anticipate' and needs to be placed after it according to the standard German word order

SVO as illustrated in (26.a.). Therefore, the OVS word order in (26.b.) is marked and thus was considered more literate.

Syntax in Turkish

The analysis of Turkish syntax concentrated on three basic areas important in defining the degree of complexity of an information unit, i..e. the (in-)completeness of units, the coordination vs. subordination of units, and word order.

The structures evaluated as orate included incomplete information units, reduced forms, hesitations and retraces, apokoinu constructions and units with verb initial position. The class of structures rated as neutral contains complete information units, further differentiated into sentences consisting simply of a (finite) verb, complete but simple information units, complete and simply extended units. Nominal predicates and units with verb final position were included in the category of neutral syntax. Occurrences of juxtaposition, cases of employment of reported speech or indirect speech, extensions of nominal phrases via relative clauses, conditional clauses, nominalizations, the subordinated clauses build with converb forms *-Ip, -ken, -Ince* and forms of lexical, morphological and syntactic repair were all rated as +literate. The ++literate units include mainly differing forms of subordinations, finite subordinations, non-finite subordinations with the converbs *-ErEk, -DIk, -mAdAn* and subordinated infinitives.

The incomplete units regarded as orate outcomes in spoken language (outcomes of loose verbal planning in written language) were in contrast to the analysis in German not subdivided into units that were interrupted or broke off. Since interruptions were not the case in the tests with the seventh-graders and only occurred in small numbers in the first grade, it seemed sufficient to keep all incomplete units together as locatable on the orate pole of the continuum. Reduced forms that were also coded and counted as orate forms include morphological and syntactic elements likewise influenced by spoken language, like the reduced suffix and the converb form in example (27):

```
(27)   a.     *PUP:   bi(r)gün merdivenlerden iniye [: iniyor].
              %mor:   DET:INDF|a+N|day N|stair-PL-DAT V|climb_down-IPFV .
              %syn:   [MC] .
              %tse:   $INT .
              %eng:   One day (he/she) is going down the stairs .
              *IV3:   hmhm .
              *PUP:   inerkene [: inerken] parası düştü kağıdın içinde .
              %mor:   V|climb_down-CVB:KEN-°DAT N|money-POSS&3SG V|fall-PST
                      N|paper-GEN N:LOC|in-POSS&3SG-LOC .
              %syn:   [MC] . [C] . [WO] .
              %tse:   $CHE .
              %eng:   While going down his/her money fall in the paper .
       b.     *PUP:   şimdi baktım bu da çıkartıyo(r) [: çıkarıyor] .
              %mor:   ADV:TEMP|now V|look-PST PRO:DX|this CO|da V|take_out-°CAUS-
                      IPFV .
              %syn:   [(MC)(MC)] .
              %tse:   $CHE .
              %eng:   Now, I looked this one is taking out too .
```

In (27.a.), the converb form *-ken* is articulated as *-kene*. A similar morphologically different form, typical in spoken varieties, appears in (27.b.). employed by a seventh-grader. These examples illustrate that this category does not only contain reduced but also different forms.

The most unproblematic structures rated as orate were the units where hesitations and retraces occurred. Such phenomena are by-products of oral language production, instances where the self-monitoring of speakers lead to a change in verbal planning and alike.

However, the most problematic structure within the class of orate forms in the area of syntax in Turkish is the initial positioning of the verb. Such forms are known as spoken language style, but like some other characteristics of Turkish, they can equally be used in written language, individualizing the writers' language use. Nevertheless, constructions with other than final position of the verb were summed together in this orate form class, including also a typical structure of spoken language that can clearly be rated orate, cf. the following example (28):

(28)	*PUP:	Batuhan diye bir arkadaşım var .
	%mor:	N:PROP|Batuhan CONJ|say DET:INDF|a N|friend-POSS&1SG EXIST|exist .
	%syn:	[MC] .
	%tse:	$INT .
	%eng:	I have a friend named Batuhan .
	*PUP:	Baktım kopyaları **çıkarıyor şeyin altından # ceketinin** .
	%mor:	V|see-PST-1SG N|copy-PL-ACC V|take_out-IPFV N|thing-GEN N:LOC|under-POSS&3SG-ABL N|jacket-POSS&3SG-GEN .
	%syn:	[(MC)(MC)] . [WO] .
	%tse:	$CHE .
	%eng:	I looked, he is taking out the copies from beneath thing his jacket .

In those structures the dummy word *şey* ('thing') occupies the pre-verbal position and is replaced later, so that the post verbal position is filled with the correct lexical element replacing the dummy word, cf. Schroeder (2002) and Şimşek (2011). Verb initial position on the one hand and the post verbal position on the other were counted as orate units.

Structures of spoken language like apokoinu constructions share similar characteristics in Turkish and in German,. In the Turkish text products this construction occurred only in cases, where direct speech units (integrated into OLA as neutral simply extended units) were combined with the finite verb form of *demek* ('to say'), cf. following example (29):

(29)	*PUP:	**dedi ki** <u>bu para seninmi</u> **dedi** .
	%mor:	V|say-PST CONJ|that DET:DEM|this N|money PRO|you&2SG-GEN-Q V|say-PST.
	%eng:	He/ she said that "is this money yours?" he/ she said .

While the range of apokoinu constructions is wide in German, those structures were not highly variable and of low in number in the Turkish text products and may well be not a common practice in spoken colloquial Turkish.

Complete information units were distinguished into simple matrix clauses, simple in terms of number of constituents. Those units containing only the finite verb were assessed to be simple and thus rated neutral, since such units, according to language typology, are possible choices in spoken and in written language. The existence of an extension of matrix clauses

via direct speech was rated equally neutral, being instruments of linear information structuring in spoken and in written language.

Subordinating techniques of Turkish, taken as an indication for complexity, were to be differentiated into those subordinations with and without converbs. The non-converbial complex syntactic units rated as +literate contain extensions with adjectives (30.a.) nominalizations (30.b.), conditional clauses (30.c.) and relative clauses (30.d.), as exemplified in (30):

(30) a. *PUP: erkek de geliyo(r) **or(a)daki kağıdı** buluyo(r) .
     %mor: N|boy CO|de V|come-IPFV PRO:DX|there-ADJZ N|paper-ACC V|find-IPFV .
     %eng: The man is coming and is finding the paper from there.

b. *PUP: gitti otur**ma**ya .
     %mor: V|go-PST V|sit-NMLZ:MA-DAT
     %eng: (He/ she) went to sit.

c. *TXT: bu cep+telefonu icat edilmeseydi yine öyle olacaktı.
     %mor: DET:DEM|this N|pocket+phone-CM V|invent-PASS-NEG-OPT-PST ADV|again ADV:DX|such V|be-FUT-PST .
     %eng: If this mobile phone would not have been invented, it would have been the same (like in the ancient times).

d. *TXT: **çok gıcık kaptığım bir kız** vardı.
     %mor: ADV|very ADJ|snappish V|get-NMLZ:DIK-POSS&1SG DET:INDF|a N|girl EXIST|exist-PST .
     %syn: [MC] . [MC] .
     %ref: $DN .
     %tse: $INT .
     %eng: There was a girl I was getting very snappish about .

Subordinating with converbial forms was further differentiated, some classified as ++literate and some as +literate. The structural characteristics of converbs, non-finite verb forms of Turkish, allow to divide them into two classes: the simpler ones building subordinated clauses in co-reference with the subject of the matrix clause and the complex ones, involved in constructing subordinated units with their own subject different from the subject of the matrix clause, compare the following examples:

(31) a. *PUP: al**ıp** o parayı şey bi(r) tane kadının kapısı çardı [: çaldı] .
     %mor: V|take-CVB:IP DET:DEM|that N|money-ACC CO|thing QUANT:CARD|one CLF|piece N|woman-GEN N|door-POSS&1SG V|knock-PST .
     %syn: [(C)MC] .
     %tse: $CHE .
     %eng: In taking that money thing (he/ she) knocked at the door of a woman .

b. *TXT: Öğrtemenimiz çok sinirlend**iği** için elindeki kitabı batuhana vurdu.
     %mor: N|teacher-POSS&1PL ADV|a_lot V|get_angry-CVB:DIK POST|for N|hand-POSS&3SG-ADJZ N|book-ACC N:PROP|batuhan-DAT V|hit-PST .
     %syn: [(C)MC] .
     %tse: $CHE .
     %eng: Because our teacher has got very angry he hit Batuhan with the book in his and .

b. *PUP: sonra bir_keresinde e:: kardeşimle filan [: falan] dolaşır**ken** e:: elimi bi(r) yere çarpmıştım .
     %mor: ADV:TEMP|later QUANT:CARD|one CLF|time-POSS&3SG-LOC N|brother-POSS&1SG-INSTR CO|so_on V|walk_around-AOR-CVB:KEN N|hand-POSS&1SG-ACC PRO:INDF|one N|place-DAT V|crash-PFV-PST-1SG .
     %eng: Then once while walking with my sister and so on I had crashed my hand to some place .

Some of those complex converbs are, for instance, *-CA, -ErEk and -DIK*. Converbs like *-CA* were rated ++literate, while more simple ones like *-Ip, -ken and -IncE* were rated +literate.

Juxtapositions were rated as +literate, juxtaposition in Turkish defined according to Göksel & Kerslake (2005) as "listing phrases without using an overt co-ordinator"[40]. In spoken language such lists (most evident in the Turkish text products) contain two matrix clauses *Baktı, para vardı* ('he/ she looked, there was money'). In written language such a style may not be more complex in grammatical sense because of the missing coordinating elements, but the number of information units is higher and the style is likely to be used in narratives and to be part of the "composition style" taught in school.

As mentioned above, the most complex structures rated as ++literate contain complex converbial structures (non-finite subordination) and finite subordination, like the following example (32):

<pre>
(32)   *TXT: Kız o kadar sinirlenmiş ki birden kafama taş attı.
            %mor: N|girl DET:DEM|that POST|much V|get_angry-PFV CONJ|that
                   ADV|suddenly N|head-POSS&1SG-DAT N|stone V|throw-PST .
            %syn: [(C)MC] .
            %tse: $CHE .
            %eng: The girl must have got that angry suddenly she throw a stone to my
                   head .
</pre>

Such finite subordinations are mostly built via the conjunct *ki*. Other techniques of subordinating finite components do not occur and thus may be indicating less adaptation to written language.

Unlike the analysis for German, the analysis for Turkish took different levels of subordination into consideration.

<pre>
(33)   *TXT: Sonra "mesaj oluştur" bölümüne girip, rakamların hemen altında
                   bulunan harfleri seçip yazını yazarsın.
            %mor: ADV:TEMP|later N|message V|create-IMP N|section-DAT V|enter-
                   CVB:IP N|number-PL-GEN ADV|directly N:LOC|under-LOC N|letter-
                   PL-ACC V|select-CVB:IP N|writing-POSS&2SG-ACC V|write-AOR-
                   2SG .
            %syn: [(<C><C>)MC] .
            %tse: $INS .
            %eng: Then entering the 'create message' section, choosing the letters being
                   right under the numbers, you can write your text .
</pre>

Regardless of the complexity of the subordinating means, in cases where subordinated clauses of differing syntactic level occur, they were rated ++literate, and lists of such subordinated units like in (33) were considered more complex.

Syntax in Kurmanjî

As previously mentioned, for reasons of marginal standardization the analysis criteria for an orate/ literate description of structures in Kurmanjî had to be more tentative. Therefore the leading assumption was to consider what structures could be expected from the bilingual

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[40] Example from Göksel & Kerslake (2005): "*Ziya pabuçlarını, paltosunu giydi, eline şemsiyesini aldı, işe gitti.*" ('Ziya put on his shoes, put on his jacket, took his umbrella in his hand, went to work') (p 510).

pupils. Consequently, the orate/ literate continuum as developed here only concentrates on the most common language structures in this area. The information units, the basic units of analysis, were assessed in terms of completeness and adequateness in information conveyance in the first place rather than in terms of complexity.

Nevertheless, Kurmanjî language production shares some similarities to German and Turkish, meaning that communication in spoken and written language can assumed to be done according to prevalent rules. The by-products of spoken language like reduced forms, hesitations and retraces and incomplete units were regarded as such structures, thus rated as orate structures. Matrix clauses containing a finite verb form and extended units via direct speech were, similarly done in the analysis for Turkish, classified as neutral information units. The position of the verb is in Kurmanjî somewhat less rigorous compared to German and Turkish. Kurmanjî is mostly described as a language with SOV word order (Haig & Paul 2001); in subordinations, it is generally the main clause that precedes the subordinate clause. However, excerpts of the language confirm a rather free word order.

Because of the high amount of influence from Turkish, the verb final position was considered neutral and unmarked in the analysis. Word order variations of any other kind were integrated into the class of ++literate structures, along side of ergative constructions, which were not found; for types of ergative constructions see Matras (1990).

In contrast to Turkish, in the Kurmanjî morphology non-finite verb forms are unknown. Instead subordinated clauses with conjuncts are common. Conjunctions that are used to form subordinate clauses are rich in number in Kurmanjî, built with the conjunct *kû*:

berî kû ('before' + pres. subj.), *çaxê kû* ('when'), *digel kû* ('although'), *dema kû* ('when'), *gava kû* ('when'), *gelo* ('whether'), *hema kû* ('as soon as' + past or pres. subj.), *ji ber kû* ('because of'), *madem kû* ('as long as'), *mîna kû* ('as though'), *pasê kû* ('after'), *pisţî kû* ('after'), *ta kû* ('as long as'), *weke kû* ('as'), *wexta kû* ('when').[41] Those forms are followed by an indicative verb according to context, either with present or past tense markings. The rich form class and the very limited occurrences in the text products might be taken as an indication to the pupils limited language resources in this area.

The subordinated constructions were used in the same way in spoken and in written language and in low number, with only one exceptional case pupil (AYS♀BIL) who showed adaptation to written language via use of more subordinated clauses in her written narration. The sheer occurrence of such subordinated clauses was therefore rated +literate.

To exemplify what complexity might mean in Kurmanjî, we give here a brief discussion of relative clauses. The relative clause in Kurmanjî is introduced by the relative pronoun *kû* ('who, which, that')[42]. Unmodified antecedents of the relative are in the construct case *tisţê kû* ('the thing that'), *salé kû* ('the year which'), *tisţekî kû* ('a thing which') etc. Modified antecedents have the construct extender *zimanê me yê kû* ('our language, which').

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[41] In cases where *kû* is underlined, it can be dropped in spoken language.

[42] Note that *kû* is a multifunctional element, also doubled as a question particle, in spoken language differentiated from the conjunct through palatalisation.

Additionally there is no distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Kurmanjî when relative clauses are embedded into the main clause.

(34)   *TXT: Mı hınek hute go mı yazdıkır
        %spe: Min hinek kû hatin min yazdikir
        %mor: PRO|i&1SG&OBL QUANT:INDF|a bit V|come-PST&PL CO|that
               CP|+V:tr|write V|do&PST
        %eng: Those ones that came up I was writing .

In example (34) the subordinate relative clause *hinek kû hatin* ('some that came up') is proceeding the matrix clause (the initial subject is in this case not obligatory and may be a structure of spoken language). In all subordinated clauses, either relative clauses or infinitive clauses, some failures were found, indicating the pupils lack of knowledge in this area.

The extensions of NPs, not via relative clauses but by adjectives, seemed to be cause less difficulties, compare the unit in (35):

(35)   *TXT: Paşi mı sınavede zahu **nataki xaşık** stand
        %spe: Paşé min ji sinavé zehf notekî (nîşe) xweşik stand
        %mor: CO|later PRO|i&1SG&OBL N|exam-OBL&M ADP:POST|in
               QUANT:INDF|a_lot N:INDF|grade-OBL&M ADJ|good V|receive&PST
        %eng: Later I received a very good note in the exam .

These kinds of extensions of NPs were rated literate.

As it was done in the analysis of Turkish, lexical, morphological and syntactic repairs were classified as +literate structures, indicating the pupils' awareness of specific linguistic structures. Especially in case of Kurmanjî, the repair structures are most significant in terms of language resources.

2.2.1.4 Analysis of orate and literate structures: connection

Connection in German

In the area of connection, the independent sentences were analysed with regard to their linking to each other, providing further insight into the text's internal structure and also its coherence. Of course, all sentences are linked to each other by co-reference to the protagonists etc., using anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns. Here, only cataphoric pronouns were counted as +literate for reasons of markedness with regard to the information structure in such sentences. However, this way of connection was not entirely incorporated in the connection analysis for two reasons: On the one hand, the referents were already being exhaustively analysed in the complement subfield. On the other hand, the complements are obligatory elements of the sentence while the analysis of the sentence connection focuses on special connectivity markers. These markers are, e.g., coordinating conjunctions (36.a.) and adverbs indicating the sequential progress of the narration's plot (36.b.). Alternatively, the independent sentences can be simply collocated without any explicit connection device where the connection is only established by the complements (36.c.):

(36)   a.   *PUP: die Frau hat den Brief verloren
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                     DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|lose
              %eng: the woman lost the letter

           *PUP: **aber** der Mann hat ihn nicht genommen
           %mor: CONJ:COORD|but DET:DEF|the&SG&M N|man&SG&M
                  V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG PRO|he&3SG&M&ACC NEG|not PTCP|take
           %eng: but the man did not take it
   b.   *PUP: die Frau hat den Brief verloren
           %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                  DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|lose
           %eng: the woman lost the letter
           *PUP: **danach** hat der Mann ihn gefunden
           %mor: ADV|after_that V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG DET:DEF|the&SG&M
                  N|man&SG&M PRO|he&3SG&M&ACC PTCP|find
           %eng: after that, the man found it
   c.   *PUP: die Frau hat **den Brief** verloren
           %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                  DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|lose
           %eng: the woman lost the letter
           *PUP: der Mann hat **ihn** gefunden
           %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&M N|man&SG&M V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
                  PRO|he&3SG&M&ACC PTCP|find
           %eng: the man found it

Since in examples (36.a.) and (36.b.), the connection of the sentences is made explicit, these types of linking were considered +literate. On the other hand, especially first-graders tend to build repetitive structures, connecting all sentences by *und dann* 'and then'. These serial structures were of course not counted as +literate. In this case, an alternation with simple juxtapositions was rated +literate.

Connection in Turkish

The analysis in the area of connection was concerned with a category "discourse", exploring some phenomena of spoken language. But these phenomena could not entirely be included into the OLA-charts. The types of variation and the use of some particles of Turkish, like the deictic *işte* ('as you see') referring back to prior verbalized information, *yani* ('meaning/ I mean/ obviously') introducing reformulations and restarts, in its function similar to the German *also*, *hani* ('as you know') and the dummy word *şey* ('thing'), for instance, were considered orate elements, typical for spoken language. In cases where pupils made extensive use of those elements, this is pointed out and commented on in the case pupil profiles (not part of this publication). The focus particle *dE* and the deictic *böyle* are represented in the OLA-charts as typical examples of orate connectors.

The connectors *o zaman* ('that time'), *sonra* ('later'), *ondan sonra* ('after that') were rated neutral. Despite of *o zaman* representing an earlier level of acquisition, it was not separated from the rest of the neutral connectors, because in narrative genre they seemingly can be employed to signal the temporal order of events. Like *dann* ('then') and *und dann* ('and then') in German their Turkish neutral equivalents can be involved in connecting syntactically parallel information units.

Both of the connecting devices *şimdi* ('now') and *önce* ('before') are generally supposed to function in a similar communicative context like the previously mentioned temporal adverbs, all temporal deictics locating information on a time scale, and thus could have been rated as neutral. They were kept in the +literate class because their appearance in the instructive text products rather than in narratives pointed to a genre dependent variable use of these connectors.

All the coordinating elements, among them those represented in the OLA-charts, like *ve* ('and'), *ama* ('but') and *çünkü* ('because') were rated +literate. However, there is a slight difference between the Turkish literate connectors and their German equivalents, while the German connectors, *weil* as the counterpart of *çünkü* ('because'), for instance, are introducing subordinated clauses in German, the Turkish connectors of this class signal a stronger semantic determination of the units, signalling semantic contrast, reason and strong topical ties.

Connection in Kurmanjî

In the category connection the linguistic elements of Kurmanjî were classified according to their function in inter- and intra-clausal connecting of information units. Clause connection in Kurmanjî is usually achieved through juxtaposition of finite clauses. Nevertheless, there is a high amount of such linguistic elements that can be used to refer to time, space and information that has been previously verbalised, compare the examples in (37) for such deictic elements:

<blockquote>

(37)   a.   *PUP: Sahakî jî **li wé** bû .
             %mor: N|field-INDF CO|too PRO:DX|at that place EXIST|exist&PST
             %eng: There was a field too .

      b.   *PUP: **li wir** # derîkek din hebû .
             %mor: PRO:DX|at that place N|door-INDF ADV|other EXIST|exist&PST
             %eng: There was another door .

</blockquote>

Those deictic expressions were rated as orate. Together with the focus particle *ji* ('too'), they build the class of orate forms.

The most frequently used connectors in spoken and in written Kurmanjî are the coordinating conjunct *û* ('and') and the subordinating conjunct *kû* ('that'). In its functionality the conjunct *û* is similar to the conjunct *ve* ('and') in Turkish. Two elements within a constituent, mostly an NP, or two clauses can be combined with *û*. The conjunct *ki/kû*, on the other hand, can be used to mark direct speech units, see the following example (38):

<blockquote>

(38)   *PUP: U keçik got ki ev a mıne .
                  %mor: CO|and N|girl V|say&PST CO|that DET:DEM|that COP|be-3SG
                               PRO|i&1SG&OBL
                  %eng: The girl said that "that is mine".

</blockquote>

In the category connection only those occurrences of the conjunct *kû* tying matrix clauses and units of direct speech together were coded. The conjunct with its subordinating function is captured in the coding of syntactic structures. The equivalent conjunct of Turkish, the *ki*, was treated similarly in the coding of Kurmanjî text products.

The two most common temporal adverbs of Kurmanjî, *dûre* and *paşe* ('later'), were used interchangably with the (Turkish) adverbs *ondan sonra/ sonra* and were rated as neutral. These connectors are central for the narrative genre in spoken and written production (see also Bulut 2006). Since the influence of Turkish seemed to be high, especially the first-graders not using a high amount of Kurmanjî connectors, the temporal adverbs of Turkish

were expected to indicate the pupils' genre knowledge and were thus included into the orate/ literate criteria in the category connection.

The class of literate connecting devices containing particles, other than the mentioned two temporal adverbs of Kurmanjî and connectors, were collected together in one literate class, to be able to capture linguistic variation in this area, which was observed in the seventh grade.

2.2.1.5 Analysis of orate and literate structures: function

Function of information units in German

The next area analysed was the domain of pragmatics and discourse. Here, the following orate phenomena were counted: interruptions (a.), repair structures (b.), repetitions (c.), hesitation (*ähm* in a., *äh* in b.) and discourse particles (*ja* and *also* in a.), hedge expressions (d.), and deictic elements (*da* in a.). Consider the following examples for illustration:

> (39) a. *PUP: ja, also ich ähm +// da war ein Mann
>   %mor: PTL:D|yes PTL:D|well PRO|I&1SG PTL:HESIT|um ADV|there
>   COP|be&PST&3SG DET:INDF|a&SG&M N|man&SG&M
>   %eng: well, I um +// there was a man
>   b. *PUP: dann hab ich **den Mann äh die Frau** gesehn
>   %mor: ADV|then V:AUX|have&PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG
>   DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|man&SG&M PTL:HESIT|uh
>   DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F PTCP|see
>   %eng: then I saw the man uh the woman
>   c. *PUP: dann **hab ich hab ich** den Mann gesehn
>   %mor: ADV|then V:AUX|have&PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG
>   V:AUX|have&PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M
>   N|man&SG&M PTCP|see
>   %eng: then I saw I saw the man
>   d. *PUP: das fand ich **nicht so gut**
>   %mor: PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N V|find&PST&1SG PRO|I&1SG NEG|not
>   PTL:D|so ADJ|good
>   %eng: I think that was not so good

An utterance was counted as interrupted in case the following utterance does not syntactically form one clause with the interrupted one (cf. 39.a.). With regard to repair structures as in (39.b.), the utterance is of course also being interrupted in order to perform the correction. However, the two parts before and after the breakage form one single clause. The same is true for (39.c.) where a part of an utterance is repeated without adding any new information or correcting the output. The hesitation particles *ähm* or *äh* are mainly used to bridge over a pause in speech caused either by problems in the online production of an utterance or by respiratory reasons. Discourse particles like *ja* 'yes', *also* 'well' or *ne* 'right' organise and structure mainly oral communication. They primarily serve to mark the entry or the ending of a discourse unit as well as to receive confirmation from the listener. In a written text, confirmation from the reader is not possible. Also the text structuring has to be implemented by other means than discourse particles. Hedge expressions like in (39.d.) are used to lessen the impact of an utterance; the speaker demonstrates his discomfort in expressing an attitude and in committing himself to a clear opinion. Normatively, hedge expressions belong to the informal register. The same is true for deictic elements that mostly refer to an entity from the speaker's surrounding and are thus highly

contextualised. All these phenomena are characteristics of spoken language and were therefore rated as unmarked in oral texts. Additionally, interruptions, repair structures, repetitions, and hesitation particles are typical features of spoken language only and normally never occur in written language. Discourse particles, hedge expressions and deictic elements can also be found in written texts but here they clearly are markers of orateness and illustrate the absence of the formal register. Therefore, in case of their occurrence in a written text they were rated as orate.

The last area of orate and literate analysis was semantics. Here, colloquial or sublime lexemes and expressions were noted, the analysis category being based on markedness, reflecting the pupils' awareness of different registers. While in the oral version with a constant interaction with the interviewer colloquial expressions are to be expected, they are to be avoided in the written version. Consider the following examples that illustrate the use of a colloquial lexeme (40.a.), a colloquial expression (40.b.), and a sublime lexeme (40.c.):

(40) a. *PUP: dann kam ein **Typ** (colloquial)
          %mor: ADV|then V|come&PST&3SG DET:INDF|a&SG&M N|guy&SG&M
          %eng: then, a guy came

                  vs.

          *PUP: dann kam ein **Mann** (unmarked)
          %mor: ADV|then V|come&PST&3SG DET:INDF|a&SG&M N|man&SG&M
          %eng: then, a man came

      b. *PUP: ich **habe keinen Plan** (colloquial)
          %mor: PRO|I&1SG V|have&PRS&1SG DET:NEG|no-ACC&SG&M
                  N|plan&SG&M
          %eng: I have no idea

                  vs.

          *PUP: ich **weiß es nicht** (unmarked)
          %mor: PRO|I&1SG V|know&PRS&1SG PRO|it&3SG&N NEG|not
          %eng: I don't know

      c. *PUP: das Mädchen **gesellt sich dazu** (sublime)
          %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&N N|girl&SG&N V|join-PRS&3SG
                  PRO:REFL|herself&3SG PTL:V|there_to
          %eng: the girl joins them

                  vs.

          *PUP: das Mädchen **setzt sich zu ihnen** (unmarked)
          %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&N N|girl&SG&N V|sit-PRS&3SG
                  PRO:REFL|herself&3SG PREP|to PRO|they&3PL&DAT
          %eng: the girl joins them

Also the use of private verbs was noted in this category. Private verbs are verbs that express feelings, intellectual states or opinions (e.g. *glauben* 'to believe', *denken* 'to think'). Since these verbs directly reflect the speaker's/ writer's state of mind, the information provided in connection with these verbs is highly personal and therefore contextualised. Additionally, private verbs should not be found in instructive texts or in simple re-narrations of a film plot.

Besides the semantic value, also the semantic function of clauses was annotated in this domain. Every clause, both in speech and in writing, can be classified as communicative, or depicting, or both simultaneously. A communicative clause does not add any new

information to the storyline, its primary goal is the exchange of information status with the counterpart:

(41)   *IV2:   weißt du noch, was danach passiert ist?
          %eng: do you remember what happened next?
          *PUP: ja (comm.)
          %mor: PTL:D|yes
          %eng: yes
          *PUP: dann hat der Mann den Brief genommen (dep.)
          %mor: ADV|then V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG DET:DEF|the&SG&M
                  N|man&SG&M DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|letter&SG&M PTCP|take
          %eng: then the man took the letter

Of course, since in writing no communication with the reader is possible, exclusively communicative clauses are not to be expected in written texts. In contrast to that, depicting clauses that express new information and carry on with the plot (third example in (41)) are supposed to prevail. Clauses that are both communicative and depicting do not further the plot of the narration but they cast a different light on the entire situation:

(42)   *PUP: das Mädchen wollte sich damit bestimmt was kaufen (comm./dep.)
          %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&N N|girl&SG&N V:MOD|want-PST&3SG
                  PRO:REFL|herself&3SG ADV|with_it ADV|certainly
                  PRO:INDF|something&3SG&N V|buy-INF
          %eng: the girl probably wanted to buy something with it for herself

Additionally to the previously described criteria, it was noted if a pupil used direct or indirect speech in his narration. The use of indirect speech implies a higher degree of complexity than direct speech for two reasons: A clause uttered in the direct speech mostly forms the direct object of a main clause and is thus subordinated to it. This clause transformed into indirect speech needs to be restructured in terms of word order to be overtly marked as subordinated to the main clause. Also, the marking of the referents changes significantly. Consider the following examples for illustration (same referents marked in bold):

(43) a. *PUP: er sagte: „**ich** gehe da nicht hin"
          %mor: PRO|he&3SG&M V|say-PST&3SG PRO|I&1SG V|go-PRS&1SG
                  ADV|there NEG|not ADV|there
          %eng: he said: "I'm not going there"
      b. *PUP: er sagte, dass **er** da nicht hingeht
          %mor: PRO|he&3SG&M V|say-PST&3SG CONJ:COORD|that
                  PRO|he&3SG&M ADV|there NEG|not V|go_there-PRS&3SG
          %eng: he said that he is not going there

Function of information units in Turkish

Function in Turkish orate/ literate analysis refers to function of units within the respective genre. Consequently, the approach to function in the analysis for Turkish resulted in more or less differing labelling of the analysed forms and linguistic means.

In the analysis of German in the category function some discursive characteristics are included which do not occur in the same category in the analysis of the Turkish text products. Characteristics like hesitations and retraces, reformulations are included into syntactic analysis. Hesitation particles, recipient signals, tag questions and other

interjections were considered in the category connection. Nevertheless, just as for German, such elements were considered to be the most defining specifics of spoken language. Their non-existence in the written text products was therefore more or less predictable, sparing the need to include them into the OLA-charts.

In the area of semantics colloquial or more specific lexemes and expressions were noted, reflecting the pupils' awareness of different registers. However, such such register differentiations also occur in oral communication, thus we did not analyse them as characteristics for the written language. They were coded in the transcriptions of the text products but they were not included into the area function in the orate/ literate charts, cf. the following example (44):

(44)   *PUP: şimdi: **erif [: herif]** [//] **adam** merdivenlerden ay [//] **kadın** merdivenden
                iniyo(r)du .
        %mor: ADV:TEMP|now N|guy N|man N|stair-PL-ABL CO|ay N|woman N|stair-
                ABL V|climb_down-IPFV .
        %eng: Now, the guy / man from the stairs / oh woman was coming down the
                stairs .

The basic units of analysis, the information units, were not classified as communicative or depicting as it is done in the analysis for German. The classifications are still similar in a specific sense: The orate interactive units in Turkish analysis are similar to the communicative units in the analysis for German. To be able to simultaneously take genre specific organisation into account, interactive units were labelled as "detailing of events" within narratives, thus +orate, because more information than necessary, more side remarks etc., might be given. Such extensiveness and detailing is less likely to be given in written language, especially in the context of the LAS experiments.

Units belonging to the class "chain of events" were rated as neutral, being comparable to the units classified as depicting in the analysis for German, units carrying on with the plot without detailing via direct speech. The rating of direct speech and reported speech was not done in the area function, the linguistic specifics already accounted for in the area of syntax.

The personal stance pupils take on, analysed by looking at the use of private verbs in the analysis for German, was captured in the OLA for Turkish by the class of evaluative ++literate units. Evaluations appeared to be an essential part of both of the genres produced by the Turkish pupils. The instructive texts were not exceptional. Those units were to be rated ++literate because the syntactic structures, lexical elements and connectors employed in creation of such units were literate, containing a high amount of nominalizations, for instance, like the evaluation in (45) taken from an instructive text:

(45)   *TXT: Çok kullanmakta insanda bağımlılık yapar.
        %mor: QUANT:INDF|more V|use-NMLZ:MAK-CO|da N|person-LOC
                N|addiction V|do-AOR .
        %syn: [(C)MC] .
        %tse: $EVA .
        *TXT: Küçük çocukların kullanmasını tavsiye+etmiyorum .
        %mor: ADJ|little N|child-PL-GEN V|use-NMLZ:MA-POSS&3SG-ACC
                V|advice+do-NEG-IPFV-1SG .
        %syn: [MC] .
        %tse: $EVA .

Genre characteristic units within the instructive texts could be further differentiated into explanations and genuine instructions, both functional units were rated ++literate since those units show more clearly a high level of genre knowledge. In both genres, narrative and instructive, introducing and concluding units were classifies as + literate. Sectioning a text product into phases by signalling their beginning end their end was taken as an indication of adequate knowledge about a communicative practice.

Function of information units in Kurmanjî

The analysis on Kurmanjî in the area of function was performed according to the criteria developed for Turkish, similarly concentrating on the performance of pupils in the narrative genre. The instructive test was not carried out in Kurmanjî.

Interactive units, responses produced in reaction to the co-participants actions, as outcomes of the face-to-face interaction, were classified as orate, as well as units containing direct speech. The reliance on direct speech was similarly to the Turkish analysis rated orate, since those units were overtly detailing actions and events.

Units carrying on with the plot and the introductions and conclusions were handled equally to the analysis of such units in Turkish, the former rated neutral and later +literate.

In this category the unfamiliarity of the pupils with Kurmanjî written language became more obvious than in all the other analysed areas. The orate information units outweighed all the other functional types of information, simultaneously the literate units were dropping, especially evaluations regarded as ++literate did not occur in the same amount as they did in the Turkish text products.

2.2.1.6 Analysis of orate and literate structures: additional remarks

Apart from the qualitative criteria of complements, pragmatics/ discourse, predicates, syntax, and semantics as mentioned above, also absolute criteria like the number of intonation units, number of clauses and sentences (complete, incomplete, interrupted), the number of different word types and words as well as the type/ token ratio were calculated. With regard to semantics, the number of autosemantica in contrast to the number of synsemantica was determined. These criteria allow for a further insight into the semantic and syntactic density of information in the texts.

In the analysis of the Kurmanjî text products from the bilingual case pupils from Istanbul, the coding included a few additional elements, chosen to reflect on the language resources available to the pupils. The amount of the morphologically obligatory elements that were missing in the text products were counted, including the language specific prepositions and adpositions (specific in comparison to Turkish). Also the number of Turkish loans were included in this coding, as well as the genuine Turkish morphological elements. It seemed most important to register the type of morphological fusion, especially a combinative use of the Turkish PFV-suffix with the Kurmanjî verb *kirin* ('to make/ to do') (cf. Bulut 2006). These results are discussed in detail in the case pupil profiles of the bilinguals (not part of this publication).

In sum, the steps of analysis aimed to make the results visible via the orate/ literate charts, summing up the used orate/ literate structures used by the single pupils and to make assessments on their development from first grade to seventh grade. However, in order to improve comparability of the results on the three involved typologically differing languages, some criteria had to be treated differently, taking the language specific structures into account. In this chapter the analysed phenomena were therefore discussed with regard to those language specific approaches to German, Turkish and Kurmanjî.

2.2.2 Orthography analysis

In the following sections, we describe the methodology of the orthographic analysis of the case pupils' texts.

All three languages follow a Latin-based system, but the orthographic rules governing their writing systems are fundamentally different, which is due to their typologically different systems, amongst others. Thus, also the orthographic analysis must concentrate on different topics, so the methodology of orthographic analysis for the three languages is kept apart in different sections (German, 2.2.2.1, Turkish, 2.2.2.2 and Kurmanjî, 2.2.2.3). Furthermore, the analysis for Turkish in Germany and Kurmanjî in Turkey must capture possible dynamics of the dominant language of literacy of the pupils German (in the case of the Turkish-German bilinguals in Germany) and Turkish (in the case of the Kurmanjî-Turkish bilinguals in Turkey. This will be discussed in the chapters on Turkish resp. Kurmanjî. Furthermore, it is clear that the orthographic knowledge of first-graders and especially its development cannot be measured by the same criteria as that of seventh-graders. Since the first-graders are only at the beginning of the acquisition of orthography and writing skills, their advancement needs to be observed in a more fine-grained way. The seventh-graders, on the other hand, already acquired the basic writing skills, making it more important to analyse the observance of orthographic rules. In the following chapters, the orthographic analysis is therefore subdivided according to grades.

2.2.2.1 Orthography analysis of the German texts

2.2.2.1.1 Orthography analysis of first-graders' texts German

The first-graders' texts were analysed with regard to the following criteria: motoric realisation of letters, correct realisation of entire words, syllables, and syllable parts, upper and lower case marking, and marking of word and sentence boundaries. With regard to the first aspect, especially in the beginning of the school year irregularities in the pupils' hand writing skills were examined. Here, the size of upper case letters in comparison to that of lower case letters, the distance between the individual letters, the pupils' ability to write on the line, and correct realisation of the letters' form, e.g. reversed letters, were noted.

As a next step, every word was categorised with regard to its prosodic intonation pattern. The majority of German words consist of one or two syllables. The prevalent intonation pattern for disyllabic words is the trochee, consisting of a stressed and an unstressed syllable (['ʃuː.lə] 'school'). Also quite common, but mostly a sign for words of a foreign origin, is the iamb with the unstressed syllable preceding the stressed one ([pi.'loːt] 'pilot' of foreign origin and [bə.'kɑːm] 'he/ she got' of German origin with the iamb caused by an

upbeat). Of course, also multisyllabic words can be found in German, but here, no dominant intonation pattern can be stated (['ʔap.ɡe̩.bm̩] 'to give in' vs. [bə.'to:.nʊŋ] 'stress' vs. [ma.lə.'ʁaɪ] 'painting').

Having determined the intonation pattern of a word, the syllable type is analysed. There are three types of syllables in German: the stressed syllable, the unmarked syllable, and the reduced syllable. The stressed syllable obligatorily consists of a consonantic onset and a vocalic nucleus, while the coda can be either vocalic or consonantic. The onset and the coda of the stressed syllable can both be complex. The unmarked syllable at least has to be comprised of a vocalic nucleus. Optionally, a consonantic onset and coda can occur. Also the reduced syllable obligatorily consists of the mere nucleus that can be either a reduced vowel ([ə] or [ɐ]) or even a sonorous consonant ([l̩], [m̩], [ŋ̍] or [n̩]). The onset and coda are both facultative, but if these positions are filled, they are always consonantic.

With regard to the stressed syllable, also the connection of the vocalic nucleus with the following consonant plays an important role. This connection can either be lax (symbolised by "→") or tight (represented by "↲"), effecting a close or open articulation of the vowel. In combination with an open or closed stressed syllable, four basic types of German words can be determined:

Tab. I.2.10. Syllable types

	Open syllable	Closed syllable
Lax connection	['hy→.tə] 'hats'	['hy→n.çən] 'chicken'
Tight connection	['hy ↲tə] 'hut'	['hy ↲f.tə] 'hip'

Whereas both syllable types in the unmarked boxes do not need special marking in order to indicate the articulation of the vowel (<Hüte> 'hats' and <Hüfte> 'hip'[43]), the two syllable types shaded in grey both require a special orthographic marking: <Hühnchen> 'chicken' and <Hütte> 'hut'. In <Hühnchen>, the <h> following the <ü> indicates that the vowel needs to be articulated openly in spite of the closed syllable. In <Hütte>, the tight connection of the vowel with the following consonant is indicated by the reduplication of <t>.

In the orthography analysis of the first-graders' texts, the representation of these four basic syllable types and their orthographic marking was considered. Also the realisation of the different syllable parts (onset, nucleus, and coda) was analysed, incorporating the correct spelling of complex consonant clusters (<bl>, <tr>, <kn>, etc.) and multi-chain graphemes (<sch> for [ʃ], <ch> for [x] and [ç], <ng> for [ŋ], etc.). Additionally, spelling caused by morphologic constancy (e.g. final devoicing as in ['hʊnt] 'dog' spelled <Hund> because of ['hʊn.də] 'dogs') and the realisation of the vocalised <r> (e.g. ['diɐ] 'you.DAT.SG' spelled <dir>) were analysed.

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[43] The same is true for stressed syllables with diphthongs that also do not need special marking of the connection type.

In terms of orthography acquisition, studies prove that learners first put into writing the initial sound of a word. Then they start to represent all syllables by writing their onsets. Subsequently, the representation of the entire reduced syllable is acquired, followed by the stressed syllable. The different markings of the vowel quality in the stressed syllable are acquired rather late in the first school year, if at all.

With regard to the representation of different syllable parts, it was further differentiated between a correct, plausible, incorrect and 0-representation. The last category was applied when a syllable constituent was not implemented at all. A representation was counted as plausible when, e.g., rules of morphologic constancy were not applied (*<Hunt> vs. <Hund> 'dog'), when multi-chain graphemes were not spelled out completely (*<Shaf> vs. <Schaf> 'sheep'), or when other orthographic rules were not obeyed (*<Fogel> vs. <Vogel> 'bird', *<Schpiel> vs. <Spiel> 'game', *<Winta> vs. <Winter> 'winter' etc.). A syllable constituent was deemed wrongly implemented when its use could not be explained by phonotactic rules, such as in *<Dost> vs. <Post> 'mail'.

Of course, especially spellings based on morphologic constancy and the knowledge of a vocalised <r> are not very advanced in the first grade. Still, first signs of these orthographic peculiarities were observable. The same is true for the upper and lower case marking of nominal phrases. Here, it was noted if capital letters were used only at the beginning of a word, if lexical nominal phrases were marked as such by capitalisation, and also if other elements were mistakenly written with a capital letter. Especially at the beginning of orthography acquisition, learners find it difficult to differentiate between the different functions of upper and lower case letters and tend to either write the entire word in capital letters or to arbitrarily mix the two. However, at the end of the school year, pupils are supposed to have a basic idea of capitalisation and its use, which was also a topic in the investigated class.

As a last step of analysis, the marking of word and sentence boundaries was scrutinised. At the beginning of orthography acquisition, learners often tend to write in a continuous script without setting any spaces. When they become aware of the fact that words need to be separated, they often use special markers like slashes, full stops, or asterisks etc. in order to mark word boundaries. Only later, spaces are used for word separation. Here, it proved also fruitful to analyse the notion of "word" that is demonstrated this way since most pupils tend to write grammatical markers (pronouns, conjunctions, etc.) in one word with the following autosemantica (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs). Only rarely, pupils separate words into their morphemes, demonstrating an intuitive awareness of the concept "word".

Also the marking of sentence boundaries played an important role in orthography analysis. Writing beginners often start marking these boundaries in accordance with the predefined lines on the sheet, beginning each sentence with a new line. While the capital letter at the sentence beginning was usually acquired quite fast, the full stop (or other markers) at the end was often not present. Since the term "sentence" is often used without any further explanation, it is not surprising that pupils also tend to mark listings of nominal phrases etc. this way.

2.2.2.1.2 Orthography analysis of seventh-graders' texts Germany

The analysis of the seventh-graders' texts captured more global criteria since it was assumed that the representation of individual syllable parts etc. does not pose a problem anymore. Moreover, according to the curriculum, all rules concerning orthography and punctuation had already been introduced to the pupils and were thus supposed to be mastered. In this section, the criteria used to analyse all relevant texts written by the seventh-graders with regard to orthography and punctuation will be described.

The first significant branch of orthography analysis was the marking of words by upper and lower case. In German, all lexical heads of nominal phrases are to be marked by a majuscule: <der **T**isch> 'the table'. This rule also applies to nominalisations of adjectives and verbs: <die **S**chöne> 'the beautiful one' from <schön> 'beautiful' and <das **L**esen> 'the reading' from <lesen> 'to read'. Especially these nominalisations pose a problem in terms of correct spelling since their function as a nominal phrase needs to be extracted from a syntactic analysis and cannot be developed from its phonologic form that is similar to the original adjective/ verb. But also proper nouns as well as the honorific address of a person are marked by a capital letter: <in **B**erlin> 'in Berlin', <für **S**ie>/ <zu **I**hnen> 'for you.HON/ to you.HON'. While the marking of proper nouns is very basic and already acquired in the first years of orthography education, the marking of the honorific address was still problematic in the seventh grade because of this form's phonologic and even formal conformity with other personal pronouns:

(46)	sie	Sie
	PRO|they&3PL	PRO|you&3PL&HON
	ihnen	Ihnen
	PRO|they&3PL&DAT	PRO|you&3PL&DAT&HON

As Example (46) illustrates, both the personal pronoun and the honorific pronoun coincide in their grammatical features and differ solely in their semantics. Only if this semantic difference has been captured by the writer, he is able to mark the honorific address adequately by upper case.

When using an acronym, all letters need to be majuscules in order to indicate its composition of the initial letters of other words: <**SMS**> 'SMS' because of <Short Message Service>. The spelling *<Sms> would conceal its origin and mark it as an ordinary nominal phrase.

Additionally, it was noted if verbs and adjectives were correctly spelled with a minuscule. But also random misspellings of adverbs, prepositions, and determiners etc. with the upper case were counted.

The area of separate and compound spelling analysis consisted of three sub-items: the marking of verbs with a particle, the spelling of nominal compounds and of joint morphemes. In German, several verbs possess a separable verbal particle that needs to be written in one word with the verb under certain circumstances:

(47)	er gibt **auf**
	PRO|he&3SG&M V|give-PRS&3SG PTL:V|in

> er gab **auf**
> PRO|he&3SG&M V|give&PST&3SG PTL:V|in
>
> vs.
>
> **auf**geben
> PTL:V|in~V|give-INF

Furthermore, in the case of a participle or an extended infinitive, another morpheme emerges between the verbal particle and the stem, producing a compound spelling of the three:

> (48) **auf**gegeben
> PTL:V|in~PTCP|give
>
> **auf**zugeben
> PTL:V|in~PTL:INF|to~Vgive-INF

The decision in favour of a compound spelling must thus be made with the help of a syntactic analysis particularly because the separable verbal particles mostly correspond to prepositions: <**auf**geben> 'to give in' and <auf> 'on', <**ab**geben> 'to give back' and <ab> 'off', <**zu**geben> 'to admit' and <zu> 'to'.

A common word formation mechanism in German is the construction of nominal compounds. Compounds can consist of several types of elements, the following are the most common ones: two nouns (<**Schulhof**> 'school yard' composed of <Schule> 'school' and <Hof> 'yard'), an adjective and a noun (<**Hochhaus**> 'skyscraper' composed of <hoch> 'high' and <Haus> 'house'), or a verbal element and a noun (<**Greifarm**> 'gripper arm' composed of <greifen> 'to grip' and <Arm> 'arm'). In order to implement a compound spelling of the two connected elements, one needs to analyse them syntactically as belonging together and forming one nominal phrase.

There are several words in German that can be analysed as consisting of two independent morphemes while they still need to be spelled in one word: <**überall**> 'everywhere' consisting of the morphemes *über-* 'over' and *-all* 'everything', <**sowieso**> 'anyway' consisting of the morphemes *so-* 'so', *-wie-* 'like', and *-so* 'so', or <**mehrmals**> 'repeatedly' consisting of the morphemes *mehr-* 'more' and *-mals* 'times'. Of course, also erroneously separated morphemes were counted.

One of the major sources of errors in the German orthography is the spelling of [das]. It represents the neuter definite determiner, the neuter demonstrative pronoun, the neuter relative pronoun, and a subordinating conjunction. While the first three homophonous forms are spelled <**das**>, the conjunction needs to be spelled <**dass**>. The differentiation of these four forms often poses a severe problem so that writers tend to mark the conjunction in the same way as the other three forms.

The category "choice of letters" represents cases in which pupils added superfluous letters to a word (e.g. *<iche> vs. <ich> 'I'), chose a wrong letter when writing a foreign word (e.g. *<Sekreteriat> vs. <Sekretariat> 'secretary's office'), or where a letter is missing (e.g. *<Gorg> vs. <Georg> 'George'). Since the reasons for each misspelling are hard to categorise, they were individually described in the respective case pupil profile.

Occasionally, pupils wrote the phonologically reduced form instead of the explicit form: *<hab> vs. <habe> 'I have', *<gehn> vs. <gehen> 'to go'. Though these forms are grammatically entirely adequate, they still represent the orate form and were thus deemed orthographically incorrect.

Spellings based on morphologic constancy were further subdivided into three areas: final devoicing, the writing of <ä>/<äu>, as well as writings based on morpheme conflation. The term "final devoicing" describes the phenomenon that certain voiced consonants lose their voicing when positioned in the coda of a syllable, e.g. the [t] in ['hʊnt] 'dog' derived from ['hʊn.**d**ə] 'dogs'. According to the rule of morphologic constancy, the voiceless and the voiced plosive need to be represented by the same grapheme <d>: <Hun**d**> vs. <Hun**d**e>. The same goes for the writing of <ä> and <äu> that is always morphologically induced like in ['hɔɪ.zɐ] <H**äu**ser> 'houses' because of ['ha**ʊ**s] <H**au**s> 'house'. In some cases, a correct spelling of a word is only possible after fractionalising it into its morphologic parts: The consonant cluster <dt> in <Han**dt**uch> ['han.ˌtu:x] 'towel' can only be accessed after its decomposition into ['hant] <Han**d**> 'hand' and ['tu:x] <Tuch> 'cloth'.

The morpheme *-t* as a verbal suffix for third person singular present tense is often subject to over-generalisation of the above mentioned morphologic constancy. The pupils tended to spell verbs like ['li:st] <lies**t**> 'he reads' with a final <d>, misinterpreting the final consonant to be a case of final devoicing. Therefore, this subarea of assumed morphologic constancy was analysed separately.

The spelling of the so-called fixed forms was analysed, as well. Fixed forms are forms whose spelling cannot be derived from any orthographic rule, but has to be memorised, e.g., in words with an ambiguous pronunciation, the spelling is used to differentiate these two forms: ['man] can be spelled <Mann> 'man' and <man> 'one'. Other examples are ['vi:.dɐ], spelled either <wieder> 'again' or <wider> 'against', or ['va:] spelled <war> 'he/she was' or <wahr> 'true'. Of course, after a syntactic analysis, it can be easily determined which of the two homonyms is meant, but it is still not possible to extrapolate the correct spelling.

In words of German origin, the phoneme [f] can be represented either by the grapheme <f> or by the grapheme <v>. Although there are some regularities hinting at the fact that most often, [f] is spelled <f> in stems and <v> in affixes (like in <**v**erführen> [fɐ.'fy:ɐn] 'to seduce', built of the prefix *ver-* and the stem *-führen*), also a lot of exceptions exist (<**V**ogel> ['**f**o:.ɡl̩] 'bird' or <**V**ater> ['**f**ɑ:.tɐ] 'father'). Thus, the spelling of <v>/ <f> has to be memorised.

The same is true for the reduplication of vowel letters in order to mark the tenseness (and length) of the vowel: <S**ee**> ['z**e:**] 'sea', <B**oo**t> ['b**o:**t] 'boat', or <**A**al> ['ʔ**ɑ:**l] 'eel'. This marking of vowel quantity is very random in German orthography and does not apply to all vowel letters, so these words also have to be learned as fixed forms.

Additionally, several other fixed forms[44] whose spelling cannot be derived from any orthographic rule need to be memorised. Such forms are, e.g., <sind> ['zɪnt] 'they are' and <und> ['ʔʊnt] 'and' without any disyllabic form to explain the <d>, <dann> ['dan] 'then' and <wann> ['van] 'when' where the <nn> cannot be derived from a disyllabic form with a tight connection, or etymologically motivated spellings that most likely cannot be derived form the original form any more: the <ä> in <Lärm> ['lɛɐm] 'noise', originally derived from <Alarm> [ʔa.'lɑ:m] 'alarm', and the <ä> and <d> in <Mädchen> ['me:t.çən] 'girl', derived from <Magd> ['mɑ:kt] 'maid' and <Mägde> ['me:k.də] 'maids' respectively.

The marking of the tight connection of a vowel and the following consonant by a reduplication of the consonant letter was the next criterion of analysis. Here, a differentiation was made between the tight connection at the syllable boundary (<kommen> ['kɔ↵mən] 'to come') and the tight connection within a syllable adopted from a disyllabic form because of the morphologic constancy (<kommt> ['kɔ↵mt] 'he/ she comes').

The phoneme [z] is constantly represented by the grapheme <s> if it forms the syllable onset and is not simultaneously situated at the morpheme boundary: ['ho:.zə] <Hose> 'pants', ['zal.bə] <Salbe> 'ointment'. However, the grapheme <s> can also represent the phoneme [s], evoked by final devoicing at the morpheme boundary: <Haus> ['haʊs] 'house' vs. <Häuser> ['hɔɪ.zɐ] 'houses', <reist> ['ʁaɪst] 'he/ she travels' vs. <reisen> ['ʁaɪ.zn̩] 'to travel'. Additionally, the phoneme [s] combined with a tight connection of the previous vowel can be represented by <ss>: <besser> ['bɛ↵sɐ] 'better', <küssen> ['kʏ↵sn̩] 'to kiss'. But if [s] is loosely connected to the previous vowel, it has to be marked by the grapheme <ß>: <fließen> ['fli→.sn̩] 'to flow', <stoßen> ['ʃto→.sn̩] 'to push'. This quite complex paradigm of [s] and [z] on the one hand and <s>, <ss>, and <ß> on the other hand was evaluated in a separate branch of orthography analysis.

The representation of the tense long vowel [i:] was another criterion of orthography analysis. It is commonly spelled <ie> as in <Liebe> ['li:.bə] 'love' or <Biene> ['bi:.nə] 'bee'. In some cases (especially in pronouns), the same vowel is represented by <i> solely: <Biber> ['bi:.bɐ] 'beaver', <Fibel> ['fi:.bl̩] 'primer', <Musik> [mu.'zi:k] 'music'. Especially these exceptions cannot be derived but have to be memorised.

As previously discussed in the section on first-graders' orthography analysis, in some instances, a lax connection of a vowel to the following consonant at a syllable boundary has to be additionally marked by an <h>, but only if the following consonant is an approximant or a nasal, as in <Lehrer> ['le→.ʁɐ] 'teacher', <nehmen> ['ne→.mən] 'to take', or <ohne> ['ʔo→.nə] 'without'. However, this is not a hard rule, allowing many exceptions: <Schule> ['ʃu→.lə] 'school' or <betonen> [bə.'to→.nən] 'to emphasise'. Again, these exceptions have to be learned.

In cases where a full and a reduced vowel collide at the syllable boundary, a graphic <h> is inserted in order to mark the disyllabism of the word: <gehen> ['ge:.ən] 'to go', <ziehen>

['tsiː.ən] 'to pull', or <Rehe> ['ʁeː.ə] 'roes'. This graphic <h> is of course also carried over to the monosyllabic form because of the morphologic constancy. Both of these occurrences were analysed in the orthography evaluation.

Additionally, it was noted if all letters with diacritics (<Ä>/<ä>, <Ü>/<ü>, <Ö>/<ö>, and <i>) were correctly spelled. Other non-categorised mistakes were noted in a category "miscellaneous".

The punctuation was analysed separately from the orthography and subdivided into the following categories: marking of subordinate clauses, other cases of comma usage, marking of the direct speech, tagging of sentence boundaries, use of the hyphen as well as other random punctuation signs.

The subordinated clause with a finite predicate needs to be separated from the main clause by a comma, independently of its position. In the next example, the subordinate clause follows the main clause (49.a.), precedes it (49.b.), and is embedded into it (49.c.):

> (49) a.   *TXT: Anna weiß, dass Georg es getan hat.
>   %mor: N:PROP|Anna V|know&PRS&3SG CONJ:SUBORD|that
>   N:PROP|Georg PRO|it&3SG&N PTCP|do V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
>   %eng: Anna knows that Georg did it.
>
>   b.   *TXT: Weil das Wetter schön ist, gehe ich nach draußen.
>   %mor: CONJ:SUBORD|because DET:DEF|the&SG&N N|weather&SG&N
>   ADJ|beautiful COP|be&PRS&3SG V|go-PRS&1SG PRO|I&1SG
>   PREP|to ADV|outside
>   %eng: I'll go outside because the weather is nice.
>
>   c.   *TXT: Der Mann, der das getan hat, ist weggelaufen.
>   %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&M N|man&SG&M PRO:REL|that&SG&M
>   PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N PTCP|do V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG
>   V:AUX|be&PRS&3SG PTCP|run_away
>   %eng: The man who did it ran away.

The marking of subordinate clauses with a finite predicate by a comma is one of the major error sources in German punctuation. Here, particularly the marking of preceding (49.b.) and embedded (49.c.) subordinate clauses poses a severe problem. When marking the embedded clause, pupils tended to set the first comma and to skip the second one.

The marking of subordinate clauses with a non-finite predicate is subject to several restrictions. Firstly, the subordinate clause only needs to be marked by a comma if its non-finite predicate is extended:

> (50) a.   *TXT: Der Mann versuchte *, wegzulaufen.
>   %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&M N|man&SG&M V|try-PST&3SG
>   PTL:V|away~PTL:INF|to~V|run-INF
>   %eng: The man tried to run away.
>
>   b.   *TXT: Der Mann versuchte (,) vor der Polizei wegzulaufen.
>   %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&M N|man&SG&M V|try-PST&3SG PREP|before
>   DET:DEF|the&DAT&SG&F N|police&SG&F
>   PTL:V|away~PTL:INF|to~V|run-INF
>   %eng: The man tried to run away from the police.

Since in (50.a.), the infinitive *wegzulaufen* 'to run away' is not extended, the preceding comma is wrong. In (50.b.) on the other hand, the infinitive is extended by the prepositional phrase *vor der Polizei* 'from the police'. Here, the comma can be set but is not obligatory.

The non-finite subordinate clause only needs to be marked by a comma on the following conditions: It is introduced by the conjunctions *um* 'in order to', *ohne* 'without to', *außer* 'except', *anstatt* 'instead', *als* 'than' (cf. example 51.a.), or the infinitive refers to a noun or a nominal in the main clause (cf. 51.b.):

(51) a.   *TXT: Sie ging zum Fenster, **um** es aufzumachen.
              %mor: PRO|she&3SG&F V|go&PST&3SG
                     PREP|to~DET:DEF|the&DAT&SG&N
                     N|window&SG&N CONJ:SUBORD|in_order_to PRO|it&3SG&N
                     PTL:V|open~PTL:INF|to~V|make-INF
              %eng: She went to the window to open it.

       b.   *TXT: Er fasste den **Plan**, eine Bank zu überfallen.
              %mor: PRO|he&3SG&M V|conceive-PST&3SG DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M
                     N|plan&SG&M DET:INDF|a&SG&F N|bank&SG&F PTL:INF|to
                     V|rob-INF
              %eng: He conceived the plan to rob a bank.

If in both cases described above, the infinitive is not extended, the comma again becomes facultative. Of course, also a subordinated clause with a non-finite predicate can be positioned before, after, or embedded into a main clause.

Two independent main clauses have to be separated by a comma if they are not connected by *und* 'and', *oder* 'or', *entweder oder* 'either or' and *weder noch* 'neither nor' (cf. example 52.a.). If they are connected by one of these conjunctions, a comma can be set in order to highlight the sentence structure (52.b.):

(52) a.   *TXT: Die Tür geht auf, ein Mann kommt herein.
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|door&SG&F V|go-PRS&3SG PTL:V|open
                     DET:INDF|a&SG&M N|man&SG&M V|come-PRS&3SG PTL:V|in
              %eng: The door opens, a man enters.

       b.   *TXT: Die Tür geht auf (,) **und** ein Mann kommt herein.
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|door&SG&F V|go-PRS&3SG PTL:V|open
                     CONJ:COORD|and DET:INDF|a&SG&M N|man&SG&M V|come-
                     PRS&3SG PTL:V|in
              %eng: The door opens and a man enters.

If one of the main clauses is not independent but additionally connected to the other one by coordinate reduction, the comma is not allowed:

(53)   *TXT: Der Mann kommt herein *, **und** geht wieder.
              %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&M N|man&SG&M V|come-PRS&3SG PTL:V|in
                     CONJ:COORD|and V|go-PRS&3SG ADV|again
              %eng: The man enters and leaves again.

In case that one clause is introduced by *aber/ doch* 'but' and thus expresses a contrast to the other clause, a comma has to be set:

(54)   *TXT: Er hat es versucht, **aber** es hat nicht geklappt.
              %mor: PRO|he&3SG&M V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG PRO|it&3SG&N PTCP|try
                     CONJ:COORD|but PRO|it&3SG&N V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG NEG|not
                     PTCP|work
              %eng: He tried it but it didn't work.

A comma also marks the addressee (55.a.) as well as an interjection (55.b.):

(55) a.   *TXT: **Herr Müller**, haben Sie Georg gesehen?

> %mor: N|mister&SG&M N:PROP|Müller V:AUX|have-PRS&3PL
>   PRO|you&3PL&HON N:PROP|Georg PTCP|see
> %eng: Mr. Müller, have you seen Georg?

b.   *TXT: **Ach**, das hätte ich fast vergessen.
      %mor: PTL:D|oh PRO:DEM|it&3SG&N V:AUX|have&CONJ2-1SG
              PRO|I&1SG ADV|almost PTCP|forget
      %eng: Oh, I almost forgot that.

Additionally, a comma has to be set in case of an apposition (56.a.) and also in order to mark enumeration (56.b.):

(56) a.   *TXT: Die Frau, **eine Lehrerin**, hat einen Brief verloren.
            %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F DET:INDF|a&SG&F N|teacher-
                    SG&F V:AUX|have&PRS&3SG DET:INDF|a&ACC&SG&M
                    N|letter&SG&M PTCP|lose
            %eng: The woman, a teacher, lost a letter.

      b.   *TXT: Die Frau kaufte **Milch, Käse, Brot** und **Wasser**.
            %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V|buy-PST&3SG
                    N|milk&SG&F N|cheese&SG&M N|bread&SG&N CONJ:COORD|and
                    N|water&SG&N
            %eng: The woman bought milk, cheese, bread, and water.

Apart from commas set according to the punctuation rules, also randomly marked commas were counted. A special focus was laid on the marking of the direct speech that is highlighted by quotation marks. If the direct speech precedes the main clause, it needs to be separated from it by a comma:

(57) a.   *TXT: „Ich gehe jetzt", sagte die Frau.
            %mor: PRO|I&1SG V|go-PRS&1SG ADV|now V|say-PST&3SG
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman
            %eng: "I'm leaving," the woman said.

      b.   *TXT: „Gehst du jetzt?", fragte die Frau.
            %mor: V|go-PRS&2SG PRO|you&2SG ADV|now V|ask-PST&3SG
                    DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F
            %eng: "Are you leaving?" asked the woman.

While in (57.a.) above, the declarative sentence in the direct speech is not marked by a full stop, the question in (57.b.) is marked by a question mark. If the direct speech follows the main clause, it has to be introduced by a colon. Additionally, the full stop has to be marked at the end of the direct speech:

(58) a.   *TXT: Die Frau sagte: „Ich gehe jetzt."
            %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V|say-PST&3SG PRO|I&1SG
                    V|go-PRS&1SG ADV|now
            %eng: The woman said, "I'm leaving."

      b.   *TXT: Die Frau fragte: "Gehst du jetzt?"
            %mor: DET:DEF|the&SG&F N|woman&SG&F V|ask-PST&3SG V|go-
                    PRS&2SG PRO|you&2SG ADV|now
            %eng: The woman asked, "Are you leaving?"

Note further that in both examples in (58), the beginning of the direct speech has to be marked by a capital letter. When the main clause interrupts the direct speech, there is always a comma before and after the main clause:

(59)   *TXT: „Und jetzt", fragte sie, „gehst du?"
                  %mor: CONJ:COORD|and ADV|now V|ask-PST&3SG PRO|she&3SG&F
                          V|go-PRS&2SG PRO|you&2SG
                  %eng: "And now", she asked, "are you leaving?"

The next category of punctuation analysis was the paired marking of the sentence. The beginning of a sentence needs to be marked by a majuscule while at the end a full stop, a question mark, or an exclamation mark has to be placed. In this category, it was not only counted when some sentence markers are missing, but it was also analysed if the sentence boundaries were correctly set, e.g. if a question was not tagged by a question mark or if more than one sentence were wrongly connected.

The use of other punctuation marks was analysed as well. Here, the following categories were established: the application of the colon when additional information follows (60.a.), the use of the quotation marks to highlight a meta-expression (60.b.), the round brackets when using a citation from the original text (60.c.), and the dash (60.d.):

(60) a.   *TXT: Er hat schon folgende Länder bereist: Spanien, Italien und Frankreich.
             %mor: PRO|he&3SG&M V:AUX|have&PRS3SG ADV|already
                   PTCP1|following-PL N|country&PL PTCP|travel N:PROP|Spain
                   N:PROP|Italy CONJ:COORD|and N:PROP|France
             %eng: He already visited the following countries: Spain, Italy, and France.

      b.   *TXT: Dann muss man auf „Menü" drücken.
             %mor: ADV|then V:MOD|must&PRS3SG PRO:INDF|one PREP|on
                   N|menu&SG&N V|press-INF
             %eng: Then you have to press "Menu".

      c.   *TXT: Georg fühlt sich schuldig (S. 10).
             %mor: N:PROP|Georg V|feel-PRS&3SG PRO:REFL|himself ADJ|guilty
             %eng: Georg feels guilty (p. 10).

      d.   *TXT: Eines Tages – es war mitten im Sommer – hagelte es.
             %mor: DET:INDF|a&GEN&SG&M N|day-GEN&SG&M PRO|it&3SG&N
                   COP|be&PST3SG ADV|amidst PREP|in~DET:DEF|the&DAT&SG&M
                   N|summer&SG&M V|hail-PST&3SG PRO|it&3SG&N
             %eng: One day – it was in the middle of summer – it was hailing.

Hyphenation was the last category of punctuation analysis. The hyphenation rules of German only apply to multi-syllabic words and are as follows: The hyphen is set at the syllable boundary, often corresponding to the morpheme boundary (*Mu-se-um* 'museum', *Schul-hof* 'school yard', *Ent-wurf* 'draft'). If the syllable consists of a vowel solely, it cannot be separated (*U-ganda 'Uganda', *A-bend 'evening'). The multi-graphemes <sch>, <ch> and <ck> are entirely transferred into the next line (*Wä-sche* 'laundry', *Kü-che* 'kitchen', *Bä-cker* 'baker') while the digraph <ng> has to be split up (*sin-gen* 'to sing', *brin-gen* 'to bring'). The same rule applies to duplicated consonant letters marking the tight connection (*Was-ser* 'water', *Bet-ten* 'beds', *Wel-le* 'wave').

Conclusively, the used words were counted as well as the spelling and punctuation errors (both types and token) in order to generate an error quotient for each text and each pupil. Subsequently, this data was depicted in figures illustrating the pupils' development in the course of the school year.

2.2.2.2 Orthography analysis of the Turkish texts

Before explaining the procedure of analysis of the case pupils' texts, a short overview on the Turkish phonological and orthographical system are in order, which motivate the criteria established for the orthographic analysis.[45]

2.2.2.2.1 Turkish phonology and orthography

Turkish phonology

Turkish has eight short vowels that can be grouped according to the features of pitch, backness and rounding:

Tab. I.2.12. Turkish vowels

	palatal		non-palatal	
	non-labial	labial	non-labial	labial
high	i	ü	ı	u
low	e	ö	a	o

A striking feature of Turkish phonology is its so-called "vowel harmony" to which nearly all grammatical morphemes are bound. With the distinctive features [± palatal], [± high] and [± labial] playing the decicive roles, all suffix vowels assimilate to the preceding vowel within word boundaries, with only few exceptions. Within word stems, vowels usually harmonise with regard to palatality, while harmony in labiality and highness has to be described as a tendency. Any vowel that violates the harmony creates its new harmony domain to which the following vowels assimilate.[46]

As for **consonants**, Turkish has five pairs of voiced and voiceless stops and affricates, three pairs of fricatives, two nasals, three liquids and two approximants.

Allophonic variation of consonants occurs in the environment of palatalisation, aspiration and bilabialisation. Palatalisation affects the velar consonants /k/, /g/ and /l/ in front vowel environments. There are, however, a number of loans where this does not apply (and this bears relevance to orthography, see below).

There are a number of systematic consonant alternations:

–   Alternations of voiceless/voiced consonants: In most stems ending in one of the voiceless/voiced consonants /p/, /t/, /ç/, this final consonant changes to its voiced counterpart /b/, /d/, /c/ before a suffix beginning with a vowel. In their

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[45] Reference to literature in this area of research is reduced to a minimim here. The phonological description is based on the grammars of Kornfilt (1997) and Göksel & Kerslake (2005), and on van der Hulst & van der Weijer (1991). The orthographic description is based on Menz (2006) and Menz & Schroeder (2006, 2008, in press) with regard to Turkish orthography in general, and to Schroeder (2007) and Şimşek & Schroeder (2010) with regard to Turkish in Germany.

[46] In the orthographic representation of vowel variation due to vowel harmony, we adhere to the following established convention: i) If before application of vowel harmony in a given word the vowel variation of a suffix is twofold, that is, only [-high] and [-round] vowels are allowed, then this is represented by a capital *A*. ii) If before application of the vowel harmony in a given word the variation is fourfold, i.e. only [+high] vowels are allowed, this is represented by the capital *I*.

bare form, stems always have the voiceless consonant of these pairs.

– /k/ alternates under the same circumstances in two alternatives: Alternation with /g/ only occurs when /k/ it is preceded by /n/, e.g. *renk* 'colour' becomes *renge* 'to the colour'. In all other contexts, /k/ alternates with ø bevor a back vowel, and with the glide [j] before a back vowel.[47]

Vowel harmonic processes as well as the systematic consonant alternations from above are represented in the orthography (see below).

The canonical **syllable structure** of Turkish is CV. This means that whenever possible, this structure is created in syllabification. However, syllables of the form CVC, V, and VC are numerous, as well. In addition, there are syllables of the form (C)VCC if the syllable-final cluster is a well-formed one, i.e. if it belongs to one of the following types:

– Sonorant + obstruent: *kürk* 'fur', *kazanç* 'gain'
– Voiceless fricative + oral plosive: *çift* 'pair', aşk 'love'
– k + s: *boks* 'boxing', *raks* (a particular tune)

Syllable-initial consonant clusters appear only word-initial in stems. They are broken up, in general, by an epenthetic (high) vowel that usually (but not in general) undergoes backwards vowel-harmony with the stem.[48] It should be noted, however, that speakers in the big, westernised cities often pronounce certain borrowings with their original word-initial clusters, for example the cluster /sp/ is often heard without epenthesis. Words with syllable-initial consonant clusters are, in the spelling of advanced literates, mostly written without the epenthesis.

The syllabification principles of Turkish establish a clear hierarchy. They can be captured by the following principles that are based on one another:

– Any medial consonant is syllabified with the immediately following vowel if such a vowel exists (*gel → ge.lir / gel.di*).
– In any medial consonant cluster, the last consonant is syllabified with the following vowel (*türk → tür.küm*). Not more than one consonant can be syllabified in this way, given the fact that no syllable-initial clusters are allowed productively.
– Thus, consonant(s) that are not the last one(s) in a medial consonant cluster are syllabified with the preceding vowel. If there is more than one such consonant, both consonants are syllabified with the preceding consonant if the cluster thus formed conforms to the well-formed syllable-final clusters (*türk → türk.ler*). If the cluster thus formed is not permitted, vowel epenthesis must apply (*burn →* *burunda*).

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[47] In their orthographic representation, we follow the established convention of using a capital letter for a consonant, which may undergo an alternation. A capital *D*, *C* and *B* may undergo devoicing, and a capital *K* may undergo (phonemic) deletion. Furthermore, a capital *Y* is used in paradigms where this phoneme occurs as a glide and in some paradigms an *N* may be said to form a glide in a strictly synchronic approach.

[48] In some older borrowings, the word-initial cluster is broken up by a high vowel that is added to the beginning of the word.

Turkish **word stress** occurs on the last syllable of the stem with the majority of words, except for most adverbs, many loans, and place names. With those stems, which have regular stress, under suffixation, word stress moves onto the new last syllable. Some suffixes, however, block stress, which then remains on the last stressable syllable.

Turkish orthography

The Turkish script is comparatively recent, being established in 1928. It is a Latin-based left-to-right script with monographemes throughout, some of them innovations.

Phonographically, Turkish orthography displays a high degree of invariance between grapheme and phoneme. Notwithstanding this overall tendency, some important modifications have to be added:

– Turkish has a complex orthographeme <ğ> ("soft g"). Synchronically speaking, the employment of this grapheme is not based on phoneme-grapheme correspondences[49]. Partly, it is based on syllable structure, i.e. non-initial syllables in a genuine Turkish word must be represented with an initial non-vocalic grapheme even if the syllable is open. <ğ>, then, marks non-initial syllables without a (phonematic) consonantal onset (e.g. [ba.ɯr] → <bağır> "cry!"). However, <ğ> may also appear in syllable coda before a closed syllable.

– <ğ>, then, corresponds to different phonetic representations according to different phonological contexts: In between front vowels and in between a front vowel and a palatal consonant, <ğ> is in parallel with <y> in that both represent a palatal glide [ʲ], e.g. <eğitim> [e.ʲi.tim] 'education' versus <eylem> [eʲ.lem] 'activity'; also <eğer> [e.ʲer] 'if' versus <eyer> [e.ʲer] 'saddle'. In between back vowels of the same value and in between a back vowel and a consonant, <ğ> marks vowel length, e.g. <ağaç> [a:tʃ] 'tree', <ağ.bi> [a:bi] 'brother'. In between back vowels of different values and in between a front-vowel and a non-palatal consonant, vowel length is instable, thus

– <ğ> may not have a phonological counterpart, e.g. <öğret> [ø.ɾɛt]/ [ø:.ɾɛt] 'teach!', <bağır> [ba.ɯr]/ [ba:.ɯr] "cry!".

– The acquisition of the correct use of <ğ> thus requires a high level of orthographic awareness, and is additionally hindered by the fact that the didactics of Turkish literacy and orthography have an exclusively phonological orientation based on the principle of giving one sound correspondence to each letter.

– Turkish has varying representation of vowel quantity. In words of Turkish origin, it is represented by <ğ> (see above). In loanwords of Persian and Arabic origin, four strategies of the representation of vowel length can be observed, that is i) <h> in some loan words (e.g. *kahve* [ka:vɛ]) 'coffee', *Padişah* [padiʃa:] 'sovereign', ii) circumflex marking of vowel length (^), e.g. *imlâ* [imla:] 'orthography', iii) double vowel graphemes (e.g. şiir [ʃɪ:ɾ] 'poem'), and iv) non-

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[49] Historically, <ğ> represents an uvular fricative /ʁ/.

marking (e.g. *zamanım* [zama:nɯɯm] 'my time'). However, it should be noted that vowel length has a peripheral status in the phonological system.[50]

- But not only with regard to vowel length do loanwords in Turkish follow differing principles of spelling:

  - With Persian and Arabic loanwords, transcription principles from Arabic script to Latin sometimes collide with Turkish phonological tendencies, in particular the palatalisation harmony, with regard to vowels and (as an allophonic variation) to consonants. For example *saat* 'watch' is combined with front frowels. Also in French and Arabic loanwords with stem-final /l/, this /l/ is, in the written language, interpreted as palatal, thus following suffixes are written with front vowel graphemes, e.g. *kolesterol-ü* (cholesterol-ACC) *hal-im* ('the state I am in'). On the other hand, in some Arabic loans with initial /k/ or /g/ followed by /a/ as nucleus, the /k/ resp. /g/ does not harmonise with the /a/ with regard to (non-)palatality, but remains palatal, to the effect of a glide following the onset, i.e. [cʲar] 'profit' . This is represented, in orthography, by a circumflex on the /<a>, i.e., <kâr>.

  - There is a general problem with recent loanwords from English where the public trend seems to opt for non-adaptation into the orthographic system (e.g. <c> genuinely for [dʒ], but loanwords from English also [k] (*café*) and [s] (*center*)), and which are not integrated into dictionaries, probably due to language policy considerations.

  - Loanwords from Arabic may furthermore have double vowel and consonant graphemes, but neither have double articulation. Double vowels represent vowel length (see above), double consonant graphemes occur at the syllable onset and have no articulatory effect (e.g. *teşekkür* 'thank, gratitude', *teşebbüs* 'enterprise', *teşekkül* 'formation').[51]

The phonological principle of spelling overrides the **principle of the invariant representation of stem and suffix morphemes** in that the morphophonemic processes of vowel harmony in suffixes and clitics are systematically represented, as are consonant alternations (voiced/ voiceless alternations,) in stem-final and suffix-initial consonants.[52] However, there are numerous processes also in standard-oriented articulation, which the orthography, due to the principle of the invariant representation of stem and suffix morphemes, does not reflect. The most important of these are:

- The vowels of verbs ending in non-rounded low vowels *e/a* are stable in writing even if they are raised in standard pronunciation when suffixes starting with /y/

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[50] In native Turkish words, all instances of long vowels probably have to be analysed as contractions.

[51] Apart from the letter combinations that represent vowel length (see above), there are very few cases in loanwords where letter combinations may represent one phoneme, e.g. <eczane> → [ez:anɛ] 'pharmacy'. They bear no relevance to our analysis.

[52] There are some exceptions to this, namely with some words from homophone pairs (e.g. *ad* 'name' vs. *at* 'horse', *saç* 'hair' vs. *sac* 'sheet iron') and with personal names. Also the focus clitic (*dA*), which is spelled in open form, is always spelled with the initial <d> despite devoicing when following an unvoiced consonant. But these exceptions bear no relevance to our analysis.

(future tense suffix, -*(y)en* participle suffix, imperative suffix, optative suffix, converb in -*(y)ip*, -*(y)erek* -*(y)ince* etc.) are attached to the stem:

- o ağla + yacak → <ağlayacak>, but standard [aːlɯjadʒak] 's/he will cry'
  cry + FUT
- o bekle + yecek → <bekleyecek>, but standard [beklijedʒec] 's/he will wait'
  wait + FUT

– There is a tendency not to articulate double consonant graphemes in genuine Turkish words where (in orthography) the syllable boundary lies between the two. Rather, articulation follows the genuine syllabification process of articulating one consonant in the onset of the second syllable, thus <belli> 'obvious' becomes [be.lɪ], <gitti> (git-ti – go-PRET) 's/he went' becomes [gi.ti] etc.

– Devoicing of [ɾ] in word-final position; even complete reduction of /r/, e.g. in the indefinite article <bir> [bi ‘one’, is possible, as is devoicing of [z] in word-final position or when a voiceless stop follows, i.e. <kız> may be [kɯs].

– With spatial adverbs, a reduction of unstressed /ɪ/ nucleus occurs when a dental plosive suffix onset follows, leading to syllable reduction, e.g. <dışarı> 'outside' becomes <dışarıda>, but [δɯʃaɾda].

– There are processes of suffix reduction, in particular with the future suffix, of which (triggered by the k/ø alternation, see above), if a vowel follows, the last syllable may contract with the following vowel, i.e. <gidecek> (gid-ecek go-FUT) 's/he will go' becomes <gideceğiz> (gid-eceğ-iz go-FUT) 'we will go', but [gidedʒeːz], even [gitdʒeːz].

– < ğ> systematically represents the deletion of [k] in forms of morphonological transformation (case marking of nouns, personal suffixes of future tense etc.).

Further conflicts occur due to the substandard of our case pupils, and these will be pointed out in the case pupil profiles.

As for **logographic components of the Turkish orthographical system**, the following facts are important for our criteria of analysis:

– The rules governing the representation of the simplex orthographical word are phonologically based, i.e. the blank space indicating the orthographical word is employed where the domain of vowel harmony (to which the suffixes belong) ends. Mostly, this falls together with stress, i.e. the last syllable of the word receives word stress. Note, however, that these rules are sometimes conflicting since some suffixes block stress assignment (see above), and some do not adhere to vowel harmony assimilation (for example the present tense suffix). The criteria of analysis pay particular attention to these instances.

– A particular recurrent problem is the spelling of clitics, i.e. the question particle *mI*, the focus clitic *dA* and the connector *ki*. Despite their somewhat "lowered" morphological word status, orthography treats them as orthographical words, that is, they are spelled in open form.

– Complex verb-based forms, i.e. noun + verb compounds, even with the "light verbs" *etmek*, *yapmak*, *kılmak* 'to do', are spelled open. There are a number of

lexicalised exceptions to this, e.g. *bahsetmek* 'to talk about', where the nominal element is not analysable as such anymore, synchronically speaking. There are, however, certain complex verbal forms, i.e. verbforms that consist of more than one verbal stem, where, historically, the first stem has to be analysed as a stem with a converb suffix, and the second as a modal verb. However, the converb suffix has merged with the modal verb into a bisyllabic suffix, and the whole complex verb is spelled in closed form, e.g. *sorabil-* (*sor-abil-* – ask-POT 'can ask'), which, historically, is sor-a+bil- (ask-CONV+know-). Inexperienced writers often spell these complex verbs separately.

– There are semantically based rules for the representation of compounds, i.e., only compounds with exocentric semantics are spelled in closed form (and this may also lead to a shift of word accent), while all other compounds (i.e., the majority, in terms of frequency) are spelled in open form. Note, however, that this situation is somewhat different with univerbal function words, of which many are spelled open (e.g. *bir kez* 'once') and many others in closed form (e.g. *birkaç* 'some'). To these, the criteria of analysis for the seventh-graders' orthography pay particular attention.

– The rules governing the use of capital letters within the sentence are semantically based: Only proper names are spelled with the initial capital, not distinguishing whether they are nouns, derived adjectives or derived adverbs, but not with verbs derived from proper names. Since proper names are a category that is very much open for interpretation, the criteria of analysis consider the in-sentence employment of the capital letter.

– As for other logographic markers, the Turkish apostrophe needs to be mentioned.[53] It is primarily used as stem indicator of which the rules of usage are semantically based (i.e. use with personal names, that is, a subgroup of proper names), but with a morphological filter (i.e., employed only with inflectional suffixes but not after derivational suffixes). Secondarily, the apostrophe is used as an ellipographic marker. This is secondary because there are only very few instances of reduction in spoken language, which are commonly represented in the written language.[54]

As for **punctuation**, the following observations are of importance for our analysis:

– The full stop is applied to the syntactic unit of sentence, and sentences start with an initial capital letter on the first word. While this seems straightforward, there is one particular point that should be mentioned: Turkish is a language that has zero anaphora of the subject, thus one-word finite sentences are easily possible (e.g. *Gitti.* 'She went.'). Narrations make use of this in frequent sequencings of same-subject actions (e.g. *geldi, oturdu, konuşmaya başladı* 's/he came, sat

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[53] The hyphen is marginal (as a logographic marker), being sometimes used in *dvandva* compounds (e.g. *bilgi-işlem (*knowledge-application) 'communication technology').
[54] The apostrophe may also mark the glottal stop in Arabic loans, i.e., *Kur'an* 'Koran'. This is a very learned convention that is rather found in more traditional, Islamic-orientated publications, whereas one would not expect it in publications of secular circles. It bears no relevance for our analysis.

down, started to talk') where the prosodic curve indicates conflation into one utterance. In the written representation, a full stop or a comma has to be inserted between the coordinated (syntactic) sentences. This requires syntactic awareness to which the analysis has to pay attention.

– The comma is used in listing, coordination of finite sentences, in the separation of direct speech from the text, and in insertions. With complex sentences, it is also used to indicate the sentence initial topic, i.e. it is inserted after the topic. It is not used for (non-finite) subordination.

– The rules for other means of punctuation, i.e. the question and exclamation mark, the quotation marker for direct speech (alternative to the comma and the hyphen) and the semicolon are similar to English and German orthographic conventions. In addition, the hyphen is a (further) means to mark the beginning of direct speech.

A last category of relevance for the text analysis (of the seventh-graders' texts only) is that of **word segmentation at the end of the line**, which is marked by the hyphen and strictly follows syllabification.

2.2.2.2.2 Orthograpy analysis of the Turkish texts

2.2.2.2.2.1 Orthography analysis of the first grader's texts Turkish

Test 2

The first-graders' texts elicited in Test 2 were analysed on five levels, i.e. i) the graphic level, ii) the phonographic level, i.e. the level of grapheme-phoneme correspondences and syllable structure, iii) the logographic level, i.e. the level of separate and compound spelling of words, iv) the level of text structure, including: employment of upper case letters, punctuation, use of line breaks, and v) representations of reduced vs. explicit forms (standard orientation).

One the **graphic level**, we analysed

– the graphomotoric implementation of letters (reversed letters, letters with missing parts, letters vertically out of place, letters in mixed-up sequences, exclusively capital form of particular letters, distance between letters, in-line writing, size of upper case vs. lower case letters),

– writing style (cursive handwriting versus plain writing versus mixed: i.e. cursive vs. non-cursive letter forms, employment of upper and lower case letters).

On the **phonographic level**, we noted missing stressed vs. unstressed syllables, missing, incorrect and added consonant and vowel graphemes, paying particular attention to

– the position of missing consonant graphemes in the respective syllable structure, possible feature properties or assimilation processes accounting for incorrect consonant representation, and the employment of <ğ> and <y> resp. the employment of alternatives in the different possible positions in the syllable structures (see above),

– stress dynamics related to missing vowels (in stressed vs. unstressed syllable), possible feature properties or assimilation processes accounting for incorrect vowel representation, and the representation of long vowels.

On the **logographic level**, a first important step in the writing of first-graders is the marking of word boundaries by space. This can be implemented on different levels: no separate writing at all and separate writing on the different levels of linguistic structures (nominal phrase, nominal compound, verbal phrase, function word, clitics, others). If word boundaries are mastered, the opposite problem of incorrect separate spelling may occur on different levels (syllabic, suffix, other).

In the **regularities in the employment of upper case letters**, we analysed the linguistic (not graphomotoric, see above) systematics of the employment of upper case letter (if there were any), paying particular attention to its position (line-initial, clause-initial, NP-initial, beginning of proper name, beginning of separate other word) and the word class of the word it is used together with.

On the **level of text structure**, we analysed the systematics of the employment of the full stop and other punctuation devices (if there were any) in order to observe whether, and if so, how, the pupils were aware of the text-structuring function of the full stop (and other punctuation marks). Particular attention was thus paid to the position of the full stop (and, if existent, other punctuation marks) at text, sentence, clause, phrase or line end in other positions).

As another device of structuring text, we analysed **line breaks**: We noted whether they were meaningful in the sense that they co-occurred with the end of syntactic, semantic or textual units. This was based on observations (made in Germany) that writers at beginner's level frequently instrumentalised line breaks in order to structure their text – before developing an awareness for punctuation.

In the **representations of reduced vs. explicit forms**, we particularly looked at the representation of forms where in the orthographic norms, due to the principle of the invariant representation of stem and suffix morphemes, orthography systematically does not represent speech, thus an awareness of the morphological structure of the particular forms was necessary in order to spell correctly. Of course, also the correct (but norm-deviating) spelling of these forms on the basis of the Turkish phoneme-grapheme-correspondences was noted.

Conclusively, all occurrences described above were counted (both types and token), as were the number of words (after correction).

Pseudoword test Turkish

For the pseudoword test, the project team developed a list of 30 pseudowords. It contains 19 bisyllabic and 11 monosyllabic words, all of them possible Turkish words by means of the phonological principles outlined above. The list is given below, together with comments regarding particular ortho- and phongraphic challenges according to the description of Turkish orthography given above.

Tab. I.2.12. Normative Turkish orthography

PW IPA	Normative Turkish Orthography	Comment
[vat]	*Vat*	
[lok]	*Lok*	
[tiɾ]	*Tir*	word-final [ɾ]
[jot]	*Yot*	initial palatal glide
[cʲaʃ]	*Kâş*	palatal onset followed by back vowel
[gʲat]	*Gât*	palatal onset followed by back vowel
[tu:]	*Tuğ*	long vowel
[tɾat]	*trat / tırat*	consonant cluster in onset
[taɾp]	*Tarp*	consonant cluster in coda
[eɾs]	*Ers*	consonant cluster in coda
[kɾics]	*kriks / kiriks*	consonant cluster in onset and coda
[to.uɾ]	*Toğur*	orthographem <ğ>
[ka:.bet]	*Kağbet*	long vowel
[ky.lat]	*Külat*	non-harmonic in terms of vowel harmony
[ki.ke]	*Kike*	
[ɯm.ma]	*Im̱ma*	syllable boundary on sonorant consonant
[kik.ke]	*Kikke*	syllable boundary between same consonants
[ɯ.pan]	*Ipan*	
[ke.jim]	*keğim/ keyim*	intervocalic palatal glide
[i.mes]	*Im̱es*	
[to.ʋur]	*Tovur*	intervocalic approximant
[i.sam]	*Isam*	non-harmonic in terms of vowel harmony
[i.sap]	*Isap*	non-harmonic in terms of vowel harmony
[ɯ.ɾam]	*Iram*	
[ɯ.ma]	*Ima*	
[e.myl]	*Emül*	
[taj.la]	*Tayla*	palatal glide
[to.ɾoʧ]	*Toroç*	
[sa.dak]	*Sadak*	
[i.pit]	*Ipit*	

The criteria of analysis applied on six levels, i.e. i) orthographic plausibility, ii) phonographic plausibility, iii) graphic level, iv) segmental level, v) syllabic level, vi) other.

Orthographic consistency was indicated when the representation was identical with the normative orthographic representations as stated above.

Phonographic plausibility was indicated when a representation of a particular phenomenon (long vowel, intervocalic approximant, intervocalic palatal glide, glide in other positions, same-consonant at syllable border) was attempted, but did not follow orthographic norms.

On the **graphic level**, the following indicators applied:

- twisted grapheme sequence,
- graphic inconsistency, but otherwise correct,
- illegible word.

On the **segmental level**, the following indicators were used:

- (non-)representation of long vowel,
- (non-)representation of intervocalic approximant (with back vowels),
- (non-)representation of palatality in /g/ or /k/ with back vowel,
- (non-)representation of intervocalic glide,
- (non-)representation of other glide (onset or coda at word end or coda before closed syllable),
- wrong consonant (in terms of PGC), but phonetically possible in terms of assimilation, substandard etc.,
- representation of word-final [ɾ].

On the **syllabic level**, the following indicators applied:

- syllable reduction (bisyllabic to monosyllabic representation),
- reduction of onset complexity (CC) by means of epenthesis,
- reduction of syllable-internal complexity (CC) at onset or coda by means of representing only one C,
- wrong vowel (in terms of PGC), possible morphosyllabic harmony assimilation,
- (non-)representation of intersyllabic same-consonant.

Under **other**, the following observations were subsumed:

- wrong vowel (in terms of PGC), no interpretation at hand,
- wrong consonant (in terms of PGC), no interpretation at hand,
- additional C,
- additional V,
- other missing V,
- other missing C,
- unclear interpretation.

Conclusively, all occurrences described above were counted.

2.2.2.2.2.2 Orthography analysis of seventh-graders' texts Turkish

The seventh-graders' texts were analysed on four levels: i) the phonographic level, ii) the logographic level, including, now, the representation of reduced versus explicit forms (standard orientation), iii) the level of text structure, including segmentation, and iv) miscellaneous errors.

On the **phonographic level**, particular attention was paid to

- (in)correct representations of long vowels and glides and the employment of <y> and <ğ> in general,

- incorrect representations of vowel and consonant assimilations and reductions in speech,
- spelling of loan words, and
- other incorrect spellings not captured by any of the above.

On the **logographic level**, particular attention was paid to

- those areas of open and compound spelling that required a higher orthographic awareness, namely the (open vs. closed) spelling of clitics, the (open vs. closed) spelling of univerbal function words and the (open vs. closed) spelling of nominal and verb-based compounds,
- the employment of the apostrophe (employment/ non-employment, corrext/ incorrect employment),
- the employment of upper and lower case letters with names proper, other nouns and other parts of speech,
- morphologically based writing of <ğ> and of bound morphemes without phonological basis.

On the **level of text structure**, we counted

- the marking of sentence boundaries by means of the full stop and/ or other devices (question and exclamation mark, but no comma),
- the employment of the comma according to its various means (co-ordination, listing, fronting, insertion, direct speech) and
- other punctuation phenomena (quotations mark, colon, brackets, hyphen, others), and
- the employment of capital letter at sentence beginning, as well as
- correct segmentation at the end of the line and employment of the hyphen in this.

The last level, **miscellaneous errors**, captured errors not included in the categories above, i.e. inverse placement of letters, possible concentration lapse etc.

Conclusively, all occurrences described above were counted (types and token), as were the number of words and sentences (both after correction).

2.2.2.2.2.3 Orthography analysis of first and seventh-graders' texts Turkish in Germany

The orthography analysis of the first- and seventh-graders' Turkish texts of the Turkish-German bilingual pupils in Germany basically followed the same criteria as outlined in the preceding chapters on Turkish. Since for all bilinguals in Germany, the dominant language of literacy was German, it was of course expected that access to orthographic norms of Turkish would differ, and that this would reflect in transfer phenomena and creative solutions where no knowledge of orthographic norms was at hand, and that at large, the Turkish texts from Germany would display a higher range of heterogeneity in (pre-)orthographic solutions than the Turkish texts from Turkey. The criteria outlined in the preceding sections were regarded as feasible to capture these contact phenomena.

However, due to differences between Turkish German in the area of phoneme-grapheme-correspondences, and with regard to the inventory of graphemes, the following additional set of criteria was utilised only for the bilingual pupils' text:

– Awareness for Turkish phoneme-grapheme correspondences, where for phonemes of Turkish, which German does not have ([tʃ], [ɯ], [ʤ]), Turkish provides specific graphemes (<ç>/<Ç> for [tʃ], <ı>/<I> for [ɯ]), resp. where Turkish provides a grapheme which in German exists only as part of a di- or a trigrapheme (<c>/<C> for [ʤ]),[55]

– awareness for Turkish phoneme-grapheme correspondences, where for phonemes of Turkish, which it shares with German, Turkish provides specific graphemes, which German does not have (i.e. [ʃ], which is represented as <sch>/<Sch> in German and as <ş>/<Ş> in Turkish, [j], represented as <j> in German and <y> in Turkish, [v], represented as <w> in German and <v> in Turkish, and capital [i], which is <I> in German and <İ> in Turkish), and

– awareness for Turkish phoneme-grapheme correspondences, where for phonemes of Turkish, which it shares with German, Turkish provides graphemes, which German does have, but which represent different phonemes in German (i.e. [z], which is represented as <s>/<S> in German, but <z>/<Z> in Turkish, and [ʒ], which, being rather marginal in both languages, is represented as <j>/<J> in Turkish, and as <g>/<G> in German,

– knowledge of the Turkish grapheme <ğ> with its complex phonological, morphological and orthographic functions.

2.2.2.3 Orthography analysis of the Kurmanjî-Kurdish tests

2.2.2.3.1 Kurmanjî phonology and orthography

Before explaining the procedure of analysis of the case pupils' Kurmanjî texts, a glance at the relevant features of Kurmanjî phonology and orthography are in order, which motivate the criteria established for the orthographic analysis. All Kurmanjî texts come from pupils who are Turkish-Kurmanjî bilinguals, they use Kurmanjî as their family language, but do not have institutional support in the development of literacy in their family language.[56] Thus, in particular in those areas where Kurmanjî orthographic rules are different from Turkish, be this based on typological differences between the languages or on different orthographic solutions found for similar features, transfer from Turkish and/ or creative solutions based on Turkish orthographic principles can be expected. Consequently, the description of the relevant features of Kurmanjî must also contain contrastive viewpoints. This description is furthermore hindered by the fact that detailed investigations into the phonology of Kurmanjî-Kurdish are missing (we base our description mostly on Haig & Paul 2001, McCarus 2009 and Aygen 2007), let alone Turkish-Kurmanjî contrastive analyses, so that detailed investigations into the orthography of Kurmanjî-Kurdish and the

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[55] In German, <c> exclusively forms part of the digrapheme <ch> and the trigrapheme <sch>.
[56] "[T]he Turkish, Iraqi, Iranian, and Syrian governemts have banned the use of Kurdish for all official puposes. In practise, this means that most speakers of Kurmanji are illiterate, at least in Kurdish: if they have any formal education, it is either Turkish, Arabic, or Persian" (Chyet 2003: VII).

practice of writing in Kurmanjî are virtually non-existent,[57] as are investigations into the varieties the case pupils speak.[58] Thus, the analysis of the Kurmanjî texts rests on unstable grounds, and the outcome of the analysis has to be understood as highly preliminary.

Kurmanjî orthography – preliminaries

Kurmanjî-Kurdish has been written in a variety of alphabets, from Armenian to Arabic to Cyrillic to Latin. Today, Kurmanjî speakers in Syria and the Kurdistan Regional Government in North-Iraq and in Turkey use a modified Turkish script, developed originally on the basis of the new Turkish alphabet (introduced 1928) by Bedir-Khan in 1932. In a rather rough generalisation, it is possible to say that Kurmanjî and Turkish grapheme-phoneme correspondences are very similar where the graphemes are identical. We contrast the two alphabets below, indicating in grey the graphemic differences:[59]

Tab. I.2.13 Kurmanjî-Kurdish and Turkish alphabets

Kurmanjî-Kurdish	Turkish	Kurmanjî-Kurdish	Turkish	Kurmanjî-Kurdish	Turkish
A a	A a	Î î	İ i	S s	S s
B b	B b	J j	J j	Ş ş	Ş ş
C c	C c	K k	K k	T t	T t
Ç ç	Ç ç	L l	L l	U u	U u
D d	D d	M m	M m	Û û	- -
E e	E e	N n	N n	- -	Ü ü
Ê ê	- -	O o	O o	V v	V v
F f	F f	- -	Ö ö	W w	- -
G g	G g	P p	P p	X x	- -
- -	Ğ ğ	Q q	- -	Y y	Y y
H h	H h	R r	R r	Z z	Z z
I i	I ı				

Kurmanjî-Kurdish phonology and the phonographic level of Kurmanjî orthography

Haig & Paul (2001: 399) develop the following table of Kurmanjî consonants, which gives the approximate phonetic value of letters used in that system, as well as noting some additional phonemic contrasts which are not consistently reflected by the writing system:

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[57] Noteworthy exceptions are Akın 2006, 2007, and Matras 1989.
[58] "There is no standardized form of Kurmanjî Kurdish used by all speakers, and considerable cross-dialect differences in pronounciation exist" (Haig & Paul 2001: 399). See also Kahn (1976).
[59] From: Kurdish Academy of Language (KAL).

Tab. I.2.14. Kurmanjî consonants

Table 2: Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental / Alveolar	Palatal	Palatal-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Glottal
Plosive	pʰ p b		tʰ t d			kʰ k g	q		
Nasal	m		n						
Lateral			l						
Fricative		f v	s z		ş j	x (ɣ)		(ħ)	h
Affricate					ç c				
Glide	w			y					
Flap			r						
Trill			ɾɾ						

Haig & Paul (2001: 399) note: "The phonemic status of several consonants is arguable, and varies from dialect to dialect. These segments are not uniformly treated in written Kurmanjî: The voiced velar and pharyngal fricatives occur mostly in Arabic loan words and are generally rendered <x> and <h> respectively. The table records both the voiceless aspirated and the voiceless unaspirated stops, a distinction found in most Kurmanjî dialects … . This distinction is recorded in the Cyrillic-based script (…), and in some grammars and dictionaries using the Roman-based alphabet, but most modern texts ignore it.[60] … [r] is always trilled in word-initial position, and in a small number of words in other environments as well. Again, the distinction between flapped and trilled [r] is only recorded sporadically in the orthography (e.g. the trilled [r] is sometimes rendered via two *r*-symbols.)."

As for vowels, Haig & Paul (2001: 400) give the following table, not in IPA but with the graphemes used in Kurmanjî orthography:

Tab. I.2.15. Kurmanjî vowels

	Front	Central	Back short/ long
High	Î		u / û
high middle	Ê		o
Middle	E	i	
Low			a

Haig & Paul (2001: 400) comment: "The use of the circumflex ^ to indicate length with /û/, but height elsewhere, is an unfortunate feature of the system." In Turkey, for some time, the employment of <ı> for Kurmanjî niddle central /i/, and <i> for Kurmanjî high front /î/ was widespread, but is now rejected by most writers, because it is thought to resemble Turkish

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[60] See the discussion in Chyet (2003: VIII) and Haig (2008: 12f.) [CS].

too much.[61] Also some writers in Turkey nowadays represent high middle /ê/ with an acute accent <é> rather than a circumflex.

As for Kurmanjî **syllable division and syllable structure**, McCarus (2009: 593) writes:[62] "Syllable division precedes an intervocalic consonant: *gē.rā.na.wa* 'narrate'. In syllable division two-consonant clusters are generally divided, as in *sar.gār.dan* 'confused'. The minimum syllable is consonant plus vowel, CV, as in *ta.la.ba* 'student'. Given certain morphophonemic rules (…), any two consonants may cluster word-initially, i.e. CCV, except that a stop can only follow another stop or an affricate, glides cannot be first in cluster, and stops are not followed by nasals: *ktēb* 'book', *tfaŋ* 'rifle', … *xrāp* 'bad' … Morphophonemically, however, there are no word-initial consonant clusters. Thus, in the examples above the clusters result from the elision of the non-tense central vowel. … Phonemic three-consonant clusters CCC do not occur initially but may occur word-medially, in which case they must contain at least one continuant: *qarz-dār* 'debtor', or word-finally, in which case they consist of glide-continuant-stop: *rōyšt* 'he went'."[63]

The elision of the non-tense central vowel (in unstressed syllables) of which McCarus writes is not rendered in standard (Roman) spelling, thus /*kteb*/ is spelled <kitêb>, /xrap/ is spelled <xirap>, and so forth.

There are a number of further morphophonemic changes noted by McCarus (2009: 595f.) and Aygen (2007: 4ff.), none of which the spelling reflects. With regard to vowels, the following bear importance for our analysis:

– glide between adjacent vowels,
– contractions of high vowels and glides,
– shortening and lowering of high and mid vowels before consonant clusters and glides.

And with regard to consonants, amongst others:

– devoicing in word-final position,
– palatalisation before front vowels,
– nasal assimilation of /d/ to a preceding nasal,
– alternation of /b/ with /v/ in word-initial and final positions,
– deletion of /h/ in non-initial position.

Word stress in Kurmanjî falls on the last vowel of the word stem, according to McCarus (2009: 594). Inflectional suffixes, including the suffixed *Ezafê* (see below) and the suffixed indefinite article, are not stressed, with a few exceptions. In the noun phrase, post- and pre-head modifiers tend to attract stress (ibid.). Function words (pronouns, pre- and postpositions, connectors, particles, copular forms) are generally unstressed.

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[61] See the extensive discussion in Matras (1989).
[62] Note that McCarus (2009) uses Arabic-Roman transliteration conventions and not the Kurmanjî Roman graphemes.
[63] See, however, Shokri (2002) with a detailed analysis of syllable structure in Bahdinani Kurdish, a Kurmanjî dialect spoken in Iraq where complex (CC) onsets seem possible and also single syllabic V.

As for **logographic components of the Kurmanjî orthographical system**, the following facts are important for our criteria of analysis:

– The rules governing the representation of the simplex orthographical word are morphologically based, i.e. the blank space indicating the orthographical word is employed after the word stem resp. after derivational and/ or inflectional suffixes attached to the stem. While this seems straightforward, there are a number of conflicting rules (or practices?), as well as points of difficulty from the viewpoint of Turkish orthography:

  • First, the morphological status of the *Ezafê*, i.e. the particle that links post-nominal modifiers to their nominal head, is not quite clear – suffix or clitic? – and the same goes for the postposed indefinite article *-(y)ek*. Both are written together with the preceding nominal. On the other hand, the clitic connectors *w/û/wa* 'and' and *(y)an* 'or' are spelled open, as is the clitic focus marker *jî*.

  • In general, function words (pronouns, pre- and postpositions, connectors, particles, copular forms) are spelled open. While this can be expected from the viewpoint of the orthography of an (inflecting) Indoeuropean language, for the speaker of an agglutinating language like Turkish, with its stacked suffixes and much stronger tendency towards bound morphology, it might, however, pose problems of analysis.

  • Kurmanjî has a number of "light verbs" that form noun-plus-verb complex predicates, the most important being *kirin* and *dan* 'to do'. These are always spelled open when used as predicates, but in closed form in nominalisations (see Haig 2002).[64]

– The rules governing the use of capital letters within the sentence are identical with those for Turkish, i.e. only proper names are spelled with the initial capital.

As for **punctuation**, Kurmanjî and Turkish do not differ as far as we understand. However, Kurmanjî is a language with predominantly finite subordination (as opposed to non-finite subordination in Turkish), and finite subordinated sentences are linked to the main clause by means of the comma. For a speaker of Kurmanjî who is dominantly literate in Turkish, the necessary syntactic analysis leading to the employment of the comma might pose difficulties.

Word segmentation at the end of the line again follows Turkish – it is marked by the hyphen and strictly follows syllabification.

2.2.2.3.2 Orthography analysis Kurmanjî

Expectations guiding the development of the criteria of analysis for Kurmanjî

From the observations above in combination with the observations on Turkish phonology and orthography in the preceding section, and from the language use of our Kurmanjî-Turkish bilingual case pupils, which is in turn framed by the meso and macro level of

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[64] Nominal compounds do not pose a problem, since they are a marginal strategy of nominal word formation (Paul 2002).

language policy in Turkey, a number of expectations derive. These concern both the orthographic problems, which a speaker of Kurmanjî who is dominantly literate in Turkish will face when writing Kurmanjî, the possible solutions this writer comes up with when faced with this task.

– On the **graphic level**, it can be expected that children with Kurmanjî as their first language in Turkey are not aware of those graphems of the Kurmanjî alphabet that do not exist in the Turkish alphabet, namely the vowel graphemes with diacritics <Êê/Éé>, <Îî>, <Ûû>, and the consonant graphemes <Qq>, <Ww>, <Xx>.

– On the **phonographic level**, it can be expected that children with L1 Kurmanjî in Turkey have problems representing those phonemes of Kurmanjî for which the phoneme-grapheme correspondences of the Turkish writing system produce only inadequate solutions because these phonemes either do not exist in Turkish, or the phonemic features and quantities in the Turkish system are significantly different from Kurmanjî, or the phoneme-grapheme correspondences are different. With consonants, this concerns the bilabial glide [w] /<w>, the velar fricative [ɣ]/<x> and the uvular stop [q]/<q>. With vowels, this concerns:
  - the representation of length in back high (rounded) [u:]/<Ûû>,
  - the representation of middle central [ɯ], which is <i> in the Kurmanjî alphabet, but <ı> in the Turkish,
  - the representation of middle front [ɜ], which Turkish does not have, and which is represented as <e> in the Kurmanjî alphabet,
  - the representation of Kurmanjî /a/, which is more central and more lax than the Turkish /a/,
  - the representation of high front [i], which is <î> in Kurmanjî but <i> in Turkish,
  - the representation of high middle front [e], which is <ê> in Kurmanjî but <e> in Turkish.

As for the representation of syllables, the fact that Kurmanjî seems to allow more consonantal clusters than Turkish might have an effect on those writers who are more advanced (in Turkish orthography) in the sense that at least in unstressed syllables, they insert epenthetic vowels (i.e. vowel graphems) in onset clusters when they write Kurmanjî. On the other hand, this property of Kurmanjî morphophonology might have an effect on the processing of Turkish consonant clusters in the sense that speakers with L1 Kurmanjî more readily accept these structures in Turkish than monolingual speakers of Turkish. In the Turkish pseudoword test, then, we expect the Kurmanjî-Turkish bilingual children (who are at beginner's level in Turkish literacy) to be less reluctant in the representation of consonant clusters as such in writing than the monolinguals.

– On the **logographic level**, we expect that children with L1 Kurmanjî in Turkey have problems analysing orthographic words in Kurmanjî. Particular problems with analysis relate to the differentiation of function words (pronouns, pre- and

postpositions, connectors, particles, copular forms) as well as noun-plus-verb complex predicates formed with light verbs.

- Another phenomenon to be analysed on the logographic level is that of the spelling of phonetically similar words that are part of the lexicon of both languages of the bilingual children ("homophoneous diamorphs", as Clyne 1967 coined them). It can be expected that the case pupils, at least the seventh-graders, know how to spell these words in Turkish. Particular different spellings, then, can be considered a reflection of an awareness of the Kurmanjî mode within which they produce the text at large and the particular word.
- Last but not least, we expect that children with L1 Kurmanjî in Turkey have but few knowledge about the standard of the language, thus reductions, dialectal forms and grammatical erosion are expected to reflect also in the employed orthography.

Levels and criteria of analysis

The levels on which the **Kurmanjî texts** were analysed were the same as for the texts in Turkish (see above). Into the different levels, however, further criteria were integrated, which result from the discussion in the previous section. These were

- (on the graphic level) the availability of specific Kurmanjî graphemes and diacritics,
- (on the phonographic level) the representation of those phonemes of Kurmanjî for which the phoneme-grapheme correspondences of the Turkish writing system produce only inadequate solutions because these phonemes either do not exist in Turkish, or the phonemic features and quantities in the Turkish system are significantly different from Kurmanjî, or the phoneme-grapheme correspondences are different,
- (on the logographic level) the differentiation of function words (pronouns, pre- and postpositions, connectors, particles, copular forms), as well as noun-plus-verb complex predicates formed with light verbs,
- the spelling of phonetically similar words that are part of the lexicon of both languages of the bilingual children ("homophoneous diamorphs"), and
- (on the level of standard orientation) reductions, dialectal forms and grammatical erosions.

All occurrences were counted (types and token), as were the number of words and sentences (both after correction).

Part II: Results of LAS Germany

1 School Ethnography

Inken Sürig

1.1 On location: the Ruhr area

Granting total anonymity for the LAS probands, persons, schools, and even the exact city where the LAS research took place are not going to be named. As the schools of the German LAS study project are located in the Ruhr area, some introductory information on the region must here suffice.

With more than five million inhabitants, the Ruhr area is the largest conurbation of consolidated cities in the Federal Republic of Germany, located in the *Bundesland* (federal state) North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). Today, it is the fifth-biggest metropolitan region of Europe. The major cities of the Ruhr area are Bochum, Dortmund, Duisburg, and Essen. Table II.1.1 summarises basic characteristics of these four cities in comparison with the Ruhr area and the *Bundesland*.

Tab. II.1.1. Population, foreigner quota and unemployment rate of the four major cities of the Ruhr area, the Ruhr area, and NRW[65]

	Population	Foreigner quota[66]	Unemployment rate
Bochum	376,319	8.8%	9.3%
Dortmund	581,308	15.9%	12.6%
Duisburg	491,931	16.5%	12.7%
Essen	576,259	11.8%	11.7%
Ruhr area	5,172,745	10.7%	8.1%
NRW	17,872,763	10.2%	13.2%

With industrial mining and the establishment of steel industry from the 19th century on, the Ruhr area was the centre of industrialisation in Germany, attracting inland- as well as foreign migration; already at the beginning of the 20th century, the area had over 2.3 million inhabitants, with villages becoming large cities within a few decades. During this time, immigrants came mainly from Eastern Europe and Poland in particular; from the 1950ies on, recruitment agreements with, amongst others, Italy, Greece, and Turkey, opened up new labour forces also for the Ruhr area until the recruitment ban in 1973. Afterwards, it was the destination of many family reunions; of the LAS case pupils with migration background, all their grandfathers came to the Ruhr area as "guest workers", and most of them got their families to join them in the 1970ies.

The beginning of the coal crisis in the 1950ies triggered increasing public subsidies that are until today a controversially discussed political issue, but eventually, the crisis led to the

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[65] Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2009.
[66] Only persons without German citizenship; no data on migration backgrounds available.

general deterioration of the coal and steel industry in the area; between 1980 and 2002, half of the jobs in the sector were destroyed. Today, structural transformation is more or less finalised, with only few coal mines still operating, whereas the engineering industries and the service sector were significantly extended. Of the LAS case pupils' parents today, only two fathers are still classic mineworkers (one of whom with migration background).

The city district of one of the major cities of the area where the LAS primary school and comprehensive school are located has more than 70,000 inhabitants in total and is divided into a number of precincts that are all draw areas of the schools under scrutiny. The decline of the coal mining and steel industry hit the district particularly hard in the 1980ies and 1990ies, triggering extensive labour conflicts and substantial ongoing economic restructuring, and today, the unemployment quota is with roughly 15% comparably high. By far the largest non-autochthonous ethnic group of the city are Turks and Turkish descendants, the foreign population quota of the LAS district is 12.5%.

1.2 Basic facts: the German school system

As a bureaucratic organisation, the German school system consists of basically three control levels. At the top is the government agency for cultural affairs of the respective *Bundesland*, here North Rhine-Westphalia, which is the main decision-maker regarding curricula, personnel, and funding. The single school administrations as the mid-level of the bureaucratic hierarchy are mainly responsible for the coordination of schedules, and the distribution of rooms. Located at the bottom level are the classes with the respective teachers with little outside control regarding both individual performance and the results of this performance. Thus, there is a strong degree of bureaucratisation in terms of decrees and regulations, but a very low degree of bureaucratisation when it comes to the supervision of the observance of these decrees and regulations (cf. Gill 2005).

In Germany, school is compulsory for all children from the sixth or seventh (depending on the birth semester) until the completion of the eighteenth year of age, regardless of the respective school career. Generally, the German state commits itself to provide institutional education until a person comes of age. In NRW, primary school comprises four years of education after which the pupils are distributed among the selective school forms of the three-tier school system (see below). Depending on the respective *Bundesland*, compulsory full-time school education amounts to nine or ten years; getting one's highest aspired school diploma before the age of eighteen usually means to enter the dual system of professional training and vocational school, or other vocational preparation schools. This goes for persons who acquire basic and mid-level secondary school diploma: In NRW, the *Hauptschulabschluss nach Klasse 10*, here translated as "basic O-level", is the lowest secondary educational degree, acquired after tenth grade, and technically can only lead directly into the dual system. The next-higher degree, also acquired after tenth grade, is the *Fachoberschulreife*, here "advanced O-level", which additionally gives access to technical secondary schools and colleges of further education. Both degrees correspond to ISCED[67]

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[67] International Standard Classification of Education, UNESCO, www.unesco.org/education/information/ nfsunesco/doc/isced_1997.htm

level 2 (lower secondary education, in Germany *Sekundarstufe I*); in addition to a professional training, they add up to ISCED level 3. The *Fachhochschulreife*, here "advanced technical certificate", acquired after the twelfth grade, enables the attendance of the *Fachhochschule*, here "college". The highest degree in secondary education is the *Abitur* ("A-level"), giving access to university studies. Both degrees roughly correspond with ISCED level 4 (higher secondary education, in Germany *Sekundarstufe II*). Within the rather complex mechanisms of the German school system, specific secondary school degrees are not limited to specific schools; when looking at Table II.1.2, one should keep in mind that it is also possible to leave each school form without a degree whatsoever (one simply gets a *Schulabgangszeugnis*, a school-leaving certificate).

Tab. II.1.2. NRW: Secondary schools and respective acquirable degrees

		Hauptschule	Realschule	Gymnasium	Gesamtschule
Lower secondary	Basic O-level	+	⊘	⊘	+
	Advanced O-level	+	+	+	+
Higher secondary	Advanced technical certificate	⊘	⊘	+	+
	A-level	⊘	⊘	+	+

In NRW, the school system is originally three-tiered according to acquirable degrees, as can be seen in Table II.1.2. The *Gesamtschule*, here "comprehensive school", was added to the school forms in NRW only in the 1970ies; because of the resistance of the conservative parties, the plans to make it the only school form were nullified, and so far it is only an alternative to the three other existing regular school forms.

For by now half a century, the German school system is a prominent issue in the national political discussion in terms of its early and detrimental selectiveness and its impermeability, causing empirically proved structural disadvantages for children from uneducated family backgrounds, and particularly for children with migration history (cf., e.g., Kristen & Granato 2004; Radtke 2004; Siebert-Ott 2003).

1.3 The primary school of LAS research

1.3.1 School geography

The primary school chosen as the site for LAS research is located in an urban residential area in an unpretentious working-class neighbourhood, about four kilometres away from the next city centre. The street in front of the building is traffic-calmed. The main entrance is accessed via a narrow path that leads to the front school yard, being almost entirely surrounded by school buildings, and thus conveying a secluded impression. The school yard games painted on the asphalt are faded and hardly recognisable anymore, and the pupils only rarely use them, but rather play ball games or skipping, or clamber about the playground and the lawn in the Northwest part of the terrain. The front school yard is reserved for the first- and second-graders; there is another school yard for third- and fourth-graders in the Southern part of the terrain. Such a separation is not uncommon in the German school scenery; in the LAS school, we were told it is handled like this because the first and second grades are not rigidly subjected to the school's timetable as arranged by the

school bell, and the separated school yards allowed for the teachers to finish lessons early or to go outside with their classes without disturbing the older pupils in their classrooms. This is also the explanation why the first two grades are lectured in the front part of the school building and the third and fourth grades in the back part. The pupils seem to accept this separation easily; at least no incident was ever witnessed or reported of someone attempting to invade the space of the other age group. At the time of LAS research, the back part of the school building is under construction, but this has no effect on the schooling of the first and second grades.

The two-story school building was erected in the 1960ies in the typical functional, unadorned style of the time, and later modernised on the outside with white-brick walls and modern windows. Still, it appears somewhat uncharitable because of the deteriorated school yard and particularly the interior, which has not been tended to in many years, so everything looks a bit shabby and worn, with the furnishing, the floors and the inner doors still from the time of the school's foundation. Entering the building through the main entrance, one gets to the foyer, which is hardly more than a corridor and a staircase and barely gets any daylight so that it appears gloomy and uninviting. On the left side, in front of the teacher's lounge, there is a small area with a table and a few chairs right next to the teachers' toilets; there is also a pamphlet rack with information on social topics and activities (like sports, girl's clubs, consulting for family violence, etc.). This corner is basically the visitor area where parents can have extracurricular talks with teachers, and where the LAS introductory interview takes place, but it is also used for pupils to rest when they got injured during recess playing, or when they have to do extra exercises during breaks. One should bear in mind here that this small, uncharitable area is how the school welcomes and presents itself to visitors, showing a rather careless, lax approach to self-representation. Moreover, the fact that there are no further functional rooms, like a conference room, or some sort of infirmary, conveys the impression that everything is somehow improvised, as if for the last decades, the school remained at a stage of being entirely unprepared for any contact with the outside world or other "unforeseen" incidents. Frequently, it could be observed that strangers (i.e., unidentified adults, like the LAS investigators or parents waiting for an appointment) are entirely ignored by the staff until they address someone themselves; they are not greeted or asked what their concern might be, which in a place full of minors seems very odd, if only for reasons of the pupils' safety. With a teaching staff of only fifteen teachers, it is not very likely that strangers might be mistaken for colleagues. The inclined visitors might not exactly feel like intruders, but are certainly given the impression that the school could not care less about them. In fact, at the end of the LAS research year, many of the staff did not know that a study project took place at all.

All other areas of the school building, i.e. the different classrooms and the teachers' room, are more or less closed entities in terms of not being open to a however defined "public", which is initially illustrated by the little room signs next to each door, labelling the school rooms' respective room numbers and allocations (like "Class 1a" or "School Kindergarten"). This is interesting insofar as one might actually wonder to whom this information is addressed, for it is unlikely that the pupils orientate themselves by means of

these signs, and the teachers would only need the room numbers for basic orientation, not the rooms' designations (for a comparison with how this issue is dealt with in the comprehensive school, consider the respective Section 1.4.1 of this Chapter). Disregarding the possibility that the "room designations" might have some pedagogical purpose, they probably reflect a typical organisational procedure of denoting the occupancy of rooms whether it is necessary or not; as an outsider, one might also interpret the labels as some sort of "keep out"-signs, defining access rights by means of membership (to class 1a, or the school kindergarten, etc.).

For outsiders, the physically closed entities of the single school rooms are meant to be only penetrable based on invitation, which we have for the LAS classroom, the copy room, and, albeit quite late in the school year, for the teachers' room. This, however, is never explicitly mentioned, but rather our own interpretation of expected outsider-behaviour, and maybe even a subtle effect of the little door signs that we respect as binding. Rooms that are not in active use are generally locked, which, of course, is a sign of mistrust towards whoever might roam the building, probably especially the pupils who are not supposed to stay in the rooms unsupervised as all classrooms are also being locked during the breaks the pupils spend in the school yard. Whereas the teachers' room is a very formal, functional space with no individual characteristics (it is furnished with a big common table, shelves on the walls and a kitchenette in the back), the designated all-time classrooms for the respective classes that we saw are modelled and decorated individually by the teachers and the pupils (see 3.2.1.1). The contrast is very striking, demonstrating a clear differentiation between the functional spaces in terms of the adults' needs and the children's needs; apparently, the adults, i.e. the teachers, do need clear, functional room structures, whereas the pupils need the atmosphere of a child's room. This way, the teachers' lounge might also serve as a constant reminder of organisational professionalism.

1.3.2 Organisational structures

There are only two levels of vertical hierarchy in German primary schools in general, divided into the salary groups of upper-middle-level civil service (teachers) and upper-level civil service (headmaster/ -mistress). Thus, as for organisational structures apparent in the LAS primary school, one has to consider that German public primary schools generally do not have a very differentiated structural hierarchy; there is a headmaster or headmistress, a headmaster's deputy, and the teachers' staff, which is not differing in professional status, and not necessarily subdivided according to departments (cf. van Ackeren & Klemm 2009); at least in the case of this primary school, this means that apart from the principal, all members of the teachers' staff have the same functional status within the faculty, and formal professional roles are mostly not differentiated along the lines of labour division or specialisation (except for the janitor and the secretary), but based on the main differentiation between professional and client roles, i.e., teachers and pupils. Technically, the lack of differentiation allows for a basic independence of the individual teachers; there is no urgent organisational need to make specific arrangements amongst each other except for very basic issues like the room distribution, or the occasional all-school event. Moreover, since the single classes of each grade mainly revolve around the respective class

teacher who teaches the major part of the lessons, there is not even a lot of reason for professional communication amongst the staff in terms of content- or schedule-wise coordination (cf. Dalin 1986). Indeed, the two teachers of the LAS first grade (the class teacher and the math teacher) both state not to be able to say anything about the case pupils' performances in the respective other subject(s).

Corresponding with the internal spatial division of the first two grades on the one hand, and the third and fourth grade on the other hand, organisational time for the first two grades is not framed by neutral markers in the form of a school bell; it is up to the respective teachers when to start and to end lessons. Thus, the lessons, although physically located within the organisation of the school, are only remotely subjected to a general time frame, abandoning the universal synchronicity of lesson time vs. non-lesson time in the setting of the school. This suggests a primary school-specific appreciation of "time" as being negotiable according to a single class's needs, giving the teachers an even greater freedom of creating the school day (see also Section 3.2.3.1 in this Part). Of course, in terms of organisational structures, this also means that this primary school, in tendence, abandons one of the few formal structuring devices schools in general have at hand, with the factor "time" originally being the crucial factor of organisational procedures in the form of curricula and schedules.

Note here that during field research, we never come across the two official external organs of the German LAS primary school, the parents' council and the booster club, both primarily concerned with raising money for and organising special school events. The few case pupils' parents involved are inactive members only, and we just hear that the booster club sponsored the school's Advent wreath.

1.3.2.1 Professionals

With about 300 pupils in total in this school, the teacher's staff consists of 14 females and one male, the gender distribution being the norm in German primary schools, which has only lately entered the public discussion in the form of the question if boys are at a structural disadvantage if they are exclusively taught by women.[68] As far as can be told from the school's (not well-kept) website, there are no teachers with migration background on the staff.

Generally, in the case of the German LAS primary school, it is pretty obvious that everyone minds their own business, which might not be typical for German primary schools in general, but does not create an organisational problem due to the structural constitution of basic professional independence. For example, the LAS class teacher reports that when she applied for the headmistress's permission to participate in the study project, she was told that this was solely her own decision; the headmistress never showed any interest in the LAS project. The same seems to go for teaching methods, with fundamentally different didactic approaches to literacy acquisition being exerted according to the preference of the respective teachers, which even seems to lead to a latent split amongst the staff based on the favoured teaching method; at least the LAS class teacher states to feel left out by the other

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[68] Cf., e.g., Niese 2003

first-grade teachers who use a different method, and thus rather orientates herself by one of the fourth-grade teachers who employs the same method as she does.

As far as the specific functions of the headmistress are concerned, we do not get many insights in her work, but she seems to stick to her basic job description of coordinating the timetable and the occupancy of rooms. Even when one of the parents of the LAS first grade, being a newspaper reporter, visits a lesson together with a photographer to write an article on the project, the headmistress, who was informed beforehand, does not come to greet him or talk to him, suggesting the conclusion that she does not care about her school's presentation to the outside world.

On the other hand, when the schools inspector announces an official school audit, the atmosphere amongst the staff is almost hostile, which we witness while waiting for the LAS teacher in the teachers' lounge; several teachers make no secret of their opinion that they regard such an evaluation from the outside as a nuisance not only because of the extra-curricular conference that is fixed to prepare for the event, but also because they have no understanding why they should appreciate "men in suits with laptops"[69] sitting in the back of their classrooms. Presumably, this kind of "interference" from the outside, although it is entirely legitimate and should not be a big deal, is frowned upon because the teachers have gotten used to being free agents in their classrooms, so an evaluation by the ministry must cause uncertainty and therefore reluctance.

1.3.2.2 Clients

According to the case pupils' parents, the main criterion of primary school selection is adjacency to the parental home, which is more or less confirmed by their actual place of living in the direct neighbourhood of the LAS primary school. Interestingly, the school is one of the few of the 13 primary schools in the neighbourhood where the ratios of German pupils and non-German pupils roughly correspond to the city district's average of circa 30% primary school pupils with a foreign background (the city's average in this category is about 40%).[70] Taking into account here that the city departments of statistics only started to differentiate between "foreigners" and "persons with migration background" in recent years, the numbers for 2007, as displayed in Figure II.1.1[71], would probably have to be revised upwards.

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[69] Quoted from LAS field report (translation).
[70] Source: Städtisches Amt für Statistik.
[71] Source: Städtisches Amt für Statistik.

Fig. II.1.1. Public primary schools in the LAS school district 2007:
Pupils with German and non-German citizenship (absolute numbers)
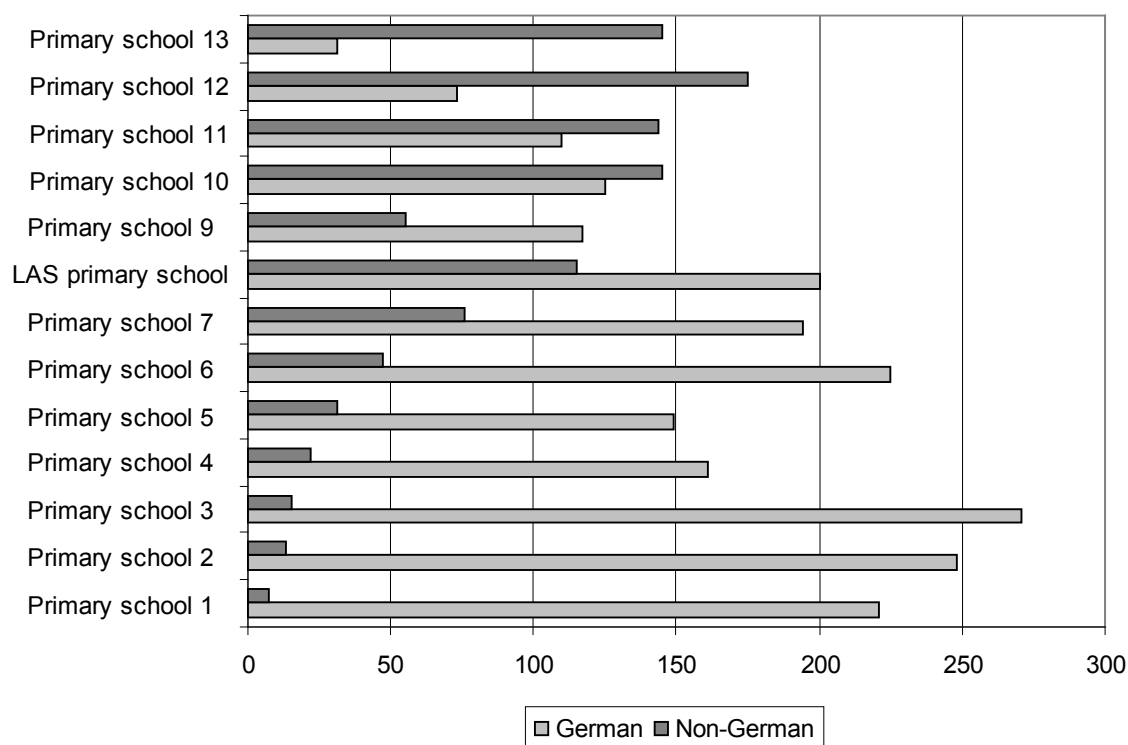
Looking at Figure II.1.3, it is highly conspicuous that the distribution of "foreign" pupils to primary schools in the city district is mostly completely disproportional, with five of the 13 schools having almost no such pupils, and four of these schools having more non-German than German pupils; but considering the factor "adjacency", these distributions basically coincide with the quotas of foreign populations of the respective quarters of the city district.

The LAS class teacher refers to the "difficult social conditions"[72] of the LAS primary school several times as compared to other primary schools, particularly the one where she taught before, the primary school number 7 in the diagram above. As far as the LAS case pupils are concerned, we can state that maybe three or four of them live under difficult social/economic conditions, and one has to bear in mind here that the class teacher never actually checked on the living conditions of the pupils herself, so it is not clear what she bases her assessment on. However, as far as the educational family backgrounds of the case pupils are concerned, Figure II.1.2 shows some disproportions in the distribution of educational levels among the case pupils' parents.

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[72] Quoted from LAS field report; 1st_grade_INT_TEA (translation).

Fig. II.1.2. 1st grade: Educational levels of case pupils' parents.[73]
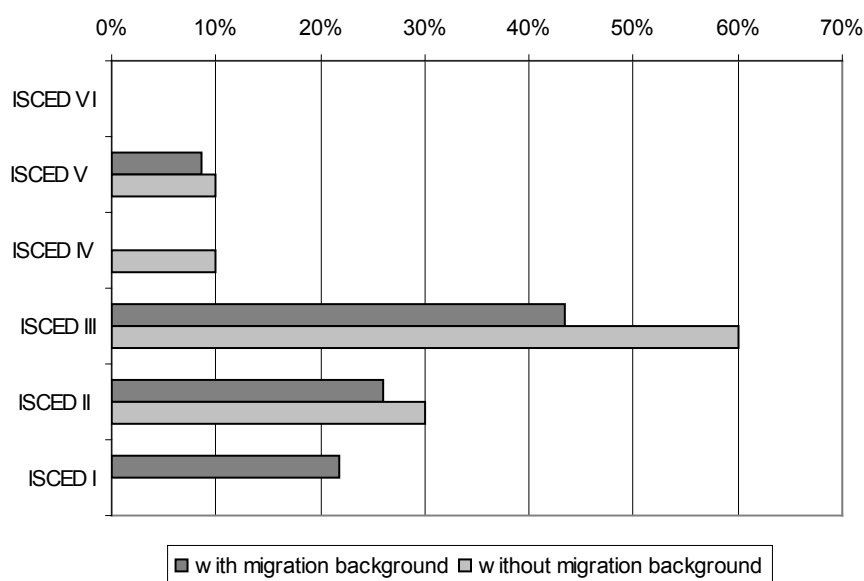
Originally, in a primary school as a non-selective common school, one would expect a distribution of parents' educational levels that more or less corresponds to the general population; taking into account that the city district is rather underprivileged with an unemployment rate of tentatively estimated 15%[74], but, on the other hand, not listed amongst the poorest city quarters in the Ruhr area (Friedrichs & Triemer 2009), one might scale down this expectation by some degrees. With this qualification, compared to the German average, the case pupils' parents without migration background indeed more or less represent the German average, and are even slightly more advanced. But what, of course, is striking is that parents with migration background only meet the German average on the levels of higher education (ISCED 4-6); particularly ISCED level 1 (no secondary school degree) is here utterly overrepresented when considering the German average of 3.3%.[75] Mostly, low educational levels concern the mothers with migration background who came to Germany in order to marry without finishing school in their home country. Naturally, this is a "difficult social condition" for the respective pupils, for their mothers are their main care-takers and in these cases do not have sufficient means to support their children school-wise.

Unfortunately, there are no data available on the transitions from the single primary schools to secondary schools in the city district. But in the context of the interviewed teachers' tentative prognoses for the case pupils' future educational careers, it is very interesting that both case pupils with migration background whose parents are on a high educational level are not considered for the *Abitur* ("A-level"), whereas all but one pupils without migration background are thought capable of making it to the *Gymnasium* independent of their

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[73] N = 12 with migration background, 10 without. The diagram does not claim statistical significance, but is provided for comparison only.

[74] In the data of the city department of statistics, there are only absolute numbers available for the district, which here are aligned with German average quotas.

[75] Source: Bundesamt für Statistik, Bevölkerung nach Bildungsabschluss in Deutschland 2007.

educational background. Of course, this indicates latent discriminatory tendencies; note here that lesson analysis brings to light that although the German teacher rejects the idea that migration background plays a role at all, it does make a difference, even if unintended, in everyday classroom interaction (see, e.g., 3.2.3.2). However, this is not a surprising finding considering that it is not an uncommon practice in German primary schools to delegate pupils who in some way do not meet the "normal expectations" to lower secondary school forms (cf. Radtke 2004).

1.3.2.3 External actors

Although primary schools are much more than secondary schools expected to execute a holistic pedagogic ideal of children's care that includes more than just teaching (i.e., effective socialisation in terms of directed pedagogic work), the basic division along the lines of half-time schooling and half-time family care, as it is still the normal case in Germany, principally deposes the primary school of a more encompassing educational responsibility. Since the children are withdrawn from the school's influence after usually four hours of teaching in the first grade of primary school, its options of providing extensive education and special support are rather limited (cf. Cortina et al. 2003; Höhmann & Holtappels 2005). Thus, a normal expectation towards a primary school would be that the contact with parents is rather frequent and regular, not least because the children are still young and strongly attached to parental guidance, but also in order to ascertain the pupils' basic educational accommodation, which cannot be sufficiently done within the limited scope of the school.

In this context, LAS observations are rather ambiguous. On the one hand, in the LAS first grade, there is a strong reliance on the parents' cooperation, particularly in the context of the many extracurricular activities that are quite usual in the first grades. On the other hand, however, the class teacher's efforts to establish and to maintain contact with parents are quite desultory. For example, the address list she hands us in order to make interview appointments with the case pupils' parents is incomplete and partly wrong (wrong addresses, wrong telephone numbers, names spelled wrong). Of course, her communication with the parents is mostly based on the letters she gives the pupils to take home with them, and the deficient address list proves that the teacher sees no need to ascertain other ways of communication sufficiently; but at least in two cases of pupils with migration background, we know that the teacher's letters cannot be assumed to be entirely understood by their addressees. It is obvious that she knows very little about the family backgrounds of most of the pupils, and has only met those parents who attend parents' evenings and conferences – this being roughly half of the parents in total. But since the teacher shows some interest in our experiences in the pupils' homes, and frequently asks us about several parents, we must assume that she is not generally indifferent, but for whatever reasons does not make an effort to get to know the parents by herself, which, then again, might be considered a rather common attitude among German teachers. Basically, this means (and the class teacher also says so explicitly) that parents who are not approaching the school on their own are deliberately excluded from social activities and decision-making processes. Accordingly, on the two occasions of broad parental inclusion in terms of one school event (a "circus

festival") and one class event (the end-of-year party), we observe that these opportunities, when in fact most of the parents are present, are not utilised in order to intensify individual contacts at all.

As far as the systematic inclusion of parents is concerned, subsidiary "volunteer work" is not an uncommon feature in the LAS primary school, meaning that certain aspects of the school's field of duties are not exercised by the teachers, but delegated to non-professionals. This, first of all, concerns the school's day-care facility as a voluntary institution for those pupils whose parents can not look after them when the official school day is over. Only a minority of the pupils go to day-care, and are here not supervised by teachers, pedagogues, or social workers, but by pupil's mothers who work on 400-Euro-basis, and, as the case may be, by the current intern. Of course, this means that in day-care, no targeted education in terms of purposeful learning or homework support takes place since the mothers working here have no vocational qualification to care for children. The facility has a rather bad reputation amongst the case pupils' parents; even the case pupil's mother who works there does not think much of it, and leaves her daughter with the grandmother when she is on duty.

A similar example comes from the LAS first grade where parents are systematically included in the teaching in the form of the "reading mothers", four of the pupils' mothers who come to the class regularly once a week to work individually with single pupils on their reading skills in a different room. The procedure itself consists of the pupil reading aloud a given text of a special text series (staggered by difficulty level) with the support of the reading mother who notes down the pupil's progress through the text series on a list. Again, the reading mothers are not professionals, and neither are they supervised by the teacher, who, except for the list of text progress, has no control of what happens during the reading-mother sessions. The utilisation of "reading mothers" is quite usual in German primary schools, based on the idea that the active inclusion of parents in actual teaching processes broadens the educational spectrum, makes school more interesting for the pupils, and supports educational processes within the families (cf. Textor 2006). In the LAS example, however, with only a few mothers involved, one might justifiably doubt the strategy's overlapping effects on inner-family education. But more importantly, despite all idealisation of parental cooperation, the fact remains that the reading-mother sessions are technically an outsourcing of regular teaching in terms of delegating crucial teaching tasks to non-professionals. One could also interpret this as the primary school's admission not to be able to organise and perform its self-declared exclusive claim to education based on its own resources, but disguising this incapability as a deliberate pedagogical approach. In the case of the LAS primary school, it even seems as if the teachers rather work together with selected parents than with their own colleagues.

1.4 The comprehensive school of LAS research

1.4.1 School geography

The LAS comprehensive school is situated in a neighbourhood with mainly social housing projects and several other secondary schools close by. Entering the school's premises

through the main gate, one crosses a vast asphalted school yard with a few old ping-pong tables in the South-West; apart from some plants and benches, the school yard is basically empty. Although this appears somewhat dreary and unkind, it is also striking that the external school area is entirely visible from the outside, and nothing distracts the eye from the huge, modern, functionally designed four-story school building in the South-East. In German, one would call a building like the LAS comprehensive school a *Lernfabrik*, a "learning factory", with the cube-like shape and the sober front where nothing reminds of the fact that this a place for children. The building is the incarnated serious side of life. It has been completely modernised recently, with some construction work still going on in the back part, and, going through the main entrance, the first impression is that of hugeness, spaciousness, and not least cleanliness since everything is still new and unused.

In the museum-like foyer, the walls are decorated with art-works of the pupils, all of the rather sophisticated kind; in the first few months of LAS research, there are poems of famous German authors translated by the pupils into their given first language, and illustrated with self-made paintings. Although the fine, elegant presentation might not really be an eye-catcher, by the art-work, the school makes clear from the literal "beginning" that it adheres to its multilingual body of pupils in a proper didactic way.[76] However, despite the very functional self-presentation, there are no signposts or destination boards in the foyer area that would give a visitor directions, which in a huge building like this is somewhat irritating, indicating, despite the spatial openness, that this a place for people with insider-knowledge, suggesting to the outsider an immediate feeling of forlornness. Accordingly, some of the LAS case pupils report that they sometimes got lost in the building when they started to go to school here; except for the foyer with the cafeteria near the entrance, everything in the building looks the same – the corridors, the doors, the walls. On the other hand, the building structure is quite sufficiently designated by means of the door signs that specify the respective weekly occupancy of the rooms in the form of timetables and teachers' tokens. From an organisational point of view, with room distribution being one of the main formal tasks, the door signs thus display, pretty much like in the LAS primary school (see section 1.3.1 of this Chapter), access rights in terms of membership, but furthermore, they also serve as orientation for both teachers and pupils who change rooms rather often in the course of one school day, having designated classrooms as well as special subject rooms (particularly for natural science subjects), and, moreover, basic and advanced courses in different rooms. Still, to an outsider, the door signs with the teachers' tokens mean nothing, and thus are not supposed to guide possible visitors in the building, but contain basically insider-information.

The teachers' lounge indeed deserves the name, for it is, again, a generous space with different room segments divided by potted plants and low shelves, creating several sitting corners with tables and chairs; the teachers also have their own bathrooms inside the lounge area, and there are two conference rooms separated from the general room. The teachers' lounge is located on the first floor at the end of the Eastern corridor, with the headmaster's

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[76] However, note that the actual speaking of particularly Turkish among the pupils is actually forbidden on the school premises; see Section 3.3.3.2.

and the secretary's offices in the front, where there are also chairs alongside the wall for waiting visitors. There is an electric glass door leading to the lounge, with a button to press in order to open it, which half of the time is stuck because it is used so frequently, but it underlines the modern character of the building. With the teachers' lounge, there is an actual, sufficient retreat area for the staff members, differing from all the other rooms (i.e., classrooms) particularly because it is less scarce and not as overly functional as are the classrooms where there is basically nothing more than desks, chairs, and the blackboard (see Section 3.3.1.1 of this Part). Although not exactly homely, the area for the teachers is somewhat more individually modelled and much more comfortable than the other rooms. Therefore, the line that is drawn here between professionals (teachers) and clients (pupils) is a clear status line, with the teachers deserving a comfortable place for themselves (even with an electric door); of course, since the single classrooms are used by many different pupils' groups, it would not be feasible to let the pupils decorate them individually to a larger extent. Still, it is clear that the school belongs to the teachers, and rather not to the pupils whose needs are served based on their functional purpose in school, namely to learn, and who naturally are prone to great fluctuation, whereas the teachers are not (for example, the LAS German teacher has been working in this very school for more than twenty years, and the LAS class teacher for ten years).

1.4.2 Organisational structures

The basic idea of the comprehensive school is to teach pupils jointly after the fourth grade instead of distributing them over the three-tier school system according to primary school performance levels (see section 1.2 of this Chapter). Up till the tenth grade, i.e. the completion of lower secondary education, classes are broadly retained, while the respective pupils are successively allocated to basic and advanced courses in the major subjects Math, English, and German from the seventh grade on. Being in two out of three advanced courses is one of the conditions to be admitted to secondary II with the possibility to achieve the advanced technical certificate (*Fachhochschulreife*) or the A-level (*Abitur*, *Hochschulreife*); technically, the chance to move up to an advanced course is given throughout secondary I, whereas the still practised selection according to performance levels is not unanimously considered an "integrative" concept, and distinguishes the German comprehensive school from models in other European countries (cf. Vierlinger 2009).

With the comprehensive school containing the educational levels secondary I and II, a technical vertical professional hierarchy exists along the lines of office rank and respective salary; within comparably modest limits, secondary school offers the possibility of promotion. The teaching admission for secondary II entails the extended graduate secondary-school promotions *Studienrat*, *Oberstudienrat*, *Studiendirektor*, and *Oberstudiendirektor* with respectively higher salaries. For administrative functions, one or another rank is demanded; for example, the appointment as *Oberstudiendirektor* is regularly linked with a position as headmaster (depending, however, on the size of the given school).[77] Still, in the daily school reality, apart from the few functional positions in

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[77] For further reading, see van Ackeren & Klemm 2009.

the staff, like headmaster, this vertical hierarchy does not play a significant role. It basically denominates versatility in secondary I and secondary II, but does not even mean that secondary-II teachers do not teach secondary I classes.

Horizontal labour division in comprehensive school exists in the context of teaching subjects, with all teachers being specialised in two or three subjects that can be adjacent, like math and chemistry, but do not have to be; in the LAS comprehensive school, there are teachers who specialise in German and math, or in geography and history. Based on their subjects, the teachers are divided into subject groups that have their own subject conferences where decisions on textbooks, didactic methods, equipment, and detailed curricula implementation can be made (within the limits of what the ministry prescribes). With this form of labour division, pupils in comprehensive school are from the very beginning confronted with a whole set of teachers, for it is unlikely that they have the same teacher in two different subjects. All the more, single subjects are personally linked to the respective teacher and in the pupils' eyes dependent on the teacher; several of the LAS seventh-graders report their experience that their will to study and their performance can entirely change when they get a different teacher for the respective subject who has a different teaching method, or, more importantly, whom they simply like better or less. Thus, the subject diversification also allows for a reduction of dependency on a single teacher, which then means better opportunities in general, with many, not one or two, teachers determining the pupils' school career.

1.4.2.1 Professionals

Apart from the janitor, two secretaries, the school psychologist, and the cafeteria lady, the staff of the comprehensive school consists of about 70 teachers, the gender distribution is roughly fifty-fifty. In such a comparably large staff, the forming of "interest groups" would be deemed rather normal, and in this school, this group forming basically seems to take place along the lines of the subject division. In the preliminary talk regarding the LAS practitioners' workshop, two of the present teachers make no secret of their contempt towards those teachers who are generally disinterested, "annoying"[78], and "disturbers"[79], announcing that these staff members will be kept from participating in the workshop. In general, the advanced LAS training in dealing with German language deficiencies of the pupils is very welcome, with the teachers admitting that this was never part of their original training; thus, there is also some awareness of the own limits, which appears like a rather professional attitude that obviously is not granted among the participants, for especially the natural science teachers seem to be somewhat reluctant to accept our "outsider" advices. During the respective workshops, we observe that the members of the different departments not only naturally sit with each other, but also are most friendly with the members of their own department, indicating a strong identity-establishing potential of the department membership. As interest groups, each department, i.e. German, math, natural sciences, and social sciences, represented by three to five teachers, makes some effort to declare its teaching issues as completely specific for the respective subjects. This shows that the

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[78] Quoted from LAS field report (translation).
[79] Ibid.

teachers' self-perception is mostly modelled by the subjects they teach, and their basic interest is to cope with the requirements of special subject teaching; there is some reluctance to generalise didactic questions, and the approach is always method-oriented, not pedagogy-oriented (which coincides with the assumption that secondary school teachers are not professional pedagogues, but professional providers of information, see Luhmann 2002).

The headmaster, on the other hand, has a more isolated position within the staff; although he is, of course, also a special subject teacher, he does not fraternise during the workshops, but gives the appearance of being a neutral observer. Being also the LAS German teacher, we observe throughout the school year a rather distanced demeanour both on part of the staff and on part of the headmaster who sometimes complains to us about the nuisance of his functional role, often struggling particularly with the covering of lesson stand-ins when teachers call in sick, conveying the impression that it is next to impossible to get his staff to sub for anything more than the legal limit. Although the headmaster cleared the LAS undertaking with the two other seventh-grade German teachers at the beginning of the school year, we have, apart from our workshops, only scarce points of contact with the staff afterwards.

Besides organisational tasks in terms of room distribution and schedule design, it falls to the headmaster to mediate between teachers and parents in case of not immediately solvable conflicts, sometimes even employing the schools inspector if the parents are knowledgeable and persistent enough to include the next-higher organisational level. In such cases, the headmaster is corroborated to handle affairs very professionally. But having continual troubles with parents himself, his position also gives him the authority to dismiss complaints, which he seems to do quite regularly.

To sum up, in the LAS comprehensive school, both vertical and horizontal professional differentiation are at least to some degree of importance, but one has to keep in mind here that such divisions are mostly not communicated to the pupils, who, at least in the LAS seventh grade, seem to be entirely unaware of the different departments; but it cannot be ruled out that being taught by the headmaster himself has an effect in terms of respect, discipline, and obedience.

1.4.2.2 Clients

Comprehensive school in North Rhine-Westphalia is not the only secondary school form, but an alternative to the other school forms of the three-tier school system (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gymnasium*). For the LAS comprehensive school, this means that its clientele is pretty much a question of the other schools existing in the respective administrative unit, which are three *Hauptschulen*, two *Realschulen*, two *Gymnasien*, and another comprehensive school. In Germany, if the primary school recommends a pupil for the *Gymnasium*, the parents usually do everything to make sure to send their child to a *Gymnasium*, and not to a comprehensive school with basically the same options to achieve the *Abitur* ("A-level"). Only when there is no *Gymnasium* in the draw area, which is seldom the case, pupils with *Gymnasium* recommendation can be expected to be enrolled in comprehensive school. Circumstantially, not least depending on the respective school's

reputation, the same goes for pupils who have a recommendation for the *Realschule*. In the case of the LAS comprehensive school, the school thus competes for its clientele with eight other schools, four of which have a predefined higher status. Consequently, of the LAS case pupils, none had a recommendation for the *Gymnasium*, and only two (both are bilingual) had a recommendation for the *Realschule*; all others were recommended for *Hauptschule* and comprehensive school respectively. This very circumstance shows that already the primary schools handle comprehensive school as a regular alternative to the *Hauptschule*.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that, according to both the teachers and some of the parents, the other comprehensive school in the district has a much better reputation than the LAS school. As far as the parents (and also some of the case pupils) are concerned, the bad reputation of the LAS school apparently comes about due to an alleged high propensity to violence amongst the body of pupils, but this allegation can neither be corroborated by LAS observation, nor are all informants of the same opinion here. A more likely explanation comes from the teachers, who unanimously blame this school's much higher quota of pupils with migration background, which allegedly is a prolonged result of the beginning years, when the school still offered the subject of Turkish as a foreign language (which was abandoned ten years ago). Therefore, the LAS comprehensive school is said to be a more "foreigner-friendly" school, which apparently attracts even more foreigners and pupils with migration background. However, none of the parents (with or without migration background) refers to this characteristic when asked why they enrolled their child here; the commonly mentioned reasons are adjacency to the parental home, and the fact that older siblings are already in the very school. Only one mother states as a reason that her son was rejected by the other comprehensive school in the district.

It is remarkable that of the secondary schools in the district, the LAS comprehensive school is indeed the one with by far the highest quota of foreigners; again, taking into account here that the city department of statistics only started to differentiate between "foreigners" and "persons with migration background" in recent years, the numbers for 2007/ 2008, as displayed in Figure II.1.3[80], would probably even have to be revised upwards.

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[80] Source: Städtisches Amt für Statistik.

Fig. II.1.3. Secondary schools of the city district 2007 (secondary I only):
Pupils with German and non-German citizenship (absolute numbers)
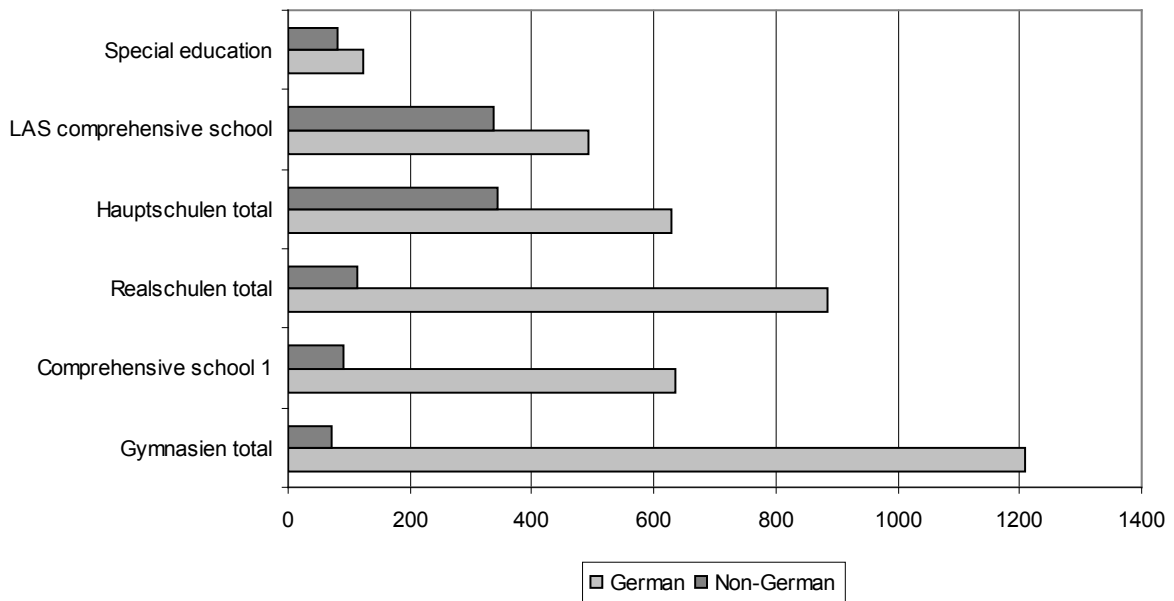
Looking at Figure II.1.3, one can see that the distribution of pupils with foreign citizenship amongst the secondary I level of different secondary school forms in the school district, even though tendency-wise concurring with the German average, entirely breaks the mould, with less than ten percent of the total foreign pupils visiting the *Realschule* or the *Gymnasium*. Figure II.1.4[81] shows the quota of pupils who left the *Hauptschule*, the LAS comprehensive school, and the other comprehensive school in the neighbourhood (number 1) without a diploma.

Fig. II.1.4. Hauptschulen *and comprehensive schools of the city district 2007:*
Pupils leaving school without diploma total, and thereof Germans and Non-Germans

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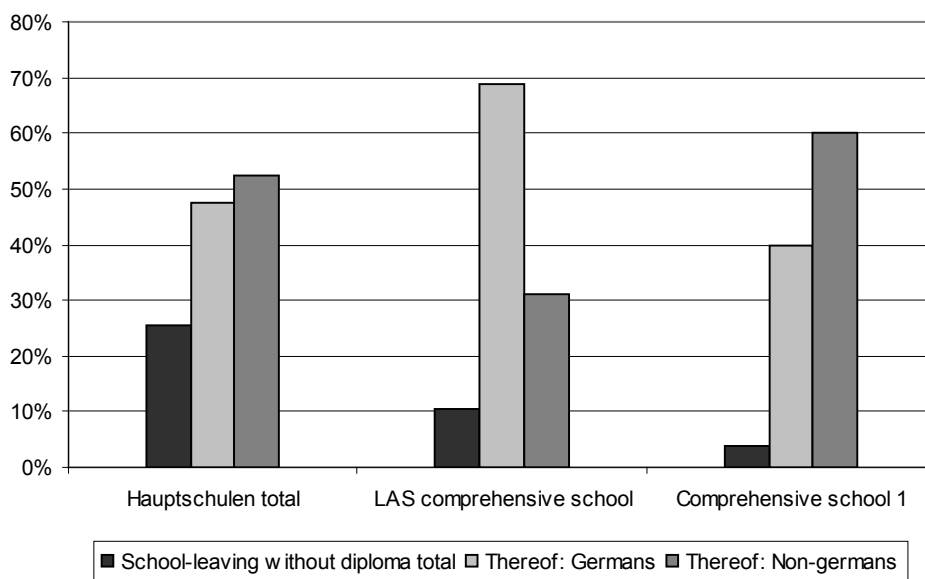
[81] Source: Städtisches Amt für Statistik.

Figure II.1.6 shows that, compared to the *Hauptschulen* in the school district, the chance to leave the LAS comprehensive school without a diploma is not even half as high, whereas in the comprehensive school 1, it is, again, not even half as high as in the LAS school. But what the diagram also displays is that for pupils without German citizenship, the LAS school is in fact the safest choice in terms of getting a diploma, the ratio of foreign school dropouts even being slightly lower than the ratio of foreign pupils in total, whereas in the *Hauptschulen*, the ratios are more or less proportional. In the comprehensive school 1, on the other hand, in the year 2007, non-German pupils were five times more likely to drop out than German pupils. Against this backdrop, it not surprising that the LAS school is said to be the most "foreigner-friendly" alternative in the district, and that it continues to attract pupils with migration background.

However, the low qualification of the LAS school's pupils in general (as determined by primary school recommendations, and as informally confirmed by the teachers) should not be disregarded when discussing the structural limitations of the school. Contrary to the teachers' opinion that the low standards have something to do with the high proportion of pupils with migration background, the alignment with the educational degrees of the case pupils' parents, as displayed in Figure II.1.5, shows that educational levels do not differ significantly between parents with and without migration background.

Fig. II.1.5. 7th grade: Educational levels of case pupils' parents[82]
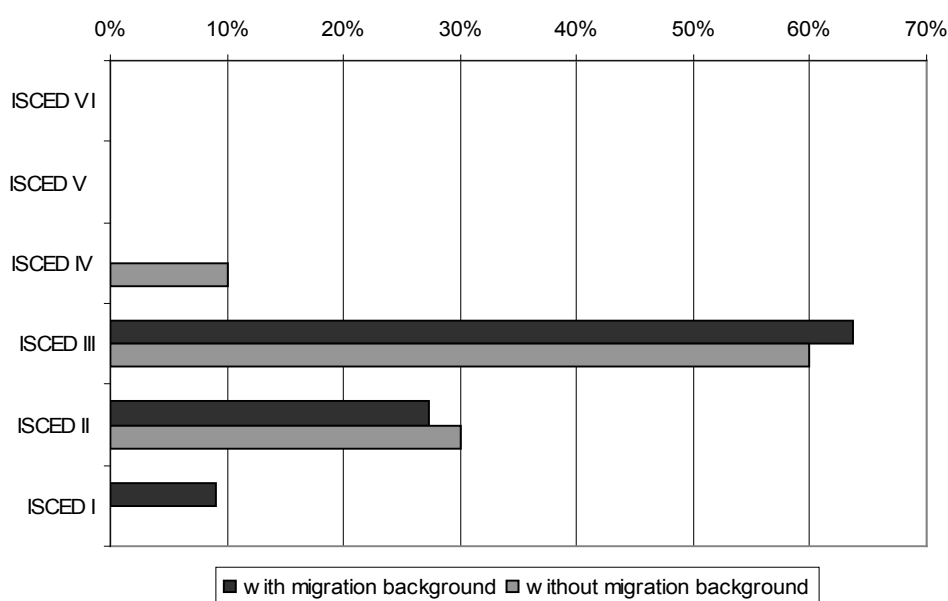
What is indeed conspicuous here is that levels of higher education are almost entirely missing in the case pupils' immediate families; the highest educational degree is one father's vocational baccalaureate diploma (that he acquired through second-chance education). Most of the other parents have a degree from the *Hauptschule* and a professional training in the context of the dual system, corresponding to ISCED level 3,

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[82] N = 11 with migration background, 10 without. The diagram does not claim statistical significance, but is provided for comparison only.

which is indeed the most common educational level in Germany; but of the total German population, 23.5%[83] are located at least on ISCED level 4, so one can easily see that the case pupils' parents are not a representative selection at all. This finding basically confirms the dependency of individual educational careers on the respective family's educational background, as is particular for Germany (cf. Hunger & Thränhardt 2004).

As a reaction on the below-average German language performances of the LAS comprehensive school's fifth-graders, as are evaluated regularly by means of language level tests in the city, the German lessons in fifth and sixth grade were bulked up by two additional lessons per week. Referring to the statements of several teachers, it is not entirely clear whether deficient German competence is rather a problem of pupils with migration background, or a general issue in the school.

1.4.2.3 External actors

As far as LAS research reveals, external actors play only a very marginal role in the school; even the parents are only included in terms of obligatory contacts, like parents' conferences and the like. The parents of the LAS seventh grade were once integrated in school affairs to a greater extent when the deteriorated classroom in the adjacent building had to be renovated, but other than that, there is no organisational frame the parents fit in, except for, of course, the parents' representation in the school council. This, however, is a rather blurry feature of our research, for the teachers never even mention the systematic inclusion of the parents, whereas the LAS parent who is actually a member of the council cannot exactly say what it is for. Therefore, when looking at how the school integrates external actors, we can only refer to the displayed attitudes towards the LAS researchers, who are more or less ignored throughout the school year, and the teachers' (i.e., the LAS seventh grade class teacher and the German teacher/ headmaster) dealings with the parents. As was said before, as a physical space, the LAS comprehensive school is a place that is constituted by means of insider-knowledge, and thus not prepared to deal with outsiders in the first place, which underlines the structural closedness of the school to the outside world. And although several of the case pupils' parents show some actual interest in the given facilities, like the state of the school yard, the classrooms, or the toilets, their knowledge about resources and structures appears to be very limited. Factoring in the attitudes of the interviewed teachers, it is obvious that the parents are almost deliberately kept out. Whenever issues of parental "cooperation" are addressed, it seems as if the teachers basically do what they want, expecting the parents to go along, and when they do not, it is, from the teachers' point of view, because they want to shove their weight around. Indeed, those parents who interfere with school affairs in some way never seem to achieve anything essential (see also Section 1.5 of this Chapter). For the LAS comprehensive school, it appears to be true that the pupils themselves are the only interface between the school and the outside world, and that this kind of expansion (in the form of the parents) is rather regarded as a disturbance or an intrusion. Paradoxically, while the individual parents are systematically kept out of the school, the teachers also condition the pupils' school success mostly on parental home support (see the following section 1.5).

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[83] Source: Bundesamt für Statistik, Bevölkerung nach Bildungsabschluss in Deutschland 2007.

Of course, technically, there are other organs than the immediate school that are concerned with the school. But in the daily school life as studied by LAS, such external actors never seem to play a role, except for when the German teacher/ headmaster has to attend meetings or conferences of the district government. In such cases, another teacher has to sub for him, which is the only palpable impact of these external links. However, we do not know how cooperation with external actors, i.e., the parents, is handled in other classes.

1.5 The meaning of school: the actors' perspective

As far as the parents interviewed in the course of LAS field research are concerned, their attitudes towards school are almost entirely shaped by their current pragmatic accesses to the subject. Of course, some parents also refer to their own experiences as pupils. Such memories mostly contain bad experiences, which is particularly true for parents with migration background; several of those who went to school in Germany report of neglect and discrimination, of problems with classmates, of isolation and mental overload due to language problems, but all of them point out that this was twenty or thirty years ago and that things have changed in the meantime. Things have changed also in the opinion of the parents without migration background, but they rather think of the diversification of teaching contents and methods.

School as a compulsory part of an individual biography is never questioned; going to school is so natural that even the fact that it is compulsory is never mentioned. What the parents actually refer to is not that one has to go to school, but that one has to achieve a profitable school degree; none of the parents point to the value of a good education in terms of broadening one's horizon or evolving one's intellect or personality. Therefore, school is not depicted as a place where one gets an education, but where one gets a degree; accordingly, most of the case pupils' parents cannot say what it is exactly their child learns especially in secondary school. The approach is always entirely technical, and even the old wisdom that one does not learn for the school, but for life, seems to have been replaced by the insight that one does not learn for the parents, but for oneself. On the one hand, such attitudes can be seen as a direct reaction to the currently tense labour market situation and the gradual devaluation and limited applicability of German school degrees (cf. Hadjar & Becker 2006); some parents are of the opinion that even the *Abitur*, the highest secondary (senior) school degree achievable in Germany, is no guarantee for an advanced labour market access anymore, but actually only the minimum requirement. Against this backdrop, education as a humanistic ideal appears to have faded from the spotlight. On the other hand, there seems to be a tendency towards an early push into the direction of individualisation along the lines of self-responsibility. Unanimously, the parents state that they have no means whatsoever to enforce their children's school performance and school career if the child does not want it itself. Coming back to the missing explicitness in terms of the compulsory quality of school education regardless of its degree-wise results, one could almost think that there is a basic misunderstanding at hand that in the course of an alleged democratisation of the German school system, school success is exclusively about free will. Consequently, only one of the interviewed parents considers her child to be maybe just not smart enough to achieve the *Abitur*.

Apparently, the school has successfully communicated its universal claim to education (cf. Luhmann 2002) insofar as the parents have entirely accepted its exclusive responsibility for equipping the population with degrees and diplomas. Every now and then, the parents may question the school's competence to answer its own claim in the context of specific issues, but not by means of considering alternatives to public school education in general. Once in a while, the parents with Turkish background might contemplate the advantages of the Turkish school system towards the German one in terms of discipline and respect, and some of them feel that their children would be better served in the Turkish than in the German school system; of course, this does not at all mean that they question the idea of school in general, but only its particular shape in the respective country. And it should be kept in mind here that parents who actually went to school in Turkey are much less inclined to praise the Turkish school system than those who have entirely been schooled in Germany. Only rarely, the parents refer to broader concepts of education and schooling, or to the specifics of the German school system, which only become an issue when the own child is concerned; similarly seldom, parents refer to particular structures of the organisation they are dealing with, for these only become crucial in the rare cases the child gets into severe trouble, whereas minor problems are rather handled informally, not through official channels. Even those (very few) case pupils' parents who encounter (or simply identify) massive problems with a certain teacher or a particular teaching method never think beyond the borders of the respective school, with the headmaster or headmistress being understood as the topmost decision-maker in the institutional hierarchy, which basically means that if they can not solve a problem with the headmaster, they cannot solve it at all. Take, for example, the parents who are in a continuing conflict with the school because they do not want their children to participate in certain school activities, or to be taught according to specific didactic methods: It never occurs to any of these parents that they could be dealing with a generalizable problem, or that they could appeal to a next higher authority. Therefore, in the parents' active dealings with school issues, the school's universal claim to education is, after all, broken down to the specific school the parents are involved with; it is not *the* school they are dealing with, but *this* school.

Another claim that the school seems to have successfully communicated is a non-claim, namely its non-responsibility for failure (cf. Luhmann 2002). What the parents so willingly delegate to their children: the responsibility for school success, is actually already a devolution of the second order since the school originally delegates this responsibility to the parents, not the pupils. A very interesting finding of LAS research is that the school seems not only to delegate the responsibility for failure to the parents, but, actually quite consequently, also the responsibility for success. The teachers' school career prognoses for the case pupils, regardless of the age group, are almost always linked to parental support, with alleged lacking support leading to a bad prognosis, and vice versa, and while very few pupils are said to be able to make it despite a lack of support, or not make it despite sufficient parental support, it remains the common denominator. But as far as the school is concerned, it takes itself out of the equation. Of course, it appears to be only reasonable that if the school does not accept a pupil's failure as a result of its own making, it cannot plausibly carry off the laurels for a pupil's school success. But in fact, this means that the

school degrades itself to being a mere provider of a service that is either successfully utilised by its customers or not. In this light, it is only the more consequent when the parents basically reduce the school's purpose to awarding degrees for they are told all along that everything else is more or less their own business; indeed, degrees and diplomas are the only thing the parents cannot provide their children with themselves. And it is also the more comprehensible that the Turkish school system is occasionally idealised because it is imagined to achieve at least something more, namely a form of beneficial socialisation, which the German school is commonly denied to be able to.

The school's explicit reference to its pupils' external social contexts might be called ambiguous insofar as its organisational constitution suggests the exact opposite. As a physical space, but also along the lines of age groups and schedules, it generally communicates a pronounced closedness towards the outside world as a whole, but also an inwardly directed closedness towards its own organisational frame, namely the interaction system of the lessons that is literally taking place behind closed doors and thus is almost entirely beyond organisational surveillance (cf. Luhmann 2002). Technically, parents do have a legal right to sit in on their children's classes, which is generally seldom made use of, and also none of the LAS case pupils' parents ever executed this right. In fact, the school takes its physical closedness so entirely for granted that during LAS research, we were not once addressed by a staff member inquiring on our business even though most of both schools' teachers never knew who we were. Partly, this might be explained by an apparently very German idea that nobody would ever voluntarily enter the school who had not a justified business there (cf. Rademacher 2009); accordingly, the very fact that someone visits the premises must prove their rightful access. Of course, every now and again, the school opens its doors deliberately to strangers, namely the parents, on open house days, on parents' evenings, and on parents' conference days, and most of the case pupils' parents feel at least compelled to go to the parents' conference days (for this is a one-on-one situation where it indeed is conspicuous if someone does not appear). But these points of direct, physical contact with the school are very limited both regarding occurrence and duration; particularly for the comprehensive school, it seems to be true that face-to-face contact is actively avoided by settling most school-related issues via letters or by telephone. In general, this also goes for the primary school, with the one qualification that here, it is common that parents still bring their children to school, so there is more informal contact between the teachers and the parents, but also among the parents themselves. But it goes for both cases that if parents are summoned to school out of the ordinary, something really bad must have happened with their child that one cannot work out on the phone, a fact that at least does not help to reduce possible thresholds. Presumably, by basically avoiding or eliminating low-threshold accesses for the parents, the school manages to maintain its organisational closedness also physically, and this way palpably communicates autonomy towards the parents. This is not least corroborated by the observation that in both schools of LAS research, regardless of their (quite different) size, there are no direction signs or guideposts in order to support the spatial orientation inside the buildings.

Against this backdrop, it is interesting that on the one hand, the school manages to keep the parents physically out, but at the same time structurally includes them by means of

constantly confronting them with their respective child's problems as far as they occur (directly by phone or letter, or indirectly with the pupil as the messenger). For the school, this offers the substantial possibility to attribute failures to the individual, and not the organisation (cf. Luhmann 2002), also by physically distancing the problem from the school. For the parents, it entails that they have to bear the consequences of incidents and issues they never witness first-hand, being unable to evaluate and react on the given situations at the time of occurrence. Accordingly, many of the case pupils' parents state that they actually would prefer if problems that occur in the school would be solved in the school without them being included.

Basically, the perspectives of both teachers and parents indeed comprise the generally assumed functions of the school: *qualification* by endowment with diplomas, *allocation* in terms of selection based on performance and thus assignation of societal status, *legitimation* by means of communication of social norms, and *absorption* in the form of supervision (cf. Herzog 2009). But as far as LAS research brings to light, such considerations are not coinciding with the school's clients, the pupils. Being forced into the system, their membership is not based on rationalised reflection, but on the need to "survive" the institution in the best possible way according to their individual capacities and judgements. Thus, they have to develop differentiated strategies of how to deal with rules and requirements, with the constant pressure to perform, and of course with their teachers and classmates, in short: They have to adapt to a whole series of expectations with the main goal of reducing their individual risk of frustration. And despite the quite obvious (albeit not always explicit) expectations communicated by the school, the pupils' coping strategies are not always directed towards objective success, but almost as often towards subjective welfare, which is not necessarily the same.

2 The LAS Case Pupils

Ulrich Mehlem, Christoph Schroeder & Inken Sürig

Narrowing down the focus of observation, twelve case pupils were selected from each observed class based on two vital criteria, namely gender balance and balance between pupils with German as a first and German as a second language. Additionally, it was tried to consider classroom performance as well in order to include pupils on all levels of performance. Accordingly, the case pupil selection from each class was meant to comprise:

Tab. II.2.1. Targeted composition of LAS case pupils

	Bilingual		Monolingual	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Good performance	1	1	1	1
Mediocre performance	1	1	1	1
Poor performance	1	1	1	1

Since the case pupils were observed by means of individual observationnaires, the selection had to be made at a quite early point in field research in order to preferably cover the whole school year by these individual observations, which led to a few limitations that are elaborated below.

The following descriptions are pointed summaries of the results obtained in the case pupil profiles, based on video analysis, lesson observation, and interviews with families and teachers.

2.1 Case pupils of the 1st grade

As school only started for the first-graders at the beginning of LAS research, the selection of case pupils based on the criteria mentioned above proved to be rather difficult for neither the teachers nor the investigators had all the necessary background information on the pupils at hand, particularly in terms of migration backgrounds and language use. This is why one pupil, AND♂, was placed in the group of the "monolingual" case pupils when during the family interview in the second semester it turned out that both his parents were not born in Germany, but in Poland (mother) and Macedonia (father) respectively. Although AND is raised in the German language and a monolingual as it is, the selection must be deemed suboptimal because it is a very special case of monolingualism as he is not raised in either first language of his parents, while the parents themselves do not speak each other's first language and at the same time show considerable deficiencies in their German language use. Another special case is that of ALE♀, who was selected as a representative of "bilingual" pupils when in the family interview it came to light that, based on experiences with her older sister, ALE was raised more or less monolingual in German and only started to be instructed in the Turkish language, which is the first language of both her parents, when she entered school (she repeats the first grade). However, she sometimes speaks Turkish with her Turkish girlfriends in class, meaning that she is identified as a bilingual by

her peers, and of course she has a Turkish migration background. Since already half of the school year (with the respective data acquisition on the two pupils) had passed when the special circumstances of AND and ALE were discovered, we decided to keep them as case pupils of the respective groups nonetheless.

Another difficulty in the selection of the first grade case pupils was the "performance" criterion as such assessments can only be made very tentatively for school beginners, solely based on first impressions. In the case of the first grade, "performance" does not so much refer to actual school grades (since there is no such thing in the first two school years), but to general features of observed diligence and obedience, and partly also to LAS test results. Moreover, it was of course not possible to foresee the individual developments of the selected pupils, which is why the case pupils chosen in the first grade do not thoroughly represent the entire range of school performance, as can be seen below.

Tab. II.2.2. 1st grade: Composition of LAS case pupils

	Bilingual		Monolingual	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Good performance	KER (L1 Turkish)	X	RAF	X
Mediocre performance	OSM (L1 Turkish)	ALE (L1 German, L2 Turkish)	KEV AND (with migration background)	ANN PIA
Poor performance	KON (L1 Albanian)	FEH (L1 Turkish) SEV (L1 Turkish)	X	SON

2.1.1 Family backgrounds

The family backgrounds of the case pupils are here provided in tabular form for reasons of clarity and comparability.

Tab. II.2.3. 1st grade case pupils: Family backgrounds[84]

	Bilingual						Monolingual					
	♂			♀			♂			♀		
	KER [85]	KON	OSM	ALE	FEH	SEV	AND	KEV	RAF	ANN	PIA	SON
Living with both parents	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
Number of siblings in household	1	2	3	1	3	2	2	0	2	0	1	2
Parents' economic position	x	–	~	~	–	~	–	~	~	~	~	~
Parents' educational background	x	–	~	+	–	–	–	~	+	~	~	~
Literate practices in family	x	x	~	+	–	–	–	~	+	–	+	~
Parents' oral German language proficiency[86]	~	–	~	~	~	–	–	~	~	~	~	~
Family language[87]	T	A	T	T/G	T	T	G	G	G	G	G	G
Family's religiousness[88]	x	0	+	–	–	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' compliance with educational responsibilities at home[89]	x	~	+	+	+	~	–	~	+	+	+	+
Child's visible supply with care and equipment[90]	+	~	~	+	+	–	~	+	+	~	+	–

As the first grade case pupils and siblings are of a young age and the parents' partnerships as well, most of the parents are still living together; only ANN♀MON lives with her mother, the parents never having been married, but sees her father regularly. Two of the monolingual case pupils (ANN♀MON and KEV♂MON) are only children at the point in time, while the majority are, at the time, the youngest child in the family (ALE♀BIL, FEH♀BIL, OSM♂BIL, SEV♀BIL, SON♀MON, RAF♂MON). KER♂BIL and PIA♀MON are both first-borns, and AND♂MON and KON♂BIL have both older and younger siblings.

As for the parents' economic position, most can be deemed average German middle-class as far as income and housing go. Rather lower-class living conditions are only found with children with migration background. None of the case pupils' parents were registered as unemployed at the time of the family interview, but of the mothers, only ANN♀MON's has a job that suffices to sustain the family as she is the sole bread-earner, and AND♂MON's and SON♀MON's mothers work half-time. The mothers of FEH♀BIL, KEV♂MON, KON♂BIL, OSM♂BIL, and SEV♀BIL are housewives, while the mothers of ALE♀BIL, PIA♀MON and RAF♂MON have mini-jobs on 400 Euro basis. As a tendency, mothers with migration

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[84] + = above average; ~ = average; – = below average; 0 = not mentioned; x = not assessable.
[85] No family interview available.
[86] Based on language of interview partner in family interview.
[87] T = Turkish, A = Albanian, G = German.
[88] + = emphasised; – = deemphasised; 0 = not mentioned (in family interviews).
[89] Supervision, establishment and enforcement of rules, concernedness with child's upbringing, familiarity with child in general.
[90] Household is clean and orderly, child has an own space in the household, child has an orderly appearance and clean, intact clothes, is regularly provided with adequate school material and food for breakfast.

background are thus more likely than mothers without such a background to be stay-at-home moms (the ratio being 4:1).

In terms of educational backgrounds the composition appears to represent a quite mixed sample, which is probably owed to the pre-selection state of primary school; parents with migration background seem to be more likely to have lower educational degrees than parents without migration history (see the seventh grade for comparison, and Chapter V). In families where parents have a rather low education, literate practices (in either language) are distinctively underdeveloped, meaning that the respective case pupil has very limited contact with the written language at home. In most of the cases, educational backgrounds coincide with the extent of domestic literate practices as measured by the parents' ability to name and describe such practices in the family interview. As the interviews were conducted in German in order to assess the parents' German proficiency, severe communication problems in the conversation with KON♂ᴮᴵᴸ's mother made it impossible to evaluate the literate practices in this case. In general, the parents' oral German competences as were revealed in the family interviews are mainly inconspicuous; only in the cases of both AND♂ᴹᴼᴺ's parents and KON♂ᴮᴵᴸ's and SEV♀ᴮᴵᴸ's mothers the German was clearly deficient and not sufficient to entertain a more complex conversation. However, one should bear in mind here that evaluations could only be made for the respective interview partners and not their spouses if they did not participate in the conversation; at least OSM♂ᴮᴵᴸ's father attested his wife a deficient German proficiency.

Only in the case of parents with Turkish migration background religion was occasionally made an issue in the family interviews; here, only OSM♂ᴮᴵᴸ's family lives strictly by the rules of Islam, which was emphasised in several respects from the father refraining from shaking hands with women to the daughters being not allowed to take part in co-ed swimming lessons to OSM♂ᴮᴵᴸ being excluded from the school carnival celebration as a pagan tradition. ALE♀ᴮᴵᴸ's and FEH♀ᴮᴵᴸ's parents, on the other hand, mentioned being Muslims in the context of deemphasising the importance of religion in their family life. This might show a tendential defensiveness on the part of the latter parents who, in the recent political climate, seem to feel compelled to distance themselves from common clichés about Muslims. Parents without migration background never raised the religion issue.

Evaluations of the case pupil's well-being in the family point at mostly inconspicuous relationships between parents and child, and a broad recognition of responsibilities on the part of the parents. In this context, those parents are deemed above average who report sophisticated support strategies (e. g., practising walking to school alone, to make phone calls in cases of emergency, to watch TV selectively) combined with a structured, controlled everyday life (e. g., set hours for meals, homework, specific free-time activities like musical or physical education). Also, most of the case pupils are sufficiently equipped with food, clothing, toys, and school materials.

As was announced above, AND♂ᴹᴼᴺ somehow seems to drop out of the group of the monolingual case pupils, being the only one here whose parents (both migrated to Germany) score below average regarding their economic and educational backgrounds and

their German competences; moreover, he is the only case pupil for whom it can be clearly determined that he is being neglected at home.

2.1.1.1 Migration backgrounds

Of the seven first-grade case pupils with migration background, all were born in Germany, and all their parents except for SEV♀BIL's father experienced immigration first-hand, but often at a young age, so several had at least their secondary school education in Germany. None of the parents have interethnic marriages with a German; all but AND♂BIL's parents have the same ethnic background.

Tab. II.2.4. 1st grade case pupils: Migration backgrounds

	♂				♀		
	AND	KER	KON	OSM	ALE	FEH	SEV
Mother's parents migrated to Germany	yes	x	no	no	yes	no	yes
Father's parents migrated to Germany	yes	x	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Mother visited last school in Germany	yes	x	no	no	yes	no	no
Father visited last school in Germany	no	x	no	yes	yes	no	yes
Extended family in Germany	yes	x	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Grandparents re-migrated to country of origin	yes	x	no	no	no	yes	no
German citizenship	yes	x	no	yes	yes	no	x

Only KON♂BIL's parents, who are the only ones in this group with Albanian migration background, have both not experienced a juvenile socialisation in Germany. For all others, it holds true that at least on one side of the family immigration to Germany took place already in the case pupil's grandparental generation, but note here that only in OSM♂BIL's case the mother came to Germany in the context of marriage migration, while FEH♀BIL's father met and married his wife in Turkey during the time he was living there in between, when also their first two children were born. He is also the only interviewed parent who openly contemplates re-migration intentions, which does not seem to be an issue for any other family.

2.1.1.2 School support in parental home

The parents' general attitudes towards their child's school are often influenced by earlier experiences made with older children, and by their individual agendas and claims. These factors might open up a critical access to general aspects of the school system or specific teaching methods, for example in the case of SON♀MON's parents, who reject the "write as you speak" method because they experienced it as limiting for their older children, and in the case of FEH♀BIL's father, who saw his oldest child fail in school for disciplinary reasons and thus blames the system's lack of respect and discipline. Mostly, however, parents tend to be dissatisfied with their child's school in cases when they specifically did not get the help or support they asked for; depending on the actual issue at hand, parents either

complain about too much or too little interference on the part of the school. Whereas OSM♂BILs father criticises the school's insufficient accommodation with his religion-based demands for special treatment (exemption from certain school events), SEV♀BIL's mother reports a lack of support when trying to organise tutoring for her children; KEV♂MON's mother felt dismissed when she sought help with educational problems, while ALE♀BIL's mother opposes the schools' alleged earlier doubts about her child-raising strategies. Parents who claim to be satisfied with the school mainly seem to base this on the absence of problems, not on explicit positive experiences.

It is conspicuous that parents with migration background seem to be less well-informed about their child's performance in school than the monolingual parents, and that they usually do not seem to take domestic school support as seriously; this also concerns the regularity of attending school events. Parents without migration background already make considerable efforts to practice reading and writing with their children at home, and all of them are familiar with the class's current topics and tasks; there is a remarkable and sometimes very explicit emphasis on the parents' responsibility for the child's school success particularly at this early age. By contrast, bilingual parents rather seem to consider the first grade a prolonged transition phase that will resolve itself and does not necessitate intensive, target-oriented support, the exception being the situation of ALE♀BIL, who already repeats the first grade and experiences strong parental support and concern.

Tab. II.2.5. 1st grade case pupils: School support in parental home

| | Bilingual | | | | | | Monolingual | | | | | |
| | ♂ | | | ♀ | | | ♂ | | | ♀ | | |
	KER	KON	OSM	ALE	FEH	SEV	AND	KEV	RAF	ANN	PIA	SON
Parents are satisfied with child's school	x	+	–	~	+	~	+	~	+	+	+	~
Parents attend parent conference days and other school events	+	~	~	+	+	+	~	+	+	+	+	+
Parents are informed about child's school performance	x	x	~	+	–	x	~	+	+	+	+	+
Parents/ siblings work with child for school[91]	x	x	~	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+

Note here, as will be seen in Section 2.2 of this chapter, that the situation in the seventh grade is actually somewhat reversed, with bilingual case pupils tendentially getting more parental school support than monolingual ones.

2.1.2 Summary of linguistic competences

2.1.2.1 Summaries of the orate/ literate analyses

2.1.2.1.1 Preliminaries

In the first grade in Germany, the test was conducted with all twelve case pupils. A L1 test in Turkish with five and in Albanian with one bilingual pupil was carried out, as well, in

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[91] Homework support; voluntary reading/ writing practice.

both sessions of testing. The tests consisted of an oral retelling of the film and a dictated version in the first session, and a dictated and a written version in the second session.

The following summary will comment on the average percentages of the orate/ literate forms the pupils employed in their texts in German and Turkish, giving all the results in the five linguistic areas taken into consideration ('complements form', 'tense', 'sentence structure', 'connection' and 'function of information units').

Behaviour in the test situation

Most of the children could cope very well with the test situation. They watched the film in groups of four and then were assigned to four different tables where they sat with the field assistants who first recorded the narratives and then wrote down the dictated versions. Sometimes pupils tried to listen to what other pupils said, but this was only a minor problem. When it came to writing, two of the weaker-performing bilingual students, KON$^{\male BIL}$ and SEV$^{\female BIL}$ got some interactive support from the side of the field assistant to be able to write a complete text. These text products could not be analysed from the point of view of orate-literate analysis because some formulations – although initially produced by the child and written down by the interviewer – were then read to the child by the investigator again.

As the switch from spontaneous retelling of the film to dictation in the first session did only lead to minor changes, only the first version of this test is presented in detail. A general ability to reconstruct a plot from the film already could be stated for the first version. Most children succeeded in relating the last scene, in which the envelope is given back, to the beginning when the woman lost it on her way to the office. Some texts additionally contain some hints to the different interests of the finders, but most of them do concentrate on this detail only when asked by the interviewer. In the following, the formal properties of more literate vs. orate language will be in focus.

2.1.2.1.2 Oral and dictated versions: Tests 1.1 and 1.2

Most students dispose of a balanced distribution of lexical marking of referents and pronominal or zero forms. A slight dominance of neutral forms can be observed with three pupils, PIA$^{\female MON}$, KON and KER$^{\male BIL}$: These refer to the referents of the story with non-lexical forms to a large extent. On the other side, dominant literate/ lexical forms can be observed with RAF$^{\male MON}$, SON$^{\female MON}$ and OSM$^{\male BIL}$. In the case of OSM, this is due to a high amount of standard personal pronouns, as well. In all following tables, totals of occurrences are represented.

Fig. II.2.1. 1st grade: Complements forms, Test 1.1 German
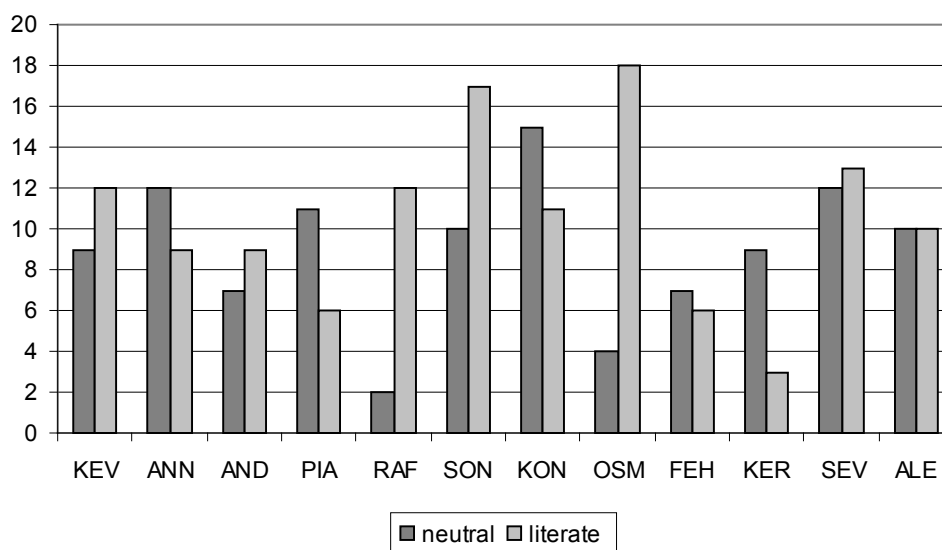
With respect to the use of tenses, the dominant forms are neutral, i.e. present perfect in the narrative part and present in the interactive utterances. The auxiliary *war* 'was' is used predominantly in simple past. Other forms of the simple past are extremely rare (4 forms in all texts = 2.6 %).

For the analysis of internal sentence structure, a scale with four categories has been used. Orate structures (serialised sentences with *und dann* 'and then', phrase dislocations and verb initial declarative sentences) are equally distributed among most pupils (16.2%). A considerably high percentage was only observed in the text of ANN♀MON, due to a very long serial structure and many dislocations.

Fig. II.2.2. 1st grade: Structure, Test 1.1 German
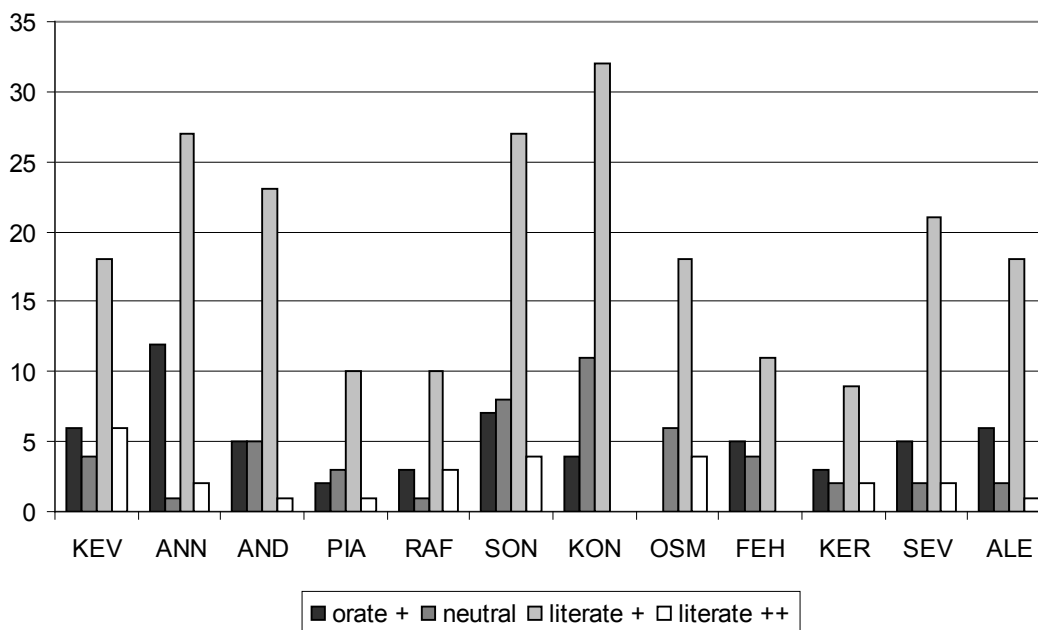
The number of simple sentences is very low (13.7%), while simple extension – often only with an adverbial – leads already to a more literate sentence structure, which is the

dominant category in all texts (62.7%). Sentences with subordinate clauses are the rarest feature with only 7.3%, but one can find at least one subordinate clause in every text, with the exception of KON$^{\male BIL}$.

The analysis of sentence connection again results in a dominance of an unmarked feature, that of serial structures with or without connectives (89.9%). The literate feature of a contrastive marking of sentence connection could only be observed with three pupils, KEV$^{\male MON}$, PIA$^{\female MON}$ and OSM$^{\male BIL}$.

The distribution of interactive and depictive utterances shows a clear dominance of the depictive. This, however, is due to the quite formal situation in which the children tried to focus as hard as possible on the content, while questions of the interviewer were only answered very shortly and again content-oriented. Utterances like *ich weiß nicht* 'I don't know' or *Ich hab das nicht genau gesehn* 'I didn't see it very well' occurred only once or twice in the interviews with some pupils.

2.1.2.1.3 Dictated vs. written versions: Tests 2.1 and 2.2

Fig. II.2.3. 1st grade: OLA, complements, Test 2.1 German
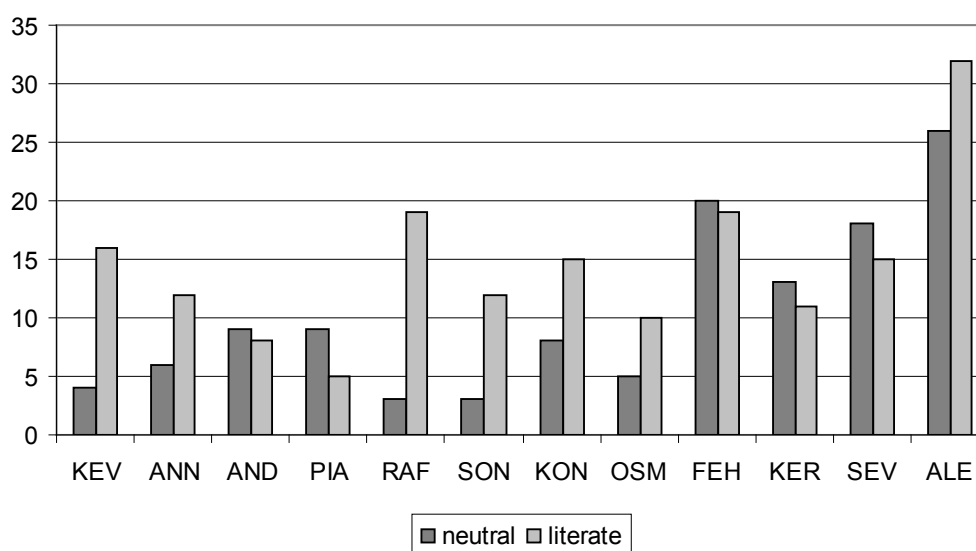
The distribution of complements shows a certain tendency towards more literate forms. Among those with very strongly marked orate complements, only PIA maintains the same strategy in the second test, while AND$^{\male MON}$ and KER$^{\male BIL}$ introduce more lexical complements in their texts. An unexpected outlier is ALE$^{\female BIL}$ with a very detailed account of the film, containing four times as many complements. The strongest lexical marking of referents is again employed in RAF$^{\male MON}$'s text, while KEV$^{\male MON}$ increases the number of lexical forms considerably. Interestingly, KON$^{\male BIL}$, whose first version showed a majority of pronominal forms, reverses the relationship towards more literate forms.

With regard to tense, no difference in relation to the earlier versions could be found. Past tense forms of full verbs still are a category avoided in the oral versions of the first-graders. There are only 5 of such forms in all 12 texts (2.7%).

Fig. II.2.4. 1ˢᵗ grade: Structure, Test 2.1 German
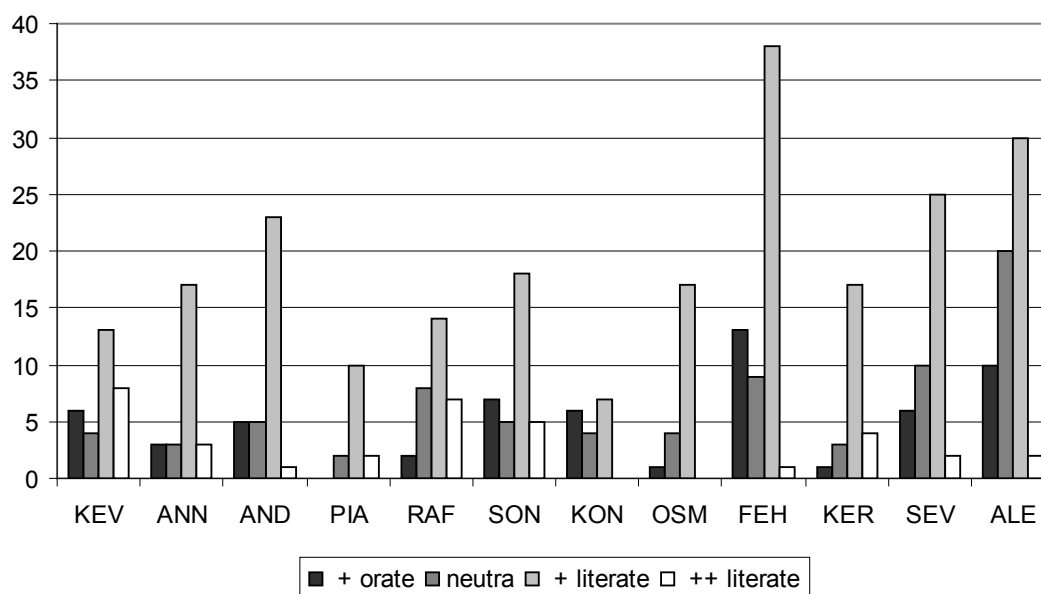
In sentence structure, some smaller changes can be observed: less orate structures (a slight decrease from 16.2 to 15%), increase of neutral simple complete sentences (from 13.7 to 19.2%), decrease in extended complete sentences, counted as literate (from 62.7% to 57.1%) and, finally, a slight increase in subordinate sentences (from 7.3% to 8.7%). The strongest impact of orate features can be observed in FEH♀ᴮᴵᴸ's and ALE♀ᴮᴵᴸ's texts, which are the longest of the whole sample. On the other hand, subordinate structures appear to some extent in the texts of KEV♂ᴹᴼᴺ (two subordinate clauses and five instances of coordinate reduction) and RAF♂ᴹᴼᴺ (three subordinate clauses and three times coordinate reductions).

2.1.2.1.4 Developments from speech to writing

In order to facilitate the comparison with the written texts, in the following charts, only the indicators of literate structures are presented, cutting across three test versions: oral (T1.1.), dictated (T2.1.) and written (T2.2.). The occurrences of all literate items of tables *II.2.1. to II.2.4.* were summed up. In this procedure, the data of KON♂ᴮᴵᴸ and SEV♀ᴮᴵᴸ had to be excluded. Three different patterns can be distinguished: A first group includes pupils who reach a clear maximum of literate complement forms only in the last written versions. Among these are KEV♂ᴹᴼᴺ and three bilingual pupils who all attain more than 85% of lexical or standard personal pronouns in the complements. A second group is formed by monolinguals who already in the spoken versions start at a considerably high level and do not change very much from version to version. In the third group, we find students whose tendency towards literate structures remains limited in oral as well as in written versions. Among these, we find again two monolingual pupils (AND♂ᴹᴼᴺ and PIA♀ᴹᴼᴺ) and one bilingual (FEH♀ᴮᴵᴸ).

Fig. II.2.5. *1st grade: Increase of literate forms of complements in the three test versions, German*
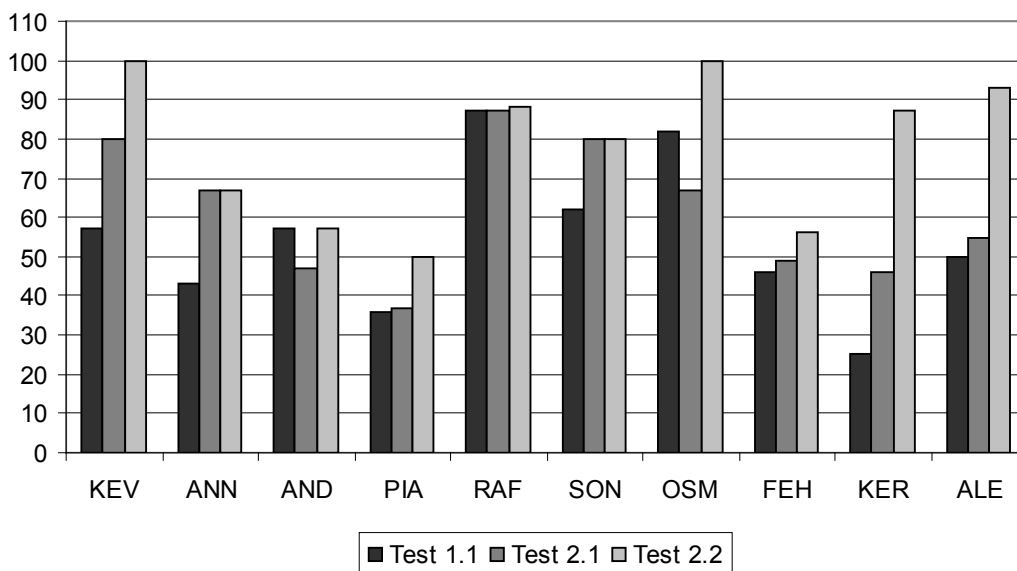
As a second indicator, the use of subordinate sentence structures was analysed. The picture changes considerably: A tendency towards more literate structures in writing can only be attested for four students, the bilinguals ALE$^{♀BIL}$ and FEH$^{♀BIL}$, and the monolinguals KEV$^{♂MON}$ and AND$^{♂MON}$. Most striking are the cases with no subordinate structures at all in writing, although these play a considerable role in at least one spoken version: RAF$^{♂MON}$ and PIA$^{♀MON}$ among the monolinguals and OSM$^{♂BIL}$. Three students range in the middle: Their subordinate structures are fewer, but still existent, in comparison with higher rates in particular in the spoken texts (ANN$^{♀MON}$, SON$^{♀MON}$ and KER$^{♂BIL}$).

Fig. II.2.6. *1st grade: Literate sentence structure (++) in the three test versions German (in %)*
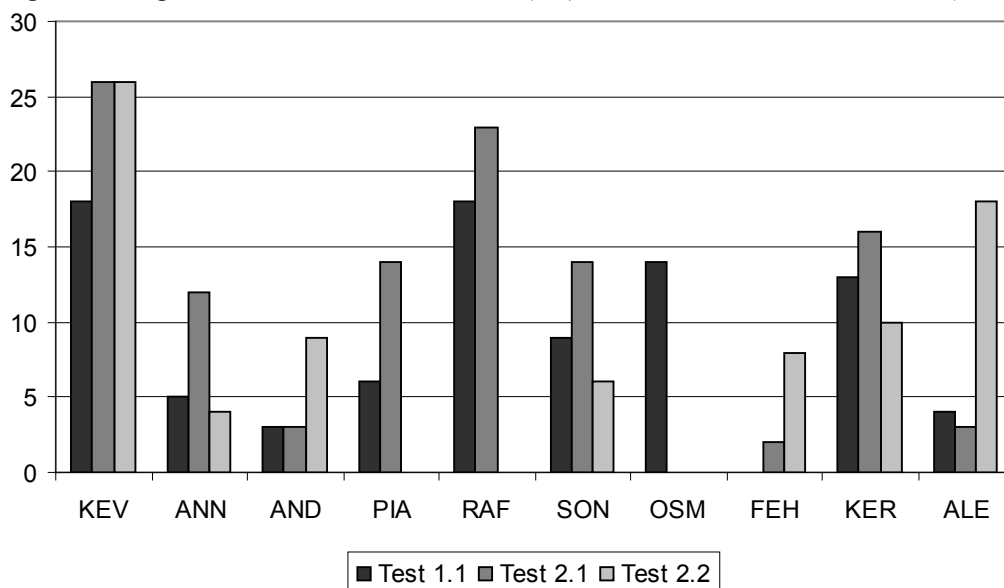
2.1.2.1.5 Orate-literate analysis of the Turkish text products

Text products in L1 Turkish

Five of the six bilingual children who participated in the LAS study of grade one spoke Turkish as their first language; their texts will be analysed in the following section. Due to technical problems, of FEH♀, no dictated version of Test 2 exists; however, she wrote her story a second time one week later, but this text will not be considered. SEV♀ did not want to write at all first; she could only be convinced, if the field assistant wrote a part of the text as well. Because of the co-constructed nature of this text product, the orate-literate features of this text have not been quantified. ALE♀, finally, did only participate in the oral text production and said, when it came to writing that she was not able to write in Turkish.

Comparison of orate-literate structures in oral, dictated and written versions

In the oral narrative the complements are distributed as follows (again, totals of occurrences are given):

Fig. II.2.7. 1st grade: Oral narrative Turkish, complements
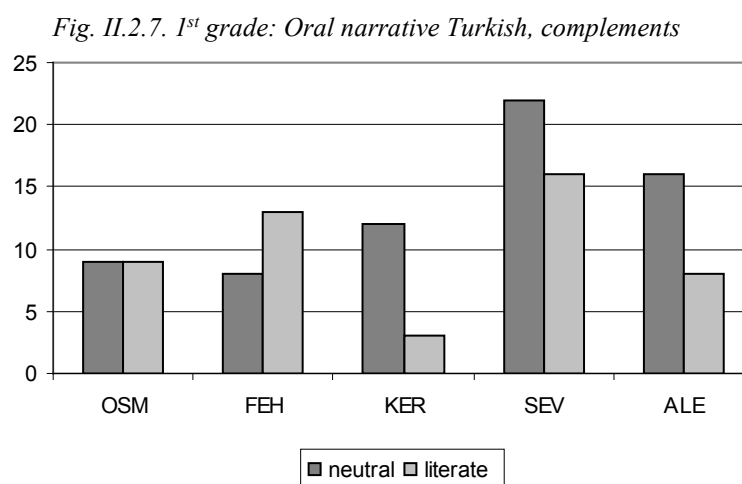
The dominance of pronominal or pro drop complement structures can be seen in three texts, only FEH♀ as more lexical complements. OSM♂ disposes of a balanced relationship. The use of tenses was characterised by a clear dominance of simple past and simple perfective. It is therefore not discussed in more detail.

Sentence structures are characterised by a clear dominance of simple complete sentences in all five cases. Very few incomplete structures occur in all tests except of KER♂'s who gives a very concentrated version of the story. On the other side, some extended complete sentences exist in all versions except ALE♀'s. The strongest influence of literate features can be seen at SEV♀'s test who uses even a subordinate clause.

Fig. II.2.8. 1st grade: Oral narrative Turkish, sentence structure
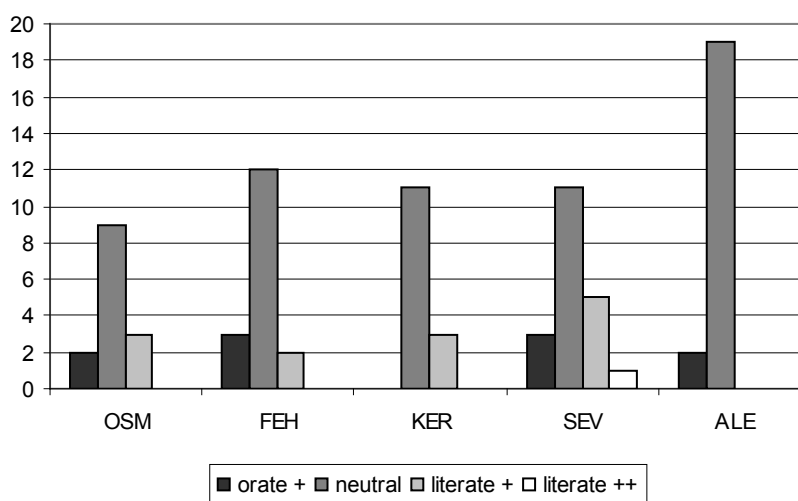
The written versions of the three remaining cases show the following distribution of complements:

Fig. II.2.9. 1st grade: Written narrative Turkish, complements
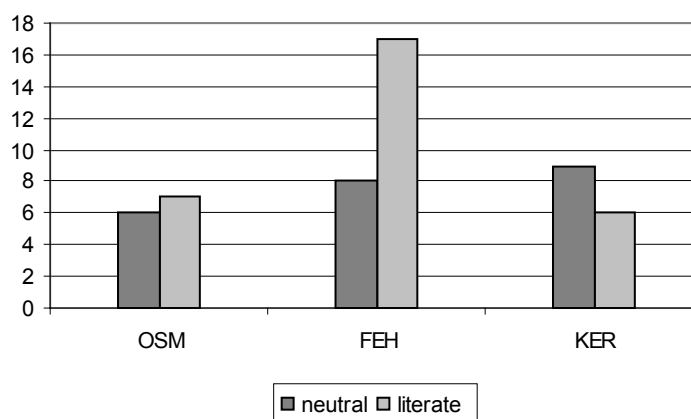
No marked differences to the first oral version could be observed: FEH♀ long text shows again the most lexical elements; OSM♂ text structure is balanced. KER♂ reduced some of his pronominal or unmarked forms in relation to explicitly marked referents. The last issue do be considered here are sentence structures:

Fig. II.2.10. 1ˢᵗ grade: Written narrative Turkish, sentence structures
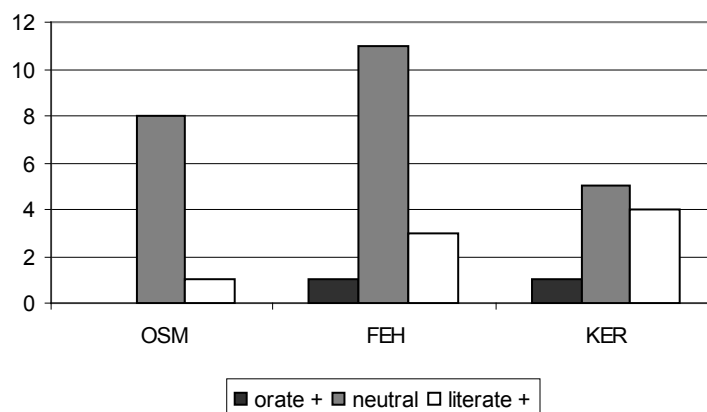
Unmarked complete, but simple sentences dominate in all three texts. The strongest influence of more literate extended structures can be seen in KER$^{\male}$'s text. Still, two incomplete structures exist in the texts of FEH$^{\female}$ and KER$^{\male}$, showing some planning difficulties in the writing process.

2.1.2.2 Summary of orthographic analyses

The analysis of the development of the first graders in German orthography is based on several different data: During the school year, the teacher herself conducted a picture-word test, developed by Sommer-Stumpenhorst, in the beginning in October, in January and in April.

Another basis are different text products that the students wrote according to specific writing assignments, often based upon a story told by the teacher or a picture discussed in the lesson. In April, the *Hamburger Schreibprobe* for first-graders was administered to the students by the LAS team, followed by a pseudoword test aiming at the evaluation of phonographic understanding of German orthography. As these different data are quite heterogeneous, their grouping in a chart will not give a comprehensive picture of the orthographic development over time, but combine different data from specific points in time to show a tentative appraisal of the development of some relevant competences.

2.1.2.2.1 Orthographic development during the school year: A comparison of global figures

Fig. II.2.11. 1ˢᵗ grade: Correct graphemes, picture-word tests German
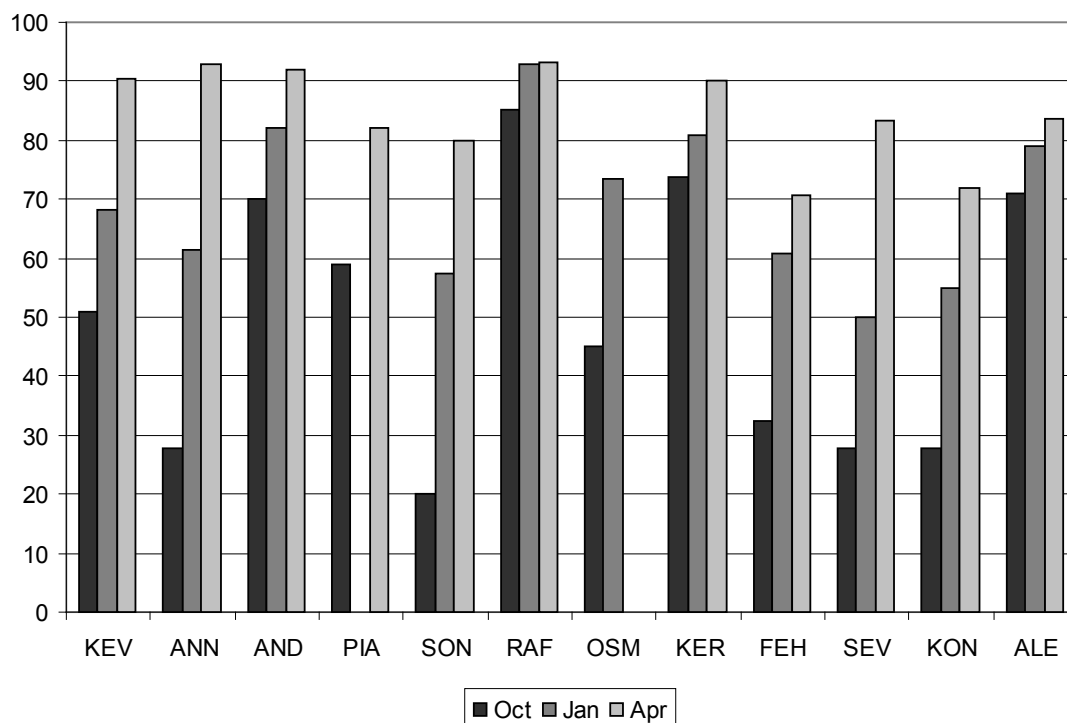
The material of the picture-word test was used by the school as a diagnostic tool for orthographic development. The analyses presented here follow the syllabic approach. The percentages of correct graphemes are given in the three time points. As the task remains identical, the development can be measured more easily than in the other tests. Of five students who started below 30% in December, two reach a little more than 70% later, while two others enter the medium group. ANN♀MON proceeds to the group of the best achievers. As more than five students reach more than 90% in the third test, a certain ceiling effect has to be considered. The outcomes of the free writings and of the Hamburger writing task (HSP) are considerably less optimistic, as shown in the following figure.

Fig. II.2.12. 1st grade: Correct graphemes, freely written text products German
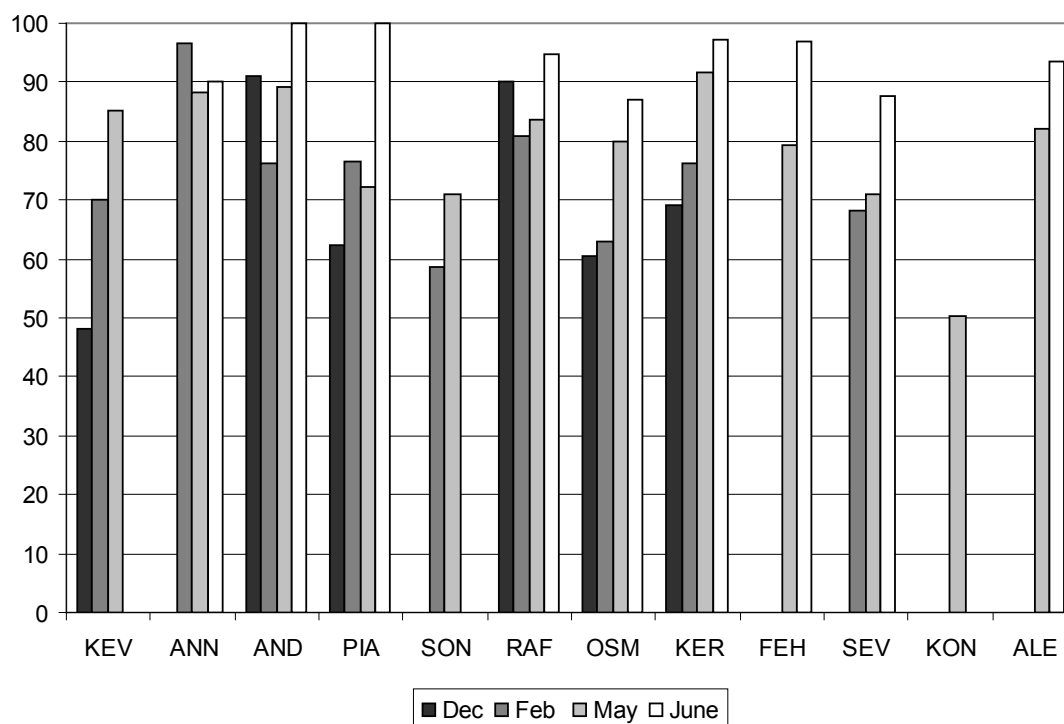
The text products are based on different tasks; three of them were written during assignments in the classroom according to conditions analysed in the different lesson analyses (in December, February and June). The fourth test, however, was part of the experimental design. As not all students were present during all writing assignments, a comprehensive comparison of all case pupils is only possible with respect to LAS Test 2.2.

The weakest achievers (below 75% of correct implementations) are FEH$^{♀BIL}$, KON$^{♂BIL}$, SON$^{♀MON}$ and PIA$^{♀MON}$, i.e. two pupils from the mono- and two from the bilingual group. The middle group reaches between 80% and 84%: In this group, the bilingual case pupils are overrepresented. The highest rates of correct graphemes (up to 92%) are achieved by three monolinguals and one bilingual, KER$^{♂BIL}$.

2.1.2.2.2 Detailed analysis of writings at the end of the school year: LAS Test 2.2

The core of the evaluation is formed by a syllable-based analysis of the orthographic representation of phonological and prosodic structures of German. The cases will be presented side by side in order to grasp the development of the pupils in all their heterogeneity.

Onsets of the prominent syllable usually are acquired very early in literacy learning and should not pose major problems; this general tendency can be confirmed in the following chart: Errors occur in only 5% of the cases, while in merely 2% of the cases, the onset or an element of a complex onset are missing. The exceptions concern two case pupils only:

Fig. II.2.13. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orthography German, onset S'
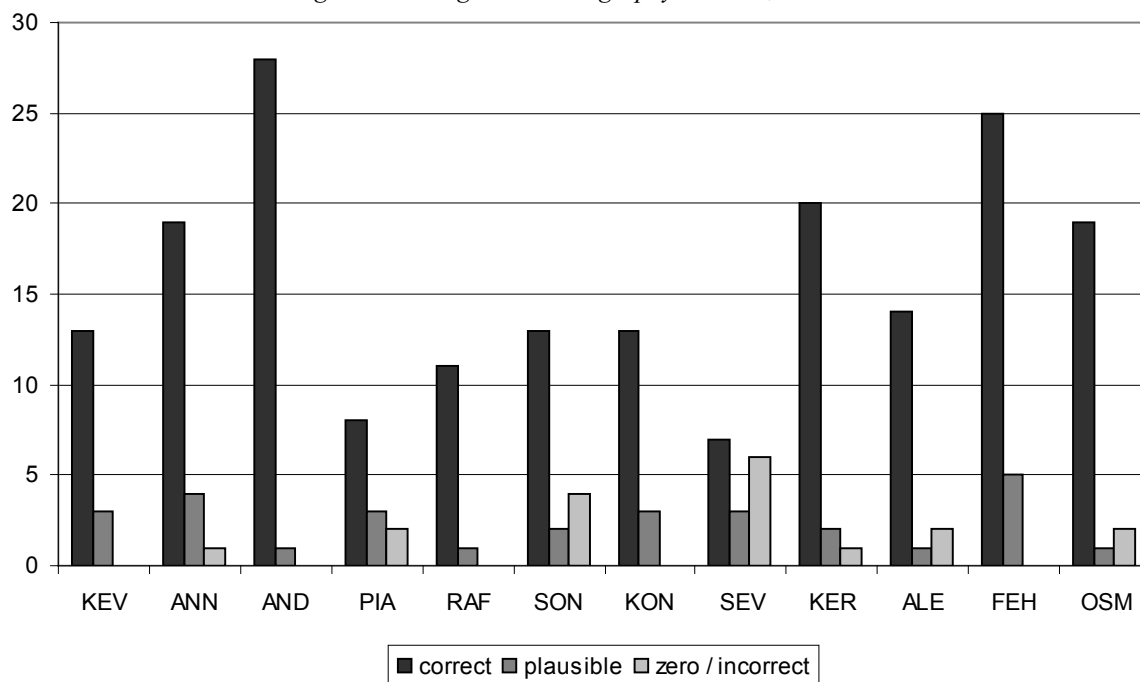
ALE♀ᴮᴵᴸ has a graphic problem with the letter form of <d> in which the arrow is reversed and turns the letter into <b>; another problem is the omission of <h> after a reduced syllable. A different case is SON♀ᴹᴼᴺ: She has phonological problems with the discrimination of voiced and voiceless <d, t> on the one hand, and with complex onsets on the other as they are reduced to only one element.

The writing of stressed vowels (nuclei of prominent syllable) is a task more difficult than the spelling of onsets. Erroneous spellings occur in 38 cases (8% of the total) and missing vowels still in 23 cases (5%). The following chart displays the results of the 12 case pupils:

Fig. II.2.14. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orthography German, nucleus S'
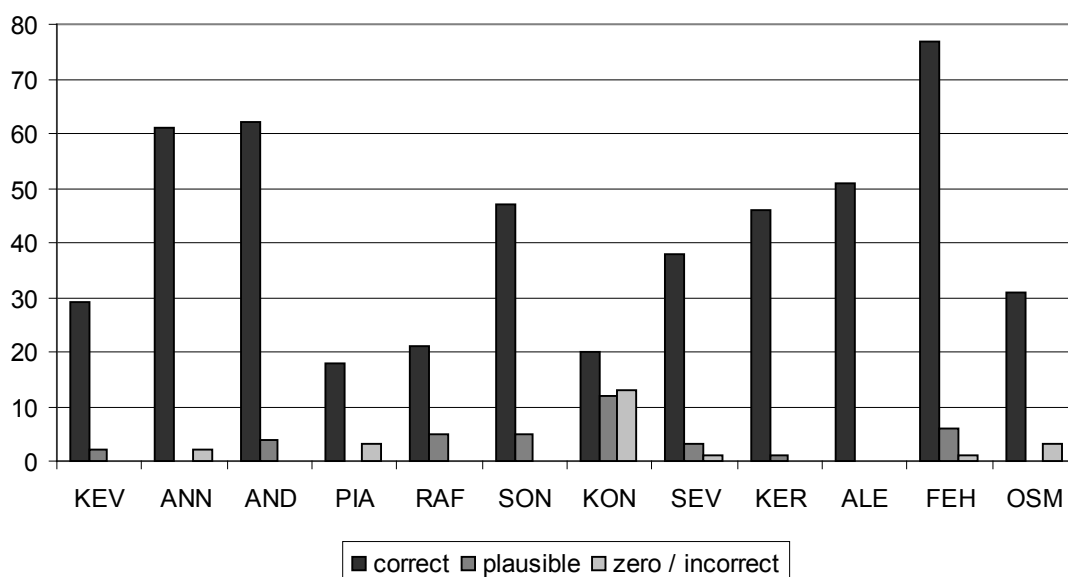
There are more cases with misspelled vowels than with zero markings. The most important error type is the non-marking of tense [i:] by the digraph <ie> in 21 of the cases (55%). Although this regularity was not systematically taught to the first-graders, one can find 38 correct writings, which, however, are restricted to the high frequency words <sie> and <die>. Smaller problems with vowels arise with the digraph for <ei>, sometimes still spelled as <ai> in the texts, and the morphological, however lexicalised spelling of the vowel <ä> in *Mädchen* ('girl'). With regard to missing vowels, KON$^{\male\text{BIL}}$ is an extreme outlier: More than half of the instances (13) are found in his text alone, which in general is very rudimental in the representation of spoken language.

The codas of the prominent syllables are much more susceptible to misspellings as can be seen in the following chart. In these figures, several different orthographic categories are merged: Double consonants – due to morphologically derived or lexicalised forms and written in the form of a single consonant – make up almost half (60) of the 129 errors.

Fig. II.2.15. 1st grade: Orthography German, coda S'
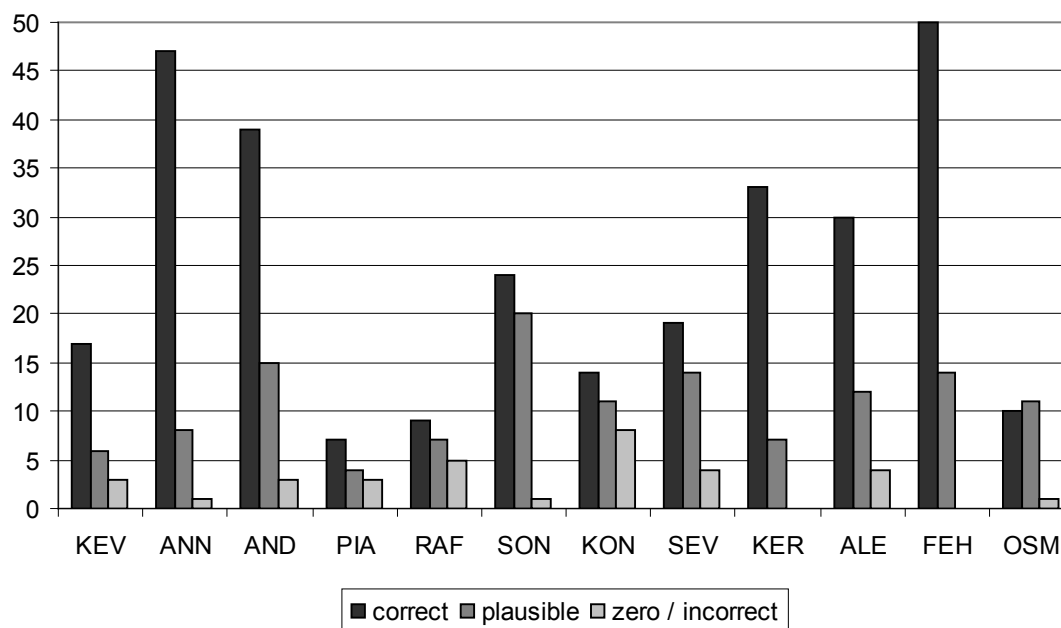
The second error-type is the devoicing of obstruents to be spelled with the voiced counterparts in 34 instances.

The most important cases of missing elements in the coda (33) are complex codas with two or three consonants, such as <gefragt> 'asked' or <bedankt> 'thanked'. In 21 cases, one element is not represented in writing. Another reason for missing codas is the vocalic implementation of <r>. In the case of KON$^{\male\text{BIL}}$, the word *war* 'was' is never written with <r>, and complex coda is reduced on five occasions.

Turning to the onsets of reduced syllables, the picture changes considerably. Again, the problem is not so much the phonological representation as such. Only 9% of the onsets are completely missing: The problem is concentrated on two pupils who do not represent up to one third (SON$^{\female\text{MON}}$) or almost half (SEV$^{\female\text{BIL}}$) of all reduced syllables, while five pupils

have problems with only one or two onsets (often due to phonetic reduction of the whole syllable), and five others do not have any difficulties in this respect.

Fig. II.2.16. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orthography German, onset S0
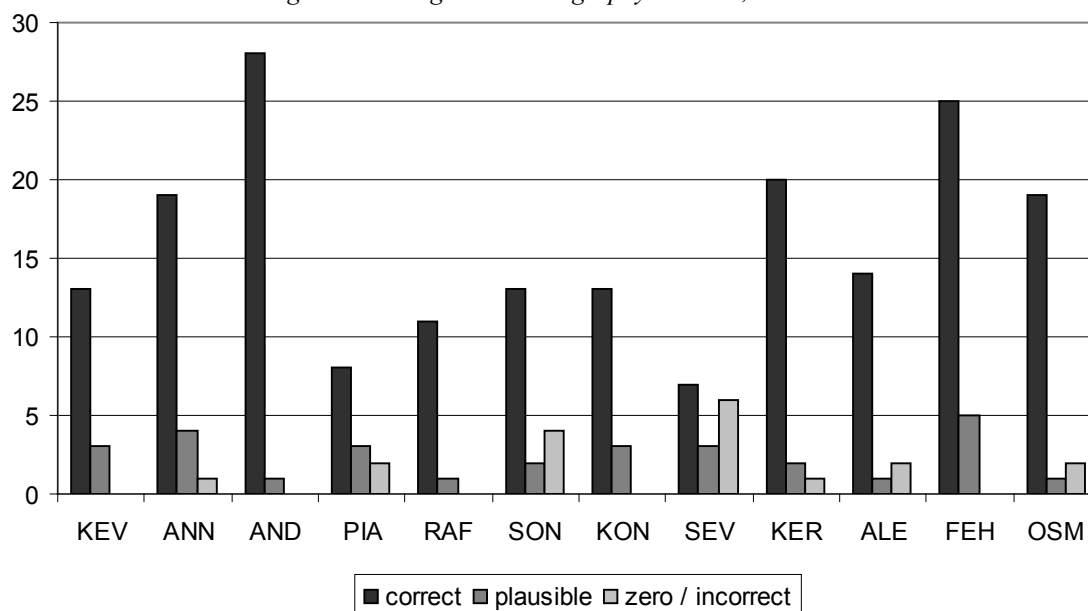
Quantitatively more important (15%) is the misspelling of the onset, which is phonologically plausible in all cases of consonant doubling (triggered by tight connection of the lax vowel of the first with the onset of the second syllable); this represents more than 75% (23) of all misspellings. An interesting and rather exceptional case is that of FEH♀ᴮᴵᴸ who uses the Turkish grapheme <c> in order to represent the consonant letter cluster <dch> in *Mädchen* 'girl'. Unmarked sharpening at the syllable boundary is a constant feature in all 12 cases.

The nucleus of the reduced syllable in German is always represented by the schwa or a syllabic sonorant [m, n, l] forming at the same the coda of the syllable. Therefore, in some approaches, the nucleus and the coda are analysed as one unit. In the following, a schwa as nucleus is theoretically hypothesised as an underlying explicit form of all reduced syllables. The distribution over the 12 case pupils shows a very high non-representation (69 instances, i.e. 42%) of this phonological structure. A plausible representation of the schwa by another vowel grapheme is only a minor solution of 11% (<ö> in case of the central, <a> in cases of the lower schwa <er>).

Five students may be considered as outliers because the zero forms almost equal the correct forms; in the case of FEH, they occur even three times as often as the unmarked spelling (due to many tokens of the same types in her long text). Other problematic cases among the bilinguals are KON♂ᴮᴵᴸ and SEV♀ᴮᴵᴸ, while the monolinguals do not show as much difficulties with this spelling that can be considered as very regular in German. As the problem of the reduced syllable is not treated systematically in the lesson, the possibilities for the bilinguals to reconstruct the rules implicitly are restricted.

Fig. II.2.17. 1st grade: Orthography German, nucleus S0
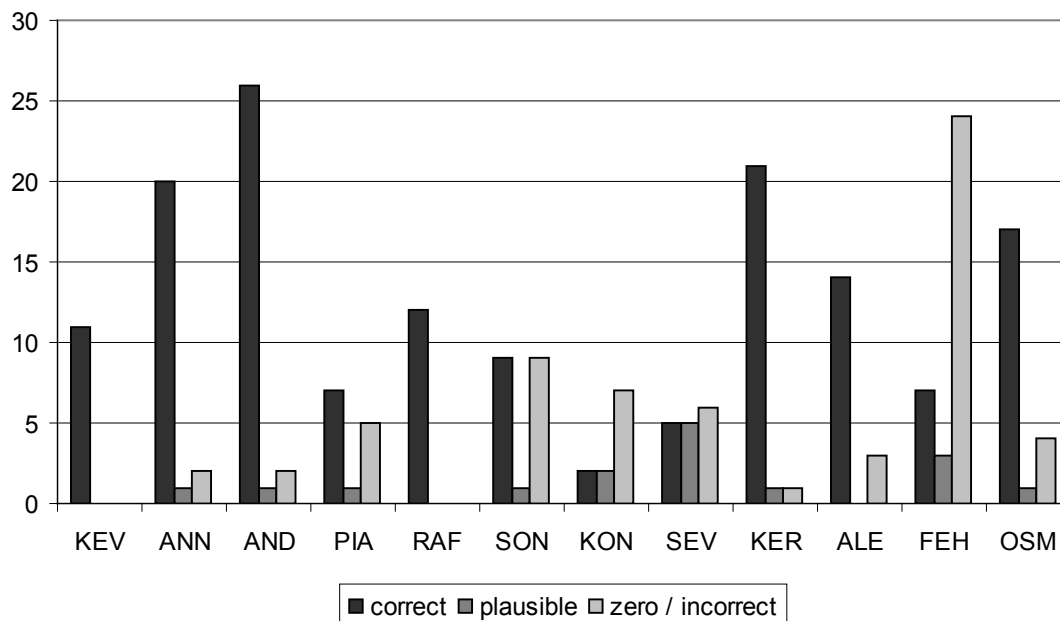
2.1.2.2.3 Summary of orthographic analyses: Turkish

In this section, the results of the orthographic analyses of the bilinguals in Turkish are summarised. Five texts of Turkish monolingual speakers are considered; ALE♀ did not write in Turkish and KON♂'s first language is Albanian, while FEH♀ wrote two versions of the story in Turkish. The writing took place in May 2008 quite close to the end of the first school year. We discuss first the length and the overall error ratios before phonographic, logographic and text levels of orthography are considered.

Fig. II.2.18. 1st grade: Length and total error ratios, Turkish text
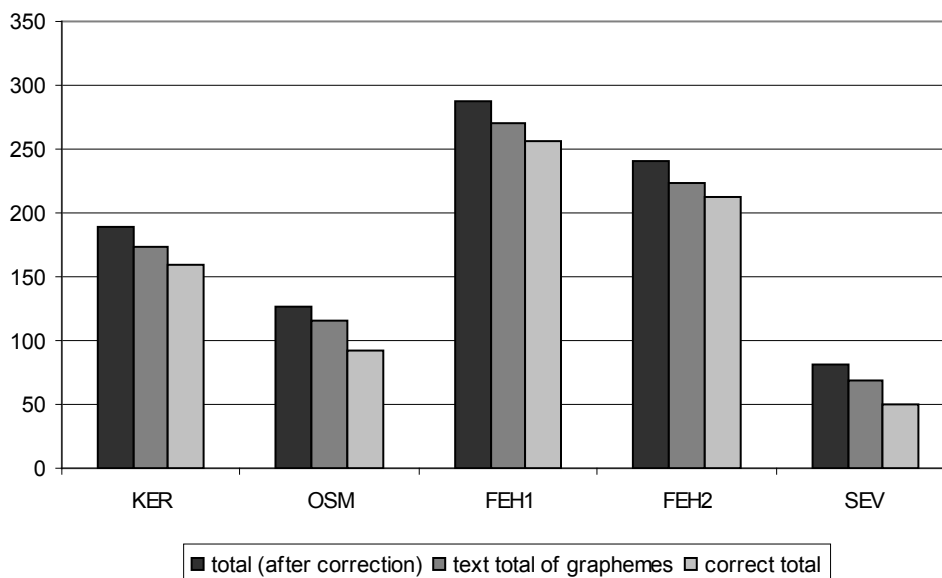
The longest Turkish texts are those of FEH, KER♂ ranges in the middle, followed by OSM♂ and finally SEV♀ who only was ready to write the first line when the field assistant

agreed to write the second, and so forth. All students used plain handwriting, which was the only script taught in the first grade. 9% of the graphemes are missing, a rate considerably higher than in the survey in Turkey. The differences between the students are not important with the exception of SEV. In the following, of FEH's texts, only the first is considered.

Out of 389 consonants, 40 (10%) are missing; this is more than twice the amount of the first-graders' results in Turkey. The errors are restricted to a very few types: consonant clusters, occurring usually only when a consonantal onset follows a consonantal coda (11 instances), <r> in coda (8), double consonants not marked (6; we have no instance of correctly marked double consonants in the German sample), intervocalic soft <ğ> or in coda (6); intervocalic <y>, phonetically often reduced and not discernable (2).

In the four analysed texts, there are only 21 of 295 vowels missing (7%), 5 of these in complete syllables due to reductions of the spoken language, 8 in unstressed syllables (ex.: *sordlar* instead of *sordular* 'they asked'), 8 in stressed syllables, two in the end of OSM's text, perhaps caused by tiredness, while all other instances occur in SEV's writing, who is still struggling with the alphabetic principle.

Among the errors in the writing of graphemes, the most important error type with 42 cases is the unawareness of specific Turkish graphemes. This can be seen in the following figures. The average is 60%; the differences between the students are very small. The most important German influences are the following: In the case of consonants, <z> is replaced by <s>, <ş> by <sch>, <v> is written with <w>, <y> is represented by <j> or <i>. With regard to vowels, <ı> is replaced by <i> or <e>, the latter phonologically plausible if the letter <e> in German is associated with the schwa [ə]; <i> by <ie> and sometimes <e>, again <ie> due to the phonological feature of tension. The replacements confirm the idea of a German matrix script that is dominant in an earlier state of literacy acquisition, but of course dependent on the exposure to written Turkish in mother tongue teaching or in the homes of the children.

Fig. II.2.19. 1ˢᵗ grade: Specific Turkish graphemes: replacement, Turkish text
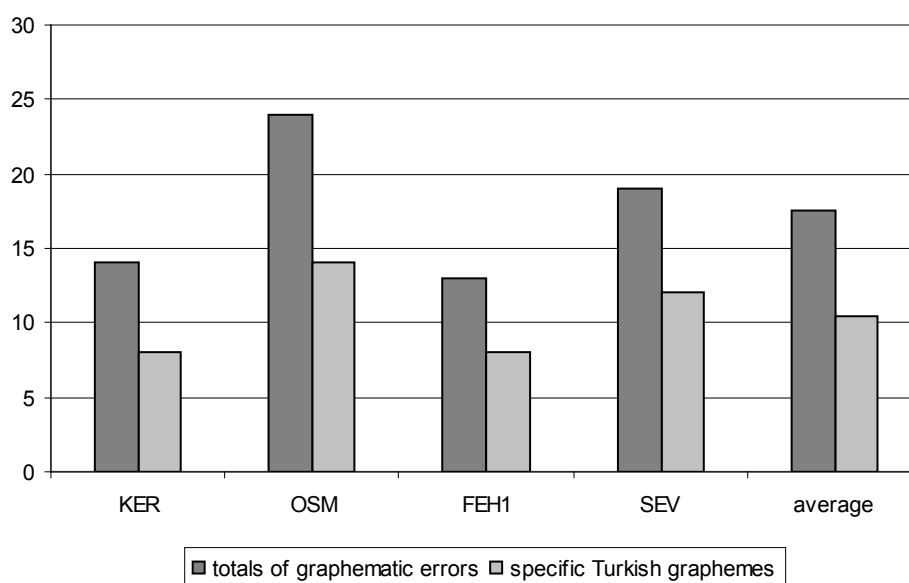
The picture of similar error types changes when the error rate is related to all contexts in which specific Turkish graphemes were used. The graphs shows that FEH$^{♀}$ (even such different graphemes like <c>, <> and <ı> and to some extent even KER$^{♂}$ (for example <y>) realise a certain amount of Turkish graphemes correctly, while OSM$^{♂}$ and SEV$^{♀}$ do not.

Fig. II.2.20. 1st grade: Specific Turkish graphemes: contexts and errors, Turkish text
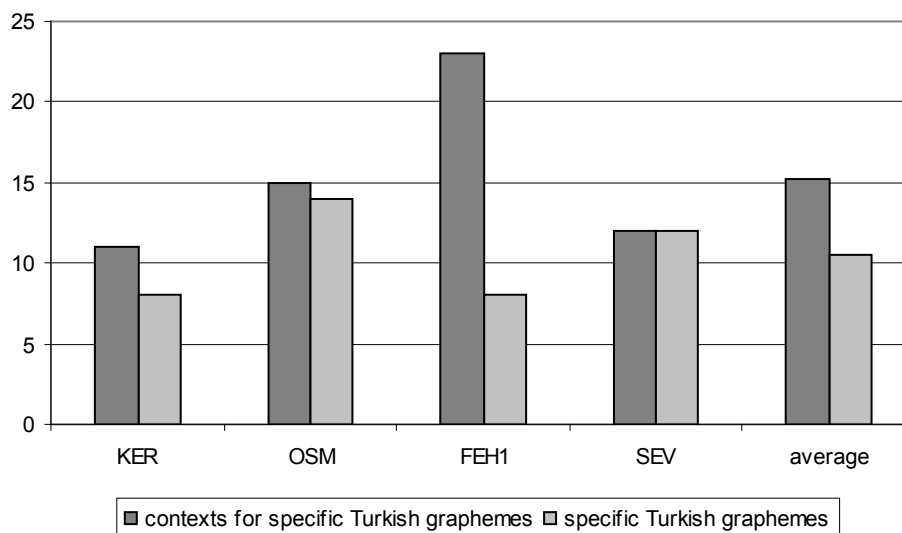
The other spelling errors in the case of consonants are voiced/ voiceless contrast (d/t, 5 cases), feature overlap with vowels (6x), hypercorrect double consonants (2x), superfluous consonants (2x), influence of German orthography in the writing of a long vowel (<oh> instead of <o>, 3x), and confusion of <l> and <r> (4x). The last feature occurs only in the text of SEV$^{♀}$; it is interesting because the two liquids are, from the viewpoint of articulation, very close to each other in Turkish, in contrast to German: The writing has therefore a certain phonological plausibility (cf. CPP of SEV).

On the logographic level, we first consider word separation. The graph shows that only in 70% of all contexts, space between words has been used. This feature is very striking in contrast to the Turkish survey where compound writing only occurs in 11% of the cases. The feature is very heterogeneous in the four cases: OSM$^{♂}$ does not mark any word boundaries at all (*scriptio continua*), while KER$^{♂}$ reaches 89% of all words, with FEH$^{♀}$ and SEV$^{♀}$ ranging in the middle.

Fig. II.2.21. 1ˢᵗ grade: Word separation, Turkish text
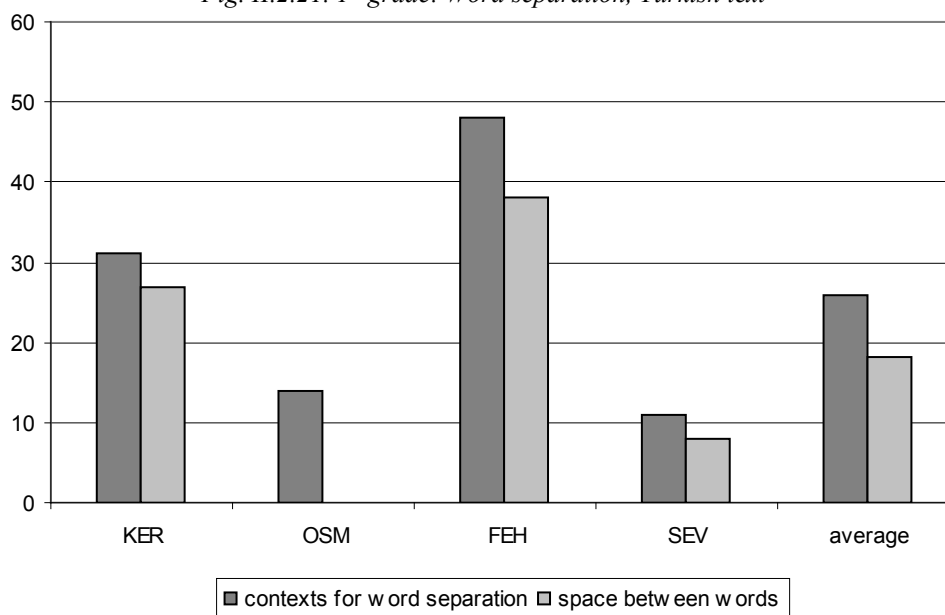
The most important features of compound writing are complex adverbials like *ozaman* 'when', in German analysed as simple words, complex indefinite articles or pronouns *bi(r)şey* 'something', the clitic *ki* 'that' following a verbum dicendi, and the focus particle *de*. Compound writings also exist on the sentence level (mostly NP + V) and on the VP-level (Verb and complement).

Tab. II.2.6. 1ˢᵗ grade: Distribution of compound spellings, Turkish text

Compound spellings	Complex indef. articles/ pronouns	Complex ADV	Clitic *ki*	FOC particle	V + comp	NP + V	Total
KER	3	0	0	0	1	0	4
OSM	0	4	0	1	3	5	13
FEH1	1	2	3	1	2	1	10
SEV	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
Average	1.0	1.8	0.8	0.8	1.5	1.8	30

The second feature on the level of words as orthographic units is the use of majuscules for the first letter of words. Such a strategy presupposes that the difference between upper and lower case letters is already known and applied consistently in the text. This cannot be presupposed by all learners.

Fig. II.2.22. 1ˢᵗ grade: Upper and lower case use in Turkish words, Turkish text
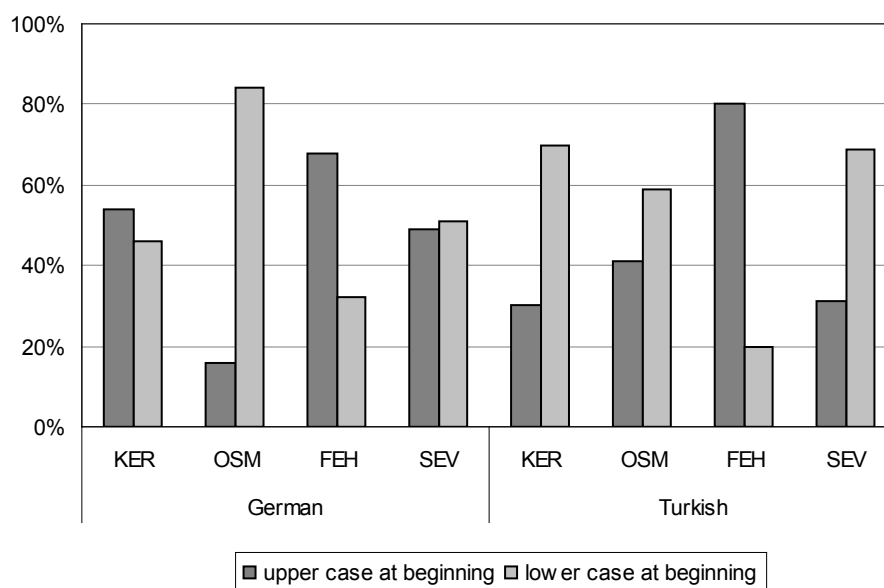
As a general tendency cannot be observed in the data, the four cases are annotated individually. KER♂ uses majuscules predominantly for nouns and verbs and seems to conform to the idea that many first graders use majuscules for "important" words. Difficulties in the distinction of upper and lower case letters only occur in the beginning with <A, a>, which is used twice inside of words. OSM♂, who applies scriptio continua in his text, only uses majuscules at the beginning of new lines; only one line starts with a minuscule, and only one majuscule stands inside of line (confusion of upper and lower case <R>). FEH♀ uses upper case letters for 80% of the word beginnings, but equally 33 majuscules occur inside of words. The majuscule <D> is indiscriminately used in all contexts (28 instances inside of words). SEV♀'s text disposes of 6 upper case writings at the beginning of nouns and pronouns, while verbs, adjectives and connectors are written with lower case. A certain influence of the experience with German print cannot be denied although orthographic rules in this respect were not yet systematically discussed in the first grade.

The final issue to be discussed here concerns the textual level. Punctuation is only very rarely used. OSM♂ only concludes his text with a big full stop; FEH♀ marks only the end of her first sentence with a full stop, while SEV does not use punctuation at all. KER♂ applies full stops systematically at the end of the lines although only to sentence's end there; in one case, an introduction to direct speech is marked with full stop; in two other cases, the full stop occurs after connectors introducing already a new sentence. In two cases, no clear semantic unit is split up by the punctuation.

Apart from punctuation, the use of lines as sentence boundaries may function as a precursor strategy for the structuring of the text, in contrast to a justification strategy that leads to coherent text blocks (paragraphs). The relationship between sentence structure and line breaks can be seen in the following figure:

Fig. II.2.23. 1st grade: Sentence boundaries, Turkish text
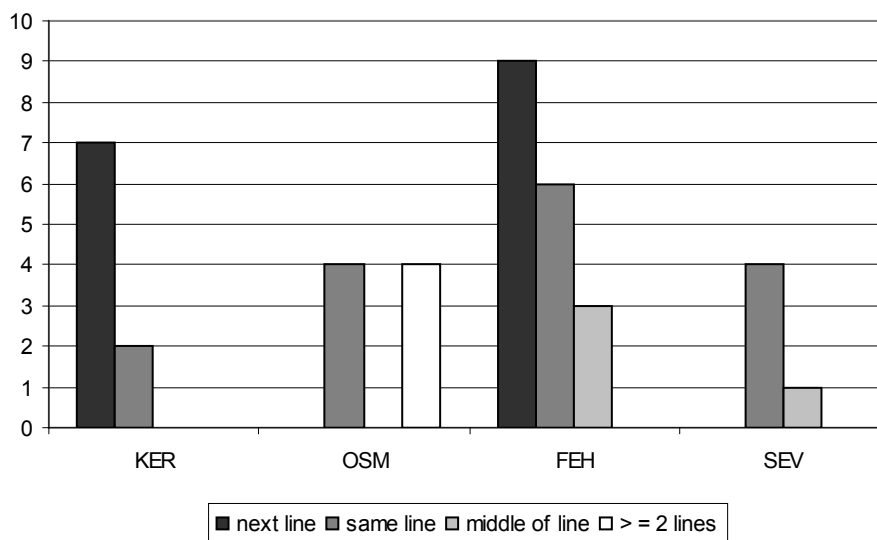
Justification is the dominant strategy of KER and FEH: All lines are used until the end, most sentences are finished in the following line. Only by coincidence, a sentence ends at a line break. SEV's strategy is still oriented to finish a line at a sentence boundary. This strategy is facilitated by the fact that she only writes one sentence in one move and turns over to the field assistant. A third strategy is applied by OSM who uses a strategy of line breaks not only for sentence boundaries, but also for word separation inside of sentences. Given the fact that OSM still uses scriptio continua, this procedure may help him to employ at least some important word boundaries if not by using space, but by line breaks.

2.2 Case pupils of the 7th grade

The choice of case pupils in the seventh grade should have been easier than in the first grade insofar as valid background information on languages, migration backgrounds and classroom performances were available already in the beginning of the school year. However, also here a borderline case, namely AZA♂, was decided to be kept in the case pupil selection despite the fact that the family's linguistic background remains unclear – his parents having Kurmanjî as their first language, but depicting Turkish as the family language, while AZA himself claims the family language to be German. LAS tests show that in fact he does not have profound competences in Turkish nor Kurmanjî, but the migration background was assessed as an including criteria. The composition of seventh grade case pupils is thus as follows:

Tab. II.2.7. 7th grade: Composition of LAS case pupils

	Bilingual		Monolingual	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Good performance	AZA (L1 German, L2 Turkish)	CIG (L1 Turkish)	THO	ISA
Mediocre performance	AHM (L1 Turkish)	HIL (L1 Turkish)	SAS	BAR BIA
Poor performance	CEM (L1 Turkish)	SÜH (L1 Turkish)	SVE	X

Note here that the performance evaluation is not exclusively based on the actual grades in German class, but that also LAS test results are taken into consideration.

2.2.1 Family backgrounds

Tab. II.2.8. 7th grade case pupils: Family backgrounds

	Bilingual						Monolingual					
	♂			♀			♂			♀		
	CEM	AHM	AZA	CIG	HIL	SÜH	SAS	SVE	THO	BAR	BIA	ISA
Living with both parents	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes
Number of siblings in household	0	1	1	1	3	2	0	2	1	1	0	1
Parents' economic position	x	~	~	~	~	–	~	~	~	–	–	~
Parents' educational background	~	~	~	~	–	–	–	–	~	–	–	~
Literate practices in family	x	+	+	–	–	–	~	~	+	x	–	+
Literate practices of CPs	~	~	+	–	–	–	~	~	~	+	+	~
Family language[92]	T	T	x	T	T	T	G	G	G	G	G	G
Parents' oral German language proficiency[93]	x	~	~	~	–	–	~	~	~	~	~	~
Family's religiousness[94]	x	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	0	0	0
Parents' compliance with educational responsibilities at home[95]	x	+	+	+	–	~	+	–	+	x	~	+
Child's visible supply with care and equipment[96]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	~	~	+	+	+

In the seventh grade, half of the monolingual case pupils' parents, but none of the bilingual ones are divorced, pointing at more stable family structures in families with migration background. BAR♀MON and SAS♂MON live with their mothers, while THO♂MON lives with

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[92] T = Turkish; G = German.
[93] Based on language of interview partner in family interview.
[94] + = emphasised; – = deemphasised; 0 = not mentioned (in family interviews).
[95] Supervision, establishment and enforcement of rules, concernedness with child's upbringing, familiarity with child in general.
[96] Household is clean and orderly, child has an own space in the household, child has an orderly appearance and clean, intact clothes, is regularly provided with adequate school material and food for breakfast.

his father. CEM$^{\male BIL}$ and SAS are only children at the time of research, whereas BIA$^{\female MON}$'s three older siblings have already left the parental household, BIA being a latecomer and her parents respectively older than the other case pupils' parents. AHM$^{\male BIL}$, AZA$^{\male BIL}$, and ISA$^{\female MON}$ are firstborns, and only SVE$^{\male MON}$ is the youngest child in his family at the time of field research; the others have both older and younger siblings.

Economically, most of the parents of the seventh grade case pupils are average or lower German middle-class as far as income and housing go; this even goes for SVE$^{\male MON}$'s family who is living on social security, but with three adolescent children is provided comfortable housing, and, based on observations made in the household, cannot be deemed poor in comparison to the rest of the group, being additionally supported by the mother's original family. BIA$^{\female MON}$'s family on the other hand, who is also living on social security, has a much lower living standard both financially and accomodation-wise. In both families, only the fathers are registered unemployed, while the mothers describe themselves as housewives. By contrast, both SÜH$^{\female BIL}$'s parents, whose family is also assessed as lower class, are working in low-qualified jobs with little financial means and cramped housing, which also goes for BAR$^{\female MON}$'s family, where the single mother is the sole bread-earner on a low-income job. In sum, six out of twelve case pupils' mothers are housewives, equally distributed over mono- and bilingual families. Only in AHM$^{\male BIL}$'s family, with both parents working, it is the mother who is the main income-earner on a qualified job.

The educational backgrounds of the seventh grade case pupils' parents are rather low also when compared to the first grade (see above). This is probably a result of the post-selection state of the pupils, most of whom had a recommendation for the *Hauptschule* after primary school and enrolled in comprehensive school instead, reflecting the segregating impacts of early performance-based distribution that is typical for the German school system and in fact retraceable to the pupils' families' educational backgrounds. None of the parents have a higher education. In six families, none of the parents have a qualified job training, and one should also note here that the monolingual parents are twice as often unqualified as the bilingual ones, which might at least hint at a basic disadvantage of pupils with migration background in the German school system, considering that in terms of educational backgrounds the difference mono-/ bilingual is still palpable in the post-selection scenario (see also Chapters IV and V). Taking the literate practices in the families into account, the overlapping with the respective educational backgrounds is not quite as apparent as in the case of the first grade (see above); as none of the parents have a higher education, none of the families is "predestined" to exercise advanced literate practices. On part of the bilingual case pupils' parents, CIG$^{\female BIL}$'s family with an average educational background does not take any measures to get their children acquainted with literate practices at home, and neither are the parents themselves regular readers or writers. As for the monolingual families with low educational qualifications, in the case of SVE$^{\male MON}$ no effort is being made at home to provide him with a literate education, but the parents entertain distinctive literate practices on their own and could thus at least serve as models by observation. SAS$^{\male MON}$'s mother, on the other hand, is an occasional reader of novels herself and also provides her son with the occasional juvenile book, but does not insist on him dealing with literature intensely. Since the case pupils were interviewed individually in addition to the

family interviews, it is possible to align educational backgrounds and domestic literate practices with the case pupils' individual literate behaviour. Here, the majority of the seventh grade case pupils (with, interestingly, the exception of the three bilingual girls) make extracurricular use of the written language in the form of text messages and internet chats, utilising the primarily communicative function of writing and reading. Although this form of written language has not much to do with the form taught in school, one should probably not underestimate this generation's quite natural handling of literacy as a common tool of everyday life. As it turns out, these factors only correspond in three cases, that of AZA♂BIL, CIG, and SÜH♀BIL, with AZA getting strong incentives to read and being a frequent reader, and with CIG and SÜH getting no such incentives and not having considerable literate practices apart from the obligatory school work. In the other cases either the parents make an effort for literate education and do not succeed (AHM♂BIL, THO♂MON, ISA♀MON), or it is the other way around (BIA♀MON). AZA, BAR, and BIA are the only case pupils who were able to name a book they have read besides the mandatory school reading; BIA moreover keeps a diary, while SAS occasionally has a try at creative writing.

As for the parents' oral German competences (as far as revealed in the family interviews), it is again the cases of HIL♀BIL and SÜH♀BIL that are conspicuous, with particularly the mothers' German being clearly deficient; however, while neither of HIL's parents are able to entertain a German conversation on more complex issues, SÜH's mother's fossilised German does indeed suffice to deal with more sophisticated topics as she understands German very well.

As was the case with the first grade parents (see above), religious issues in the narrow sense were only emphasised in interviews with Muslim families, namely in the cases of HIL♀BIL and SÜH♀BIL. Here, HIL's father seems to be an example of a Muslim parent who tries to establish some behavioural rules that he associates with Islam, particularly in the context of school events (class trips, swimming lessons) his daughters are not supposed to take part in, but other than that he appears to have accepted his daughters rather living by Western standards in terms of clothing and leisure activities. As opposed to this, SÜH is strictly raised by Islamic rules, wearing a headscarf and visiting Qur'an school. It may be a coincidence that SÜH is also the only case pupil with considerable deficits in her spoken German, and at the same time seems to be rather confused about the possibilities and limits regarding her educational and professional future. A curious case is that of SVE♂MON, whose family is not devout to a religion, but to the ideology of the animal rights movement and vegetarianism that, due to the fanaticism with which is was promoted in the family interview, is here deemed as para-religious.

Two of the case pupils' situations at home, namely HIL♀BIL's and SVE♂MON's, were deemed suboptimal in terms of parental care and support. Although there are no signs of visible neglect, the parents' as well as the case pupils' utterances hint at a certain carelessness, with HIL spending most of her time in front of the TV, while SVE is out in the streets most of his day. In both cases, the parents were not able to account for their children's school performances or their daily occupations and routines, whereas neither of

the pupils themselves could describe meaningful rules and regulations they live by in their families. In HIL's case, her situation is probably due to both parents working in the family business around the clock, leading to a general lack of supervision; in SVE's case, with both parents being at home, the situation seems to be extremely complicated mainly because of the parents' eccentric way of life, in whose course the upbringing of the children seems to come second to the exercise of the ideology. SVE, but also THO♂ᴹᴼᴺ, regularly come to school unequipped, which in SVE's case is likely to be another sign of the parents' carelessness, while THO's situation is complicated in a different way, with the parents generally being aware of his lack of discipline in this regard, but of the opinion that they are doing the best they can.

2.2.1.1 Migration backgrounds

All of the seventh grade bilingual case pupils, and also CEM♂ᴮᴵᴸ's and CIG♀ᴮᴵᴸ's fathers, were born in Germany; still, in all cases at least one parent came to Germany already in the context of original family migration, which is why all case pupils have extended family in Germany. AHM♂ᴮᴵᴸ and HIL♀ᴮᴵᴸ even live with their grandparents and other relatives under one roof. None of the parents have interethnic marriages.

Tab. II.2.9. 7ᵗʰ grade case pupils: migration backgrounds

	♂			♀		
	AHM	AZA	CEM	CIG	HIL	SÜH
Mother's parents migrated to Germany	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes
Father's parents migrated to Germany	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Mother visited last school in Germany	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes
Father visited last school in Germany	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Extended family in Germany	yes	yes	x	yes	yes	yes
Grandparents re-migrated to country of origin	no	no	x	yes	yes	no
German citizenship	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no

In AZA♂ᴮᴵᴸ's, CEM♂ᴮᴵᴸ's, and CIG♀ᴮᴵᴸ's cases the mother came to Germany in the context of marriage migration, while it was the other way around in AHM♂ᴮᴵᴸ's and SÜH♀ᴮᴵᴸ's case, where the mothers came to Germany in their childhood and already had steady jobs before they met their husbands on Turkey vacations and sent for them in the course of family reunions. The mothers who migrated to Germany in order to marry are the very ones who became housewives, whereas those three mothers who came to Germany earlier are all working mothers, which, of course, might be a coincidence, but should be noted nonetheless. CEM's and CIG's fathers, since born in Germany, experienced primary school education in Germany, as well as AHM's mother and AZA's father, who arrived at a pre-school age. HIL♀ᴮᴵᴸ's parents were both already teenagers when their families came to Germany and thus only went to secondary school for a couple of years, which is also true for SÜH's mother. By that time, it was rather common in Germany to put children of

immigrants in special foreigner classes so that they did not receive an education comparable to that of the majority population. In the family interview, only SÜH's mother considers to go back to Turkey, albeit half-heartedly; all other bilingual interview partners state their intention to stay in Germany, but CIG's father makes very clear that his true alliances lie with Turkey.

2.2.1.2 School support in parental home

As was mentioned above, the parents' responsibilities for their children's school education are generally being more pronounced in the seventh than in the first grade particularly when it comes to parents with migration background.

Tab. II.2.10. 7th grade case pupils: School support in parental home

| | Bilingual | | | | | | Monolingual | | | | | |
| | ♂ | | | ♀ | | | ♂ | | | ♀ | | |
	AHM	AZA	CEM	CIG	HIL	SÜH	SAS	SVE	THO	BAR	BIA	ISA
Parents are satisfied with child's school	+	+	x	+	~	+	+	–	~	x	+	+
Parents attend parent conference days	+	+	+	+	~	~	+	+	+	x	–	+
Parents are informed about child's school performance	+	+	x	~	~	~	+	~	+	x	–	+
Parents give homework/ study support[97]	+	+	+	~	–	~	+	–	–	~	–	+
CP had/ has private tutoring	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
CP does homework regularly	+	+	+	+	~	~	+	–	–	+	~	+

As in the case of the first grade, parents' possible dissatisfaction with their child's school arises from specific incidents that are here associated with particular teachers and not with the system in general; only SVE♂MON's parents are utterly malcontent with the comprehensive school, having been summoned many times due to disciplinary and performance-wise problems of their son, and being totally undiscerning that they could be responsible for any of SVE's difficulties in any way, blaming everything on the teachers. Parents who are explicitly happy with their child's school, on the other hand, regularly emphasise the high quality of the teachers. All but BIA♀MON's parents attend parent conference days on a more or less regular basis, and most of the case pupils' parents feel sufficiently informed about their child's well-being in school, not least because of the dense information policy of the school.

In the seventh grade, where homework is given on a regular basis, "homework support" comprises not only actual help with assignments, but also supervision and control whether or not homework and studying are being done. Most of the parents claim that their child can always come to them when there are questions concerning particular assignments; only in the cases of HIL♀BIL and SÜH♀BIL the parents openly concede that their means of helping

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[97] + = on a regular basis; ~ = occasionally; – = never.

their children school-wise are very limited. But actual supervision in terms of set times for doing homework, regulations of studying times and durations, and homework checks occur on a daily basis only in the cases of AHM$^{♂BIL}$, AZA$^{♂BIL}$, and CEM$^{♂BIL}$ in the bilingual group, and in the cases of ISA$^{♀MON}$ and SAS$^{♂MON}$ in the monolingual group. In the bilingual group, the gender bias might be coincidental, but it could also hint at deviant attitudes towards boys' versus girls' education, with all parents of bilingual girls at least mentioning their daughters' genuine possibility to marry and stay at home, something that is not considered by the parents of monolingual girls. It is also conspicuous, however, that three out of six monolingual case pupils (BIA$^{♀}$, SVE$^{♂}$, THO$^{♂}$) do not experience any meaningful study support at home, which in the case of the two boys also means a general lack of study discipline.

2.2.2 Summary of linguistic competences

2.2.2.1 Summary of orate-literate analyses German

2.2.2.1.1 Quantitative features and general overview

The following chart gives an overview of the text length of both oral and written versions. The longest oral texts are those of four girls (BAR$^{♀MON}$ and BIA$^{♀MON}$ of the monolinguals and CIG$^{♀BIL}$ and SÜH$^{♀BIL}$ of the bilinguals) and two boys (THO$^{♂MON}$ and AZA$^{♂BIL}$). The longest written text is the one of CIG with 123 words, the only one which is almost as long as the spoken version; seven other written texts are a little bit longer than 50 words: BAR's, ISA$^{♀MON}$'s, THO's and SAS$^{♂MON}$'s (monolinguals), and SÜH's, CEM$^{♂BIL}$'s and AHM$^{♂BIL}$'s (bilinguals). The shortest written texts are those of BIA and SVE$^{♂MON}$ and AZA and HIL$^{♀BIL}$, the latter with the shortest oral version, as well.

Fig. II.2.24. 7th grade: Types and tokens, Tests 1.1 and 1.2 German
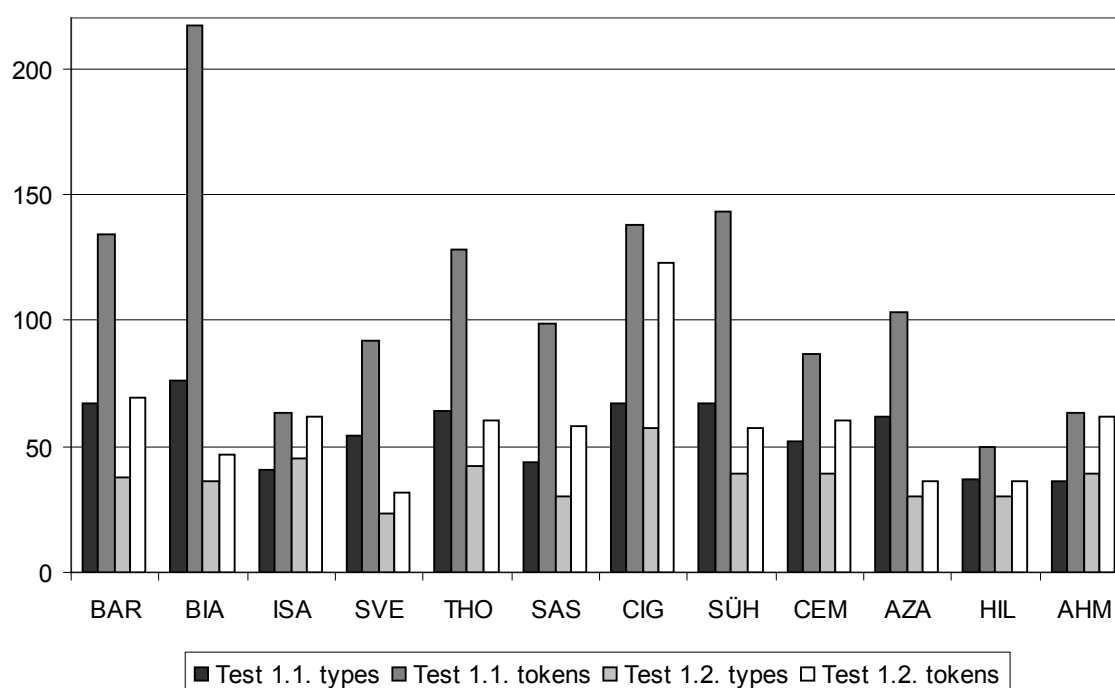
The Spencer Video offered the possibility to use the scenes of the film only as an impulse to narrate a personal event. This was also the strategy of the interviewer: to elicit an account of personal experience. Eight of the texts follow this invitation and refer to events where the pupils themselves are protagonists (4 cases) or witness an event (4 cases), while two boys restricted themselves to retell a scene from the film, and two girls gave only very general accounts of behaviour they encountered at school. Many texts contain mixtures of both. Not in all cases, therefore, narrative competence could be measured via orate-literate analysis. In some texts, also a certain influence of moral reasoning was discovered, which could have been a result of the instructional unit on "arguments" in the German lessons the weeks before.

2.2.2.1.2 Orate-literate structures in the oral and written versions (narrative)

Oral version

With regard to explicit/ implicit structure of the complements, there are two texts with a dominance of neutral structures that are occurring more than twice as often as the lexical: Both texts (of THO$^{\male MON}$ and CEM$^{\male BIL}$) are characterised by an account on generalised events in school with indefinite referents ('someone') and personal stance ('we, I') at the same time. On the other end of the scale, in three texts, explicit lexical complements are more present than neutral pronominal. These text, which are all texts of bilinguals, again are not typical personal narratives, but mention several general behaviours of students with a great variety of referents (HIL$^{\female BIL}$), or retell a scene from the film without any hint to personal experience, which is usually expressed by the first personal pronoun. In the other cases, neutral forms are also dominant, but to a lesser extent. In some of these texts, lexical explicitness is combined with a personal stance. Two of the longest texts (BAR$^{\female MON}$'s and BIA$^{\female MON}$'s) also are characterised by complex noun phrases typical for literate language.

Fig. II.2.25. 7th grade: Complements in the oral narrative, T1.1 German
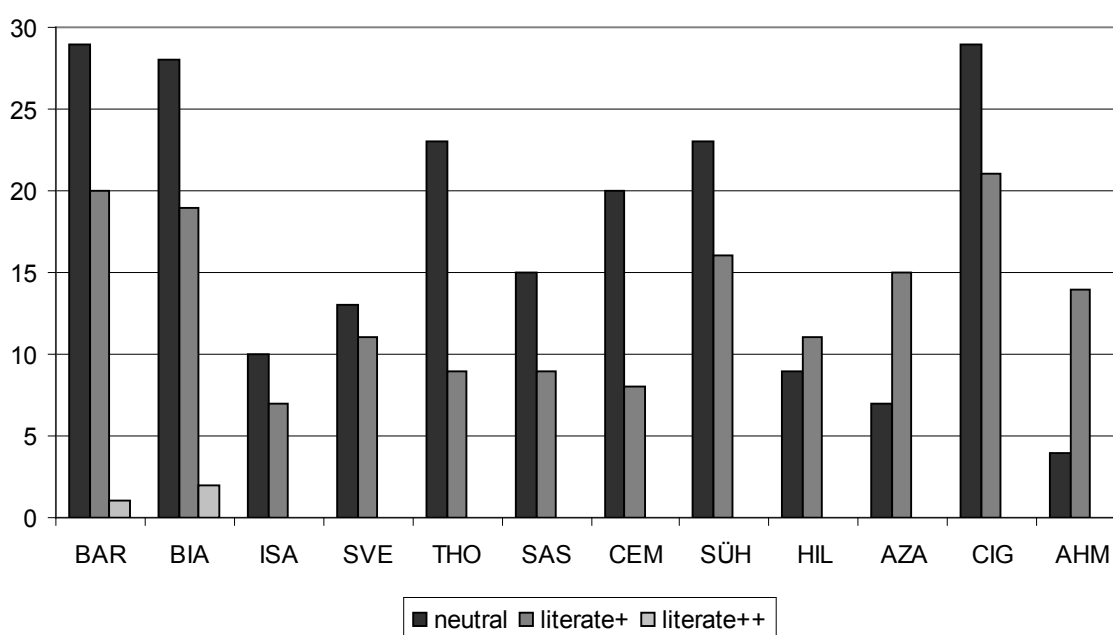
The category of tense does not show very much variation among the 12 case pupils. The only thing that has to be mentioned is the use of 8 past tense forms by SÜH♀BIL, the weakest speaker/ writer of German. This is even more astonishing as many of these forms are overgeneralised regular forms in irregular contexts. In the German monolingual subgroup, only single forms of past tense are used.

The structural features of syntax show an even greater variation between the case pupils. The dominant sentence structure is a simple sentence that is extended by a phrasal adjunct, mostly an adverbial. There are two students (SÜH♀BIL and SAS♂MON), however, whose most frequent sentence type is the simple sentence. There are four students with those two sentence types as the most relevant (bilinguals: CIG♀BIL, HIL♀BIL; monolinguals: SVE♂MON and ISA♀MON). The last group is composed of students who have complex structure as the second important category, three of these monolinguals (BAR♀MON, BIA♀MON and THO♂MON), and, albeit on the basis of much shorter texts, the bilinguals AZA♂BIL and AHM♂BIL. In seven texts, we find some orate features like incomplete sentences, V1-sentences and phrase dislocations. Of these, CIG♀BIL's text has most of these features.

Fig. II.2.26. 7th grade: Structure in the oral narrative (T.1.1) German
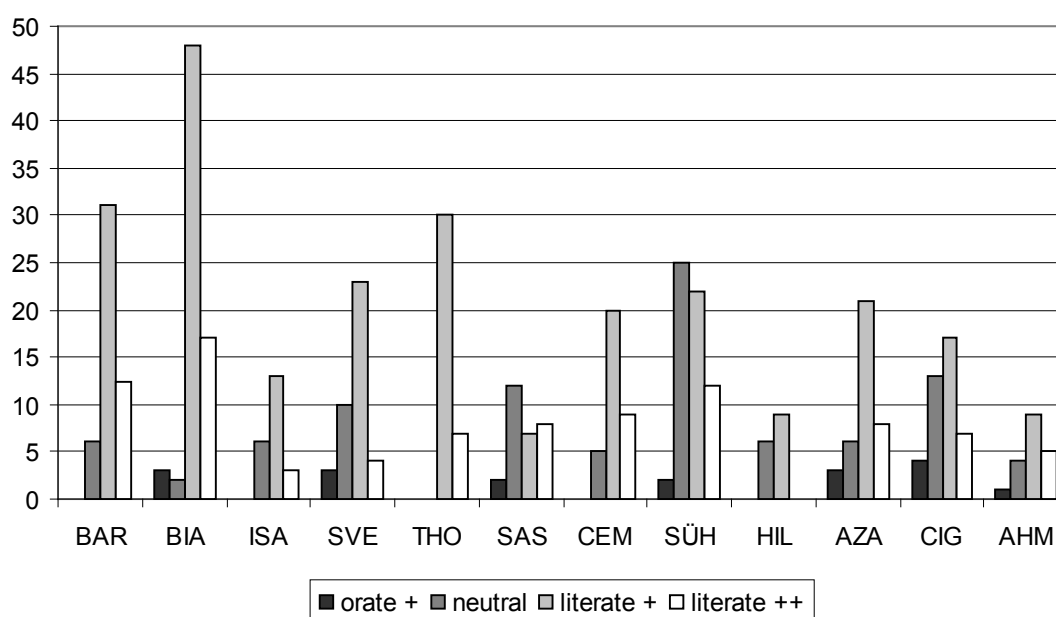
The connective structures in the 12 texts do not show very much variation. While juxtaposition is the dominant feature in most of the cases, followed by connection with conjunctions, it is again SÜH♀BIL whose text has the most connective markings, even more than juxtaposed structure.

Written narrative

The analysis of complements shows a clear change to more literate (lexically explicit) noun phrases in most of the texts. Two texts only use literate features in writing (lexical NPs and standard third person pronouns), namely those of BIA♀MON and AHM♂BIL. Others show very few features of contextualisation, like BAR♀MON from the monolingual and CEM♂BIL, HIL♀BIL and AZA♂BIL from the bilingual group. While in the texts of ISA♀MON, SVE♂MON,

THO$^{\male MON}$ and CIG$^{\female BIL}$, both structures are equally distributed, only SÜH$^{\female BIL}$'s narrative still is characterised by more pronominal forms. The changes are much more pronounced than in the first grade, although already there a more literate strategy could be observed.

Fig. II.2.27. 7th grade: Complements in the written narrative (T1.2) German
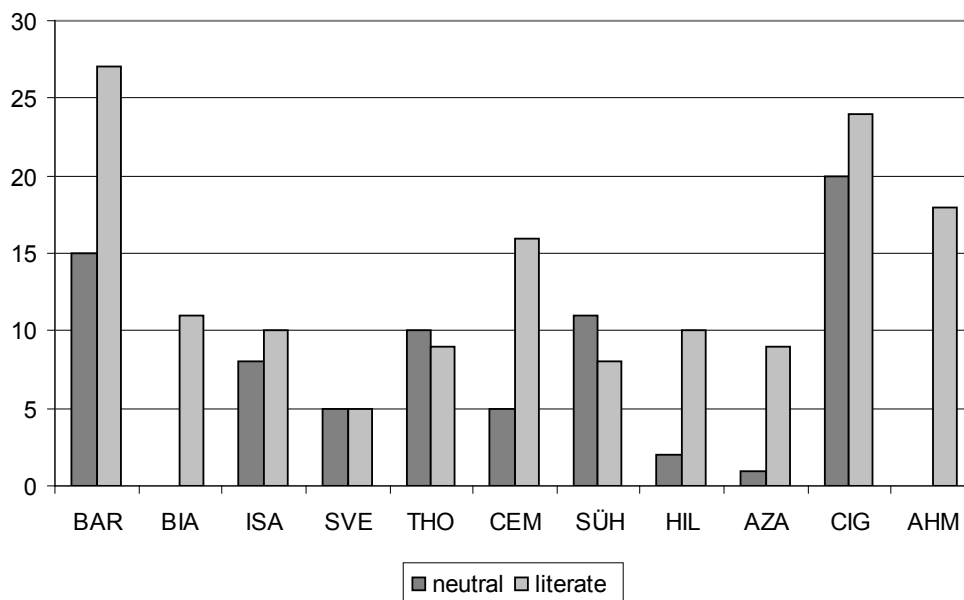
With regard to sentence structure, the following changes can be recognised: The wide variation of the spoken texts has been considerably reduced. Only five students still show a clear dominance of the literate format of the extended main clauses. The rate of this structure dropped from 54.9% to 39.6%). In five other cases (SVE$^{\male MON}$, SÜH$^{\female BIL}$, AZA$^{\male BIL}$, CIG$^{\female BIL}$ and AHM$^{\male BIL}$), non extended main clauses as a neutral structure are most frequent (this sentence type rises from 20.9% to 32.9%). CEM$^{\male BIL}$ is the only pupil with most complex sentences, immediately followed by BAR$^{\female MON}$, SÜH$^{\female BIL}$ and, to a lesser extent, CIG$^{\female BIL}$. In general, the amount of such complex sentences is a little bit higher than in the oral version (25.7% to 20.9%).

Fig. II.2.28. 7th grade: Sentence structure in the written narrative (T1.2) German
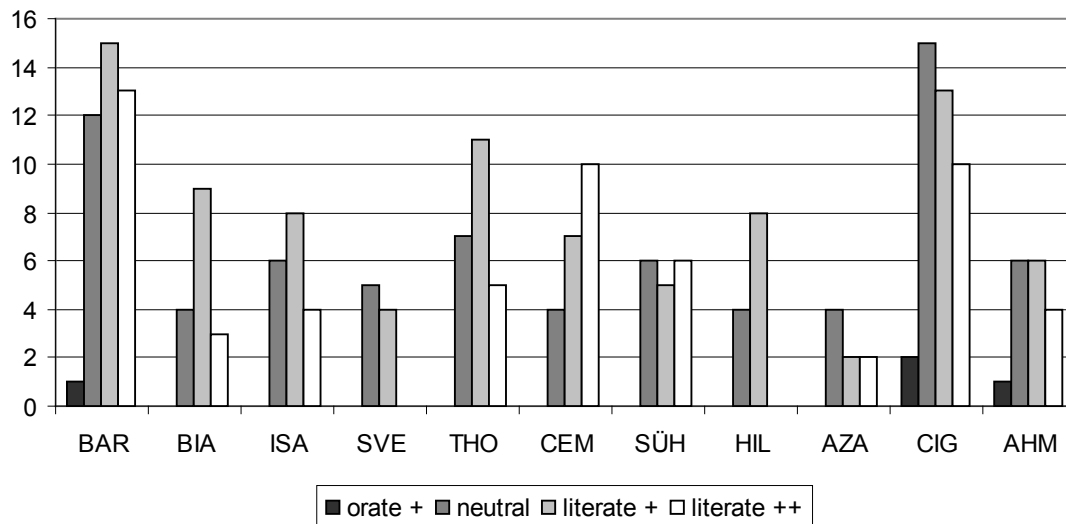
2.2.2.1.3 General tendencies in the development of literate features

A thorough tendency of an increase of literate complements can be observed in all texts of the seventh-graders. Some changes are only very slight, as in the written texts of SVE$^{\male MON}$, SÜH$^{\female BIL}$ and CIG$^{\female BIL}$, which can be considered as still quite orate, while other students like BIA$^{\female MON}$, CEM$^{\male BIL}$ and AZA$^{\male BIL}$ almost double the lexical or standard pronouns in writing. In between is a group with more moderate increases; an outlier is AHM$^{\male BIL}$ who started already in his spoken text on a very literate level.

Fig. II.2.29. 7th grade: Literate complements (in %) T1.1 and T1.2 German
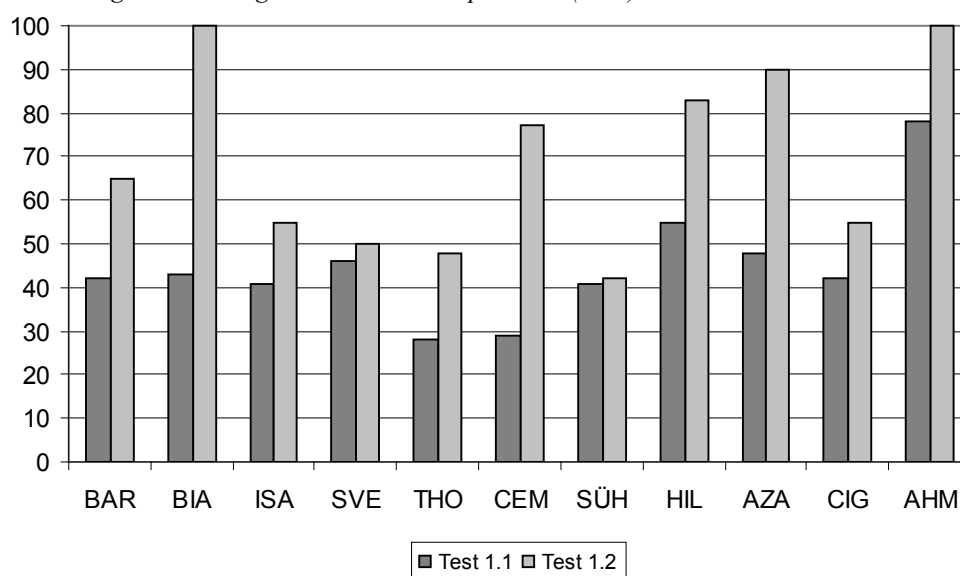
The development of complex sentence structures from spoken to written is presented in the last table of this section: Although the tendency is similar, the starting points and the developments are more diverse than with regard to complements: two students do almost no complex structures or drop them in writing; two others show a slight decrease of these in writing. The greatest increases occur with two bilinguals, CEM$^{\male BIL}$ and SÜH$^{\female BIL}$, while the middle field of five students shows only a moderate development towards more syntactic complexity.

Fig. II.2.30. 7th grade: Complex sentence structures (in %), T1.1 and T1.2 German
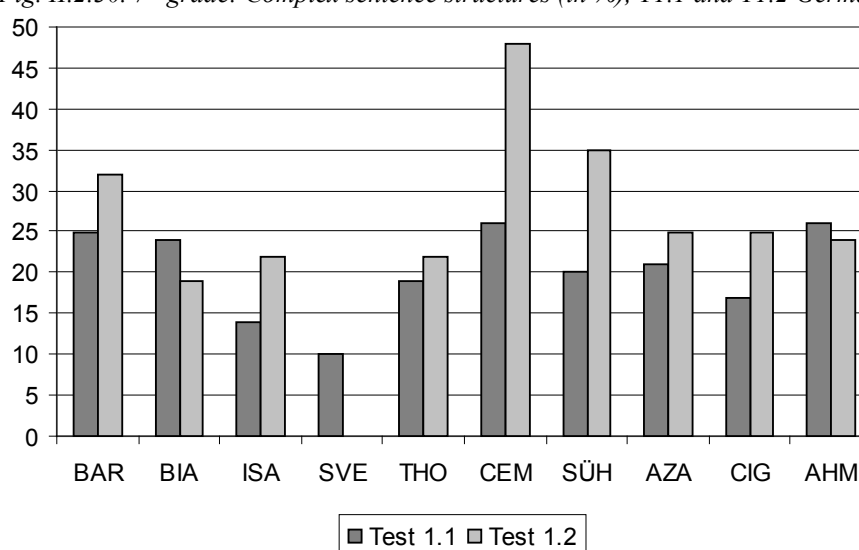
2.2.2.2 Summary of orthographic competences

2.2.2.2.1 Orthographic competences in German

The orthographic competences of the seventh-graders in German could be analysed on the basis of very rich data: 1. In the first and third LAS-test, the pupils wrote texts in different genres, narrative and instructional, which could be analysed as orthographic products as well. During the school year, six class tests were written that we could also include in our analyses. Last but not least, in some of the observed LAS lessons, the students had to write texts that were copied and added to our corpus in the end.

Although these data come from different periods of the school year, a systematic analysis of the progress in the writing process did not lead to convincing results. The curves of orthographic errors in relation to the amount of text are too much dependent on the different writing tasks and contain many ups and downs, as can be seen in the comparison of mono- and bilinguals (II.4.3).

Therefore, the focus of research in this section will be on the range of variability of errors quantitatively and qualitatively, leading to a better understanding what the central issues of orthographic development in the seventh grade may be.

Quantitative analysis of errors

At first, an overall picture of individual error rates in orthography of words and punctuation shall be presented.

Fig. II.2.31. 7th grade: Orthography, global error rates
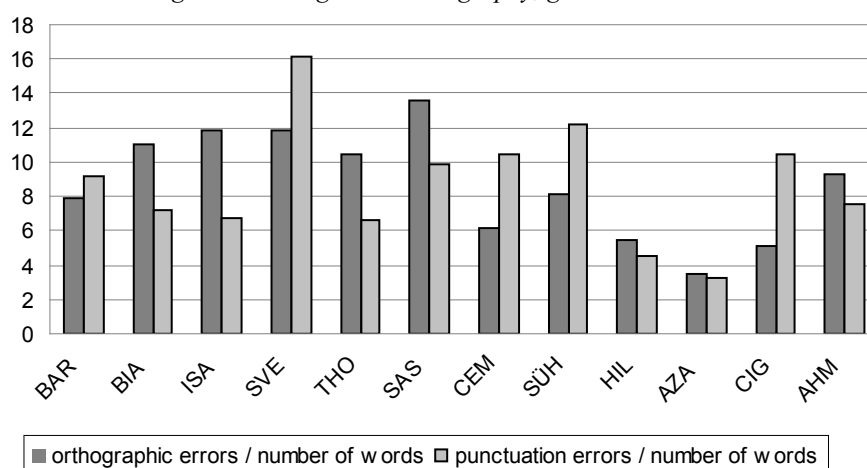
The lowest error rate can be observed with AZA$^{\male BIL}$ with only 3.22 per 100 words in punctuation, and the highest with SVE$^{\male MON}$ with 16.2 punctuation errors per 100 words. The mean values of both parameters for all pupils, however, are almost identical (8.68 each). We have eight pupils with an error rate of 10% and more: SVE$^{\male MON}$ in both fields, the bilinguals CEM$^{\male MON}$, SÜH$^{\female BIL}$ and CIG$^{\female BIL}$ only in punctuation, the monolinguals BIA$^{\female MON}$, ISA$^{\female MON}$ and THO$^{\male MON}$ only in the writing of words. Besides AZA$^{\male BIL}$, HIL$^{\female BIL}$, CIG$^{\female BIL}$ and CEM$^{\male BIL}$ are the best writers, at least in word-related orthography. All other quantitative details can be seen in the following table.

Tab. II.2.11. 7th grade: Quantitative data on text products, error tokens and error types

	words total	error tokens	error types	punctuation
BAR	955	71	46	86
BIA	635	65	30	49
ISA	858	98	56	59
SVE	569	59	30	88
THO	845	74	50	47
SAS	852	112	65	85
CEM	906	56	33	74
SÜH	1097	77	49	120
HIL	820	42	29	32
AZA	989	29	21	29
CIG	1321	70	43	122
AHM	774	61	47	56

Selection of most important error types

After a careful analysis of all relevant areas of orthography in German, a hierarchy of the most important error types was established. Therefore, the errors were related to the same phenomena (erroneous and correct forms included), and an error-ratio was established.

The most relevant areas of orthographic problems of seventh-graders are no longer phonologically or morphologically, but syntactically based. These issues are: 1. intra-sentential majuscule writing, 2. compound and separate spelling of composites and

univerbal expressions, and 3. the allograph of the complementizer *dass* 'that' in opposition to the determiner and the relative or demonstrative pronouns *das* 'this, the' (neuter).

Fig. II.2.32. 7th grade: Selected error ratios
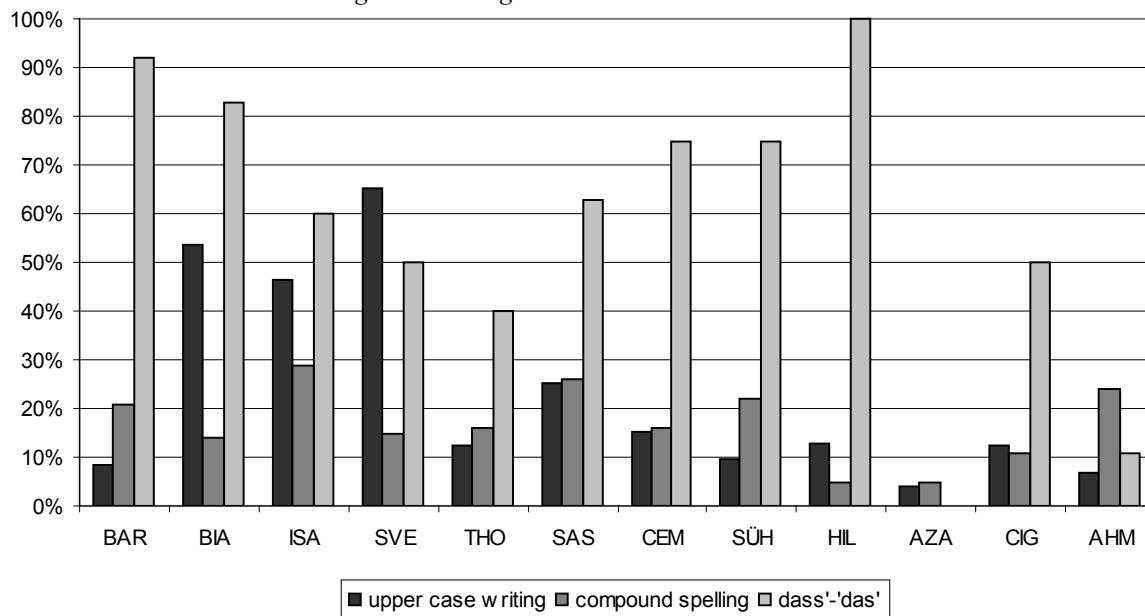
While the use of intra sentential majuscules is applied to more or less 10% incorrectly by 8 pupils, three monolinguals have unexpectedly high error rates of 46%, 55% and 64%. The data of compound spelling show a more equal distribution, again mainly between 10% and 20% errors. Five students are between 20% and 30%. The highest error rate concerns the *das/ dass* distinction: The marked form *dass* – with the exception of AZA[♂BIL] and AHM[♂BIL] – is written erroneously in more than 60% of the cases by seven students, while only three have values of 40% or 50%. While compound spelling and *dass*-writing are quite equally distributed, the majuscule writing poses particular problems only to three monolingual learners.

Fig. II.2.33. 7th grade: Shares of selected error types
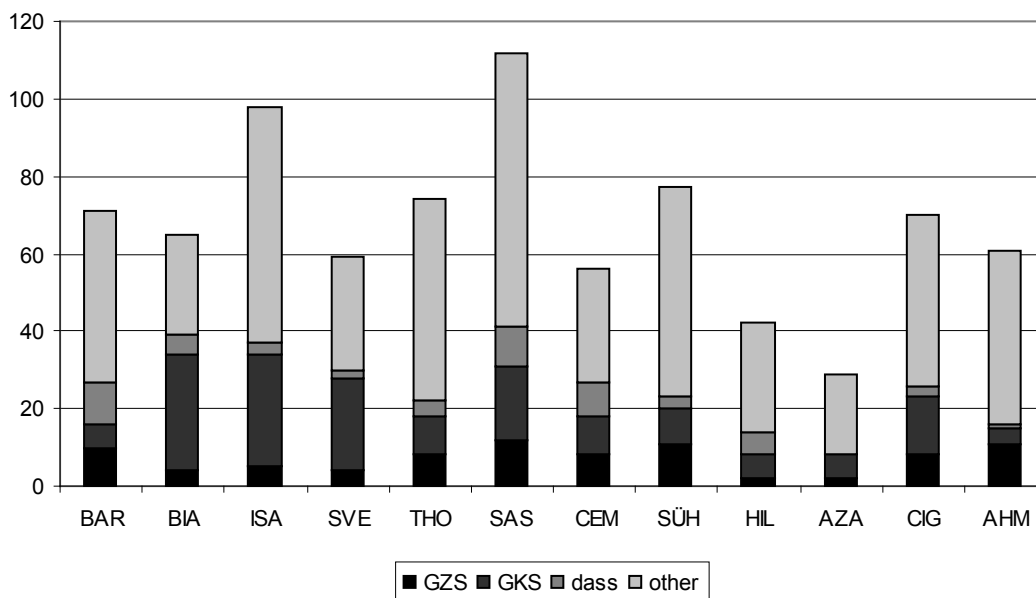
The chart shows the considerable importance of only three error types in the majority of the seventh-graders' texts. The lowest percentages are 28%, 33% and 35% in three cases; but in four other cases, more than 55% of all orthographic errors are constituted by these types only. In contrast, the most frequent error types at the end of primary school, double consonants in syllable boundaries, morphological derived consonant doubling and morphologically based devoicing of syllable coda together are only responsible for 4.8% of all errors of the seventh-graders.

With regard to punctuation mistakes, only one error type, the grammatical marking of subordinate clauses at their boundary with the matrix clause, has been analysed. This error type is very evenly distributed over the learners: BAR$^{♀MON}$, SVE$^{♂MON}$, SÜH$^{♀BIL}$ and CIG$^{♀BIL}$ have the highest error ratios, while HIL$^{♀BIL}$, AHM$^{♂BIL}$ and AZA$^{♂BIL}$ have the lowest. In relation to other mistakes in punctuation (the complex marking of direct speech, the apostrophe marking of labels in the mobile description and minor issues), the comma of subordinate clauses alone covers between 28% and 91% of all errors in this field. Again, a direct link to syntax can be observed.

Fig. II.2.34. 7th grade: Comma in subordinate clauses
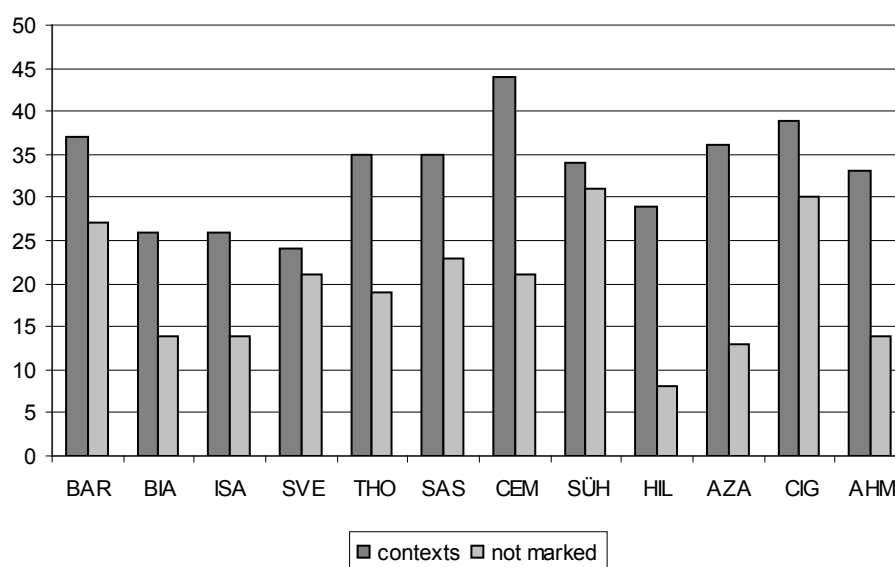
2.2.2.2.2 Summary of the linguistic competences L1 Turkish

Preliminaries

The Tests in Turkish in Germany consisted of oral versions of the Spencer Video, collected one month after the German session, the written texts produced on the same day, the corrections of these first written versions, carried out two months later, and the mobile phone test, again two weeks later. The data to be compared here concern the first oral and the second written product.

As for the distribution of languages, while four texts were produced almost exclusively in Turkish, in two texts, a heavy code switching and mixing between German and Turkish occurs. The figure below shows the distribution of words in both languages. In the following, only the Turkish parts of the bilinguals' text products will be considered.

Fig. II.2.35. 7th grade: Code switching in the oral narration, T1.1 Turkish
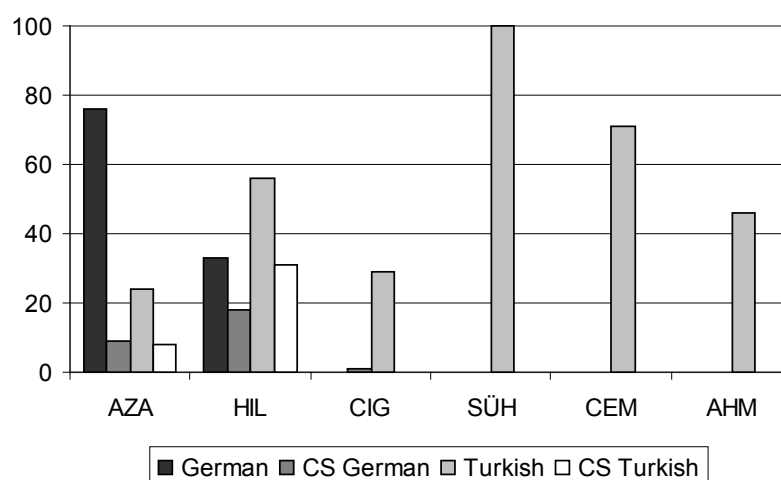
The high amount of code switching and German in AZA♂'s text can be explained by the fact that Turkish perhaps is not AZA's L1, and that he himself declares German as his dominant language. In HIL♀'s interview, however, the relationship between the two languages is more balanced: She used the bilingual mode of interaction with another Turkish-German bilingual. In the four other cases, in spite of huge differences in text size, almost exclusively Turkish has been used.

Orate and literate features in the spoken text

Only the texts of AZA♂ and CEM♂ show a slight dominance of more literate structures, while the short text of CIG♀ is very balanced. In the other texts, by contrast, orate structures dominate. These texts are all personal accounts with a large number of first personal pronouns in singular and plural. With respect to tense, unmarked forms are most common in all six texts, with the only exception of SÜH♀ who used a certain amount of literate and even highly literate forms.

Fig. II.2.36. 7th grade: Turkish complements in the oral narrative, T1.1 Turkish
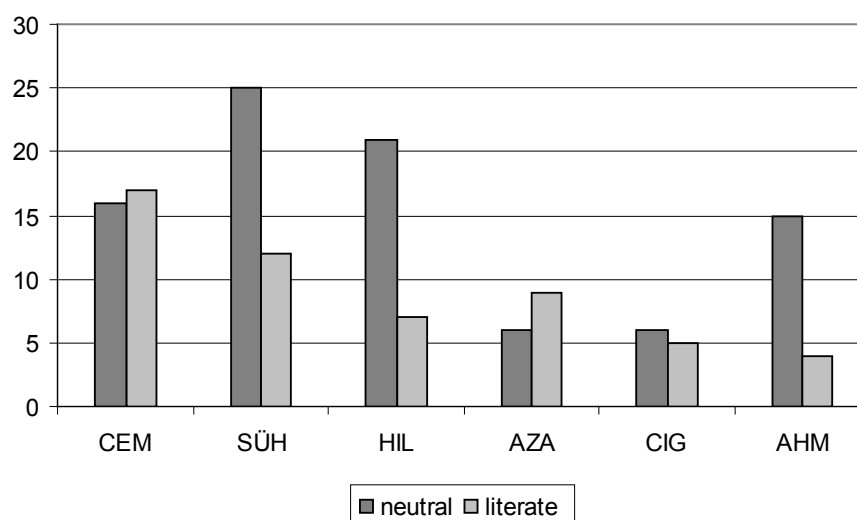
With regard to sentence structure, a very diverse picture emerges: While neutral structures dominate in most of the sentences, extended declarative clauses are dominant in CIG♀'s and of relative importance in three other texts. Mostly infinite subordinate structures can be distinguished to some extent in three texts. The fewest literate features occur in AHM♂'s text, the most in SÜH♀'s, in spite of some incomplete sentences that could be observed in her and HIL♀'s text at the same time. The strong dialogical nature of AZA♂'s text is masked due to the absence of German structures, which mostly cover interactive moves and therefore incomplete structures.

Fig. II.2.37. 7th grade: Structure in the oral narrative, T1.1 Turkish
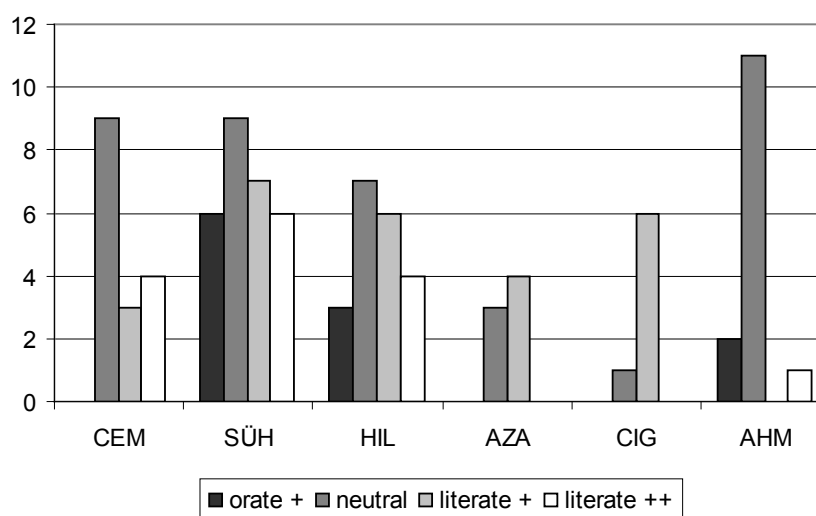
Connectivity will not be presented in a separate chart. In general, the use of connectors is quite restricted (only 18%) in contrast to juxtaposition, the dominant feature of the sequencing of independent sentences in Turkish. Only HIL's text has more than an average number of connectors.

Orate and literate features in the written text

In order to show the advantages in the development of literate forms through writing, only the comparative features of complements and complex sentences are discussed here.

Fig. II.2.38. 7th grade: Literate structures in speech and writing, T1.1 and T1.2 Turkish
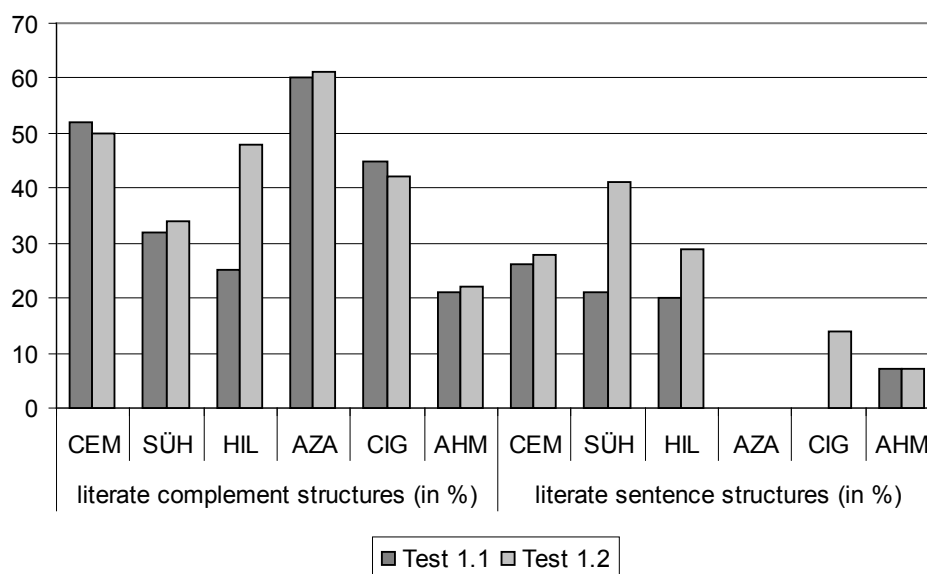
As can be observed in the figure above, the transformations from oral to written versions of the narration are only marginal in terms of complement and sentence structure. Only HIL$^{♀}$ and – on the level of complex sentences – SÜH$^{♀}$ transform the written versions of their texts in the direction of more literate structure. Given the fact that Turkish was only taught at school in the early years, this result is not a great surprise, but it leaves the question open to what extent literate structures acquired in German could be transferred to Turkish or vice versa – a question that is still out of the reach of this preliminary report.

Summary of orthographic analysis: Turkish

The basis of the orthographical analysis of the seventh-graders' texts in their first language Turkish is formed by a total of 12 texts produced by the six bilingual case pupils in two elicitations, T1 and T3, in the respective school year.

We first give an overview of the length and the overall error ratios before we consider the phonographic, logographic and text levels of orthography.

Figure II.2.39 shows that on average, the length of the texts does not differ from T1 to T2, but that the individual case pupils produce different length of texts in the two tests, i.e. while AZA$^{♂}$'s and SÜH's texts are longer in the first test, AHM$^{♂}$, CEM$^{♂}$ and CIG$^{♀}$ produce longer texts in the second test.

Fig. II.2.39. 7ᵗʰ grade: Text length, Turkish texts

Legend: ■ T1 Sentences ■ T1 Words ■ T3 Sentences □ T3 Words
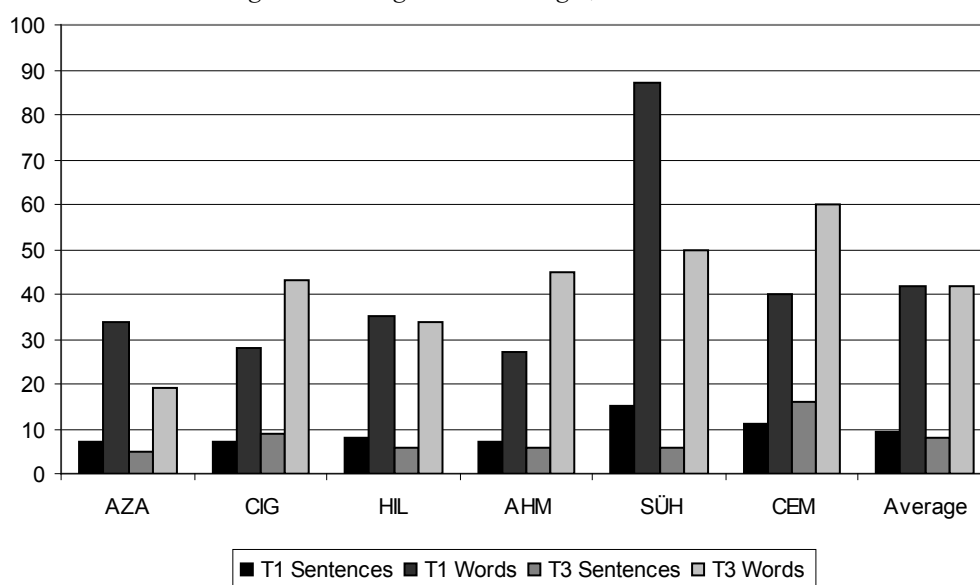
The **total average error ratio** (percentage of error per word) is 62.77%. The average raises considerably between T1 where it is 54.9%, and T3 where it is 70.63%. Note, however, that there are strong individual differences between the pupils within the overall error ratio. On the one hand, this concerns differences between individual ratios within each tests scores where the highest error ratio (T1: CIG♀ with 75%, T3: CEM♂ with 90%) is more than twice as high than that of the lowest (T1: SÜH♀ with 28.74%, T3: HIL♀ with 41.18%). But it also concerns differences between T1 and T3, i.e. while HIL and AZA♂ show a better error ratio between T1 and T3 and CIG almost stays the same, AHM♂, SÜH and CEM♂ score much worse in T3 than in T1.

Fig. II.2.40. 7ᵗʰ grade: Overall error ratios, Turkish texts

Legend: ■ T1 □ T3
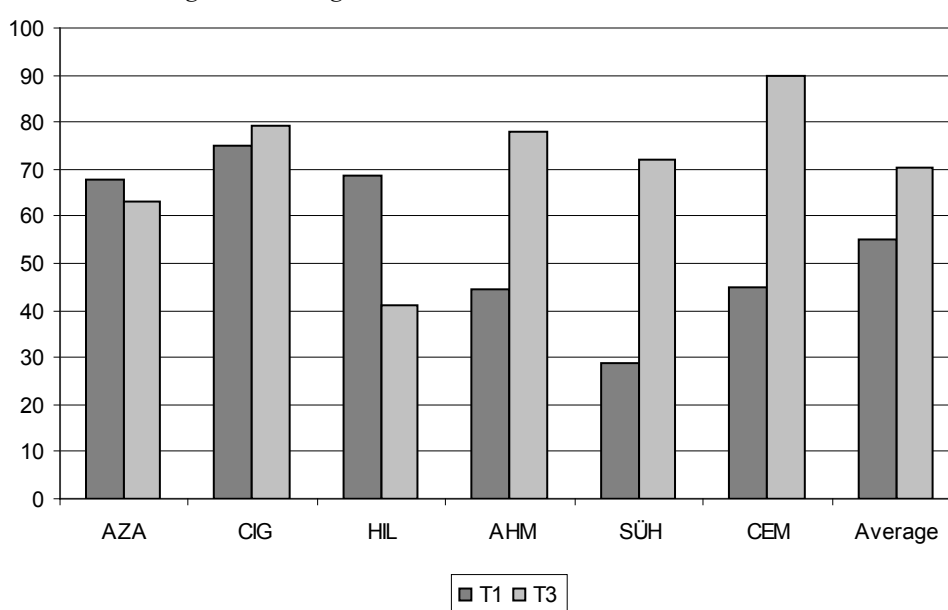
The high individual differences may be based on the fact that Turkish is not a school lesson for any of the pupils anymore (some took lessons in primary school), thus familiarity with Turkish orthography is now very much related to family practices and individual interests. The bilingual case pupils would find it more difficult to produce an instructional text in their first language than the narrative type of text that was elicited in T1. This might have led to higher stress in the production of the instructional text, and a disregard of (otherwise familiar) orthographic rules where the degree of familiarity with Turkish literacy is low. Also, certainly, for those who do not practise Turkish literacy, orthographic competences might easily get worse as the school year proceeds. Thus, in particular HIL♀'s remarkable improvement points at a recent practice in Turkish literacy.

Turning to **percentages of errors on the different levels** (phonographic level, logographic level, textual level), whereby 100 % is the total of errors in the total of texts, the following general picture emerges:

Fig. II.2.41. 7th grade: Errors in % of total errors per test, Turkish
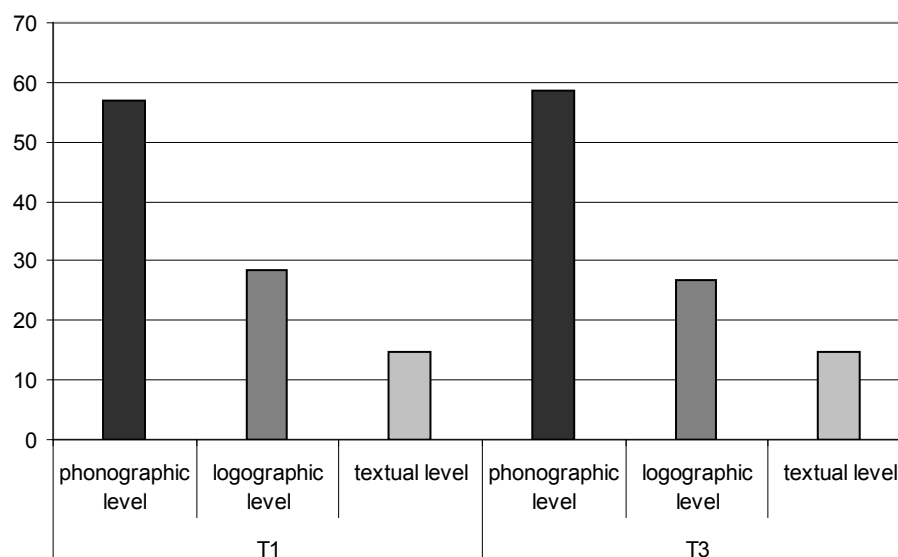
The table shows that the phonographic level of orthography, i.e. the level of the representation of the phonological properties of the language as laid down by the orthographic rules of the language in question, i.e. Turkish, accounts for more than half of the problems the bilingual pupils have when writing their first language. The figures remain fairly consistent between the tests, while, however, the logographic level of orthography seems less of a problem in the instructional text Test 3 than in the narrative text Test 1.

A closer look at the **phonographic level** reveals that problems here, to the largest extend, are related to those areas of Turkish phonography where this is systematically different from German (see 2.2.2.2.2.3). This pertains in particular to representations of specific phonemes of Turkish with wrong grapheme (/ı/, /ç/, /c/) and non-employment of specific Turkish grapheme for common phonemes (<ş>, <z>).

In T1, 61% of the problems regarding the phonographic level are related to these instances, and in T3, it is even 79%. However, it needs to be added that problems here are not

persistent, not even in one text. What we find is not an ignorance with regard to specific Turkish phoneme-grapheme correspondences and specific Turkish graphemes, but rather insecurities as to where to apply them: In a total of 325 possible environments of specific Turkish phoneme-grapheme correspondences and specific Turkish graphemes, 197 (61%) cases are correct. The individual level given in Table II.2.12 below shows that there are considerable differences between case pupils and between the different texts, which is in line with the overall differences between error ratios. The table shows a consistent performance on a succesful level of HIL$^{♀}$, on an average level of CEM$^{♂}$, and on a lower level of AZA$^{♂}$, but strong inconsistencies with regard to SÜH$^{♀}$'s, AHM$^{♂}$'s and CIG$^{♀}$'s performances. In general, however, apart from CIG in T3, the correctness score is above 50%:

Tab.II.2.11. 7th grade: Specific Turkish PGC and specific Turkish graphemes

	T1			T3		
	error token	correct token	% correct	error token	correct token	% correct
AZA	14	13	48.15	6	7	53.85
CIG	0	11	100	16	5	23.81
HIL	5	18	78.26	3	13	81.25
AHM	5	5	50	19	21	52.5
SÜH	12	42	77.77	24	15	38.46
CEM	7	13	65	17	34	66.66
Total	43	102		85	95	
Average			69.86			52.76

Also the fact that the pupils do in general not employ possible German equivalents for in particular <ş>, <ç> and <ı> (i.e. they never use <sch> for <ş>, <tsch> for <ç> and only very rarely <e> for <ı>), but use the common Roman variants without the cedilla resp. with the dot (<s>, <c>, <i>), points at a familiarity with the specific Turkish graphemic and phonographic properties. It might well be that the issue here is not ignorance nor insecurity, but simply indifference, which comes with writing emails and messages in Turkish on the (German) computer or the (German) mobile telephone which does not give the respective graphemes on the keyboard.

Observations with regard to the Turkish orthographem <ğ> parallel those made with regard to the specific graphemic and phonographic properties of Turkish as opposed to German. That is, the case pupils are aware of it, but show inconsistencies including graphic alternatives. Except for HIL, all of the bilingual case pupils use it correctly in at least one instance; SÜH (14) employs it correctly all the time; CEM (corr. 4, error 1), AZA (corr. 4, error 2), CIG (corr. 4, error 3) and AHM (corr. 2, error 2) employ it inconsistently. With regard to AHM, inconsistent employment also includes orthographic hypercorrectness, i.e. using <ğ> to represent long vowels in Arabic loans where it is not used in the standard (i.e. *<ağlet>, corr. <alet> 'instrument' and *<lağzım>, corr. <lazım> 'necessary'). HIL employs <y> as an alternative, and again, the nearly-correct "German" alternative <g>, i.e. the omission of the breve, occurs (HIL 1, AZA 2). Note that one case pupil, SÜH, even

employs the diacritic <^>, possibly in order to represent what she regards as a long vowel, in an Arabic loan, i.e. she writes *<nadîr>, corr. <nâdir> or 'rarely', and this might point at a familiarity with religious Turkish texts.

All case pupils also sometimes represent syllable and segmental reductions and assimilations from speech. However, it would be wrong to attest a strong tendency towards phonological spelling here, since the figures are not much different from those of the seventh-graders in Turkey (see the respective summaries in III.2.2.2). In the text produced in Germany, out of a total of 50 errors, apart from errors concerning specific Turkish phoneme-grapheme correspondences and specific Turkish graphemes, 24 belong to this category, while 12 belong to inconsistencies with regard to <ğ>, 4 concern the glide <y>, and 14 others are miscellenous. AZA♂ and SÜH♀ produce examples that show that they are aware of the pitfalls of phonographic representation of speech, i.e. we find hypercorrect examples of explicit spellings in their texts. It is also interesting to note that a better command of specific Turkish phoneme-grapheme correspondences and specific Turkish graphemes does not necessarily parallel a stronger orthographic spelling in general. HIL and CIG, for example, are fairly successful with regard to the specificieties of Turkish as opposed to German, but they show the highest (relative) number of other errors on the phonographic level. With CEM♂, on the other hand, almost the total of errors on the phonographic level stem from problems with specific Turkish phoneme-grapheme correspondences and specific Turkish graphemes. Again, this allows to argue that when a pupil with Turkish L1 in Germany does not care about cedillas in <ş> and <ç>, the breve in <ğ> and the omission of the dot in <ı>, this does not necessarily mean the the pupil is not familiar with Turkish literacy.

As shown above, around a third of the orthographic problems the case pupils are facing when writing in their first language Turkish concern the **logographic level**. On the one hand, again, problems here parallel those observed in the seventh-graders' texts in Turkey, i.e. the (incorrect) closed spelling of clitics (but note AZA who spells the focus clitic *de* open, and CEM who adds highly interesting hypercorrect instances, which show his logographic awareness) and the (incorrect) closed spelling of univerbal function words consisting of two elements. A further type of error is much more prevalent in the texts produced in Germany, i.e. the in-sentence employment of the capital letter with nominal elements that are not names proper. It makes up little less than half of the errors on the logographic level (T1: 14 out of 35, T3: 24 out of 49; Turkey: less than a quarter), and all case pupils have problems here. It has to be noted that the employment of the in-sentence capital letter can not generally be understood as a transfer of a German orthographic rule to Turkish, but that we are faced with a "pragmatic employment of the capital letter" as already observed by Schroeder (2007) for Turkish texts in Germany, i.e. pupils use the capital letter for a pragmatic contouring of salient (nominal) information. AHM♂, however, follows a different path in that he consistently spells those nominals with a capital letter that have German (near-) homophone nominals.

A further type of error is novel in relation to the Turkish texts produced in Turkey, i.e. the separate spelling of suffixes. This does, however, only occur in CEM's texts (and one

occurrence also in T3 of AZA$^\male$) where it is used mainly as an alternative to the apostrophe[98], thus it is based on a correct logographic analysis.

The overview of error ratios on the logographic level again shows a hight degree of variation both between the texts and between individual case pupils:

Fig. II.2.42. 7th grade: Error ratios on the logographic level, Turkish texts
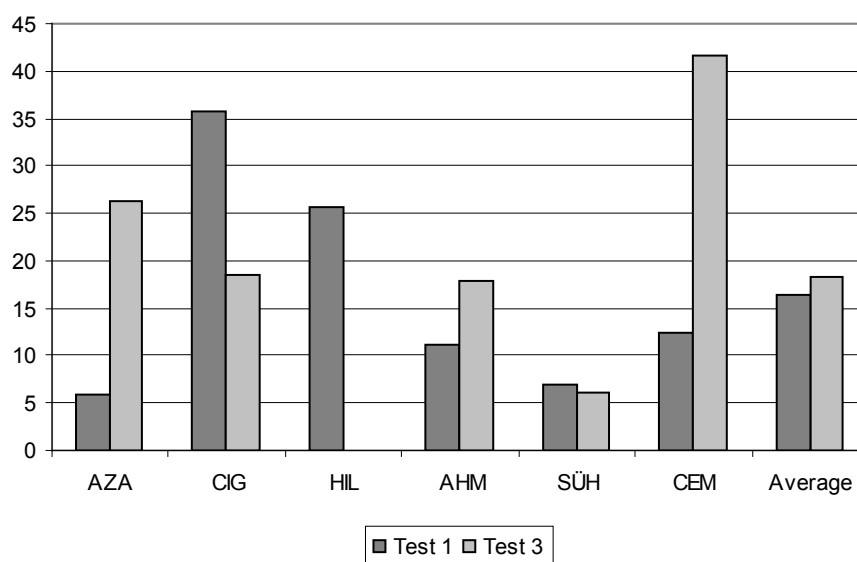
The **level of text structure** is the least problematic level. An overview of the error ratios shows a slightly lower level of heterogeneity as with the other levels of orthography:

Fig. II.2.43. 7th grade: Error ratios on the level of text structure, Turkish texts

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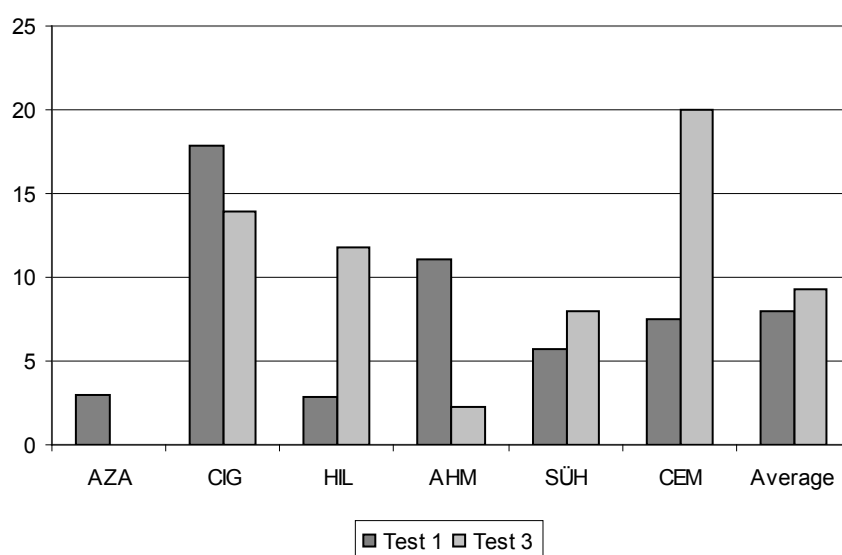
[98] There are no environments for the use of the apostrophe in the other case pupils' texts, except for one (correct) occurrence in the T3 of AZA$^{\male BIL}$.

Where the error ratio improves from T1 to T3, as with CIG$^{♀}$ and AHM$^{♂}$, this is closely related to orate structures in the narrative T1, which makes it more difficult to define (syntactic) sentence borders, particularly in Turkish closely-tied narrative structures (see II.2.2.2.1.3). Also in HIL$^{♀}$'s T3 text, problems with punctuation relate to structures where the second sentence continues the topic of the previous sentence by means of zero anaphora. CEM$^{♂}$'s problems with punctuation in T3, on the other hand, are on an advanced level of orthography, so to speak, i.e. they concern instances where a comma is not employed, but a paratactic conjunct combines the sentences – even Turkish orthographic guides are indecisive at this point concerning the use of the comma.

In sum, we may say that the bilingual case pupils, when writing in their first language, seem to orientate by what they know about Turkish orthography rather than trying to find orthographic solutions from German. Their knowledge, however, is limited, and this opens the way to hypercorrect experiments, inconsistencies in the performance, and large individual differences. It is not quite clear whether the differences between the outcome of T1 and T3 stem from a decline of writing practice during the course of the year, or whether the genre of the instructional text simply draws the concentration away from the spelling.

3 Empirical Findings of German Lesson Analyses

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3.1 Introduction

Following the methodical approaches of LAS research, empirical findings of lesson analyses are based on qualitative sociological and linguistic core lesson analyses, quantitative analyses of logbooks and transcripts, and observationnaire evaluations. Where feasible, school ethnographies, interview analyses, and case pupil profiles are used as points of reference.

3.2 Lesson analysis: 1st grade

3.2.1 The material world of the classroom

3.2.1.1 Classroom geography

The spacious classroom of the LAS first grade is divided in the seating area and surrounding functional segments (different boards, shelves, cosy corner, etc.). The windows are decorated with the pupils' handicraft works, and the walls are covered with learning devices (wall alphabet, rule signs, reading step signs, etc.). Each pupil has an own material box with their names on, shelved in the back of the room.

Fig. II.3.1. 1st grade: Classroom layout
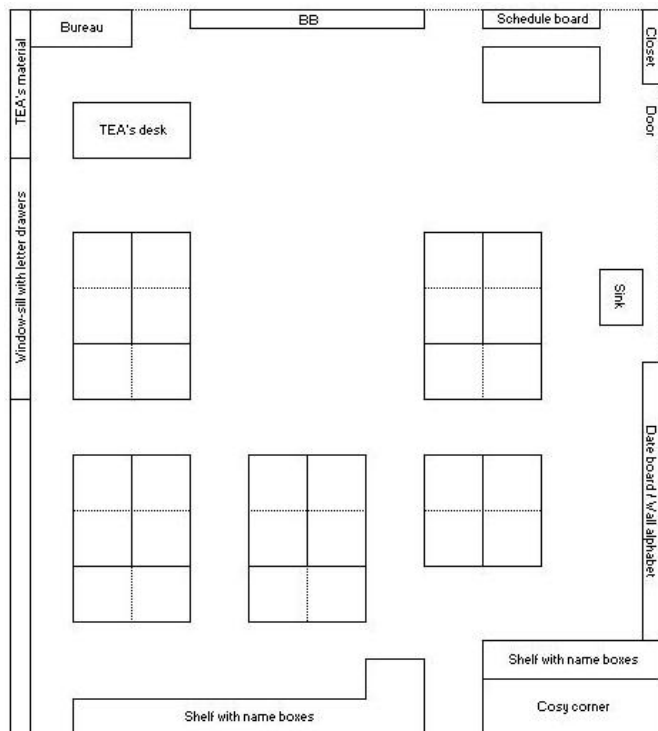
More and more, the classroom becomes a mess during the school year, crammed with toys, teaching devices, learning and handicraft material, etc., with the teacher's corner being the untidiest space, inviting pupils to approach it and play with the stuff lying around. This

constant state of disorganisation is also reflected in the materials used in the classroom, being not seldom raddled or broken, or so untidy that they first have to be assorted lengthily during the lesson. There are several lessons in which significant amounts of time are spent on tidying-up, but this solely concerns the pupils' tables and the immediate material they are working with, so the basic untidiness is never addressed or dealt with. This creates a general atmosphere of sloppiness and disorder, which has restricting potential insofar as it contributes to problems with discipline and concentration. On the other hand, the untidy classroom reflects an underlying philosophy of lenience and prolonged transition phases, for it offers the space to act sociable and child-like by lack of palpable boundaries.

Since the teacher's desk is on the left side of the room, it does not have a centre position and it does not cover the blackboard, emphasising the idea that the teacher is a part of the group rather than its supervisor and the sole conductor of the lesson. This means that the major part of teaching does not happen as from the teacher's desk; she has to position herself in front of the black board, standing, in order to attract attention, and she uses the space as a stage for teaching. Therefore, she sits at her desk only during units of individual work, which signals decreased supervision and a declining demand of attention in return. The seating arrangement is different every time we are visiting the class (i.e., once a week), but the fact is hardly ever addressed. Here, there are two colliding interests: On the one hand, there is the pupils' need for an own, defined territory, a place where they belong, in the vicinity of children they get along with; on the other hand, there is the teacher's systematic approach, trying out different table arrangements and sitting positions for most of the pupils, mainly attempting to divide unfeasible pairings, and sometimes to isolate trouble-makers. The procedure itself was only recorded once (the result of which is also displayed in Figure II.3.3):

<div style="margin-left:2em">

(1)   *TEA: so lutz .
          %eng: well, lutz.
          *TEA: ähm@i ich bin /nicht da mit eurer konstellation zufrieden .
          %eng: uhm I'm not content with your constellation there.
          *TEA: ich hab mir das jetzt drei tage da äh@i angeguckt .
          %eng: I've been watching it for three days now.
          *TEA: und drei tage lang gab s probleme .
          %eng: and for three days there was trouble.
          *TEA: ähm@i müssen wa anders machen .
          %eng: uhm we have to do it differently .
          *TEA: du musst da wieder weg # von dem tisch .
          %eng: you have to leave that table again.
          *TEA: benedict .
          *TEA: ihr habt ihr habt euch nur gegenseitig abgelenkt ne@i .
          %eng: you just have been distracting each other, right.
          *TEA: der ganze tisch war wuselig .
          %eng: the whole table was bustling.
          […]
          *TEA: so wie müssen wa +//.
          %eng: right how shall we.
          *TEA: sevim .
          *TEA: dann müsstest /du leider wieder &na wandern .
          %eng: unfortunately you'd have to move again.
          *TEA: nach hinten ja .
          %eng: to the back yes.
          *TEA: und der lutz geht auf seinen einzeltisch .
          %eng: and lutz moves to his single table.
          (I_07_11_08_SQ: 0/2)

</div>

Looking at how the teacher communicates her decision to change the seating arrangement to the pupils, one can see that first, she addresses the pupils she identifies as trouble-makers personally (LUT$^{\male MON}$ and BEN$^{\male MON}$), but does not blame them explicitly; she rather shares her observations and the conclusions she drew from them. Seemingly making up her mind in the process, the two pupils who have to change their seats are LUT and SEV$^{\female BIL}$ (sitting at two different group tables), with the teacher expressing regrets to the latter because she has to "move again", but this time not sharing her thoughts on why SEV has to be removed from the group table (she does not, as the mere transcript might suggest, have to switch seats with LUT). Note that LUT's new seat is called "his single table", which, of course, means that he already has a specially assigned seat to go back to. In sum, although there is talk of the "constellation" the teacher is discontent with, the new seating arrangement is not about changing constellations, but about isolating trouble-makers, and not for the first time. Both pupils do not take it well, moving to their newly assigned seats reluctantly and complaining.

Figures II.3.2 to 5 show the gradual dissolution of the group table arrangement towards the "comb" structure. In the course of this dissolution, some pupils are temporarily singled out to sit at extra tables (see Example (1) above).

Fig. II.3.2. 1st grade: Seating arrangement in October 2007
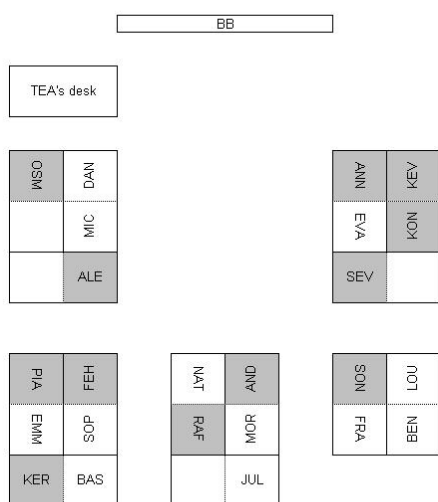
Fig. II.3.3. 1st grade: Seating arrangement in November 2007
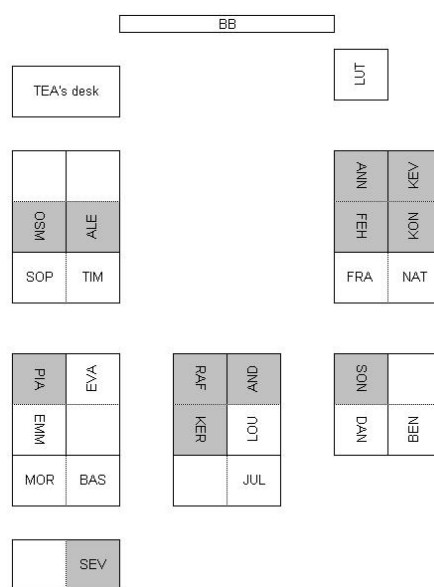
Fig. II.3.4. 1ˢᵗ grade: Seating arrangement in March 2008
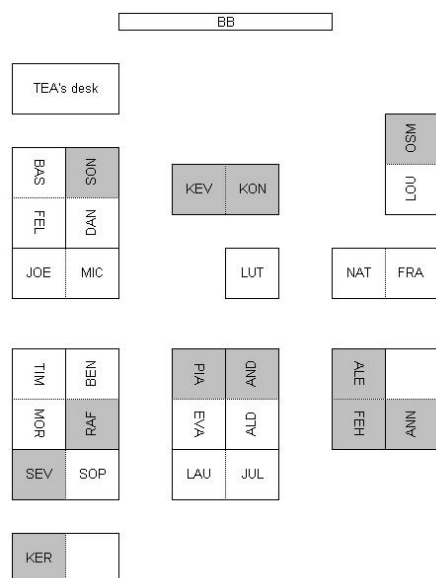
Fig. II.3.5. 1ˢᵗ grade: Seating arrangement in May 2008
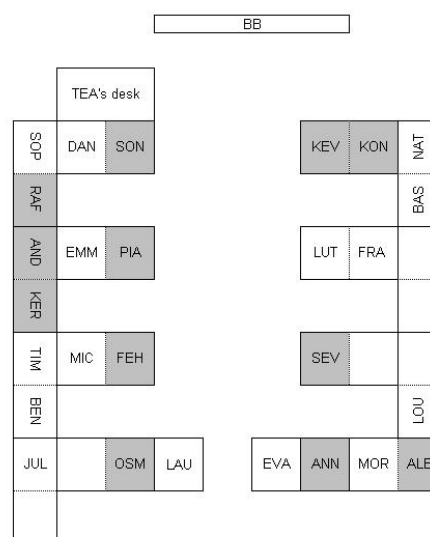
The group table arrangement means that several pupils sit with their backs to the events in the room, making it harder for them to follow the classroom discourse; moreover, there is never any group work witnessed, so the array of tables has no observable enabling potential for the design of the German lessons. Thus, the "comb" structure employed from April on is much more feasible for participation and concentration, giving all pupils a convenient overview of what is going on (but in the last lesson, one side of the "comb" is arranged as a group block again). Considering the monthly ratio of pupils sitting in a different seat than the previous week, there is no discernible development towards a more stable allocation of individual seating, but a systematic incline of seat change every other month. Concerning noise and discipline in total, which are tendentially getting worse in the course of the school year, the changes of the seating arrangement make no difference at best, or even have a restricting effect; specific seating arrangements rather contribute to inattention by grouping tendentially inattentive pupils together. The teacher's strategy to try out different arrangements might partially be owed to the fact that the whole group is a new item to her and that she does not know the pupils well in the beginning; however, frequent change also means that she is not really giving any combination a chance. Although in general, changing the seating order is a common strategy of modifying the social order, here it appears rather random and momentarily.

3.2.1.2 Teaching devices

There is a whole lot of artefacts, objects, and devices employed during the school year, which can roughly be divided in three groups: devices of social enforcement (e.g., sound bowl, noise light, rule signs), motivational artefacts (toys like the puppet of the class

mascot "Oskar", the "Pikus"[99] figurine, or flower pots in spring), and objects for teaching (e.g., blackboard, overhead projector, subject cards). Devices of social regulation are objects with a symbolic behaviour-regulating meaning used instead of or in addition to a direct command. The sound bowl is the most prominent artefact and generally supposed to generate attention in various situations; it marks the lesson beginning as well as it is used to refocus the pupils during the lesson, and it can also be utilised for games. In the first semester, also pupils can use the bowl during recess in order to get their classmates' attention to something they want to show them. Technically, the bowl's signal function is connected to the sound created by it, but as a mere signal sound, it obviously does not have enough power to prevail over the common noise level (as, for example, a whistle would); the rather pleasant sound can easily be missed or ignored and is not likely to rouse or to startle the pupils. Therefore, in order to direct their attention to the bowl, the teacher has to make it physically prominent by positioning herself in front of the class with the bowl in her hand, which rather points at the dysfunctionality of the artefact as a "sound" signal. Another device of social regulation is the "noise light", although the teacher does not use this device as frequently as the sound bowl, and brings it in later in the school year to be used during individual assignments. The noise light is shaped like a traffic light with the respective light colours, glowing green when the noise level is low, blinking yellow when the noise is growing, and blinking red and making an alarm sound when it is too loud (with the sensitivity to noise being manually adjusted). In those cases the noise light is deployed, the teacher counts aloud the times it goes off, reminding the pupils that it should not go off at all, with, according to our observations, neither the sound nor the red light alone prompting the pupils to quiet down. That the teacher falls back on a gimmick like this in the middle of the school year hints at a certain degree of helplessness regarding the common noise level during individual assignments.

The use of these devices instead of generating attention and quiet in the form of a direct verbal order means that the pupils have to understand the implicit meaning of the object and translate it into imperative action, which cognitively seems to be more complicated than to follow a direct verbal order, particularly when considering that children of this age are probably not sufficiently receptive to symbolic or metaphorical meaning yet; when taking into account that some effort is devoted to symbolically avoid the direct order to pay attention or to be quiet by not verbalising it, the actual pedagogic function of the sound bowl and the noise light is then to "cheat" the pupils into subordination without giving them the feeling of being coerced, and thereby pretending a certain voluntariness that, of course, is incongruent with the basic prerequisite of making school in the first place. This means that everything depends on the pupils' proneness to fall for the illusion of voluntary subordination, which leads to the dilemma that on the one hand, it is impossible to go through with it without risking the entire lesson to collapse, while on the other hand, it is also impossible to enforce subordination to the implicit order by means of sanctions without risking the illusion of voluntariness. However, the pupils are not conditioned sustainably by the artefacts that gradually lose their force. Consequently, the teacher

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[99] Based on a textbook story.

increasingly verbalises the order to pay attention or to be quiet, addressing individual pupils, and tendentially thwarting the symbolic meaning of the devices, which thereby become mere folderol without significant effects. Generally, the sound bowl and the noise light as devices of social regulation have an enabling quality insofar as the pupils are offered a palpable orientation for their behaviour with objects that can be associated with the according demands; however, their actual usefulness is highly doubtful. As a negative consequence, the detour via the artefacts rather undermines than supports the teacher's immediate authority, with the implicit notion of voluntariness preventing the pupils from entirely adapting to the prerequisite of subordination. Another category of regulatory devices is represented by the rule signs taped to the wall, but these hardly ever play a role in the lesson (see Section 3.2.3.2 in this Chapter).

Motivational and illustrative artefacts are used to develop topics palpably with the main subjects appearing on the classroom's stage. Roughly, there are anthropomorphised, animated objects that are "telling their stories themselves" (like the class's mascot "Oskar"[100]), and inanimate objects that are used to illustrate a specific circumstance (like real spring flowers to elaborate the topic). All artefacts serve to catch the pupils' eyes and to generate interest, attention, and commitment by addressing the pupils personally and/ or by making it easy to relate to a topic; especially the anthropomorphised toys create an environment of attention and suspense for they appeal to the pupils' imagination on a child-oriented level. As a teaching strategy, the employment of motivational and illustrative visual aids enables the teacher to develop her lectures more vividly with less need to elaborate on a mere verbal level (see Section 3.2.3.5). Motivational artefacts in the form of toys telling a story are used more often in the first than in the second term, showing that the strategy of explicitly creating a motivational atmosphere loses in value as the children are getting older and more adapted to the pupil's role.

Mere teaching devices, like the blackboard and the overhead projector, are characterised by their universal supportive function. The blackboard mostly plays a secondary role and is rarely used as a structuring lesson device, whereas the overhead projector is not used often, but when it is employed, it is the centre teaching device, displaying mostly pictures the pupils are to describe, which is also the main difference between it and the blackboard which might indeed offer the least playful, child-oriented approach, and therefore being initially employed only occasionally, but more frequently towards the end of the school year. During the transition to a more blackboard-oriented lesson structure, the pupils often get the opportunity to write on it themselves as part of the lecture, and are also put on blackboard duty in turns, which can be seen as a way to make them familiar with the object as an integral part of their school life; it is not labelled as solely the teacher's property.

Number and shape of utilised artefacts point at a playful, child-oriented approach, potentially making it easier for the pupils to connect with the classroom reality, and to advance from being a child to being a pupil. At the same time, disciplinary problems at

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[100] "Oskar" is often used to introduce new topics by means of a "dialogue" between the teacher and the puppet.

least partially arise from the lack of "seriousness" that school is associated with, and the pupils have sometimes difficulties to comprehend what is expected of them as "pupils".

3.2.1.3 Learning devices

The pupils are mostly well-equipped regarding their personal tools like pencils, crayons, erasers, and so on. They have their own pencil-cases, and additional material (like scissors, glue) is deposited in their individual name boxes that are shelved in the back of the classroom. Often, they exchange crayons during painting units, or borrow erasers from each other. Besides writing material, the large depot of learning material contains individually owned objects (paid by parents) like the "initial sound ruler" and different kinds of notebooks and folders, designated thematically (like "winter notebook", "Easter notebook") or methodically (like the reading pass and related folders). Extra work sheets are frequently used in addition since there is no textbook or spelling book.

Fig. II.3.6. 1ˢᵗ grade: By means of the "initial sound ruler" (Anlautlineal)*, the pupils are enabled to identify graphemes for the specific phonemes the depicted word begins with in order to write on their own.*
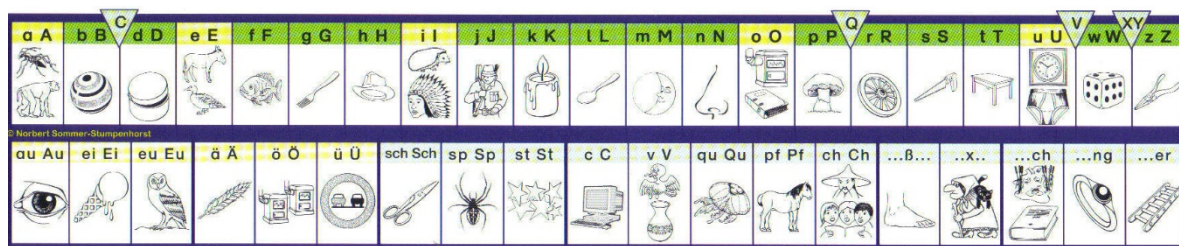
Source: http://www.rechtschreib-werkstatt.de/rsl/me/lautgeb/html/body_anlautbilder.html

There is a tendential overdose of material that leads to confusion especially in the context of reading exercises when many pupils display difficulties to handle the different materials adequately. It is important to note that we do not witness the introduction of the reading method; in the reading exercises we observe, the teacher sometimes instructs pupils individually, and at other times the pupils are asked to explain work steps to each other. Methodically, the reading exercises consist of different work steps, each with different materials, according to the level of individual advancement (see Section 3.2.2.2 below), so the learning devices for reading are used for individual work only and are not employed in the classroom discourse, which means that the pupils have to manage all the different materials on their own. Often, they merely orientate themselves towards each other when handling the reading material, and in several cases, this results in copying behaviour rather than in comprehending management of the different sheets and folders. Only few pupils deal with the reading material knowingly and confidently. Another disadvantage of the sheer quantity of materials is that it takes some time to get them organised, especially when the pupils are not certain as to what to do with them. Reading exercises cause constant commotion in the classroom because the pupils are walking to and fro between their desks and their name boxes a lot, disturbing others, and socialising on their paths a lot.

Writing exercises are conducted by means of work sheets and notebooks. In contrast to the reading material, the work sheet at hand is always explained in the beginning of the respective exercise, so there is much less confusion regarding what to do with the work

sheets in general, also because the technical requirements are basically the same every time. Most of the sheets are to be stored in a single folder, except when there is a special folder dedicated to the respective thematic unit; over the school year, the pupils accumulate five folders plus one notebook for writing exercises conducted without work sheets. This puts a considerable responsibility on the pupils as well as on their parents to make sure they always bring the right folder for the respective thematic unit, and the teacher has to rely strongly on the organisation of the school bags in the pupils' home, which, as far as we observed, usually works out fine.

Extra devices available for the whole class are the wall alphabet (an enlarged initial letter ruler), several wall signs and educational posters, and the "letter drawers" needed for reading exercises, with each drawer containing the work sheets for the respective letter. There is also a collection of children's books in the cosy corner, but we never witness that they are used (neither by single pupils nor during teaching). The wall alphabet is used much more frequently than the initial letter ruler due to its universal availability, and the pupils almost never make the effort to take out their individual device.

In general, material diversification points at thematic diversification, it is supposed to trigger interest and motivation. However, material overload, particularly in the case of the reading exercises, has some restricting potential because the handling of the different sheets and cards is apparently not trained thoroughly enough in order to facilitate each pupil with the necessary knowledge to deal with them. In contrast to the assumed underlying philosophy of easing the children into the pupil's role, the high demands regarding material organisation and material knowledge can be deemed a risky complication with the tendency to confuse and to put too much emphasis on mere technicalities; often, it is these technicalities that determine the pupils' immediate performance.

3.2.2 Lesson contents

3.2.2.1 Topics

The two recurrent teaching units of the school year are writing and reading, the topics worked on are mostly seasonally defined and used to create relatable writing environments, so basically, writing and reading are treated as topics themselves.

Tab. II.3.1. 1st grade: Topics worked on in the German lessons, October 2007 – May 2008

October	Raupe Nimmersatt (caterpillar that never gets full; classic German children's book)
November	Fruit salad (class made a fruit salad together, work on fruit sorts)
December	Christmas; hedgehogs
January/ February	Winter; carnival
February	Adventures of Pikus the penguin
March	Concert (class was at concert together, work on instruments); hares & rabbits
April	Easter (adventures of Benno the Easter bunny); spring flowers
May	Butterfly

On the one hand, the choice of topics is oriented towards the pupils' reality outside the classroom and to the class's joint activities, so it is easy to connect to them; on the other

hand, strong emphasis on Christian holidays (Christmas and Easter) might be deemed sort of ignorant towards the non-Christian pupils for whom these themes might not be as familiar and natural, and thus not that easy to relate to. However, we never witness that such seasonal themes are furnished with actual religious contents that thus do not play a role at all.

Especially in the first term, topics are treated in order to explicitly motivate the pupils to write, so factual information is often secondary, underlining the emphasis on writing itself. However, since the teacher is the class teacher and also teaches "general knowledge", she refers to other lesson contents that are worked on thematically, like different kinds of animals or flowers. Thus, although treated equally for the purpose of getting the pupils to write, some themes can be identified that offer the pupils broader factual knowledge and are utilised for reading and writing (animals, flowers), whereas other topics only serve to embed writing assignments (particularly the seasonal subjects). Joint activities of the class are also used to create writing occasions. This way, writing is associated with everything that happens in the school as well as on the outside, and not reduced and restricted to specific teaching units, giving the pupils a sense of the broad applicability of written language. As "reading and writing" is not separated from "other subjects", this enables the pupils to internalise writing as an integral part of schooling and learning.

3.2.2.2 Tools and techniques

Tool-wise, although the pupils are expected to write textually from the very beginning by means of the "initial sound ruler", there is no systematic, structured approach to the production of texts; the pupils are encouraged to write sentences before having been taught what technically a sentence makes, and they are supposed to write words by figuring them out on their own. One vital characteristic of "free" writing (as opposed to stringently guided writing) is the greater intellectual and autonomous effort that is required of the pupils. Handwriting is not an issue since the pupils write in block letters; subsequently, they are introduced to capital and lowercase letters as well as to several spelling issues and specific letter combinations (see Section 3.2.2.2.3 below). Orthography is not made the one and crucial point of writing, but marked as something one picks up in the course of doing writing in the form of "additional information". Thus, in the first term, the pupils are mainly occupied with the motoric practice of letter forms, the identification of certain letters in written words or arbitrary letter accumulations, and the recognition of sounds in spoken words. In the second term, certain orthographical peculiarities of German, such as <sch>, <pf> or <sp>, are trained both in the communal discourse and in individual exercises; towards the end of the school year, the pupils also start to read small texts and to copy words/ sentences into their workbooks.

Generally, the method-indicated absence of mandatory writing rules in the first semester can be assumed to give the pupils an initial sense of being capable and trusted, and they can possibly learn to be confident regarding their writing competences particularly because the act itself is much more important than the result, which is never discussed in the plenum during the entire school year. This entirely process-oriented approach here also means that when the teacher checks the pupils' texts individually in case the pupils ask her to, she

never criticises content or structure, but only (and rarely) quantity; anyway, the pupils are not compelled to show their texts to the teacher and discuss them with her. This way, it is, of course, not possible that the pupils would profit from each other systematically by learning from each other's achievements and mistakes. So, on the one hand, the strategy creates the opportunity of succeeding easily as results are not measured by objective requirements that one could fail to meet so that performance-induced inhibitions and uncertainties might become less likely, and the pupils might experience writing as a pressure-free activity. On the other hand, it is doubtful if all the pupils have the means to profit from this strategy since the "natural" attitude towards writing as displayed here is not necessarily something that comes to the pupils as "naturally", but must be seen, at least to a certain degree, based on the pupils' background knowledge and their familiarity with literacy in general. Pupils who are not familiar with the concept of "text" are at the risk of not being able to identify the expectations connected to a thus-defined assignment. Uncertainty regarding expectations is then rather the opposite of pressure-free writing, and according to our observations, the respective pupils' most common technique to deal with this uncertainty is to copy from or to imitate other pupils. Hence, the absence of tools and techniques also means that the pupils have no objective orientation in their writing performances, which, tendentially, pupils from more educated families (e.g., KEV$^{\male\text{MON}}$, ALE$^{\female\text{BIL}}$, RAF$^{\male\text{MON}}$) seem to handle more confidently than pupils with rather not educated backgrounds (e.g., KON$^{\male\text{BIL}}$, FEH$^{\female\text{BIL}}$, SEV$^{\female\text{BIL}}$) regardless of actual competence. It is therefore rather doubtful if a "natural" attitude towards writing is indeed something one can acquire in school without the necessary presuppositions provided at home. Consequently, a lack of clear performance requirements, in combination with the underlying philosophy of voluntariness, leads to very different individual achievements, with many pupils keeping it to a minimum regarding quantity as well as quality. Only in the last month of the school year, writing assignments become more defined regarding requirements, indicating that the transition phase is faded out also in terms of "pressure-free" writing exercises. However, at that point of the school year, the pupils are so used to working entirely at their own discretion that most of them have severe difficulties to meet the given demands.

Didactically, reading is treated as an inherent condition of writing so that often, reading assignments contain writing portions as well (this is not necessarily the case vice versa; many writing assignments do not contain reading). Ascending the advancing levels of the reading tasks, the pupils get from identifying letters to comprehensive reading, i.e. transforming the meaning of a written word or sentence by means of pictures or questions. The examples provided in Figures II.3.7-9[101] below are all worked on in the same lesson by different pupils in April 2008.

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[101] Extracted from the *Lesepass* materials used in this classroom, copyrighted by Rechtschreibwerkstatt.

Fig. II.3.7. 1ˢᵗ grade: Lower advanced level of a reading pass task ("Reading and painting"). Procedure: The pupil reads the card (1.), here saying "paint a mouse in the hole", and paints a corresponding picture (2.).
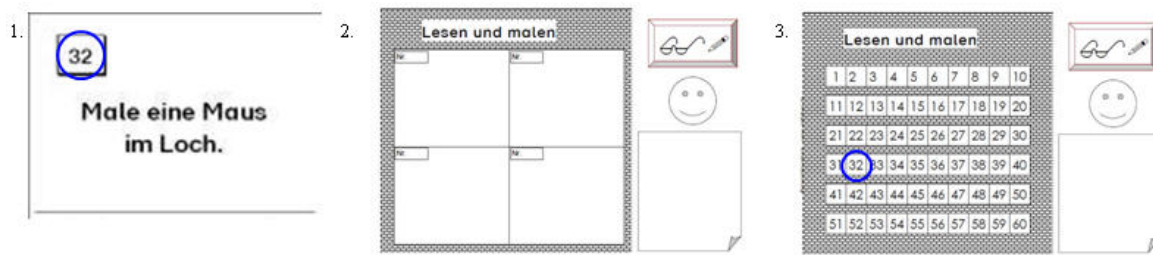
Having done so, the number of the task in the reading pass can be crossed out (3.).

Fig. II.3.8. 1ˢᵗ grade: Higher advanced level of a reading pass task ("Loupe reading"). Procedure: The pupil reads the card (1.), then goes to the belonging page of the solutions' book and looks for the picture representing the word on the card (2.). Next to the picture, there is a letter, which the pupil has to note down in the reading pass (3.). Repeating this four times in the right order with the right letters, they add up to a solution word (here: "nose").
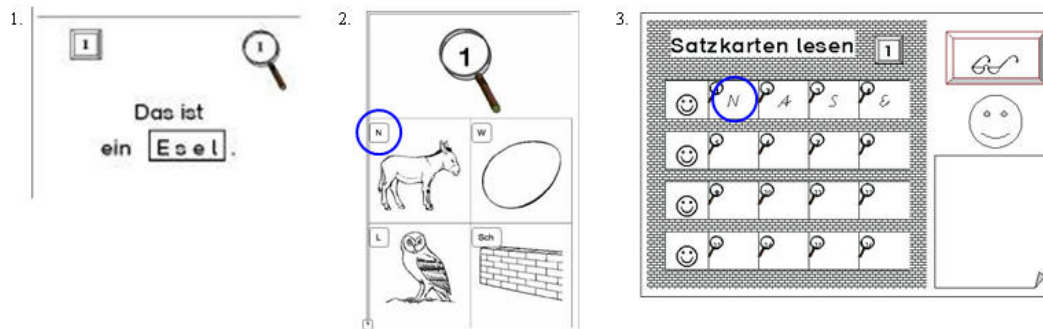
Fig. II.3.9. 1ˢᵗ grade: Highly advanced level of a reading pass task ("Reading texts"). Procedure: The pupil reads the text on the text sheet (1.) and writes the answer to the question on the bottom into the reading pass (2.).
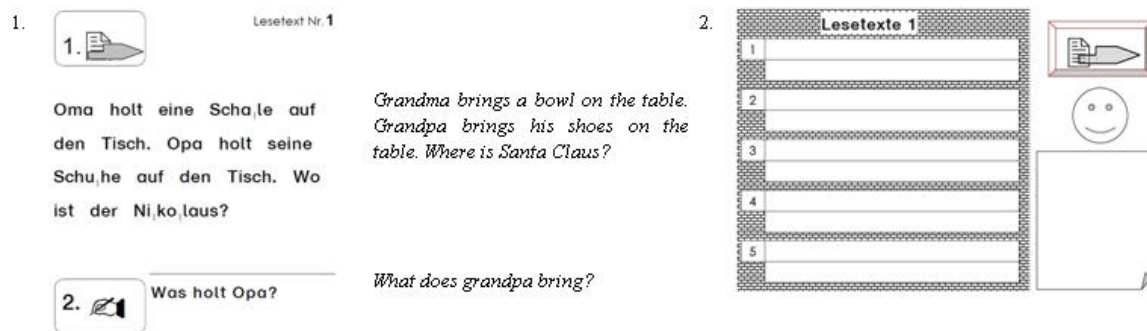
Working with the reading pass implies for each pupil a certain degree of autonomy as the assignments to be worked on are not determined by the teacher but by the pupils themselves, according to their progress and already acquired skills. Also, no time frame is set to finish a certain task, and at the end of the school year, some pupils are well-advanced in their reading pass while others are not. Whereas the reading pass approach generally allows the pupils to work without pressure and according to their own abilities, it is obvious that pupils who have not developed a consistent working attitude yet and/or have

difficulties in concentrating on their work cannot do without the teacher's guidance and supervision. Moreover, as in the writing exercises, there is a strong emphasis on the cognitive, and not on the mechanical part of reading. As has already been pointed out, the main restricting feature of the reading exercises is the complexity of the material to be dealt with, which means that the tools and techniques offered to the pupils are observably difficult to apply, regardless of theoretical feasibility. Content-wise, some of the reading exercises that rely on identifying items in pictures or reading short sentences tend to put pupils with limited German vocabulary at disadvantage, which seems to hold particularly true for pupils with German as a second language who more often than their monolingual classmates have to ask the teacher or their neighbours for the name of an item or the meaning of a word in order to perform their tasks. The fact that this sometimes significantly slows them down might be one reason for their tendentially delayed advancement regarding the reading levels.

We do not witness general instructions in the reading pass lessons. Mostly, the teacher solely announces the work with the reading passes, evidently assuming the pupils to know what they are supposed to do. Only when a new type of reading pass assignment emerges (e.g., "loupe reading", cf. Figure II.3.9), the teacher occasionally explains it to the respective pupil individually, the one-on-one situation of course being enabling and beneficial; however, she does not always explain new work steps herself, but might also order the more advanced pupils to explain new reading pass assignments to the beginners. Tendentially, this bears some restricting potential when considering that the first-graders might not be entirely capable of explaining the rather complex assignments adequately, even if they are able to carry them out correctly; thus, instead of executing a comprehensible instruction, the pupils sometimes just end up copying from each other. Moreover, when some of the new task-beginners receive the teacher's guidance and others do not, the pupils are not really treated equally, and according to our assessment, those pupils who yield the advantage are not at all, as one might expect, the ones who would need thorough instructions the most.

Reading is almost never practised as a communal exercise, only in some discourse portions, the pupils are to read aloud single words displayed on the blackboard; otherwise, reading is conducted in the form of individual work with the different kinds of material at hand, and in partner work with the "reading mothers" (see also Chapter 1.3.2.3 of this Part) outside the classroom. As in the writing exercises, minimal supervision of reading performances prevents the pupils from profiting from each other's achievements and mistakes. In the course of the school year, all pupils have to practise reading with the reading mothers during the reading pass lessons, with the pupils being taken out of the classroom individually in order to work with a reading mother in a separate room, reading aloud for 10-15 minutes from *Graf Orthos Lesetruhe* ("Lord Ortho's Reading Chest"), a collection of 24 small booklets with ascending difficulty levels, specially designed for the reading pass method. This means that individuallly reading out loud is only exercised outside the classroom, and monitored by non-professionals without competent supervision. Only the respective pupil's progress in the 24 booklets of the *Lesetruhe* is documented. From lesson

observation itself, no conclusions can be drawn regarding the individual pupils' progresses in reading texts.

In half of the LAS-witnessed lessons in total, no homework is announced, with a tendential increase of homework assignments towards the end of the school year, which indicates another acknowledgement of the transition phase from being a child to being a pupil. In case that a homework is given, it either concerns completing an already started worksheet at home, or, after reading pass lessons, the homework can consist of an entirely new sheet that was not worked on during the lesson already, but it is usually on a subject previously treated in class, i.e. an orthographical topic such as <sp>, <ng>, or the marking of sentences. These homework worksheets on orthography can be deemed adequate for independent work at home insofar as both the topic and the assignment type are usually extensively discussed in class. However, the teacher checks the homework performances very rarely; twice, a homework review by means of a communal lesson discourse is witnessed, and in the last two LAS lessons, the teacher walks around and stamps the worksheets of pupils who did the (orthography-related) homework, but without checking contents. Interestingly, besides the homework that is immediately derived from the lesson, the reading passes also contain a section for work to do at home where the parents are supposed to record the minutes of everyday reading practice, which the teacher does not check upon, either (anyway, many pupils leave their reading passes in school most of the time).

3.2.2.2.1 Treatment of different text genres in class

Different genres of written texts are almost exclusively approached by means of concrete writing assignments in the course of which the pupils are not introduced to such genres by means of original texts or other text models, but urged to create written products entirely by themselves. For example, when instructed to write a "letter" or a "diary entry", the stylistic qualities of such genres are not addressed, and no exemplary prototypes are offered, but only the specific contents of the respective assignment are discussed during the communal lesson discourse (i.e., what has to be mentioned in a letter/ a diary entry). Even when, in the very beginning of the school year, the task is to write a list of thematically related things, the technical aspects of a "list" are not elaborated; in fact, the pupils are not even explicitly told to write a "list". Since the different text genres are not addressed formally in terms of structure and composition, seemingly complex assignments can be reduced to simple tasks; for example, when told to write a letter, some pupils just name the items discussed in the lesson, whereas others try to write complete sentences. The accordance with the required text genre does not play a role; of course, as the skills of writing beginners are limited, no great demands can be made concerning the composition of the different text genres, and most of the school year, it is up to the pupils whether they write complete sentences or merely unconnected words. Independent of the respective label the respective assignment trades under, the most common actual task, particularly in the second term, is the picture description. The prevalent use of the picture description proves to be a quite reliable method to generate output, but it is also prone to produce highly contextualised text products such as <Da ist ein Fisch> 'There is a fish'. Thus, although several text genres are

mentioned in the course of the school year, they have no specific enabling consequences in terms of literacy acquisition (see also Section 3.2.3.4 below).

3.2.2.2.2 Use of original texts

Apart from material specially designed for teaching, e.g. the reading pass, the Pikus story (a picture story to write picture descriptions about), three original texts are treated in the course of the school year, the first one being "Die kleine Raupe Nimmersatt" (*The Very Hungry Caterpillar*), a famous picture book by Eric Carle (USA, 1969) that the teacher uses for instruction in October. This picture book tells the story of a caterpillar that slashes itself a way through a number of groceries like salami, watermelon and ice cream before it finally pupates and emerges as a butterfly. Originally, the story is supposed to teach counting to five and the names of the days of the week; it is recommended for children older than three years. Here, the caterpillar story is used for different purposes: In the first lesson on this topic, the teacher writes different words on the blackboard, which the pupils are to read in chorus, in order to decide if this might be something the caterpillar actually eats. After that, she connects the story of the caterpillar with a writing assignment where the pupils have to name food the caterpillar might eat. In the second witnessed lesson on the topic, the pupils are supposed to re-narrate the story at first (which indicates that the teacher read the story to the pupils in a previous lesson), after which the teacher initiates a game on its basis, and finally invites the pupils to list other items the caterpillar could eat. Thus, this original text is not worked on in a narrow sense, but used as a contextual background for writing assignments. Note here that towards the end of the school year, seven months later, the topic caterpillar/ butterfly is addressed again, but this time in the form of an instructional teaching unit on the topic itself.

The second original text used in December is "Paprika", a traditional Hungarian story, retold by Gidon Horowitz (Germany, 2000), about a farmer who puts hot paprika in his donkey's bottom to make it run faster. The teacher reads this story in a non-topical, recreational lesson section and does not elaborate on it very long; she then asks the pupils if they can imagine a possible ending for it. Since this story is not part of the topical lesson design, its foremost purpose is to entertain; it does not contain any moral and can hardly be said to be educational.

The third original book does not contain a text, but is a picture story, "Mein Schneemann" (*The Snowman*) by Raymond Briggs (UK, 1978), a very popular children's book that wordlessly tells the story of a boy who builds a snowman that comes to life at night and takes the boy with him on a magical journey; it is recommended for children not older than five (probably because it contains no text). The first task related to this book is to encircle orthographical peculiarities on the blackboard in previously collected words that could be useful for writing this story down. The teacher lets the pupils re-narrate the first part of the story, which they already know from an earlier lesson, and describe what happens next with the aid of the pictures. As for the writing assignment, the pupils can choose between a mere picture description, or writing an ending for this story.

In sum, one can say that the teacher mainly uses the originals as an input for numerous different tasks, not only in order to create free text products, but also with regard to

orthography. According to our observations, original texts suitable for first-graders are not being used, so the pupils do not come into contact with original written language and literate structures, or different text genres, during the German lessons.

3.2.2.2.3 Work on orthography

Work on specific language or grammar issues is never witnessed during the school year; orthography, on the contrary, is made an explicit topic from the end of February on when the teacher announces that the pupils will henceforth learn to 'write like grown-ups', or in the 'way they have seen in books'. By starting to work with orthographical rules seven months into the school year, the original method of "write as you hear" is explicitly extended towards certain standards concerning writing, and the pupils are successively made familiar with the fact that one has to obey these rules, especially in school. This has a considerable impact on the actual lesson design since from March on, no free writing assignments occur anymore; the pupils only fill out predefined worksheets. While this must be deemed a major change in teaching methods as far as writing is concerned, the pupils, as far as we observe it, adapt to it without any question, doubt, or complaint.

The worksheets on orthography usually contain diverse assignment types such as encircling letters, naming depicted items, drawing syllable bows, matching pictures and words, or identifying hidden words in a "letter salad". As the seasonally sorted workbooks (winter, spring), the worksheets are explicitly child-oriented, containing a great amount of pictures and/ or pictograms for an easier understanding. The actually witnessed work on orthography includes writings of common German grapheme combinations, such as <sch> for [ʃ], <pf> for [f], <sp> instead of <schp> for [ʃp] and <ng> for [ŋ]. Also, the teacher frequently mentions the marking of a sentence by upper case and a full stop, and the marking of words by spaces. Gathering from the pupils' notebooks, also the following aspects of orthography are explicitly trained: <ei> for [aɪ], <k> for [k] and [kʰ], <ch> for both [x] and [ç], <h>, <o> for [oː] and [ɔ], <el> for [əl] and [l] as well as <er> for [ɐ]. The work on orthography mainly consists of identifying words with the corresponding grapheme on a work sheet and encircling it, or compiling words with the very grapheme during a communal lesson discourse and afterwards copying them from blackboard.

All these orthographical particularities do, of course, correspond to the pupils' actual problematic areas as they are all still at the beginning of orthography acquisition, but actually, the main areas where mistakes occur are hardly touched upon. These areas are, on the one hand, the marking of the reduced syllable by <e> in (especially closed) syllables such as in <Nagel> ['naː.gəl] *nail* or <reiten> ['ʁaɪ.tən] *to ride* or in syllables with [ɐ] like in <Mutter> ['mʊtɐ] *mother*. On the other hand, special markings such as lengthening of vowels (<Biene> ['biː.nə] *bee*) or the so-called sharpening in syllables with a tight connection (<Betten> ['bɛ↲tən] *beds*) pose a problem.

Particularly at the beginning of the first term, the class deals with syllables, with the pupils clapping with their hands the number of syllables they hear in a word, or painting bows under syllables of written words as in <Hüf.te> *hip*. This approach is apparently supposed

to sensitise the pupils for the syllables and to facilitate the identification of the number of vowels for them. But it has also some negative effects, such as wrong pronunciation that is oriented at the written word (*['hʏt.tɛ] instead of ['hʏ�も.tə] because of Hü̲tt̲e̲ *hut*), and misspellings (*<Se̲iff̲e̲> *soap* because of *['zaɪf.fɛ]). Also, this approach conceals the main prosodic differences concerning the German syllable, i.e. the distinction between stressed and reduced syllable, by attributing the same stress to both. Therefore, it is generally not without risk to encourage the pupils to cope with orthographical difficulties on the basis of syllable type distinction.

Especially in lessons where orthography is in the centre of attention, the teacher regularly uses pronunciation based on the word's orthography (*Pilotsprache*), often mixing up the letter's name with a sound. For example, in one of the lessons in which the letter combination <ng> is thematised, the teacher refers to it as either [ɛn ge:] or [n:gə]. Aside from the fact that using these two terms might cause confusion, both of them represent the names of the letters and not the actual sound of it, [ŋ]. The problem is that this sound can be found in every word named by the pupils, even in those that are labelled as wrong, e.g. *sinken* ['zɪŋ.kən] 'to sink' or *Bank* ['baŋk] 'bench', the difficulty with these words being that the sound [ŋ] is solely represented by the character <n>. Therefore, the teacher's explanation that in the word *Bank* a [k] is audible at the end while they were looking for words with [g] at the end is indeed unfitting, as in the correct word *Zeitung* ['tsaɪ.tʊŋ] 'newspaper' no [g] is audible, either. As the actual sound of the letter combination <ng> is not suffieciently pointed out, also reading mistakes like the following occur: The word <klingeln> 'to ring' is read [kli:nge:ln] instead of ['klɪŋəln].

When the teacher asks the pupils to read a word from the blackboard, she writes it one letter at a time, an approach that turns out to complicate the reading process and produces wrong pronunciation without the typical prosodic contour of German words; for example, <Winter> 'winter' is wrongly read as ['vi:n.te:ʁ] instead of ['vɪn.tɐ], and when writing the word <Sterne> 'stars', the teacher herself pronounces it as ['ʃte:ʁ.ne:] whereas the correct way would be ['ʃtɛɐ.nə], stating afterwards that the <r> would be audible if one would pronounce this word clearly. This letter approach refers to words as a chain of letters and ignores the prosodic structure of stressed and reduced syllables that is typical for most German words, and also, different pronunciations of the letter <e> as [e], [ɛ] or [ə] according to the syllable structure is not touched upon. Syllables are only addressed when the teacher introduces syllable bows as discussed above, but also here, no positive effect on reading is visible as this approach does not differentiate between stress relations. All these examples show a lack of phonologic awareness which is thus not conveyed to the pupils.

However, LAS orthography analysis reveals that at the end of the school year, all case pupils have acquired basic orthographic skills. Still, it is peculiar that compared to the nation-wide standard of the *Hamburger Schreibprobe* (HSP), "Hamburg writing sample", a few of the LAS first-graders perform below average, but none of them scores results above average, which originally would be expectable in a randomly compiled group of pupils.

Without overanalysing this finding, one might at least consider that the method-mix of literacy acquisition does not stimulate extremely good performances.

3.2.3 Teaching strategies

3.2.3.1 Time management

In the first semester, the schedule itself is addressed as an initial routine every day in the class by means of magnetic subject cards, and it is not simply announced by the teacher, but produced in the course of a collective act, assumingly in order to generate a mutual sense of dedication and communitisation: The teacher hands the respective subject card to a selected pupil who hangs it on the subject board and names the subject depicted and written on the card. Since no lesson durations are indicated (it only consists of the different subjects and other activities of the day), it rather serves as rough orientation than as an obligatory timetable, particularly because it does not correlate "time" with "content" (e.g., "recess" and "breakfast" have the same "status" as the subjects, see Fig. II.3.10). The meaning of the schedule is therefore rather symbolic, and probably supposed to acquaint the pupils with the general idea, taking into account the transitional quality of their schooling situation.

Fig. II.3.10. 1st grade: Subject board with cards for the subjects math, German, and for recess and breakfast break

However, since the practice suggests that the schedule is decided by the teacher on a day-by-day basis, it situationally equips her with a kind of absolute power over the composition of the school day.

Organisational time is not framed by neutral markers (school bell), leading to a latent uncertainty regarding the lesson beginning on the pupils' as well as on the teacher's side, with no broader concept of punctuality being implemented. Thus, the lesson, although physically located within the organisation of the school, is only remotely subjected to a general time frame, abandoning the universal synchronicity of lesson time vs. non-lesson time in the setting of the school. This hints at a primary school-specific appreciation of "time" as being negotiable according to a single class's needs (see 1.3.1), giving the

teachers a greater freedom of creating the school day; theoretically, this would disclose enabling potential if the teachers' timing was indeed framed according to the participants' needs, but one has to take into account that it might make it harder on teachers to structure the school day efficiently. In our case, for example, as far as the lesson start is concerned, the time lapsing away between the teacher entering the classroom and claiming undivided attention depends on how long she needs to organise the material and to respond to approaching pupils; when she herself is finally ready to begin, she has no organisational ("official") support to claim the pupils' attention, but has to rely on their perception of being perceived as "the class", which always takes a considerable additional amount of time. Concerning lesson closures, although the average German lesson here is only about 40 minutes long, which is five minutes less than the regular school hour, teaching units at hand are often aborted instead of formally closed. Autonomous time management thus means that the teacher is almost compelled[102] to interpret the participants' needs anew everyday and in every singular situation, which, of course, makes it much harder to establish a valid time structure that everyone hast to stick to.

The lesson itself is roughly structured by a recurrent pattern of initial routines and topical work, whereas the topical parts of the lesson are often mixed with non-topical portions. Here, "initial routines" are defined as everything that routinely happens in the beginning of the lesson before the teacher addresses the respective thematic (topical) teaching unit, e.g. establishing quiet and order, greeting, singing songs, addressing organisational matters, and defining date and schedule (see above). Figure II.3.11 shows that in the course of the school year, the lesson time used for initial routines is rather diminishing in total, but not consequently, for the duration not least depends on how long the teacher needs to calm the class down, and whether or not and to what extent organisational matters are being addressed.

Fig. II.3.11. 1ˢᵗ grade: Lesson time used on initial routines, in the school year 2007/ 2008

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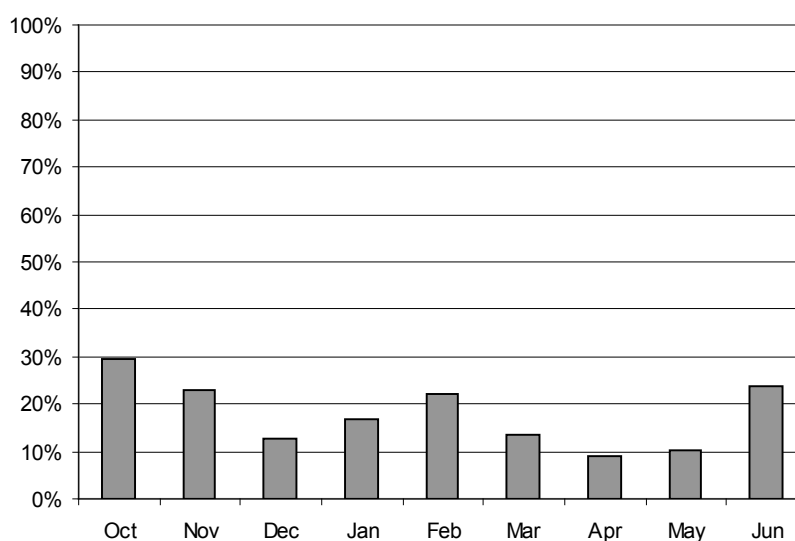
[102] I.e., the very requirement of autonomous time management implies that time *has* to be managed autonomously and thus dependent on situational and individual criteria.

The drop in initial routines after February is mainly due to the fact that two components, "defining date" and "defining schedule", do not occur anymore from March on. Interestingly, both components do not develop in terms of content or complexity as long as they are addressed. We do not observe if and how the teacher announces that "defining date" and "defining schedule" will be aborted, but it is conspicuous that both are never mentioned again, underlining the impression that their meaning was indeed only ritual in the first place. The new rise of initial routines in June is mostly caused by the introduction of a new initial routine, "checking homework", with the teacher walking around the room and looking into the pupils' folders, which takes up considerable time.

Generally, however, there is a gradual decline of non-topical lesson parts to the benefit of topical ones, but as displayed in Figure II.3.12, non-topical lesson portions still take up a third of the actual lesson time at the end of the school year, in May and June.

Fig. II.3.12. 1st grade: Non-topical vs. topical use of lesson time in the school year 2007/ 2008
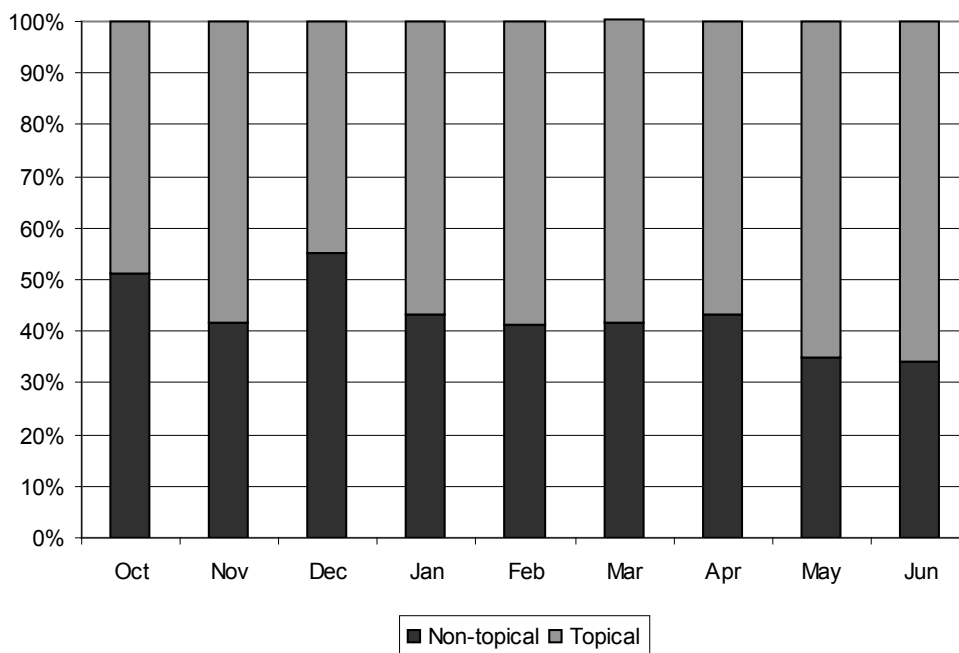
As one can see in Figure II.3.11 in comparison to Figure II.3.12, non-topical lesson portions do not solely come about by means of the initial routines. A long-term result of the situation-dependent time management is the emergence of lesson vacuums, i.e. intervals in which there is no explicit objective in terms of what do to and how to do it, mostly occurring during passages of tidying-up and material preparation. Passages of tidying-up often occur more than once during a lesson and can take up to six minutes since each pupil is allowed to proceed in their own pace, and after a certain time has passed, the teacher starts to address single pupils regarding their tidying-up performance. Note here that "tidying-up" can mean as little as putting a single folder in the bag, so the pupils would actually not need more than a few seconds to clear their tables, but there is no rule established that they have to do it quickly and quietly (see below), and accordingly, such a rule is not being practised and rehearsed. Thus, very early in the school year, the pupils start to interpret the command to tidy up as a signal to chatter, leave their seats, approach the

teacher or do something totally different, like eating, playing with toys, scribbling, and the like. This works because the teacher rarely supervises the procedure, but responds to the pupils approaching her or gets busy with her own things. Preparing material creates lesson vacuums for the same reasons, i.e. the pupils are not expected to do it quickly and quietly, and the teacher mostly does not monitor the process, which the pupils learn early, acting accordingly. Until the end of the school year, they are strongly relying on the one-on-one contact with the teacher, and many are not likely to obey lesson requirements without being personally addressed. The preparation of material mainly precedes an individual assignment, and mostly these are not two different orders, but formulated as one ("take out your material and start to work"), with the effect that not two pupils start to work at the same time, and some even manage not to work at all during the whole exercise. Consequently, after some time has passed with the teacher responding to approaching pupils and being busy with her own agenda, she often inserts some kind of reassuring instruction in order to remind the pupils of what they are actually supposed to do. Only this is the point in time when everyone is expected to do the same, which can be up to ten minutes into the assignment (i.e., after the first pupils started with the exercise). Lesson vacuums are a characteristic feature of the first-grade German lesson, and they gain their restricting quality mainly by the fact that the pupils have difficulties to recover from them and to refocus on their pupil's role after this kind of time-out; in the aftermath, more often than not, individual exercises are treated by the pupils as not compelling.

While the time spent on non-topical issues decreases in the course of the school year, there are also developments within the branch of topical units; as is displayed in Figure II.3.13, lesson discourses are tendentially expanded in the progress, whereas the time used for instructions and individual work varies, depending on the respective topic (e.g., lessons dedicated to reading contain much less instruction and often more individual working time than writing lessons).

Fig. II.3.13. 1st grade: Time spent on different aspects of topical work, compared to non-topical lesson time, in the school year 2007/ 2008
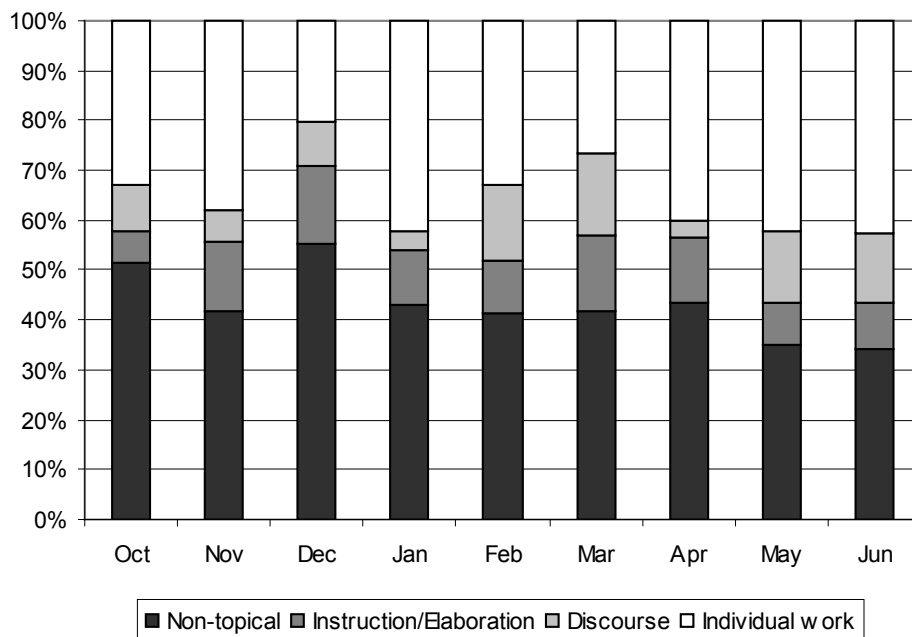
Generally, the greatest amount of topical time is spent on individual work. But the time provided for individual work regularly exceeds the time that is actually used for individual work (by the individual pupils) by more than sixty percent on average, so the time available for individual work is not nearly exploited by the pupils, which is another problematic feature of the time management that remains unaltered throughout the school year. Figure II.3.14 displays the percentage of assigned working time that is indeed used for individual work by the case pupils (see also Section 3.2.4.2 below).

Fig. II.3.14. 1st grade: Average ratio of individual working time spent on reading/ writing assignments (all case pupils), in the school year 2007/ 2008 ("Ave" = Average).
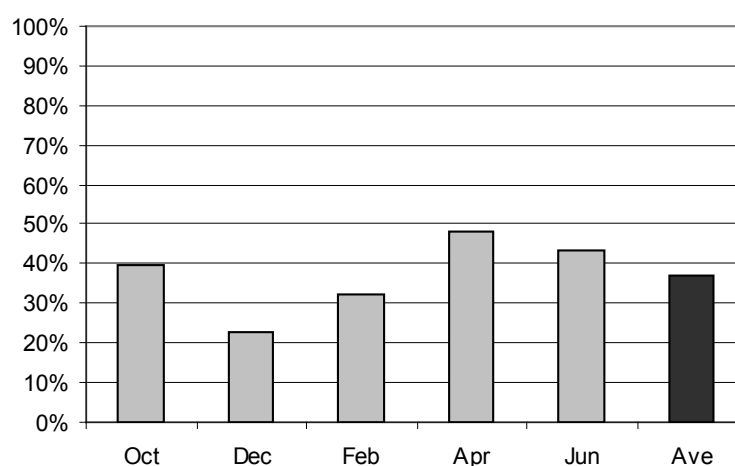
As far as writing assignments go, they are often combined with painting tasks for those pupils who are finished, but since for the major part of the school year, there is no definition of what constitutes being finished, individual time spent on actual writing varies significantly from case pupil to case pupil (see Section 3.2.4.2 below). Reading assignments do not contain such leisure parts. The general unobservedness of performance behaviour as well as of achievements allows for the continuance of overlong assignment durations.

3.2.3.2 Implementation and enforcement of rules

Social rules have already been established when field research starts, and are illustrated by means of "signs" on the wall, consisting of a written order and a matching photo with pupils of the class (the photos probably serving as a mnemonic, for the pupils cannot read the writing initially). However, the only sign that is ever, but seldom, referred to during the witnessed lessons is the one "if we want to say something, we raise a hand"[103] (the respective photo showing two of the pupils raising a hand); all other rules, being an issue or not, are not referred to by means of the signs. Therefore, although obviously quite an effort was made to make the signs, they do not play a role when it comes to rule enforcement during classroom interaction.

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[103] "Wenn wir etwas sagen wollen, dann melden wir uns."

The most frequently used regulatory devices to establish quiet and order are the sound bowl, the silence gesture, and the command *Eiszapfenzeit* ("icicle time"), their occurrence in the course of the school year displayed in Figure II.3.15.

Fig. II.3.15. 1ˢᵗ grade: Usage of regulatory devices to establish quiet and order per lesson, in the school year 2007/ 2008 (average absolute occurrences)
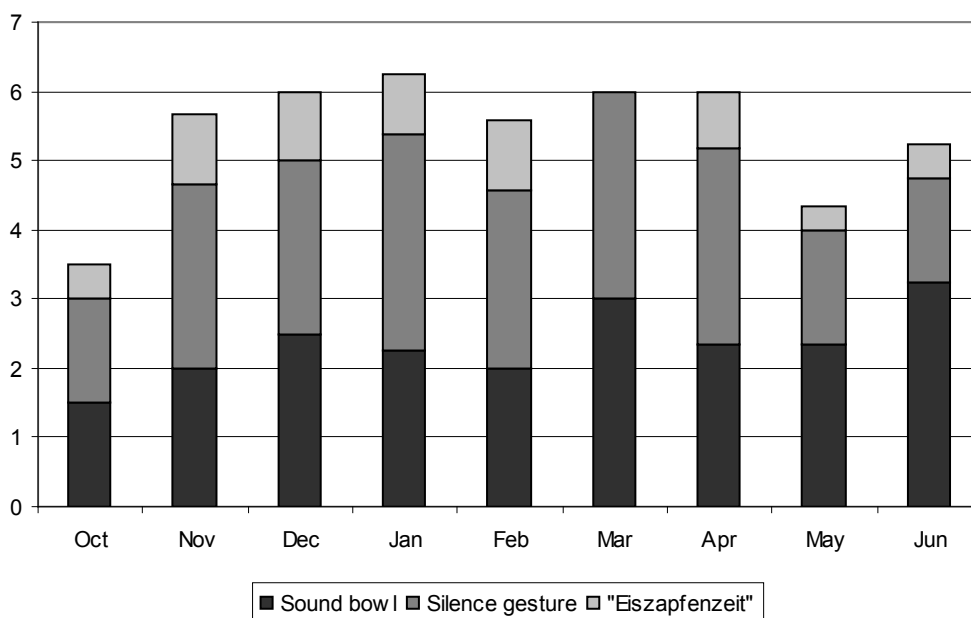
The command "icicle time", solely used during individual assignments, means that the pupils are supposed to interrupt their work and listen to the teacher (i.e., to "freeze" in their momentary activity). Of course, the very existence of such a command implies that it is routinely expected that individual work has to be interrupted, and interestingly, this mostly happens in order to remind the pupils of either the instructions for the assignment they are working on, or the rules of individual work. It it thus a foregone conclusion that the pupils will need such reminders, and that they cannot be expected to temporally interrupt their work without a specific (but playfully presented) rule of conduct. According to our observations, only few pupils take "icicle time" seriously in the sense that they actually "freeze", visibly enjoying it as a game, while those who are focused on their work hardly ever even look up, and those who are not often have to be admonished individually before focusing on the teacher. As for the silence gesture[104], which often accompanies the sound of the bowl, but is also used as an independent device, the pupils are originally supposed to imitate the teacher whenever she makes this gesture, but they are neither obeying this rule sustainably, nor are they regularly demanded to do so. As it is observable for "icicle time" and the sound bowl, this being the other regulatory device used frequently, the symbolic meaning of the silence gesture usually has to be verbalised in order to be obeyed.

In sum, quiet and order as the major objectives of homogenisation and communitisation are attempted to be mutually established by means of non-verbal physical alignment, with the teacher assuming a focused body posture that the pupils are meant to imitate; originally,

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[104] A hand gesture depicting "cocked ears" and "closed mouth", usually used standing up with a raised arm.

discipline is seemingly thought to be a co-production of the participants rather than pushed through by the teacher alone, hinting at a pedagogic philosophy of voluntariness and communality, with the pupils having an active part in the procedure rather then being passive recipients of orders. However, in practise, this kind of mutual attunement almost never works smoothly and immediately, but regularly fails to succeed without additional rebukes and corrections, and tendentially takes longer in the course of the school year. That it works slightly better in the beginning of the school year might be due to the fact that it is a new, playful, and even challenging experience; as this experience must be gradually worn out, and is not supplanted by something else, "play" simply never becomes "serious".

Individual rebukes are not limited to lesson portions of establishing quiet and order; the average number of behaviour-correcting rebukes per lesson is 24, which statistically would mean that almost every pupil is rebuked once per lesson, but naturally, there are pupils who are much more often socially corrected than others. Still, the total numbers appear to be rather high, especially when considering that they are not going remarkably down in the course of the school year, as one would expect when considering transition phases. Comparing social with factual corrections, as shown in Figure II.3.16, one can see that the correction of factual mistakes carries slightly more weight only in the last two months of the school year, which coincides with the lessons leaning more towards topical units in May and June.

Fig. II.3.16. 1ˢᵗ grade: Ratio of factual vs. social correctional action, in the school year 2007/ 2008 ("Ave" = Average)
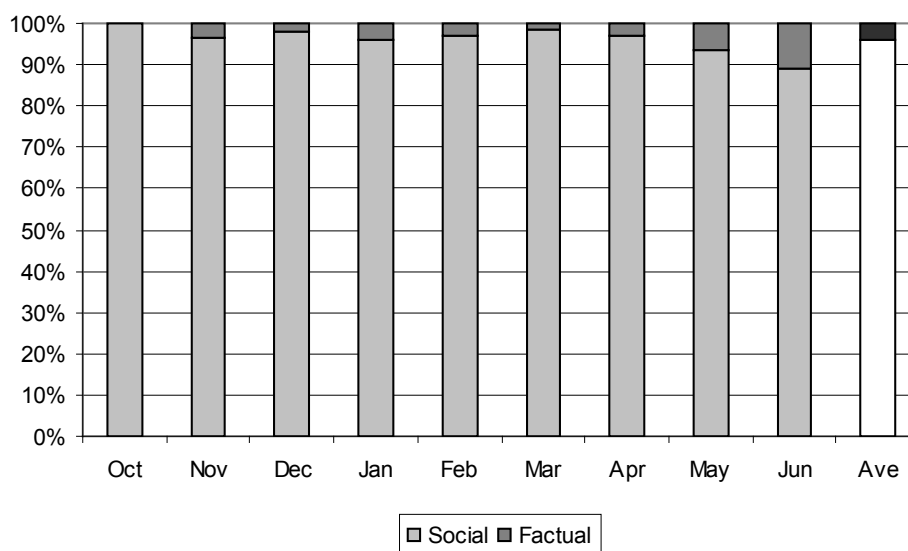
Moreover, as opposed to the first seven months, in May and June, there are a few class exercises operating explicitly along the lines of "right and wrong", which makes factual mistakes, and thus correction, more likely.

Still, discipline remains the main issue in the class, the major "objective" obstacles being lesson vacuums from which the pupils have difficulties to recover, and individual work units that are often noisy and disorderly due to subordinate interactions and broad commotion in the room, mainly because the pupils approach the teacher frequently and are

prone to make "social visits" on their way there and back. It seems obvious that this must entail noise and disorder, so in a way, one can say that the teacher creates the discipline problem herself when frequently admonishing behaviours that basically "come with the territory" of a deliberate lack of supervision. On the other hand, social coexistence works smoothly, and there are very few serious fights or problems amongst the children.

The teacher tries out several strategies of rule enforcement, none of which sticks throughout the school year. Basically, there are four rebuking strategies at hand: non-verbal gestures addressing a pupil; naming a pupil's name and thereby calling them to attention; addressing an individual pupil and pointing to the misbehaviour displayed; and addressing an individual pupil and threatening punishment, with or without mentioning the respective misbehaviour. Often, rebukes appeal to the pupils' understanding and reason, are accompanied by explanations as to why one is rebuked, and are subsequently defused. A pupil who has been rebuked before is likely to be compensated later by being given a special assignment or called on often to contribute (note that this concerns rather girls than boys). Generally, the teacher is quite implicit when formulating rebukes, particularly when simply naming the respective pupil, but not elaborating on the misbehaviour.

```
(2)    *TEA:  pia .
       %com: PIA clowns around with RAF
       *TEA:  hast gestern schon gestört .
       %eng:  you disturbed already yesterday.
       (I_08_02_14_SQ: 0/3)
```

In Example (2), the teacher neither names PIA's current misbehaviour, nor does she tell her to stop it, and is only referring to the fact that PIA already misbehaved yesterday, which could either mean that PIA breached the same rule the day before, or that she is not supposed to misbehave today because she already did so yesterday. This way, the teacher refers to already known rules and indicates that the pupils are expected to be familiar with them; the pupils have to recognise on their own what the rebuke is about, and to correct their behaviour accordingly. Another very implicit verbalisation of a rebuke is the teacher saying "one" to the misbehaving pupil, holding up a finger:

```
(3)    *LOU:  der bobby wohnt doch xxx .
       %eng:  but bobby lives xxx.
       %com: heckles
       *TEA:  louis, /eins .
       %eng:  louis, one.
       *TEA:  du fängst schon /wieder von vorne an .
       %eng:  you're starting all over again.
       (I_08_02_14_SQ: 1/2)
```

This is similar to boxing when the referee starts giving the boxer on the floor the count, but what this kind of rebuke in Example (3) refers to and what its consequence might be has not been witnessed at any time, as the teacher never happens to count to more than "two", with "two" having no consequences. However, "you're starting all over again" implies that after a certain number of this kind of "warning", something happens (possibly a punishment of some sort, see below), and afterwards, the counting begins anew. Another observation is

that when admonishing a pupil, the teacher's prosody and tone are usually not strict or pervasive, but rather friendly, calm, and playful:

    (4)   *TEA: konstandin, weißt du, was mir auffällt ?
              %eng: konstandin, do you know what I've noticed?
              *TEA: grade war das zeichen, ne@i .
              %eng: we just had the sign, right?
              %com: makes silence gesture
              *TEA: und dann fangen wir an zu singen, ne@i .
              %eng: and then we start singing, right?
              *TEA: und dann fängst du an, blödsinn zu machen mit dem kevin .
              %eng: and then you start to clown around with kevin.
              *TEA: hm@i ? das muss doch nicht sein .
              %eng: hm? you don't have to do that.
              (I_08_02_14_SQ: 0/2)

In Example (4), the teacher not only chooses a very implicit way to show KON$^{\male BIL}$ his fault, but she is basically retelling the whole incident as if addressing an intellectually challenged person who would not be able to understand the correction otherwise, explaining step by step what was expected of KON and where he failed to meet these expectations, with the last part of her utterance only being mumbled making the correction lose its emphasis; the very friendly character of the rebuke is further underlined by its prosody. Also when addressing the whole class, the teacher never shouts or yells. On the contrary, if the class is loud, she rather lowers her voice down to whispering, possibly in order to force the pupils to calm down in order to hear her – again, a very implicit and almost defensive way of responding to misbehaviour.

Only very rarely, a punishment is carried out, while mostly, the teacher leaves it at giving out warnings. Interestingly, most of the witnessed punishments are not announced explicitly before being effected, so the teacher not seldom threatens punishment without executing it, and executes it without threatening it. Possible punishments are: sitting on the "time-out chair" (a chair that is standing in a corner in front of the teacher's desk), which is witnessed only once; writing penal sentences, which is witnessed in only one lesson, but here, almost half of the class is punished; being sent out of the room, which only happens when a pupil is severely distracting others during individual work assignments, and always with the argument that it is for the respective pupil's own good (witnessed several times, cf. Example (5)); and not letting pupils participate in special events (witnessed twice, cf. Example (6)).

    (5)   *TEA: julia .
              *TEA: nimm mal deine sachen .
              %eng: take your things.
              *TEA: und geh bitte mal nach draußen .
              %eng: and go outside please.
              *TEA: du kannst dich besser draußen konzentrieren .
              %eng: you can better concentrate outside.
              (I_07_11_22_SQ: 2/8)

    (6)   *TEA: osman, wenn du so weitermachst .
               %eng: osman, if you go on like this.
              *TEA: wirst du heute als letztes plätzchen backen gehen .
              %eng: you will be the last one to go baking cookies today.
              *TEA: wenn du nur störst .
              %eng: if you only disturb.
              (I_07_12_13_SQ: 1/18)

Actual punishment occurs rarely and not always understandably regarding who is punished and who is not. Although the basic social rules of the classroom are quite plausible and clear and therefore assumingly easy to follow, the consequences of rule violation are remarkably obscure and arbitrary, and the pupils more often get away with it than not, particularly due to the deliberate lack of supervision during lesson vacuums and individual writing time (see above). According to the teacher's assumed philosophy of voluntariness, she leaves the pupils a lot of room to listen to reason and to adapt to the rules in a self-induced process of understanding, but she also appears to label some of the boys incapable of reason, as seems to be the case with OSM[BIL], LUT[MON], LOU[MON], and BAS[MON], whom the teacher gradually stops appealing to, rebuking and punishing them comparatively often.

3.2.3.3 Motivational strategies

In the first semester, systematic motivational strategies are basically directed at triggering the pupils' interest by means of child-oriented incentives (e.g., use of motivational and illustrative artefacts (see above), telling stories, playing games, singing songs), whereas towards the end of the school year, these incentives decrease, and the teacher turns more and more to rather ordering the pupils what to do without trying to extra-trigger their interest. A specific form of motivation is the momentary contextualising of rules and tasks, with the pupils often being given an "extra" reason why to do something in that particular moment, which might be seen as yet another way to disguise the actual power structures at hand in terms of avoiding "authoritative rule". For example, when working with the picture story of "Pikus" the penguin, the pupils are told that Pikus cannot write and that they have to "help" him to remember his adventures by writing them down for him. As for enabling and restricting potentials of this strategy, we have no evidence that the pupils are more motivated to pursue an assignment when given an "extra" reason than they are when this is not the case.

Generally, there is no grading in Germany in the first two school years, so achievement for the sake of good grades is not a motivational option. A meritocratic notion is implemented by rewarding "Oskar points" (these are given especially for good working behaviour); Oskar points are noted down for each pupil individually, and also for the group tables, whereas bad behaviour can be punished with the withdrawal of points (which is only witnessed as a threat, not as an actual punishment). The pupil with the most Oskar points at the time is occasionally rewarded by being allowed to take the Oskar puppet home for one day; other consequences of the Oskar points were not observed. Another form of "assessment" takes place when special, supposedly pleasurable events are used as leverage to "work good" (e.g., LAS tests, baking at Christmas, working with the reading mothers), with participation in the event being the reward. The reading pass is the closest one comes to a meritocratic evaluation of achievements, giving the pupils an idea of what is expected of them and of what it means to accomplish something when they are promoted to higher levels of the reading pass hierarchy. But mainly, the emphasis is on social performance, not on factual performance as the ratio of social versus factual correction already showed (cf. 3.2.3.2). With the teacher's strategy to mobilise the pupils momentarily and to avoid the notion of grading or competition, the pupils have more time to learn that school is not

always about their individual likings, pointing at the prolonged transition phase. The pupils are only subtly introduced to the idea of achievement and thus not getting under observable stress or pressure, but the lack of assessment might also lead to uncertainties regarding concrete expectations.

3.2.3.4 Discourse strategies

The teacher is the one orchestrating the discourse, but she frequently allows the pupils to call on other pupils (based on the rule that girls call on boys and vice versa). This way, she suggests a less authoritative discourse management than is actually at hand since pupils calling up pupils is a solely mechanical procedure that does not lead to discussions amongst the pupils themselves, particularly because they depend on the teacher's approval of their contributions, and on her guiding questions and particularisations. Albeit another playful approach to school education, pupils calling on pupils mainly results in discourse delay (for the pupils tend to need considerable time to decide who to call on), and in complaints about unfair treatment since there is a high probability that the rather popular pupils are called on by their classmates. Often, the pupils do not listen to the contributions of other pupils, which is evident from numerous repetitions or even wrong answers, but still, it becomes visible in the text products that to some extent, the pupils actually do follow the lesson discourse as some utterances expressed in the lesson later occur in the pupils' written texts (compare the transcript excerpt in Example (7) on a picture description with the corresponding lesson text products of case pupils in Figures II.3.17-19).

(7)	*TEA:	kommste mal nach vorne .
	%eng:	would ya come to the front.
	%com:	LOU stands up, approaches overhead projector
	*TEA:	zeig mal hier drauf . zeig mal den wal .
	%eng:	show it on here. show the whale.
	%com:	points at transparency
	*LOU:	hm@i das ist der wal .
	%eng:	hm that ist he whale.
	%com:	points at whale in transparency
	*TEA:	genau .
	%eng:	right.
	*LOU:	und ähm@i # da ist das ist der tintenfisch .
	%eng:	and uhm this here is the squid.
	%com:	points at squid in transparency
	*TEA:	okay .
	[...]	
	*TEA:	du darfst ein mädchen drannehmen louis .
	%eng:	you may call on a girl louis.
	[...]	
	*LOU:	eva .
	%com:	goes back to his seat, EVA approaches overhead projector, it is noisy
	[...]	
	*EVA:	da ist der pikus .
	%eng:	there is pikus.
	%com:	points at penguin in transparency
	[...]	
	*EVA:	und da ist noch n seestern .
	%eng:	and there is also a starfish.
	%com:	points at starfish in transparency
	[...]	
	*TEA:	was könnte das für ein tier sein .
	%eng:	what kind of animal could this be.

Fig. II.3.17. Text product SON♀MON: "Pikus Wal Schildkröte Seestern Pinguin Fisch Eisscholle Krebs, Wasser Iglu"/ Pikus whale turtle starfish penguin fish ice floe crab water igloo

Fig. II.3.18. Text product OSM♂BIL: "Ein Wal entdeckt ein Wal und Tintenfisch"/ a whale discovered a whale and squid

```
%com:  points at turtle in transparency
[...]
*TEA:   francesca .
%com:  with raised hand
*FRA:   schildkröte .
%eng:  turtle.
*TEA:   genau eine meeresschildkröte genau .
%eng:  right a sea turtle right.
[...]
*TEA:   andreas .
%com:  with raised hand; EVA goes back to her seat,
        AND approaches overhead projector
*AND:   da ist ein krebs .
%eng:  there is a crab.
%com:  points at crab in transparency
*TEA:   genau kuck mal der krebs .
%eng:  right look at the crab.
(I_08_02_14_SQ: 1/6)
```

Fig. II.3.19. Text product AND[∂MON]: "Pinguin Pikus sieht ein Wal und ein Schildkröte in Wasser"/ penguin Pikus sees a whale and a turtle in the water
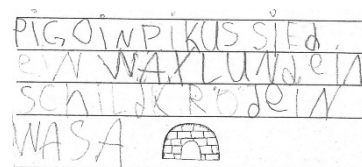
The following lesson discourse types have been witnessed during the school year: collecting contributions, elaboration by the teacher, instructions, questioning and answering, and whole-class exercises that are mostly units where the whole class reads loudly along what the teacher writes on blackboard, or where the class plays an educational game. Figure II.3.20 displays the lessons' discourse compositions in the course of the year by means of the different lesson discourse types.

Figure II.3.20. 1st grade: Composition of lesson discourses, in the school year 2007/ 2008
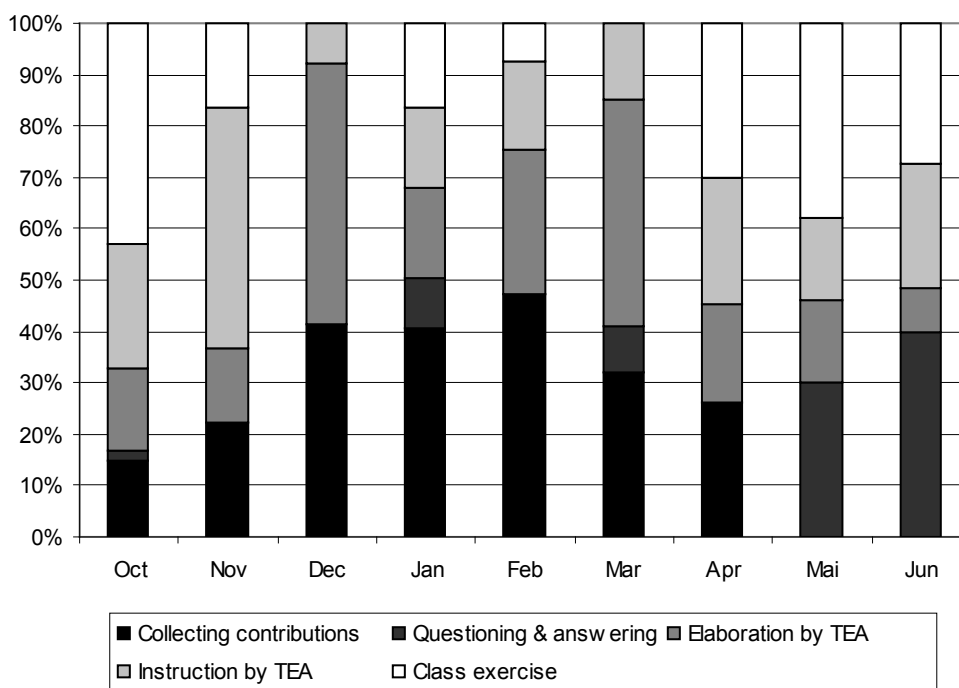
The development of a topic is conducted by communal work, while elaborative parts with the teacher explaining certain topics are inserted into sections of collecting contributions, or questioning and answering. These explanations are sometimes of repetitive character, bridging the time until pupils raise their hands, or elaborations of an initial formulation, explicating the task. Instructions mostly concern the conduction of a task at hand and technical aspects of assignments, and are separated from discourse portions where the

pupils are actively participating. Elaborations and instructions are present in every observed lesson in the course of the school year, without any obvious development concerning the amount of time spent on these lesson discourse types. With the increase of work on orthography towards the end of the second term, also the initially quite dominant collecting of contributions is more and more replaced by questioning and answering sequences and class exercises. This is naturally due to the topic of these lessons as there is only one correct way to write a certain word; therefore, no broad collecting of contributions is needed, and also class exercises are perfectly applicable for orthographical topics. Generally, with the lessons becoming more topical, the complexity of the treated topics increases as well as the time dedicated to their elaboration. As one can see in Figure II.3.21, more complexity also leads to an increasing imbalance between speech ratios of the teacher and the pupils respectively.

Fig. II.3.21. 1st grade: Ratio of speech portions, teacher and pupils, in lesson discourses, in the school year 2007/ 2008
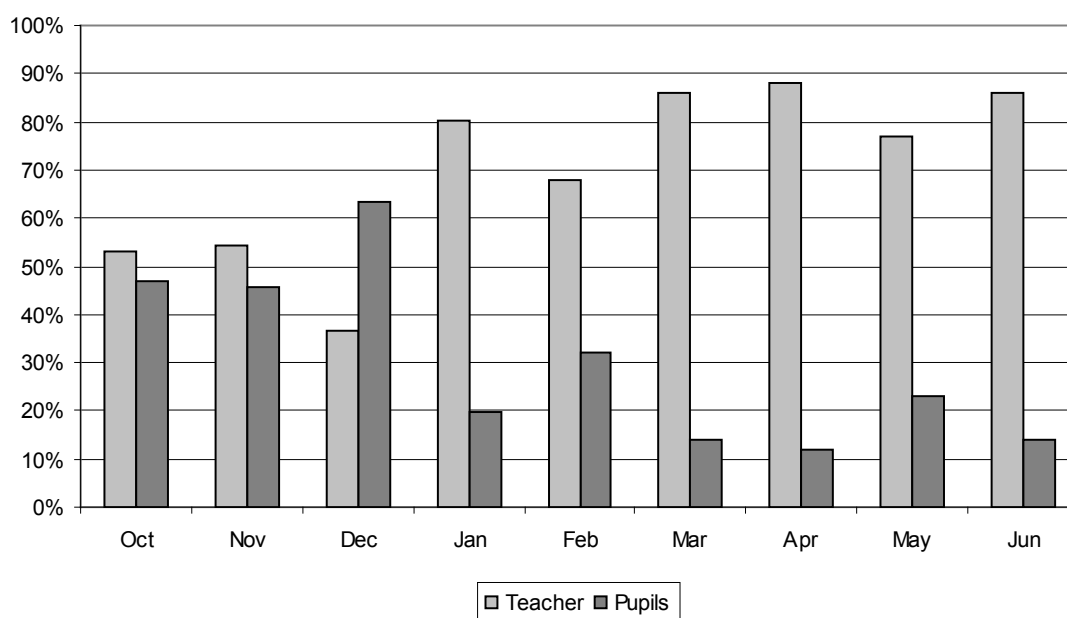
The high percentage of the teacher's speaking parts mainly comes about due to her strong tendency to elaborate questions and circumstances exhaustively during discourses, often to trigger the pupils' memory, or to repeat and reformulate the pupils' contributions; in cases when the contributions show that the pupils do not understand the task fully, she spends much time on leading them to the desired solution by elaborating, reformulating, and hinting. Additionally, she accepts single-word utterances most of the time, and does not urge the pupils to be more precise or to particularise by themselves, but elaborates in their stead. Of course, when the teacher does most of the talking, this involves rather restricting potential for the pupils who are not training and practising their speaking performances actively. The lessons where the pupils work with their reading passes only (almost a fifth of all witnessed lessons) do not contain lesson discourses at all, with the pupils being supposed to work individually after a brief instruction by the teacher. But still, even these

lesson types are very teacher-centred as the pupils constantly ask her for help or approach her desk to show her their work.

An actual lesson conversation or discussion where the pupils have to elaborate on an interpretation, exchange views and opinions, or solve problems is never observed, which of course is mainly due to the pupils' young age: When the teacher tries to introduce a communal discussions on two different occasions, this kind of assignment turns out to be a very complicated task for first-graders as it apparently requires too much reflection and the ability of criticism; the pupils are only able to give the teacher simple affirmative or negative answers, and asked for the reasons of their evaluation, no pupil can reply adequately. Therefore alone, a rather teacher-centred approach can be deemed the more suitable choice.

With regard to content, a lesson discourse is mostly used in order to solve an assignment either exemplary or already completely, or to summarise or retell the content of a previous lesson. In orthography-related lessons, the lesson discourse is frequently characterised by collecting words on a certain orthographical peculiarity. Twice in the school year, we witness the reading aloud of homework solutions, and once we observe the teacher comments on previously treated worksheets. In lesson discourses in general, it is not surprising that the first-graders do not follow a rule of redundancy, and that they are primarily eager to be called on, which has a value of its own, and to say what they need to say at a given moment. For example, at one incident in December, the pupils are asked to name everything they have already learned about hedgehogs. When the first pupil recounts that hedgehogs, despite the fact that they have prickles and can roll up themselves, are often run over by cars and killed, the other called-on pupils cannot let go of the thought, more or less repeating what the first pupil said. After several such contributions, when the teacher does not succeed in eliciting other aspects of hedgehogs, she says, "das scheint euch ja sehr beeindruckt zu haben mit dem einrollen" ('you seem to have been really impressed by the rolling up'), and thus aborts the lesson discourse, leading over to the next lesson section ("a hedgehog's journey"). Of course, what the pupils are actually concerned about is not the rolling up, but that hedgehogs get killed by cars, which is certainly an upsetting thought. But one can see here that it is not the teacher's objective to build on the pupils' contributions, but to compile a set of answers that serve the demands of the lesson unit. In this sense, what the teacher does and what the pupils do are two very different things.

In another example, when discussing words with <ng>, the teacher instructs the pupils to construct sentences with words already compiled on the blackboard; the pupils' answers (Example (8)) demonstrate that they misunderstand the task at hand, and SEV's♀BIL last contribution is simply a repetition of the first example sentence that is already written on the blackboard. Nevertheless, the teacher leads over to the writing assignment, stating that the pupils have understood the assignment by now:

> (8)   *TEA: michelle .
>   %com: with raised hand
>   *MIC: ich gehe gerne schwimmen .
>   %eng: I like to go swimming.
>   *TEA: ich gehe gerne schwimmen .

```
%eng:  I like to go swimming.
*TEA:  ist denn da ein wort davon oder davon drin ?
%eng:  is there a word from here or from here in it?
%com:  points at words on the blackboard; MIC shakes her head
*TEA:  nee ne@i .
%eng:  nope right.
*TEA:  es muss ja immer ein wort da drin sein .
%eng:  there always has to be a word in it.
*TEA:  sevim .
%com:  with raised hand
*SEV:  ich geh zu meiner oma .
%eng:  I go to my granny.
*TEA:  ich gehe zu meiner oma .
%eng:  I go to my granny.
%com:  counts the words with her fingers
*TEA:  wo ist das ng@l wort da oder davon ?
%eng:  where is the ng-word from there or from there?
%com:  points at words on blackboard
*TEA:  kuck mal .
%eng:  look.
*TEA:  es muss ein satz damit ein satz damit ein satz damit .
%eng:  there has to be a sentence with this, a sentence with this, a sentence with this.
%com:  points at words on blackboard
*TEA:  sevim .
%com:  with raised hand
*SEV:  ich singe eine xxx .
%eng:  I sing a xxx.
*TEA:  noch mal .
%eng:  again.
*TEA:  ich hab s nicht verstanden .
%eng:  I didn't get it.
*SEV:  ich singe # äh@i # auf der bühne .
%eng:  I sing on the stage.
*TEA:  okay da hast du aber wieder singen drin .
%eng:  okay but you used singing again.
*TEA:  okay .
*TEA:  ihr könnt es alleine .
%eng:  you can do it on your own now.
*TEA:  ihr könnt s jetzt alleine .
%eng:  you can do it on your own.
(I_08_06_12_SQ: 1/4)
```

There are two things one has to consider here: First of all, the formulation of the assignment before is very clear and leaves no room for misunderstandings. Secondly, most of the pupils are able to solve the assignment in the aftermath, at least to some degree, even if sometimes only by looking at their neighbour's sheet for orientation. In this respect, the teacher is indeed right when she states that the pupils can do it on their own, but of course, this is not the result of the very lesson section seen in Example (8). This underlines that the teacher does not rely on the pupils' contributions in order to follow through with her lesson plan – to a degree that one can say that it does not matter what the pupils are uttering during the collection of contributions. Accordingly, the actual results of the discourse are much less important than exercising communal lesson portions with pupils' active participation, and normally, the teacher is careful to accept most of the contributions. Also during portions of questioning and answering, which are characterised by the possibility of giving wrong answers, such wrong answers are not likely to be rejected entirely, but the pupils get the chance to correct themselves, and/ or the correction is delegated to the other pupils like in Example (9) where the pupils are supposed to correct a wrongly written sentence on the blackboard:

```
(9)    *TEA:  welche fehler hab ich denn gemacht ?
       %eng:  what mistakes have I made?
       *TEA:  konstandin .
       %com:  with raised hand
       *KON:  das h@l .
       %eng:  the h@l.
       *TEA:  was ist mit dem h@l ?
       %eng:  what's with the h@l?
       *KON:  0 .
       *TEA:  sag s .
       %eng:  say it.
       *TEA:  war jetzt ja richtig .
       %eng:  it was right.
       *TEA:  aber was ist bei dem h@i falsch ?
       %eng:  but what is wrong with the h@l?
       *KON:  0 .
       *TEA:  sag s ruhig laut .
       %eng:  you can say it aloud.
       *TEA:  du weißt das bestimmt .
       %eng:  you surely know it.
       *KON:  0 .
       *TEA:  wer hilft dem konni ?
       %eng:  who helps konni?
       *TEA:  was ist bei dem h@l falsch ?
       %eng:  what's wrong with the h@l?
       %com:  looks around
       *TEA:  francesca .
       %com:  with raised hand
       *FRA:  das h@l muss groß sein .
       %eng:  the h@l must be big (i.e., capitalised).
       *TEA:  richtig .
       %eng:  right.
       (I_08_05_08_SQ: 1/4)
```

The kind of assistance the teacher offers to KON$^{\male BIL}$ here can be initially seen as being based on her assumption that he knows the answer, so she does not hint at what the answer could be, but merely requests him to say what he supposedly knows. Considering that KON volunteered his first utterance, it is, however, unlikely that he is too inhibited or too shy to "say it aloud"; it is much more likely that he simply does not know what exactly is "wrong with the h". This way, his initial success of giving a correct answer is quickly diminishing when he is repeatedly exposed as not being able to follow through, and finally even made a a sort of charity case who needs his classmates' "help". The "help", however, consists of doing what KON couldn't, so he is not helped to find the answer, but helped to get out of the situation. As for the teacher's assistance, we see that again, the guiding principle is to collect answers that serve the objectives of the lesson unit as planned, so her assumption that KON knows the answer can also be seen as being based on the plan that the pupils are able to solve the assignment in order to progress to the next lesson unit (which is to copy the corrected sentence into the notebooks).

Regarding pupils' linguistic mistakes that occur during lesson discourses en passant, uttered by monolingual as well as by bilingual speakers, these often happen in the area of grammatical marking such as case or gender, but also concerning word order and pronunciation. Such mistakes are never explicitly corrected by the teacher, but either ignored, or the erroneous utterance is reformulated correctly. As a common pedagogical approach in order to avoid too harsh criticism, especially for children of this young age, the "soft" way of correction by reformulating, but also the avoidance of correction means that

linguistic mistakes are not made an explicit topic in the communal discourse. Moreover, specific linguistic problems of bilingual pupils are also not dealt with although especially bilingual pupils have more difficulties in understanding given words or in finding proper words for depicted items. Thus, the pupils' utterances are generally accepted regardless of form, and often also regardless of content. Basically, spoken language is rather treated as the vehicle of an issue, and not as an issue itself.

As for language use, the teacher uses mainly orate or even colloquial structures during lesson discourses. Regarding orate structures, they are of course natural in lesson sections like questioning and answering or collecting contributions; but also during previously prepared narrations or elaborative lesson parts, the teacher does not use many literate devices as in the following passage, taken from a "Pikus" lesson when the teacher speaks as "Pikus" the penguin.

(10) a. *TEA: dann bin ich zu den meeresschnecken gegangen.
   %mor: ADV|then V:AUX|be&PRES&1SG PRO|1SG PREP|to DET:DEF|the&DAT&PL N|sea_snail&DAT&PL PTCP|go
   %eng: then I went to the sea snails.

 b. *TEA: hab gedacht.
   %mor: V:AUX|have&PRES&1SG&RED PTCP|*think
   %eng: I *thought.

 c. *TEA: du meeresschnecke.
   %mor: PRO|2SG N|sea_snail
   %eng: hey, sea snail.

 d. *TEA: gibt's was anderes hier bei uns mal am südpol außer weißen schnee?
   %mor: V|give&PRES&3SG~PRO|3SG&N&RED PRO:INDF|something&RED ADJ|different&SG&N ADV|here PREP|at PRO|1PL&DAT DV|once&RED PREP|at~DET:DEF|the&DAT&SG&M N|south_pole PREP|except ADJ|white&DAT&SG&M N|snow
   %eng: is there something else here at the south pole except for white snow?

 e. *TEA: auch die ham nur stumm den kopf genickt.
   %mor: ADV|too PRO:DEM|they&3PL V:AUX|have&PRES&3PL&RED ADV|just ADV|silently DET:DEF|the&ACC&SG&M N|head PTCP|*nod
   %eng: they too just *nodded silently with their head.

 f. *TEA: nix.
   %mor: PRO:INDF|nothing&RED
   %eng: nothing.
   (I_08_02_14_SQ: 1/4)

The above excerpt illustrates the orate devices the teacher makes use of, like V1-word order (10.b.), wrong addressee (10.c.) or lexeme (10.b., 10.e.), and reduced forms (10.b., 10.d., 10.e., 10.f.). Of course, this must be seen as due to the fact that "Pikus", just like the class mascot "Oskar", faces the pupils "at eye level", and narrative lesson parts almost always entail that the teacher slips into the role of "Pikus" or "Oskar" or another fictional character. Accordingly, the narrative lesson parts are not about getting the pupils familiarised with register differences, and the literate register almost never occurs in the classroom discourse, not least because neither the original texts treated in the lessons (cf. 3.2.2.2.2) nor the texts especially created by the teacher contain many literate structures. Example (11) is taken from a letter by the ghost "Bobby" the teacher prepared at home to read out loud to the pupils.

(11) a.   *TEA: &=read und an den fenstern sind auch komische bilder geklebt.
          %mor: CONJ:COORD|and PREP|at DET:DEF|the&DAT&PL
                  N|window&DAT&PL V:AUX|be&PRES&3PL ADV|too ADJ|strange&PL
                  N|picture&PL PTCP|stick
          %eng: and at the windows, there are stuck strange pictures, too.
          [...]
      b.   *TEA: &=read und bitte bitte schreibt mir.
          %mor: CONJ:COORD|and PTL:D|please PTL:D|please V|write&IMP&PL
                  ^PRO|1SG&DAT
          %eng: and please, please write me.
      c.   *TEA: &=read was war denn in dieser advent- und weihnachtskiste?
          %mor: Q|what COP|be&PST&3SG PTL:MOD|so PREP|in
                  DET:DEM|this&DAT&SG&F N|advent CONJ:COORD|and
                  N|Christmas_box
          %eng: what was in this advent and christmas box?
          (I_07_12_13_SQ: 1/5)

Again, the teacher uses many orate devices (e.g., extremely colloquial expression (11.a.), non-integrated clause (11.b.), oral modal particle (11.c.)), but this time in a written text, which again does not offer an opportunity to develop an awareness for literate structures and language in this context.

As explicated in detail in Section 3.2.3.5 below, the labelling of certain devices (e.g., reading pass folder, loupe reading folder) sometimes seems imprecise and arbitrary. The same is true for special lesson-related expressions that are utilised quite randomly; for example, the piece of paper that the pupils have to work on in the "Bobby" lesson[105] is called "letter paper", and the pupils are told to write "Bobby" a letter without reference to this genre of written text. Another example comes from one of the "Pikus" lessons, when the teacher calls the piece of paper "diary", "book" or "travel adventure" – all quite arbitrarily chosen terms particularly because the structural requirements of different types of texts are not mentioned.

3.2.3.5 Strategies to create writing occasions

When it comes to writing assignments, there are basically two different exercises at hand, namely the filling out of predefined worksheets, and the production of free texts. The creation of such individual writing assignments mainly depends on the respective topic, and the teacher usually makes a great effort to create a cause for writing especially when a free text is to be produced. Such free writing assignments can be embedded in a game, a charade play or a quiz, or the teacher invents story contexts by means of motivational artefacts (see above) such as the "Oskar" puppet, penguin "Pikus" or "Benno" the bunny.

The creation of a writing assignment by means of such artefacts regularly contains a staged narration of a fiction story, often with the pupils gathering around the teacher in a semi-circle, and with the teacher anthropomorphising the toy and modelling her voice accordingly, creating a dialogue between herself, the toy, and the pupils. This way, a fictional space is opened up in which the pupils are possibly enabled to relate with the different characters at hand, and might become personally engaged in the respective story that usually involves a problematic situation that can be resolved by the pupils' active help

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[105] In this lesson, the teacher introduces "Bobby" to the pupils, a ghost who lives in the school's basement and does not know what Christmas is about.

in the form of, for example, writing a letter to one of the fictional characters of the narration. In some cases, this approach results in very elaborate and complex process of story-composition on the part of the teacher. As was said before, the implementation of the anthropomorphised toys never fails to arouse the pupils' interest as long as the show goes on. But when looking at the actual writing assignments based on these stories, and the way they are carried out by the pupils, it is quite obvious that the motivational effect does not sustainably outlast the show itself. First of all, the respective writing tasks (e.g., writing a letter, a diary entry) appear to be too complex to be translated into action by most of the pupils, which is obviously why these tasks are subsequently reduced to simpler ones like word lists or plain picture descriptions, either by the teacher herself or by the pupils in the process of writing. Secondly, the pupils are very well capable of distinguishing between the "fun" part of the show, and the "serious" part of having to do an exercise, not least because every motivational teaching sequence initially merges into a considerable lesson vacuum (going back to the tables, preparing material), which alone makes it hard to preserve a potential enthusiasm about the assignment. Moreover, as almost every free writing assignment entails painting or colouring for those pupils who are finished with writing, one can observe that most of the pupils are not eager to do the task itself, but to get it over with in order to be allowed to paint. The relatively little time the pupils spend on actual writing during free writing exercises (see above) can of course be to some degree explained by their generally limited capacity of writing free texts. Thus, the great effort made and the huge amount of input provided in order to create the fictional environment for free writing exercises regularly result in comparably little output, task-wise as well as performance-wise.

The immediate writing-enabling character of the motivational interludes is not least arguable because apparently, such presentations are not an indispensable prerequisite of getting the pupils to write, neither in the teacher's nor in the pupils' view, for there are many writing tasks that are not preceded by the creation of writing causes or motivational writing environments. Even the free writing tasks themselves are not always embedded in an extensive story with fictional characters the pupils are assumed to easily relate to, but sometimes plainly prepared by means of picture descriptions free of any broader fictitious context, with the according assignment being to reproduce the picture description discussed in the public discourse, and the pupils exercising these writing tasks as willingly as when they are given a proper "cause" to write. This also goes for the other sort of writing exercise at hand, the filling-out of worksheets. As was said before, once the turnaround from "write as you hear" to "write as grown-ups do" is put into effect, writing assignments consisting of a worksheet are carried out without any further ado. This means that when the teacher gives out such a task, she neither embeds it in a broader context, nor does she offer the pupils an actual cause as to why to do it; they are simply told to do the exercise and follow the order. The child-oriented approach to writing in terms of exhaustively creating writing occasions is thus only one strategy to get the pupils to write, and it seems to work as well as any other strategy. If the pupils indeed do not necessarily need a contextual, immediate cause to write, one can assume that the explicitly motivational features serve additional purposes, particularly to entertain the pupils, making school more fun.

Formulations of instructions for an assignment sometimes seem rather imprecise and vague:

> (12) *TEA: und mir fehlt eigentlich zu meinem reisetagebuch da unten was
>   geschriebenes.
>   %com: points at the bottom of the work sheet
>   %eng: actually, my travel diary is missing something written down there.
>   *TEA: und der würde euch heute euch bitten der pikus .
>   %eng: and pikus would like to ask you.
>   *TEA: dass ihr &z zu dem bild da unten .
>   *TEA: mal ne kleinigkeit /zu schreibt .
>   %eng: to write a little something for the picture down there.
>   *TEA: damit das reisetagebuch auch perfekt wird .
>   %eng: so that the travel diary is going to be perfect.
>   *TEA: und nich nur gemalt is .
>   %eng: and is not just painted.
>   (I_08_02_14_SQ: 1/9)

However, the vagueness of the task formulation is actually owed to the fact that this is indeed merely about 'something written' as opposed to 'just painted', i.e. it is about the pupils writing something to complete the sheet, and not about what they write or how much they write ('a little something'). Thus, while the picture alone does not make a 'perfect' diary, any writing suffices to complete it. Note that we never observe the teacher elaborating on the required extent of words or sentences in free writing assignments, but mostly it is simply announced that as soon as the pupils are finished with writing they can start painting.

At other incidents, quite unconventional terms are employed, for example *Gefäß* 'vessel' for a Tupperware box, or made-up compounds like *Trockenwischblätter* 'dry-wiping tissues' for paper towels. Inaccurate formulations of instructions in combination with vague naming of items regularly lead to a need of additional clarification, with the teacher giving numerous examples for the right task solution, sometimes culminating in a communal discussion of the complete assignment, which, of course, is rather restricting as it entails very little challenge for the pupils when working individually afterwards. Every now and then, it also happens that task formulations are somewhat confusing, as in the following example, pointing at a picture of the penguin:

> (13) *TEA: so der pikus der ruht sich jetzt mal so n bisschen aus .
>   %eng: so pikus is going to relax a bit now.
>   *TEA: der erzählt mal nicht .
>   %eng: he doesn't narrate for now.
>   *TEA: sondern ihr erzählt mal # seine erste erstes abenteuer #´.
>   %eng: but you narrate his first adventure.
>   (I_08_02_14_SQ: 1/6)

In (13), in order to tell the penguin's 'adventure', the pupils would have to accomplish the abstraction from the transparency picture showing a static situation towards an adventure that could be insinuated by it. Here, this evokes a longer moment of silence and zero-contributions, followed by the much simpler, familiar picture description, so that the pupils' contributions (naming items in the picture, see Example (7) in 3.2.3.4) do not comply with the original assignment formulation (tell a story), but as the teacher neither corrects the pupils' output nor guides them in a different direction, one can assume that this was indeed

the objective of the instruction. This shows that the pupils are able to make sense of what is asked of them by drawing on previous assignments of this sort.

As for instructions for concrete writing exercises, the instruction itself is always repeated more than once, and we observe that the pupils indeed cannot be trusted to listen to instructions carefully the first time, possibly because such instructions have not yet real imperative quality. In cases when a pupil is supposed to explain to the others how to work on an assignment or how to fill in a worksheet, the teacher always reformulates the respective pupil's explanation, which might make sure that everybody understands the instruction, but this way she makes also sure that the instruction still comes from her. Often, the formulation of an instruction contains the teacher using the 2nd person singular when describing a procedure or addressing a question to the whole class:

    (14)   *TEA: wenn du eine sache fertig gestellt hast auf deiner folie.
            %eng: when you [2SG] have finalised something on your transparency.
            *TEA: was machst du dann?
            %eng: what do you [2SG] do next?
            (I_07_10_11_SQ: 1/2)

This is obviously a pedagogical approach to make each pupil feel being addressed individually, but using the 2nd person singular for the whole group of pupils is, of course, artificial and construed, which might be the reason why the teacher often switches to the 2nd person plural arbitrarily, sometimes even within one utterance:

    (15)   *TEA: hier könnt ihr drauf schreiben .
            %eng: here you [2PL] can write down.
            %com: points at top of work sheet
            *TEA: was in der kiste alles drin gewesen sein könnte .
            %eng: what could have been in the chest.
            *TEA: hier unten kannst du dann dem bobby noch ein weihnachtsbild malen .
            %eng: down here you [2SG] can pint a christmas picture for bobby.
            %com: points at bottom of work sheet
            (I_07_12_13_SQ: 1/12)

Interestingly, questions formulated by means of 2nd person singular are never answered by the called-on pupil using the 1st person singular, but answers are rather reformulated with the more adequate indefinite pronoun *man* 'one', or by using the 1st person plural. Another way of formulating appealing instructions is the usual friendly style in which they are uttered:

    (16)   *TEA: so wenn ihr so lieb seid .
            *TEA: jetzt für den pikus zu seiner ersten abenteuerreise .
            *TEA: einfach mal hier etwas zu zu schreiben .
            %eng: if you'd be so kind to just write something here about pikus' first adventure trip.
            (I_08_02_14_SQ: 1/14)

The strategy of formulating tasks as requests as in Example (16) gradually increases in the course of the school year, indicating that the teacher more and more relies on her personal relation with the pupils to make sure that they obey her instructions, making it sound like they are doing her a favour. However, and maybe not surprisingly, we do not observe that the pupils would be more inclined to work when they are asked nicely than when they are simply told to do it.

Since in the majority of the cases, no explicit objective concerning extent or content of the writing product is formulated, the act of writing itself is equipped with a greater importance than the actual output, and leaving the quantity and quality of this output mainly to the pupils' own discretion means that they seldom exceed the bare minimum with their text products, not least because the writing assignments are furthermore always linked to painting tasks which many pupils obviously prefer to writing. This way, painting is not an actual reward for writing or a way to occupy pupils who are finished early, but merely the part of the assignment that is more fun, which practically means a devaluation of the writing assignment and the whole process in general.

3.2.4 Learning strategies

3.2.4.1 Participation and attention

In general, the pupils attend school regularly, the average being over ninety percent. Since in the first grade, school attendance is entirely in the parents' responsibility, regular attendance shows a high degree of parental supervision.

Fig. II.3.22. 1st grade: School attendance, in the school year 2007-2008
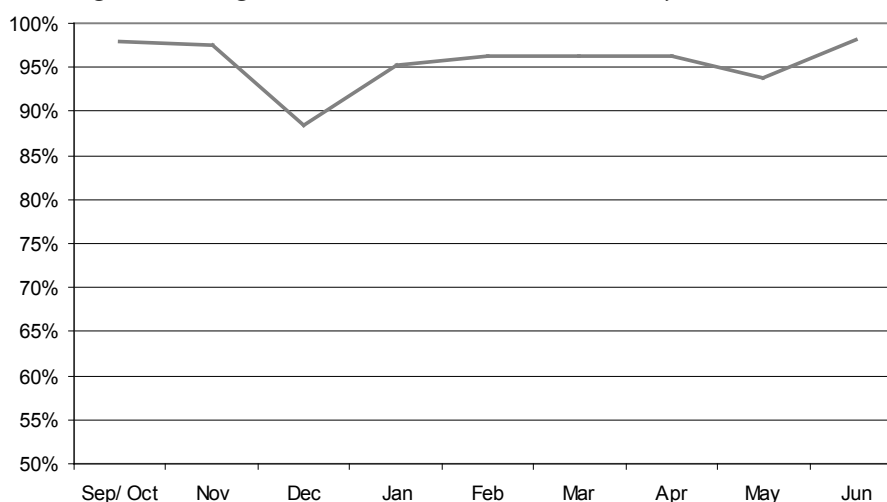
Looking at the case pupils individually, more than half of them attend class without exception, but also outliers become visible.

Fig. II.3.23. 1ˢᵗ grade: Case pupils' school attendance, in the school year 2007/ 2008
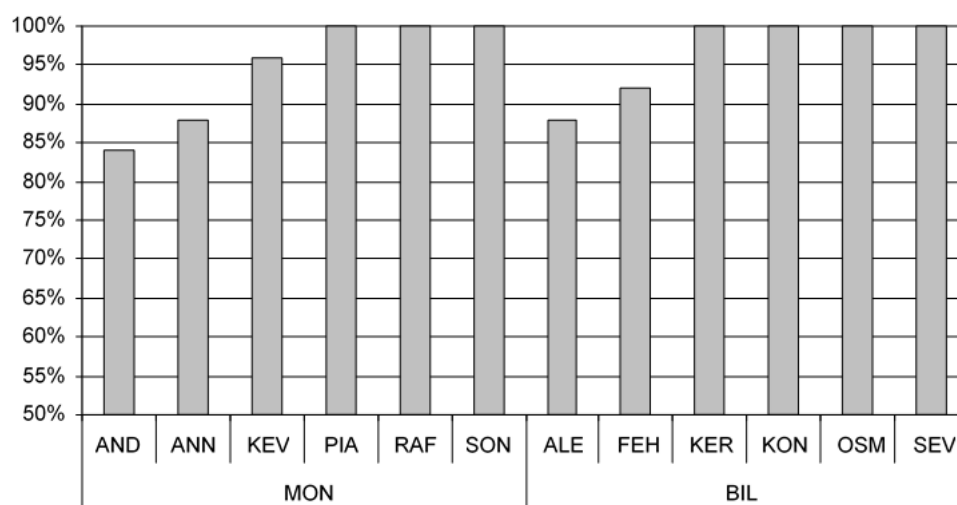
Generally, girls tend to miss class more often than boys, and pupils with German as a first language more often than pupils with German as a second language (Figures II.3.24, 25).

Fig. II.3.24. 1ˢᵗ grade: Ratio of absence, monolingual pupils and bilingual pupils, in the school year 2007/ 2008
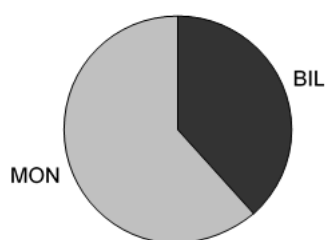
Fig. II.3.25. 1ˢᵗ grade: ratio of absence, boys and girls, in the school year 2007/ 2008
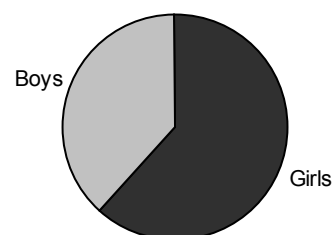
A tentative appraisal of these findings might be, on the one hand, that girls are treated more protectively by their parents than boys and are thus more likely to be allowed to stay at home when they are sickish. On the other hand, parents of children with German as a first language seem to be laxer than the other parents when it comes to ensuring their child's school attendance. Regardless of attendance frequency, some of the case pupils (and particularly KEV$^{\male MON}$ and OSM$^{\male BIL}$) often seem overly tired in school (i.e., beyond boredom), indicating that they do not get enough sleep at home, which then thwarts the positive impression of regular attendance to a certain degree.

Basic features of attentiveness, i.e. focusing and concentrating on discursive lesson events, are individually established very early and do not change significantly in the course of the school year, which is a remarkable fact in itself, showing that the pupils do not adapt to various topics and requirements differently, but maintain a fixed personal attitude towards lessons in general. This means that for no case pupil, the average attention quota varies depending on the respective lesson.

Fig. II.3.26. 1ˢᵗ grade: Case pupils' average attention ratio, in the school year 2007/ 2008,
based on observationnaires (% of lessons where case pupil was observed as "attentive, concentrated")
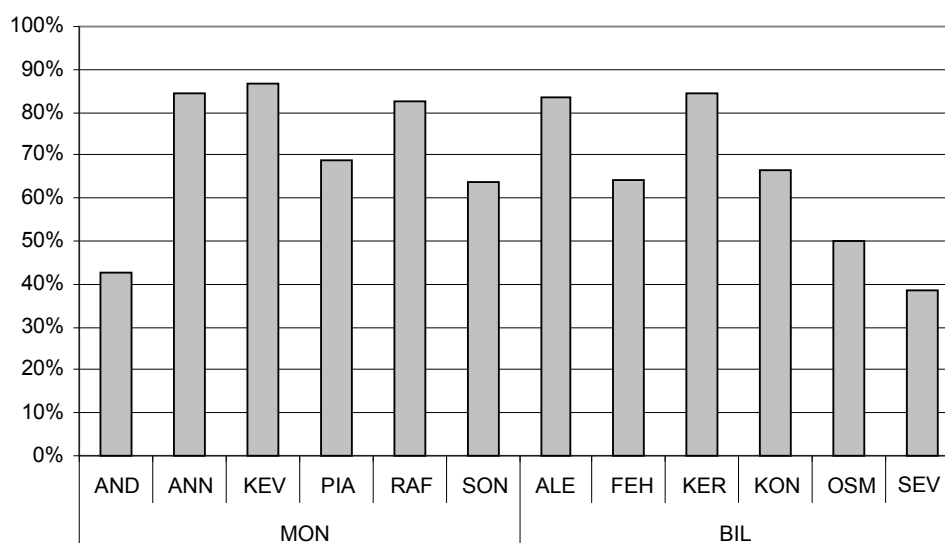
Neither the gender factor nor the mono-/ bilingual factor has a significant influence on these findings. Of course, there are lesson portions that are likely to generate every pupil's attention, especially when conducted by means of motivational artefacts like the "Oskar" puppet; even the most inattentive pupils (OSM$^{\male BIL}$, AND$^{\male MON}$, and SEV$^{\female BIL}$) are able and willing to concentrate on such events until the end, but they also tend to lose interest as soon as the show is over. In general, the case pupils' attention seems to be contingent upon various factors, for example the individual capability of staying focused for a longer time, which is in fact difficult for several case pupils who are categorically fidgety and restless, like AND$^{\male MON}$, KON$^{\male BIL}$, SON$^{\female MON}$, and SEV$^{\female BIL}$. Another vital factor appears to be the individually differing assessment of the actual importance of discourse portions like repetitions and assignment instructions, which some pupils (PIA$^{\female MON}$, ALE$^{\female BIL}$, RAF$^{\male MON}$) do not pay much attention to in general.

Regarding the pupils' willingness to follow lesson discourses, it is not practised commonly to look to the respective contributors while they talk, which would be normal social behaviour during a dialogue, but apparently is not crucial for multi-participant settings that generally allow the single pupil to disconnect from the conversation, delegating the responsibility of continuing the discourse to the collective. Of course, as long as the group table arrangement is valid, an observation of speakers is also often just not feasible. Due to the general absence of discourse discipline, classroom conversations frequently become less "public" the longer they last, with the lack of collectiveness and communitisation also being displayed in the subordinate interactions taking place between most of the neighbours, often not very secretively conducted. Therefore, the surface discourse is not per definition given priority to private conversations, which regularly causes a constant underlying noise.

In discourses, active participation (raising a hand and contributing) mostly seems to depend on the teacher managing to uphold the pupils' interest in a given topic, and the longer she needs to get to a question or to call up a pupil, the fewer pupils are attentive and participating actively. The eagerness to actively participate increases when the task includes physical activities (mostly to stand up and point or encircle on the blackboard or the overhead projector), and decreases in solely talk-based lesson sections, which might not least be an effect of the strongly object-oriented lesson design, with the pupils trained to respond to physical eye-catchers. The ratio of active individual participation of the case pupils is displayed in Figure II.3.27. Commonly, pupils with many contributions are those who raise their hands often, and vice versa; very rarely, the teacher calls on pupils who do not raise a hand. Occasionally, pupils raise a hand and are called on without being able to make a meaningful contribution. In general, the teacher endeavours to call on pupils until no one raises a hand anymore, so every pupil has a chance to be heard.

Fig. II.3.27. 1ˢᵗ grade: Case pupils' average share of lesson discourse, in the school year 2007/ 2008.
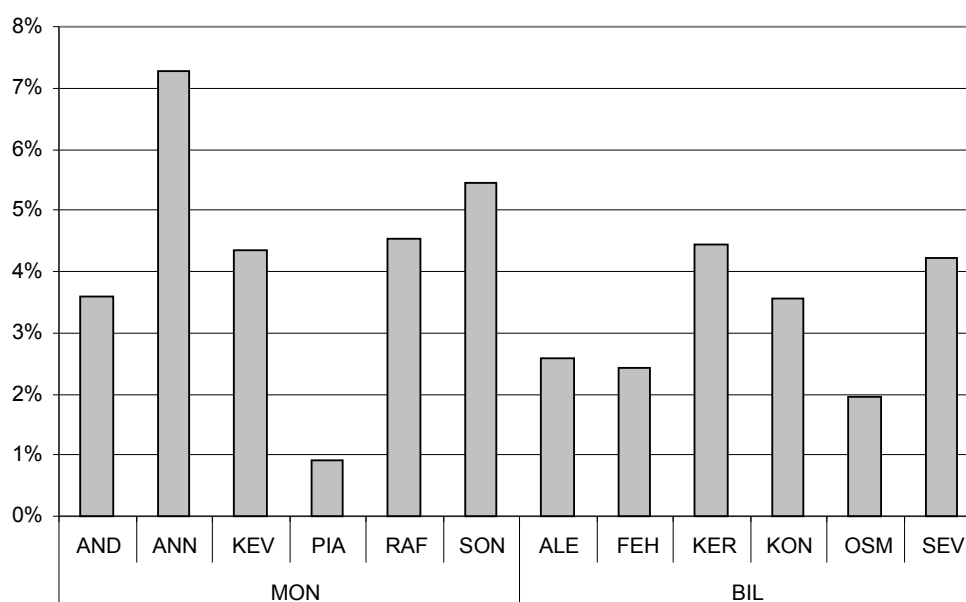
In comparison to Figure II.3.26, the ratio of individual contributions suggests that high attentiveness does not necessarily coincide with frequent active participation. Here, the gender-effect is not a significant factor, whereas the second-language effect is apparent, particularly when considering that the four most frequently actively participating case pupils all have German as a first language. Tendentially, this finding seems to confirm the common assumption that monolingual pupils are more confident to speak out than bilingual pupils. We have no evidence that the teacher would be aware of such a possibility, and therefore no evidence that she would attempt to counteract adverse effects. The pattern remains stable throughout the school year.

3.2.4.2 Individual work

Individual assignments occur frequently and then take up more of a lesson's time than any other teaching unit. In general, there is no such thing as individual work in a narrow sense

for only few case pupils (particularly ANN$^{♀MON}$, ALE$^{♀BIL}$, and RAF$^{♂MON}$) manage to work on writing or reading assignments with concentration and sustainable disconnection from the social context. Since discipline is a major issue in the class, communal quiet is generally not guaranteed, but whereas during discursive lesson portions, quiet and order are often produced and enforced painstakingly, this does not apply to individual assignments where a perturbing level of noise and commotion is never sufficiently prevented. As was pointed out before, a basic restricting condition of individual assignments is that they last longer than appears to be appropriate; the first-graders, especially in the beginning of the school year, seem to simply not have the necessary skills to write "creatively" for fifteen minutes. Thus, very early in the transition phase, the pupils apparently get used to the idea that they do not have to hurry or to work constantly as time or achievement are as good as never made an issue; in fact, when making the experience that assignments always take much longer than one actually needs to accomplish something (which, as discussed, is seldom defined any closer), it seems only natural to develop alternative strategies of occupying oneself. As one can see in Figure II.3.28, hardly any case pupil spends more than half of the given assignment time on actually working on the assignment.

Fig. II.3.28. 1st grade: Case pupils' average time spent on reading/ writing assignment during individual work, in the school year 2007/ 2008.
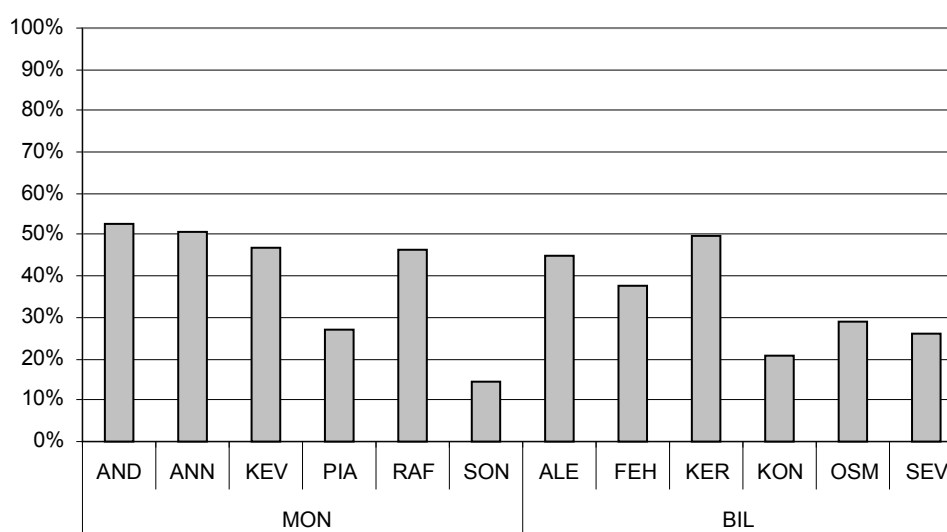
Depending on the respective assignment, the surplus time not used for working is mainly spent on interactions with classmates, clowning around, painting, and standing in line at the teacher's desk or waiting for her to stop by to get a brief check. The regular absence of supervision during individual working time means a structural unobservedness of the pupils so that those who are swinging the lead only rarely and momentarily catch the teacher's eye. Although most of the pupils' performances are always well below expectations compared to the actual time at hand, the general unobservedness of performance behaviour as well as of achievements allows for the continuance of overlong assignment durations, and might be one of the reasons why many pupils do not make a thorough effort to solve individual tasks.

Tab. II.3.2. 1ˢᵗ grade: Case pupils' advancement in time management of individual working time during the school year 2007/ 2008 (↗ increasing; → constant; ↘ decreasing; ≠ inconsistent)

MON						BIL					
AND	ANN	KEV	PIA	RAF	SON	ALE	FEH	KER	KON	OSM	SEV
≠	≠	↗	↘	≠	↘	≠	↗	→	≠	≠	↘

Table II.3.2 sheds light on the case pupils' individual development of handling available working time, showing that only two pupils manage to increase the time they are working on a given task in the course of the school year; three case pupils actually work less towards the end than in the beginning of the school year, and only KER♂ᴮᴵᴸ displays a constant time-managing behaviour. The majority of the case pupils, however, fluctuates significantly regarding the single lessons' working time, so there is no form of general adaptation visible at all, but writing time is determined momentarily. Figure II.3.29 offers a rough estimation of the case pupils' relative work efficiency during three different individual assignments in the course of the school year, based on actual working time, number of words, number of mistakes, and difficulty level of the chosen task implementation (e.g., "list" versus "text").

Fig. II.3.29. 1ˢᵗ grade: Case pupils' average relative work efficiency during individual assignments, in December 2007, and February and June 2008
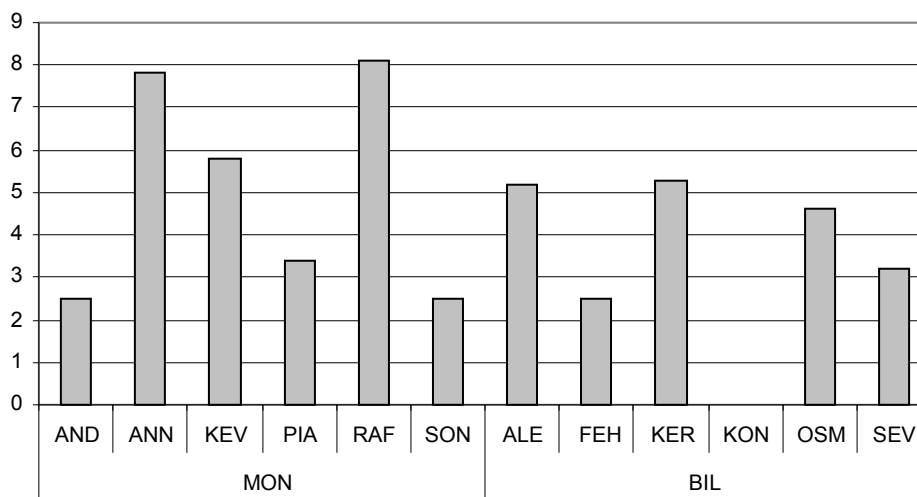
The findings are not indicative of the case pupils' general competences and abilities, but only refer to the individual efficiency (i.e., how much is accomplished in what time with which quality). Whereas the efficiency index is equal regarding the mono-/ bilingual factor, girls tend to handle writing time more efficiently than boys, which might be explained by our observation that they have a tendentially greater capability of concentrating for a longer time. As one can also see, the individual performances not only vary extremely from one another; in comparison with Figure II.3.28, it is also revealed that the actual time spent on an assignment does not for each case pupil correspond to the performance quality. Accordingly, several case pupils continually display a lack of systematic strategies of approaching and fulfilling individual tasks, even (and particularly) in the case of reading

assignments where work steps are regularly predefined. Since any given task must be assumed to be based on the pupils' abilities (and not disabilities), the pupils can be expected to be able to solve it, so utter underachievement can not solely be explained by a lack of general competence, but must at least partially be assigned to a lack of explanation and practice.

When the pupils ask for the teacher's help, one obstacle seems to be the short time she spends on dealing with a single pupil. One can only assume that the pupils themselves are not capable of formulating their problems on a general basis, but confront the teacher with acute questions, like the meaning of particular words. By answering momentary questions, the teacher can only help selectively, and this might make it less likely for her to recognise broader or basic difficulties. Of course, this is primarily due to the sheer number of pupils the teacher has to take care of, but the strategy to deal with each pupil individually obviously also means to deal with each problem individually. This way, there is no room to address a particular problem as relevant for other pupils as well, and, in the context, to generalise it and to broaden the subject. For example, the meaning of words is certainly an issue that is relevant for all pupils; not explaining them to the whole group, but only to the single pupil who asks for it, means to miss the opportunity to create a learning effect for others who might be struggling with the same issue at some point.

In a reoccurring scenario of a lesson writing assignment, the typical behaviour of the case pupils by the end of the school year would be as follows:

KER$\male$BIL	working very slowly and anxiously with concentration and diligence
KON$\male$BIL	pretending to work, but either not getting anything done, or copying from his neighbour
OSM$\male$BIL	approaching his work ponderously, often interrupting it or swinging the lead entirely
ALE$\female$BIL	working with concentration, often consulting the teacher
FEH$\female$BIL	working distractedly, often consulting the teacher in between, maintaining a low profile by bringing order into her materials instead of writing or reading
SEV$\female$BIL	extremely distracted, clowning around and often leaving her seat, strategically copying from her neighbour
AND$\male$MON	interrupting his work often to clown around, disturbing (teasing) his neighbours
KEV$\male$MON	working independently with concentration, but only doing the bare necessities
RAF$\male$MON	working independently with concentration
ANN$\female$MON	working with concentration and diligence
PIA$\female$MON	pretending to be "busy" by often consulting the teacher or classmates, occasionally copying from her neighbour, or entirely swinging the lead
SON$\female$MON	working slowly, easily distracted, often consulting the teacher or classmates, often interrupting her work

3.2.4.3 Adaptation to the pupil's role

Considering the transition phase first-graders have to undergo in order to turn from "children" into "pupils", it was not entirely possible to exempt pupils with behavioural problems from the sample for only in the course of the school year such problems turned out to be persistent or not. By the end of the school year, several of the case pupils still showed adaptation difficulties in terms of following basic classroom rules up to explicitly defiant behaviours: SEV$^{♀BIL}$ and SON$^{♀MON}$ did not manage to develop an adequate pupil's demeanour, often disturbing the lesson, disobeying the teacher's orders, and not adjusting to their classmates. AND$^{♂MON}$ and OSM$^{♂BIL}$, who seemed quite tame in the beginning of the school year, both developed sloppy, careless, and even defiant behaviours during the year. Other than that, two major strategies of adaptation appeared to be utilised: There were those pupils who seemed to internalise the concept of being a "pupil" by displaying a certain comprehension of the expectations associated with their role, namely ANN$^{♀MON}$, KER$^{♂BIL}$, KEV$^{♂MON}$, SEV$^{♀BIL}$, and RAF$^{♂MON}$, who all, as time went by, became able to fulfil the respective requirements and to anticipate demands and consequences. Others, particularly FEH$^{♀BIL}$, KON$^{♂BIL}$, and PIA$^{♀MON}$, rather adapted to the role expectations by mimicking and pretending, copying their classmates' behaviours mechanically without being able to behave adequately and to meet requirements on their own.

In sum, one might distinguish here between explicit individuality claims in the case of OSM$^{♂BIL}$, AND$^{♂MON}$, SON$^{♀MON}$, and SEV$^{♀BIL}$ on the one hand, and, on the other hand, various strategies of behaving collective-conform in the other cases. Seemingly based on this difference, the former four are also the case pupils most often socially corrected by the teacher, indicating that the individuality claim is not only regularly accompanied by conspicuous behaviour, but also that it is the one undesired behavioural feature as it is behaviour outside the refinements of the pupil's role. Misdemeanour within the refinements of this role (i.e., pretending to work) is less conspicuous because it still signals role adaptation, which is certainly the crucial requirement of becoming a "pupil".

3.2.6 Summary and conclusions

One of the basic features of the general German lesson conduction in the first grade is that the teacher admits the pupils a prolonged transition phase from being a child to being a pupil. The initial approach is child-oriented, playful, and lenient, not only during explicitly non-topical lesson parts, but throughout whole lessons, not least reflected in the teacher's language use. Education appears to be rather negotiated than enforced; this concerns the way of employing rules and correctional action as well as motivational strategies and the conduction of discourses and exercises. All different lesson designs are characterised by a pedagogical philosophy of indulgence and patience, which includes a certain vagueness especially concerning instructions, but also regarding item names, text genres, rebukes and discourse language in general, which remain rather implicit and sometimes indeterminate. The prolonged transition phase also means that the teacher is willing to treat the children as individuals constantly, responding to personal needs and demands, and making most of the correctional action a personal matter between her and the respective child. With the

"pretence of voluntariness" being another important part of the pedagogical philosophy at hand, the teacher is very reluctant to explicitly force anything upon the pupils, and if she does so, it is either very subtle (so the pupils would not recognise they are being forced), or unreasonably rigid in case her patience is wearing thin, which, however, only happens seldom. Mostly, the teacher relies on the homogenising effect the pupils have on each other, i.e. that they orientate to her as well as to other pupils, so that homogenisation happens "one by one", and she awaits this process to be finalised patiently (e.g., when quiet and order are to be established). This reveals her concept of the pupils as generally willing to be educated, so they are not coerced into it; on the contrary, the objective to learn is negotiated repeatedly throughout a lesson's course. Against the backdrop of this philosophy, the teacher does, however, not succeed in establishing a sufficient, reliable level of homogenisation and synchronisation since the pupils are basically encouraged to behave according to their own individual agendas.

As far as literacy acquisition is concerned, from the beginning, the pupils are first getting used to the textual quality of language by being told stories and writing "essays". Free writing assignments in the first term are directed at the textual level, not explicitly at graphomotoric skills (handwriting) or orthography. The pupils are made familiar with broad functions of language and thereby of literacy and texts. On the other hand, original texts only occur during reading practice with the reading mothers, in class only once in Advent in the form of a story read aloud by the teacher. The absence of "real" original texts in addition to the fact that the texts produced by the pupils are never discussed or worked on reduces the acquaintance with literacy to the self-production level. Before orthography is introduced in the second term, writing is treated as a "natural" ability, and by means of the tool "initial letter ruler", the pupils are enabled as well as urged to write meaningful utterances at once. In comparison, learning to read is treated like a more structured process with different levels of advancement, whereas orthographic rules are introduced successively without changes in the level of assignment complexity. Since literacy is treated as a natural and certain part of everyday schooling, it is almost never addressed explicitly in terms of necessity or feasibility, but it is taken for granted that the pupils absorb the implicit importance of reading and writing. A certain laxness regarding the pupils' literate backgrounds comes to light when the teacher mentions text genres (like "letter", "diary") without explaining them; besides, reading exercises tend to put pupils with limited vocabulary at immediate disadvantage. However, at the end of the school year, most of the pupils acquire basic orthographical rules and are able to read simple sentences, albeit on a generally not very advanced level.

The multilingual, multicultural reality of the classroom is not only never addressed in any way throughout the entire school year, it almost seems as if it is systematically denied when considering that quite obvious differences occurring in terms of active participation or vocabulary are not counteracted. Ignoring the linguistic background of the pupils might be the teacher's idea of equal treatment and political correctness, but it also results in a structural unawareness of specific language problems bilingual pupils might have. At the same time, there is a significant and, from an observer's perspective, not replicable surplus of social correctional action directed at pupils with German as a second language, and at

least in the case of OSM$^{\male\text{BIL}}$, this has to be considered to be partially based on the teacher's prejudiced attitude towards the boy's family. Tendentially, this means that the symbolic denial of multiculturalism in the classroom prevents her from realising when her actions could be labelled as rather discriminatory than based on objective judgement. [106] It is at least possible that the comparably low discourse participation quota of case pupils with German as a second language is owed to the teacher's unawareness of the fact that these pupils might need more active encouragement than their monolingual classmates.

3.3 Lesson analysis: 7th grade

3.3.1 The material world of the classroom

3.3.1.1 Classroom geography

The classroom of the seventh grade is spacious and utilitarian. There are just a few decorations, namely a small world map and a clock that does not work on the back wall, and sometimes a poster announcing a school event is hung. One closet in the back contains mainly unused text books that are only once witnessed to be taken out by pupils who forgot to bring their own. All in all, there is little diversion from the objective of making school, and the room is not physically claimed by the pupils or the teacher by means of distinctive objects although it is the class's main room where all the major subjects are taught (but the 7a is not the only class using the room).

Fig. II.3.30. 7th grade: Classroom layout
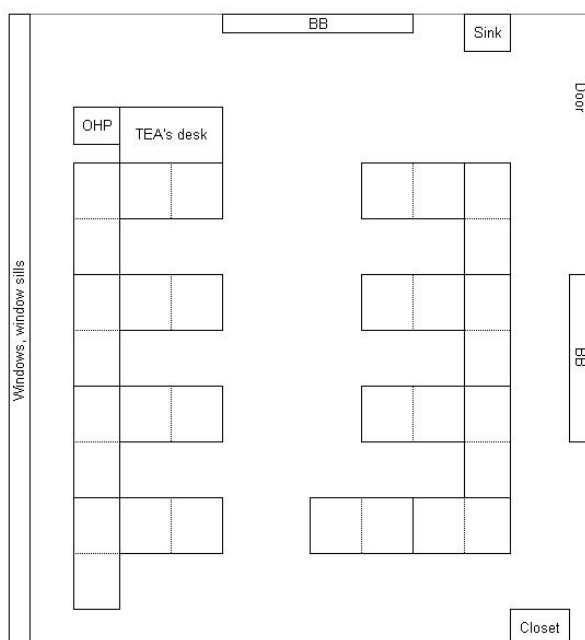
The most important geographical landmark besides the tables is the front blackboard; the pupils' tables are arranged in a comb structure, providing each pupil with a more or less convenient view of the front stage. The teacher's desk is on the left side in front of the

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[106] This finding is not extracted from lesson analysis alone, but based on the teacher's utterances outside the lesson.

pupils' tables, but not in a centre position; mostly, the teacher leans on it or stands next to it when orchestrating the lesson discourse, and only sits down on his chair when it is indicated to assume a more comfortable, less surveillance-oriented position, e.g. when reading to the class or when the pupils are working individually. No frequent change of the seating arrangement is observed during the school year; pupils sitting in a different seat than the previous week mainly occurs when their desk neighbours are absent, so they sometimes, but not regularly, scoot over a seat or two to the next pupil, or take a free spot next to someone they are friends with for the respective lesson. Only after the first term, the arrangement fundamentally changes, but in sum, changes of the seating order do not seem to be a basic strategy of social enforcement. Thus, most of the pupils possess an individual territory in the room, defined by their chair and table, providing them with a place where they belong, and therefore with a certain degree of physical security and certainty.

3.3.1.2 Teaching devices

Blackboard and overhead projector are the only teaching devices used, with the blackboard being utilised most frequently and extensively in almost every lesson, and mainly employed to note down discourse results. The teacher strongly relies on the blackboard as the "logbook" of the lesson and as a demonstration device, and he often orders the pupils to copy from it, sometimes during plenary sessions, sometimes as an extra task. Other than that, the blackboard is used for the communal work on grammar when exemplary sentences are transformed in various ways according to the topic; in these teaching units, pupils are regularly called to the blackboard to demonstrate especially the separation of clauses in the blackboard sentences.

Mostly, the writings on the blackboard are legible, plausibly structured (with headlines and bullet points), and displaying essential results of lesson discourses, with the teacher's handling of the artefact being seasoned and confident, but every now and then, he loses track of what has been said and how it fits into the blackboard writings, leading to subtle grammatical or contextual mistakes. One has to bear in mind here that, since there is no grammar book, the blackboard text is the only written device for grammar orientation and recapitulation, but it is solely used for examples and never displays general rules or definitions to copy, even when a new grammatical topic is introduced. Thus, when depending on the notes copied from the blackboard, the pupils only have the examples in order to reconstruct the grammatical aspects elaborated.

The overhead projector is deployed much less frequently and particularly for the collective work on specific texts, for example a pupil's homework that is discussed in the plenum, the main difference to the blackboard being that the overhead projector is used to directly deal with longer texts. Usually, the pupils each get a copy of the respective text to note down discourse results on their own copy.

The employment of teaching objects is strictly functional and matter-of-factly so the pupils are expected to do without any additional folderol. The functional approach to teaching and learning is an important characteristic of how school is treated here in general, namely from the technocratic understanding of school as a place where information is provided,

processed and reproduced, with the pupils' role defined as being the mere receivers and digesters of teaching contents, including, as shown below (3.3.3.2), all kinds of behavioural rules that contribute to this objective.

3.3.1.3 Learning devices

As for learning devices, the pupils have a textbook, a dictionary, the novel *Anna rennt* "Anna runs" at the end of the school year, and one folder for all of their notes and text sheets. Although grammar is taught regularly, there is no grammar book.

Fig. II.3.31-33. 7th grade: The Wortprofi *(word expert) by Oldenbourg Schulbuchverlag is a school-approved dictionary including word definitions, usage, orthographic aspects, etc. The* Deutschbuch 7 *(German textbook grade 7) by Cornelsen Verlag was published in 2000; it is not explicitly designed for comprehensive school, but used in other school forms, as well. The novel* Anna rennt *was published by cbt Verlag in 2004; novels used in school are not ministry-recommended, but individually chosen by teachers. Dictionary and novel are purchased by the pupils, the textbook is provided by the school.*

Text work is conducted by means of the textbook or sheets with copied texts; the frequent use of text sheets instead of the textbook shows that the teacher does not entirely rely on a predefined curriculum. Also, when working with the textbook, he rarely keeps to the procedure of text analysis as suggested in the book, but makes up his own tasks and exercises, which must be seen as making it harder for the pupils to reconstruct lesson contents on their own by means of the book. However, a small number of learning devices indicates manageability and clarity; only occasionally, pupils are without the needed books, and then easily share textbooks or dictionaries with their neighbours. Neither the textbook nor the dictionary are supposed to be used by the pupils independently during the lesson, but the teacher has to give permission to consult them explicitly; for example, pupils only rarely check the dictionary on their own for unknown words occurring in a given text, and are regularly rebuked if they do so. As the dictionary is labelled as a last resort for situations when any attempt to solve a vocabulary question by means of discourse has failed, the same goes, but to a lesser degree, for the textbook or text sheets, since often, the pupils are to work out textual problems based on their memory of a text read out loud once or twice. This way, the crucial quality of the learning devices (and of the written text itself) is somewhat lessened towards a rather supportive quality.

3.3.2 Lesson contents

3.3.2.1 Topics

Grammar is addressed at an often advanced level, hinting at a notion of literacy as beyond practical skills, directed towards the structural analysis of language. Mostly, grammatical units are repetitions, occurring regularly throughout the school year, and usually, significantly more time is spent on grammar than on text work, particularly because text work units are often combined with or interrupted by grammatical exercises related to specific grammatical phenomena in a given text. This way, grammar and text work are marked as connected themes, and text comprehension and production is characterised as not least relying on the understanding of grammatical structures.

Except for grammar units, the lessons are almost always based on the work with original texts, and it is obviously assumed that the pupils know how to write and read in terms of common orthographical and grammatical rules as well as regarding the composition of coherent texts. Textually, topics treated during the school year are generally according to curriculum and textbook (discussion/ argumentation; news report; social roles; poetry; novel).

Tab. II.3.4. 7th grade: Topics worked on in the German lessons, August 2007 – June 2008

	Grammar	Text work
August	Repetition: words with "ck"; various grammatical aspects (declination, compounds, syntax)	Description (persons, countries)
September/ October	Repetition: various grammatical aspects (tense, compounds, syntax)	Argumentation
November	Repetition: various grammatical aspects (conjugation, syntax)	Reporting events
December	New topic: active/ passive	Play: *A Christmas Carol*
January	Repetition: various grammatical aspects (tense, pronouns, syntax, active/ passive)	Social roles; play script
February/ March	Repetition: various grammatical aspects (prepositions, syntax, active/ passive)	Poetry: Ballads
April – June	Repetition: various grammatical aspects (pronouns, conjugation, syntax, active/ passive)	Novel: *Anna rennt*

In the lesson discourses, the pupils are seldom asked for their personal opinions and experiences related to a given topic, nor would they mention such notions on their own. Therefore, it does not seem a main concern whether the pupils are interested in the topics and can relate to them, and apparently, they do not expect the offered issue to be interesting or meaningful for them personally. Usually, the discussed topics do not yield many possibilities for an immediate reference to the pupils' or the teacher's personal experiences, and they are not controversial in a way that would invite uttering approval or objection.

As far as textual work is concerned, the topics and referring texts are strongly varying regarding demands and complexity. Whereas the school book texts on "argumentation" are mostly on a seventh grade-oriented level, the ballads dealt with during the teaching unit on poetry are often advanced classic German literature with rather high intellectual

requirements of comprehension and interpretation, but without this classic literature being contextualised concerning meaning and importance, which indicates that the teacher does not consider that the appreciation of, for example, Goethe or Heine, might not be "natural", but an educational goal to be achieved in the lesson itself. Being thus somewhat academically biased, the teacher seems to assume the pupils to be able to draw from a certain educational background while most of them have no ties to the culture traits he is referring to. On the other hand, the novel *Anna rennt* "Anna runs" that is treated for the last two months of the school year is a very poor example of German literature, demanding and complex especially in terms of odd style and incoherent plot. However, the remarkable flaws of *Anna rennt* are never addressed in the lessons we witness where the class solely attempts to make sense of the novel's plot painstakingly, for example with regards to the chronological order of events that is quite blurry in the original text.

Grammatically, several specifics of German grammar are treated on an exemplary level by means of questioning and answering units, but mostly without thoroughly defining applicable rules. For example, when active/ passive transformation is demanded, pupils often rearrange clauses instead, which is stated to be a mistake, but, according to our observations, never combined with a general rule as to what constitutes the difference between the two, and how mixing them up can be avoided. Grammatical phenomena are treated on a very sophisticated level, always by means of the technical terms in Latin, with specific linguistic aspects addressed even being rather University level (like joint elements). The emphasis of grammar work is on correctly identifying grammatical phenomena in a given sentence construction (e.g., different types of attributive clauses); but while the pupils are confronted with all kinds of complex grammatical aspects, several of them are occasionally not able to correctly conjugate the most basic verbs, and the pupils' main orthographical difficulties, namely capitalisation and punctuation (as displayed in their own texts), are not made a teaching unit (see 3.3.2.2.2) in the lessons we witness. Therefore, it is arguable if the pupils are able to appreciate being taught about linguistic structures on an abstract level, and if it indeed helps them to grasp the concept of language structures in general.

3.3.2.2 Tools and techniques

In addition to the educational texts in the German textbook and other teaching material, such as a report about a school event or a picture story about a riding accident, several original texts are discussed within the German lessons. Apart from one poem, all original texts are parts of teaching units reaching for a longer time span. Only the poem *Hans der Schwärmer* by Detlev von Liliencron does not belong to a specific teaching unit, but is rather slotted in after the end of the unit on "argumentation"; as the teacher states himself, he wants to discuss this poem after he realised how much he likes it during a school event where it was presented. Thus quoted out of context, *Hans der Schwärmer* is not worked on in a systematic context. By contrast, Charles Dickens' *Eine Weihnachtsgeschichte* ("A Christmas Carol") is an exemplary text discussed during the teaching unit about plays, where, among others, aspects of stage directions are practised. While this play represents the only original text of this teaching unit, the one on analysing ballads deals with several

ballads, namely *John Maynard* by Theodor Fontane, *Belsazar* by Heinrich Heine, *Der Zauberlehrling* ("The Sorcerer's Apprentice") and *Erlkönig* ("Erl-king") by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, as well as *Tonio Schiavo* by Franz Josef Degenhardt, which is the ballad to be analysed in the corresponding class test. Three of the five ballads are in the textbook, except for *Erlkönig* that the teacher chooses based on a colleague's recommendation, and *Tonio Schiavo* that has to be discussed in the class test. Therefore, the class test is about a modern, political poem that is very different from what was studied before, language-wise as well as topic-wise, and the special tools by which means the other ballads were approached (e.g., "mood curve"[107], assorting of verses) are not demanded for the test.

After the teaching unit on ballads, the class reads the novel *Anna rennt* ("Anna runs") by Elisabeth Zöller, a young-adult fiction. It is about a girl that observes how one of her classmates bludgeons her friend to death, who is a refugee from Eastern Europe after World War II; while Anna is confused about what to do, she gets to know the perpetrator better and begins to empathise. The novel's basic content, albeit entirely acceptable for a seventh grade, is repeatedly ruptured by redundant and misleading fragments of information, culminating in the solution that the murder was motivated by romantic jealousy, leading away from the original topic of social conflict motivated by racism. The specific, extremely clipped language of the novel might be intended to reflect Anna's confusion and incoherent thoughts, but its exaggerated use throughout the entire text points at a lack of textual discipline that is also reflected content-wise. Consider the following extract from a chapter beginning:

> (17) *TXT: Heute Abend ist Annas Oma da. Sie ist gesprächiger. Anna sitzt oben bei
>   ihr. In ihrem kleinen Zimmer. Das teilt sie mit der Oma.
>   %eng: Tonight, Anna's granny is around. She is more talkative. Anna sits with her
>   upstairs. In her small room. She shares it with the granny.
>   (Zöller, E. 2004. Anna rennt. München: cbt Verlag, p. 66)

Example (17) illustrates how main clauses are strung together, whereas partly, a full stop divides a mere adverbial from the corresponding clause so that the pieces of information are fragmented instead of being integrated, which not least would be one central characteristic of literate language as opposed to orate language. Moreover, this way, the connections between the single pieces of information remain unclear (e.g., if Anna shares a room with her grandmother, why is the granny only there tonight, and when she is "more talkative", one might wonder as compared to whom), which might be one of the reasons why the pupils tend to miss crucial aspects of the story in their written text summaries. Consequently, *Anna rennt* does not offer specific enabling features with respect to the pupils' advancement regarding their literacy skills, but is a potentially bad example especially because the style itself is not once mentioned in the lessons we observe. After all, one has to take into account here that there is no reason to assume that the pupils are already familiar with novels at a broader level so they would be able to compare *Anna rennt* with other reading experiences by themselves.

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[107] The "mood curve" displays the poem's arc of suspense per verse.

In the German lessons observed, each text is approached in basically the same way, be it a poem or a newspaper article. This means that in general, most of the discourse is dedicated to the identification of the basic contents and plots, also in the form of vocabulary explanations. Formal structures and literary elements are discussed in the context of the topics "argumentation", "writing a report", and "plays", but, according to the witnessed lessons and the pupils' notebooks, not for the poetry and the novel dealt with. Often, and regardless of the text genre, text work is not work on the original text itself, but conducted through recalling texts that have been read aloud before, so the pupils are trained to rely on their memories more than on the actual original. As systematic work on the texts themselves is not constantly practised, this might be one explanation why the pupils tend to do rather poorly in class tests in this regard; for example, they are only seldom asked to exemplify an analytical observation by means of citations from the original texts so that when such quotations occur in the pupils' text products, they are hardly of analytical value, as the following two extracts illustrate.

Fig. II.3.38. 7th grade: Extract from BAR's $^{♀MON}$ *class test on "Anna rennt":* After Georg has whistled, Anna runs home and hears her own voice: "I'll do it! I will." (p. 108) She repeats herself: "I'll do it, I'll do it! I'll speak." (p. 108)

Fig. II.3.39. 7th grade: Extract from CIG's $^{♀BIL}$ *class test on "Anna rennt":* Now Anna walks home. "She doesn't walk, she runs. Runs that the pigtails fly." (p. 107) Anna is so attentive that she bumps against a stone in front of her, brushes someone.

Whereas the writing of coherent texts is only rarely practiced in the German lesson (most of the individual assignments are reading and grammar exercises), the broad majority of homework tasks concern essay questions referring to the respective teaching unit. Such homework assignments are usually prepared in depth during the lesson so that the tasks are a plausible implementation of lesson contents. Sometimes, exemplary homework texts or texts produced in the lesson are discussed in class, which also includes the elaboration of grammatical aspects of the pupils' texts, but generally, the discussions particularly reveal those things that are solved less successfully in the respective pupil's text, while alternative suggestions are seldom, if at all, addressed. Note that neither the observed lessons nor the pupils' notebooks contain written model solutions for a given assignment; solutions provided by the teacher are rare and in the two witnessed cases only orally presented at the end of the lessons and not in the least discussed. It is also never witnessed that the teacher collects all the pupils' homework to check or grade, and neither are there teacher's corrections or comments in the pupils' notebooks. Moreover, according to lesson observations, presenting the homework in front of the class is not very popular amongst the pupils, only few of whom volunteer for such a task. So, while they practice to write free

texts quite frequently at home (albeit with extremely varying degrees of dedication, effort, and regularity), there is no commonplace correctional loop involved by means of which the pupils could control and confirm their individual assignment solutions; instead, they have to orientate themselves by the discussions on the always suboptimal examples offered in the lesson. This way, the class tests[108] are the only self-produced texts every pupil gets a feedback on. In face of the homework and class test results, however, the learning effect of the exemplary discussions on how to produce a text might be deemed rather unsatisfactory, indicating that the pupils do not easily deduct feasible writing techniques from the examination of other pupils' texts as conducted collectively during lessons. Therefore, no particularly enabling potential of tools offered to the pupils can be identified as they are not provided with strategies to solve grammatical or textual problems methodically.

3.3.2.2.1 Structural approaches to text work

Generally, lessons focusing on text work can be sub-classified into two different types; on the one hand, the production of texts is supposed to be practised, while on the other hand, the comprehension or interpretation of texts is focused. Both types of text work mainly consider two text genres, with the former including the composition of argumentations and reports, while the latter relates to the analysis of several ballads and the novel at hand. These text work types are systematically distributed over the school year, with text production being focused in the beginning and text comprehension and analysis in the second term of the school year. In between, the text work on plays and play scripts is a topic related to text production as well as to text comprehension as it considers both aspects.

Looking more closely at the course of the lessons where text work is to the fore, the topic is usually approached by an exemplary text (with respect to text production lessons) or an original text (with respect to text comprehension lessons) that is read out loud, frequently even by the teacher himself. After the text's presentation, a section of text comprehension and clarifying unknown vocabulary follows, which is either conducted as a question-and-answer unit or in the form of collecting contributions with general guiding questions. In lessons focusing on text production, the next lesson section deals with general characteristics of the respective text type, which is mainly worked out by means of collecting contributions. Contrary to that, in lessons dealing with text comprehension, the next step is the discussion of different aspects of content, particularly characteristics and actions of the protagonists; this discussion of content-wise aspects mostly leads to a more specific focusing on text comprehension (see also Section 3.3.3.4).

In lessons concerned with text production, the pupils are supposed to write a text corresponding to the specific text type elaborated, and afterwards, an exemplary text of a pupil is communally discussed, as elaborated above. In the lessons focusing on text comprehension, dealing with basic text content represents the central and, more often than not, also the final part of the lesson section in almost all cases, being mostly characterised by the active participation of the pupils (cf. 3.3.3.4). However, the oral sections of

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[108] All six class tests of the school year are about the production of essays with a summarising and an analytical part (summarising a text portion and explaining what it means by guiding questions).

questioning and answering or collecting contributions are generally not put down in writing, except for the text type "summary" that is explicitly addressed in the lessons on "reports", and in those dealing with the novel.

3.3.2.2.2 Structural approaches to work on grammar and orthography

Grammar units occur very frequently and often represent the only topic within a lesson; moreover, work on grammar regularly takes place in lessons where text work is the actual topic, albeit then mostly reduced and only slotted in the discussion of the central issue of the lesson:

```
(18)    *AZA:   äh@i ich wollt was anderes sagen .

        %eng:   uh I wanted to say something else.
        *AZA:   äh@i also ich wollt sagen .
        %eng:   uh I wanted to say.
        *AZA:   dass die schüler einfach schüler sind .
        %eng:   that the pupils are just pupils.
        *AZA:   und nisch äh@i dass die cheffe sind oder so .
        %eng:   and not that they are "bosses" [wrong plural form] or so.
        *TEA:   nicht nicht cheffe sondern .
        %eng:   not not "bosses" [wrong plural form] but.
        *TEA:   wie ist der plural von der chef ?
        %eng:   what's the plural of boss?
        *TEA:   nicht die cheffe sondern ?
        %eng:   not "bosses" [wrong plural form] but?
        [...]
        %com:   gives SIL a nod, with raised hand
        *SIL:   chefs .
        %eng:   "bosses" [right plural form].
        *TEA:   ja .
        %eng:   yes.
        *TEA:   hast du auch noch einen artikel dafür ?
        %eng:   do you also have an article for that?
        *SIL:   die chefs .
        %eng:   "the bosses" [right plural form and article]
        (VII_07_10_08_SQ: 4/6)
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The example illustrates that the teacher is mindful of mistakes the pupils make in their oral contributions, and inserts corrective loops even at the cost of discourse cohesion – i.e., he does not correct the mistake himself, which would be the fastest way in order to get back to the original topic, but delegates the search for the right answer to the pupils. While this way, the importance of speaking correctly might be emphasised as "everybody's business", it is not unlikely that the original point the respective pupil attempted to make is not acknowledged anymore, which we witnessed many times.

When grammar is the main topic, the predominant approach is a questioning-and-answering section; most of the grammar units aim for the repetition of certain grammatical aspects and thus are rather shaped like an oral exam than an elaborative exercise. Only once during LAS observation, a new grammatical topic is introduced, namely active and passive voice.

As for the actual grammatical aspects discussed, it is not possible to relate a certain topic to a specific portion of the school year since all aspects occur regularly and repeatedly. However, the very frequency of grammatical issues addressed differs distinctly, which is illustrated by the rough estimation in the following table.

Tab. II.3.5. 7th grade: Frequency of grammatical phenomena discussed, in the school year 2007/ 2008

Frequency	Grammatical phenomena
Most frequently	Constituents
Frequently	Verbal inflection, word classes, active and passive voice
Less frequently	Orthography, types of pronouns, compounds
Rarely	Punctuation, prepositions, noun inflection

The identification and labelling of constituents in exemplary sentences represents the most frequent grammatical issue discussed, whereas the pupils also have to extend predefined sentences by means of different adverbial adjuncts, which, generally speaking, can be interpreted as an exercise on constituents. Especially with respect to this very topic, the insights the pupils are supposed to gain are not clear; basically, they are simply ordered to mark and to label, for example, a prepositional object or temporal adverbial over and over again, and they usually succeed in doing so. The same holds true for the frequent occurrence of practising verbal inflection and labelling word classes that both do not cause severe difficulties for the pupils during the lesson discourse.

Particularly those areas the most pupils have massive problems with in their own text production, namely orthography and punctuation rules, are less frequently or rarely addressed. Although the category "orthography" includes several different aspects (e.g., the different [s]-implementations), it only occurs in some lessons we witness and never in the form of a systematic approach as the teacher almost exclusively discusses orthographic features by inserting them in the actual lesson section when, for example, a pupil writes something incorrectly on the blackboard. In the lesson sections reviewing the class tests, orthographical mistakes are mentioned as well, but here, the respective mistakes are simply corrected in the communal discourse, without referring to the general rule. Interestingly, the area that predominantly causes difficulties for the pupils, namely the use of upper and lower case letters, is not witnessed to be addressed at all; in LAS tests as well as in the class tests, it is obvious that none of the pupils has a sufficient knowledge of the respective rules, and one can only assume that capitalisation is not made an issue because it is not part of the curriculum (i.e., the pupils are supposed to know the rules already), which, of course, does not bear enabling potential with respect to the advancement of literacy skills.

3.3.3 Teaching strategies

3.3.3.1 Time management

Since the LAS comprehensive school is a large building, the end of the long recess is announced by a ring that comes two minutes before the ring that signals the lesson start, so pupils and teachers are warned when to set off for the classrooms in order to be there on time when the lesson begins two minutes later; the school bell structures the school day time-wise and behaviour-wise. Both the teacher and the pupils orientate themselves by the signal; they are almost always on time, and the lesson usually starts punctually. The exact point in time when everyone is supposed to be ready for the lesson to start is when the

teacher himself is ready and positions himself in the centre in front of the blackboard, monitoring the class. To begin with the lesson, he depends on the cooperation of the pupils (stand still, quiet down, focus), and the penal minute box (see 3.3.3.2 below) is a working way to enforce this cooperation, which is so well-practised that it does not have to be explained or even mentioned. However, the teacher has a tendency to overrun lesson time sometimes remarkably, hinting at suboptimal lesson planning, although he always argues that he overruns time because the pupils delayed lesson parts by being inattentive or uncooperative, as in Example (19), taking place a few seconds before the lesson-ending bell rings, and after a thirteen-minute question-and-answer unit in which the pupils did not succeed in naming and forming the different forms of attributive clauses, finally resulting in a lesson overrun time of almost nine minutes:

> (19) *TEA: wenna s mündlich nicht macht machta s schriftlich .
> %eng: if you don't do it orally you'll do it in writing.
> *TEA: dann müssta so lange hier bleiben bissa s könnt .
> %eng: then you've to stay here until you know how to do it.
> *TEA: bis wa alle formen haben .
> %eng: until we have all forms.
> %com: it is noisy
> *TEA: wenn ich noch einmal die bank ratschen hör leute .
> %eng: if I hear that desk row chatter one more time, guys.
> %add: right side
> *TEA: habt ihr keine einzige minute pause .
> %eng: you'll have not one minute of recess.
> *TEA: keine .
> %eng: not one.
> (VII_08_06_02_SQ: 2/14)

In short, the actual problem at hand here is that the pupils did not live up to the teacher's expectations before, and one would say that objectively, he has no reason to assume that they will be able to accomplish in individual writing what they did not accomplish orally in a joint effort – unless, and that is what the teacher does here, one blames the failure of the exercise on the pupils' unwillingness to solve the task (one might even say, their unwillingness to be able to solve the task). The threat of lesson overtime as a punishment for not cooperating means that the teacher treats a problem of competence as a problem of discipline, which enables him to resort to his power to enforce discipline, and to disregard his powerlessness to "enforce" competence.

Usually, the teacher draws lines on the blackboard for every extra minute the pupils have "earned", but is not consequent regarding the thus defined amount of time to make good for in the end; on average, one penal line on the blackboard translates into two minutes of lesson overtime (see also 3.3.3.2). Despite the lesson going over the time limit regularly, there are almost never formal lesson closures in terms of summaries or final conclusions; the last act of the lesson is mostly the announcement of the homework, which often contains a lesson-concluding assignment or the completion of a task not finished during the lesson. The main restricting effect of this form of lesson closure might be that the results of the lesson are not immediately secured, but delegated to the homework task, which could create uncertainty as to what were the essentials of the respective teaching units, which is reflected in many of the pupils' homework as well as in repetitive units in the beginning of lessons (see also Section 3.3.3.4).

The management of lesson time is constant throughout the school year, with averaged ninety percent being dedicated to topical units, so lesson time is generally utilised beneficially. Most of a lesson is dedicated to the public lesson discourse; there are only slight variations in the time spent on the different genres of topical work, showing that their occurrence and duration neither depends on the actual topic at hand nor on the class's progress in the course of the school year; rather, the lesson design is characterised by a fixed, largely discourse-oriented pattern. The unchanging time management regarding topical vs. non-topical units and genres of topical work indicates a well-established lesson co-production that is already the desired and best possible result of a development of previous school years, the emphasis on discourse units being intentional and not random.

As far as individual work is concerned, such assignments are either single, longer exercises conducted in one stretch, or several shorter exercises spread out over the lesson; therefore, an individual assignment can take from one and a half minute up to almost half an hour. Generally, it holds true that the more time is provided for an individual exercise, the less time is actually spent on the task at hand by the pupils (see Fig. II.3.40), whereas on average, the time provided for individual assignments is never fully exhausted by the pupils in order to actually work on the exercise.[109]

Fig. II.3.40. 7th grade: Case pupils' average exploitation of assignment time in November 2007 (given time 15:20 min.), January 2008 (given time 8:19 min.) and June 2008 (given time 27:50 min.)
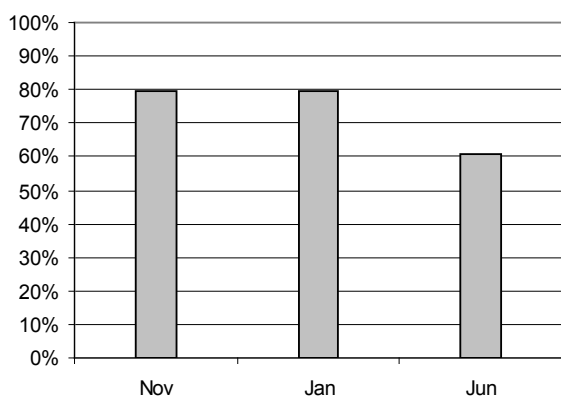
Still, concerning the time management within the lesson design, the time provided for individual work is indeed rather adequate when taking into account that more often than not, the pupils finish their work before actually having finalised it (see 3.3.4.2), most of them not exhausting the time at hand, but at the same time not managing to produce a completed text product (regardless of the text quality as such). Thus, it has to be considered that a basically functional and consequent management of lesson time collides with a structural over-challenge on the part of the pupils, which indicates that the time-wise lesson design is largely independent of the pupils' actual needs and demands.

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[109] Non-exhaustion of available working time mostly comes about by means of deliberate pauses in between, or by finishing early.

3.3.3.2 Implementation and enforcement of rules

The high standard of general discipline during the German lessons must mainly be attributed to the teacher's undisputed authority. Rules and roles are well-practised and, as far as we observe, almost never made an issue (or even mentioned), the pupils behave well-adapted, and there is no insecurity as to what is expected of them socially. Most of the time, the lesson is conducted in a disciplined and orderly way, with the occasional rebuke for pupils who are heckling answers, chattering or fidgeting, but it appears as if there were also some leeway with regards to inconspicuous subordinate interactions and inattentive behaviour that facilitates a smooth lesson course that mainly remains undisturbed by lengthy loops of social corrections. More often than not, the teacher formulates rebukes implicitly by simply naming the pupil's name and not spelling out why he admonishes the respective pupil; generally, it seems to be obvious and transparent for the concerned parties what the pupil is rebuked for, but partly, the teacher also criticises a pupil in a very explicit way by ordering him/ her to stop a disturbing behaviour:

> (20)　*TEA:　barbara, halt jetzt den mund.
> 　　　　%eng:　barbara, shut up now.
> 　　　　(VII_07_12_17_SQ: 1/4)

Rebukes are usually immediately followed by remedying the respective behaviour, but every now and then, the pupils might give the teacher backtalk when they feel they are being rebuked causelessly; in such cases, the teacher often gets himself involved like in Example (21) during an individual reading assignment:

> (21)　*TEA:　so du hörst jetzt mal auf und fängst an zu arbeiten .
> 　　　　%eng:　 you stop that now and start to work.
> 　　　　%add:　THO who is clowning around with ALI
> 　　　　*THO:　ich bin schon fertig .
> 　　　　%eng:　I'm already done.
> 　　　　%com:　opens his book halfway
> 　　　　*TEA:　nee du bist /nich fertig .
> 　　　　%eng:　no you're not done.
> 　　　　*THO:　dann eben nich .
> 　　　　%eng:　 if you say so.
> 　　　　%com:　opens his book, TEA positions himself behind THO, looks over his shoulder
> 　　　　　　　　into the book
> 　　　　*TEA:　du müsstest am rand geklärt haben die begründungen .
> 　　　　%eng:　you should have clarified the reasons in the margins.
> 　　　　%com:　points at THO's book
> 　　　　*TEA:　das is auch nich richtig .
> 　　　　%eng:　that's not right, either.
> 　　　　(VII_08_02_25_SQ: 2/14)

In this case, it is remarkable that the teacher first assumes that THO$^{\male MON}$ has not started to work yet, but when THO objects, the rebuke changes from not having started to not being finished, which, in fact, means that on the one hand the teacher believes THO at once and without any evidence, but on the other hand maintains his stance that THO is to be rebuked nonetheless – and not for his behaviour, i.e. clowning around with his table neighbour. Accordingly, the teacher must already expect that his own idea of being done differs from what THO considers being done. Vice versa, the fact that THO starts to open his book before means that he intends to show the teacher that he indeed finished the task, while his

next, somewhat defiant reply ("dann eben nicht", only roughly translatable as 'if you say so') reveals that he knows he cannot win an argument with the teacher about this. Looking at the teacher's following comments, it is clear that THO did work on the assignment, but, according to the teacher, he did not do it properly and in this sense is indeed not finished. And of course, when it comes to "doing it properly", i.e. to the teacher's satisfaction, it is safe to say that this is indeed an argument the teacher would always win. In the cases we observed, when the teacher takes backtalk and objections into consideration, it is thus not surprising that he always ends up being right. However, this also means that, although the teacher's rebukes and orders are factually not negotiable, they still have to stand to reason. This is possibly why the pupils' mild backtalk never reaches a degree that would actually question or endanger the basic power structures. Consequently, individual punishments mainly occur as a last resort when a pupil repeatedly does not remedy the rebuked behaviour, or picks it up again; the most common strategy we witnessed in such cases is to send them out of the classroom, which, of course, constitutes a legal grey area because originally, the pupils are not supposed to be unsupervised in school. Dealing with adolescents, it is quite interesting that the teacher seems to trust the thus-punished pupils not to leave the immediate premises or to make trouble outside the room. As far as LAS observations go, this trust is indeed never betrayed. Occasionally, pupils who stir up the teacher's discontent are ordered to meet him in his office after the lesson, probably for a serious talk, which is obviously never witnessed. Another form of punishment is the writing of "penal sentences" as a homework, which is witnessed only on two occasions and consists of the classic "I shall not" sentences. Penal sentences are, in one incident, the sanction for talking Turkish in the classroom, which is by now forbidden in many German schools according to the recent zeitgeist of actively promoting the German language use, and the seventh-graders seem to have accepted this arbitrary rule as they do not contest its application (however, a sanction for talking Turkish has only been witnessed once), and, as far as LAS observation goes[110], only rarely switch to Turkish during recess. The alleged rationale behind this rule is never addressed in the witnessed lessons, and while its general existence certainly means a depreciation of other languages and particularly Turkish, some issues of bilingualism are still occasionally addressed in the German lessons (see Section 3.3.3.4).

Apart from specific individual sanctions, the threat of additional lesson minutes keeps the pupils in line; often, drawing the penal minute box on the blackboard is the teacher's finalising act of the initial routines. This alone works as a signal for all the pupils to subordinate immediately, particularly because penal time is a collective punishment, with misbehaviour of a few pupils having consequences for the whole group, which is never an empty threat. More often than not, when the teacher draws a line into the box, there are some pupils who urge their classmates to be quiet, which is a common effect of collective punishment for it is the only way a well-behaving pupil can avoid to be punished for other pupils' misdemeanour. The fact that the threat of penal minutes works so well reveals that neither the teacher nor the pupils pretend that one should be grateful for every additional

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[110] LAS observation only covers the small breaks that are spent in the classroom, not recession time spent in the school yard.

minute of education one can get – on the contrary, the regular lesson time is characterised as the bearable maximum, with every additional minute being a nuisance. This way, it is made very clear that the pupils are under structural duress, it is not suggested to them that their being in the classroom has anything to do with voluntariness. Most of the time, the pupils accept the penal minutes, albeit reluctantly, without explicit complaints, but occasionally, they also protest the lesson overrun if they feel it to be unfair or too long. It is thus part of the pupils' understanding of their role that they have not only duties, but also rights, which mostly concerns the teacher's habit to overrun lesson time, but also other occasions when they feel to be rebuked or punished unfairly.

Regarding correctional action addressing individual pupils, these are, except for in December, more often directed towards factual errors than social behaviour, as can be seen in Figure II.3.41 below. However, the occurrence of different sorts of rebukes reveals their situational character, with no significant development in the course of the school year.

Fig. II.3.41. 7th grade: Absolute occurrence of social and factual corrections, and of the order to "speak up", in the school year 2007/ 2008
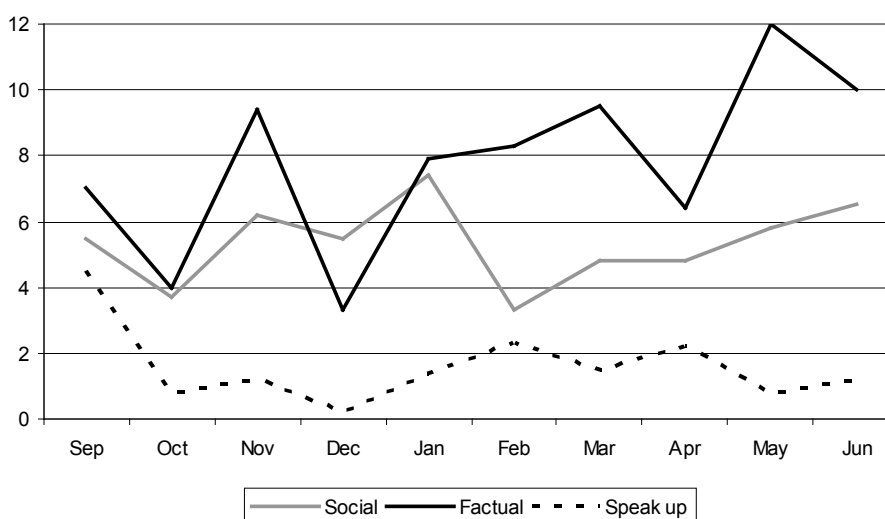
The reoccurrence of the order to "speak up" is interesting insofar as it aims at the maintenance of the lesson discourse as "public" in the sense that every participant is to be enabled to hear and to follow the conversation that this way is explicitly not marked as one-on-one interaction between the immediate interlocutors. Pupils who, in the teacher's perception[111], speak too low mostly repeat their respective utterance in a louder voice without particularly being told to, while the teacher often confirms the utterance encouragingly. Other than that, since general discipline is not a severe issue, many social corrections address conventions like, for example, "put a hand on your mouth when yawning", or "sit decently"; possibly, it is only the high standard of discipline that allows for this behavioural fine-tuning that otherwise would have to be neglected in favour of establishing quiet and order. Nevertheless, it shows that the teacher has a broader, rather

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[111] Note that the order to "speak up" often seems to be not so much based on the actual volume of a contribution than on the teacher's momentary mood, concentration, and also his awareness of the LAS cameras, which he sometimes refers to when complaining about a pupil speaking too low.

"old-school" definition of his educational mission than just to provide an orderly learning environment, with "good behaviour" being addressed in terms of discipline as well as in terms of manners.

3.3.3.3 Motivational strategies

The teacher's main active strategy to engage the pupils in a given topic is to employ different kinds of text and topic introduction and processing, like role plays, work on hypernyms, text puzzles, and others. Although the work on texts basically follows the same structure every time (reading and analysing), there is almost always a variation regarding approach or special focus. However, the different strategies hardly ever cause remarkable increases of interest or enthusiasm on the side of the pupils (who are basically willing to go along with the teacher's course of action anyway), and the respective strategies often fail to add valuable information to the original problem, but are either taken out of their context or ineffectively prolonged in case they do not trigger useful responses immediately. For example, the approach to the grammatical problem of active/ passive constructions via pantomimic role plays (see also the following Section 3.3.3.4) is unsuccessful because it simply does not occur to the pupils to describe the displayed actions in the grammatical mode the teacher is aiming at, so it takes most of the lesson's time to get to the point that the teacher finally has to make himself. When working on hypernyms ("water" in connection with Goethe's *Zauberlehrling*, "crime" in connection with a textbook text on a police report), the teacher only reveals the connection of the hypernym with the topic to be worked on at the end of the unit, and then both times refrains from using the so-created word lists for anything at all in the following lesson discourse. Very early in field research, the suspicion arises that the teacher implements his strategies of variation solely in order to meet the investigator's alleged expectations of "interesting, eventful teaching", and therefore has no experience with these kinds of strategies and is not able to utilise them fruitfully. This can be additionally illustrated by the way he uses the instrument "role play", whenever we observe it, as in Example (26), for demonstrative purposes only, and not discursive in terms of pupils improvising discussions and processing lesson contents, not even during the actual topic "argumentation" where the teacher is always the main actor and, as far as we observe, never lets the pupils try out their arguments. Example (22) is taken from a lesson unit on "expressing opinions":

> (22) *TEA: ich möchte das auch so in der form eines ganz kleinen spiels euch jetzt nah
>   bringen .
>   %eng: I would like to give you an understanding of that in the form of a very small
>   play.
>   *TEA: ich brauche also eine mitspielerin .
>   %eng: so I need a fellow player.
>   *TEA: äh@i # barbara ist die &ei die erste .
>   %eng: uh barbara is the first one.
>   *TEA: die sich gemeldet hat .
>   %eng: who raised a hand.
>   *TEA: das ist nicht so gemeint .
>   %eng: it wasn't meant like that.
>   *TEA: wobei barbara +//.
>   %eng: whereas barbara.
>   *TEA: das sag ich jetzt mal # nur eine +/.
>   %eng: I'm just saying # just a.
>   *TEA: nein sie spielt eine stumme rolle .

%eng: no she plays a silent role.
*TEA: sie muss nur zu mir kommen .
%eng: she just has to come to me.
*TEA: und sie braucht selbst nichts zu sagen und nicht viel zu tun .
%eng: and she doesn't need to say anything or do much.
(VII_07_10_15_SQ: 6/7)

In the following, BAR's ♀MON only job is to sit on a chair facing the teacher, listening to a three-minute speech a "father" gives to his "daughter", and to nod in the end. While this is exactly what the teacher announces at last, what is interesting here is that with terms like "play" and "fellow player", the pupils feel invited to volunteer to play, and while speaking, the teacher considers this possibility and then dismisses it. One can thus say that the prospect of a role play does have an immediate motivational quality, but this is not what it is about.

During the review and sometimes during the preparation of the class tests, the teacher uses his personal relation to the pupils as a motivational catalyst, making a fuss about his high expectations or his disappointment regarding the pupils' performance respectively, revealing his very high opinion of his standing in the class, apparently assuming that his happiness is reason enough for the pupils to make an effort, and taking it personally if they do not:

(23) *TEA: im vorfeld muss ich schon mal sagen herzlich beileid .
       %eng: beforehand I have to offer my condolences.
       *TEA: also die klassenarbeit war so das schärfste geschoss .
       %eng: this class test was the fiercest shot [i.e.: insult].
       *TEA: was ihr mit bisher so angeboten habt .
       %eng: you ever presented me with.
       %com: sits down on his desk
       *TEA: so nach dem motto <einmal zeigen wir dem guten herrn schmidt> ["] .
       %eng: along the lines of, for once we'll show the good mister schmidt.
       *TEA: <dass wir auch /alles was er anders haben möchte falsch machen
              können> ["].
       %eng: that we can do everything wrong that he wants to have differently.
       %com: some pupils laugh uncomfortably
       *TEA: und das ist also den allermeisten unheimlich gut gelungen .
       %eng: and most of you succeeded in that extremely well.
       %com: snorts
       (VII_08_03_31_SQ: 1/1)

"Making it personal" disfactualises the meaning of the class tests by adding an emotional component, implying that any underachievement is a direct slight against the teacher. But much like in Example (19) above, underachievement thus becomes a question of cooperation and not of competence.

In general, active participation is high, indicating a strong motivation on the pupils' side to take part in the lesson discourse and to contribute their thoughts, which furthered by only a marginal risk of being exposed for a poor performance. The greatest risk a pupil can take in the German lesson is that of not actively participating at all for this is frequently punished by being called on without having raised a hand, which most of the time results in embarrassed silence on the respective pupil's side. Basically, the lesson discourse is not shaped along the lines of good performance versus bad performance, but active participation versus discourse passivity, the motivational incentive being not to do good,

but to do at all. Accordingly, there is almost never a mentioning of grades and quality of performances. Occasionally, pupils are praised for right answers, but only seldom explicitly rebuked for wrong answers. Grades are not used as leverage or threat; only when it comes to class tests, the teacher criticises performance on a general level, but without mentioning mistakes of individual pupils, almost treating this as a matter of data protection. Very rarely, pupils are exposed for a poor performance, but even if this happens, it is rather subtle and never comparative or even competitive. This means that a primary motivational factor of school in general – getting good marks, moving up in the educational system – is taken out of the communication entirely, which is the more remarkable since in comprehensive school, the seventh grade is the deciding phase after which the pupils are divided into advanced and basic German courses.

As was pointed out before, the pupils are clearly expected to treat the German lesson as the performance of a serious, self-sufficient duty solely defined by the teacher's specific rules; they are not expected to have fun or to take pleasure in their education, but to bow to discipline and to follow the teacher's didactic and pedagogical lead, with very little scope of individual initiative. As such, there is a motivational quality to be attributed to clear structures, clear rules, and low pressure to perform as far as the lesson is concerned.

3.3.3.4 Discourse strategies

The development of a topic is conducted by the public discourse, while lectures are very rare, and even elaborative utterances with the teacher explaining certain topics are rather seldom and mainly occur when it becomes clear in the discourse that the pupils are not able to come up with anything remotely close to the desired solution by themselves; instructions mostly concern technical aspects of individual assignments. Figure II.3.42 illustrates the monthly distribution of lesson discourse types; sections of questioning and answering (with a "right/ wrong" differentiation) and collecting contributions (compiling information) are contrasted with elaborations and instructions.

Fig. II.3.42. 7th grade: Monthly distribution of lesson discourse types, in the school year 2007/ 2008
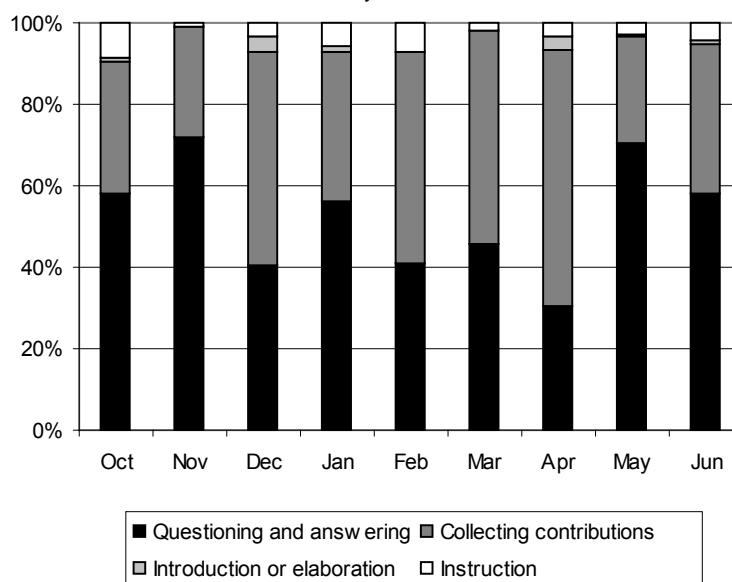
Questioning and answering and collecting contributions represent the clear majority of lesson discourse types with at least 90% of the lesson time each month; in total, questioning and answering sections take up the most lesson time, and they mainly occur in grammar units, while the discourse type of collecting contributions is generally utilised with respect to more content-related sections. However, note that since topical units extend over several lessons and are based on one another content-wise, it is regularly necessary to bring everyone up to date at the beginning of the lesson. This kind of attunement, constantly renewed, sometimes takes up a considerable part of the lesson time; except for grammar units, repetitions often consist of a painstaking reconstruction of the last lesson's discourse, not of actual summaries, with the pupils contributing all kinds of fragments (essential and not so essential) of the previously developed contents. But also in elaborative discourses, the collection of contributions is often a strenuous and difficult process, especially when the teacher seems to have very specific solutions in mind that the pupils do not deliver (see below); in such cases, even if the pupils fail to come up with the desired solution at all, the teacher rather terminates or postpones a further discussion than giving the answer himself. Therefore, the remarkable amount of time spent on topical lesson discourses is not indicative for actual discourse productivity; on the contrary, much of this time comes about by prolonging random (i.e., undirected) discourse portions, with sometimes meagre results (see 3.3.4.1).

In order to illustrate a typical questioning-and answering-discourse, consider the following example of a lesson section where a noun in an exemplary sentence (*Am Schreibtisch lese ich gerade ein Buch.* 'I am reading a book at the desk.') is supposed to be attributed; this lesson section lasts around 18 minutes, which seems quite long considering the type of assignment. The teacher introduces the questioning and answering section with the following instruction (note that here, too, he makes it "personal"):

```
(24)   *TEA:   und jetzt hätte ich mal gerne .
       *TEA:   dass ihr zu diesem nomen attribute hinzufügt .
       %eng:   and now I would like you to add attributes to this noun
       (VII_07_10_15_SQ: 1/4)
```

In the following discourse, the pupils make use of different attributes and name their type (e.g., relative clause, genitive attribute); partly, they repeat types of attributes here that have already been named before, which is one reason why it takes such a long time until each type of attribute is listed, being the aim of this lesson section. Moreover, some pupils confuse certain attribute types so that every now and again, the teacher tries to point out the decisive difference. While the first four attribute types are gathered rather quickly, the pupils have difficulties to find an example for the final one, namely the prepositional attribute; several pupils construct a relative clause containing a prepositional phrase, the difference either being elucidated by the teacher himself, or by another pupil, which is also taking quite a long time. Thus, a lesson section, even if it was planned as a brief repetition, can more and more (and almost uncontrollably) expand due to the specific dynamics of the respective discourse that are more or less unpredictable.

The basic course of the different collecting contributions sections is also constant throughout the school year; usually, the teacher initiates such a discourse sequence by means of a very general question that allows for many different kinds of responses, simplifying the access for the pupils and encouraging them to take part in the lesson discourse, which normally works very well, but regularly leads to a broad collection of possible, and sometimes remote, inputs (see also 3.3.4.1), particularly when the initial question aims at what the pupils remember from a previously introduced original text. Thus, the lesson discourse can be seen as being based on the general teaching strategy that the pupils have to work out problems by themselves, with the teacher mildly supporting or guiding them, i.e., he mostly goes on and on collecting contributions until no one raises a hand anymore, and only then, but not always, offers a guiding question or comment. The randomness of such discussions often results in lesson discourses where the pupils can only guess the assumingly desired answer so that the conversation is mainly about finding a specific, but unspecified solution for an actually undetermined problem. One rather striking example is a teaching unit that is introduced by means of a "role play", with one pupil's eyes being bandaged while the teacher and another pupil lead her from the blackboard to her seat. The assignment for the entire class is to observe and to describe in writing what is happening, which is then being discussed in a subsequent collection of contributions. Later, the teacher asks the pupils to focus on the actors' different behaviours by means of the following instruction:

```
(25)   *TEA:   und jetzt versucht bitte noch mal .
       %eng:   and now please try again.
       *TEA:   das verhalten von uns dreien etwas näher zu beschreiben .
       %eng:   to describe the behaviour of us three a bit more precisely.
       [...]
       *TEA:   wie war das verhalten von isabell ?
       %eng:   how was isabell's behaviour?
       *TEA:   wie war das von jonas und mir ?
       %eng:   how was that of jonas and me?
       (VII_07_12_17_SQ: 1/14)
```

Only based on the later completion of this lesson, one can determine that the teacher is geared towards the differentiation between being active and passive in order to introduce a new topic, active and passive voice. Assuming that the teacher aims for ISA$^{\female MON}$ being described as passive while JON$^{\male MON}$ and the teacher are supposed to be described as active, the instruction displayed in Example (25) is not only general and implicit, but the teacher instructs the pupils 15 times in the subsequent discourse to describe the actors' behaviours without decisively varying the phrasing of (25). In total, the pupils are groping in the dark for more than 26 minutes until the teacher finally names the expected adjective "active" himself. While this teaching unit represents a very extreme example, particularly considering the amount of time being spent until the desired answer is found (by the teacher), the general structure of this lesson discourse recurs in lessons throughout the school year, with the teacher looking for particular solutions and letting the pupils guess, not specifying the corresponding instruction, but rather repeating or, at the utmost, rephrasing it.

On the other hand, while single questions are mostly not supplied with additional explanations or hints, the general discourse structure particularly in text work units is still shaped incrementally, leading from general to specific questions. For example, in the first lesson on the teaching unit "social roles", the teacher writes the sentence *Jeder Mensch übernimmt viele Rollen.* 'Every person assumes many roles.' on the blackboard; after the pupils determined its grammatical specifics, they are first (26.a.) asked for the general meaning of the sentence, then (26.b.) for examples from their own experiences, and finally (26.c.) for a definition of "social role":

(26) a.   *TEA: könnt ihr mal sagen .
               %eng: can you say.
               *TEA: was /bedeutet denn dieser satz inhaltlich ?
               %eng: what does this sentence mean content-wise?
               %com: goes to desk, sits on it
               *TEA: versucht mal mit euren worten zu erklären .
               %eng: try to explain with your own words.
               %com: puts piece of chalk on desk, stands up, walks to door side
               *TEA: was dieser satz aussagen will .
               %eng: what this sentence is supposed to mean.
               […]
      b.   *TEA: welche rollen spielt /ihr denn in eurem leben ?
               %eng: what roles are you playing in your lives?
               […]
      c.   *TEA: hat denn jemand so eine vorstellung davon .
               %eng: can somebody imagine.
               *TEA: was dieses nomen, dieser begriff <rolle> ["] denn nun eigentlich aussagt ?
               %eng: what this noun, this term <role> means after all?
               (VII_08_01_07_SQ: 1/4-1/6)

Normally, this kind of procedure is broadly deductible from the pupils' preceding utterances, but it can repeatedly be observed that the more specific the questions get, the fewer pupils volunteer to contribute, and not seldom, tasks like in (26.c.) are insufficiently solved or even aborted due to a lack of contributions. On other occasions, the teacher might "summarise" the pupils' previous contributions while adding crucial interpretative aspects himself as if they had been already mentioned, and then continue with a discussion on such aspects that the pupils never arrived at by themselves. Example (27) is the teacher's summary of a discourse on the relationship between the protagonists of the novel *Anna rennt*, with (27.a) to (27.d) being reiterations of pupils' utterances, but (27.e) being the teacher's very own interpretation that is also the basis for the subsequent task (27.f):

(27) a.   *TEA: und ihr habt eben gesagt .
               %eng: and you just said.
               *TEA: erst sind anna und georg rivalen .
               %eng: first anna and georg are rivals.
      b.   *TEA: später da kamen so formulierungen .
               %eng: later there were some formulations.
               *TEA: freunden sie sich an .
               %eng: they befriend each other.
      c.   *TEA: oder dann lösen sich die probleme .
               %eng: or the problems are getting solved.
      d.   *TEA: da wendet sich alles zum guten .
               %eng: everything turns to good account.
      e.   *TEA: und äh@i da ist auch angeklungen .
               %eng: and then it was also implied.
               *TEA: dass georch an die stelle von helmut tritt .

%eng: that georg replaces helmut.
     f.   *TEA: und wir wollen uns jetzt einmal daraufhin diese drei seiten
               durchlesen .
%eng: and now we will read these three pages against this backdrop.
(VII_08_06_16_SQ: 1/5)

In such incidents, one might say that the teacher actually interprets the pupils' interpretations in a way that makes it possible to stick to the analytical procedure he seems to have in mind. The incremental structure of the discourse might thus not necessarily coincide with an incremental accumulation of subsequently applicable information.

Instructions/ questions in grammar units are obviously more pointed and concise since they are aiming at a particular answer that is the only correct one. However, the teacher also often lets the pupils decide which particular grammatical example they are going to refer to so that they can choose the part easiest to analyse for them; therefore, although grammar units are generally characterised by a "right/ wrong" differentiation, the teaching unit is shaped in a more open way, comparable to the examples above on developing topics.

(28)   *TEA: wer kann mir einzelne wortarten hier benennen ?
        %eng: who can name particular word classes here [in the exemplary sentence]?
        (VII_08_01_07_SQ: 1/2)

Of course, in the end, all occurring word classes in the example sentence have to be named, not just the ones the pupils immediately "can". Partly, the teacher phrases more concrete questions, telling the pupils exactly what he wants to hear:

(29)   *TEA: ganz kurze wiederholung # wortarten .
        %eng: very brief repetition of word classes.
        [...]
        *TEA: von vorne nach hinten .
        %eng: from the beginning to the end [of the exemplary sentence].
        (VII_08_05_26_SQ: 1/3)

As in (29), grammar instructions are sometimes extremely brief, not even consisting of an entire clause, but rather solely naming the topic of grammar the pupils are supposed to analyse (e.g., "word classes" in (29)). Being regularly conducted throughout the school year, the pupils prove to know that they are supposed to mark and name the word classes in the respective exemplary sentence. Moreover, also the keyword "brief repetition" in (29) indicates that the oral assignment is about something the pupils are supposed to know, and that it should not take them much contemplation to solve the task.

In contrast to instructions structuring oral discourses, instructions with respect to a following writing assignment or a homework are usually much longer (see Example (30)), more often than not also including several attempts of rephrasing.

(30)   *TEA: und auf diesem blatt schreibt ihr dann gleich /erstens euren namen.
        %eng: and on this sheet, you firstly write your name.
        [...]
        *TEA: und /zweitens schreibt ihr zu dieser überschrift [...] <was machen wir
               nun> ["] einen ganz kurzen gesprächstext zwischen vater mutter kind .
        %eng: and secondly, you write a very short conversation between father,
               mother, child referring to the title 'what are we going to do now?'.
        *TEA: und die aufgabe ist jetzt .
        %eng: and the assignment is.

```
*TEA:   es sind /mindestens vier redebeiträge .
%eng:   there are at least four utterances.
*TEA:   zwei von den eltern zwei vom sohn # mindestens .
%eng:   two from the parents, two from the son at least.
*TEA:   ihr könnt auch zwei mehr machen .
%eng:   you may write two more
*TEA:   zwischen vier und sechs .
%eng:   between four and six.
*TEA:   mehr soll es /nicht sein .
%eng:   it shouldn't be more.
*TEA:   und eure /aufgabe ist jetzt .
%eng:   and your task is now.
*TEA:   in diesem kurzen gespräch für das ihr die /wörtlichen äußerungen
         aufschreibt .
%eng:   in this short conversation where you write down direct speech.
*TEA:   den jungen in seiner hochsprache in seiner etwas ausgefallenen
         sprache sprechen zu lassen .
%eng:   to let the boy talk in his standard language, in his more sublime language.
*TEA:   und die beiden eltern in dieser umgangssprache .
%eng:   and the two parents in the vernacular.
*TEA:   und zwar nach diesen kriterien die wir hier an der tafel stehen haben .
%eng:   namely on the basis of these criteria that are on the blackboard.
*TEA:   ihr schreibt die überschrift ab .
%eng:   you copy the title.
*TEA:   dann klapp ich um .
%eng:   then I turn down [one wing of the blackboard].
*TEA:   und dann macht ihr solch ein kleines gespräch .
%eng:   and then you do such a short conversation.
*TEA:   und schreibt das also bitte auf ja ?
%eng:   and write it down please, okay?
*TEA:   jeder für sich dann .
%eng:   every one for themselves.
(VII_08_01_21_SQ: 2/11)
```

Generally, this instruction has to be regarded as quite long, resulting in a slightly confused formulation, and not conveying the decisive information unambiguously. Regularly, the teacher also announces specific formal criteria the pupils have to stick to in their writing assignment, like the number of sentences as in (30), and often also the demand to write in one column on the sheet so that the teacher has enough space to add his criticisms and corrections (which he is never observed to do with lesson's writing assignments, but in class tests, so in the lesson, it rather seems to be a sort of training). As with discursive instructions, the teacher regularly rephrases the instruction for writing assignments several times, indicating that he endeavours to simplify the access to the task by offering different formulations, and he often asks one of the pupils to repeat the assignment, which, on the one hand, results in another rephrasing, and on the other hand can be regarded as a random check-up if the assignment has been understood correctly.

Although usually, the teacher does not give much input himself during the discourse, he still more or less monopolises the classroom conversation by means of speech ratios, as Figure II.3.43 (on text work discourses) displays.

Fig. II.3.43. 7th grade: Ratio of speech portions, teacher and pupils, in lesson discourses on text work, in the school year 2007/ 2008
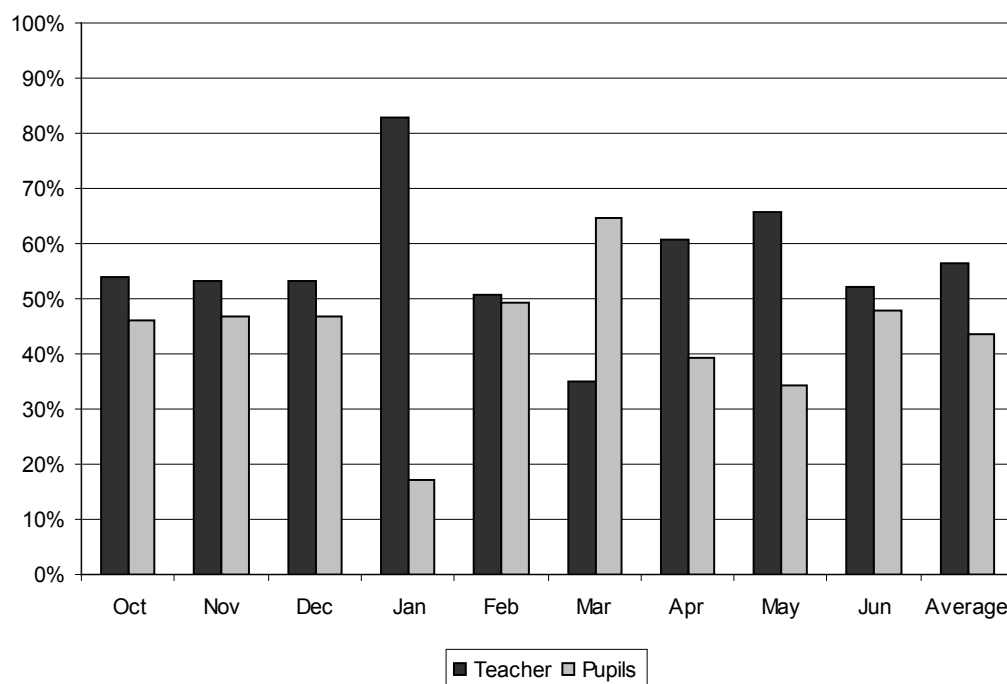
Mainly, the teacher's higher ratio of utterances comes about by the fact that the pupils' contributions are mostly very brief, whereas the teacher tends to phrase questions and reformulations of pupils' utterances rather extensively. Moreover, there is a connection between the speech ratio and the respective topic treated; for example, the topic "social roles" treated in January demands a lot of intervention and clarification on the teacher's part, whereas in the case of the ballads dealt with in March, the pupils are able to satisfy the teacher's expectations without much intervention or guidance. As was suggested above, in general, the teacher is orchestrating the discourse and careful to accept most of the contributions, which encourages oral participation, but seldom makes immediate connections between different contributions so that the discourse is mostly a collection of only loosely connected utterances and, as far as we observe, never develops into a discussion, whereas pupils' utterances rarely consist of more than one sentence; it is not common that the pupils are urged to elaborate their thoughts in a subsequent contribution. This means that usually, a large part of the class can be actively involved in the dialogue, albeit briefly; particularly in grammar units, it regularly occurs that each single pupil is called on to contribute.

The strategy to rather accept than reject the pupils' contributions during text work means that factual correction more frequently concerns grammar than content, as Figure II.3.44 displays. Note that the outlier in February is due to a low occurrence of grammar units in the observed lessons in this month.

Fig. II.3.44. 7th grade: Average number of grammatical vs. contentual corrections per lesson, in the school year 2007/ 2008
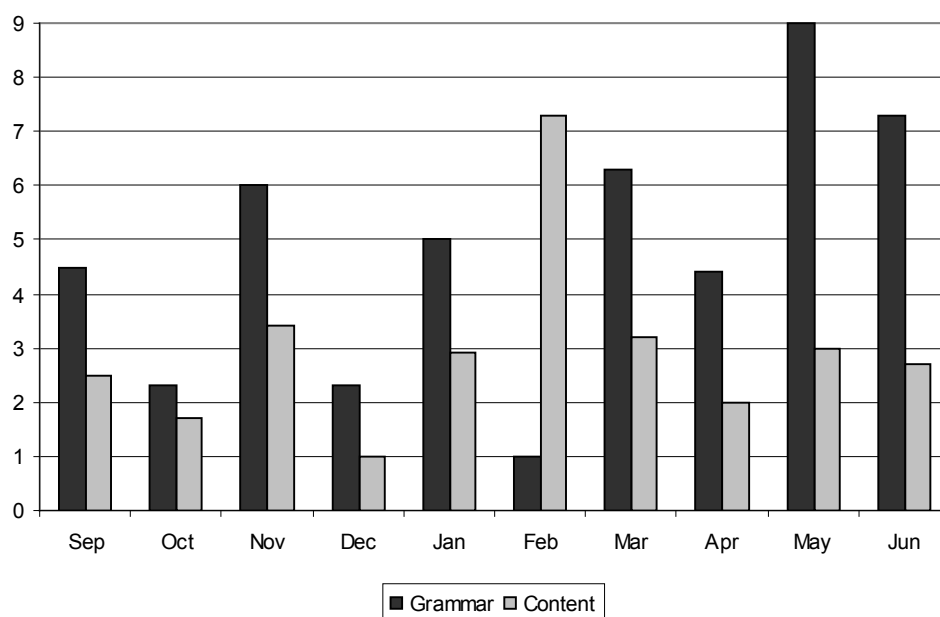
As for the correction of pupils' apparent mistakes (according to a clear "right/ wrong" differentiation), it is often delegated to the class rather than corrected by the teacher himself, so first of all, the pupils are urged to work on certain problems on their own, and are not tempted to solely rely on being told by the teacher what is right or wrong. Secondly, whenever a mistake is delegated back to the pupils in order to correct it, the problem at hand is marked as being solvable by everyone based on already available knowledge, which labels the mistake that was made as avoidable in the first place, and the quality of the problem as adequate according to the pupils' capacities and competences. It is noteworthy here that error correction is the only context in which occasionally, the bilingual composition of the class is addressed explicitly during the lesson[112] when mistakes occur that the teacher rightly assigns to second-language issues, particularly in the case of grammatical gender uncertainties. However, most of the time, such mistakes are corrected in passing and not made an extra issue.

Specifically, the teacher corrects the pupils' language mainly with respect to three different language areas occurring frequently throughout the school year; one of these areas concerns grammar mistakes, with the teacher making use of different types of correctional strategies, the correct repetition of the wrongly phrased answer being the most frequent one:

```
(31)   *MUR:  und die kinder halten sich auch zusammen .
       %mor:  CONJ|und DET:DEF|the&PL N|child-PL V|hold-PRS&3PL
              PRO:REFL|themselves ADV|also PTCL|together
       %eng:  and the children stick *themselves together.
       *TEA:  die halten zusammen .
       %mor:  PRO:DEM|they V|hold-PRS&3PL PTCL|together
       %eng:  they stick together.
       *TEA:  meinst du .
       %mor:  V|mean-PRS&2SG PRO|you&2SG .
       %eng:  is what you mean.
       (VII_07_09_10_SQ: 2/7)
```

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[112] Except for the once witnessed punishment for speaking Turkish, see 3.3.2.

Every now and then, the teacher urges the pupils to use complete sentences in their utterances although he does not pay systematic attention on this issue, often not commenting on contributions not being uttered in a complete clause. As incomplete clauses are very common in standard spoken language, a refusal of each thus-shaped utterance would, of course, be a very painstaking and even pointless course of action, so apparently, the occasional reminder has to suffice. It is a given that the teacher himself does not exclusively speak in complete sentences (see Example (29) above), simply representing the unmarked structure of spoken language, which all the more shows how unnatural this demand actually is. Usually, the teacher criticises incomplete clauses in a rather casual way (Example 32), sometimes even ironically, which presumably results from the constant recurrence of this correction.

```
(32)   *TEA:  habta so etwas schon einmal in irgendeinem anderen fach gesehen .
       %eng:  have you seen something like that in another subject.
       *TEA:  und gehabt und kennen gelernt .
       %eng:  and treated and got to know.
       [...]
       *TEA:  barbara .
       %com:  with raised hand
       *BAR:  in mathe ?
       %eng:  in math?
       *TEA:  in mathe # ja .
       %eng:  in math, yes.
       [...]
       *TEA:  könntste auch n ganzen satz opfern ?
       %eng:  could you also sacrifice a whole sentence?
       *BAR:  in mathe ham wa mal so was gemacht .
       %eng:  we've done something like that in math.
       (VII_08_02_18_SQ: 1/3)
```

Mostly, these corrections appear to be rather artificial since in the context of the discourse, everyone knows what the contribution is supposed to mean as it typically represents a direct answer to a question being asked just before.

The third language area the teacher uses to correct concerns the use of colloquial language within the lesson discourse, although this type of correction occurs less frequently than the two types discussed so far. While the use of colloquial expressions is one of the major fields of correction in the class tests, the teacher partly criticises vernacular formulations also during the lesson discourse, which plausibly corresponds to his own mostly literary style of speech.

```
(33)   *MUS:  knast .
       %eng:  clink.
       *TEA:  √bidde ?
       %eng:  pardon?
       *MUS:  knast .
       %eng:  clink.
       %com:  some pupils laugh
       [...]
       *TEA:  äh@i mustafa .
       %eng:  uh, mustafa.
       *TEA:  wir sind hier nicht bei pausengesprächen .
       %eng:  this is not a conversation during recess.
       *TEA:  aber von der sache hast du richtig .
       %eng:  but otherwise you're correct.
       *TEA:  wie heißt das wort also richtig ?
       %eng:  so what's the correct word?
```

```
      *MUS:  gefängnis .
      %eng:  prison.
      *TEA:  das ist ein gefängnis für ihn ja .
      %eng:  it is like a prison for him, yes.
      (VII_07_12_03_SQ: 4/11)
```

When the teacher criticises the use of the word *Knast* 'clink', he also, albeit rather implicitly, explains why it is not adequate to make use of the colloquial word during the lesson, indicating the differences of certain registers, which might help the pupils to advance a sense of differentiating between contexts where different registers are adequate (and the fact that some pupils are laughing indicates that at least these pupils already know that); pointing at one of the differences between orate and literate language might offer enabling potential in terms of avoiding orate language in specific contexts.

Against the backdrop of a strict "right/ wrong" difference, as is the case with grammatical units where there are very few grey areas, mistakes are easy to identify. By contrast, the quality of contributions on textual contents is not so easily determined, often being partly right, not entirely wrong, or acceptable in some way, with regular corrections solely concerning wrong facts (e.g., naming wrong protagonists), or when pupils repeat contributions of other pupils. In general, the teacher tends to accept most of the thoughts and ideas uttered on issues of text analysis, albeit mostly without commenting, let alone praising. Although a minimised pressure to perform enables the pupils to participate in the lesson without the fear of failure (which is reflected in many discursive units where most of the pupils are not shy to contribute immature or inadequate thoughts now and then, see also Section 3.3.4.1), the often rather low level of performance in text work units might at least partly be attributed to the lack of achievement-oriented incentive, which means that the pupils are not faced with explicit demands, potentially preventing them from making the best of their individual possibilities, and leading to uncertainties regarding expectations; as one can see in the class tests with the teacher's remarks at the margins, although such expectations are hardly communicated in the lesson discourse, they are indeed utilised when it comes to the grading of class tests. Consider Example (34) from a collecting contributions unit on the changing relationship between the two main protagonists in the novel *Anna rennt* (after the respective text passage was read out loud by the pupils):

```
(34)   *TEA:  eine schöne sache fehlt noch .
       %eng:  one nice thing is still missing.
       *TEA:  was sie machen .
       %eng:  what they do.
       *TEA:  woran man erkennen kann .
       %eng:  by what one can see.
       *TEA:  dass sie sich jetzt so langsam anfreunden oder besser verstehen # in der
              schule .
       %eng:  that they bit by bit befriend each other or get along better in school.
       *TEA:  sascha .
       %com:  with raised hand
       *SAS:  äh@i anna macht das mit georg .
       %eng:  uh anna does with georg.
       *SAS:  was sie früher mit helmut gemacht hat .
       %eng:  what she did with helmut before.
       *TEA:  ja wir hätten nur gern gewusst was .
       %eng:  yes we'd just like to know what.
       *TEA:  du hast völlig recht .
       %eng:  you're completely right.
```

```
*SAS:   die kucken sich nur an und werden rot .
%eng:   they just look at each other and blush.
*TEA:   ja .
%eng:   yes.
%com:   writes 'Anna looks at Georg, blushes' on the blackboard
(VII_08_6_16_SQ: 1/6)
```

In short, SAS$^{\male MON}$'s first remark has already been established in the discourse before, while his second observation is taken from the text that was read out loud previously, with the qualification that it says in the text that Anna and Georg blush when they realise that their classmates notice that they look at each other lengthily. Just as the text passage itself is limited to such mere observations, so is SAS's utterance (and so are most of the pupils' contributions in this lesson unit); the implicit meaning of 'looking at each other and blush' is not touched upon. While we thus regularly observe that text analysis in lesson discourses is solely about extracting objective information from the text, the corresponding class tests are literally riddled with teacher's comments like *Aussage unklar* 'message unclear', *Formulierung ungenau* 'formulation imprecise', *Ausführungen zu oberflächlich* 'explanations too superficial', or *Formulierung zu textnah* 'formulation too close to original text' (all quoted from SAS's respective class test). Thus, there is an obvious imbalance between what is marked as good performance in the lesson discourse on the one hand and in the class tests on the other hand. This also concerns the circumstance that in lesson sections dedicated to text work, working out problems solely by means of 'teamwork' in the public discourse also means to share and to delegate the responsibility for finding solutions, so the pupils are used to and, to a certain degree, dependent on the regular corrective control, complements and ideas offered by the collective. While on the one hand benefiting from other pupils' ideas, they are, on the other hand, not trained to produce solutions indepently. But especially in the class tests, it is visible that for the majority of the pupils, even if they are usually able to contribute useful thoughts during the lesson discourse, it is rather difficult to produce a sufficient text analysis as an individual effort.

3.3.4 Learning strategies

3.3.4.1 Participation and attention

In general, the pupils attend school regularly, the average is over ninety percent. Since in the seventh grade, school attendance is mostly still in the parents' responsibility, regular attendance shows a high degree of parental supervision.

Fig. II.3.45. 7th grade: Pupils' school attendance in the school year 2007/ 2008
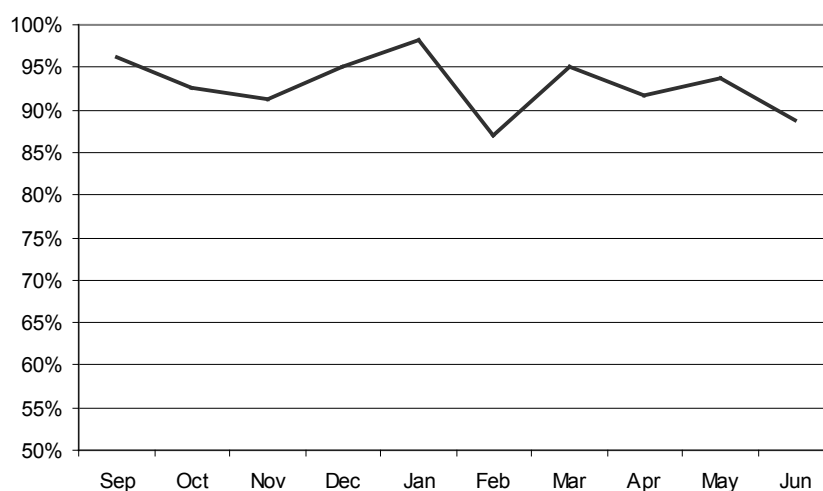
Looking at the case pupils individually, a third of them attend class without exception, missing class one or two times in the school year is common.

Fig. II.3.46. 7th grade: Case pupils' school attendance in the school year 2007/2008
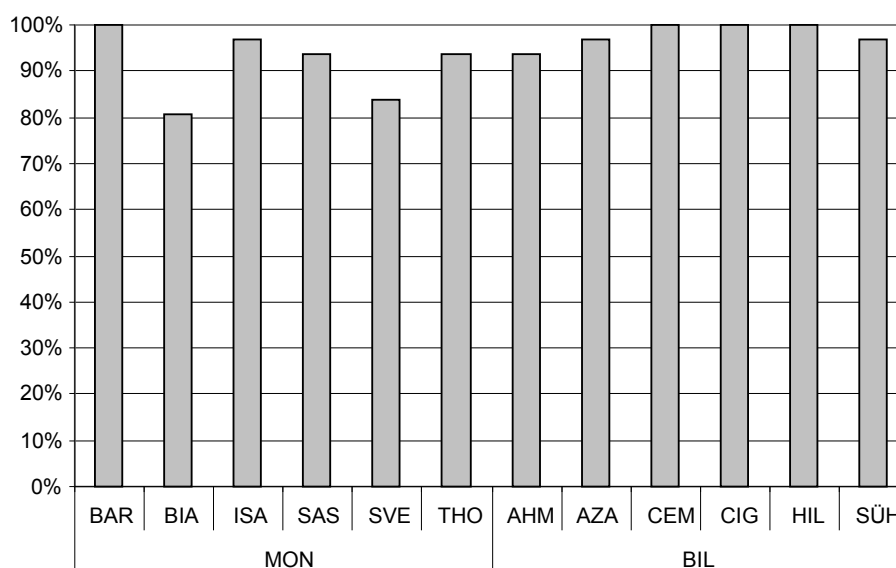
Case pupils with German as a second language have an only slightly higher attending discipline than case pupils with German as a first language; the difference between girls and boys is even less significant. It is remarkable, though, that of the four case pupils not missing class at all, three are from the group with German as a second language, whereas both pupils with the highest absence rate are from the group with German as a first language. However, it should also be noted that especially CEM$^{\male BIL}$ and AHM$^{\male BIL}$ are often conspicuously tired in the observed German lessons (third and fourth period on Mondays), yawning a lot and showing considerable signs of exhaustion that other pupils do not display to this degree and in this regularity so that one might suspect that the two boys commonly do not get enough sleep to be rested and alert in school.

The generally high standard of discipline in the class ensures broad communitisation and attention, which makes it harder for the single pupil to swing the lead and to disconnect from the lesson discourse for longer stretches of time, especially because the teacher tends to call on pupils who seem inattentive to him (see above). However, the pupils do have strategies to appear attentive when they are not, and are submerging and emerging from the surface structure of the lesson according to their own assessment of what is expected of them. Thus, no pupil is attentive and focused all the time, but most of them are careful not to disconnect from the discourse for too long. Figure II.3.47 shows the averaged attention ratio of the case pupils in the school year 2007/ 2008 according to observationnaire evaluation.

Fig. II.3.47. 7th grade: Case pupils' average ratio of attention during the lesson,
in the school year 2007/ 2008.
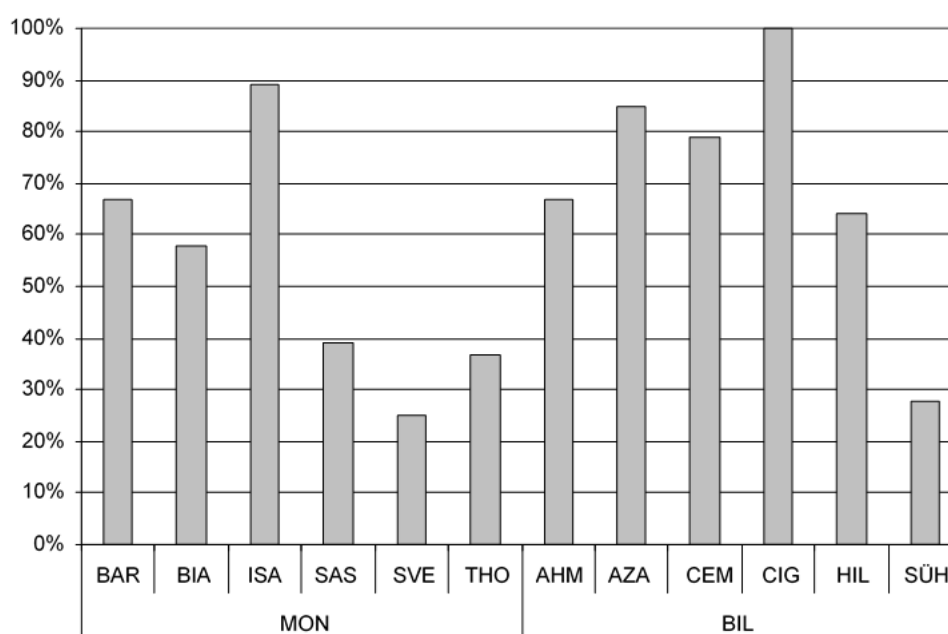
Most of the case pupils display a rather constant individual pattern of focusing, un-focusing, and re-focusing during the school year, which is mostly independent of actual topics or lesson designs, meaning that they have established regular strategies to make it through the lesson, including time-outs, but also switching to a passive participation mode. Apart from a few exceptions, the pupils are careful to maintain a low profile when turning away from the lesson discourse, avoiding to attract the teacher's attention particularly by not being too fidgety, by carrying out subordinate interactions secretively, and by not fiddling with conspicuous objects (i.e., objects that are extraneous to the lesson, and which the teacher consequently takes away, like cell phones or juice boxes). Subordinate interactions are, on the one hand, shaped by the condition of observability by the teacher, so "private" contacts are mostly made quietly and inconspicuously, basically restricted to the direct neighbours for mere practical reasons. On the other hand, patterns of subordinate interaction of the case pupils also illustrate the existence of a this-related latent social pressure since for most of them, it appears to be impossible to ignore their direct

neighbours' attempts of making contact. Only very rarely, it was observed that a pupil would mark the public discourse as having priority over a private exchange initiated by a classmate, while normally, subordinate interactions are being kept brief and rather occur in intervals than in longer pieces of talk or quiet exchange. Being aware of what constitutes rule-breaking does thus not mean to behave comfortably at all times, but it requires strategies to disguise the rule-breaking, and the case pupils have developed different levels of expertise and possibly ambition regarding this matter, which seems to be an integral part of their pupil's role. So, while SÜH$^{♀BIL}$ might sit motionlessly, staring down at her table for long stretches of time, appearing as if she were trying to avoid her co-participants' attention, SAS$^{♂MON}$ would rather gaze out of the window dreamily or self-forgotten chew his fingernails, seemingly entirely disconnecting from what is going on around him. SVE$^{♂MON}$ and THO$^{♂MON}$, on the other hand, have a much greater tendency to seek subordinate interactions with their classmates and to inconspicuously play around with things on their tables.

On average, case pupils with German as a second language are somewhat more attentive and focused during the lesson than case pupils with German as a first language; assuming that there are no fundamental differences in terms of general capabilities, this finding might indicate a greater sense of duty, more interest in the lesson discourses, or maybe even more distinct ambitions on the part of the bilingual pupils. Tendentially, this also goes for the girls who are slightly more attentive than boys, mainly due to the boys' general likeliness to be more fidgety and easier distracted.

Pupils who constantly follow the lesson discourse and/ or contribute to it repeatedly tend to get less often obviously bored than those who are repeatedly distracted, most likely because of the limited means by which one can occupy oneself with activities strange to the lesson. Moreover, it actually seems to be much more exhausting to find partners for subordinate interactions again and again and to constantly avoid the teacher's attention than to follow the prominent lesson event. Therefore, active participation can not least be thought of as a way of killing time, and only in a few cases, active participation seems to be more influenced by the actual topic at hand, as Figure II.3.48 shows.

*Fig. II.3.48. 7th grade: Case pupils' average share of lesson discourse, grammar vs. text work,
in the school year 2007/ 2008*
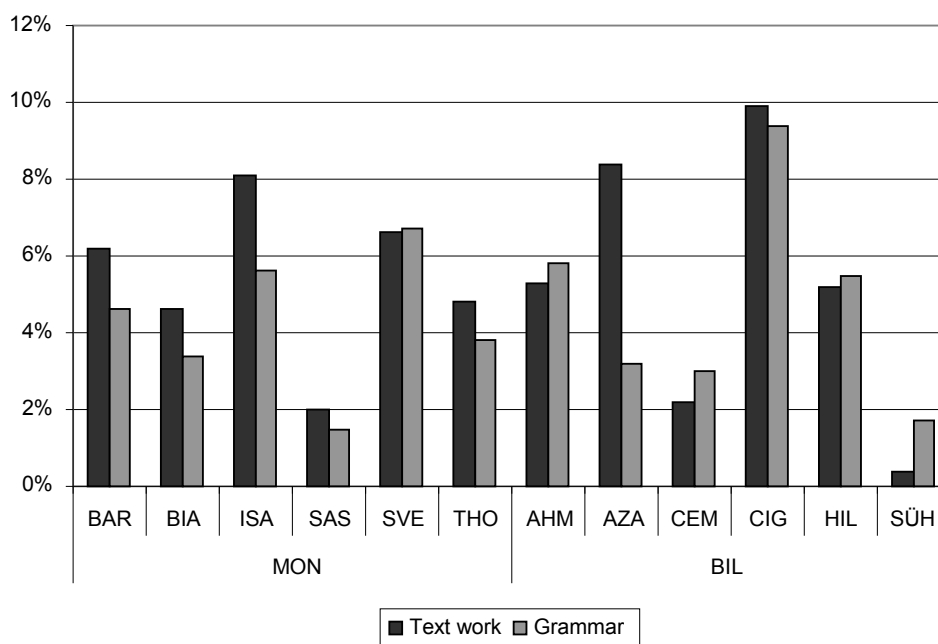
Only three case pupils show a clear tendency towards more frequent active participation in either text work units (AZA$^{\male\text{BIL}}$, ISA$^{\female\text{MON}}$) or grammar units (SÜH$^{\female\text{BIL}}$); all others' participation is rather balanced. Not least, this speaks for the teacher's capability of equally including the pupils in discourses on the two general topics. The main difference here is between girls and boys, with girls having higher ratios of active participation in both text work and grammar units (which would corroborate a general assumption that girls are more active in school than boys). Since the amount of contributions is not indicative of their quality, Figure II.3.49 shows the quality of three different text-work discourses (in January, March, and May 2008) regarding the conduciveness of the pupils' individual contributions.[113]

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[113] Non-conducive contributions are here defined as repetitions of previous speakers' utterances, and utterances that are not adequately related to the original question or problem. Zero-contributions come about by being called on without raising a hand and not contributing anything, and by default-contributions in the form of premature utterance termination.

Fig. II.3.49. 7th grade: Conduciveness of the pupils' contributions in three lesson discourses, in the school year 2007/ 2008
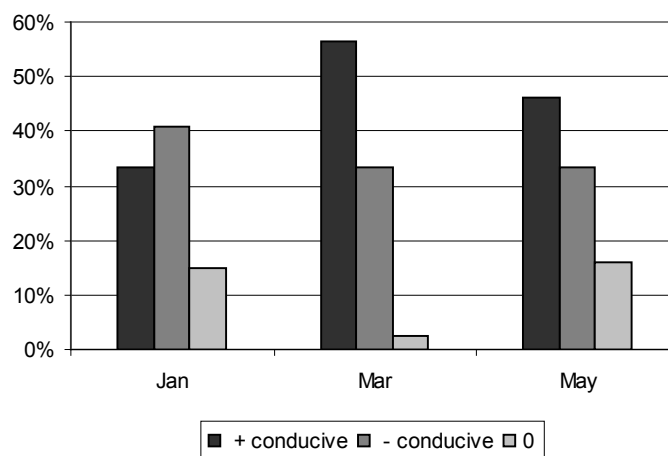
All three discourses show a rather high ratio of non-conducive contributions in the text-work units where the degree of active participation and contributing, compared to the occurrence of adequate utterances, indicates that as a tendency, quantity comes before quality, indicating that the pupils have learned that constant active participation is what they are measured by (at least momentarily), rather than by their content-wise performance. As was said before, this enables a generally low inhibition threshold to participate in the first place, but at the same time tendentially prevents the pupils from thoroughly considering what is actually asked of them, and from thinking their answers through before raising a hand (see also Section 3.3.3.4 of this chapter). Consider the following Example (35) where SVE$^{\male\text{MON}}$ volunteers to summarise the main plot of Goethe's *Erlkönig*:

```
(35)   *TEA:   wer kann einmal sagen was hier in der nacht da eigentlich passiert ?
       %eng:   who can say what actually happens here in that night?
       %com:   looks around
       *TEA:   sven .
       %com:   with raised hand
       *SVE:   ähm@i da is also ein ähm@i .
       %eng:   uhm there is well a uhm.
       *SVE:   der vater reitet mit seinem kind &durch durch ähm@i .
       %eng:   the father rides with his child through through uhm.
       *SVE:   also durch die nacht .
       %eng:   well through the night.
       *SVE:   und ähm@i und wird dann ähm@i .
       %eng:   and uhm and is then uhm.
       *SVE:   also mit seim kind äh@i in .
       %eng:   well with his child uhm.
       *SVE:   also der trägt das kind in seinen armen # ähm@i # dann # ja .
       %eng:   well he carries the child in his arms # uhm # then # yes.
       %com:   scratches head, smiles embarrassedly, looks down at his book
       *TEA:   gut vielleicht können auch mal andere das ergänzen .
       %eng:   right maybe others might add something.
       (VII_08_03_03_SQ: 2/8)
```

In short, SVE's contribution is not about 'what actually happens that night', but about what happens in the first verse of the poem, and therefore about what he knows and what he remembers. Being obviously aware that this is not what was asked, he attempts to say what happens 'then' two times, but does not go on, and finally gives up. Afterwards, he is

"demonstratively" embarrassed, especially with the head-scratching being a standardised gesture of confusion; but still, he succeeded in contributing what he knows.

In cases like in (35), the teacher usually delegates the original question back to the class, often without commenting on the respective utterance at all. As for the co-participants who witness such a struggle, they tend to mark episodes like this as embarrassing and uncomfortable, turning away from the speakers and displaying stoic, blank faces. This indicates that the pupils are capable of differentiating between conducive and non-conducive discourse contributions on their own to some degree, whereas this differentiation is plausibly much more difficult to make when the teacher acknowledges an awry utterance as conducive himself. There are numerous examples from lesson discourses where, expectably, accepting or confirming one "unsuitable", incoherent answer leads to more similarly random contributions, which obviously leads the discourse away from the original issue, and only when a pupil comes up with a suitable, coherent answer, the original issue is being retraced. When it so happens that someone says something "useful" (which is not always the case), the other pupils either pick up on it by themselves, or the teacher eventually rephrases the original question or issue with reference to the "useful" contribution. However, what is most conspicuous here is that the earlier in the discourse a conducive contribution is being uttered, the more likely it seems to be ignored; it thus seems as if the teacher does not actually wait for "useful" contributions, but that it is an integral part of the lesson design that everybody has to be heard first.

3.3.4.2 Individual work

In almost each lesson, there are longer or shorter reading or writing assignments that mostly are prepared in the lesson discourse; generally, the pupils are able and willing to dedicate themselves to such an assignment and to work individually with concentration. The necessary disconnection from the social context of the classroom is plausibly the easier accomplished the more isolated a pupil is seated; otherwise, they frequently have to mobilise some will to withstand opportunities of subordinate interaction (see above), although these occur much less frequently during individual assignments than during public discourses because "private" talks and exchanges naturally become much more conspicuous when everyone is supposed to work quietly. However, non-exhaustion of designated exercise time does not primarily come about by means of subordinate interactions, but by recreational pausing when pupils interrupt their work, sometimes lengthily, to stretch and to look around. Although on occasion, pupils might also simply finish an assignment early, they more regularly alternate between working and pausing till the end of an exercise is announced, with pausing frequently leading to utter distraction from which it is more difficult to return to the task. Figure II.3.50 displays to what degree the individual case pupils make use of the designated time for writing assignments, with an average writing time exhaustion of roughly seventy percent.

Fig. II.3.50. 7ᵗʰ grade: Case pupils' average time spent on individual work during assignment time, in the school year 2007/ 2008
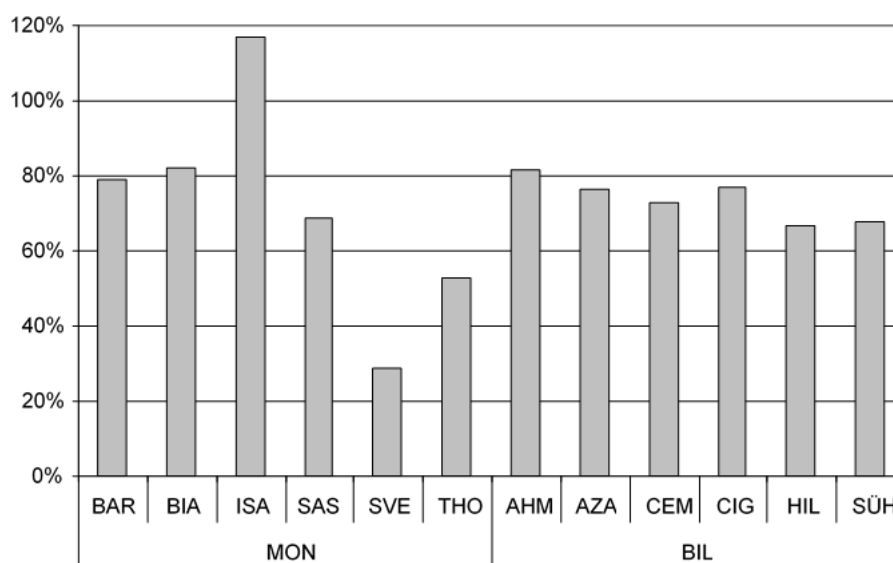
Mostly, the pupils are told how much time they will roughly have to solve an individual task beforehand, but in practice, we do not observe that this makes a difference as regards time management, as the main factors that decide how the pupils deal with individual work seem to be individual capacity and momentary ambition. For example, when the phase of material preparation is prolonged at the beginning of an exercise, this mostly reveals a hesitant approach for it is often combined with attempts of orientation like looking around, to the blackboard, and to the neighbour's sheet, or browsing the notebook, indicating uncertainty as to what to do and how to approach it. When this phase is inserted as an intermediary work step during the exercise, it can serve as a way of both self-collection and relaxation, being merely a pause that is disguised as a plausible activity, which can also be a substitutive action in order to stave off the work next phase. However, the actual time the individual case pupils use for a given task is not at all indicative of the quantity nor the quality of the resulting text product, and more often than not, the pupils' text products are lacking proper endings whenever the exercise time is concluded regardless of how much time was actually spent on actual individual work. Figure II.3.51 shows the individual text products' quality in alignment with the time spent on text production by means of an averaged efficiency quotient.[114]

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[114] Actual writing time in alignment with number of words, error rate, task fulfilment, and completeness of text.

Fig. II.3.51. 7th grade: Case pupils' average efficiency in writing assignments, in the school year 2007/ 2008.
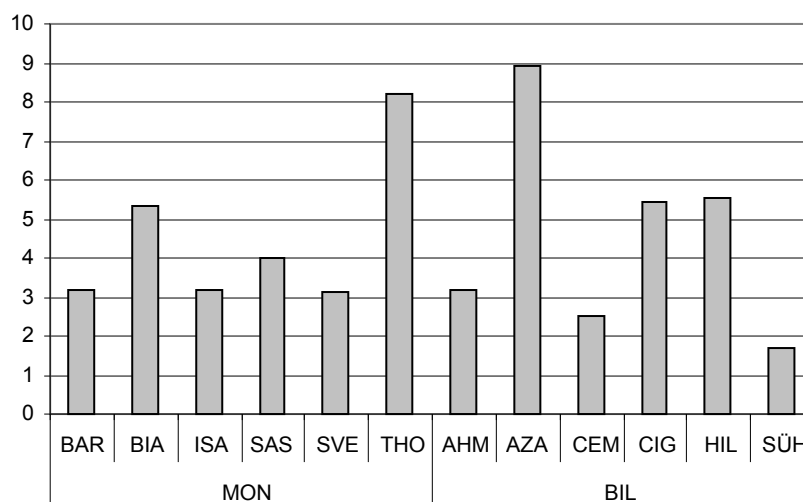
Being an assessment of the case pupils' work efficiency (not of the absolute quality of the text products, or of the general text-producing competence), Figure II.3.51 reveals significant differences in the pupils' capability of successful assignment time management, which mostly come about due to high error quotes and lack of task completion. The average writing time efficiency of case pupils with German as their first and German as the second language is equal, whereas, remarkably, boys show a significantly higher writing time efficiency than girls, which is mostly due to THOS's$^{\male MON}$ and AZA's$^{\male BIL}$ performances, both boys spending comparably little time on text production, but with the best results, leading to a higher rating on the efficiency scale.

Regardless of the results of their efforts, most of the case pupils handle writing assignments confidently and knowingly. Observation logs of writing assignments only occasionally record signs of distress or insecurity, although in general, the case pupils do not reproduce or utilise results from the previous lesson discourse conveniently during individual work. For example, their text summaries often contain the most inessential passages directly copied from the original text although it is an often repeated requirement to only consider the most important information, indicating that many of them are not able to make this differentiation, particularly when the respective passages are somewhat complex regarding wording and syntax. Here, the lack of useful tools and techniques (i.e., how to distinguish important from unimportant information, see 3.3.2.2) not only prevents the pupils from producing sufficient texts, but apparently also from realising the very fact.

In scenarios of lesson writing assignments, the typical behaviour of the case pupils by the end of the school year would be as follows:

AHM$^{\male BIL}$ works reluctantly and ponderously, easily distracted
AZA$^{\male BIL}$ works with confidence, sometimes over-confidence, resulting in tendential carelessness and a latent lack of concentration, but with good results
CEM$^{\male BIL}$ works ponderously with signs of being over-challenged and bored
CIG$^{\female BIL}$ works mostly with concentration, but sometimes insecure and over-challenged

HIL♀BIL approaches assignments ponderously, often insecure, needs time to pace herself, then mostly works with concentration

SÜH♀BIL works quietly, confidently with concentration

SAS♂MON approaches assignments ponderously, works slowly, is easily distracted

SVE♂MON hardly works at all, mostly clowns around, observes classmates and copies from neighbours

THO♂MON works reluctantly, is easily distracted, but with comparably good results

BAR♀MON approaches assignments confidently and with concentration, but is often not able to persevere

BIA♀MON works quietly with concentration and confidence

ISA♀MON works quietly with concentration, but very slowly

3.3.4.3 Adaptation to the pupil's role

After seven years of schooling, the case pupils of the seventh grade are broadly well-adapted to the pupil's role, of course within the scope of individual adaptation strategies targeted at maintaining a low profile in terms of meeting the teacher's as well as the peers' expectations. Accordingly, individuality claims that would deviate from such expectations occur only very rarely. During classroom discourses, CEM♂BIL, SAS♂MON, and SÜH♀BIL are amongst the pupils who rarely raise a hand and are thus often called on involuntarily, while AZA♂BIL, ISA♀MON, and particularly CIG♀BIL are frequent contributors to discourses, and the other case pupils keep up an inconspicuous average. However, observations do not indicate that any of them would approach the German lessons with remarkable interest, let alone enthusiasm, so that one can also conclude that the adaptation to the pupils' role not only refers to the given behavioural requirements, but also to a related latent indifference in face of the utter normality of daily recurring lesson-making, which, after all, facilitates smooth lesson courses in the first place.

3.3.5 Summary and conclusions

The German lesson in the seventh grade is characterised by its well-practised, disciplined, non-negotiable structural arrangement, with the teacher as the undisputed authority and main actor. The functional and teacher-centred approach to teaching and learning hints at a technocratic understanding of school as a place where information is provided, processed and reproduced, with the pupils' role defined as being the mere receivers and digesters of teaching contents, which they are well-adapted to in terms of behaviour (rule-conformity, demands of active participation). But the non-negotiable and consequent management of the lesson (time-wise as well as content-wise) also means a structural over-challenge on the part of the pupils, with colliding demands in the lessons on the one hand and the class tests on the other hand, disregarding the pupils' actual needs and capabilities. What is practised in most lessons on textual work is rather text comprehension by means of particular examples than text production, i.e. reading rather than writing, the latter mainly being delegated to unsupervised homework exercises. The underlying idea might be that if one is able to read comprehendingly, the writing comes naturally; but while understanding the original text is certainly the precondition for writing about it, it does not stop there. The generally poor writing performance of the case pupils, even regardless of orthography,

shows that even those who can be assumed to comprehend the original text are not able to write a satisfying text themselves by objective standards. Therefore, without texts being systematically discussed, the exemplary approach does not facilitate the access to written language, which, consequently, means a rather restricting potential in terms of handling written language, and thus regarding the development of literate skills.

Although the treated topics are often rather complex and ambitious in terms of literature as well as grammatical aspects, the actual handling of these topics is mostly low-standard and rudimentary as far as text work is concerned, with basic content analyses strongly outweighing interpretative analyses of form and meaning; grammar-wise, the demands are much higher, but not geared towards practicability and the factual deficiencies the pupils are struggling with. As for the frequently occurring repetitive grammar units, it is safe to say that the pupils hardly have any problems to accomplish the respective assignments, with no learning curve observable, especially when considering that grammar mistakes occur only seldom in LAS tests or class tests, as opposed to some problematic orthography topics that are yet never explicitly addressed in the lessons. As a consequence, there is no particularly enabling potential in terms of the development of orthography skills, despite the exhaustive grammar units (see Chapter II.2).

In general, the pupils are provided with sufficient strategies to solve textual problems methodically, but the application of such methodological approaches is not practised in a way that would enable the pupils to reproduce them. On the one hand, the teacher has very high aspirations regarding literacy, tendentially turning a blind eye to the pupils' actual foreknowledge and educational background, treating advanced literacy as a superior educational goal, but also as a natural desire, tendentially over-challenging the pupils who still have more fundamental bases to cover. On the other hand, incremental approaches to sophisticated literature as they are employed in the lessons might be feasible in theory, but are repeatedly not sufficiently implemented in the discourse practice as they are not adjusted to the pupils' actual output.

Since Turkish is banned from the classroom (in accordance with recent school politics), the bilingual reality of the classroom does not play a significant role in the everyday lesson. However, the teacher is aware of and sensitive towards certain language problems that pupils with German as a second language might have (e.g., gender), and is careful to address these problems in a non-judgemental and understanding way. Other than that, as far as we observe, bilingual pupils are not treated differently from the others. Therefore, both bilingualism and biculturalism are neither ignored nor dramatised, but seem to be an integral, natural part of the school life.

As far as the case pupils are concerned, only slight differences are noticeable between the pupils with German as a first and those with German as a second language, with the latter attending school a bit more frequently, and being slightly more attentive during the lesson discourse. This could mean that pupils with German as a second language have tendentially higher ambitions and aspirations than their monolingual classmates, thus working harder and more thoroughly, perhaps in order to counteract presumed bilingualism-based disadvantages, which of course would be learned behaviour and not a primary, conscious

motivation. Certainly, the findings show that on the social level, bilingual pupils are not structurally disadvantaged in the German lesson, but similarly challenged and able to keep up with their monolingual classmates.

4 Comparison of Mono- and Bilingual Pupils in German Class

Anja Boneß & Inken Sürig

The comparison of mono- and bilingual pupils is based on the literature-wise broadly supported assumption that in the monolingual German school system, pupils with German as a second language face different and, as the case may be, more challenges in terms of literacy acquisition than their monolingual classmates. Various factors can be suspected to have an impact here, such as the domain-dependency of language use, academic resources and attitudes towards education and literacy in the families, and the respective school's or teacher's handling of the multilingual and multicultural reality of the classroom. However, international and national evaluations of reading and writing competences of pupils in Germany indicate that the socio-economic and, in its wake, the educational variable regularly neutralise the language factor, so the distinction along the lines of mono-/ bilingualism is not conclusive in itself, but has to be aligned with other variables. Focusing on the LAS case pupils and the specific features of monolingual and bilingual language competences, the following findings are based on family interviews and, respectively, case pupil profiles, qualitative and quantitative lesson analyses, and the linguistic analyses of the pupils' performances in LAS tests, lesson writings, and class tests.

4.1 Family backgrounds of mono- and bilingual pupils

To start with, a look at the domestic situations of the case pupils reveals that expectably, whereas in eleven out of twelve case pupil families in the first grade, the parents are married and living together, the divorce rate in families with older children (seventh grade) is much higher, albeit, also expectably, limited to the monolingual families, with half of the parents separated or divorced, as opposed to bilingual families with no separations or divorces in either grade. This finding entirely corroborates the nation-wide population data. On the other hand, only two of the total case pupils, namely HIL$^{♀BIL}$ and AHM$^{♂BIL}$, live together with their extended families, the rather small number insinuating a trend towards the limited core family also with regard to families with migration history, here not least because most of the grandparents of the bilingual case pupils have retired to their countries of origin.

In the previous chapters, the educational backgrounds of the case pupils' families were already mentioned, also with regard to the mono-/ bilingual factor. In sum, parents with German as their first language score tendentially higher in terms of educational levels than parents with German as their second language, a considerable number of whom are at the second-lowest ISCED-level. Only on the highest occurring level 5, the proportion is balanced (Figure II.4.1). As was said before, families on a higher than medium-educated level do not occur anymore after the distribution to comprehensive school.

Fig. II.4.1. All case pupils: Educational levels of case pupils' parents
(with migration background and without migration background)
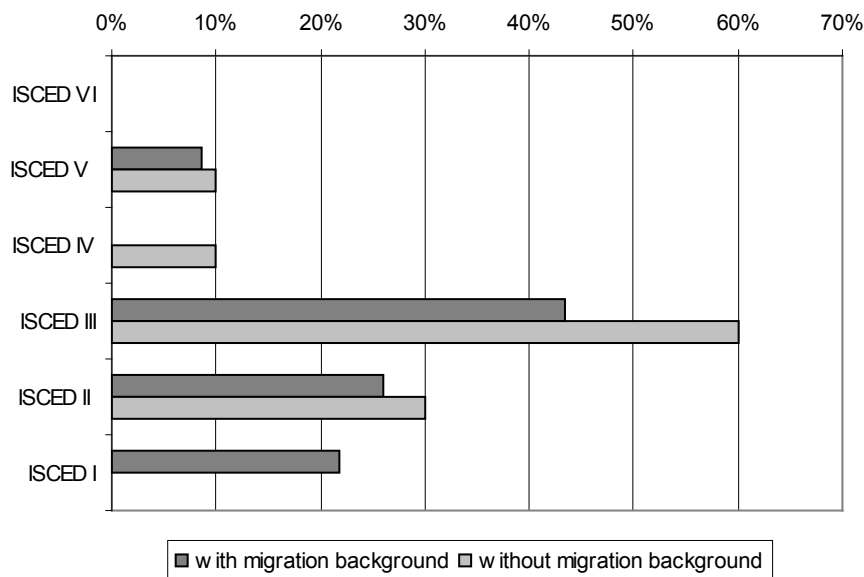
When looking at the literate practices in the case pupils' families, one has to keep in mind that there is a strong connection between the parents' educational backgrounds, and the literate practices at home. In the following Figure II.4.2 on the case pupils' reading practices, the numbers are adjusted and can only indicate rough tendencies.

Fig. II.4.2. All case pupils: Literate practices, MON and BIL
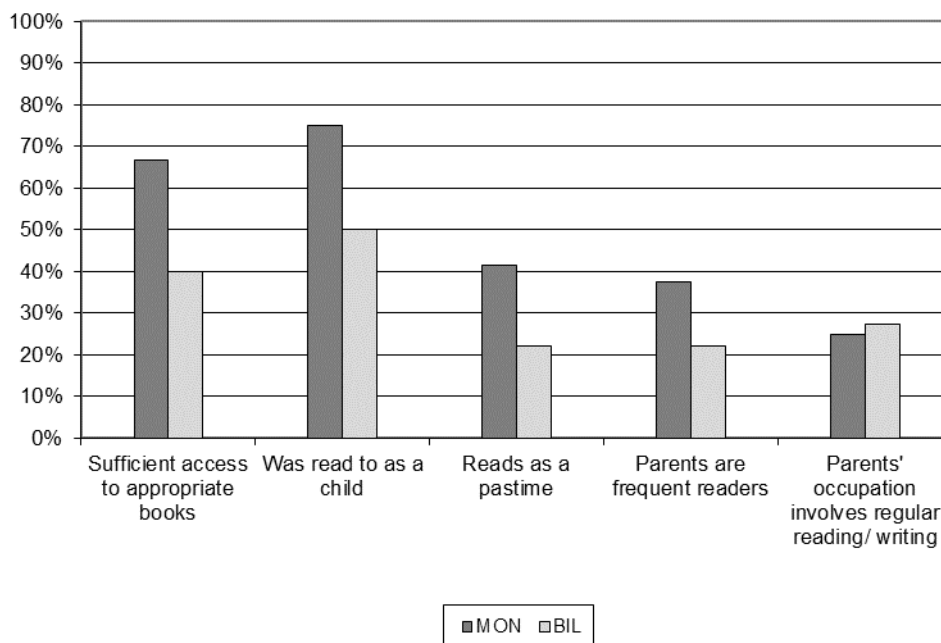
Tentatively considered, Figure II.4.2 shows the generally advantageous situation of monolingual pupils in terms of their accesses to literacy-related activities as compared to their bilingual classmates, but one can also see that in both groups, literate practices are not overly developed. However, the case pupils in both groups are to a much higher degree

equipped with books and read to in their childhood than the actual literate practices of the parents would suggest, indicating an awareness of the importance of literacy that regular exceeds the parents' own access to the issue. Note here that the single activities evaluated cannot be significantly correlated; for example, a strong underlying gender-factor in the category "reads as a pastime", with more than twice as much girls than boys, entirely thwarts the connectivity with other literate practices, leading, for example, to the finding that the factors "sufficient access to appropriate books" and "parents are frequent readers" are not indicative for the case pupils' actual reading practices.

As far as studying in general and parental studying support in particular is concerned, interview analyses reveal no remarkable quantitative differences between monolingual and bilingual pupils in the seventh grade, but it can be stated that the pupils' attitudes towards studying (i.e., their concrete learning behaviour at home) seem to be rather independent of parental support in the case of the monolingual pupils, whereas those bilingual pupils who are rather studious always have a background of mindful parents who, if necessary, actively enforce such attitudes. This seems to concern particularly girls, considering that BAR^{MON} and BIA^{MON}, lacking any meaningful parental school support, are able to mobilise some energy to study on their own, whereas HIL^{BIL} and SÜH^{BIL}, with comparable backgrounds, are not. Note here that the three bilingual boys all receive considerable parental help, and can all draw on positive attitudes towards their schooling in their homes, whereas the three bilingual girls basically cannot. This gender-difference does not exist in the monolingual group, with the two pupils getting noteworthy support being ISA$^{♀}$ and SAS$^{♂}$. Although almost all seventh-grade case pupil families are characterised by a traditional gender-based labour division (father working, mother staying at home), it is nevertheless striking that only one of the bilingual mothers has completed a profound professional training[115], whereas only two of the monolingual mothers have not. Against this backdrop, one might tentatively assume that the education of girls is not that ever-present in bilingual families, whereas there is much emphasis on the boys' education.

In the first grade, the findings are different insofar as the migration/non-migration factor clearly has an impact on attitudes towards studying. Remarkably, considerable parental school engagement and/ or studying support only occur in two of the bilingual families, but in five out of six monolingual families, with the one exception being AND$^{♂}$ whose parents are actually first-generation immigrants, but who is raised monolingual in German. This indicates that monolingual parents tend to take school much more seriously from the very beginning than bilingual parents do, and there are much more purposeful approaches in the monolingual families towards a school- and thus learning-oriented upbringing of their children (e.g., learning material, after-school activities like sports, homework support). The bilingual parents, on the other hand, appear to be more lenient and unambitious when it comes to their children in the first grade, although all of them have older children who are already more ahead in the educational system. Assumingly, this difference between monolingual and bilingual families is based on divergent underlying concepts of childhood,

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[115] Note here that "seamstress", as the mothers of SAS and SÜH are, is only a semi-skilled profession in the context of the German dual system.

with bilingual parents considering first-graders as children only, whereas monolingual parents rather seem to see the first grade already as a transition phase.

In sum, case pupils with German as a first language generally come from better-educated and literacy-wise more advanced families, and have greater parental school support at the beginning of their school career. The latter seems to be reversed in the seventh grade, where parental school support is more pronounced in the bilingual families. Still, it can be concluded that the monolingual case pupils generally have better starting conditions than their bilingual classmates, which is likely to impact on their future educational careers, tendentially putting the monolingual pupils at advantage.

4.2 Mono- and bilingual pupils in the German lesson

Against the backdrop of mono- and bilingualism, maintaining a differentiation between the first and the seventh grade is advertised insofar as the different starting conditions elaborated above must be presumed to have a palpable effect on the case pupils' actual being in class. This assumption has to be aligned with the two different basic attitudes at play in the schools, with the language/ culture issue being entirely ignored in the first grade, and rather taken into account in the seventh grade (see Chapter II.3). Since both schools have to deal with multilingualism and multiculturalism on a regular basis, the different attitudes can be attributed to different approaches of "assuming homogeneity" in the first grade and "creating homogeneity" in the seventh grade. Assumed homogeneity means that the pupils are a priori expected to be equal regardless of their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, while the creation of homogeneity implies the acknowledgement of a such-related diversity with an aim to neutralise it actively. Since it could be shown above that the preconditions of the case pupils are rather not similar in terms of monolingual and bilingual backgrounds, the denial of the very possibility in the first grade can, of course, be expected to promote and reinforce pre-existing differences. Accordingly, in almost all evaluated categories, differences between monolingual and bilingual case pupils exist in the first grade, but not in the seventh grade, as Table II.4.1 displays.

Tab. II.4.1. All case pupils: Comparison of specific features of evaluation in German class, MON and BIL, in the school year 2007/ 2007 (+ = more, – = less, ~ = equal as compared to other group)

		1st grade		7th grade	
		MON	BIL	MON	BIL
Attention		+	–	–	+
Participation		+	–	~	~
Social corrections		–	+	~	~
Factual corrections		x	x	–	+
Assignment time exploitation		~	~	~	~
Work efficiency	reading	+	–	~	~
	writing	~	~		

Of course, one also has to consider here that neutralisation of differences in the seventh grade is not least owed to the longer period of schooling, and to the fact that the class body is already a result of a selection, which the first grade is not. Therefore, the factors "–

/+time" and "–/+ sample" are suspected to have a significant impact on the findings, as well.

Still, it is striking that in the first grade, the only language/ culture-neutral categories are "assignment time exploitation" and "work efficiency writing", which both plausibly could have been assumed to be affected by preconditions like literate practices at home and parental attitudes towards studying. The fact that they are not indicates the neutralising effect of these categories largely depending on the pupils' individual capacities to cope with the didactic approach of free time management and free writing, which basically means that these are the very two categories that are not substantially dependent on the teacher's guidance. As opposed to this, a very huge discrepancy between monolingual and bilingual pupils in terms of "work efficiency reading" (case pupils with MON are more than three times more efficient here than those with BIL) is probably owed to the very didactic method employed in the first grade, which, being highly complex and relying on extended vocabulary knowledge, is not unlikely to put pupils with more limited German vocabulary at disadvantage both comprehension- and conduction-wise. But even if this finding could be solely ascribed to a lack of protoliterate competences, the fact remains that this structural disadvantage is not neutralised by the end of the school year. As for the other evaluated categories, and particularly "participation" and "social corrections", the fact that structural differences between monolingual and bilingual pupils are not taken into account in the first place means that factual differences are not perceived, or at least not acknowledged, which proves once more that assumed homogeneity has a tendency to create actual heterogeneity. This is a bit different as regards social corrections, where in the case of OSM$^{\male\text{BIL}}$, there is some evidence that he is mostly a victim of the disturbed relationship between his father and the teacher.

Case pupils' attention ratios in the first grade are reverse to those in the seventh grade, which to some degree might be explained by the reverse attitudes towards schooling and studying in the parental homes, as pointed out above. Other than that, the only other non-neutral category "factual corrections" in the seventh grade comes about by bilingual pupils making more grammatical mistakes in their oral contributions. Keeping in mind the factors "+time" and "+ sample" that are at play in the seventh grade, it is still conspicuous that the teachers' prognoses for the individual case pupils' school careers (Figure II.4.3) seem to reflect different attitudes towards monolingual and bilingual pupils respectively in primary and in comprehensive school. Note here that these prognoses are not immediately related to the educational backgrounds of the respective families because mostly, the teachers are not informed about these circumstances; they have, however, ideas or opinions regarding the parental support the different case pupils receive, and as was said before, the teachers regularly condition school success on such support. Nonetheless, the teachers of the seventh grade of course have a better basis for their assessments as the seventh-graders have a longer record of school performance already.

Fig. II.4.3. All case pupils: Teachers' prognoses for school careers, MON and BIL (absolute numbers)
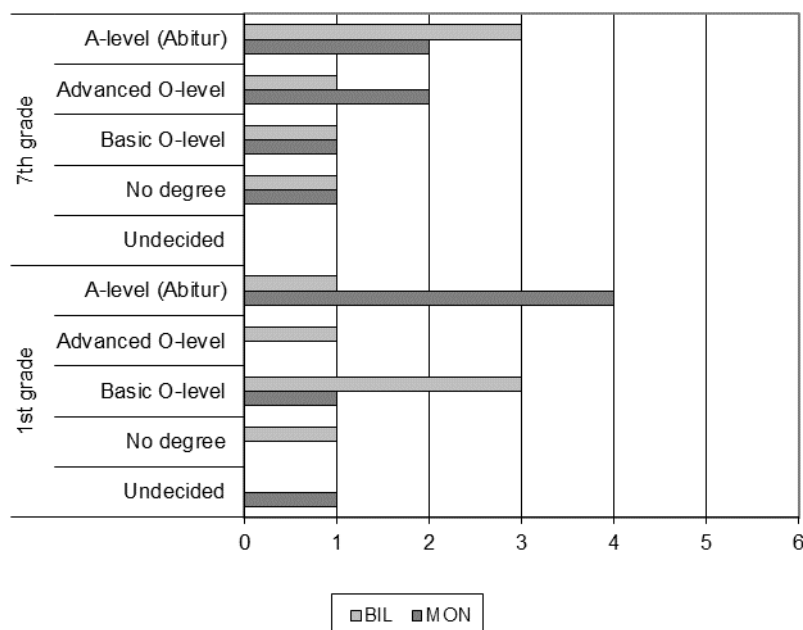
As far as "Basic O-level" and "No degree" are concerned, the prognoses for the seventh-graders are balanced in terms of the mono-/ bilingual factor. Interestingly, the two monolingual pupils who are considered for the "Advanced O-level" are both said to have the general potential for the "A-level", but one (THO♂) is assumed to lack the necessary support at home, and one (ISA♀) is diagnosed with dyslexia, which is seen as an adamant obstacle. By contrast, there is a clear imbalance between the two groups of first-graders, with four out of six monolingual pupils being considered for the highest school degree, while only two of the bilingual pupils are assumed to achieve the "A-level" or the "Advanced O-level", respectively.

4.3 Mono- and bilingual pupils in linguistic analyses

4.3.1 Comparison of the orate-literate analysis

Considering the different case pupils' age groups and the matching LAS test types, the comparison of the orate-literate analyses as regards pupils with German as a first language and pupils with German as a second language remains bounded to the first and the seventh grade respectively. Comparisons solely refer to the results within the LAS case pupils' groups.

4.3.1.1 LAS Test 1

In the first grade, the comparison of the first, orally narrated test versions reveals only marginal differences between the monolingual and the bilingual pupils. In both groups, the amount of unmarked and literate complements is as good as equally distributed.

Fig. II.4.4. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis T1.1, MON and BIL
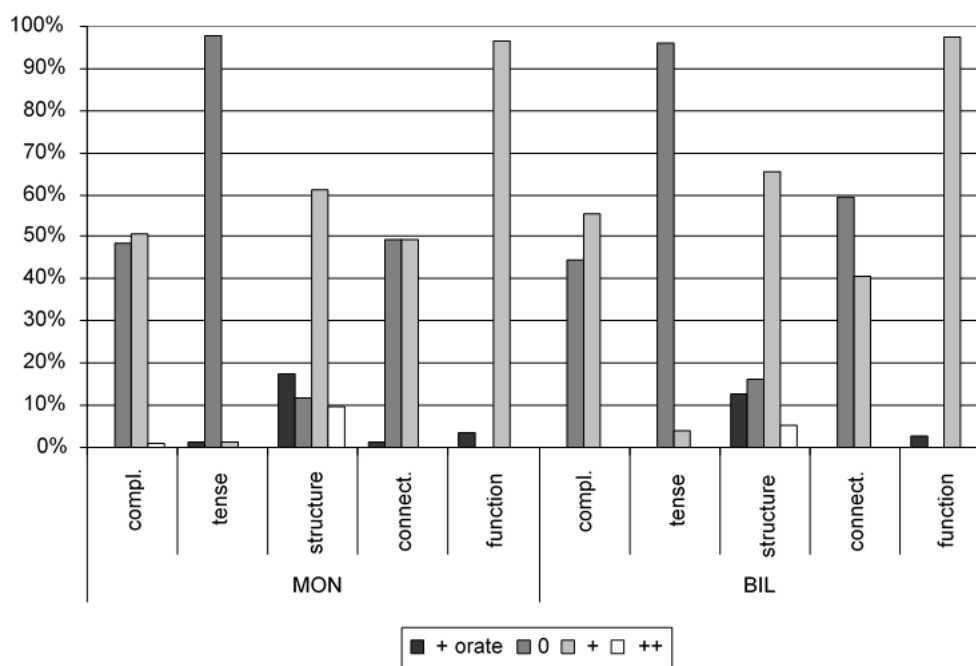
Although the bilingual pupils make slightly more often use of literate complements by extending the complements by means of attributes, this difference is not statistically significant. A predominant use of unmarked tenses can be observed in both groups, with each having a nominal amount of literate tenses, and as for the two categories form of complements and tenses, the distribution of internal clause patterns used in the first test version is quite similar as well. In general, literate structures represent the most frequent patterns used in the LAS Test I.1 of both groups, mainly in the form of simply extended clauses. Even the distribution of the amounts across the different levels in the orate-literate continuum (orate, unmarked, +literate, and ++literate) hardly differ. Only with respect to the relation of orate and unmarked internal clause structures, the two groups deviate from each other, with the amount of orate devices exceeding the number of unmarked structures in the group of monolingualspeakers, which is reversed in the group of bilingual speakers. Highly literate patterns occur in both groups to an amount of less than 10%. As opposed to the virtually structural identity in the domains discussed so far, a slight difference can be found in the distribution of connection patterns. While the monolinguals make use of unmarked and literate connection devices to exactly the same amount, the bilingual pupils preferably use unmarked connection types, although the relation of 60% unmarked structures to 40% literate structures does not distinctly differ from the equally distributed phenomena used by the monolingual pupils. Finally, the predominant amount of depicting clauses occurs in both groups, with a nominal frequency of communicative clauses. In sum, structural differences occurring between the two groups are absolutely marginal. Rather, the group comparison of the orate-literate analyses reveals similar (in some cases even equal) distributions of phenomena with regard to the different categories of analysis.

When comparing the group results of LAS Test 1 in the seventh grade, the differences between the groups are again rather minor, with the category of complements reflecting the most obvious difference.

Fig. II.4.5. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis T1.1, MON and BIL
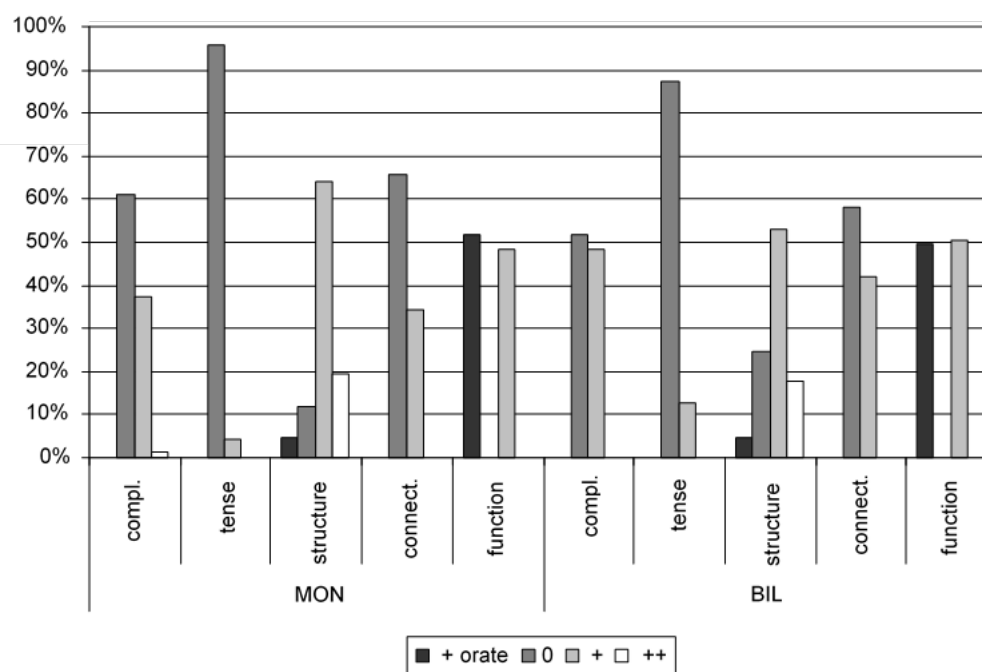
Here, the monolingualpupils prefer to use complement forms that are ranged unmarked in the orate-literate continuum, while the relation between unmarked and literate complement forms is balanced in the texts of the bilingual seventh-graders. However, the difference between the two groups is statistically not significant. The same applies to the domain of tenses used in the oral narrations, with the amount of unmarked tenses strongly predominating that of literate tenses in both groups. Also, the internal clause structures represent rather similar patterns when comparing the narrations of the monolingual and the bilingual seventh-graders. While orate and highly literate patterns are similarly distributed, the monolingual speakers make use of more literate structures in comparison to the bilingual speakers, which at the same time is reflected by the amount of unmarked phenomena being higher in the texts of the bilingual pupils. In the category of connection types, again slight differences can be found between the two groups, with the bilinguals using less unmarked and more literate connection devices than the monolinguals. Finally, the category evaluating the utterances' function does not show differences, as the relation of orate (communicative) and literate (depicting) clauses is balanced in both groups. All in all, if differences between the two groups occur, they are not statistically significant.

In the first grade, LAS Test 1.2 comprised a dictated version of the oral narration in Test 1.1, the results of which are here being compared with respect to the mono-/ bilingual factor.

Fig. II.4.6. 1st grade: Orate-literate analysis T1.2, MON and BIL
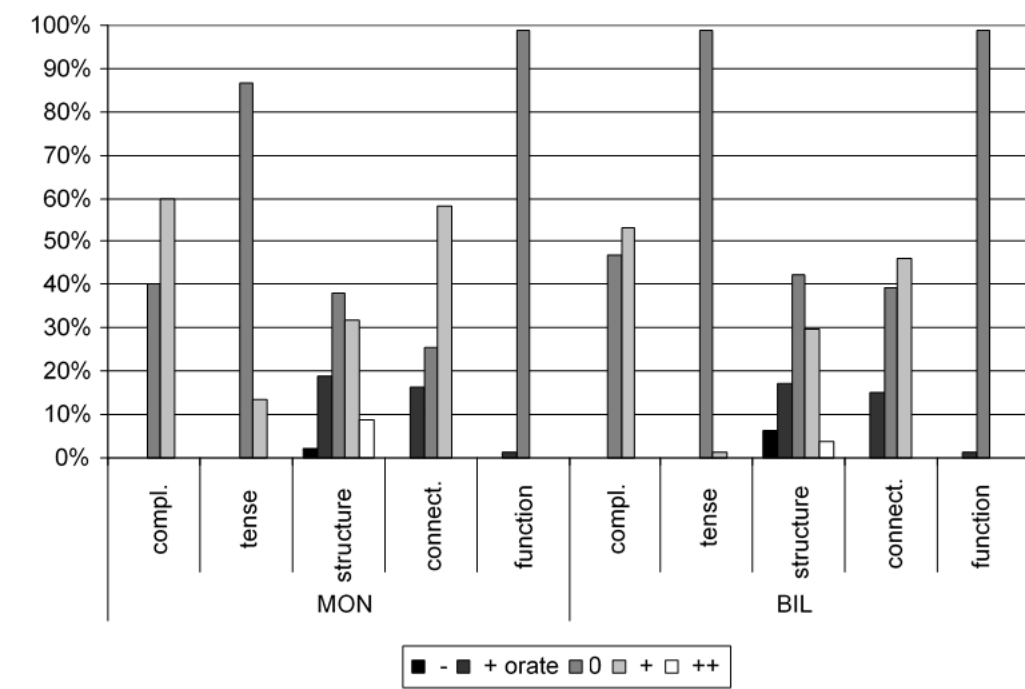
First of all, the monolingual first-graders slightly increase the use of literate complements in this version compared to Test 1.1. Contrarily, the relation of unmarked and literate complements remains the same for the bilingual speakers, meaning that in this version, the monolingual pupils (as opposed to the bilingual pupils) slightly change the patterns used in their texts with respect to the complements. The category tense is still characterised by the predominant use of unmarked tenses, which is also reflected in the orally narrated version. However, in contrast to the bilinguals, the monolingual pupils make more use of literate tenses than in Test 1.1, whereas, however, the difference is not significant. Looking more closely at the internal clause structure, both groups dictate clauses that consist of an incomplete structure (e.g. missing subject, predicate, etc.), patterns that are evaluated as inadequate in a written, albeit dictated, text. Although the amount of incomplete clauses accounts for less than 10%, the bilingual pupils dictate these structures more frequently than the monolingual pupils. The frequency amounts on the different levels of the orate-literate continuum are quite similar, with the monolinguals showing a slightly advanced performance compared to the bilinguals as the amount of literate and highly literate patterns is higher for the monolinguals. The same applies to the category evaluating connection types, where the bilingual speakers use unmarked and literate connections to the same amount, while literate connection devices far exceed unmarked ones in the texts of the monolingual speakers. However, orate connections also occur in both groups, roughly accounting for the same amount. As has also been the case in Test 1.1, the distribution of

communicative and depicting clauses is identical in both groups. In sum, the evaluated phenomena are rather similarly distributed, although the monolingual first-graders score slightly more literate evaluations in the categories form of complements, internal clause structure, and connecting devices. Yet, it always has to be taken into account that these differences (as was also shown in Test 1.1) are rather small, so that distinct conclusions in terms of the differing use of literate structures cannot be drawn from the pupils' language background with respect to LAS Test 1.

In the second version of LAS Test 1 in the seventh grade, the pupils were supposed to write down their oral narration.

Fig. II.4.7. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis T1.2, MON and BIL
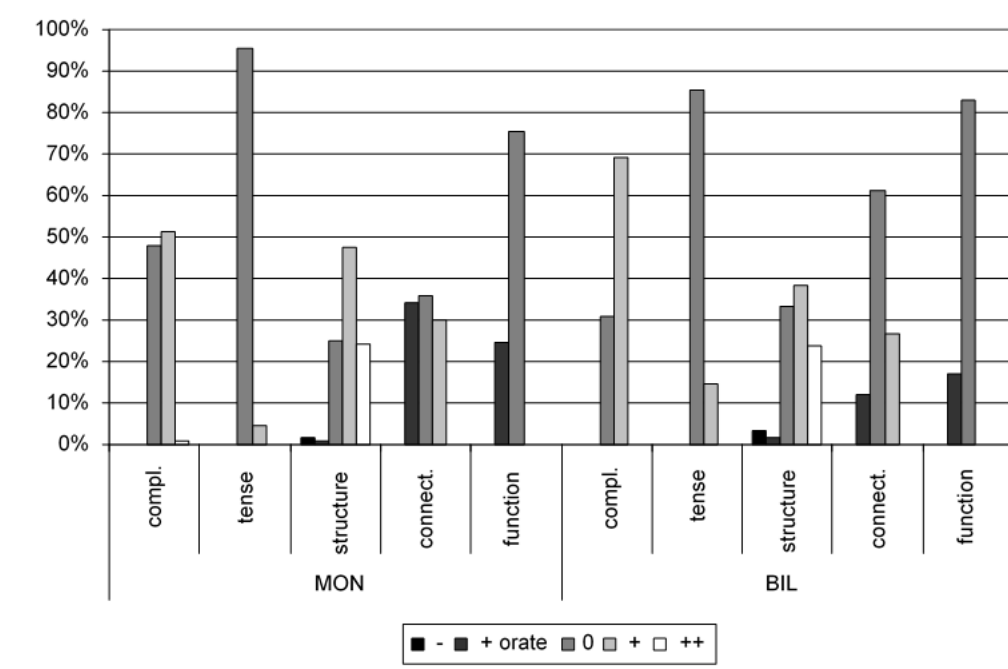
When comparing the results of this test, the category of complement forms is salient. Although both groups increased the amount of literate complements in their texts in comparison to Test 1.1, the bilingual pupils now far exceed the monolingual pupils in terms of the relation between unmarked and literate complements, corroborating what has already been shown in the comparative analysis of Test 1.1, namely that the bilingual pupils tend to use more literate complements in their texts than the monolinguals. With respect to the categories tense and function, the phenomena are as good as equally distributed in the two groups. Also, the differences in the category internal clause structure have to be regarded as rather minimal, particularly concerning the amount of incomplete and orate clause structures, which is nominal anyway. Only in terms of the distribution of unmarked and literate patterns, the amount of literate patterns in the texts of the monolingual seventh-graders slightly exceeds the one of the bilingual pupils. However, highly literate clause structures occur to roughly the same percentage in the texts of both groups. While in the texts of the monolinguals, orate, unmarked, and literate connection devices are similarly

distributed in the orate-literate continuum, the relation between the three levels is quite different in the texts of the bilinguals, with unmarked connection types strongly predominating literate and orate connections. As the difference between the groups particularly results from the different amounts of orate and unmarked phenomena, whereas literate connection devices occur to a rather similar percentage, in this category, the bilingual pupils score a slightly more literate evaluation than the monolingual speakers. Thus, as in Test 1.1, the bilinguals tend to use more literate complements and do not use orate connection devices as frequently as the monolinguals in Test 1.2, while the distribution of phenomena in the categories tense and function does not differ between the two groups. Opposed to that, the monolingual seventh-graders tend to make use of more literate internal clause patterns, which has also been found in the comparison of Test 1.1.

4.3.1.2 LAS Test 2

When comparing the dictated version of LAS Test 2 in the first grade, a rough estimation reveals that most of the phenomena are similarly distributed in the texts of the monolingual and the bilingual first-graders.

Fig. II.4.8. 1st grade: Orate-literate analysis T2.1, MON and BIL
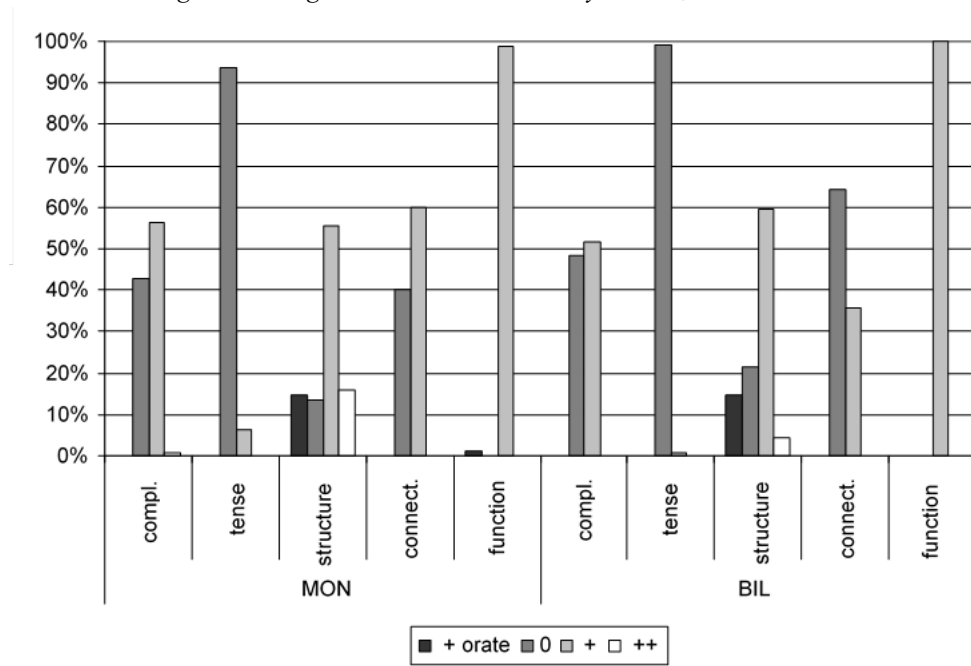
Only a closer look reveals that the monolingual pupils slightly overhaul the bilingual pupils in some of the categories of analysis. For example, this applies to the category of complements, where the monolingual pupils use literate complements a tad more often than the bilinguals. The difference in the use of literate tenses is even less obvious, with the unmarked tenses being predominantly used, whereas the amount of literate tenses in the monolinguals' texts nominally exceeds the one in the texts of the bilingual pupils. Also with respect to the internal clause structures, the monolingual pupils use slightly more literate structures, whereas the amount of orate structures is virtually the same in both groups. But as the amount of unmarked and literate structures is marginally higher in the

texts of the bilingual speakers, they do not make use of highly literate patterns as frequently as the monolingual pupils, of course keeping in mind that all differences are as well very small in this category. As opposed to that, the difference in the category of connection devices is more distinct. While in the texts of the monolingual pupils, literate connections outweigh unmarked ones with the proportion being 3:2, the relation is virtually reversed in the texts of the bilingual pupils, which has to be regarded as a rather clear-cut difference. However, this does not hold true for the final category that considers clause functions; here, the distribution is almost equal, with 100% depicting clauses in the bilinguals' texts, and only one deviating clause in the texts of the monolingual pupils. Thus, it can be concluded that in this test version, the monolingual speakers perform better than the bilingual speakers in terms of the use of literate structures in the category connection type; the other categories are rather similarly distributed.

The comparison of the written test versions of mono- and bilinguals in the first grade yields the following findings:

Fig. II.4.9. 1st grade: Orate-literate analysis T2.2, MON and BIL
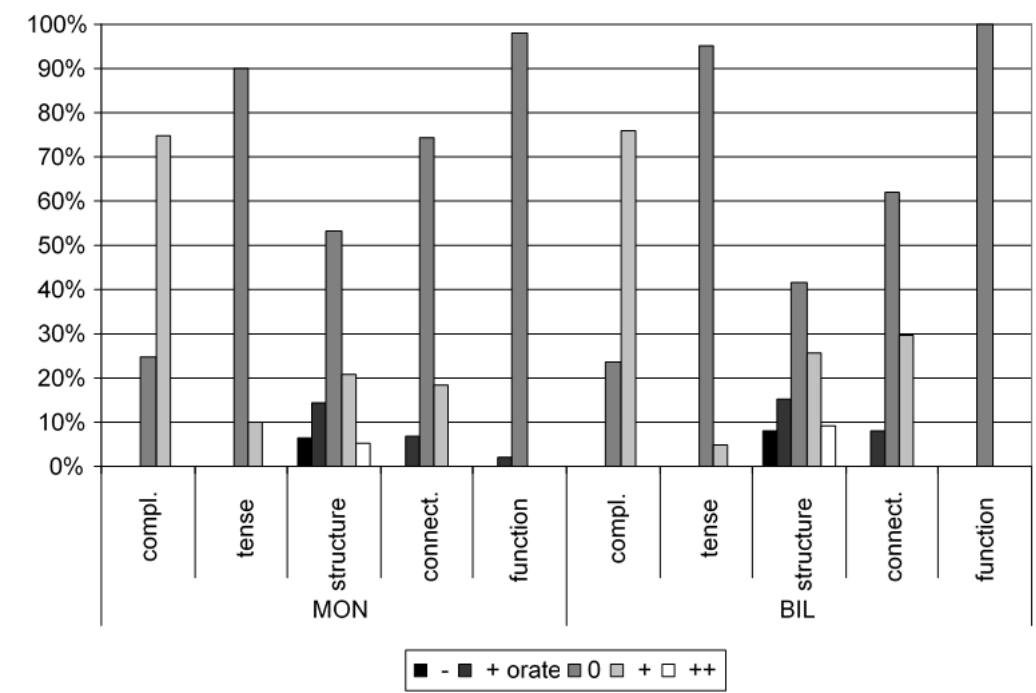
Looking more closely at the distribution of complements used in the texts, no differences can be stated as the amount of unmarked and literate complement forms is virtually the same, with a distinct increase of literate patterns in both groups compared to the previously elicited dictation. At the same time, this amount of literate complements represents the highest percentage of all test evaluations. However, the tenses are similarly distributed as regards all test versions as well as both groups. In the category internal clause structure, again slight differences occur; this time, the bilingual speakers score marginally better than the monolingual speakers with respect to the amount of literate and highly literate patterns, being slightly higher than in the texts of the monolinguals. On the other hand, the amounts

of inadequate (incomplete clauses) and orate structures are equal in both groups. Moreover, the bilingual pupils also use more literate connection types than the monolingual pupils, meaning that, as measured by the orate-literate continuum, the bilingual pupils perform better in this category as well. Finally, the single occurrence of a communicative clause in a text of a monolingual pupil should not be overestimated so that the distribution of clause functions is evaluated as virtually the same.

In sum, differences that occur between the groups in the first grade generally have to be seen as rather marginal. While in the first test version (the orally narrated one), each group performs in one or the other category better than the other group, the monolingual speakers display slightly advanced performances in both dictated versions with respect to an increasing amount of literate structures. Interestingly, this does not hold true for the written text in LAS Test 2.2, where the bilingual first-graders perform slightly better than the monolingual pupils, using more literate patterns in their texts. Since it is not feasible to draw distinct conclusions from these slight differences, the results can only be evaluated as tendencies for not even one specific category of analysis shows the same differences between the groups throughout the test versions.

Before comparing the results of LAS Test 2 in the seventh grade, it should be mentioned that this test differs decisively from the second test in the first grade, since here, the seventh-graders are instructed to edit their text that was written in the second version of Test 1.

Fig. II.4.10. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis T2, MON and BIL
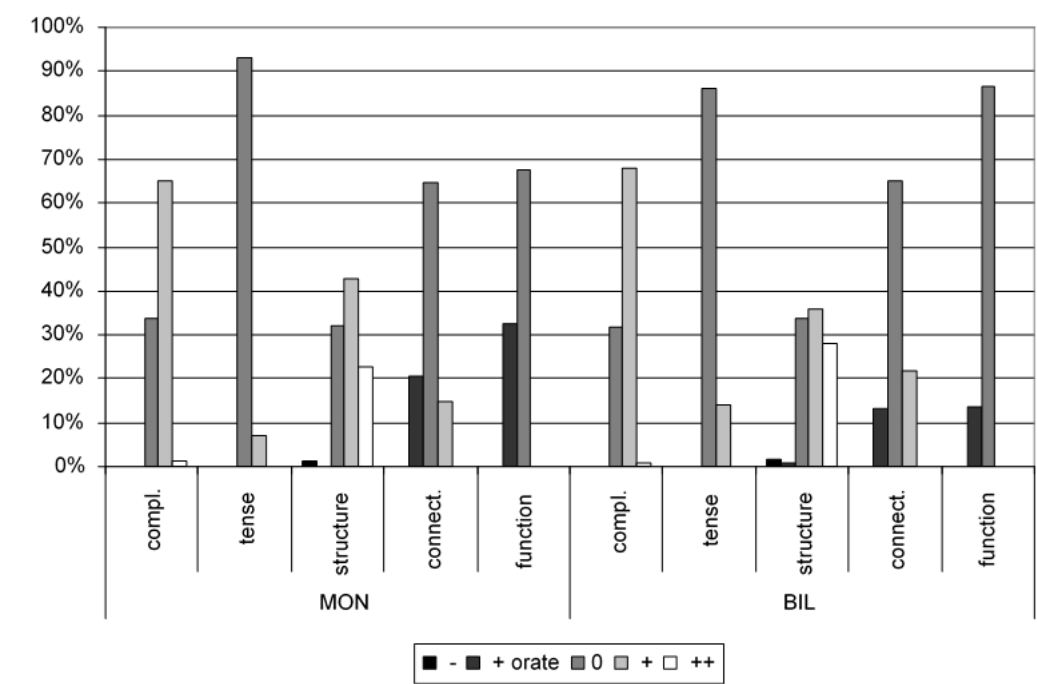
Interestingly, the monolingual pupils particularly edit the form of complements so that they now achieve exactly the same amount of literate complement forms as the bilinguals already did in Test 1.2, who, opposed to that, hardly change their complements when

editing their own texts. Accordingly, the complement patterns in the texts of the monolingual and the bilingual speakers are very similarly distributed. The same applies to the categories tense, internal clause structure, and connection types that all have not or barely been modified when comparing their distributions across the orate-literate continuum in Tests 1.2 and 2. However, the monolinguals tend to change the connection patterns for the amount of orate connection devices is decreased, which at the same time results in an increase of unmarked connections. Oddly enough, also the amount of literate patterns decreases. With respect to the clause function, there are again hardly any modifications when comparing Tests 1.2 and 2 in both groups, whereas it should be pointed out that communicative clauses occur more frequently in the monolinguals' texts than in the bilinguals' texts, with a rather high percentage of one third of all clauses. This is quite remarkable considering that communicative clauses are rather uncommon in written texts; the amount of around 10% of the clauses being communicative in the texts of the bilinguals represents a far more usual distribution of clause function for this genre. In sum, the monolingual pupils take the opportunity and edit their texts so that they roughly achieve the same results as the bilingual pupils already did in Test 1.2, who for their part modify as good as nothing in their texts, at least as far as the orate-literate analysis is concerned.

4.3.1.3 LAS Test 3

This test has only been conducted in the seventh grade and represents a completely different tool than LAS Tests 1 and 2 since here, the test refers to another genre, namely an instruction. In this context, the pupils are asked to write an instruction on how to use a cell phone (particularly making a call and texting) for someone who has never seen a cell phone before. As the tense and function of clauses are given by the genre, the evaluation only considers the categories form of complements, internal clause structure, and connection devices.

Fig. II.4.11. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis T3, MON and BIL
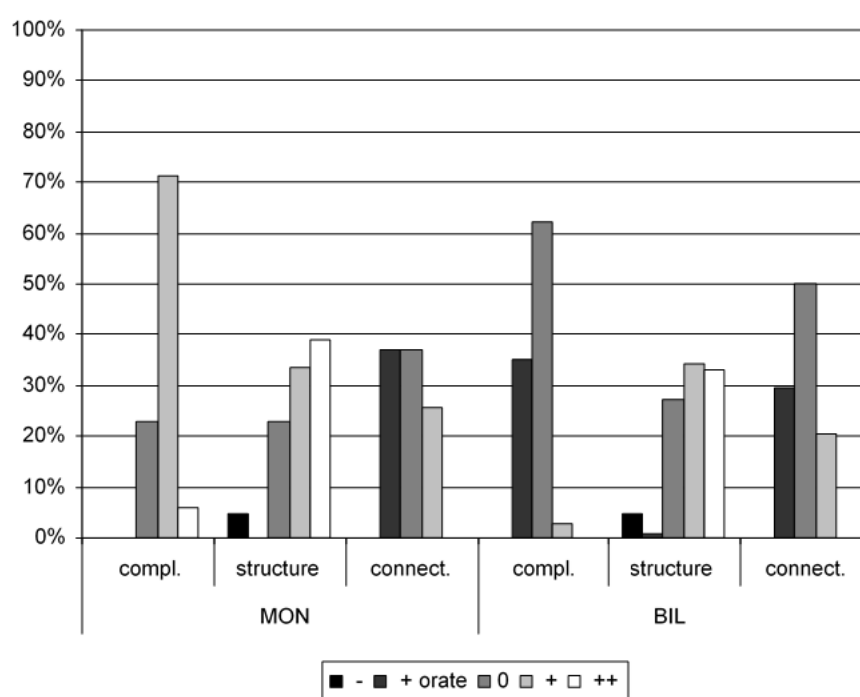
The comparison of the averaged results reveals that the distribution of complements used in the instruction highly differs between the two groups. While literate complements strongly outweigh unmarked and highly literate complements in the texts of the monolingual pupils, unmarked complements are the most frequent forms in the instructions of the bilinguals, being followed by orate complements. Correspondingly, the amount of literate complements accounts for roughly 70% in the monolinguals' texts, while less than 10% of the complements in the bilinguals' texts are ranged literate. Moreover, the amount of orate complements accounts for more than one third in the texts of the bilinguals, while the monolinguals do not at all make use of complements ranged on this level. Thus, the difference with respect to this category is remarkable. In contrast, the differences in the other categories have to be seen as marginal. While in both groups incomplete clauses occur, the amount of highly literate clause patterns in the instructions of the monolingual pupils slightly exceeds the one being calculated in the texts of the bilingual seventh-graders. In terms of the category connection types, the amount of literate patterns is rather similar in the comparison of the groups' texts, whereas the bilingual pupils make use of more unmarked, and thus less orate connections than the monolinguals. In sum, very heterogeneous results come about due to the fact that monolinguals perform by far better in terms of the domain of complements. The phenomena in the other two categories are rather similarly distributed, with the bilingual pupils performing slightly better than the monolingual pupils as far as category connection is concerned.

4.3.2 Orthography comparison

The comparison of the two groups in the first grade will be conducted along the different text types written during the school year, differentiating between texts that merely contain single words, and texts where it was more or less up to the pupils what they wanted to write, the latter one being called "freely" written text products.

The graphs in Figure II.4.12 show the advancement of the monolinguals and the bilinguals in terms of their orthography skills by comparison with respect to the picture word tests that have been conducted by the teacher. At the end of the school year, additional word tests have been elicited by the project, being represented by triangles (HSP) and asterisks (pseudoword test) in the following figure.

Fig. II.4.12. 1ˢᵗ grade: Comparison of orthography analyses results in word test, MON and BIL
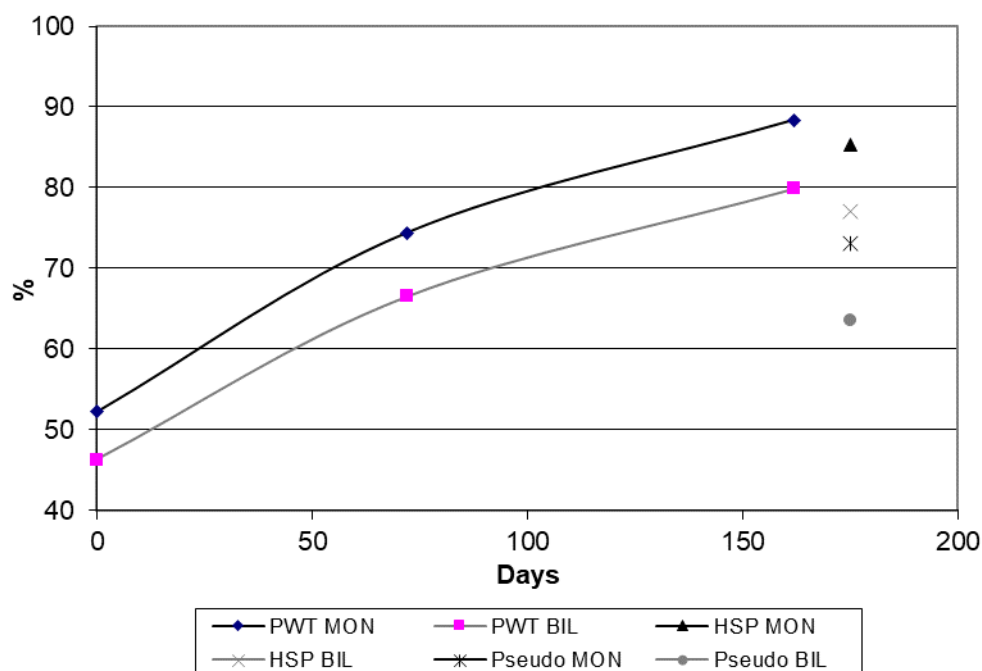
First of all, Figure II.4.12 shows that on average, the monolinguals perform better in each test than the bilingual pupils; interestingly, the difference between the amount of correct implementation accounts for roughly the same, regardless of the test. Accordingly, the development towards more correct forms in the picture word test (graphs) is as good as parallel. Moreover, both groups achieve poorer results in the HSP and the pseudoword test than in the final picture word test, with the pseudoword test evoking the worst result of each pupil although these two tests have been conducted later in the school year. Still, it should be pointed out that the values illustrate the average of each group so that there are also some bilinguals who perform better than some monolinguals. All in all, it has to be underlined that the monolingual pupils perform only slightly better than the bilinguals, and the difference between the two groups is marginal and statistically not significant. Correspondingly, it cannot be concluded that one of the group performs generally better than the other, but rather that orthography skills as displayed in the word tests are not influenced by the pupils' linguistic backgrounds.

Similarly, the amount of orthographically correct forms does not distinctly deviate when comparing the monolinguals and the bilinguals with respect to text products where the pupils were supposed to write a free text. However, the monolingual pupils perform again slightly better than the bilinguals, whereas the difference is basically neutralised during the school year, with an almost equal result in LAS Test 2.2, and a very marginal difference in the final text product of the core lesson in June at the end of the school year.

Fig. II.4.13. 1st grade: Comparison of orthography results in "freely" written text products, MON and BIL
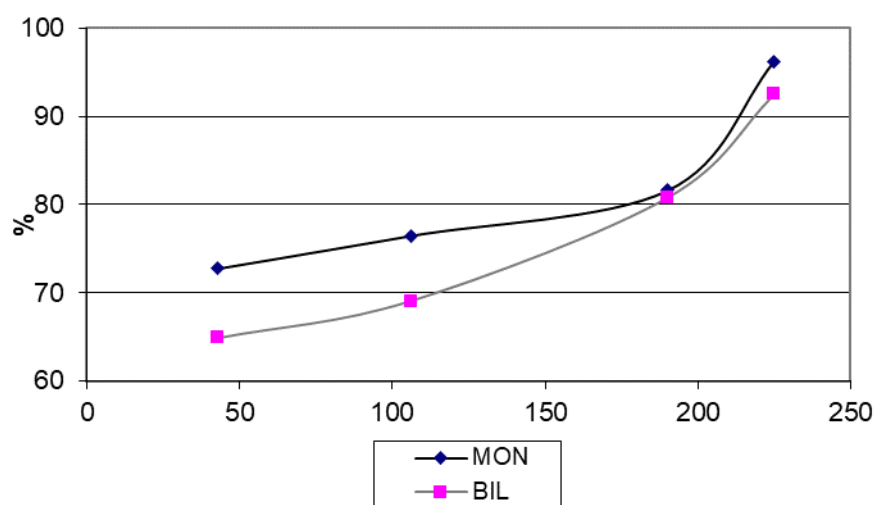
Accordingly, monolingual and bilingual pupils hardly deviate from each other with respect to their achievements in orthography. However, it should not be neglected that monolinguals perform slightly better in almost all texts, although the difference between the two groups is statistically not significant. Consequently, the better performance of pupils with German as a first language can only be seen as a tendency, so that, due to the marginal differences, it cannot be concluded that bilingual pupils have generally more difficulties with orthography.

As the pupils in the seventh grade are much more advanced writers than the first-graders, the comparison of monolinguals and bilinguals includes the analysis of punctuation as well as the orthography evaluation, both of which, however, are considered separately. Also, it is more conclusive to refer to the amount of mistakes instead of to the amount of correct words.

Figure II.4.14 illustrates the percentage of words that are written incorrectly in the different texts gathered during the school year, including class tests, text products of core lessons, and LAS tests. It is safe to say that the amount of mistakes rather depends on the text type or, even more likely, on the respective circumstances of elicitation than on the point in time of the elicitation, for both groups do not show any advancement during the school year. This is hardly surprising considering the lesson content of the German lessons throughout the school year where the discussion of orthography rules only plays a very minor role (cf.

4.3.2). Accordingly, the pupils do not have explicit opportunities given by the teacher in order to improve their orthography skills by repeating and learning certain rules.

Fig. II.4.14: 7th grade: Comparison of orthography analysis, MON and BIL
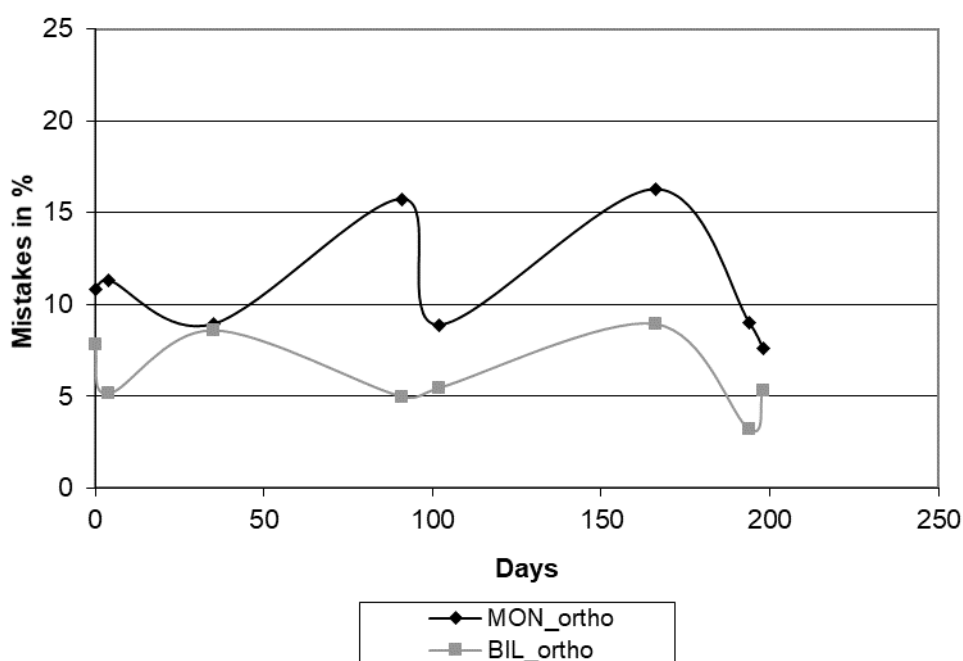
Moreover, the figure above shows that the bilingual pupils perform slightly better than the monolingual pupils in all elicited texts. While the amount of mistakes in most of the texts ranges between 5% and 9% words spelled incorrectly for the bilingual speakers, the percentage of mistakes accounts between 9% and 16% for the monolingual speakers. However, for the monolinguals, particularly two of these texts do not coincide with the rest of the results, with the first one being a text product of a core lesson where the pupils were supposed to write a dialogue, and the second one being the LAS test on the cell phone instruction. Both texts are very different genres so that it is difficult to ascribe an increasing amount of mistakes to one particular text type, especially when taking into account that the bilinguals, as opposed to the monolinguals, achieve one of their best orthography results in the dialogue text.

Being separately evaluated, the analysis of punctuation errors reveals a very similar result for both groups, which is illustrated by the almost parallel running graphs.

Fig. II.4.15. 7th grade: Comparison of punctuation analysis, MON and BIL
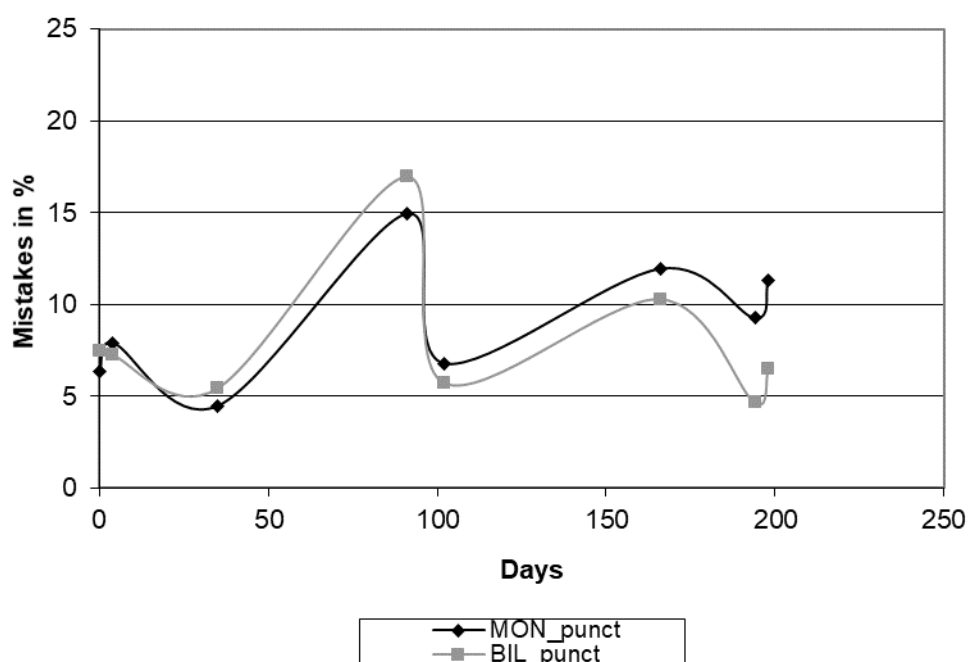
Here, the amount of mistakes depends even more obviously on the text type than it was suggested for the orthography evaluation since the two error rates amounting to more than 10% result from texts where punctuation marks occur more frequently than in other genres. On the one hand, this applies to the dialogue written in the second core lesson, with colons and quotation marks being demanded in addition to the more common punctuation marks like full stop, comma, etc. This, at the same time, represents the most problematic area in the respective text product for most of the pupils, regardless of their language background. On the other hand, the error rate in the third LAS test, the instruction, is also rather high compared to the other results, which can be ascribed to the frequent occurrence of meta-terms not being marked by quotation marks or the like. Moreover, in these texts, the instructions are often listed without being separated by commas. Also, the final text product reflects an increased amount of errors, at least as far as the monolingual pupils are concerned. This can be attributed to the fact that the texts refer to a summary and an interpreting assignment with respect to a young-adult fiction where quotations are used frequently. Since the pupils apparently do not exactly know how to quote correctly, these quotations represent a problem for many pupils, resulting in a higher error rate in this respect. In those texts where additional punctuation marks hardly occur (e.g., report), the main source of punctuation errors are missing commas that need to be set in order to mark the boundary between main and subordinate clauses.

As has also been stated for the orthography evaluation, the analysis of punctuation does not at all show advancement for any of the pupils. Aligning this result with the analysis of the lesson content throughout the school year, it is again not surprising that the pupils do not

advance in this area since punctuation rules do not represent a particular subject of German lessons.

In the final group comparison of the monolingual and bilingual pupils, Figure II.4.16 illustrates that the monolinguals make almost twice as many mistakes in orthography as the bilinguals. Here, all results are reckoned up regardless of the text type. A closer look at the types of error reveals that the majority of errors result from the deficient use of upper and lower case letters. While this applies to both groups, the monolinguals make even more frequently mistakes in this field of orthography than the bilinguals so that the difference of error rates with respect to orthography can also be ascribed to this particular phenomenon.

Fig. II.4.16. 7th grade: Comparison of orthography and punctuation analysis in total, MON and BIL
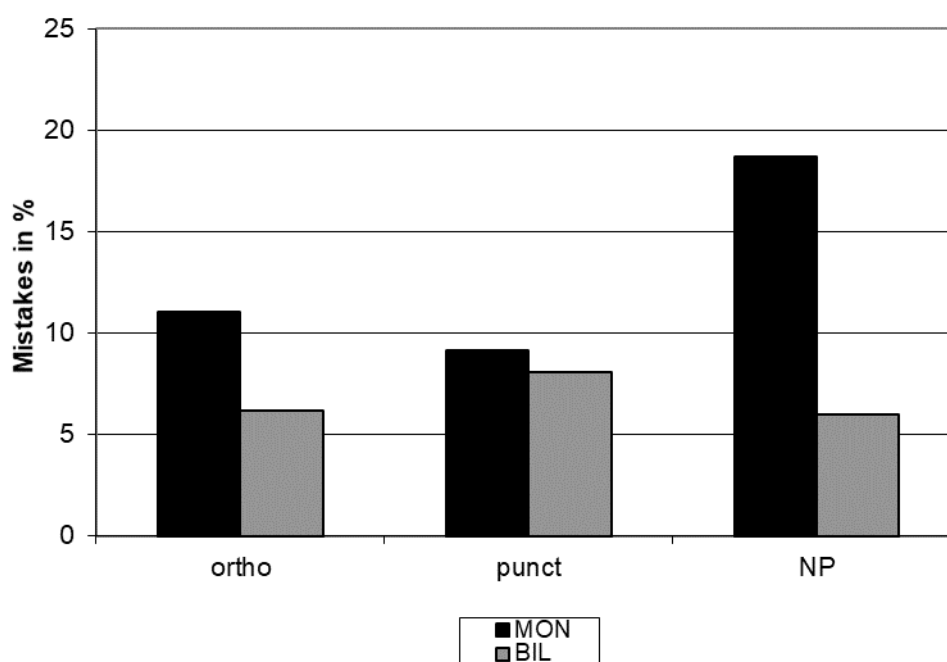
The comparison of the total punctuation error rate does not show a decisive difference between the two groups; it can only be stated that for both groups, the main punctuation-related problem in all tests results from missing commas.

4.3.3 Summary

In the comparison of the orate-literate analyses, the results are rather heterogeneous for first- and seventh-graders in terms of their linguistic backgrounds. There is no clear tendency that one of the two groups, i.e. the monolinguals or the bilinguals, performs better in one category throughout the different tests. Rather, the different tests reveal very diverse results; while monolingual first-graders generally achieve better results in the orally narrated tests (Test 1.1, Test 1.2, and Test 2.1), the bilinguals make up leeway in the written test version and thus perform slightly better in Test 2.2. With respect to the seventh graders,

the total orate-literate comparison is even more heterogeneous so that it depends on both the test and the category which of the two groups makes more use of literate patterns in their texts. So, in Test 1.1 and Test 1.2, the bilingual pupils achieve better results with respect to the categories complements and connection devices, whereas the monolingual speakers use more literate internal clause structures. Incidentally, the results for the categories tense and clause function are equal for both groups in all tests, except for Test 2, where the bilinguals make use of less communicative clauses. Other than that, the distribution of all phenomena analysed in this test is completely identical. In the final LAS test eliciting an instructional text, the monolingual seventh-graders outperform the bilingual pupils with respect to the complements and the internal clause structures. In reverse, the bilingual pupils achieve better results in the category evaluating the connection devices. Accordingly, each test shows a different result that does not allow drawing general conclusions.

As opposed to this, the orthography analysis in the first grade reveals that the monolingual pupils perform slightly better than the bilingual pupils throughout the school year regardless of the text type. Still, one should bear in mind that the difference is rather minimal, albeit present at any time of elicitation. Interestingly, the comparison of orthography evaluation in the seventh grade reveals a reversed result for here, the bilinguals outperform the monolinguals. This, however, cannot be confirmed for the punctuation error rates since these rates are almost equal. To sum up, it is important to point out that the use of upper and lower case letters and the use of commas represent the main source of errors for both monolingual and bilingual seventh-graders.

4.4 Conclusions

As was already suggested in the beginning of this chapter, and as was corroborated by means of LAS linguistic analysis, the mono-/ bilingual variable does not seem to have a singular effect on the literacy acquisition of both the first-graders and the seventh-graders. Instead, what is revealed is that various factors appear to play a role in this context. Looking at the case pupils of the first grade, the information in Table II.4.2 are only rough estimations for the sake of an overall comparison.

Tab. II.4.2. 1ˢᵗ grade: Case pupils' family's economic position, educational background, intensity/ quality of literate practices in family, and achievements in literacy acquisition
(+ above average, ~ average, – below average; weighted)

| | Bilingual | | | | | | Monolingual | | | | | |
| | ♂ | | | ♀ | | | ♂ | | | ♀ | | |
	KER	KON	OSM	ALE	FEH	SEV	AND	KEV	RAF	ANN	PIA	SON
Economic position	x	–	+	+	–	~	–	+	+	~	~	~
Educational background	x	–	~	+	–	–	–	~	+	~	~	~
Literate practices	x	–	~	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	~	~
Orate-literate range	~	–	~	+	–	~	~	+	+	~	–	~
Orthography	+	–	–	~	~	–	+	~	+	~	–	–

Tendentially, pupils with an advanced educational background and frequent literate practices in their families (KEV$^{\male MON}$, ALE$^{\female BIL}$, RAF$^{\male MON}$) come off least badly regarding their orate-literate and orthographic performance, as is expectable; apart from one exception (AND$^{\male MON}$), pupils with a clear home disadvantage tend to perform worse than their classmates from well-off, educated families. Although orthography skills are not decisively deductible from protoliterate competences, one would assume that the latter enable the former to some degree; however, one can see that in the majority of the cases, protoliterate competences do not entirely coincide with orthographic performances, which, in the first grade, might be due to different learning paces, and not least to the didactic method of literacy acquisition. In this context, it is noteworthy that according to the national standard as evaluated by means of the HSP, the LAS first-graders as a whole are rather underperformers. In alignment with the mono-/ bilingual factor, in the first grade, the findings are rather balanced as far as literate skills are concerned, with the monolingual pupils being slightly more advanced as regards the orate-literate range. Interestingly, this tendential head start does not appear to be neutralised in the course of school education, but in fact expanded, considering the findings for the seventh grade. In absolute terms, as was elaborated above, there are only subtle performance-wise differences between monolinguals and bilinguals, but when interpreting these differences as tendencies, one can gather from Table II.4.3 that the monolingual pupils have again a better position within the orate-literate continuum, whereas the bilingual pupils perform better in terms of orthography.

Tab. II.4.3. 7th grade: Case pupils' family's economic position, educational background, intensity/ quality of literate practices in family, and achievements in literacy acquisition
(+ above average, ~ average, – below average, weighted)

	Bilingual						Monolingual					
	♂			♀			♂			♀		
	AHM	AZA	CEM	CIG	HIL	SÜH	SAS	SVE	THO	BAR	BIA	ISA
Economic position	~	+	–	+	~	X	~	~	+	–	–	~
Educational background	~	~	–	–	–	–	–	–	~	–	–	~
Literate practices	~	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	~	+	+	~
Orate-literate range	~	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	~	+	+
Orthography	~	+	–	–	~	–	–	–	–	~	–	–

Three out of six monolingual case pupils score evaluations above average in the orate-literate assessment, but only one of the bilingual case pupils, four of whom even perform rather poorly in this respect (as opposed to two monolinguals), on the other hand, five out six case monolingual pupils perform poorly orthography-wise, but only one of the bilingual case pupils. These findings point at a language-based difference between such skills that can be purposefully practised (orthography), and those that one rather picks up in the course of an ongoing literate socialisation. Looking at Table II.4.3, it becomes also apparent that although none of the seventh-grade case pupils comes from a highly-educated family background, tendential disadvantages arising from an entirely uneducated environment

seem to be more consistent for bilingual than for monolingual pupils in terms of the orate-literate range, with BAR$^{\textrm{♀MON}}$ and BIA$^{\textrm{♀MON}}$ being able to compensate the assumed deficits to some degree not least due to their self-established literate practices.

In a comparison of first- and seventh-graders, the impact of the selection after primary school is obvious in terms of the families' educational backgrounds, as was already suggested in the previous chapters. Moreover, another post-selection effect is apparently connected to the mono-/ bilingual factor as far as literate skills are concerned; in the first grade, this factor plays a less significant role, whereas it seems to be of a greater importance in the seventh grade. Very tentatively appraised, these findings point to the fact that potential dissimilarities between mono- and bilingual pupils are rather extended than neutralised in the course of literacy acquisition, even on condition of stronger homogenisation (due to pre-selection) in the seventh grade.

Part III: Results of LAS Turkey

1 Sabiha Necipoğlu[116] School Ethnography

Müge Ayan

1.1 Introductory information on the Tarlabaşı district

Within the broader aim of the LAS project, this chapter attempts to illustrate the dynamics of the field of study through an ethnographic account. By way of conveying the underlying socio-economic, ethnic, and linguistic realities of the area, the specific dynamics are of utmost importance in directly influencing and shaping the way in which the school functions as an institution, and the relationship dynamics established within. With this aim, I will first briefly explain the socioeconomic, ethnic, and lingusitic realities of the district of the project school. Then I will go on to introduce the basic features of the school. Third, I will analyse the recurring themes encountered in everyday school practices.

The school of the Turkish LAS study project is situated in the Tarlabaşı district of Istanbul. Originally, the district was constructed as a settlement for diplomats to host international representatives in consulates around the mid-1500s. It also served as a residential area for the Levantines and non-Muslim workers. Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the district went through structural changes; major events that gave rise to demographic, economic, and socio-cultural changes in the region were the Wealth Tax of 1942; the September 6-7 events against the non-Muslim population in Istanbul in 1955; immigration from rural areas in the 1960s; the restructuring of the area during the mid-1980ies; and especially the immigration of internally displaced people from the eastern and south-eastern regions of Turkey during the 1990ies, which is particularly relevant with respect to the LAS Project as the majority of the bilingual case pupil families came to Istanbul in the course of these movements of internally displaced people.

Fig. III.1.1. A view of the Tarlabaşı district.

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[116] Pseudonym is used for the name of the school for confidentiality reasons. Code names are used for the names of the school participants.

At the time of the research, Tarlabaşı was populated by internally displaced Kurdish people who were strongly represented in marginal sectors, and furthermore Roma, Keldani people from Iraq, irregular migrants, and asylum seekers from various African countries. Centering upon illegal activities such as drug dealing, pick-pocketing, mafios formations, and prostitution, Tarlabaşı was considered one of the most problematic settlements in Istanbul.

The district consisted of six neighbourhoods, the inhabitants of which amounted to 22,703. The main ethnic groups residing here were Kurds and Roma. According to the Tarlabaşı Community Centre field study[117] report prepared in 2006, five different languages are spoken as first languages by the population; as illustrated in Table III.1.1, the L1 of almost half of the population (49.0%) is Turkish, which comes about due to the Roma who usually state their L1 to be Turkish although this does not necessarily coincide with their actual language use.

Tab. III.1.1. First languages of the Tarlabaşı residents

L1	Frequency	%
Turkish	98	49.0
Kurmancî	95	47.5
Zazakî	2	1.0
Arabic	3	1.5
Armenian	2	1.0
Total	200	100

It is manifest in the same report that 11.5% of the total population are illiterate; 16% are primary school drop-outs, and 30% primary school graduates (see Table III.1.2).

Tab. III.1.2. Education levels of the Tarlabaşı residents

Level of education	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	23	11.5
Literate, but no school visit	8	4.0
Primary school leave	32	16.0
Primary school graduate	61	30.0
Mid-school leave	16	8.0
Mid-school graduate	13	6.5
Normal secondary school leave	6	3.0
Normal secondary school graduate	16	8.0
Vocational school leave	2	1.0
Vocational school graduate	3	1.5
University leave	1	0.5
University graduate	3	1.5
Still in school	16	7.5
Total	200	100.0

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[117] "The questionnaires were conducted to 200 persons, who were chosen randomly. This amount equals to approximately 1% of the whole population living within the borders of the study area. In order to have a representative data, questionnaires were conducted in every street that were within the research area and the houses to be visited were chosen randomly. In every chosen household, only one person was interviewed." (Şahin & Çağlayan 2006:2)

To a great extent, the Tarlabaşı residents are employed in the secondary labour market, filling low status, temporary and informal occupations such as trade and street selling. It is stated in the Tarlabaşı Community Centre report that:

> In addition to the fact that Tarlabaşı residents are underrepresented in the employment structure, it is also important to stress that the kind of occupations done by them are reproducing their low social and economic status. Rather than providing upward mobility chances and opportunities for integration to urban community, these occupations contribute to the discrimination and stigmatisation of these groups at wider societal level (Şahin & Çağlayan 2006:8).

Besides, an important social phenomenon of the region is poverty, which results in child labour:

> The use of child labour is one of the alternative strategies to cope with the difficulties in finding employment in the formal sector, and the resulting poverty. The use of child labour is especially high among the Kurdish families. Even if it can be seen as a short term solution for the survival of the family, the working of children not only prevents them to continue their education, but also paves the way for their physical abuse, socialisation in criminal activity and getting mental and physical health problems (Şahin & Çağlayan 2006:8).

As already mentioned, the majority of the Kurds living in the region are internally displaced people migrated from the east and southeast in the mid-1990ies. Forced migration of the 1990ies took place as a result of the conflict between the PKK and the Turkish security forces. As for the Roma people who migrated in the 1970ies from cities in the Marmara and Aegean regions, the motive underlying their decision to migrate was mainly economic.

As a region which hosts social groups coming from ethnically diverse backgrounds, conflicts and tensions especially between Kurds and Roma are part of the daily life in Tarlabaşı. Prejudice against inhabitants belonging to a different ethnic group is common, and is reflected in "discriminatory, sometimes even violent behaviour against other groups" (Şahin & Çağlayan 2006:23):

> Kurds and Romanis are not only the main groups that constitute the population of Tarlabaşı, they are also those groups who are in continuous conflict with each other. For both groups, the existence of the other in Tarlabaşı is the main cause of problems. The most important indicator of the prejudices of the groups of each other and their attitudes of avoiding close relationships with each other is their tendency to refuse inter-group marriages. Neither the Kurds, nor the Romanis want their daughters to marry with a man from the other group. (Şahin & Çağlayan 2006:23)

Tarlabaşı residents consider security as yet another major challenge to be faced in the neighbourhood. In addition to the security issues, which include high rates of criminal and illegal activities such as robbery, pick-pocketing, and drug use and dealing, the lack of municipality services is reported to be another important concern of the neighbourhood. Respondents of the Tarlabaşı Community Centre field study stated that "garbage was not collected regularly, streets and buildings were 'left to their fate', and in general people living in Tarlabaşı were treated as 'step children' by the municipality as well as other local state institutions" (Şahin & Çağlayan 2006:28).

As a result, the daily lives of the Tarlabaşı residents are shaped by poverty and deprivation, unemployment, low levels of education, a lack of access to basic municipal and state services, a lack of security and health, and discrimination and marginalisation. Paradoxically, despite the district's geographical proximity to the city centre, its residents are mainly excluded from socio-cultural and political opportunities the city life offers. Not being able to find employment in formal sectors results in a feeling of alienation from society and a lack of participation in broader social contexts. This, in turn, leads the inhabitants to establish alternative strategies, and to create "their own employment structures and relations, hierarchies, their own justice and values, obtaining rights and changes of mobility, including the informal sector, mafios networks, illegal, illegitimate and criminal activity" (Şahin & Çağlayan 2006:35).

1.2 Basic features of the Sabiha Necipoğlu school

Sabiha Necipoğlu, established in 1970, is one of the 40 public primary schools[118] under the Beyoğlu district national education directorate. It has a population of 1553 pupils, 740 of whom are girls and 813 of whom are boys. It is difficult to give an accurate account on the ethnic backgrounds of the pupils as the school authorities seemed to be rather reluctant towards the LAS investigation of pupils with Kurdish background, so it was necessary to downplay to a certain extent the related part of the project, and the researchers were thus not in a position to ask about the pupils' ethnic backgrounds. However, it is safe to say that the majority of the school population consists of Kurdish and Roma ethnic groups.

1.2.1 School areas

Entrance gate. At the school entrance, there is a well-built, over-middle-age guard sitting on a stool outside the door. He is mostly present and he is the one dealing with people entering and leaving the premises. When he was temporarily dismissed due to a lack of funding, the responsibility of gate-keeping lay with two pupils who were on duty at a time. The guard was hired back a couple of months later. His job is hard at times as sometimes he is ordered by the principal not to let parents in. The guard complains asserting:

> What could I do? Some parents get permission from work to come here, how can I tell them
> that they can not get in? How could they get another permission and come back?
> (2007_10_1A&7B_MAC (enote))

Such occurrences highlight the vagueness of school boundaries and a lack of binding rules in school. While the principal claims the right to deny parents' access to the premises, the parents see no need to make an appointment with neither the respective teacher nor the

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[118] Up until 1997, compulsory education involved five years of primary school (ilkokul). According to Law No. 4306, primary and lower secondary schools have been combined and replaced by a single institution of primary schooling. The law stipulating eight years of uninterrupted compulsory primary schooling was put in place by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1997, and the duration of compulsory primary education was therefore extended from five to eight years. At the time this research was conducted, primary schooling in Turkey was an eight-year-cycle, compulsory for every Turkish citizen from the age of six to the age of fourteen. Public primary schools are theoretically free of tuition, except for a number of schools collecting money from the parents and using it towards the expenses of the school. Although the money collected by the school administration is supposed to be relatively small, field study shows that it forces the budget of many families.

principal before visiting the school; whereas only a few parents attend parent-teacher meetings or school conferences, it is a common practice to come to the school at their own discretion. Another regular practice is the frequent tardiness of the pupils who often come to school after classes have begun or attempt to leave the premises before classes end. Hence, most often one observes the guard at the entrance quarrelling with pupils trying to leave the school, but he still tends to form close ties with the pupils and handles such situations in an amicable way.

School buildings. There are two main buildings. In the entrance hallways of each building there is an Atatürk corner with Atatürk's pictures and quotes. The first building holds the primary level pupils (grades 1 through 5), the second one holds the senior grades (grades 6 through 8). At both entrances, there is a pupil guard from the secondary level on duty for that day. While the teachers might use any entrance to enter both buildings, primary level pupils can only use one entrance when entering their own building and are not allowed by the guarding pupil to use the other entrance; quite plausibly, the primary level pupils almost always attempt to use the restricted entrance. Rather than explaining the rationale under these restrictions, such as the need to follow certain rules in collective cohabitation, these rules are being imposed as the obligation to obey rules set by the elders. Besides, the teachers are never observed to exhibit exemplary behaviour in obeying these very rules. Arguably, underlying these practices, two main messages are conveyed to the pupils. Firstly, there is a hierarchical relationship between the pupils and the teachers who have the option of using whichever door they prefer. Secondly, the pupils are made to obey the rules set by the elders without questioning the reasons why such rules exist.

Classrooms. The classrooms are arranged in different ways. Some seating orders consist of consecutive rows, some, as the ones attended by the researchers, are arranged in U-shape. All classrooms resemble each other in appearance. Apart from certain obligatory regulations set by the Ministry of Education, the room design is at the discretion of the teachers. For example, during national children's day (April 23rd), while one classroom is strikingly decorated with Turkish flags, another one might display more accentuated regular decoration instead of additional flags. It is interesting to note that the teacher of the former class has a strong nationalist orientation and uses every opportunity to teach her pupils details about the life of Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. Commonly observed practices in this particular class are teaching the pupils songs and poems about and sayings of Atatürk, giving the pupils high marks when they bring pictures of Atatürk to school, making them memorise the dates of birth and death of Atatürk, and the names of Atatürk's father and mother. Besides, the respective teacher bans the speaking of Kurmanjî in the class, and warns the pupils whenever they do so, which will be discussed in detail below. The teacher of the latter class in the rather moderately decorated classroom, on the other hand, actually speaks Kurmanjî with the pupils at times, and encourages them to sing Kurmanjî songs and recite Kurmanjî poems during the lesson. With regard to the binding rules set by Ministry of Education, there is thus a need to maintain a certain appearance so as to prevent the school from being closed down; however, what is to be emphasized is left up to the respective teacher's discretion. As a result, the very teacher's political orientation plays an important role in both the classroom arrangement and the classroom practices.

Computer lab. There are a total of 24 computers of which 11 are functioning, with no internet connection on any of them. In computer classes, two pupils share one computer. According to LAS observation, the computers are not used during lessons except for playing games.

Science lab and visual arts atelier. These spaces are not used actively. In fact, doors remain locked.

Multi-functional room. This is a rarely used room with a stage and a ping-pong table. Yet, on rainy days, physical education classes are held here. It is also used for volleyball.

Teachers' room. There is a teachers' room in each building. Smoking is prohibited in only one of them. During LAS fieldwork, the local police force renovated these rooms; since the area where the school is located is considered a high-risk area in terms of security, school authorities work in close collaboration with the police forces, and as a result, the school receives both financial and social aid from the police forces. This will be further elaborated later on.

Library. The school library is always locked and never used. Hence, it is a space beyond the reach of the pupils. According to the counselling teacher, there are books donated to the school, but there is no reading space for the pupils.

Administrative offices. The school's administration area is composed of two rooms, one allocated to the principal and the other allocated to the principal's assistants. In the principal's room, the TV is constantly turned on. In addition to his chair, there is one desk, one coffee table, two chairs across from each other, and a sofa. There are also two computers; however, they are never observed being used or turned on.

Painting atelier. It is stated by the counselling teacher that all kinds of drawing and painting material are available; however, they are not used in the lessons, but rather during atelier times after school. The financing is attained from the municipality and public education centres.

Dance atelier. In the dance atelier, which formerly was a meeting room, there is a stage and bars on the walls. Still, this area is not used according to its purpose, either. It is more easily accessed compared to most of the other rooms, yet it is mostly used like an additional room; for example, the LAS experiments and some of the LAS interviews with school participants were conducted here.

Counselling room. This room is one of the most widely used areas in the school building. The counselling teacher, being one of the longest serving teachers in the school, is very close with the pupils and often visited by them. In the room, there is one desk and two chairs, and also a computer with internet connection.

Depot and janitor rooms. There are three rooms used for this purpose, two in the entry levels' building and one in senior levels' building. Janitors remain here when they are not actively working. In addition, all broken desks and materials are placed here.

School yard. The school yard is quite large and there is a fenced football area within the yard. This space is actively used by the pupils during recess and at times during lessons by

those pupils who do not attend class. In the remainder of the yard, a volleyball net is put up at times and frequently used for playing volleyball. In addition, there is a section that holds an Atatürk statue where school gatherings and ceremonies take place. The canteen located in the school yard is regularly visited by the pupils. The revenue earned from the canteen constitutes a major source of income for the school. The school yard is the most actively used space besides the classrooms. Although there are many alternative areas within the school, they remain mostly idle. In spite of the school's insufficient funding, large spaces allocated for different purposes can be explained by this school being selected as *müfredat laboratuar okulu (MLO)*[119], i.e. a curriculum-testing school where the new curricular program, which became effective in 2004, is being trialled. Therefore, such a school is expected to have certain specifications to be exemplary to other schools. However, the respective spaces seem to exist only for showcase purposes where they are paraded to the school inspectors when they visit, but they are not part of the everyday school life. This signifies that the school space is not used towards maximizing the pupils' potentials by way of exposing them to different activities.

1.2.2 A typical school day in Sabiha Necipoğlu

As all the children studying at the school live in the same neighbourhood, they walk to school. Younger children are accompanied either by their parents (usually mothers) or their elder siblings since all the children of larger families usually go to the same school.[120] As shown in Table 1.3, the school day begins at 9:00 and ends at 14:40. After the opening ceremony and the preparation of the lesson, classes begin at 9:10. A school day consists of six lesson intervals, each taking 40 minutes. In between lessons, there is a recess period of 10 minutes, except for the recess that includes the snack time and takes 20 minutes, and the one including the lunch time, which takes 40 minutes. During snack and lunch times, the pupils either eat the food they brought from home, or buy it from the school canteen. During recess, the pupils satisfy their needs to go to the toilet, eat, play, and chat with their schoolmates. Usually, the pupils on the secondary level, i.e. those who are in the sixth grade and above, go to check on their younger siblings during the recess periods. Despite the school day being organised this way, not all pupils enter their classrooms as soon as the lesson begins. Especially in the senior grades, it might take a longer time for the pupils to enter the class, and although tardiness is supposed be sanctioned by the school administration,[121] the teachers do not always register pupils who appear late since tardiness is perceived as somewhat common in the school practices. What is of further significance is that tardiness is also common among some of the teachers who take their time in the teachers' room chatting and drinking tea. To detect and report the teachers who are late for class is among the duties of one of the three assistants to the principal. However, due to the

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[119] As reported by the school principal, the reason why this school was selected as *MLO* is because class sizes are smaller compared to other schools. The vice principal stated that she has no clue why this school was selected as *MLO*.

[120] The pupils are supposed to go to designated schools located in the residential area where they are registered.

[121] According to the regulations set by the Ministry, three days of tardiness are supposed to be counted as one day of absence. 20 days of absence in total result in the pupil failing the class.

relaxed atmosphere in the school organisation, tardiness does not result in severe sanctions neither for the pupils nor the teachers.

Tab. III.1.3. Daily schedule of the school

Time	Schedule units
09.00 – 09:10	Ceremony and lesson preparation
09.10 – 09:50	Lesson 1
09.50 – 10:00	Recess
10.00 – 10:40	Lesson 2
10.40 – 11:00	Recess and snack time
11.00 – 11:40	Lesson 3
11.40 – 11:50	Recess
11.50 – 12:30	Lesson 4
12.30 – 13:10	Recess and meal time
13.10 – 13:50	Lesson 5
13.50 – 14:00	Recess
14.00 – 14:40	Lesson 6

Pupil's Pledge as a ritualized performance. Monday mornings prior to the school activities and Friday evenings after school are allocated for a ceremony that takes place in the school yard. During the ceremony, the pupils line up to sing the independence anthem together with their teachers. Then, a pupil is chosen among the seniors to recite the Pupil's Pledge. The selected pupil recites a line from the Pledge and the other pupils repeat after him or her. Article 12 of the Regulation entitled (translation) "Pupil's Pledge" stipulates that "in the primary education institutions the pupils, monitored by their teachers, take the following Pupil's Pledge every day before the classes" (Doğan et al. 2003:1468)[122]:

> I am a Turk,
> I am honest,
> I am hard-working,
> It is my principle
> to protect the younger,
> to respect the elder,
> and to love my country and my nation
> more than my own self.
> It is my ideal to promote and to advance.
> Oh, Atatürk the Great!
> I take an oath that
> I will ceaselessly proceed
> Through the way that you have cleared,
> Towards the objective that you have set up.
> Let my existence be sacrificed for the sake of Turkish existence.
> Happy is the one who can say I am a Turk![123]

This daily pledge, taken with all fellow pupils, is designed to instil a sense of "Turkishness" in the pupils who are thus made to feel a sense of belonging to, as well as faith in, the Turkish nation. They take an oath that they will contribute to the advancement and promotion of the Turkish nation. In the pledge, the expected behaviour is strongly defined in terms of duty and social commitment. In the shaping of a Turkish identity, the individual

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[122] The frequency of reciting the pledge was later changed from five times a week to twice a week.
[123] My translation.

is positioned as a member of a community: by referring to the elders, and to the Turkish duties towards them, the sense of self is aimed to be constructed with a dependency to a wider social entity (cf. Ayan 2006). Neyzi (2000:8), a Turkish anthropologist, comments that "the 'self' of the Republic comes before the 'self' of the individual, who must be prepared to sacrifice himself/ herself for the nation". The Pledge would be best interpreted in terms of Hobsbawm's (1983:1) idea of "the invention of tradition". According to Hobsbawm, "'invented tradition' is taken to mean 'a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm 1983:1). It is notable that schools are made to participate in this "invention of tradition" through references to Atatürk as a symbol and ceremonial practices made obligatory by the Ministry of Education. By the repetition of the Pledge, the pupils are meant to develop a sense of nationalism befitting the honest, hard-working, respectful, faithful citizen model, which by extension is the ideal and presumably "perfect" and "superior" Turk. What is of further significance is that all the pupils are expected to take the Pledge regardless of their ethnic background.

1.2.3 School organisation

1.2.3.1 School staff

Besides the two-person cleaning crew, the entrance guard, and four employees in the administration, the school has 39 teachers who can be assigned to three categories:

Staffed teachers. Teachers must have been working for at least two years when they are appointed as a staffed personnel. They are eligible to enjoy social welfare in the form of health services and government retirement funding. They are bound to give classes for at least 21 hours a week. However, the state has the right to make it obligatory for them to hold classes for 30 hours if need be. Depending on their grading, which is assessed according to criteria such as the length of service, the area they served, and the education level, their monthly salary is 450 to 1000 Euros. Sabiha Necipoğlu has 20 staffed teachers.

Contracted teachers. They get paid according to the hours they teach, which amounts to an average of 250 Euros a month. Roughly speaking, they enjoy the similar accesses to social welfare as the staffed teachers. Sabiha Necipoğlu has 15 contracted teachers.

Paid teachers. They get paid according to the hours they teach. Paid teachers do not acquire claims to social welfare. Sabiha Necipoğlu has 4 paid teachers.

School administration. The principal has three assistants. When the vice principal, who substituted for the principal until the appointment of the new principal, is asked what the duties of the principal are, she raises a big laugh and replies: "Well, I do not know either. I get confused."[124] Then she summarises the principal's duty as coordinating the assistants. As for the duties of the assistants, one of them is in charge of the school staff, i.e. annual leaves, calculation of the salaries, and the promotional salary increases; another one works as a registrar office, i.e. registering pupils, transferring them from other schools, and

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[124] int_sp_vice-principal_2008_MAC (interview).

organising departmental meetings; and a third one is responsible for superintending the teachers. The vice principal also adds that although the teachers are obliged to gather for departmental meetings twice a year at the beginning of each academic term, in practice they "download from the internet standardised minutes, and sign underneath as if the meeting is held."[125] Similarly, the teachers download lesson plans from the internet sites, which spares them the burden of planning their lessons themselves. Note that the inspectors who visit the school on a yearly basis mainly examine such lesson plans. This indicates that the majority of the duties carried out in school are being discharged negligently just for the sake of it, setting aside the intrinsic value of education. Here, work does not have a meaning beyond the fulfilment of a duty, which is referred to as the "civil servant's mentality" (*memur zihniyeti*) in Turkey.

Besides getting used to the teachers being late for class, the pupils seem to have gotten used to teachers who do not show at all since they do not show any reaction when their teachers do not come to class. To the contrary, they even seem to be surprised when some of their teachers appear.

High circulation in the school personnel. The accounting officer of the school, who also works as a substitute preschool teacher due to the lack of teaching personnel, is the longest serving staffer in the school. She started working here for one year in 1994, quit her job and restarted working in Sabiha Necipoğlu in 2000. Mainly, she serves as a secretary in the school administration. The second-longest serving employee is the counselling teacher who has been working in the school for five years. The remaining personnel have been working in the school for a maximum of three years because teachers are usually not willing to keep the job at Sabiha Necipoğlu and quickly inquire to be appointed to another school where there are not so many pupils coming from such disadvantaged backgrounds, which are experienced as impediments to school-making. The vice principal, who previously served as an English teacher, notes:

> Before I served as a teacher in Manisa for three years. I like Istanbul, though. It is good to be in a big city. And I am used to it as I have grown up in İzmir. Yet of course I would prefer working at another school. Things are very difficult in here. First of all, parents have financial difficulties. They also have problems in adapting to city life. Children's fathers are either in prison or they are unemployed. Besides, their mothers do not work. Children work in streets, they sell handkerchiefs and so on. They do not have a life culture that they learn at home. They do not know how to take responsibility. You even have to teach them how to enter the principal's office *[referring to the pupil who entered the office without knocking on the door during our interview]*. Family is very important. I strongly believe in the importance of family in education. In such an environment, children come to school to get rid of the difficulties of the outside life, to relax.
> (int_sp_vice-principal_2008_MAC (interview))

Her final comment is important with regards to her ideas about the meaning the pupils attach to school. School in that sense is a place where the pupils come to relax. It can be observed that the vice principal draws a boundary between life outside school where the pupils are faced with difficulties, and life inside school where they are cleared from them. As for the pupils, the majority of them express that their reason for coming to school is to

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[125] int_sp_vice-principal_2008_MAC (interview).

find a job and grow up to be "whatever they want to be". [126] As they themselves did not express such a function of school, it is difficult to test the vice principal's argument. In any case, it is important to note her observation as she has been serving in this school for three years.

Similar to the vice principal and many of the other school participants, the assistant to the president of the school-parent assembly notes that the main problem of the school is parents. "If the problem concerning the parents is solved the pupils will behave as sheeps"[127], she states. In her mind, the ideal pupil is the one who behaves like a sheep. This demonstrates that she aims to raise children who do whatever they are told to without questioning.

The pupils seem to have gotten used to their teachers being appointed to other schools, too. This can even be observed in the sentences they make in their Turkish classes when they are instructed to use newly acquired vocabulary in sentences. For instance, one pupil made the following sentence: "Our teacher has been assigned to another post, we examined [*yokladık*] very much." In this sentence, the pupil misused used the verb 'examine' whereas she meant to say 'felt her absence'.

Interviews made with parents reveal that they consider the change in the school staff as a problem. ALA's$^{\female MON}$ (seventh-grader) mother complains:

> Teachers keep getting appointed to other schools. They come for a month, three months or five months, and then they leave. One of the first grader teachers has left. 20 of her pupils are in my daughter's class now. And so teacher does not take care of them all.
> (int_f_7_ALA_MAC (interview))

Moreover, in the course of the LAS research year, the school principal changed for three times. The last principal was appointed to Sabiha Necipoğlu as a result of an official investigation launched against him:

> I am in exile here. I served as the school principal for 27 years in Bakırköy. Natural gas exploded in my previous school, and an official investigation is launched against me.
> (int_sp_principal_2008_06_MAC (interview))

The excessive circulation of teachers coupled with a constant change in school principals results in the lack of an institutional culture. Consequentially, the counselling teacher says:

> No one gets him/herself associated with the school and no one embraces the school. In such a school teachers need to feel the support of the school administration. Besides, pupils experience traumas at home. Parents are not supportive of teachers either. School keeps going through financial difficulties. And when there is no moral support …
> (int_sp_counselling-TEA_2008_05_21_MAC (interview))

Similarly, the vice principal notes:

> We do not have a national education system. I mean, we do not have a system. It is collapsed. Teaching necessitates a love bond. One cannot do it half-heartedly. Teachers need to associate themselves with their profession. The main problem of this school is that it has too many teachers working on paid basis. Thus they do not associate themselves with

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[126] 2007_11_16_1A_DK (enote).
[127] int_sp_PTA_2008_05_MAC (interview).

> the school. Why should they? They say that they are leaving, and they leave. In fact this is the State's shame, don't you think? Teachers receive their salaries from the State, not from me. But I am the one who is having the trouble. They do not enter classes. Or they say 'I am leaving'. For example the classroom teacher of the fourth graders is gone now. No lessons. I have no clue what we are going to do.
> (int_sp_vice-principal_2008_MAC (interview))

The counselling teacher mentions yet another interesting issue related to the change in personnel:

> We expect donations from the parents. Who will they donate to? Their addressee keeps changing.
> (int_sp_counselling-TEA_2008_05_21_MAC (interview))

As is observed, the excessive circulation in the school personnel not only results in the teachers' inability to see themselves as part of an institutional culture where they can socialise with their fellow teachers, but also it damages the school's credibility in the eyes of the parents.

1.2.3.2 Financial matters

The state pays for the school's electricity, water and natural gas expenses, and provides the textbooks for the pupils. All the remaining school expenses are to be financed by the school itself, and the solution suggested by the state is for the school to collect the money from the parents via the school-parent assembly. As reported by the school principal, 80% of the income collected by the school-parent assembly comes from the school canteen. Thus, the school-parent assembly is the main unit working to provide money for the school. The assembly consists of 46 members. The assistant to the president of the assembly notes:

> There are 17 members who do the work. Even these members do not work much. There are only 4-5 who really work. Rest become members just to possess the card which helps in entering the school. They are so-called members. They do nothing. As a matter of fact, the classroom teacher of their children tell them to be members, and this is how they become members. There is no voting or anything. No one wants to be members anyway.
> (int_sp_PTA_2008_05_MAC (interview))

The school principal complains that although the school-parent assembly should act as a bridge between the school and the parents, it is seen as a fundraising source. He continues:

> The school-parent assembly cannot do its job. We cannot establish dialogue with our parents. A couple of days ago, I invited the parents to school with the purpose of asking them what they expect from us and talking about the problems of the school. But when parents received a letter signed by the school-parent assembly they did not come because they thought we will ask for money again. Among 1500 parents only 50 participated.
> (int_sp_principal_2008_06_MAC (interview))

Discouraged by the parents who do not appreciate her efforts, the assistant to the president of the assembly, who has been serving in the assembly for two years, states that she intends to quit the following year.

> I will go on doing my best. But I will not be on the spot this time. We put such a big effort to raise money for the school. Then they come and tell us 'you spend the money freely for your own good'. Just to be able to find relatively cheaper goods for the charity bazaar we are worn to the bone, walking all around the city in such a hot weather.
> (int_sp_PTA_2008_05_MAC (interview))

The vice principal states in a helpless manner:

> The state does not even pay the phone bills. We fixed an amount of 20 TL (€10) as a donation to be collected by the parents. But they do not give it. And you cannot force them to. State suggests that we work in close collaboration with the parent-school assembly and collect it that way. When we ask for money from the parents, they say this is a State school free of charge. They do not know that the State does not finance most of our expenses. (int_sp_vice-principal_2008_MAC (interview))

Apparently, realising that they would not be able to collect 20 TL, the administration reduced the amount to be collected to 10 TL. Still, they did not manage to collect the money. Below is the translation of a document sent out to the parents by the school administration, declaring that the school is in nearly 14000 TL (approximately €7000) debt, and asking for donation.

Fig. III.1.2. Translation of the official letter sent by the school to urge the parents to donate

DIRECTORATE OF SABİHA NECİPOĞLU ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Dear Parents,
As already known, all expenses related to cleaning, labour, all emergency fixings, electrical and electronic repair costs are paid for by the parents.

Current condition:
1. € 865 - electrician
2. € 915 - cleaning material
3. € 550 - stationery
4. € 127 - window glass
5. € 305 - electrical gadget
6. € 87 - hardware
7. € 66 - blacksmith
8. € 305 - printing material
9. € 508 - (approx.) revision and fixing of electric circuitry as it currently imposes threat
10. € 3045 - personnel payments
TOTAL: € 7,070 (this is how much debt is owed)

In order to complete 2007-2008 academic year successfully and prepare for 2008-2009, we kindly ask for € 5 per pupil. We hope that all parents will abide with this decision without getting into a discussion of 'I paid the money' or 'I did not pay the money'.

The money will be collected by class's mothers in the presence of class teachers and deposited in school-parent assembly account.

We kindly ask for the appropriate action.

School Management
Note: All parents are kindly expected to attend the ceremony on April 18th, Friday at 14:20 as some explanations will be provided!

The part in the letter to the parents that says that they should not "get into a discussion whether they gave the money of not" is indicative of the fact that the school previously experienced negative reactions coming from the parents. Using this kind of an oral language in a written and official document seems to be the outcome of the school's difficulty in reaching out to the parents personally. In addition, it is indicative of the school administration's views on the lack of education of the parents.

The accounting officer states that she has to be threatening towards the parents in order to be able to collect the money:

> I said that we will not give the report cards to the PUPs who do not give the money. I did this with the hope that they will bring the money in the last day of school. Actually, it is not report card money that we are asking for. We are putting it that way to be able to collect the money.
> (int_sp_accounting-responsible_06_2008 (interview))

The following words of the accounting officer further indicate the extent to which Sabiha Necipoğlu is in a financial deadlock:

> Doors of the toilets are shattered into pieces. We constantly have problems with the installation. Once we had no electricity for two or three weeks. We had to borrow money from the retailer from whom we supply cleaning materials and give it to the electrician. Retailers are not sensitive enough. Instead of looking after what they can provide to the school they are watching out what they can get from us.
> (int_sp_accounting-responsible_06_2008 (interview))

For the accounting officer, retailers need to provide them services and goods without expecting any money from them. In the context of the school's financial problems it seems that she feels desperate. Apparently, she also feels guilty of asking for money from the parents who are not able to afford it.

> I have been here for 16 years. The school means myself, in a way. I am in good terms with the parents. But ever since I have been dealing with financial matters I started having hard times. I tell the janitors to say that I am not in when parents come to see me. I hide from the parents. I do not want to face them, because they hold me responsible.
> (int_sp_accounting-responsible_06_2008 (interview))

1.3 Recurring themes encountered in everyday school practices

Providing security as the school's main function. Family interviews indicate that the majority of the case pupils' families are mostly concerned with meeting their children's security needs. The meaning families attach to education is primarily based on their life expectations: They need to have their basic needs satisfied, their major concern is providing a safe and secure living environment for their children, and they do not consider the Tarlabaşı neighbourhood a safe space particularly when taking into account drug trafficking and other crimes. The 34-year-old mother of OLC^MON (first grade) states:

> Ever since the Eastern people attacked here there is no more peace. Tarlabaşı is not peaceful anymore as it used to be. Drug is all over the place. And so I have to keep such a big guy at home *[referring to his 15 year old son who later expressed that he wanted to be a soldier to keep the country free from terrorists]*.
> (int_f_1_OLC_MAC (interview))

As exemplified above in OLC's mother's discourse, Roma parents see Kurds as a threat. For Roma parents, the reason why Tarlabaşı is not a safe place is because the Kurds are cohabiting in the area. Thus, the main problem about security expressed by the parents should be analysed in terms of ethnic difference, which will be further elaborated later on in this chapter. OLC's mother's fear about the neighbourhood goes so far as to refuse to send her children to after-school activities. To keep them away from the threat of the street, she chooses to keep them at home at all times except when they are at school. Another common

practice among the parents who try to keep their children away from the trouble of the streets is buying computers to keep their children busy at home. No matter how limited the family income is, the parents seem to force their limits to be able to purchase a computer for their children.

It is important to note, however, that it is not only the Roma parents who do not let their children out after school. TUR's♂BIL (first grade) father also states that he does not let his children out because Tarlabaşı is not safe. Unlike OLC's mother and TUR's father, a number of families also send their children to after-school activities to keep their children at a safe place for a duration of time. There is a number of after-school activities ranging from Koran courses to English or drama courses, and parental preferences to which activity they send their children differs significantly in that it comes out as a corollary of their world views.

As the parents are mostly concerned with the school's meeting their children's security needs, their conception of school is reduced to a day-care centre.

School as a day-care centre. The families treat school as a day-care centre where they can leave their children for the day time and pick them up after school. Within this context, their job is to accompany their children to school or to get an elder sibling to escort the child to school, and then to pick them up when the school time is over.

School authorities further reinforce the families' perceptions on the school's primary function, which is to provide security. Even when the children have no classes because their teachers are missing, they are kept within the school premises and are not let out by the guard in the entrance. Moreover, it is common to see police forces in the school. The counselling teacher works in close collaboration with the police department. She organises events on a regular basis where the pupils can interact with the police. These events include children playing football with the policemen or the police giving seminars for the children where they answer questions. A Kurdish second-grade teacher accuses the counselling teacher of flattering the police and trying to take advantage for herself. The latter defends herself by saying that this is not her choice but that she feels obliged to behave as such because of the circumstances of the neighbourhood. She thinks that if the police get to know the pupils, they might be more just to them when they catch them committing a crime in the streets. She also complains of not being able to do her primary job, which is providing psychological counselling to children. She has to rather make arrangements and organise events in order to be able to render the school a safe and secure place for children. For instance, she has to search the pupils to see whether they are carrying any knives on them, and because she does not want to humiliate them, she does this by saying: "Well, did you put on weight, let me see".[128]

Strikingly, the chief in police and the school principal openly express this function of the school, and the same discourse is true for all the schools in the Tarlabaşı and Dolapdere districts. At the beginning of a show given by children in Piri Reis Primary School, another school in the neighbourhood, the school principal expressed:

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[128] 2008_04_04_7B_DK (enote).

> Dolapdere is a high risk district. Let me name you a place where the risk is null: The school.
> This means that the longer we could keep our children within the premises of the school, the
> more we have the possibility of rendering them useful in their future lives.
> (misc_pic_other_PR (vid))

Poverty. The parents' feeling of insecurity in the neighbourhood also has implications on the way in which they perceived the researchers during fieldwork. ÖYK♀BIL's (first-grader) mother was suspicious of us, thinking that we were visiting her for marketing books. EME♀BIL (first-grader), whose father deceased during the course of our fieldwork, feared that we were going to separate her from her mother and send her to social services for adoption. GÖK'sBIL father got suspicious about us that we were going to try to convince his children to go to a Qur'an course. Their perceptions were shaped by their undesired past experiences and the relationship they built with their poverty. Common in the majority of the case pupils' families was the feeling of despair and helplessness because of their lack of means. However, who they held responsible for their lack of means differed in important ways. KAM♂MON's (seventh grade) 34-year-old mother says:

> Teachers are brilliant. It is not in the power of the government either. The state is helpless
> too. If they executed one, then noone would do it again. I never discriminate against people.
> We are all Adam's children. *[Lowering her voice]*All the street inhabitants are drug addicts. If
> they hear me saying this they will bomb the house. Damn poverty!
> (int_f_7_KAM_MAC (interview))

Problems related to poverty can also be observed in the classroom practices. Following is an ethnographic example signifying this point:

> ERD enters the class late with his mouth full, and leaves a bottle of water on YAL's desk.
> One can see that he is back from the school canteen. In the meantime, YAL is doing a
> syllable work on the blackboard together with the teacher. ERD goes next to YAL and says 'I
> bought you water, and left it on your desk.' Teacher gets extremely angry: 'ERD, what are
> you doing? Why are you getting them water? Do you have so much money? Are you their
> slave?' Turning to the classroom, she says: 'Everyone look at me! ERD is a very kind person.
> But you should not abuse this. Everyone mind their own business. From now on, no one will
> get anything from ERD.' Just then ARZ asks ERD to give a piece of paper to her. Teacher
> intervenes: 'ERD, do not give it, my son! Who is going to give it to you? She is richer than
> you are. Her dad is a grocer.'
> (2007_12_07_1A_BC (enote))

Another striking example is as follows:

> TOL eats the salami sandwich he brought from home. After examining TOL's sandwich for a
> long time, ERD says: 'You are poor.' The researcher asks ERD: 'ERD, what does it mean to
> be poor?' ERD replies: 'Poor people cannot write beautifully. They cannot eat beautifully.
> They do not have any money.'
> (2008_03_07_1A_BC (enote))

As illustrated in the ethnographic incidents above, the way in which ERD relates to poverty seems to determine his worldview. Poverty not only comes as an issue of discussion in the class, but also, ERD seems to associate poverty with "not writing beautifully", which is the main duty in classroom practices.

Meanings attached to schooling by parents. Puzzled about what to make of education, the mothers' and fathers' views on education are sometimes incompatible. DER♂BIL's (seventh-grader) father notes:

> I will sell the jacket I wear to send them to school. I don't want them to say in the future that I did not let them study. DER♂BIL comes home from school, he has no homework. The other one *[referring to DER♂BIL's elder brother who drowned to death]* graduated from university, and he was unemployed. I find it difficult to deal with this. Educated men won't harm anyone. They will find their way out. But I can't. If I had loads of money I would still be unable to work, because I am not educated. If I were educated, even if I go bankrupt I would be able get back on my feet.
> (int_f_7_DER_MAC (interview))

His mother, on the other hand, says:

> One of my children said that he did not want to study any further. And he became a supermarket manager, a super job. The one who studied remained unemployed.
> (int_f_7_DER_MAC (interview))

Besides the inconsistencies in the parental perceptions, what is striking and seems to be common to the majority of parents is that they are puzzled about what to make of education, what to expect of the State, and how they could create better life conditions for their children. This confusion is observed in the parental discourse where they keep negating their previous statements: KAM♂MON's (seventh-grader) mother complains about the school saying that she is disturbed of being treated as if she were guilty. Then she goes on to explain that when KAM♂MON once forgot his key at home and she went to school to deliver it, KAM♂MON said that she did not need to come all the way because he could find a way to enter the house. Later on, she reports that KAM♂MON was an honest person and narrates the following experience to support her argument:

> KAM♂MON did not go to school one day without knowing that it was an exam day. Later on, he asked the teacher to examine him.
> (int_f_7_KAM_MAC (interview))

KAM♂MON's mother explains this with pride; she believes that if KAM♂MON did not tell the teacher, the teacher would never have known that KAM♂MON's exam was missing. Immediately after praising KAM♂MON's behaviour, his mother goes on to express her concernedness when sending him out to the internet cafe. She reports that she threatened KAM♂MON with following him to check whether he really went there, and at times, she even did secretly follow him.

When the parents are asked what they want their children to do in life, all of them reply by saying that they want them to become either doctors, lawyers or teachers, except for KAM♂MON's mother who said he wanted him to be a hairdresser because it is "clean", unlike a whitewasher or a shoe-shiner. The choices of profession for their children are a result of their grievances in life: their long-lasting health problems, the fact that they felt themselves subject to unjust treatment, and their illiteracy and lack of education.

The parents' confusion as to what to make of education, their concerns about security, their feelings of despair, their lack of opportunities to provide their children with a space to work at home, and their feelings of inadequacy due to their illiteracy or lack of education all seem to combine as factors restricting the pupils' learning potentials.

Issues related to ethnicity. It is observed that ethnic groups who feel themselves to be discriminated against reproduce the same discourse of discrimination for other ethnic

groups.[129] An intriguing example is DER$^{\male BIL}$'s (seventh-grader) mother who reports how frustrated she was when the school principal was not interested in her concerns during her visit to school. Offended by this, she said to the principal:

> You saw my dress. I am headscarfed. I have no make-up. She is fancy. You look at her and not me. I am not a gypsy. I am a person just like you.
> (int_f_7_DER_MAC (interview))

Her expression makes clear that she dehumanizes "gypsies" who, for her, are not "persons".

Interestingly, the adult participants of the school, i.e. the parents and the school staff, appropriate biased views about particular ethnic groups, and they attribute any negative circumstances they encounter to those ethnic groups. Below is an ethnographic example about the prejudices of the LAS first-grade teacher towards the Roma people:

> In the middle of the lesson, the teacher comments on the pupils' inability to learn, and all of a sudden she turns towards one of the researchers and says "I have not come across such a class in my entire life. Very interesting. I have been teaching for ten years. I have not come across such a thing. It should be peculiar to Roma peoples.
> (2008_01_03_1A_MAC (enote))

This ethnographic incident can be explained by social identity theory (Turner 1975; Demirtaş 2003; Brehm and Kassin 1993; Hogg and Abrams 1988), developed by the discipline of social psychology. Based on their group memberships, individuals construct a sense of who they are. In this process, they feel the need to increase their self-images and self-esteem. In order to do that, they make comparisons between the group to which they belong, i.e. in-group, and out-group, and tend to see their in-group to be superior to the out-group while exaggerating the similarities of group members and attributing negative aspects to out-groups. Thus, they associate themselves with their in-groups whereby they construct their social identity. An attempt to explain the ethnographic incident above within the light of social identity theory will reveal the following: The teacher relates the fact that the pupil has not yet learned what she expects her to have learned by then to the stereotypical conception that 'Roma people are lazy/low achievers'. At this point it is important to note that the teacher expresses herself to be an 'Easterner', which might explain the distance she draws between herself and the Roma.

In an interview carried out with her, she noted:

> Roma live by no rules. Children do not know hygiene. I bought and placed liquid soap there, they asked what it is. Families are uneducated. Children can do whatever they wish, YUN does not come to school because he doesn't want to. *[Referring to the Kurds]* In Ghettos people suffer oppression and therefore they rebel against that, but they respect labour and effort. But this community *[referring to Roma]* is accustomed to free-ride. They are lazy and are used to being spoon-fed. Previously, I had sympathy for them, you know, being liberterians and all, I liked it. But now, why should I lie, I change seats in bus when a Roma comes and sits by me.
> (int-sp-1A-classroom-TEA_2008_05_MAC (interview))

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[129] See Hogg and Vaughan, 2007.

The teacher makes a comparison between the Roma and the Kurds. She defines Kurds as "slums, oppressed, revolting yet respecting labour". She sympathises with Kurds while openly admitting that she is not fond of the Roma. They are libertarians, but not in a sense she would approve of, a form of libertarianism that does not revere to rules. She categorises the Roma as "non-rule abiding, non-hygienic and lazy people". This interview extract is indicative of the teacher's prejudiced personality: Apparently, the teacher believes in group essences, which is one of the aspects of prejudiced personality (Allport 1954).
The teacher further bemoans:

> I am having serious difficulty. I made them buy a holiday book and I need to work on these books. The child does not bring the book to school. Finally, I said 'I will fail the ones not bringing their books.' I have to become like them to be able to cope up with them. Eastern women get oppressed, they are forced to marry when they are young. The women are illiterate, but for example EDA's [first grader Kurdish girl] mother is about to pass onto reading and writing, she is continuously asking for books from me. They are enthusiastic to learn, in other words. Roma are selfish. The man told me: 'If I am going to help my kid study, what are you good for?', can you believe it? They are lazy, no habit of studying/working, they sell drugs and let the money flow in. For example, ERD, YAL, HAV. These kids cannot bear coercion. As I said libertarians. I am striving for them to at least learn how to read and write. I am trying to guide them according to their skills, they are talented for music and dance. They should be made to perform these then.
> (int-sp-1A-classroom-TEA_2008_05_MAC (interview))

The narrative above can best be explained by the concept of 'stereotype', which is described as 'associations and beliefs about the characteristics and attributes of a group and its members that shape how people think about and respond to the group.' (Dovidio et.al, 2010: 8) Stereotype gets hold of the few simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped characteristics of a person, reduces everything about the person to those traits. Stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes 'difference' (Hall, 1997). The powerful 'innate musician' over-generalisation leads to the perception of the members of a particular group based on a single dimension. The teacher's seemingly positive perception means that she reduces a heterogeneous social group to a single characteristic. Arguably this conception stands in the way of pupils' upper mobility because the teacher limits her expectations from her Roma pupils as she believes that they are talented for music and dance and there is no need for her to teach beyond basic numeracy and literacy skills. Possibly if these pupils face similar approaches from others this will create a pygmalion effect (Mitchell and Daniels, 2003) a form of self-fulfilling prophecy (Darley and Gross, 1983; Demirtaş Mardan, 2018) and the pupils will perform whatever is expected of them. Research in social psychology shows that this might even result in stereotype threat, i.e. these PUPs might show over-anxiety while solving problems which require numeracy skills beyond basic numeracy skills and consequently show little academic achievement (Inzlicht and Schmader 2012).

What is even more striking is that when the teacher says "The man told me: 'If I am going to help my kid study, what are you good for?'", she refers to a pupil's father who is actually Kurdish and not Roma. Thus, the teacher has attributed certain negative characteristics to Roma peoples, and whenever she encounters such characteristics, which in her mind make life difficult for her, she blames the Roma for them. This can best be explained by attribution theory (Riley, 2010): When we attempt to explain positive behaviour of an in-

group member we do not tend to be influenced by stereotypes; but we tend to relate the negative behaviour of in-group members to outer factors. When it comes to explaining the negative behaviour of out-group members towards whom we are prejudiced against we tend to relate the positive behaviour to outer factors and negative behaviour to inner factors, i.e it is because he/she is Roma that she is a lower achiever. When a Kurd/Turk for instance is a lower achiever it is because he/she does not have the appropriate working environment.

In clear contrast to this teacher's views on the Roma pupils who "do not know hygiene", OLC'sMON mother is highly critical of the hygienic habits of the Kurdish mothers. With a condescending attitude, she complains:

> Kids are bringing salami and so on to school, if you are putting this in their bag, you should
> be putting wipes or soap in there as well.
> (int_f_1_OLC_MAC (interview))

Again, in complete contrast to the first-grade teacher's conception of problems encountered in school, for which she puts the blame on the Roma, in the counselling teacher's mind, the Kurds are the actual troublemakers in school. It is obvious in her discourse that she apparently is not fond of Kurds:

> 1500 of the PUPs in school are Kurds. In fact, 1200 of them are from XXX. There are not any
> normal Turkish citizens. Before it was only 5 or 6 out of 40 PUPs who were Kurds. Now
> Kurdish speaking has become a babble. The school became a province of XXX[130]! The other
> day, finally I hit the desk with my fist and said 'My son, speak Turkish for once!'
> (int_sp_counselling-TEA_2008_05_21_MAC (interview))

The counselling teacher discriminates against Kurds by referring to them as "not normal Turkish citizens". Clearly, she is extremely disturbed by Kurds speaking their L1 in school. School practices related to speaking in Kurmanjî will be further explained below.

Similar to the counselling teacher, SÜM$^{\male MON}$'s father, a middle-aged Roma man working as a musician, makes a comparison between the earlier times and now, and puts the blame on the Kurds with regards to the problems encountered in the region:[131]

> During our childhood things were different. We had Armenian friends back then. That is how
> it was. People were more civilised. Then everything deteriorated. Degeneration started with
> the ones coming from Anatolia.
> (int_f_1_SÜM_BC (interview))

OLC's mother's views mentioned above are further reflected in OLC's perception of Kurds, whom he associates with the enemy. The examples below are ethnographic incidents that point at the way in which the conversations at home are manifested in OLC's perception:

> As part of the activities related to Atatürk's death in November 10, the teacher asked the
> children to bring pictures of Atatürk. In a happy tone, OLC announces one of the researchers
> that he got a good mark because he brought to class Atatürk's picture. The conversation
> which starts with OLC's good news is carried on by the researcher's question of who Atatürk
> is. First OLC curls his lip meaning that he does not know. As the researcher continues to

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[130] A city located in the Southeast.

[131] Family interviews reveal that for parents, the school and the neighbourhood are intertwined. It is almost impossible to interview the parents about the school; when they are asked about their views on the school, they immediately begin to complain about the problems of the Tarlabaşı region.

listen to him he says: "He killed the enemy but they *[enemies]* reappeared." In response, the researcher asks who the enemy is. OLC replies: "Terrorists and Kurds". When asked who told this to him OLC reports that he learned it from his elder brother.
(2007_11_19_1A_MAC (enote))

A similar incident took place after the teacher made the children watch a movie on the naval operations in the Dardanelles Battle of World War One. All pupils were very excited of having watched a movie, and this was certainly a good opportunity to make them narrate what they had seen. The conversation between OLC and the researcher was a follows:

IV1:   Did you enjoy the movie?
KAR: I did.
IV1:   What happened there? Can you tell me?
KAR: Soldiers were fighting.
IV1:   Which soldiers?
KAR: Turks and Kurds.
IV1:   What else happened?
KAR: And once in our neighbourhood Kurds and Turks fought. PKK threw bombs.
IV1:   What happened afterwards?
KAR: Turks won.
        (2008_03_20_1A_MAC (enote))

Two incidents above demonstrate that in OLC's mind, Kurds are enemies. Strikingly, although the battle in the movie he watched is not between Turks and Kurds, as in his mind the enemy is associated with Kurds, his understanding of the movie is that it shows a battle between Turks and Kurds. Apparently, OLC sees any kind of animosity to be related to Kurds. What is even more striking is that he has many Kurdish classmates with whom he has a good relationship. Most likely, OLC is unaware that the pupil next to whom he sits in class, and another pupil whom he invites to his home, are Kurdish.

Parallel to the Roma pupils who appropriate the language used by their parents at home, the Kurdish pupils are prejudiced towards Roma, as well. Although the teacher assigns POY[BIL], one of the studious pupils in class, to help a Roma boy, POY refuses to do so. When the researcher asks POY why he did not want to work with the other boy, POY replies: "He stinks. He is a gypsy. He does not take a bath."[132] The influence of the parental discourse is readily observable in POY's explanation and his refusal to work with his classmate from a Roma background.

Following anecdote told by the second-grade classroom teacher is an intriguing ethnographic incident concerning the prejudices related to ethnicity in the pupils' minds:

I have two PUPs who are twins. After their father was released neither of them came to school. Then one of them told me: 'Kurds beat my brother-in-law. My mum did not send us to school because she was afraid something will happen.' I answered: 'Do you think I would let anyone beat you?' He said: 'No, TEA, you would not.' I asked: 'I am Kurdish too, you know that, don't you?' He said: 'You are very nice TEA. I wish you were not a Kurd.'
(int_sp_classroom-TEA-2B_2008_05_15_MAC (interview))

School practices related to the Kurmanjî language. While the second-grade teacher encourages his pupils to speak Kurmanjî, the remaining teachers are either very cautious of the issue and therefore choose to reconstruct the dominant ideology by way of acting as if

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[132] 2007_12_10_1A_BC.

the L1 of all the pupils was Turkish, or they are already biased against Kurds and thus discriminate against them and for that matter their L1.

The classroom teacher of the LAS first-graders strictly forbids the speaking of Kurmanjî in class, occasionally warning the pupils: "Hush! Speak Turkish!"[133] As a result, the pupils either do not speak in Kurmanjî at all, or they whisper when they speak Kurmanjî so that the teacher does not hear them. The following series of ethnographic incidents illustrate this:

> VOL is sent to stand in front of the board with Atatürk pictures as a punishment. While he stands there the board falls down. VOL panics and his friend TUN immediately lends a helping hand. VOL warns TUN: "Wait! You cannot do it that way!" Then whispers: "Çivi tune."[134] TUN returns to his seat, leaving VOL standing in front of the board referred to in class as 'Atatürk's corner'.
> (2007_11_13_1A_BC)

As seen, VOL switches to Kurmanjî when he panics. The following ethnographic account further exemplifies the behaviour displayed by the pupils concerning the use of their L1 in school.

> During recess, when one of the researchers asks ÖYK♀BIL if she knows how to speak Kurmanjî, ÖYK♀BIL answers positively. The researcher asks: "Why don't you speak then?' ÖYK♀BIL remains silent. The reseracher asks: "Are you shy?" ÖYK♀BIL answers: "Yes," and adds: "Once the teacher said 'you shall not speak here,' and I do not speak anymore. I speak at home. Now I am shy." The researcher then turns to AKS♀BIL and EME♀BIL who are also standing next to them, and asks "Do you know how to speak Kurmanjî?" EME♀BIL immediately answers: "Yes. Let me speak now. Tu çawani?"[135] The researcher then looks at AKS♀BIL who looks back at him, remaining silent, and he asks: "Are you shy too?" She nods. When she is asked for the reason of her shyness EME♀BIL replies: "We do not speak here. We speak at home."
> (2007_11_15_1A_BC)

Kurdish pupils seem to have acknowledged that they need to divide the school space where they are not allowed to speak their L1, and the home space where they can freely use it. What is even more striking is that the pupils do not use the words "Kurdish" or "Kurmanjî" at all. This can be observed even more clearly in the following conversation that takes place between EME♀BIL and two of our researchers prior to one of the LAS linguistic tests. The researchers ask EME♀BIL which language she speaks at home, and she replies:

> At home I speak both this one and the other one. At home I speak the other one more. For example we are speaking now. My mother does not understand this. She understands a little bit. She speaks the other one more. My father does not know at all what we are speaking now. He speaks the other one.
> (2007_12_11_1A_BC)

Here, "this one" stands for Turkish and "the other one" stands for Kurmanjî. Arguably, EME♀BIL's language-related perception, and therefore the meaning she attaches to the languages, are shaped by the social conditions she lives by, which prevents her from speaking Kurmanjî in school. As a result of their conception of Kurmanjî as a language that

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[133] 2007_11_26_1A_DK (enote).
[134] *Çivi tune* means "Nail has come out". Here, the pupil uses the word *çivi* ("nail") in Turkish and *tune* in Kurdish.
[135] "How are you?" in Kurdish.

is not promoted, but rather pressurised at school, the pupils seem to be hesitating in showing their ability to speak Kurmanjî. When the researcher asked EME♀BIL and the other two pupils whether they knew Kurmanjî, the researcher not only displayed an attitude of comfortably pronouncing the word "Kurdish", but also implicitly gave reassurance that it was fine to speak it. Seemingly, this led EME♀BIL to show her ability to speak Kurmanjî by way of producing a sentence. Even then, the other two pupils seemed to be unwilling to speak in either language. At times, however, the pupils spoke in Kurmanjî during the recess. Interestingly enough, they either swore or shouted in Kurmanjî. Pupils switching to their L1 from time to time during recess when there is less control, or the pupil mentioned above switching to his L1 when he panicked about the Atatürk board falling down vividly show how the pupils tend to use their first languages when they are not able to control themselves. These are indeed indicators of the challenges emerging from the dominant ideology as it is not by coincidence that the pupils either whisper or shout but not speak in their L1.

1.4 Summary and conclusions

The ethnographic study reveals several issues. First of all, the district where the school is located is inhabited by people of low socio-economic standing who constitute the peripheries of the society at large. The inhabitants are mostly ethnically, educationally and professionally disadvantaged people. As a result, poverty arising from low education levels, a consequent inability to enter the labour market on a permanent basis, issues of security arising from this region, being the hotbed for gang and drug trafficking, and the distinct division of the neighbourhood along the lines of ethnic backgrounds are the most significant defining characteristics of the neighbourhood.

In effect, demographic marginality negatively influences all processes of how the school is perceived by the State, the teachers, and the parents. Although the school has been selected as a curriculum-testing school and therefore meets certain exemplary physical specifications, the insufficient funding provided by the State and the subsequent expectation to rely on own resources, i.e. parent-school assembly fundraising, lands the school in tremendous difficulties to maintain its everyday functioning.

Correspondingly, teachers themselves see this school as either an exile or an interim workplace, being strongly inclined to transfer to another school mostly because they themselves are prejudiced against the district. The high turnover rate of teachers impedes the possibility of attachment to the school, and to form sustainable relationships with the pupils. As these pupils constitute a high-risk group for dropping out, the high fluctuation of staff might further contribute to an alienation of the pupils from school. Moreover, there is no binding structure determining the attitudes and behaviours of the teachers who are mostly perfunctory and nonchalant, not following the rules in place themselves, let alone exhibiting role models for the pupils.

Another significant issue in understanding the dynamics of the field of study is the role of the parents. Apparently, the parents are not clear on the meaning they attach to education. Most of them perceive the school as a day-care centre to keep their children in a safe place protecting them from the dangers of the neighbourhood. They not only supervise their children's way to and from school, but most of them also do not let their children attend

extracurricular school activities. Hence, the home becomes a playground for most pupils, while studying is strictly reserved for school and the sole responsibility of the teachers. Still, the parents seem to believe in the necessity of education in general as a means to climb up the socioeconomic ladder and become a self-sufficient person, not like the parents themselves. Hence, they interpret their own pitfalls primarily as caused by a lack of education and according disadvantaged treatment, but they nevertheless acquire a democratic approach to furthering their children's education, leaving the decision entirely up to them.

The parents' confusion as to what to make of education, their concerns about security, their feelings of despair, their lack of opportunities to provide their children with a space to work at home, and their feelings of inadequacy due to their illiteracy or lack of education all seem to combine as factors restricting the pupils' learning potentials.

Last, but not of less significance, is the issue of ethnicity within the neighbourhood and how it is reflected onto classroom dynamics. The city district is inhabited by ethnically displaced people, mostly Kurds and Roma. Interestingly, the adult participants of the school, i.e. the parents and the school staff, appropriate biased views about particular ethnic groups, and they attribute any negative circumstances they encounter to those ethnic groups. What is crucial to note is that ethnic groups who feel themselves to be discriminated against reproduce the same discourse of discrimination for other ethnic groups, and there is constant exclusion and seeing the other ethnic group as the cause of all the ills in the neighbourhood. Strikingly, some teachers and other participants of the school also contribute to the reproduction of such discrimination, acting out their prejudices as well. As a result, as early as in first grade, the Kurdish pupils internalise the obligation to suppress their ethnic identity as is manifested in the prohibition of their L1, and reserve it for private spaces and for areas where there is less control.

As a concluding remark, it could be asserted that the indoctrination with the dominant ideology of the State through means such as the Pupil's Pledge is successful in bringing forth the dominant identity of being a "Turk". However, this ideology does not show similar success in establishing equal opportunities for the socio-economically disadvantaged inhabitants and particularly pupils of the district.

2 The LAS Case Pupils in Turkey

Müge Ayan, Christoph Schroeder, Yazgül Şimşek & Inken Sürig

2.1 Case pupils of the 1st grade

In the Turkish sample, the case pupils of the first grade were chosen according to the factors mono-/ bilingual and gender. With regard to the mono-/ bilingual factor, information on the pupils had to be gathered through LAS observation only since that kind of question could not be overtly asked. With the first-grade teacher's strategy to sort the pupils into different achievement groups, the composition of the case pupils according to her standards is as follows:

Tab. III.2.1. 1st grade: Composition of LAS case pupils

	Bilingual Kurmanjî/ Turkish		Monolingual	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
"Studious" group	POY TUR	DAM	SÜM TOL	X
Medium performance or alternating between lower groups	X	EME ÖYK	OLC	MEL MIN
"Lazy" group	REH	X	X	HAV

Tentatively appraised, the teacher's assessments mostly coincide with LAS observations and testing. However, as a tendency, it is still conspicuous that of the LAS case pupils, boys are more often placed in the "studious" group than girls, and that monolingual girls as a whole are more likely to be assigned to lower achievement groups than other pupils. These findings might hint at generally better coping strategies with the requirements of the first grade (including literacy acquisition) on the part of the boys, and particularly deficient thus-related strategies on the part of the monolingual girls.

2.1.1 Family backgrounds

Remarkably, four out of six monolingual case families rejected the LAS interview request, but only one of the bilingual families, which might at least be considered a hint that the bilingual families have a stronger interest in the cooperation with school-related authorities (as the LAS researchers were often identified with). In total, almost half of the first-graders case families (five in total) refused this request, which, of course, makes evaluations in this regard impossible. Especially differences between mono- and bilingual case pupils will therefore not be addressed here.

The family backgrounds of the case pupils are here provided in tabular form.

Tab. III.2.2. 1ˢᵗ grade case pupils: Family backgrounds[136]

| | Bilingual | | | | | | Monolingual | | | | | |
| | ♂ | | | ♀ | | | ♂ | | | ♀ | | |
	POY	REH	TUR	DAM	EME	ÖYK	OLC	SÜM	TOL	HAV	MEL	MIN
Living with both parents	yes	x	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	x	x	x	x
Number of siblings in household	1	x	5	7	5	1	4	3	x	x	x	x
Parents' economic position	–	x	–	~	–	–	~	–	x	x	x	x
Parents' educational background[137]	–	x	–	–	–	–	~	(~)	x	x	x	x
Literate practices in family	–	x	–	–	~	–	–	–	x	x	x	x
Parents' oral Turkish language proficiency[138]	+	x	+	+	+	~	+	+	x	x	x	x
Family language[139]	T	x	K	K	K, T	K, T	T	T	x	x	x	x

As far as marriages are concerned, the case pupils come from intact families with no separations or divorces; in EME♀ᴮᴵᴸ's case, the father died during the LAS research year, her mother being the only parent who has to support a family on her own. None but ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ is the oldest child in her family, all other case pupils are middle or youngest children. There are no only children among the first grade case pupils. The total number of children per case family differs extremely, with larger families being not the exception.

As for the parents' economic position, they all can be deemed on the lower socio-economic level by Turkish standards, their living in the very city district being a firm indicator of this fact. Only DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ's and OLC♂ᴹᴼᴺ's families have a comparably higher living standard, DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ's family owning their apartment and a grocery store, and OLC's father being the only first-grade parent with a regular day job as an employed person. Except for ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ's mother who works in the low-esteem family business of selling stuffed mussels, all of the case pupils' mothers refer to themselves as housewives; there seems to be no broader consideration of the idea that the mothers could contribute to the family's income, as well. Taking into account that they partly have big families to care for and that the parents do not have appreciable educational or professional qualifications, poverty becomes a vicious circle that many of them appear to have accepted as inescapable. For the case pupils, this means that they grow up with severely limited material resources in terms of space, equipment and facilities, which must be deemed a structural obstacle to their educational success. On the other hand, parents' aspirations regarding their children's future are often high and unrealistic, showing that they want something better for their children without having the means to support such aspirations sufficiently.

In terms of educational backgrounds, it is only OLC♂ᴹᴼᴺ's parents who have concluded compulsory education, which in their generation means five years of schooling;

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[136] + = above average; ~ = average; – = below average; 0 = not mentioned; x = not assessable.
[137] ~ = both parents finished compulsory education; – = at least one parent is illiterate.
[138] Based on language of interview partner in family interview.
[139] T = Turkish, K = Kurdish.

SÜM$^{\male\text{MON}}$'s father finished the fifth grade, but there is no information available on the mother. In the other cases, at least one parent, usually the mother, has no school education at all and is illiterate; only with ÖYK$^{\female\text{BIL}}$'s parents, it is the other way around, the mother being the one with the basic education. As will be elaborated below, limited educational resources have palpable impacts on the case pupils' school-wise home support; this is also reflected in the area of literate practices that are basically non-existent in the interviewed families. One might deem the systematic reading of the Koran in EME$^{\female\text{BIL}}$'s family the only noteworthy encounter with literature of a first-grade case pupil in the parental home.

Of the interviewed bilingual families, only TUR$^{\male\text{BIL}}$'s and DAM$^{\female\text{BIL}}$'s state that the family language is Kurmanjî since in both cases, the mothers are reported not to have Turkish; the fathers, being the interview partners, speak Turkish well. While in EME$^{\female\text{BIL}}$'s and ÖYK$^{\female\text{BIL}}$'s families, both Kurmanjî and Turkish are spoken, the home language in POY$^{\male\text{BIL}}$'s family is said to be solely Turkish. As will be pointed out in the summary of linguistic features below, POY's Kurmanjî competences are still better than those of some of the other bilingual case pupils despite the fact that his mother states his Kurmanjî were deficient; note that POY actually attends extracurricular Kurmanjî classes, which, however, the mother does not mention in the interview. The language issue will be further discussed in the context of migration backgrounds in Section 2.1.2 below.

2.1.1.1 Migration backgrounds

The bilingual case pupils' families are Kurdish and mostly migrated to Istanbul from the Eastern part of Turkey near the Syrian border in the context of the conflict between the PKK and Turkish military groups. At least in DAM$^{\female\text{BIL}}$'s and TUR's case, the families were immediate victims of this conflict with the village of DAM$^{\female\text{BIL}}$'s family having been burnt down, and TUR's father got collaterally wounded during a fight. He is the only interviewed parent who refers in detail to this part of the family's history, describing himself as strictly anti-PKK. However, all bilingual families still have ties to the old region and/ or appear to identify strongly with a concept of being Kurdish (for example, as said, POY is attending an extracurricular Kurmanjî course); at the same time, political uncertainties related to the Kurdish issue are most obvious in the context of language use, with the bilingual case pupils apparently being raised to treat this issue with utter caution, as their behaviour during the LAS testing indicates, with strong reluctance and inhibition to speak Kurmanjî in front of strangers. This coincides with the obvious tensions existing between the Kurdish and the Romani population of the city district, which also finds entrance into the school. Considering, however, that the interviewed parents do not seem to have problems to own up to being Kurdish in their homes, the separation between the private and the public sphere of linguistic identity seems to be the major concern here.

2.1.1.2 School support in parental home

General attitudes towards the school differ strongly among the parents; those who favour the school, like POY's and TUR's parents, rather emphasise the good quality and efforts of the teachers, whereas those parents who dislike the school, like ÖYK$^{\female\text{BIL}}$'s, OLC$^{\male\text{MON}}$'s and SÜM$^{\male\text{MON}}$'s, often criticise the teachers as well as the school's deficient facilities and

attitudes. General concepts of the educational system are hardly mentioned and remain blurry, while the more critical parents seem to have some awareness of the possibility that a bad school might equal a bad education, which, however, does not go along with an expressed desire or ambition to take the initiative to change things in whatever way. On the contrary, most parents draw a clear line between the school and the home as entirely different spheres of responsibility, meaning that they basically do not consider themselves responsible for their children's education. It may be a coincidence that only the parents who are satisfied with the school are attending parent conference days on a regular basis, but one might still wonder if dissatisfaction causes disengagement, or if it is the other way around.

Tab. III.2.3. 1ˢᵗ grade case pupils: School support in parental home[140]

| | Bilingual | | | | | | Monolingual | | | | | |
| | ♂ | | | ♀ | | | ♂ | | | ♀ | | |
	POY	REH	TUR	DAM	EME	ÖYK	OLC	SÜM	TOL	HAV	MEL	MIN
Parents are satisfied with child's school	+	x	+	0	0	–	–	–	x	x	x	x
Parents attend parent conference days and other school events	+	x	+	–	–	~	0	0	x	x	x	x
Parents are informed about child's school performance	~	x	+	–	–	~	~	+	x	x	x	x
Parents/ siblings work with child for school[141]	~	x	x	–	–	–	–	~	x	x	x	x
Parents send child to school regularly[142]	–	+	+	+	+	~	–	~	x	–	–	+

Only TUR♂ᴮᴵᴸ's and SÜM♂ᴹᴼᴺ's parents seem to have a concrete idea what their child is doing in school, making references to actual incidents and performances. The other interviewed parents remain vague at best, and it is quite likely that school is not a dominant topic discussed in the households not least because of the clear separation between the two spheres. In alignment with the parents' own low educational backgrounds, it is not surprising that they take themselves out of the equation, some quite openly referring to their inexperience with school and declaring themselves not competent. But it is certainly conspicuous that the bilingual families are much more prone to send their child to school regularly than the monolingual parents, which could mean that the former are taking the issue more seriously and maybe are also less disenchanted with the educational system.

With extremely limited material and intellectual means, actual school support in the form of homework assistance, study support or extra learning activities does hardly occur in the interviewed families. None of the parents see themselves fit or compelled to give their children this kind of back-up, but in POY♂ᴮᴵᴸ's case, anyway being the only case pupil attending extracurricular courses (Kurmanjî), the older brother sometimes helps him with his studies, and in SÜM♂ᴹᴼᴺ's case, the father established a fixed study hour in the home when the children are doing their homework.

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[140] + = yes, ~ = to some degree, – = no, 0 = not mentioned, x = not assessable.
[141] Homework support; voluntary reading/ writing practice.
[142] + = 90-100%, ~ = 80-90%, - = lower than 80% of the witnessed school days.

2.1.2 Summary of linguistic competences

2.1.2.1 Summaries of the analysis of the text products in Turkish

2.1.2.1.1 Preliminaries

In the first grade, three tests were conducted with all twelve case pupils. An L1 test in Kurmanjî with the bilingual case pupils was added to the survey (see below). The test resulted in differing numbers and types of text products, oral, dictated and written text products, cf. the following table for an overview:

Tab. III.2.4. Text products as outcomes of LAS Test 1 and LAS Test 2

CP	LAS tests	Text Products (TPs)		
		oral	dictated	written
SÜM♂MON	Test I	1x	1x	–
	Test II	1x	–	1x
TOL♂MON	Test I	1x	1x	-
	Test II	1x	–	1x
HAV♀MON	Test I	–	–	–
	Test II	–	–	–
MEL♀MON	Test I	1x	1x	–
	Test II	1x	1x	–
MIN♀MON	Test I	1x	1x	–
	Test II	1x	1x	–
OLC♂MON	Test I	2x	1x	–
	Test II	2x	–	1x
ÖYK♀BIL	Test I	2x	1x	–
	Test II	1x	–	1x
POY♂BIL	Test I	1x	1x	–
	Test II	1x	–	1x
REH♂BIL	Test I	–	1x	–
	Test II	1x	1x	–
DAM♀BIL	Test I	1x	1x	–
	Test II	1x	–	1x
EME♀BIL	Test I	1x	1x	–
	Test II	1x	1x	1x
	Kurmanjî test	–	1x	1x
TUR♂BIL	Test I	1x	1x	–
	Test II	1x	–	1x

In the monolingual group, one of the case pupils, HAV♀MON, only participated in the pseudoword test. Of the five other monolingual case pupils, MEL♀MON only dictated the story, and MIN♀MON both dictated and wrote. Her written text, however, was only used for the orthographical analysis. Some additional oral narratives, like in the case of OLC♂MON, were also taken into consideration in the orate-literate analysis. In the bilingual group, only one case pupil, REH♂BIL, was not able to write the narrative in Turkish. In the Kurmanjî Test, EME♀BIL refused to speak and to write in Kurmanjî, but was willing to dictate and write the narration in Turkish. Those two TPs were also included into the orate/ literate analysis of the Turkish text products.

Behaviour in the test situation

Most of the children could cope very well with the test situation. Given the fact that the investigators were known to the pupils, most of them had no difficulties to interact and to be recorded. A few pupils rather seemed to enjoy the attention of an adult person, like SÜM$^{\male MON}$, EME$^{\female BIL}$ or OLC. Also MEL$^{\female MON}$ is one of the most curious and cooperative children.

However, there are some exceptional cases where the child was very reluctant, shy and seemingly did not like to be in the centre of attention. This is most obviously the case with TUR$^{\male BIL}$. This is the reason why the repeatedly taken recordings with him did not result in the production of a cohesive oral narrative, especially in Test 1, causing a high percentage of orate interactive information units and orate linguistic structures. In some other cases, the children were able to adjust and overcome their reluctance. TOL$^{\male MON}$ is one of the children who simply not felt the need to express themselves very explicitly. The surprising fact about TOL's narratives is his unique understanding of the plot. His reports of the actions he saw the film make it clear that he interpreted the surroundings in the film as a kind of a medical institutional setting. MIN, for instance, took a long time to react on the investigators questions, she spoke very slowly and softly, but managed to adapt and to fulfil the task, even though her TPs remain very short.

2.1.2.1.2 Summary of the orate/ literate analysis of the text products in Turkish

The results of the orate/ literate analysis have to be seen in the light of the general understanding of the pupils about what a narrative is and how advanced the communicative abilities of the children are, given their age and their social background.

DAM$^{\female BIL}$, for instance, is one of the pupils who are not commenting and evaluating. The genre knowledge of what a narrative has to contain results in a "reconstruction of interaction", which is maintained in all TPs. EME$^{\female BIL}$ is very interested in the communication, but she has difficulties to refer to the actions properly, meaning that the relatively long TPs cannot be taken as an account for high linguistic abilities. Those pupils who are not very explicit in their verbalisation, consequently, employ neutral structures in nearly every category; like MIN who does not expand information units.

The percentage of neutral forms, mainly syntactic structures and tense markings, reaches in some cases a level of over 90%. Also the pronouncement of some children, most evident in case of MIN$^{\female MON}$, have characteristics of early language acquisition.

Although the percentages of literate forms are high in some categories, this does not in every case reflect exactly the linguistic performance of the child in the test situation. In the TPs of POY$^{\male BIL}$, for example, there are nearly no characteristics of cohesive narrating. Instead, question-answer-sequences that are initiated by the investigator to provoke verbal actions dominate, which means that the verbalisations of the child are highly influenced by those structures the investigator is providing.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "complements form"

SÜM♂MON, TOL♂MON and MEL♀MON belong to the group of pupils showing similar distributions of orate/ literate complements forms. Their verbalisations indeed do not point to a problem in this area. ÖYK♀BIL and DAM♀BIL are two of the pupils who make use of orate referent markings to a lower extent.

Fig. III.2.1. 1st grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "complements form", T1 and T2
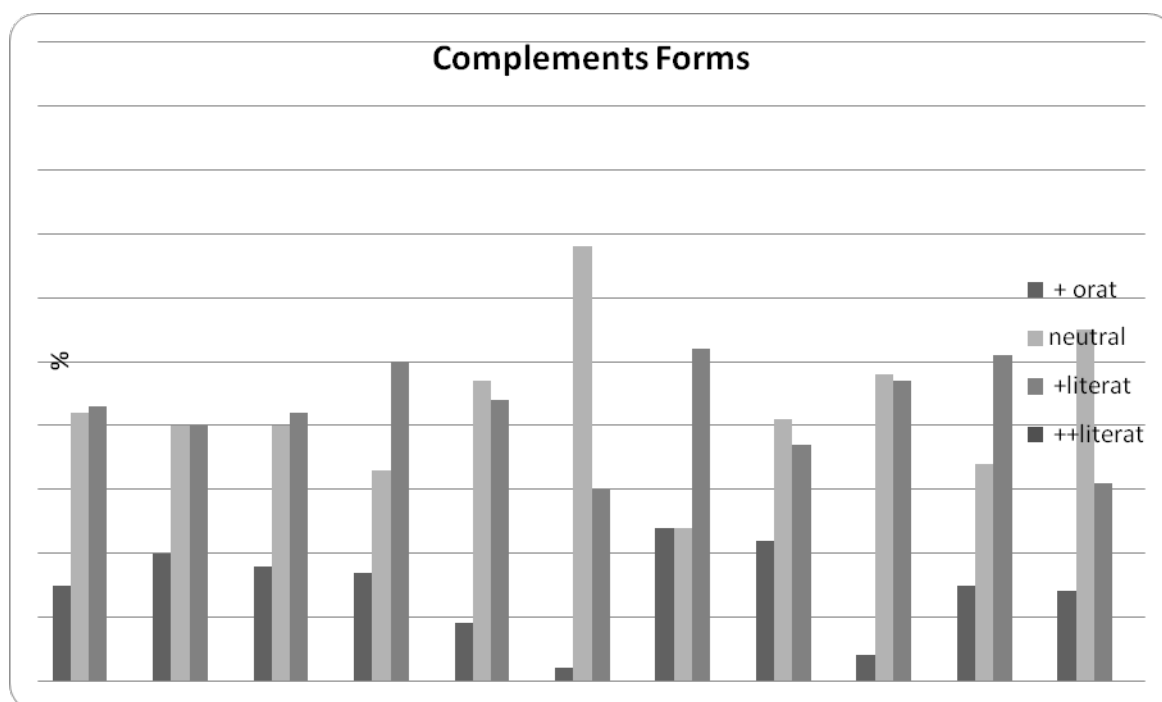
ÖYK♀BIL employs the most neutral forms and can be regarded as one of the pupils with average abilities in this category. OLC♂MON's abilities are more balanced in this area, with 47% neutral, 44% literate and only 9% orate forms.

POY, EME♀BIL and MIN reach even 50% literate forms. In case of POY and MIN, this means that their ability to introduce and maintain referents mostly comes to light in the form of adequate nominal phrases. Those nominal phrases are not extended as it is the case with literate forms in German: An extended nominal phrase like *merdivenden inen kadın* ('the woman going down the stairs') is accounted for in the analysis of the syntactic forms, namely as a relative clause.

The high percentage of literate NPs like the indefinite NP *bir kadın* ('a woman') does not in every case mean that the child's abilities are most advanced. Such an example is EME♀BIL. In EME♀BIL's text products, a detailed analysis of referent structure reveals problems the child has with maintaining referent structures and organising back-reference. Given the large story expansions in EME♀BIL's TPs, the logical order of actions and protagonists becomes most unclear.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "tense"

Remarkable in the employment of tense and aspect markings of Turkish is the dominance of neutral forms, namely the simple past marking with *-dI*. The pupils refer to the actions seen in the film as past factual incidents they have witnessed themselves, and hence as first-hand information.

Fig. III.2.2. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "tense", T1 and T2
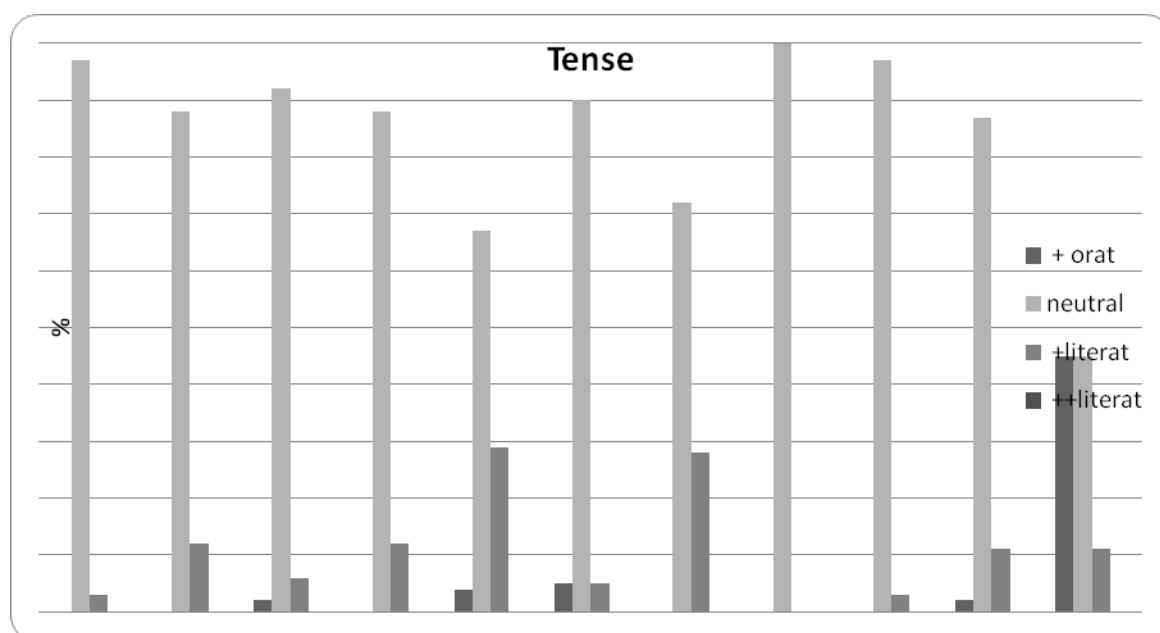
OLC♂MON proves to be the child with the most advanced knowledge in the area of tense and aspect use. Although he produces more than one oral narration, the percentage of orate TAM-markings is not higher than 4%, while the literate forms reach 29%, meaning that OLC also uses complex combinations of TAM-suffixes. REH♂BIL varies the least, TUR♂BIL shows a high degree of orate forms, as opposed to POY♂BIL reaching a high degree of literate forms.

TAM-markings in POY's TPs are most remarkable, not because they contain a high percentage of +literate forms, but because TAM-marking does not co-occur with global planning and text sectioning in the oral TPs. The variations between PFV and simple past markings with *-dI* do not follow a specific pattern. Seemingly, POY has not reached the level in genre knowledge where he can differentiate between genre-specific information conveyance, or narrate from a specific perspective on the events, especially at the time of Test 1.

Also ÖYK♀BIL is one such case pupil with difficulties using TAM-markings according to genre requirements, while a monolingual pupil like MIN♀MON, for instance, shows a clearly patterned use of TAM-markings in all her TPs. However, not all bilingual children have such difficulties. DAM♀BIL can be considered as such an unproblematic case.

The high percentage of orate forms in the TPs of TUR$^{\male\text{BIL}}$ has to be seen in the light of the language medium. Because TUR is producing utterances that are very closely related to the interaction, not parts of a cohesive narration, the percentage of orate forms rises. This fact illustrates the dependence of the results on the circumstances of production. In the written version, all pupils, mono- and bilinguals alike, are only relying on the simple marking of events with -*dI*.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "structure"

The tendency towards neutral forms observed in the category tense is also valid for syntactic structuring; in this area, all pupils employ up to 50% neutral syntactic units. The simplest structures in this category in Turkish are units built via one finite verb. Those case pupils showing the highest tendency towards neutral forms, like POY$^{\male\text{BIL}}$ and REH$^{\male\text{BIL}}$, are not able to extend their verbal phrases.

Within the monolingual group, SÜM$^{\male\text{MON}}$, MEL$^{\female}$ and MIN are the three pupils able to adopt their syntactic structuring to the spoken and written language, simultaneously having a tendency towards parallel syntax. They also have acquired some subordinating ++literate structures, even if those are at some instances forms the children are learning via imitation of forms provided by the investigators. Also TOL$^{\male\text{MON}}$ belongs to the group of those advanced pupils. The comparison of his results in Test 1 and Test 2 indicate a definite improvement in the area of syntax; the percentage of +orate forms is dropping from Test 1 to Test 2; simultaneously, there is a rise of +literate structures.

Fig. III.2.3 1st grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "structure", T1 and T2
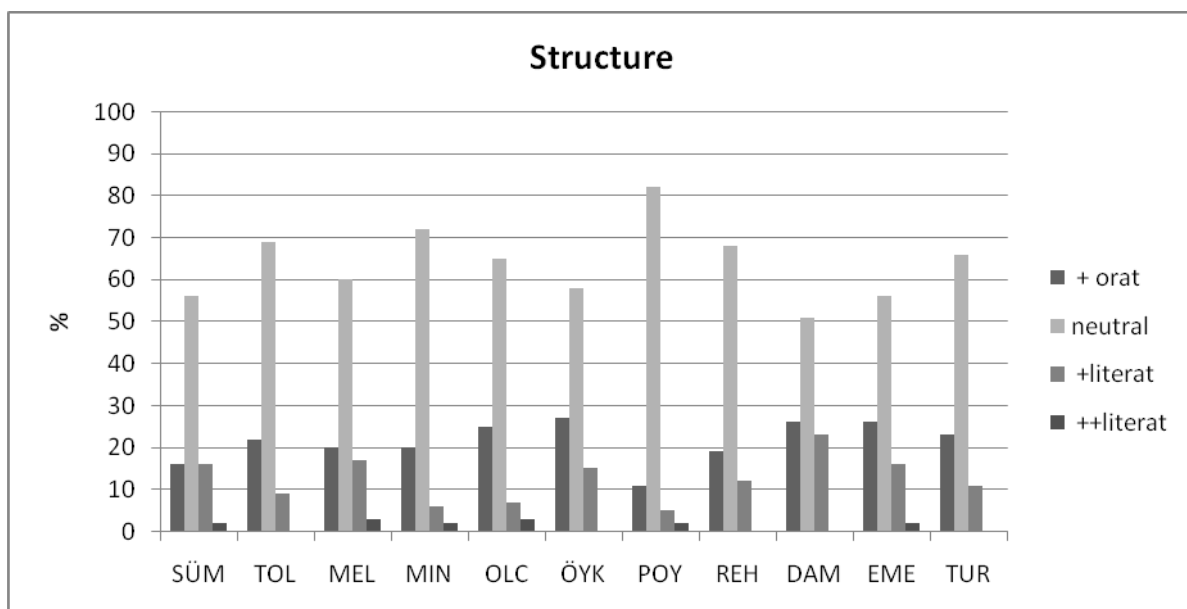
As will be also discussed in the comparison (III.4.2), the bilingual group seems to be somewhat less advanced in this area although the results shown in Figure III.2.3 above seem to contradict this statement. In the case of EME$^{\female\text{BIL}}$, for instance, the syntax is simple,

containing complete, but not extended verbal structures. A closer look at syntax across the TPs reveals a tendency towards +orate structures also in the written and the dictated TPs.

In sum, the monolinguals are to be evaluated as being more advanced because most of them show also ++literate structures, even if the percentage of those structures is not going above 5%. In such cases where the absolute number of information units is low, it is difficult to argue that the children are more or less advanced than the others. The fact that they simply do not put much effort in their verbalisations may be interpreted as a low degree of communicative ability or linguistic knowledge.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "connection"

The area where the most differences occur is the use of connecting devices: focus particles as orate, temporal adverbs as neutral and high register, thus literate, connectors like *ama* ('but') used to connect whole sentences and to signal semantic contrast.

Fig. III.2.4. 1st grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "connection", T1 and T2
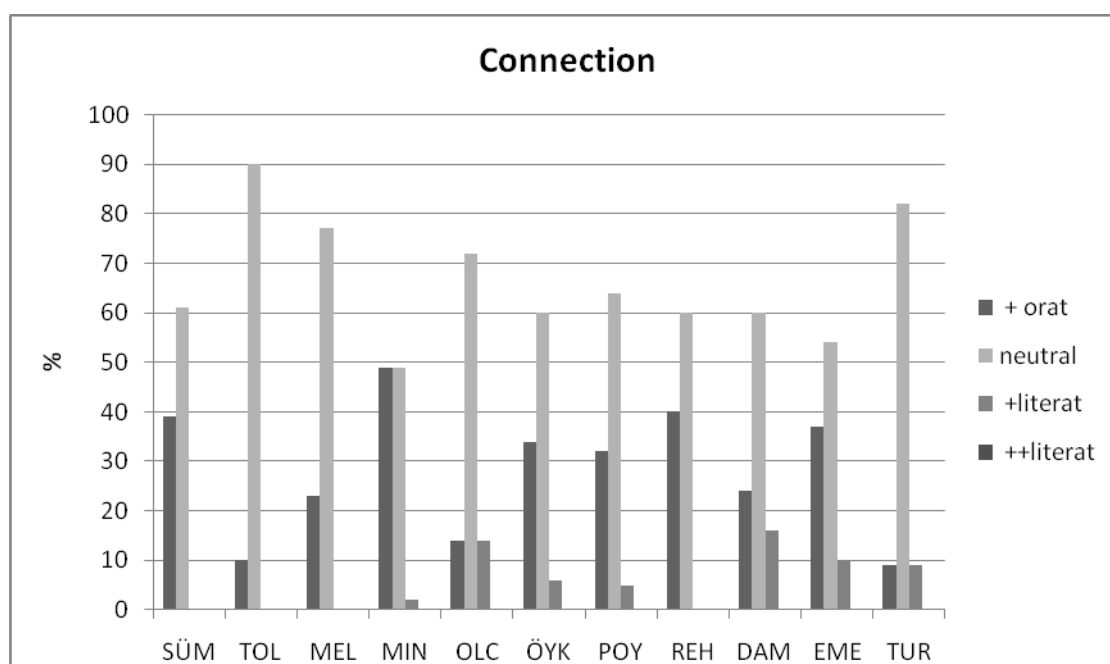
DAM♀BIL and EME♀BIL can be considered as performing very well in this category. SÜM♂MON, MIN♀MON, REH♂BIL and EME♀BIL are using the most orate forms, MIN being the most balanced child within this group of pupils. SÜM♂MON, TOL♂MON/M, MEL♀MON and REH do not employ any kind of literate connectors. Given the fact that these children do not produce very long narratives, the amount of orate forms is significantly high in comparison to the rest of the case pupils. The most neutral forms occur in the TPs of TOL MEL, OLC♂MON and TUR♂BIL.

In sum, the bilingual pupils are slightly higher advanced in this area as almost all of them connect information units via literate connectors, while the percentage of literate connectives used by the monolingual pupils is tending towards zero, with OLC as an

exceptional case. Unlike other monolinguals, OLC reaches 14% in the employment of literate connectors.

It has to be added that there are some cases where the use of the neutral connector *o zaman* instead of *ondan sonra* ('at that time/ then') has to be seen as a sign of a lower acquisition stage. In this respect, MIN is showing characteristics of a lower level of language acquisition in this area.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "function"

In the category "function", information units in oral and written TPs were evaluated according to their belonging to the reconstruction of past events within the narrative, and according to their function within the face-to-face interaction. Units that are detailing information within the narrative via direct speech are equally counted as orate units.

Fig. III.2.5. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "function", T1 and T2
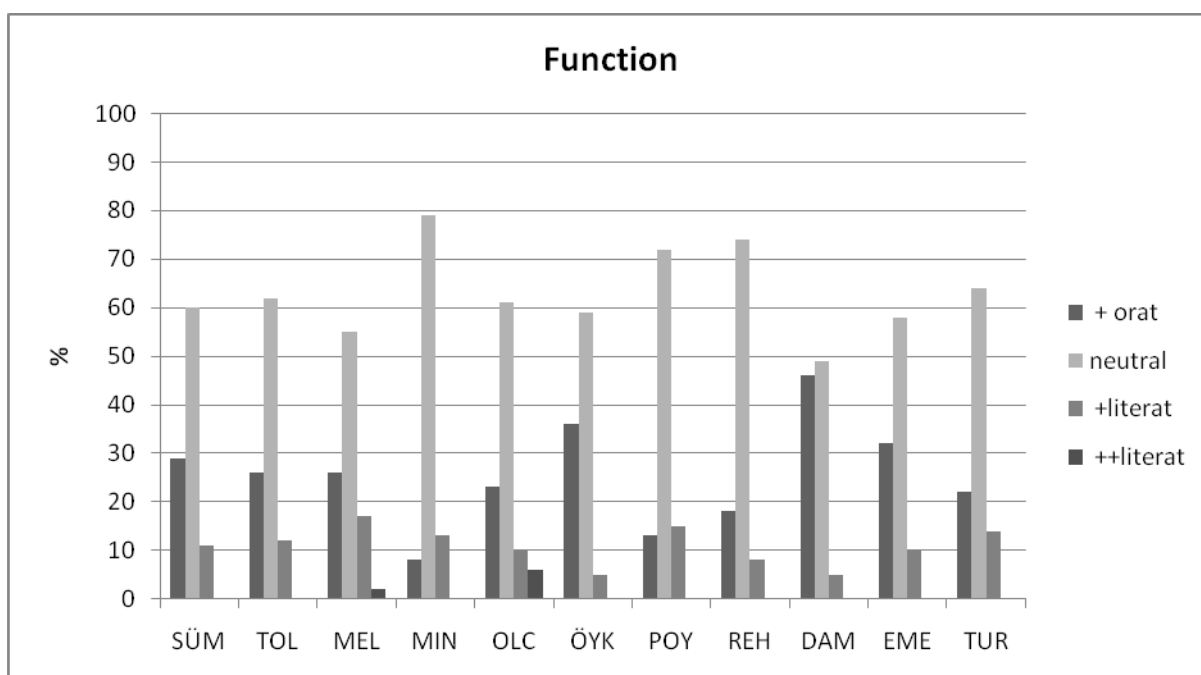
Accordingly, pupils who are producing the most interactive and thus orate units are ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ, DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ and EME♀ᴮᴵᴸ. These three pupils perform the narration as reconstructing interactive scenes via direct speech. MIN♀ᴹᴼᴺ, POY♂ᴮᴵᴸ and REH♂ᴮᴵᴸ are the ones who do not specify, which is the reason why neutral units outweigh. SÜM♂ᴹᴼᴺ, MEL♀ᴹᴼᴺ, TOL♂ᴹᴼᴺ and OLC♂ᴹᴼᴺ are forming the group of pupils who are most balanced in this category; the orate, neutral and literate units are similarly distributed, which means that the percentage of orate units is not going beyond 30%, while neutral units are averagely making 50%, and literate units are used up to 10%. The highest degree of +literate introducing and concluding units is to be found in the TPs of MEL. She and OLC are also evaluating actions and events within their reconstructions, which results in OLC's TPs having 6% of ++literate information units. In sum, genre-adequate information conveyance seems to be best acquired by MEL and OLC.

2.1.2.1.3 Summary of the orthography analyses of the text products in Turkish

Pseudoword test

The pseudoword test consists of a set of 30 words and was conducted with all 12 case pupils, thus amounting to a total of 360 forms. Altogether, 25 forms were not produced because the respective pupils said they could not do these forms. 18 further forms were not considered because they were illegible. Thus, the total number of forms that went into the analysis is 317.

On the **graphomotoric level**, we see that all case pupils except two use cursive hand writing throughout. TUR$^{\male BIL}$, however, uses plain writing and capital letters throughout. OLC employs a mixture of small and (in-word) capital letters, and plain and cursive handwriting. SÜM$^{\male MON}$ employs (in-word) capital <D>. There are altogether 4 occurrences where case pupils either forget (?) a cedilla (<c> for <ç>, SÜM$^{\male MON}$) or the breve (<g> for <ğ>, TOL$^{\male MON}$, 2 times), or add a cedilla where it should not be (<ş> instead of <s> in <işam> for [i.sam] (MIN$^{\female MON}$)). HAV$^{\female MON}$ is the only case pupil who seems to twist letters on 4 occurrences (e.g., <ut> for [tu:], <ülta> for [cy.lat]).

Out of the 30 forms that were used in the pseudoword test, the total of forms that are **orthographically consistent**, not including those cases where pupils break up syllable complexity by means of inserting an epenthetic vowel, is 177 forms. Thus on average, nearly half of the forms, 14.8 per case pupil, are orthographically plausible. In 19 further forms, epenthetic vowels were included into the representation, and another 15 forms were phonographically plausible, but not orthographically (i.e., the case pupils attempted to represent a particular phonological phenomenon, but the representation was not orthographic). This amounts to 211 forms that are orthographically consistent or phonographically plausible, i.e. an average of 17.6 forms per case pupil. However, the table shows that this average is not evenly distributed. Three case pupils, MEL$^{\female MON}$, REH$^{\male BIL}$ and HAV stayed behind it considerably, while DAM$^{\female BIL}$, POY$^{\male BIL}$, TUR$^{\male BIL}$ and TOL correctly represented more than two thirds of their forms:

Tab. III.2.5. 1st grade: Orthographic consistency and phonographic plausibility in the pseudoword test

CPs	Forms ctd.	Plausibility			Total	In %
		Orthographic	Epenthetic	Other phon. plausible		
SÜM	28	16	2	2	20	71.4
TUR	28	25	2	0	27	96.4
REH	25	6	0	3	9	36.0
MIN	29	14	1	2	17	58.6
OLC	29	12	5	2	19	65.5
DAM	30	22	2	1	25	83.3
POY	30	23	1	1	25	83.3
TOL	30	21	2	4	27	90.0
ÖYK	23	17	1	0	18	78.3
MEL	26	3	0	0	3	11.5

HAV	13	2	1	0	3	23.1
EME	26	16	2	0	18	69.2
Total	317	177	19	15	211	
Average	26.47	14.75	1.58	1.25	17.58	63.9

Turning to a more detailed look at **phenomena on the segmental level**, a persistent problem is the representation of the long vowel in [ka:bet], [tu:] and [to:.ur]. Except for TUR who employs <ğ> in order to represent the long vowel in [tu:] and [to:.ur], TOL who employs <g> in order to represent the long vowel in [to:.ur] and the approximant in [to.ʋur] (the missing breve might be a problem on the graphic level), and OLC$^{♂MON}$ who employs <v> (which represents the approximant [ʋ], in the standard) for the long vowel in [to:.ur], none of the case pupils attempts to represent it. Further problems concern:

- The representation of the glide by means <y>: It is usually (10 out of 12) represented when word-inital as in [jot], and half of the case pupils also represent it in other positions. The others do not represent it graphically.
- The representation of the approximant in [to.ʋur] is highly heterogeneous: Of the ten case pupils who attempt to write [to.ʋur], four (OLC$^{♂MON}$, MEL$^{♀MON}$, POY$^{♂BIL}$, DAM$^{♀BIL}$) represent the approximant orthographically correct with <v>, two represent it with <ğ> (TUR$^{♂BIL}$) and <g> (TOL$^{♂MON}$) respectively, one case pupil (MIN$^{♀MON}$) represents it with <y>, one does not represent the approximant at all (SÜM$^{♂MON}$), one (REH$^{♂BIL}$) reduces the bisyllabic to a monosyllabic representation (<tur>), and one (EME$^{♀BIL}$) writes <totu>.
- The representation of the intersyllabic geminate in the form of two consonantal graphemes poses a problem on six occurrences.

With regard to other problems on the level of phoneme-grapheme-correspondencies, or, better, on the level of the representation of phonemes by means of graphemes, occurrences are no evenly distributed, or numbers are too small to generalise.

As for consonants, the representations of the unvoiced stops (/p/, /t/), and the lateral /l/ seem a more persistent problem than that of other consonants, as problems here occur more than once (/t/: 3n, /p/: 5n, /l/: 3n). As for vowels, non-orthographic representations usually stay within the frame of the vowel-harmonic requirements of the language, e.g. [e.myl] may be represented as <ümüm> (MIN) or <emöl> (OLC). Only REH consistently represents [y] by means of <u> (e.g. he writes <emul> for [e.myl]).

Fig. III.2.6. 1ˢᵗ grade: Counted forms and PGC-error in the pseudoword test
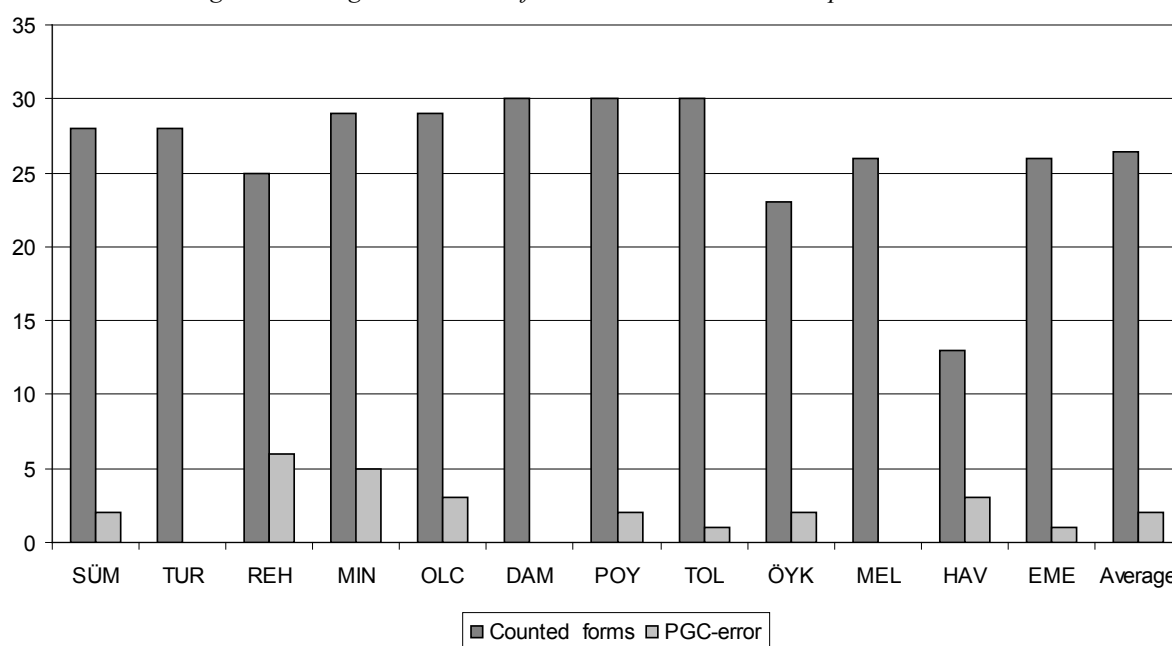
A common strategy of tackling problems of orthographic representation is that of **complexity reduction**. There are different types of complexity reductions. First, complex consonantal onsets, as in [tɾat], and [cɾics], are often reduced by means of the insertion of an additional epenthetic vowel (grapheme) – and this is an orthographically acceptable strategy in Turkish. 9 out of 12 case pupils follow this strategy with regard to [tɾat], 8 out of 12 insert an additional vowel when attempting to represent [cɾics]. Second, complex codas are sometimes reduced by means of representing only the vowel nucleus or the nucleus plus only one, usually the last, consonant, e.g. [taɾp] is represented as <ta> (MIN♀ᴹᴼᴺ) or <tap> (ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ). Two of the case pupils, i.e. REH♂ᴮᴵᴸ (2) and MEL♀ᴹᴼᴺ (9), sometimes also do not represent vowel nuclei; again, this occurs with complex consonantal onsets and codas. A fourth type of complexity reduction is the representation of a bisyllabic word as monosyllabic. This occurs in particular with

– the form [to.ʋur] (n2), which has an intervocalic approximant.
– the form [to. ɾotʃ] (n 3), where due to the same nuclei the intervocalic [ɾ] might be difficult to analyse,
– the form [ka:.bet] (n3), which due to the long vowel has stress on the first syllable,
– [ce.ʲim] (n3), which has the intervocalic glide,
– [to:.uɾ] (n5), which has a V.V-structure, and
– [ɯ.pan] (n2) where for the time being, no specific explanation is at hand.

Tab. III.2.6. 1ˢᵗ grade: Reductions occurring in the pseudoword test

CPs	Ctd. forms	Reductions			
		syll. red.	C or V red.	Epenthetic	Total
SÜM	28	1	5	2	8
TUR	28	0	1	2	3
REH	25	2	7	0	9
MIN	29	5	3	1	9
OLC	29	1	6	5	12
DAM	30	0	6	2	8
POY	30	0	3	1	4
TOL	30	0	1	2	3
ÖYK	23	0	4	1	5
MEL	26	9	12	0	21
HAV	13	3	4	1	8
EME	26	4	4	2	10
Total	317	25	56	19	100
Average	26.47	2.08	4.67	1.58	8.33

Conclusively, we may say that by the time the pseudowords were elicited, the largest part of the case pupils were able to produce orthographically consistent or phonographically plausible forms. With regard to individual differences, we find two groups – one, the majority, stays more or less closely together, while on the other hand, MEL, HAV$^{♀MON}$ and REH seem to lag behind considerably. The level of phoneme-grapheme correspondences does not pose a big problem for the majority, except for the representation of long vowels, approximants and glides. The main strategy to cope with problems of analysis is that of complexity reduction.

Test 2

In Test 2, altogether nine first-graders' written texts could be analysed according to the criteria developed in II.2.2.2.2. The text of a one pupil, REH$^{♂BIL}$, is not accessible for this analysis. MEL$^{♀MON}$ did not write at all, but dictated her text to the researcher, and HAV$^{♀MON}$ did not participate in this test. Of the remaining nine texts, five belong to bilingual pupils (TUR$^{♂BIL}$, DAM$^{♀BIL}$, POY$^{♂BIL}$, ÖYK$^{♀BIL}$, EME$^{♀BIL}$), and four to monolinguals (SÜM$^{♂MON}$, MIN$^{♀MON}$, OLC$^{♂MON}$, TOL$^{♂MON}$). As can be seen in the figure below, the texts vary considerably in length, be this in terms of syllables, words or sentences (each after correction):

Fig. III.2.7. 1ˢᵗ grade: Length of texts, Test 2

■ correct total of syl ■ words (after corr.) □ sentences (after corr.)
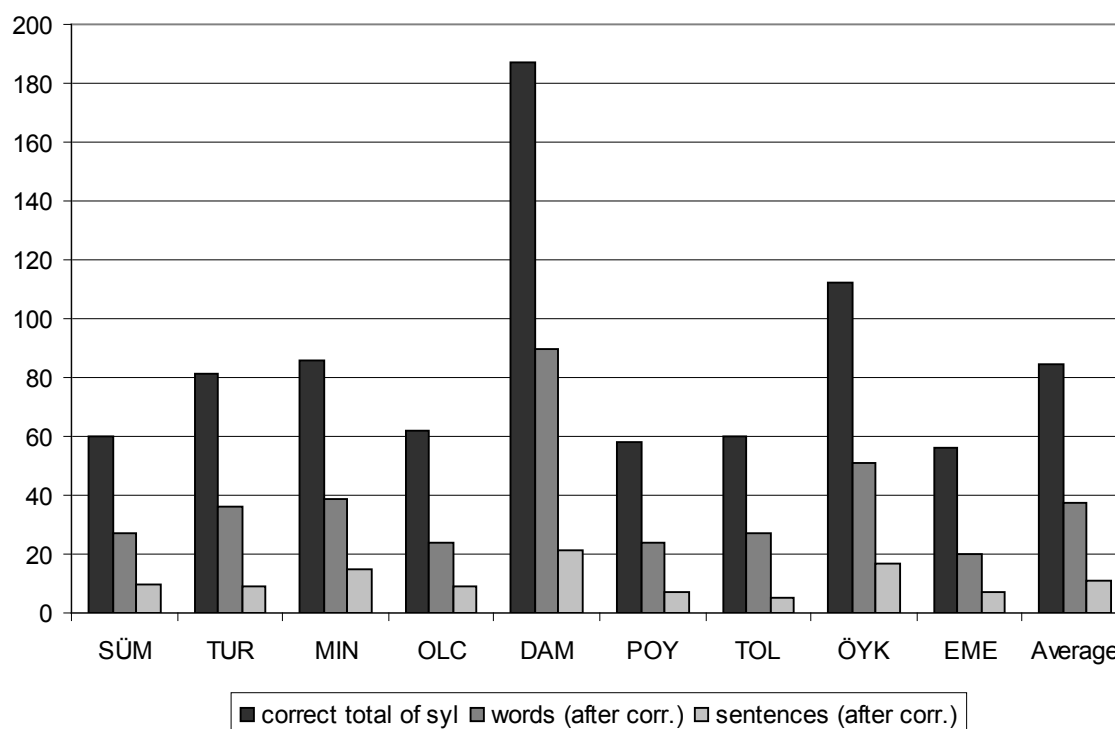
On the **graphic level and graphomotoric levels**, we see that six of the nine case pupils use cursive handwriting, whereas TUR employs plain upper case writing throughout. OLC and SÜM♂ᴹᴼᴺ mix cursive handwriting and plain writing, and in the plain writing employ only upper case letters. The systematics in mixing the two is not quite clear with regard to OLC's text, while SÜM♂ᴹᴼᴺ uses plain writing for signing his name, but cursive handwriting for the actual text. MIN does not employ upper case letters at all, all others use both upper case as well as lower case letters. With SÜM♂ᴹᴼᴺ, OLC, TUR and EME♀ᴮᴵᴸ, the employment of upper case letters seems also to be connected to not knowing the respective lower case letter. As for the graphomotoric implementation of letters, we occasionally note problems with the size of letters and distances in between.

Four of the nine case pupils, i.e. SÜM♂ᴹᴼᴺ, OLC♂ᴹᴼᴺ, ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ and EME♀ᴮᴵᴸ, edit their text to some extent by way of striking-out and writing-over.

On the **phonograpic level**, we consider the representation of vowels first. In a text total of 762 vowels (after correction), 17 vowels (~ 2.2% of the correct total) are missing. Of the remaining 745 vowels, 18 vowels (~ 2.4% of the text total) are wrong. Missing vowels rather occur in unstressed than in stressed syllables (6 versus 11). They concern systematic instances of syllable reduction in speech (see Chapter II.2.2.2.2) and non-representation of [ɯ] (mostly in unstressed syllables). Also reductions of certain bisyllabics to monosyllabic representation, which we noted in the pseudoword test, are persisting, i.e. bisyllabics with an initial glide or without a consonantal onset in the second syllable still tend to be represented as monosyllabic. TUR♂ᴮᴵᴸ, DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ and ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ are the only case pupils who attempt to represent long vowels – and TUR and DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ employ <ğ> here. (Other)

wrong representations of vowels concern harmonic vowel assimilations that the standard orthography does not represent, thus we can speak of phonographic writing here.

As for consonants, in a text total of 996 consonants (after correction), 45 consonants (~ 4.5% of the correct total) are missing. Of the remaining 951 consonants, 33 consonants (~ 3.5% of the text total) are incorrect.

Missing consonant graphemes most commonly occur in the following circumstances:

– Representation of identical consonants on both sides of syllable borders. This is, in fact, a logographic problem because it only occurs at the boundary between word stem and suffix, and the correct representation requires grammatical analysis (see Chapter II.2.2.2.2).
– (Non-)employment of the orthographem <ğ>. <ğ> is not available to segmental analysis – at least not in the standard (see Chapter II.2.2.2.2). Thus again, this is not really a phonographic problem.
– <r> in syllable-final position where the tap [ɾ] is often reduced.
– C in syllable-final position before a consonantal onset, particularly with nasal /n/.

While missing consonants occur in all texts except POY$^{\male BIL}$'s, which is orthographically completely correct, TUR, POY, OLC and TOL$^{\male MON}$ have no incorrect consonant graphemes. Consonantal errors are feature and assimilation errors throughout. There are some consonantal errors that occur with all case pupils who produce consonantal errors, namely mixing-up of <n> and <m>, and <m> and <b>.

Added vowel graphemes do not occur, but added consonant graphemes are found in five instances in four texts (DAM$^{\female BIL}$, ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$, EME$^{\female BIL}$ (2), SÜM$^{\male MON}$). In these occurrences, they seem a sign of phonographic and (hypercorrect) orthographic awareness.

On the **logographic level**, we consider separate and compound writing. In a total of 338 words, we find a total of 37 instances of compound (~ 11%) and a total of 15 instances of separate spelling (~ 4.4%). We find separate spellings mostly with OLC$^{\male MON}$ who mixes plain and cursive handwriting, and this leads to a mixture of syllabic and (orthographic) word-oriented spelling. Also TUR$^{\male BIL}$, ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$ and EME$^{\female BIL}$ produce some separate spellings (of suffixes). With regard to compound spellings, we see that MIN$^{\female MON}$, SÜM$^{\male MON}$ and ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$ have a strong tendency towards writing verb phrases in one word. Also DAM$^{\female BIL}$ produces compound spellings, but here, they only concern clitics and are an outcome of the strong narrative element in her text.

Turning to upper case writing, we already noted above that all case pupils except for MIN do employ it. There are no names proper in any of the texts, so the availability of this device could not be considered. Apart from using upper case as a text structuring device (see below), three of the case pupils also sometimes use it in-word, i.e. ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$ (3), TUR (2), and OLC (5), and it is not clear whether this might be connected to the non-availability of the respective small case letter. A word-initial capital letter is more often used with nouns (9) than with verbs (5) or various other parts-of-speech (5), thus there is some logographic awareness regarding its employment.

On the level of **text-structuring**, we consider the employment of the capital letter as a text-structuring device, punctuation, and instances of instrumentalizing line breaks.

As for the employment of the capital letter, we find that apart from MIN and EME♀BIL, all case pupils employ it as a text-structuring device, i.e. at the beginning of the text (TUR, POY♂BIL), the beginning of a clause (SÜM♂MON (1), OLC (2), DAM♀BIL (3), ÖYK♀BIL (1)) or at the beginning of a line (ÖYK♀BIL (1), OLC (1), TOL♂MON (5), i.e. all lines) at least one time. Thus, there is a certain awareness of the text-structuring function of the capital letter among most of the case pupils. SÜM♂MON also employs it with a pragmatic function, i.e. his name above the text is written in capital (plain) letters. Punctuation is only to be found in three of the texts, i.e. TOL ends his text with a full stop, DAM♀BIL employs four full stops in her attempts to structure the high amount of direct speech in her narrative, and ÖYK♀BIL employs the question marker in the way of an exclamation marker (and this is accompanied by the capital letter).

Line breaks are usually not utilised for text structure, but in a total of 52 line breaks, 10 are congruent with the end of a sentence (EME♀BIL (3), SÜM♂MON, OLC, ÖYK♀BIL (each 2), MIN (1)), so there might be a certain degree of awareness here.

Conclusively, we first see a continuation of the high degree of phonological awareness already attested in the pseudoword test, which leads to phonological writing. Those case pupils who were highly successful in the pseudoword test (TUR, DAM♀BIL, POY, ÖYK♀BIL and TOL) continue to be successful on the phonographic level in Test 2. TOL, TUR and DAM♀BIL even succeed in employing the Turkish orthographem <ğ>, a success which more or less completely rests on their own initiative.

Few averagely successful pupils in the pseudoword test (SÜM♂MON, MIN, EME♀BIL) stay average or get weaker. The weakest case pupils in the pseudoword test (MEL♀MON, REH♂BIL, HAV♀MON) do not succeed in writing a (decipherable) text: They are clearly in need of support, which they do not get.

With TUR♂BIL, TOL♂MON, POY♂BIL and DAM♀BIL, the success from the phonographic level seems to be paralleled also on the logographic level. With ÖYK♀BIL, this is not the case. EME♀BIL is the only case pupil who is not so good on the phonographic level, but scores very well on the logographic level. Her problems on the logographic level concern separate writing of suffixes, while the other pupils who have problems on the logographic level, i.e. SÜM♂MON, MIN♀MON, and ÖYK♀BIL, tend to compound writing, and OLC♂MON seems to be stuck in the "sequencing strategy" applied by the teacher.

All pupils in some way already cope with the textual level, TOL, DAM♀BIL and ÖYK♀BIL even experiment with punctuation.

2.1.2.1.4 Summary of notebook observations

The note book observation showed that some case pupils (TUR, OLC, DAM♀BIL, POY) practised reading and writing tasks assigned by the teacher more often than the other ones by writing letters/ syllables for numerous pages or by writing extra words that had not been

introduced in the lessons. This correlates with their orthographic success in the tests (see above).

Furthermore, while some case pupils (SÜM♂MON, OLC, DAM♀BIL) were inclined to follow the teacher's strategies such as the "sequencing strategy" (e.g., "la le lı li lo lö lu lü") more often than the others, the rest of the case pupils did not use them at all. Test 2 makes clear that the "sequencing strategy" has obvious limits when it comes to word writing, i.e. logographic awareness – in particular OLC seems somehow "stuck" in this strategy, and also SÜM♂MON has problems on the logographic level in the text (but not so DAM♀BIL).

In some of the notebooks, "word plays" (i.e., seemingly meaningless combination of words and syllables) were also observed although such instances were rare (REH♂BIL, MIN, OLC), and with REH, it can be assumed that this is rather an indication of helplessness than of playfulness.

It is important to note that the teacher strictly determined and controlled who wrote what and for how many pages. In line with the participatory observations, the notebook analysis also evinced that the teacher kept close track of each pupil's achievement levels and determined the course of studying accordingly. That is to say, she continued to introduce new letters/ syllables to some of the case pupils and took them a step further, while making others "rewind" and repeat already introduced letters/ syllables. Unfortunately, as the pupils were encouraged to erase their writing errors, the notebooks mostly contain the correct or "approved" spellings. Therefore, it was difficult to observe their learning process thoroughly. The notebook analysis, in general, suggests that in this Turkish first grade classroom, notebooks were evidences of the teacher's idea on how pupils learn best and at what exact learning stage he or she is at.

2.1.2.1.5 Concluding remarks on orate-literate and orthographic analysis Turkish

Roughly (and very preliminarily stated), the availability of literate forms in Turkish and the success in the acquisition of orthography seem to go hand in hand; negatively so, as we see with weaker case pupils like REH♂BIL and MEL♀MON, and positively, as seen with TUR♂BIL, POY♂BIL and DAM♀BIL. With the other case pupils, this is not as clear. EME♀BIL, OLC♂MON, SÜM♂MON and MIN♀MON are examples of pupils with literate structures at their disposal, but who are less advanced with regard to orthography. On the other hand, phonographic awareness is not necessarily dependent on the availability of literate forms, as we see in the example of ÖYK♀BIL whose results in the orate-literate analysis can be called below average, but whose phonographic awareness is high. However, she struggles with the logographic level of orthography. Highly interesting is the example of TOL♂MON who can probably be called an "average" performer in terms of literate forms, but who performs outstandingly in orthography.

2.1.2.2 Summaries of the analysis of the text products in Kurmanjî

2.1.2.2.1 Preliminaries

In the Kurmanjî test with the bilingual case pupils, the performance is in some cases somewhat different from the Turkish tests, meaning that the outcomes are in most cases not sufficient, cf. Table III.2.7 for the TPs produced in Kurmanjî:

Tab. III.2.7. 1ˢᵗ grade: Text products as outcomes of the LAS-Test in Kurmanjî

CPs	Text products (TPs) in Kurmanjî		
	oral	dictated	written
ÖYK♀	1x	1x	-
POY♂	1x	1x	1x
REH♂	-	-	-
DAM♀	1x	-	1x
EME♀	-	1x=Turkish	1x=Turkish
TUR♂	1x	1x	1x

In this test, EME♀ᴮᴵᴸ refused to speak and to write in Kurmanjî, while ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ only had problems with writing in Kurmanjî. REH did not take part in the test. The intended three productions, oral, dictated and written, are only available from POY and TUR.

Behaviour in the test situation

All children except for POY felt very uncomfortable in this test situation. The reluctance of the pupils becomes most evident through an unwilling attitude to speak Kurmanjî. TUR was one of the pupils able to speak and to write in Kurmanjî, but still showed his reluctance non-verbally through his body-posture, and verbally through the question if he may write in Turkish. ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ and DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ even refused to speak and were involved in a constant negotiation with the investigator who tried to provoke them to speak Kurmanjî. In the course of the interaction, all of the pupils had to be reminded to use Kurmanjî or to repeat their utterances because they were constantly falling back into Turkish.

Through the interaction, in case of ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ also through her articulation, it became clear that despite of their reluctance, the children were able to understand Kurmanjî. According to the family interviews, most of them are practicing Kurmanjî in their families. REH♂ᴮᴵᴸ could not take part in the tests, his family also refusing to give an interview, which might be related to their bilingual background (see 2.1.1)

2.1.2.2.2 Summary of the orate/ literate analyses of the text products in Kurmanjî

In all available TPs in Kurmanjî, the absolute criteria are low compared to the TPs in the LAS tests conducted with the bilingual pupils in Turkish. As mentioned above, only four out of the six case pupils produced narratives available for analysis according to the orate/ literate criteria (for the analysis criteria for Kurmanjî, see Chapter II.2.2.2.3).

Due to the reserved attitude towards speaking Kurmanjî, in comparison to the Turkish tests, the bilingual pupils were provided with a higher amount of linguistic elements by the

investigators. In some instances, the provided structures were whole phrases, a fact which is supposedly related to a lower language practice in Kurmanjî.

In some cases, especially in the test with ÖYK$^{♀BIL}$ and DAM$^{♀BIL}$, the oral TPs were not cohesive narratives, but interrupted by side-sequences of language negotiation. Therefore, the amount of orate structures in the analysed categories is higher, and genre knowledge is an area more difficult to assess than in the Turkish TPs of the pupils.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "complements form"

In the category of complements form, nominal phrases like *jinik* ('the woman') are to be considered as neutral forms that the children used to introduce protagonists of the story. Back-references and uptakes were mostly done by the use of deictic pronouns, an orate strategy adequate in spoken language.

Fig. III.2.8. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "complements form", Kurmanjî test
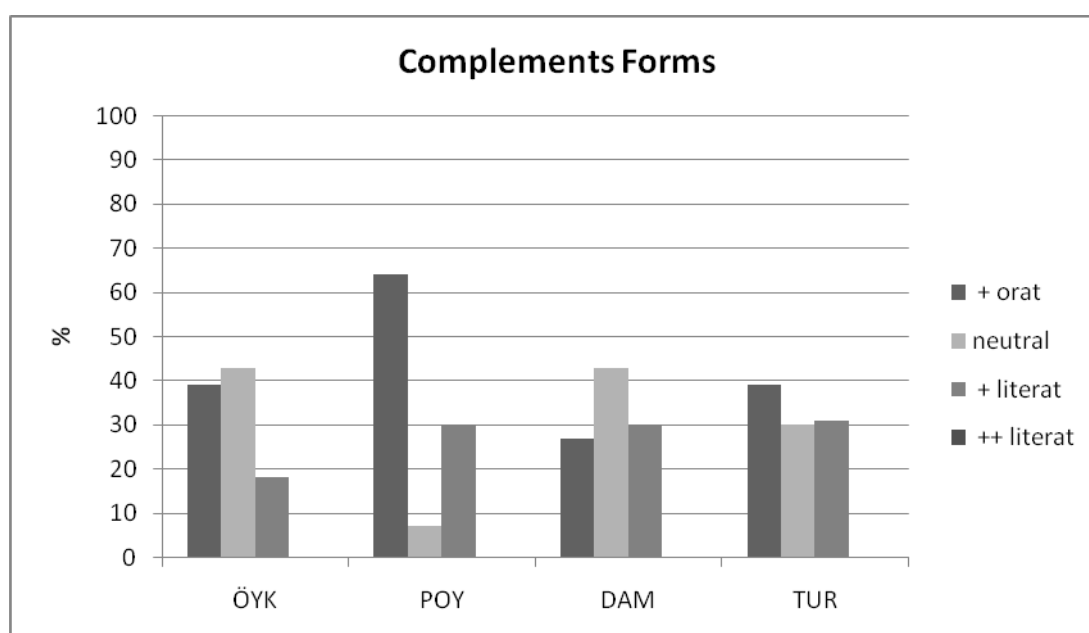
POY$^{♂}$ is one of the children using deictic references also in his first mentions, causing a high amount, over 60%, of orate complements forms. ÖYK$^{♀BIL}$ and TUR$^{♂}$ employ both nearly 40% orate forms in this area. The performances of DAM$^{♀BIL}$ and TUR are the most balanced in this category. The literate structures, containing, for instance, correct indefinite nominal phrases like *jinikek* ('a woman') with the obligatory indefinite marking *-ik/ -ek,* are mostly used by TUR who proved to be the most advanced pupil in nearly every analysed area in Kurmanjî.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "tense"

As was already observed in the category "tense" in the analysis of the Turkish TPs, almost all of the pupils also rely on neutral tense markings in Kurmanjî. The simple past, which is a neutral tense form in conveying information about past events, is probably comparable with the *-dI* marking in Turkish used in the Turkish narratives.

The low degree of variation might in the case of Kurmanjî not only be influenced by Turkish, but is surely a sign of the pupils' reduced knowledge of the complex tense morphology in Kurmanjî. Tense, as it is in Turkish, is the category with the least variations. Nevertheless, some pupils are still capable of taking on a specific perspective on the verbalised actions by also using the DUR tense form in the introductive units, DUR being comparable to the IPFV in Turkish, presenting the action as ongoing.

Variation of tense is not the case in the TPs of POY$^\male$, while the three remaining pupils employ also DUR to a differing extent.

Fig. III.2.9. 1st grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "tense", Kurmanjî test
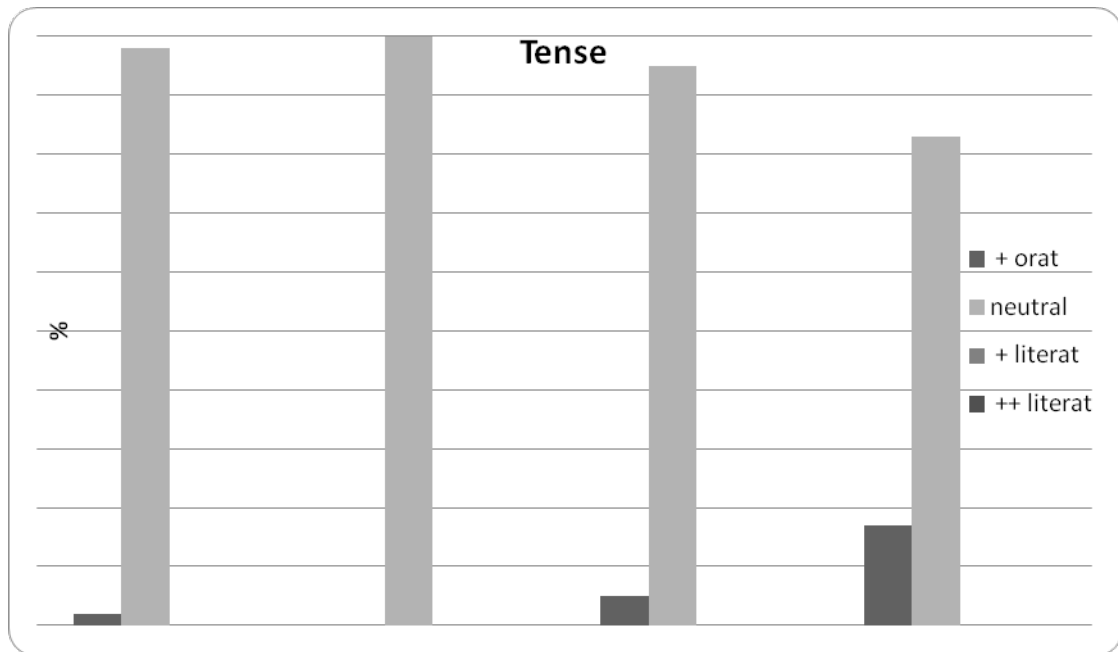
ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$, DAM$^{\female BIL}$ and TUR$^\male$ use also the DUR markings in the introducing units, which is an orate form, but, according to genre requirements in Kurmanjî, quite adequate in everyday oral narratives. As in the area of complements form, TUR is more capable than the rest of the pupils in this area as he is able to use the tense forms according to the narrative genre. POY$^\male$ shows no variation at all and employs 100% simple past neutral markings. The existential, also included in the category neutral, is used by all pupils to a high amount, also a similarity to the TPs produced in Turkish.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "structure"

Within this category, variations of word order and ergative constructions were considered to be ++literate structures. While ergative constructions could not be found in any of the TPs, the word order variations were high in number in the TPs of almost all pupils. The structures classified as +literate include subordinated units, mainly accomplished through the subordinating conjunct *kû* ('that'). Subordinations were very rare in number. The percentages of the +literate structures, visible in Figure III.2.10 below, contain mainly

instances of syntactic and morphological repairs, interpreted as a sign of awareness of the correct Kurmanjî morphology.

While all of the four case pupils are able to expand units via direct speech, marked with the conjunct *kû* or its Turkish counterpart *ki*, none of them attempts to produce larger units containing two matrix clauses employing the coordinative conjunct *û* ('and'). This conjunct appears to be known to expand nominal phrases, like in *keçîk û zilam* ('the girl and the man').

Fig. III.2.10. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "structure", Kurmanjî test
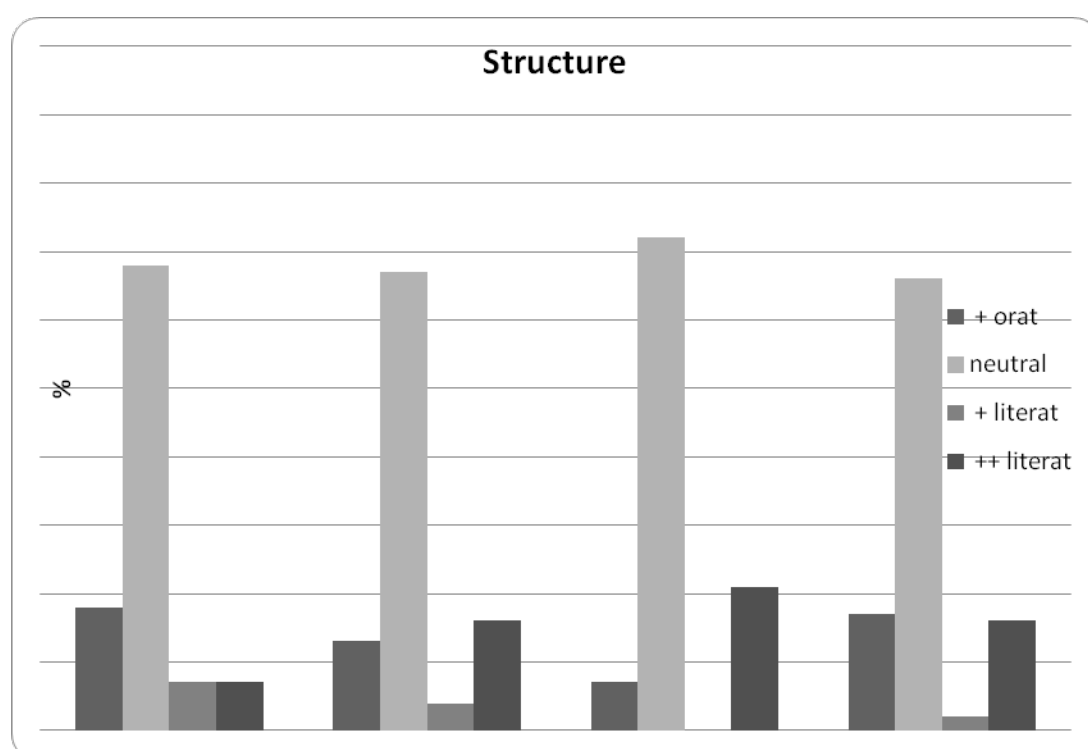
As stated above, all pupils are equally relying on neutral syntactic structuring, mainly matrix clauses with a finite verb component. The orate syntactic structures are related to the face-to-face interaction, units formed by nominal phrases or smaller units produced in reaction to the investigators' questions and requests for clarification. These orate forms occur in equal distribution in the TPs of ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ, POY♂ and TUR♂, while DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ relies less on them.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "connection"

In this category, devices connecting two information units were counted as well as the discursive and thus orate elements, mainly deictic elements, referring to time, places and objects. The temporal adverbs of Kurmanjî like *paşe* ('later') and *dûre* ('after that') were counted as neutral forms, typical for the narrative genre, presenting events in a temporal order.

Fig. III.2.11. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category ‚connection', Kurmanjî test
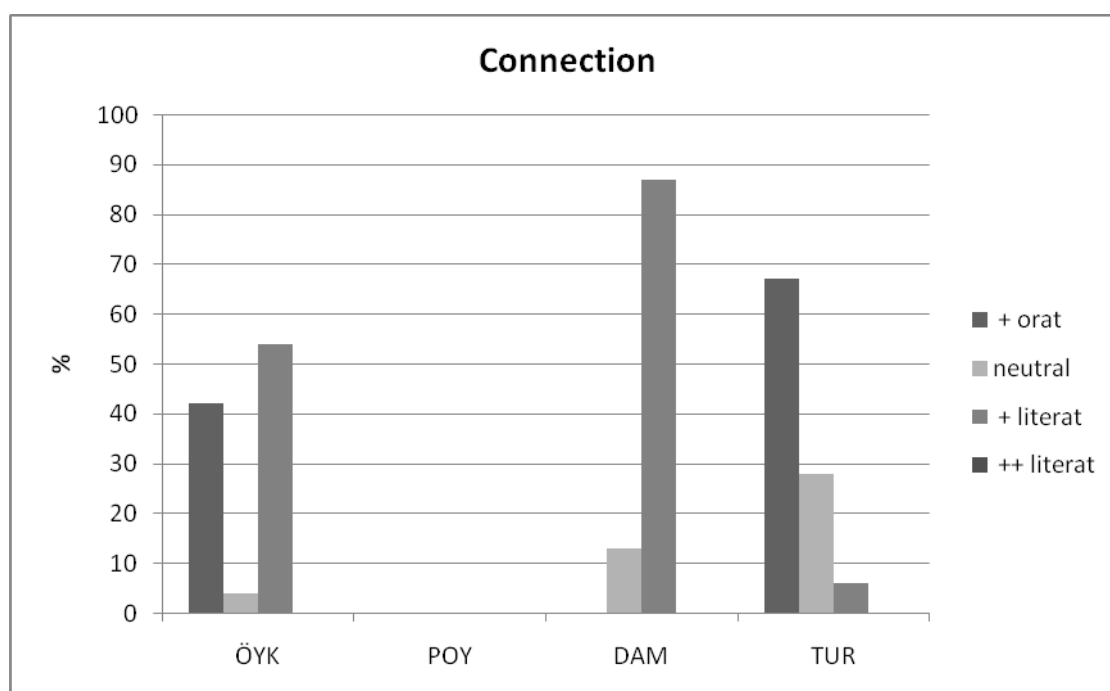
Not only the use of Kurmanjî connectives has to be assessed as high language proficiency in this category, but also the variation of elements. In this respect TUR$^{\male}$ is most capable as he knows both temporal adverbs and uses them variably. That the percentage of orate forms is high in his TPs does in this case not point to inadequate use. Instead, TUR, in addition to temporal adverbs, uses also a high number of deictic elements. DAM$^{\female\text{BIL}}$ also proves to be one of the proficient bilingual pupils in this category. The same is the case with ÖYK$^{\female\text{BIL}}$. POY$^{\male}$ does not use any connecting elements, neither orate nor literate, which may be interpreted as reduced genre knowledge and as an indication for reduced communicative and genre-specific language resources. ÖYK$^{\female\text{BIL}}$ and DAM$^{\female\text{BIL}}$ are the best in this area, the percentage employed of literate connectors being very high in comparison with the two other pupils, namely the use of coordinating conjuncts like *û* ('and'). However, it has to be mentioned that ÖYK$^{\female\text{BIL}}$ and DAM$^{\female\text{BIL}}$ are also the ones who very much rely on Turkish elements in this category, which is not the case with TUR.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "function"

As already mentioned for the tests in Turkish, also in the Kurmanjî test, the functionality of information units is depending on the abilities of the pupils to narrate and to adjust the information conveyance in the context of spoken and written language.

Fig. III.2.12. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category ‚function', Kurmanjî test
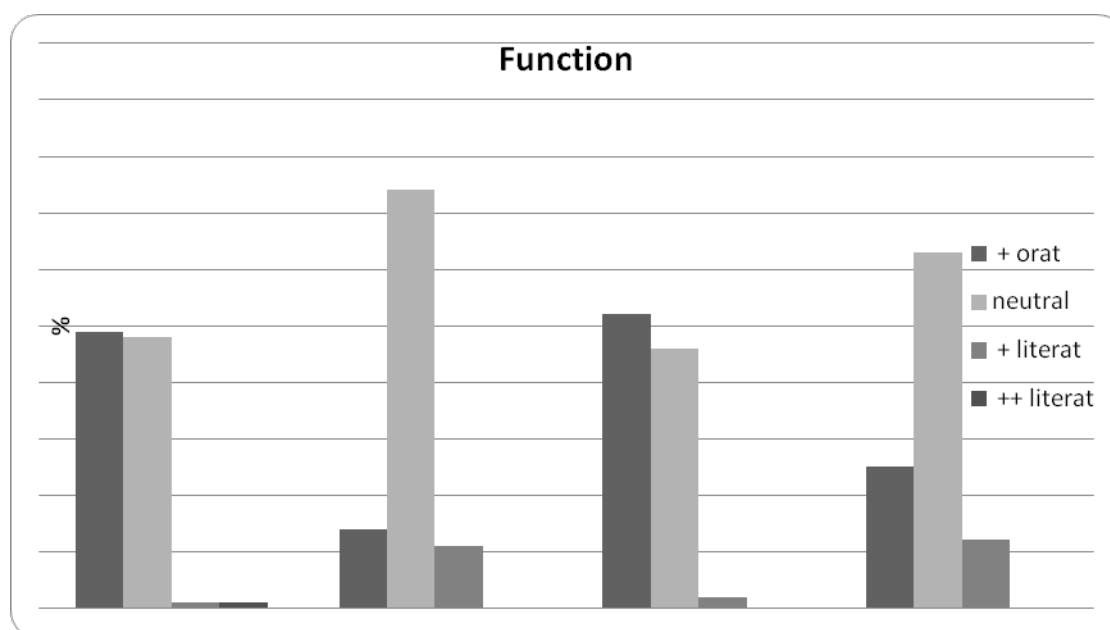
Those pupils who have an interactive narrating style, like ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ and DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ, produce a high amount of units that are interactive and thus orate. The difference to the tests in Turkish is that the interactive units are caused not only by the interactive work on the story content. Moreover, the orate units in the Kurmanjî test are outcomes of language negotiations, side-sequences where the pupils are switching into Turkish and have to be reminded to speak Kurmanjî. In this category POY♂, who is not engaged in negotiating sequences, produces the least orate units. The information units within his narration are highly neutral. Consequently, TUR♂ and POY are the most balanced narrators in this category.

In contrast to the results of the Turkish tests, it is also remarkable that the pupils are not able to produce ++literate evaluating units in Kurmanjî. The 1% +literate units ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ is producing can be identified as units uttered in Turkish and thus not as a considerable result in terms of proficiency in Kurmanjî.

Language resources of Turkish used in the Kurmanjî text products

Apart from the analysis according to the orate/ literate criteria, the TPs in Kurmanjî were also analysed with regard to the language origin of the verbal elements employed by the bilingual pupils. In the first grade, this coding leads to the result that the most often used elements of Turkish origin are verbal and nominal stems, which are employed to a differing extent.

Fig. III.2.13. 1ˢᵗ grade: Language sources, Kurmanjî test
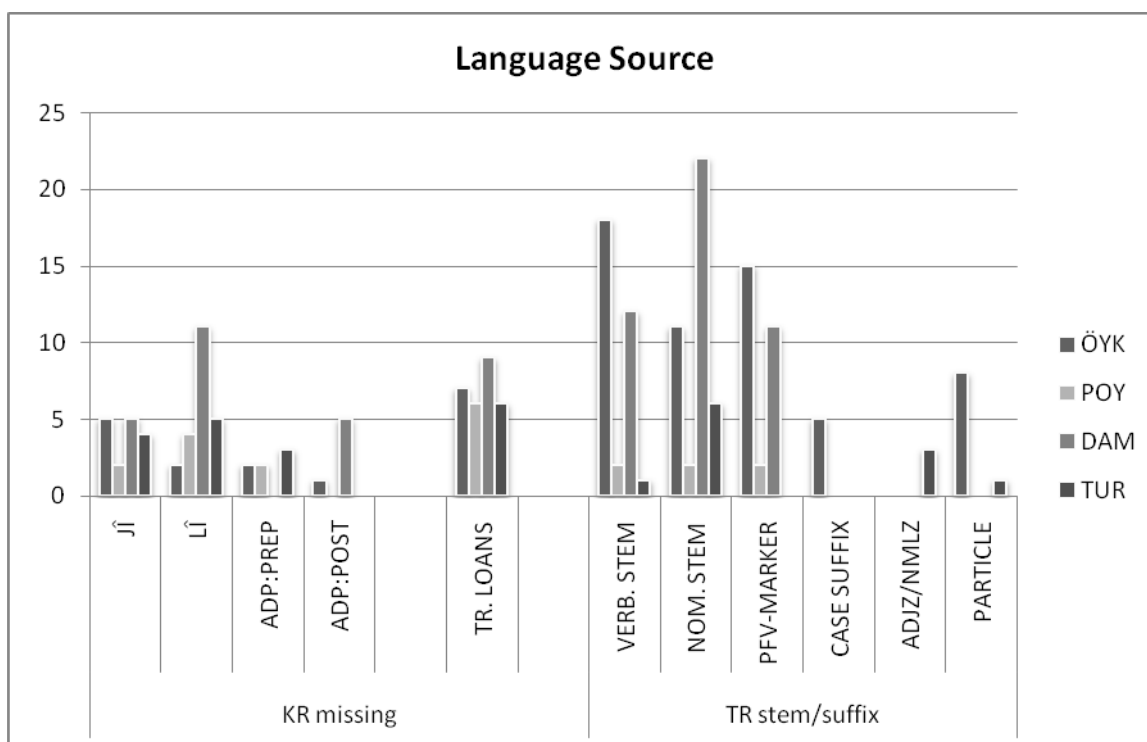
As for the individual pupils, Figure III.2.13 above confirms that ÖYK♀ᴮᴵᴸ and DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ are the pupils relying the most on Turkish, using Turkish nominal and verbal stems and a mixed morphology, namely the combination of a Turkish-stem+PFV-suffix. POY♂ shows a low degree of employment of Turkish elements as his TPs are very short in absolute criteria and less complex, thereby sparing himself the need to rely on Turkish. TUR♂ does not use the mixed morphology, while Turkish loans also occur in his TPs.

Given the numbers of missing Kurmanjî elements, all of the pupils show similar deficiencies in the employment of prepositions and adpositions. DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ is the child with the highest number of missing Kurmanjî prepositions. Because those linguistic means are differing from Turkish, their absence in the Kurmanjî TPs can obviously be considered as an influence of the dominant language Turkish. Those pupils with less knowledge and less communicative practice in Kurmanjî seem most likely to be influenced by the Turkish language typology. That the children have to be provided with appropriate Kurmanjî structures in the course of the test situation is also a pointer to their less frequent language practice.

2.1.2.2.3 Summary of the orthography analysis of the text products in Kurmanjî

In the writing assignement for the bilingual first-graders in their first language Kurmanjî, three texts could be elicited from the case pupils, i.e. TUR♂, DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ and POY♂ produced written texts besides their oral texts. Also one of the pupils from the first grade who did not belong to the group of case pupils participated in this test, and her text is also taken into consideration (AKS♀ᴮᴵᴸ).

As can be seen in Figure III.2.14 below, the texts vary considerably in length, but the average length is roughly the same as in the Turkish texts (see above):

Fig. III.2.14. 1st grade: Length (after correction) of written texts, Kurmanjî test
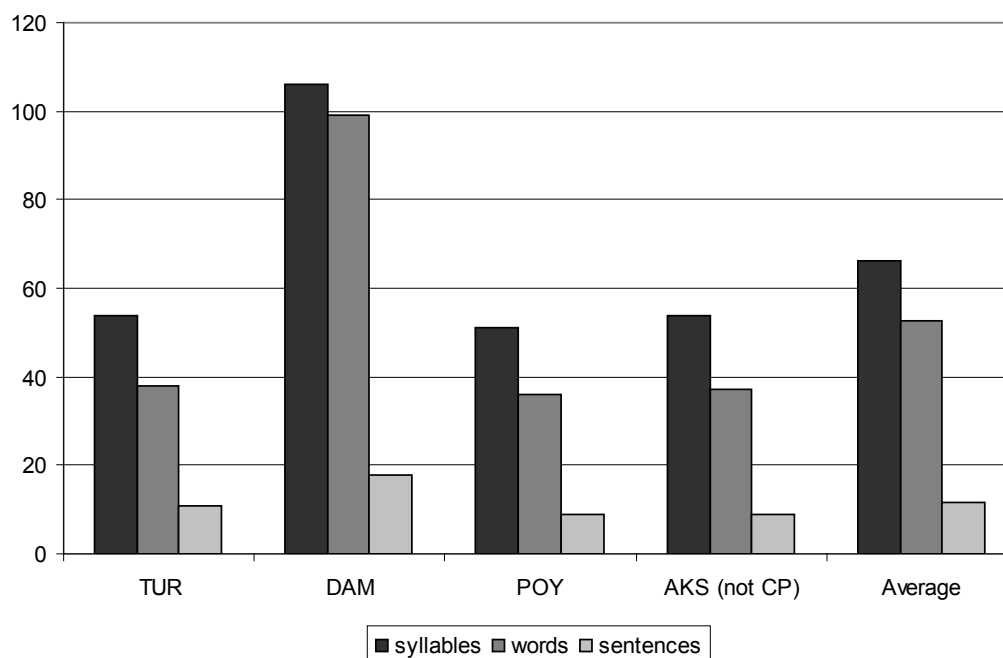
On the **graphic and graphomotoric levels**, we see that DAM♀BIL, POY♂ and AKS♀BIL use cursive handwriting in the text body, while TUR♂ uses plain lower case (as opposed to plain upper case in his Turkish text). All case pupils write their own names in plain writing, however. Two of the four pupils, i.e. TUR and AKS♀BIL, show a familiarity with Kurmanjî literacy in that they employ diacritics (<^>) on vowels and also the consonant grapheme <w>, albeit not in all cases and not necessarily correctly. However, this is remarkable, given the status of Kurmanjî in Turkey, particularly in the west.

In all the texts, we find struck out letters and words, which shows a review process.

On the **phonographic level**, we consider the representation of vowels first. Problems exist, as was expected, with the representation of high/ front /i/ (<î>), high middle/ front /e/ (<ê>) and long /u/ (<û>), which the pupils usually represent with *<i>, *<e>, and *<u> respectively, i.e. without the diacritics. Also Kurmanjî middle central /i/ (<i>), middle front /e/ (<e>) and middle central /i/ (<i>) generally pose problems. Kurmanjî /i/ is represented by <ɪ> throughout, Kurmanjî /e/ is either represented (correctly) by <e>, or it interchanges with *<ɪ> (in TUR's spelling), or with *<a> (in the spelling of DAM♀BIL, POY and AKS♀BIL). On average, about half of the vowel graphemes are wrong. However, AKS♀BIL seems to have a considerable higher degree of phonographic awareness than the other three:

Tab. III.2.8. 1ˢᵗ grade: Vowels in written texts, Kurmanjî test

CPs	text total V	correct V	incorrect V	% correct/ incorrect
TUR	52	20	32	38/ 62
DAM	105	52	53	49/ 51
POY	48	14	34	29/ 71
AKS (not CP)	53	40	13	75/ 25
Total	258	126	132	49/ 51

Missing vowels occur 7 times alltogether (TUR♂: 2, DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ: 1, POY♂: 3, AKS♀ᴮᴵᴸ: 1), all of them in unstressed syllables.

Consonants pose less of a problem than vowels. Consistent problems occur where the appropriate consonantal grapheme does not exist in the Turkish alphabet. As an alternative for Kurmanjî <w>, the pupils use (Turkish) <v> throughout. A possible environment for the employment of <q> does not occur. Glottal /h/ is usuall represented as <h> (except for POY who does not represent it at all, which might be, however, dialectal). A possible environment for the employment of <x> occurs once, in DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ's text, and she represents it with the Turkish soft <ğ>. As can be expected, (probably) dialect-based feature differences and reductions occur in DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ's spellings and, to a lesser degree, also in POY's, but not in TUR's and AKS♀ᴮᴵᴸ's. Missing consonants occur much less frequent than was expected, in all texts together, 6 consonant graphemes are missing, 4 in DAM♀ᴮᴵᴸ's text and 2 in POY's. Thus, the higher degree of complexity of the Kurmanjî syllable structure as opposed to the Turkish syllable structure does not seem to pose a problem for the Kurmanjî spellings of the first-graders.

On the **logographic level**, we first consider separate and compound writing. As expected, a particular problem is the representation of function words as seperate units. The table below shows that in particular the representation of particles, junctors and the postpositive reflexive pronoun *xwe* as separate units is difficult for the pupils.

Tab. III.2.8. 1ˢᵗ grade: Compound spellings in written texts, Kurmanjî test

		TUR	DAM	POY	AKS (not CP)	Total
Postposed attribute	open (correct)					
	closed (incorrect)		4		1	5
Deictic	open (correct)	1	3			3
	closed (incorrect)	1				1
Adposition	open (correct)		1		1	2
	closed (incorrect)					
Light verb	open (correct)	2				2
	closed (incorrect)		4			4
Particle	open (correct)				1	1
	closed (incorrect)	1	9		2	12
Junctor	open (correct)	1				1
	closed (incorrect)		8		1	9

Thus, we have a relation in which in a total of 40 possible environments of function words, where the standard orthography requires open spelling, 31 (~ 70%) are spelled in closed form. The summary in Figure III.2.15 (which is, of course, to be regarded highly tentative because of the strong individual differences) shows that TUR$^\circlearrowleft$ seems to have the highest awareness of the orthographical word in Kurmanjî:

Fig. III.2.15. 1st grade: Absolute occurrences of correct and incorrect compound spellings, Kurmanjî test
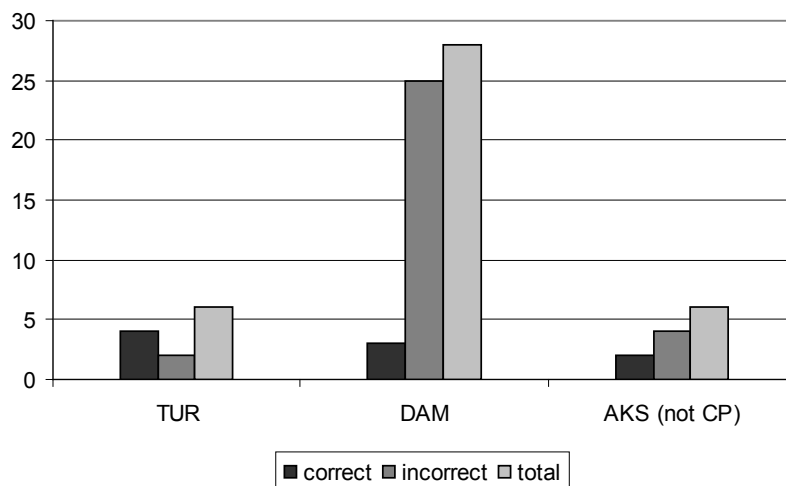
Apart from that, POY$^\circlearrowleft$ separates a suffix, the indefinite article, in one instance, and he also represents a tight noun-verb construction in one unit.

There are no names proper in the texts, and no occurrences of in-sentence capital letters.

As for the representation of Turkish loans, or "homophonous diamorphs" (see Chapter 2.2.2.3.2), we see an almost equal distribution between Turkish spellings and attempts to represent the Kurmanjî pronunciation of the respective lexemes:

Fig. III.2.16. 1st grade: Spelling of Turkish loans/ homophonous diamorphs, Kurmanjî test
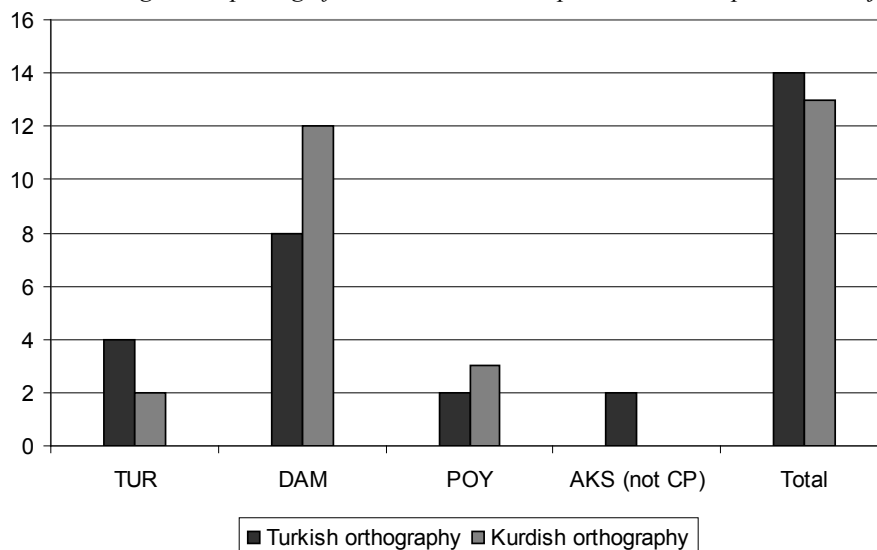
On the **textual level**, we see that of the four pupils, TUR♂ and DAM♀BIL, show an awareness of sentence structure, i.e. TUR by using the full stop (one instance) and line breaks interchangeably to mark sentence borders, and DAM♀BIL by means of employing the full stop five times and starting every subsequent new sentence with a capital letter. Also AKS♀BIL uses the capital letter and the full stop, each one time. The capital letter starts the text, and the full stop ends the sentence that is the last of the narration part of her story.

2.1.2.2.4 Preliminary concluding remarks

In sum, the case pupils mostly reacted to the test situation according to their personality, the psychological capacity to perform in communications with adults perceived as representatives of an institution, and the linguistic means available to them.

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from the test results is that all of the tested pupils are on different levels of acquisition as far as oral communication is concerned, but that oral communicative skills do not necessarily lead to school-related linguistic skills. Some of the children had an enormously high motivation to express themselves, like EME♀BIL and OLC♂MON, which, according to the test results, does not coincide with high linguistic abilities, neither with regard to literate forms nor with regard to orthographic success. On the other hand, bilingual TUR♂BIL was one of the children who behaved very shy and reluctant despite of his high abilities he displays in his written TPs in both Turkish and Kurmanjî, both with regard to literate forms as well as with regard to orthographic skills.

Most of the pupils can be assessed as children with average linguistic skills, showing a development according to their age in terms of literate forms. In terms of orthographic performance, however, we find three groups, i.e. a very weak group (HAV♀MON, MEL♀MON, REH♂BIL), a medium group (SÜM♂MON, MIN♀MON, EME♀BIL, ÖYK♀BIL, OLC) where MIN and SÜM♂MON seem to have more problems than the other three, and a group of what could be called "advanced writers" (TUR, TOL♂MON, POY♂BIL, DAM♀BIL). Not in all and every case does this correlate with the high (or low) availability of literate forms.

The results also confirm that there are some pupils still on a lower acquisition level, MIN on the phonetic level and REH on nearly every level – and this clearly coincides with problems in writing. It is obvious that REH has not acquired specific phonetic or morphological structures. In some cases, even the lexical items do not fit into the context. TAM-marking shows also absolutely no variation and no changes throughout the school year. The missing introductions in the narratives reveal a lack of genre knowledge, as well. REH is clearly a pupil who is in need of assistance in the acquisition of Turkish as a second language. Also the other bilinguals show some characteristics that are not captured by the orate/ literate analysis. One such characteristic is the use of the possessive suffix in Turkish, which is for instance the case in the language production of DAM♀BIL.

There is a positive and impressive relation between the Kurmanjî competences (both orthographic as well as with regard to literate structures) of the three case pupils who had the confidence to also write a text in Kurmanjî, TUR, POY, DAM♀BIL, and the orthographic development in Turkish. Particularly interesting here is the way they transfer resources from one language to the other, i.e. phonological awareness (syllable structure, long vs.

short vowels) from Kurmanjî to Turkish, employment of the Turkish orthographem <ğ> in order to solve problems in Kurmanjî (DAM$^{♀BIL}$), and structuring of the textual level in the Kurmanjî text. Competences in the first and the second language clearly go hand in hand here.

2.2 Case pupils of the 7th grade

The case pupils of the seventh grade were selected based on the same criteria as those of the first grade, with the same limitation of on-site selection in terms of the mono-/ bilingual factor. Taking into account the individual average performance in class tests, the composition is as follows:

Tab. III.2.9. 7th grade: Composition of LAS case pupils

Class test performance	Bilingual		Monolingual	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Good performance	X	AYS	NEC	LAL
Mediocre performance	EGE GÖK	CAN EZG	X	DIL
Poor performance	DER	X	KAM YUS	ALA

Basically, the case pupils' class test performances as marked by the teacher coincide with LAS test results, with a tendency, however, of class test scores being slightly poorer than LAS test evaluations. The smaller successes of the boys are probably not least an outcome of the teacher's general favouritism of girls before boys, a factor that might very well be a reflected in the dimension of "meritocratic" assessment.

2.2.1 Family backgrounds

As was already noted in 2.1, all of the seventh-graders' families agreed to meet with the LAS investigators for an interview. The family backgrounds thus looked into are summarised in the following Table III.2.10.

Tab. III.2.10. 7th grade case pupils: Family backgrounds

| | Bilingual | | | | | | Monolingual | | | | | |
| | ♂ | | | ♀ | | | ♂ | | | ♀ | | |
	DER	EGE	GÖK	AYS	CAN	EZG	KAM	NEC	YUS	ALA	DIL	LAL
Living with both parents	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Number of siblings in household	3	3	6	3	6	6	1	2	1	2	2	1
Parents' economic position	−	~	−	~	−	~	−	~	−	~	~	−
Parents' educational background[143]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	~	−	~
Literate practices in family	−	−	~	~	−	~	−	−	~	~	−	−
Family language[144]	K	T/K	K	K	T/K	K	T	T	T	T	T	T
Parents' oral Turkish language proficiency[145]	F: + M: ~	+	F: + M: −	F: + M: −	+	F: + M: −	+	+	+	+	+	+

In the seventh grade, separations/ divorces occur in only two monolingual case families where the fathers left the household and the children stay with their mothers. Apparently, these fathers do not support their children so that the divorced mothers rely on the financial assistance of their relatives or their adult children. Certainly conspicuous is the observation that the bilingual families have considerably more children than the monolingual ones, but none of the case pupils is a single child. The ratio of oldest, middle and youngest child is quite balanced among them. DER$^{♂BIL}$, EZG$^{♀BIL}$, GÖK$^{♂BIL}$, LAL$^{♀MON}$, and YUS$^{♂MON}$ are the youngest children in their families, and at this age, this might indicate that procreation in the families is finalised.

Economic positions are generally located in the lower stratum according to Turkish standards, but relatively spoken, several case families of the seventh grade have acquired a modest material welfare, owning a house and/ or a business. At the lowest end of the stratum are, besides the single mothers, for example CAN$^{♀BIL}$'s parents, the father being a peddler and the mother cleaning stairwells, while DER$^{♂BIL}$'s father is currently unemployed. All but two case pupils' mothers are housewives; the two mothers who are contributing to the family's financial income are CAN$^{♀BIL}$'s and KAM$^{♂MON}$'s, who both work as charwomen in odd jobs. Note that particularly CAN$^{♀BIL}$'s mother also has to take care of a large family besides her work, indicating the family's severe economic hardship when considering that most of the mothers stay at home with their children despite comparably low family incomes. Material limitations can be expected to constitute a structural obstacle to the children's school success, which is not last reflected in them visiting the LAS case school.

The case pupils' parents' educational backgrounds are mostly very poor; nine out of 12 mothers never went to a school, but note that DIL$^{♀MON}$'s mother autodidactically acquired

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[143] ~ = both parents finished compulsory education; − = at least one parent is illiterate.
[144] T = Turkish; G = German.
[145] Based on language of interview partner in family interview.

some reading skills with the aid of a social worker from the community centre, which must be deemed an exceptional effort. All of the fathers at least finished compulsory fifth grade, DIL$^{♀\mathrm{MON}}$'s, EZG$^{♀\mathrm{BIL}}$'s, and NEC$^{♂\mathrm{MON}}$'s fathers even the eighth grade. Of the mothers with a school education, only LAL$^{♀\mathrm{MON}}$'s concluded the eighth grade. As in the first grade, a remarkable lack of education in the case families of course involves that the parents have as good as no means to support their children intellectually and logistically when it comes to school, particularly when taking into consideration that most of the main caretakers are illiterate. As for literate practices, they are expectably not occurring to a considerable degree in any of the families, but relatively spoken, there are a few households where written culture does have a, albeit marginal, relevance: GÖK$^{♂\mathrm{BIL}}$ has access to books (other than school books) at home, sometimes bringing them to class; AYS$^{♀\mathrm{BIL}}$ and EZG$^{♀\mathrm{BIL}}$ regularly read the Koran with family members; YUS$^{♂\mathrm{MON}}$'s family buys newspapers that he and his father read; and in ALA$^{♀\mathrm{MON}}$'s house, at least the father enjoys religious literature from time to time. In these cases, the pupils come into contact with non-school- related written language to some (quite low) degree, experiencing it as part of the family life. Of course, in the case of religious literature, applicability might be doubtful.

In the two bilingual families where both Kurmanjî and Turkish are spoken on a regular basis, Turkish proficiencies of the parents are satisfactory for daily conversations; as opposed to that, the bilingual mothers of the families where Kurmanjî is the only language show considerable deficits in their mastery of Turkish, sometimes to a point where they do not have the language at all (EZG$^{♀\mathrm{BIL}}$'s mother). It has to be borne in mind here that none of these mothers had a school education, and all of them are staying at home as housewives, so their contact with a Turkish-speaking outside world is probably very constrained.

2.2.1.1 Migration backgrounds

All of the bilingual seventh-grade case pupils have Kurmanjî as a first language, and all of them migrated from the Mardin region to Istanbul years ago. But only in the case of GÖK$^{♂\mathrm{BIL}}$'s family, their leaving is being associated with the conflict between the PKK and Turkish military groups in the interview as the family's village had been burnt down during combat. All other families state they came to Istanbul for work. While five out of six bilingual families have partly strong ties to the old region, talking about it longingly and visiting at least occasionally, only CAN$^{♀\mathrm{BIL}}$'s parents seem to have put Mardin behind them for good, which is remarkable insofar as they are one of the bilingual families who have a very hard time to keep afloat in Istanbul. In contrast to the bilingual first-graders, the seventh-graders appear to be much more comfortable with their being Kurdish as far as one can tell from their behaviour during the Kurmanjî LAS test. It might be a coincidence that only CAN$^{♀\mathrm{BIL}}$ showed some insecurity and uncertainty when addressed in her parents' first language.

2.2.1.2 School support in parental home

In the context of school support, one has to be very clear about the fact that none of the case pupils' main caretakers have sufficient educational backgrounds that would provide them with the means or even a sense of necessity to assist their children in a meaningful way

school-wise. The best support these parents can give is to show some interest in the child's school career and to send them to school regularly. Not all of the interviewed parents do achieve this, as summarised in Table III.2.11:

Tab. III.2.11. 7th grade case pupils: School support in parental home[146]

| | Bilingual | | | | | | Monolingual | | | | | |
| | ♂ | | | ♀ | | | ♂ | | | ♀ | | |
	DER	EGE	GÖK	AYS	CAN	EZG	KAM	NEC	YUS	ALA	DIL	LAL
Parents are satisfied with child's school	–	~	x	~	~	–	–	+	–	–	–	x
Parents attend parent conference days	–	–	+	–	+	–[147]	x	+	+	+	+	x
Parents are informed about child's school performance	–	–	+	–	~	–	x	+	–	~	+	+
Parents/ siblings give homework/ study support[148]	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	~
Parents send child to school regularly[149]	+	+	~	+	+	~	–	~	–	+	+	+

The only positive assessment of the LAS case school comes from NEC[♂MON]'s mother who is a member of the school's parents' advisory body. All other parents are ambivalent at best as they all complain about the school's dangerous neighbourhood and questionable clientele even if they are satisfied with the teachers' work. References to the neighbourhood might not least be triggered by the parents' generally low level of information on the school itself; although several attend parent conference days (and monolingual parents more frequently than bilingual parents), they are often not able to account for their child's performance or school life in detail.

The only parent who mentions studying with her child is LAL[♀MON]'s mother (being the only case pupils' mother with a degree from eighth grade) who sometimes quizzes her daughter on lesson contents when asked to. Systematic homework or study support does not seem to occur in any of the families. On the other hand, it is quite conspicuous that the majority of the seventh-grade case pupils are attending courses in the local community centre (CAN[♀BIL], DER[♂BIL], LAL[♀MON], NEC[♂MON]), like theatre workshops and arts classes, but also tutoring courses for maths and English. GÖK[♂BIL] even takes a high school prep course in cram school. DIL[♀MON] has karate lessons and is a girl scout, and CAN[♀BIL], EGE[♂BIL] and KAM[♂MON] go to Koran school. Whether such activities happen on the parents', the children's or even the school's initiative can not be determined here. And though it is not safe to say that the extracurricular courses and lessons are always attended with sufficient regularity, it still seems that the community offers a well-utilised refuge for these severely underprivileged children who this way might possibly get a fighting chance.

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[146] + = yes; ~ = to some degree; – = no; x = not assessable.
[147] Note that EZG's older brother is said to attend parent conference days instead of the parents, which could not be verified.
[148] + = on a regular basis; ~ = occasionally; – = never
[149] + = more than 90%, ~ = more than 80%, – = lower than 80% of the witnessed school days.

Compared to the first grade, the interviewed parents of the seventh-graders send their children to school on a more regular basis although it should be mentioned that none of them was present in all LAS-witnessed lessons. As a tendency, bilingual parents seem to be a bit more prone to make their children attend school than monolingual ones. At the same time, most of the parents have quite high and rather unrealistic ambitions for their child's professional career, most of them probably not being sufficiently informed about what such careers would actually involve in terms of institutional education.

2.2.2 Summary of linguistic competences

2.2.2.1 Summary of the analyses of the text products in Turkish

2.2.2.1.1 Preliminaries

The three tests conducted in the seventh grade resulted in the same number of oral and written text products produced by the case pupils. The following table gives an overview of the number and the characteristics of the text products in Turkish:

Tab. III.2.12. 7th grade: Text products as outcomes of LAS Tests 1, 2,and 3

CPs	Tests	Text products (TPs)	Characteristics
KAM♂MON	1	1x oral +1x written	past event, self-experience, detailed, topich "cheating in class"
	2	1x written	two additional sentences
	3	2x written	instruction + picture, question/answer
NEC♂MON	1	1x oral, 1x written	past event, self-experience, not detailed
	2	-	identical to TP from Test I
	3	1x	loose verbal planning, picture
ALA♀MON	1	1xoral+1xwritten	past events, self-experience, "cheating in class", very detailed, a few story-lines
	2	written	no correction on Test I, additional part=highly evaluative
	3	written	picture + verbal elements, not evaluative
DIL♀MON	1	1x oral + 1xwritten	many past events, self-experiences
	2	1x written	not identical to Test I=differing linguistic structures
	3	1x written	highly evaluative
LAL♀MON	1	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, not detailed
	2	1x written	a lot of changes, more coherent
	3	1x written	instruction, no picture
YUS♂MON	1	2x	past event, self-experience, not detailed
	2	2x	additional evaluative units + additional short story
	3		problems on the syntactic level, short instructing part
EZG♀BIL	1	1x oral + 1x written	chain of past events, self-experiences "childhood", reporting style
	2	1x written	rewriting, a lot of changes and additions
	3	1x written	question/answer, picture
DER♂BIL	1	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "accident", not detailed
	2	1x written	three additional evaluating sentences
	3	1x written	short, morphological and syntactic errors, not evaluative
EGE♂BIL	1	1x oral + 1x written	past events, self-experiences, "fight", detailed
	2	1x written	additional story parts = 'diary entry'
	3	1x written	not detailed, no picture
CAN♀BIL	1	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "conflict in class", instances of loose verbal planning
	2	1x written	rewriting, more coherent, more explicit
	3	1x written	shorter than narratives, only instructions, no

			evaluations
AYS♀BIL	1	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "cheating in class", not detailed
	2	1x written	identical to the TP of Test I
	3	1x written	explicit, evaluative, no picture
GÖK♂BIL	1	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "fight", detailed
	2	1x written	three additional concluding sentences
	3	1x written	not explicit, no picture

Unlike some of the case pupils in the first grade, the pupils in the seventh grade produced all the required text products according to the given task. Formal differences concern the absolute criteria, the number of words and sentences in the narratives and in the instructive text product, and the production of pictures in Test 3. Nevertheless, to write a thoroughly planned text like the instructive text seems to be a bigger challenge for some of the case pupils.

Behaviour in the test situation

A non-cooperative attitude in the test situation is not the issue in the seventh grade. In contrast to the first-graders, the interaction in the test situation seemingly has no effect on the linguistic performance. However, some of the case pupils are more productive and willing to put more effort in verbalisation and explicitness in their narrations, like LAL♀MON, DIL♀MON, ALA♀MON and EGE♂BIL, as opposed to DER♂BIL and YUS♂MON.

2.2.2.1.2 Summary of the orate/ literate analyses of the text products in Turkish

The differing percentages of forms in the narratives and in the instructive TPs, brought together in the figures below, are applicable to all five analysed linguistic areas. This method, of course, results to some extent in unitising the scales and does not show the genre-dependent use of linguistic structures. Some of the pupils do tend towards the use of more literate forms in their instructive TPs, mostly those who are interpreting narration as a more interactive genre, relying on more orate than literate forms. Those pupils who do not narrate in detail and prefer a rather summarising style are less varying in their verbal planning in the instructive genre.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "complements form"

The results in this area reveal a high tendency towards the use of literate forms. Orate forms are most frequently used by one-third of the pupils, namely DIL♀MON, LAL♀MON, GÖK♂BIL and EGE♂BIL. Even in this group, the percentage of orate forms does not go beyond 20%.

Fig. III.2.17. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "complements form", T1, T2, T3
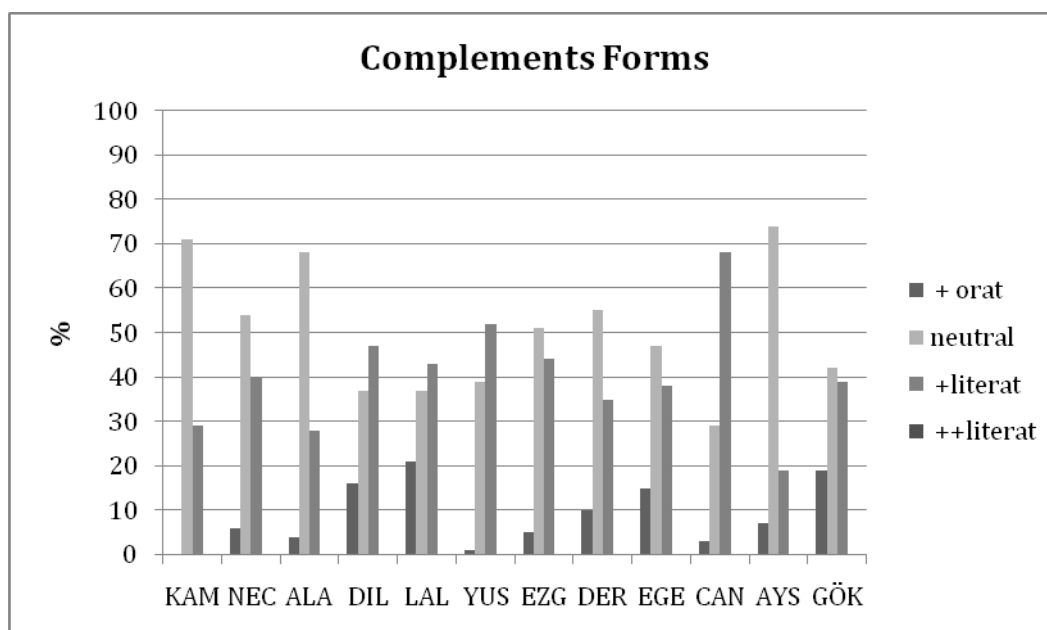
A second group employs nearly no orate forms but, a high percentage of neutral complements instead. KAM$^{\male MON}$, NEC$^{\male MON}$, ALA$^{\female MON}$ and AYS$^{\female BIL}$ belong to this group. In the TPs of GÖK$^{\male BIL}$ and EZG$^{\female BIL}$, the orate, neutral and literate forms are quite balanced, while a low percentage of orate forms is in EZG$^{\female BIL}$'s TPs more evident. In the case of AYS$^{\female BIL}$, the low number of absolute criteria, very short TPs in Test 1 and Test 2, are causing a low percentage of literate forms.

In this area, the pupils CAN$^{\female BIL}$ and YUS$^{\male MON}$, using the most often literate forms, are two interesting cases to compare. In case of CAN$^{\female BIL}$, the percentage of literate complements form is with 68% the highest as she improves in nearly every area throughout her TPs, and since the written TPs dominate in her case, the literate complements are highly employed. Also YUS$^{\male MON}$ prefers more literate structures to refer to referents, but his narratives are very short and do not reconstruct events in detail, thereby avoiding orate structures.

In sum, the results in this category have to be seen in relation to the degree of detailing in the narratives and the degree of changes made throughout the oral and the written TPs, meaning that those pupils producing short narratives in the oral versions do have a low percentage of orate structures, which does not necessarily point to high linguistic skills in this area.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "tense"

As for the employment of TAM-markers, the pupils show diverse patterns. These diverse patterns can be linked back to the narration style in the oral and written TPs.

Fig. III.2.18. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "tense", T1, T2, T3
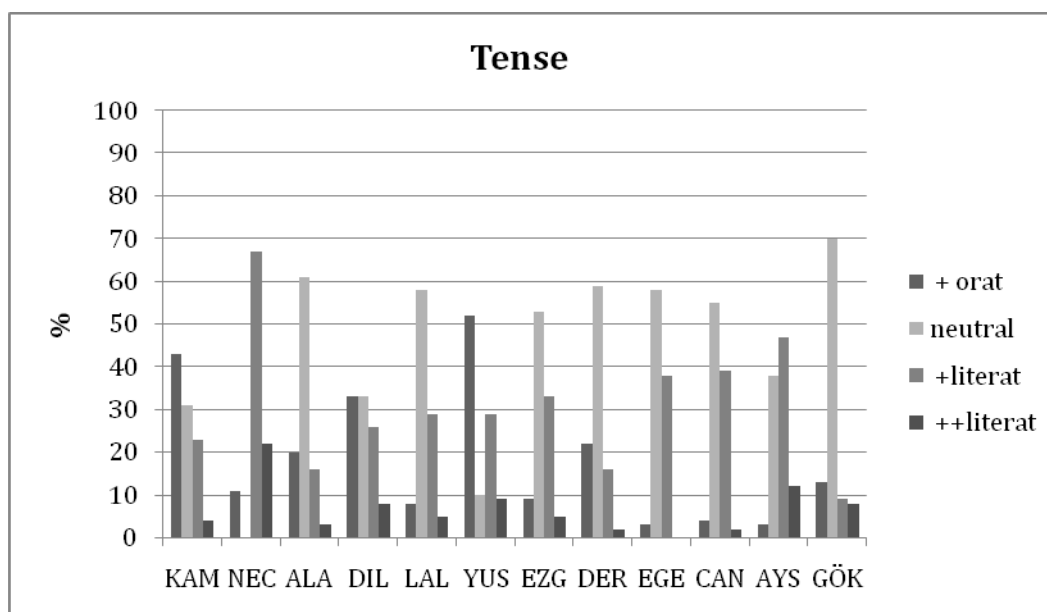
YUS$^{\male MON}$, for instance, is one of the pupils mostly relying on orate markings, these orate forms not only being IPFV markings, but also units that do not use any tense markings at all, like nominal phrases built via the existential form, which were also counted as orate forms. KAM$^{\male MON}$ and DIL$^{\female MON}$ are the other two pupils mostly employing orate tense forms. In their TPs, especially in the case of KAM$^{\male MON}$'s, the events are reconstructed as ongoing through the use of IPFV. He applies this narration style also to the written TPs, an explanation why the percentage of orate forms is over 40%. DIL$^{\female MON}$ is somewhat differing in her style as her information units are referring to habitual actions. The occurrence of +orate forms in her TPs, especially in the second written version (Test 2), is a result of the higher amount of evaluating speech acts not bearing any tense markings. Another pupil performing the narration in his own personal style is NEC$^{\male MON}$ who does not use any neutral markings, but refers to past events with PFV+PST.

LAL$^{\female MON}$, EGE$^{\male BIL}$, CAN$^{\female BIL}$ and GÖK$^{\male BIL}$ are forming a most balanced group of pupils. AYS$^{\female BIL}$ has to be considered the best of all the case pupils as she uses the most ++literate forms, especially in the instructive TP, indicating also a genre-adequate employment. As opposed to AYS$^{\female BIL}$, some other pupils maintain orate forms in their instructive TPs, causing an increase of orate forms in total, like, for example, in case of DIL$^{\female MON}$.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "structure"

In the category "structure", the degree of differences between the pupils is lower than in the previously examined category of tense. Neutral simple matrix clauses are dominant in the TPs of all pupils. The orate information units, depending on the face-to-face interaction with the investigator that were high in the first grade, are not relevant in the seventh grade,

at least there are no large side-sequences, but only a few answers of the pupils to requests for clarification on the part of the investigators.

Fig. III.2.19. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "structure", T1, T2, T3
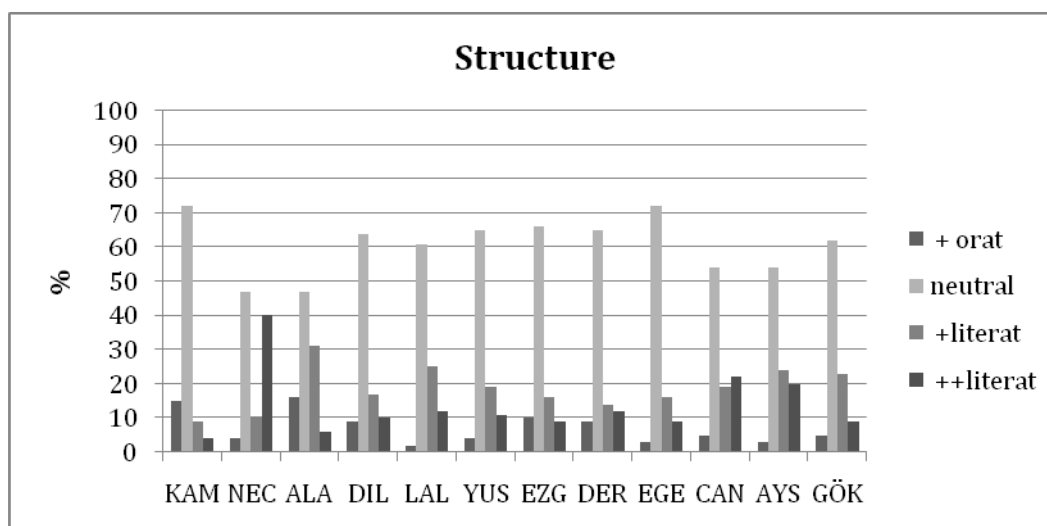
In all TPs of the case pupils KAM$^{\male MON}$, DIL$^{\female MON}$, LAL$^{\female MON}$, YUS$^{\male MON}$, EZG$^{\female BIL}$, EGE$^{\male BIL}$ and GÖK$^{\male BIL}$, orate, neutral and literate forms are similarly distributed with high percentages of neutral structures, which is why this group of pupils can be classified as showing average performances in the area of syntactic structuring. NEC$^{\male MON}$, ALA$^{\female MON}$, CAN$^{\female BIL}$ and AYS$^{\female BIL}$ display some deviations. NEC$^{\male MON}$ uses a high percentage of ++literate structures. This is due to the very low number of information units since he is not detailing his narration in Test 1 and is not making any additions or relevant changes in Test 2. The syntax used in the instructive TP, including various non-finite subordinated clauses, is causing the rise of literate structures. In the TPs of ALA$^{\female MON}$, the percentage of +literate structures is higher than in the TPs of any other pupil, which is obviously related to her style in the narratives, reconstructing interactive scenes by using direct speech units. The information units in her instructive TP do not cause a rise in ++literate forms because this TP is also organised as a rather interactive text, asking questions and then giving the answers via neutral or +literate forms, very often nominal phrases via existential. CAN$^{\female BIL}$ and AYS$^{\female BIL}$, on the other hand, do not tend towards detailing and are keeping this style also in the instructive TP, employing subordinated structures to a high degree. These two case pupils are to be considered the best-performing in the bilingual group, while LAL$^{\female MON}$ is the most capable in the monolingual group.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "connection"

The use of connecting devices is much more diverse than all other categories of analysis. Nevertheless, the individual pupils still employ these linguistic elements according to their own speaking or writing style.

Fig. III.2.20. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "connection", T1, T2, T3

Connection

%

100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0

KAM NEC ALA DIL LAL YUS EZG DER EGE CAN AYS GÖK

- + orat
- neutral
- +literat
- ++literat
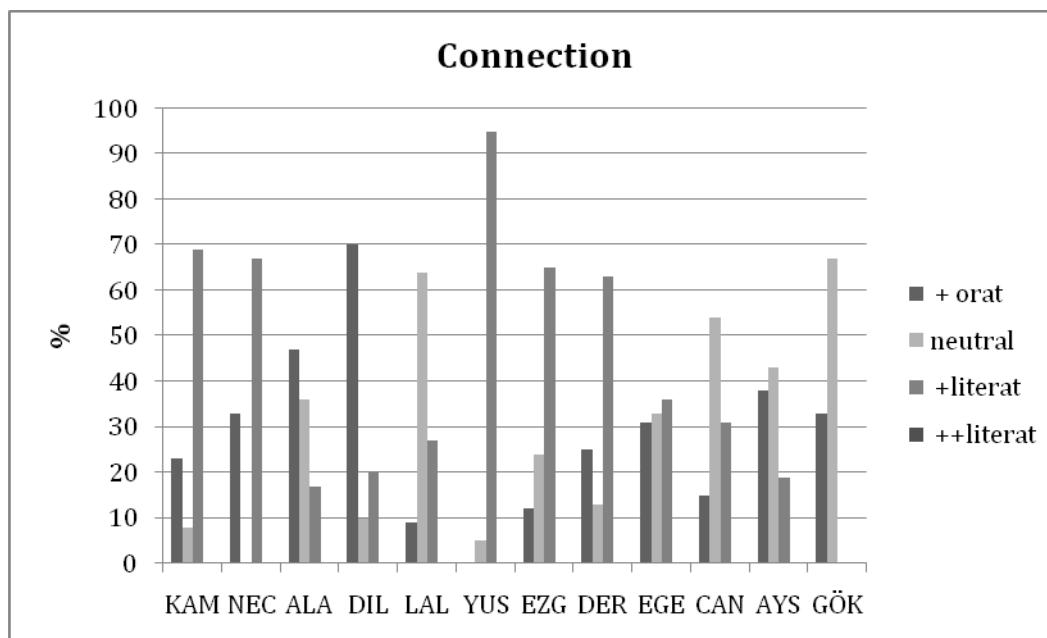
Connection in the TPs of KAM$^{\male MON}$, NEC$^{\male MON}$, EZG$^{\female BIL}$ and DER$^{\male BIL}$ is dominated by the use of +literate connectives; nearly 70% of these are connectives like *ama* ('but'). ALA$^{\female MON}$ and DIL$^{\female MON}$, with a high quantity of information units in their oral TPs, are relying more on orate connectives, mostly the focus particle. LAL$^{\female MON}$ and CAN$^{\female BIL}$ are two pupils with a similarly balanced distribution of orate, neutral and literate elements. Exceptions in this category are YUS$^{\male MON}$ and GÖK$^{\male BIL}$. YUS$^{\male MON}$ makes an interesting transition from his oral narrative to the written one by using the literate connector *ve* ('and') extensively, which increases the percentage of literate forms up to 95%. GÖK$^{\male BIL}$, on the other hand, does not use any kind of literate connectors, being less aware of the difference between spoken and written elaborate language use in this area.

In sum, neutral connectives are less often employed, while the connecting devices in the instructive TPs contain a higher number of literate elements. Neutral connectors like *önce* ('before/ first') and *sonra* ('then/ later') are important in the instructive TPs to signal the order of actions to be taken. The pupils who do not use many of those forms in their instructions are reaching a lower percentage of neutral connectives, like NEC$^{\male MON}$. Given this observation, the balanced use of forms like in CAN$^{\female BIL}$'s case indicates also a genre-adequate use of connecting devices.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "function"

The results in this category illustrate one important observation concerning genre specifics in the TPs of the seventh-graders: the absence of detailing in most of the pupils' narratives, especially the oral narrations being reports or summaries instead of scenic reconstructions.

A second important observation is the strong tendency towards evaluations. The additions pupils make to their written TPs in Test 2 are mostly evaluating comments on the topic. Since evaluations and instructions were classified as ++literate speech units, the percentage of these forms is very high in this category.

Fig. III.2.21. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "function", T1, T2, T3
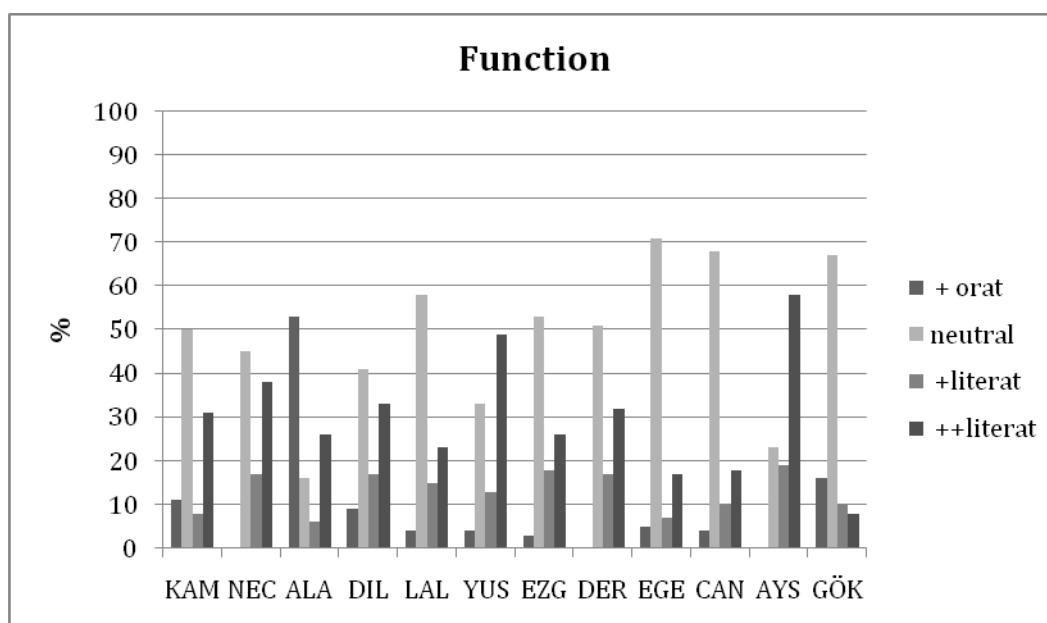
As it can be seen in Figure III.2.21 above, ALA$^{\female MON}$ is an exceptional case, overtly going into detail in her narratives, which, consequently, results in a high percentage of orate units. NEC$^{\male MON}$, DER$^{\male BIL}$ and AYS$^{\female BIL}$ are the three other extremes, having no orate speech units in their TPs. Given the overall performance of the pupils, it can be assumed that the absence of detailing in the cases of NEC$^{\male MON}$ and DER$^{\male BIL}$ might be due to a low motivation in doing the task. In the case of AYS$^{\female BIL}$, it is surely her individual understanding of an adequate solution for the task, also visible in the form of the very high percentage of ++literate units.

Summing up the orate-literate analyses, we see that only pupil with clear linguistic problems, ALA$^{\female MON}$, was observed in the area of complements. Tense markings of bilinguals do not differ from those of monolinguals. In both groups, TAM-marking depends on the pupils' interpretation of genre specifics. In syntax, neutral forms are dominant. However, a closer comparison of the narrative and instructive genre reveals a tendency towards the use of more complex syntax, combined matrix clauses, and chains of subordinated clauses in the instructive TPs. However, not all of the pupils are able to manage those complex structures that they seem to interpret as a genre requirement. Especially some bilinguals have their difficulties in this area, like GÖK$^{\male BIL}$. Connectivity, in contrast to the first grade, is accomplished through literate connectors. Neutral connectives, like temporal adverbs, are less important because the pupils are not narrating in the same style, putting events in a temporal order, but are mostly using an evaluative style and thus literate connectors like *ama* ('but'), *ve* ('and'), and *çünkü* ('because'). The

evaluative style, a high percentage of ++literate information units, might be the result of the pupils' experience with the genre *kompozisyon* ('composition'). The genre knowledge about those texts used outside of the school, instructions for instance, seems to be on a lower level as nearly all of the pupils add personal components to the topic in their instructive TPs, some also applying evaluative style to the instruction, performing the composition style they are used to.

In the bilingual group, it seems as if there were a difference between sexes in nearly every linguistic area in both languages. On the phonetic level, for instance, the female pupils are not showing characteristics of Kurmanjî phonation; for the male group, pronouncing Turkish with Kurmanjî influence, speaking may less be perceived as to be adapted to the institutional context.

2.2.2.1.3 Summary of the orthography analyses of the text products in Turkish

The basis of the orthographical analysis of the seventh-graders' texts is formed by a total of 34 texts written by the twelve case pupils during the school year. Most of the case pupils produced a text in all three tests, only two (AYS$^{♀BIL}$, NEC$^{♂MON}$) did not add any text in the second test (editing).

We first consider the length and the overall error ratios before we deal with the phonographic, logographic and text levels of orthography.

As for **length**, we will only consider the first (narrative) and the third (instruction for use) test and do not include the second test because here, the case pupils were not asked to produce a text, but to edit a text they had already written.

In the first test, the case pupils produced texts that vary in length between 29 words/ 4 sentences (AYS$^{♀BIL}$) and 138 words/ 28 sentences (EGE$^{♂BIL}$), with the average being 68.5 words/ 14.5 sentences. The mean length of the sentences in the narrative texts is 5.3 words per sentence. In the third test, the case pupils produced texts that vary in length between 47 words/ 5 sentences (GÖK$^{♂BIL}$) and 187 words/ 22 sentences (AYS$^{♀BIL}$), the average being 100.2 words / 15.7 sentences. Thus, on average, the instructional texts are longer than the narrative texts, and also the average of sentence length is longer in the instructional texts (7.4 words per sentence, versus 5.3 in the narrative texts). Note that the length of the text is not a persistent category amongst the case pupils: While on average, the narrative texts are 38 words/ 38% shorter than the instructional texts, EGE$^{♂BIL}$, KAM$^{♂MON}$, GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ and ALA$^{♀MON}$ write narratives longer than the instructional texts, and NEC$^{♂MON}$, DER$^{♂BIL}$ and AYS$^{♀BIL}$ more than double the length of their texts between the first and the third test.

As for **orthographic errors**, we consider all three tests. The total average error ratio (percentage of error per word) is 21.64[150]. On average, it looks as if the case pupils score better as the school year proceeds, i.e. the ratio is 26.38% in the first, 23.36 in the second, and 15.18 in the third test. Figure III.2.22 shows that individual differences between the case pupils are considerable high, i.e. between 3.45% (AYS$^{♀BIL}$, Test 1) and 77.42% (DER$^{♂BIL}$, Test 1). The figure also shows that the improvement goes for nearly all case

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[150] Miscellaneous errors are not counted here.

pupils (except for LAL$^{♀MON}$ and AYS$^{♀BIL}$ who are good anyway), though to different extents:

Fig. III.2.22. 7th grade: Orthographic analysis, errors in %, T1, T2, T3
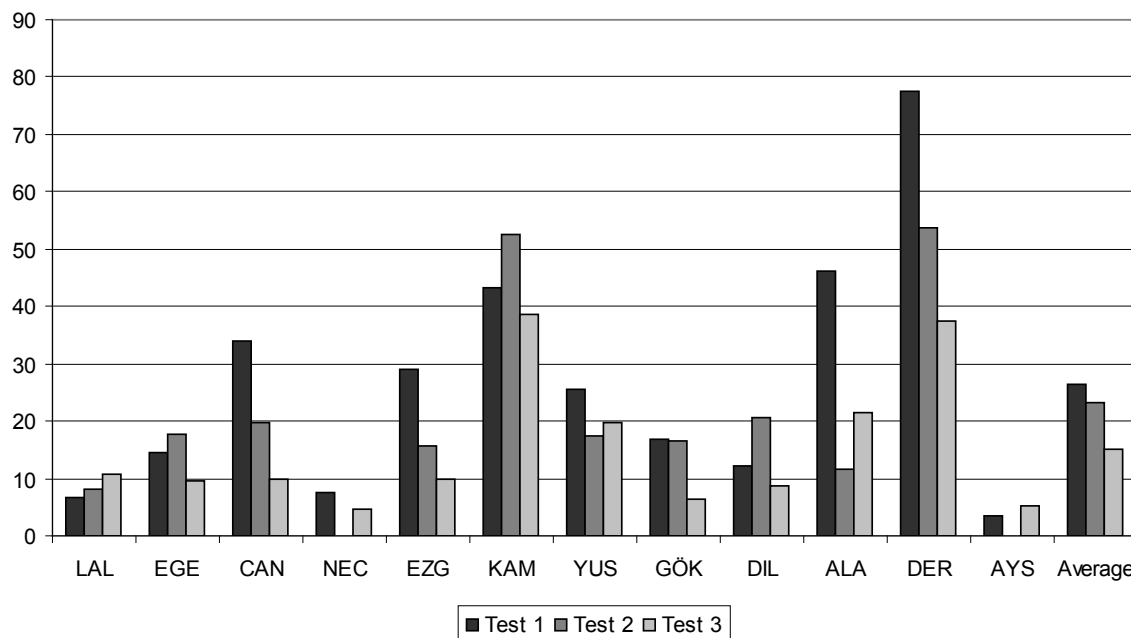
Turning to percentages of errors on the different levels (phonographic level, logographic level, textual level), whereby 100% is the total of errors in the total of texts, the following general picture emerges:

Fig. III.2.23. 7th grade: Orthographic analysis, all case pupils, errors in % of total errors, all tests
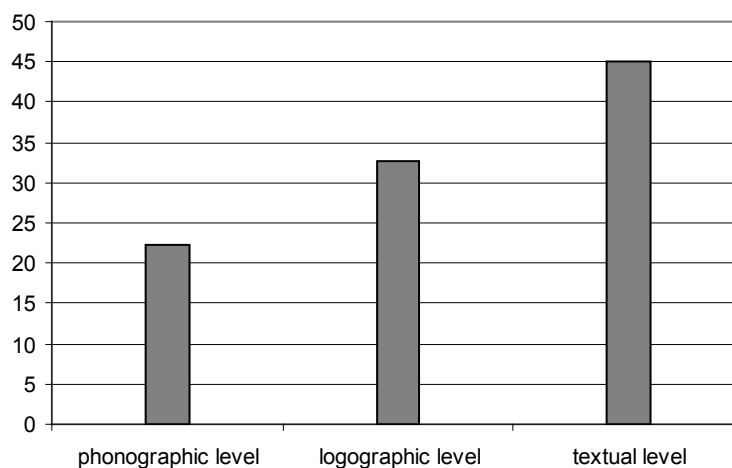
This means that the textual level of orthography, i.e. punctuation, capital writing at sentence beginning, segmentation at the end of the line (see Chapter II.2.2.2.2), is, on average, the most problematic level of orthography for the seventh-graders, followed by the logographic level, and the phonographic level. This hierarchy persists when we distinguish between the tests even though the proportional relation changes, i.e. the high proportion of errors on the textual level decreases (to be discussed below):

Fig. III.2.24. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orthographic analysis, all case pupils, errors in % of total errors, T1, T2, T3
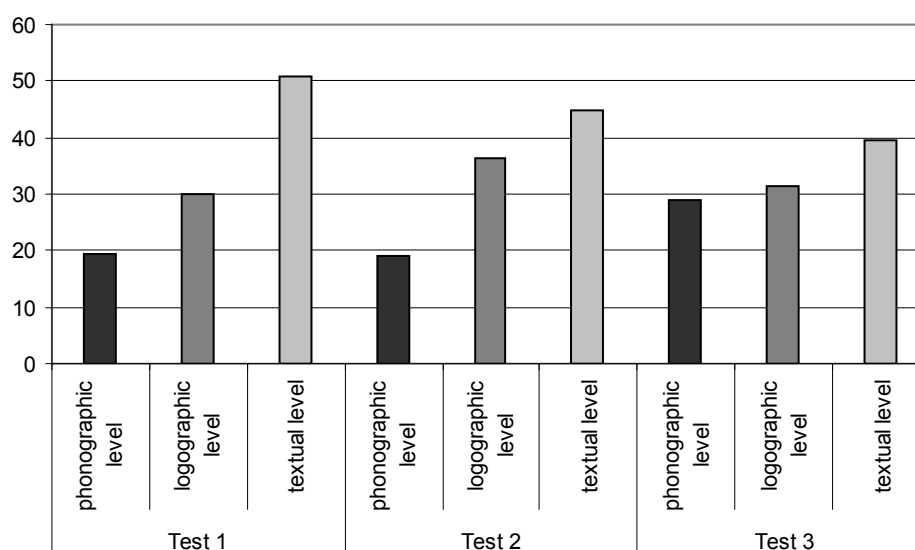
On the **phonographic level**, the main source of errors concerns the orthographic representation of systematic assimilations and reductions from speech in orthography, and the representation of loan words – that is, phonographic versus orthographic spelling: Out of a total of 120 errors on the phonographic level, 98 belong to these categories, the others concern <ğ> (6) and miscellaneous errors (16), most of which seem to be concentration lapses. However, it is remarkable that the orthographem <ğ> is but a minor source of orthographic errors, contrary to the first-graders' spellings: Out of a total of 161 instances that necessitate <ğ>, it is not used only in six cases (EZG♀BIL (2), ALA♀MON (1), DER♂BIL (2), AYS♀BIL (1)), and all of the case pupils who make errors here use it correctly on other occasions. Also the glide <y> is always used where it should be.

The overall improvement of the error ratio that we noted above is also true for the phonographic level alone, as can be seen in Figure III.2.25 below:

Fig. III.2.25. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orthographic analysis, error ratio on the phonographic level in %, T1, T2, T3
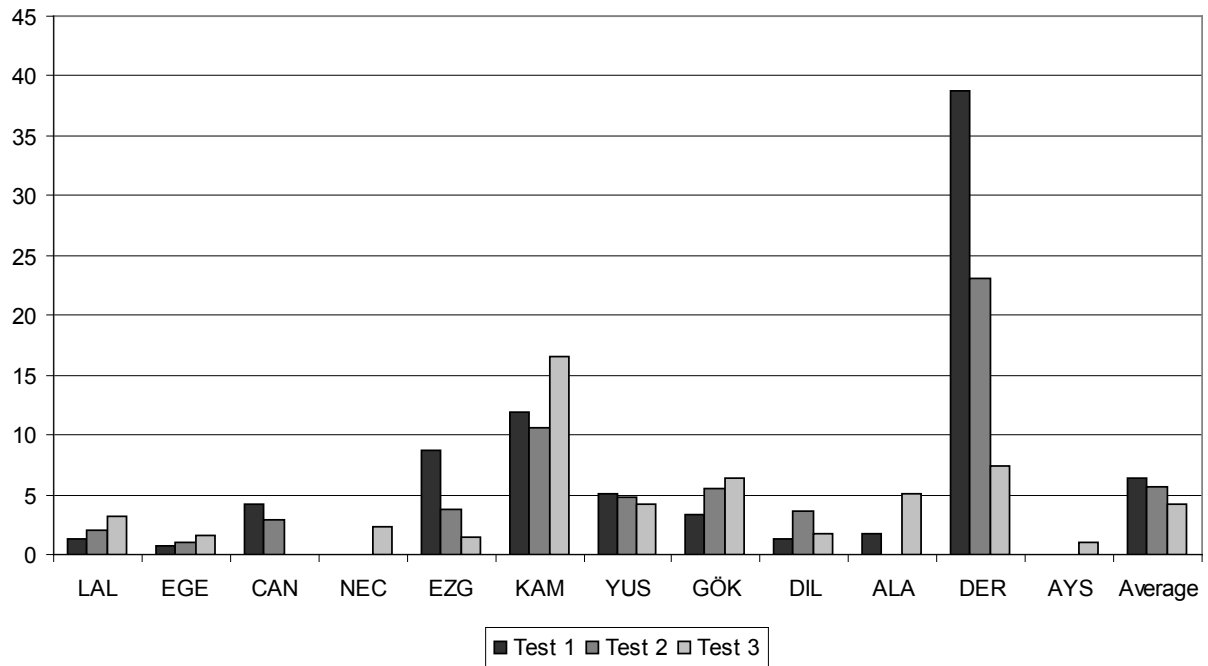
Individual error ratios of the case pupils show considerable differences on this level, i.e. they range between 0 (NEC♂ᴹᴼᴺ, AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ, Test 1, ALA♀ᴹᴼᴺ, Test 2) and 38% (DER♂ᴮᴵᴸ, Test 1). However, the figure also shows that the average improvement is very much due to a few case pupils who improve considerably (CAN♀ᴮᴵᴸ, EZG♀ᴮᴵᴸ, DER♂ᴮᴵᴸ), while the majority remains the same or gets slightly worse.

On the **logographic level**, the main source of errors is the (incorrect) closed spelling of clitics, the (incorrect) closed spelling of univerbal function words consisting of two elements, and the (incorrect) employment of the capital letter with words that are not names proper. The error ratio drops significantly:

Fig. III.2.26. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orthographic analysis, error ratio on the logographic level in %, T1, T2, T3
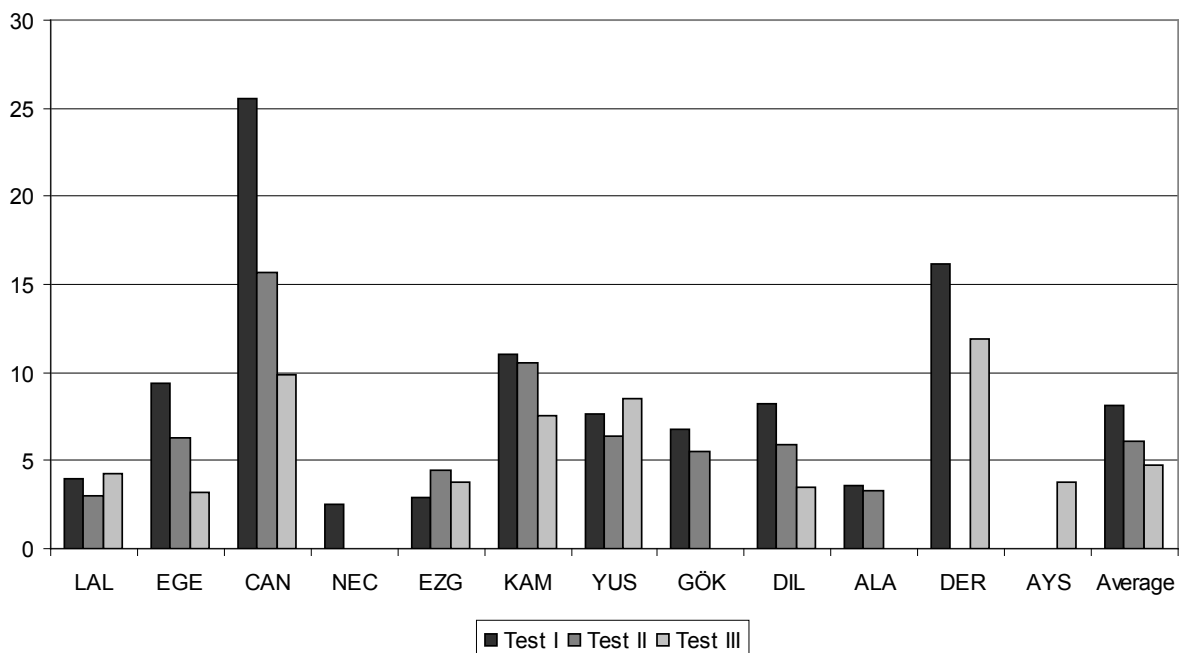
Again, individual error ratios of the case pupils vary considerably, i.e. they range between 0 (AYS♀BIL, Test 1, DER♂BIL, Test 2, ALA♀MON, GÖK♂BIL, NEC♂MON, Test 3) and 25% (CAN♀BIL, Test 1).

However, the overall improvement of the error ratio cannot be regarded an improvement of orthographic competences on the logographic level throughout the year. While the narrative character of the texts from Test 1 triggers a more frequent employment of clitics and function words, in Test 2, the case pupils rather commented on their narration, and Test 3 induced a different type of textual structure where univerbal function words and clitics simply dropped down in numbers. The relation between correct and incorrect spellings with univerbal function words and with clitics rather gets worse from test to test:

Tab. III.2.13. 7th grade: Orthographic analysis, spelling of function words

All CPs	Test 1	Test 2	Test 3
Total N of compound function word	21	8	8
N and % of correct open spelling	10 (48%)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)

Tab. III.2.15. 7th grade: Orthographic analysis, spelling of clitics

All CPs	Test 1	Test 2	Test 3
Total N of clitics	35	23	21
N and % of correct open spelling	8 (23%)	7 (30%)	4 (19%)

The only area where we do, in fact, find an improvement that is independent of the text type is that of the employment of capital letters with forms other than names proper, which drops down from 14 (Test 1) over 9 (Test 2) to 8 (Test 3) error instances, in numbers.

Thus, there is not much of an improvement on the logographic level, only the main error sources themselves decrease in significance.

On the **level of text structure**, the error ratio again drops considerably:

Fig. III.2.27. 7ʰ grade: Orthographic analysis, error ratio on the textual level (in %), T1, T2, T3
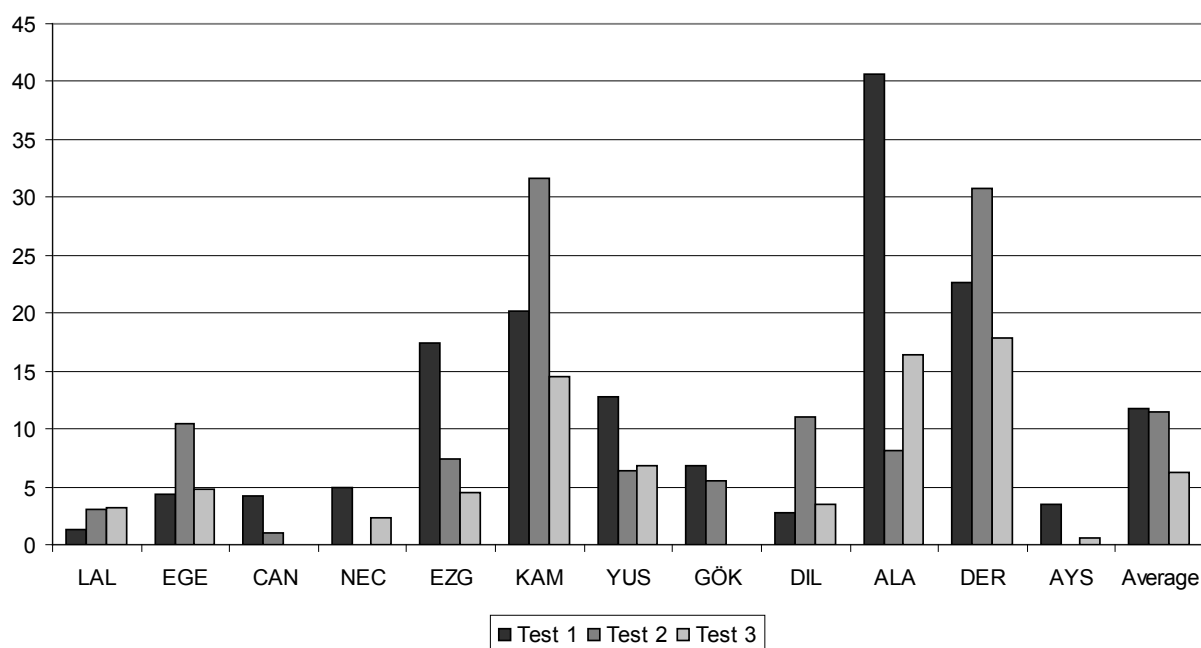
Individual error ratios of the case pupils again show considerable differences on this level, i.e. they range between 0 (CAN♀ᴮᴵᴸ, GÖK♂ᴮᴵᴸ, Test 3) and 40% (ALA♀ᴹᴼᴺ, Test 1) The figure above also shows that the improvement on the textual level goes for all pupils individually, except for DIL♀ᴹᴼᴺ, EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ and LAL♀ᴹᴼᴺ, of whom ratios more or less remain the same or get minimally worse.

The main source of errors clearly is the employment of the full stop or another marker that indicates the syntactic sentence. Out of a total of 242 errors on the textual level, 170 belong to this category, while the rest concerns the employment of the comma as an in-sentence device (coordination or other), other non-sentential punctuation marks like <-> and <()>, segmentation and the employment of the capital letter at sentence beginning. Table III.2.14 below shows that the improvement in the error ratio on the textual level is paralleled by the punctuation ratio:

Tab. III.2.14. 7ʰ grade: Orthographic analysis, punctuation: sentence marking (full stop, comma, other)

All CPs	Test 1	Test 2	Test 3
N and % of correct punctuation	128 (61%)	96 (69%)	145 (76%)
Total of environments	211	140	192

Again, like with the error ratio on the logographic level, it is not quite clear whether the apparent improvement really means that the case pupils' analytical skills on the level of text structure are getting better, or whether the specific text type emerging from the different tests is responsible for this. The narrative structure triggered in Test 1 has many same-subject actions closely following up, where syntactically, each has to be counted as a

sentence (and thus requires a marker), while pragmatically, we can speak of tightly interwoven units. See an example from KAM$^{♂\text{MON}}$:

```
*TXT:          baktım <#> herkes kopya çıkartıyor.
*eng: I looked <,/;/.> everybody was taking copies
```

A prosodic curve would indicate the conflation of the two syntactic sentences into one utterance since there are two fully fledged sentences. In the written representation, a full stop or a comma has to be inserted between *baktım* ('I looked') and the following sentence *herkes kopya çıkartıyor* ('everybody is taking copies'). These types of punctuation errors are frequent in the structures triggered by Test 1, but they are less frequent in structures as caused by Test 3. And as for Test 2, it might be that the concentration on the task asked of the pupils, i.e. editing the story, leads them to neglect that part of orthography where they are most insecure, i.e. punctuation. Thus, what looks like an improvement here might be an outcome of the different test tasks.

In sum, we may say that in the orthographic analysis, four groups emerge, i.e. the group of the "problematic" case pupils, to which KAM$^{♂\text{MON}}$ and DER$^{♂\text{BIL}}$ belong, who score problematic results on all levels; the group of medium-achieving case pupils, EZG$^{♀\text{BIL}}$ and YUS$^{♂\text{MON}}$ who have medium scores on some levels and problematic scores on others; the group of the abobe-medium case pupils, GÖK$^{♂\text{BIL}}$, DIL$^{♀\text{MON}}$ and EGE$^{♂\text{BIL}}$, who show medium and high results on the different levels; and the group of AYS$^{♀\text{BIL}}$, NEC$^{♂\text{MON}}$ and LAL$^{♀\text{MON}}$, who are located in the upper third of all levels. The span between the group of the problematic and the group of the best pupils is extremely wide in terms of error ratios. It is not quite clear where to put ALA$^{♀\text{MON}}$ and CAN$^{♀\text{BIL}}$. ALA$^{♀\text{MON}}$ struggles a lot with punctuation, but is medium and better on the other two levels, and CAN$^{♀\text{BIL}}$'s problems with the employment of the capital letter lead to a poor score on the logographic level, while otherwise she is average (phonographic level) or above average (textual level).

The figures suggest an improvement, both on the general as well as on the individual level of most of the pupils. However, it is not clear whether this can be interpreted as a positive development throughout the school year, as the text types elicited in Tests 1 and 3 pose different orthographic challenges.

Problems that persist are the representation of reductions and assimilations of speech, i.e. orthographic versus phonological writing on the phonographic level, the open spelling of clitics and compound function words on the logographic level, and the neglect of punctuation.

2.2.2.1.4 Preliminary concluding remarks on orate-literate and orthographic analyses

The connection between literate competences in terms of linguistic forms and orthographic competences appears as "semi-tight" with the first-graders, but it seems to be (even) looser with the seventh-graders: While on the one hand AYS$^{♀\text{BIL}}$ is successul in both domains, case pupils like KAM$^{♂\text{MON}}$, DER$^{♂\text{BIL}}$ and YUS$^{♂\text{MON}}$, who clearly struggle with orthography, do not show any particular problematic outcomes in the orate-literate analysis. And pupils like GÖK$^{♂\text{BIL}}$ and ALA$^{♀\text{MON}}$, who give a medium (though inconsistent)

orthographic performance, are rather below average in the orate-literate scores. Thus, the analytical potential of orthography seems to be put aside.

2.2.2.2 Summaries of the analyses of the text products in Kurmanjî

2.2.2.2.1 Preliminaries

All of the bilingual case pupils took part in the Kurmanjî test. Only the test of eliciting an instructive text could not be conducted. The narratives the case pupils have produced are an oral and a written TP:

Tab. III.2.15. 7th grade: Text products as outcomes of the LAS test Kurmanjî

CPs	TPs	Characteristics
EZG♀BIL	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "cheating in class", topic not identical to the TPs in Turkish
DER♂BIL	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "football match", not detailed, topic not identical to the TPs in Turkish
EGE♂BIL	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "fighting scene", written TP not as explicit as in the Turkish TP from Test II
CAN♀BIL	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "quarrel with friends", detailed, topic not identical to the TPs in Turkish
AYS♀BIL	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "cheating in class", quantity higher than in the TPs in Turkish, topic not identical to the TPs in Turkish
GÖK♂BIL	1x oral + 1x written	past event, self-experience, "find and give back money", detailed, topic not identical to the TPs in Turkish

In most of the pupils' TPs, the topic is identical with the one verbalised in the tests in Turkish. In the TPs of AYS♀BIL, for instance, the general issue is the same, namely "cheating in class", but the narrated self-experience is different. In the case of EGE♂BIL, the same story is narrated, but with remarkable additions, like the background information that he was involved in a fight because he had been insulted for "being a Kurd".

In the test recordings in the Kurmanjî tests, the pupils are first somehow unsure about what to narrate. Therefore, the sequences at the beginning of the recordings are concentrating on the explanation of the task by the investigator. In most instances, the investigator tells the pupils to narrate an event they could not forget, being the instruction for the oral narrative, and to write about the same incident using "composition style".

Behaviour in the test situation

Despite taking on a cooperative attitude, some pupils are somehow irritated at the beginning of the interaction with the investigator in Kurmanjî. CAN♀BIL, for example, is more reluctant when asked to speak Kurmanjî. EZG♀BIL does not explicitly show any discomfort but, she is the one mostly relying on the strategy of code-switching.

DER♂BIL, EGE♂BIL and GÖK♂BIL are obviously the pupils with bilingual phonetic characteristics, which might mean that they are practicing Kurmanjî in their everyday interactions.

Most significant is the reaction of some of the bilingual pupils to the request of the investigator to speak Kurmanjî. Interesting, for instance, is the very astonished reaction of EGE$^{♂BIL}$.

2.2.2.2.2 Summary of the orate/ literate analyses of the text products in Kurmanjî

The results of the Kurmanjî test confirm that the performance of some pupils is not depending on the language of production. DER$^{♂BIL}$ and GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ produce in both languages rather short TPs.

Interestingly, AYS$^{♀BIL}$, being extremely to the point and not specifying in the Turkish text products, uses information units extended via direct speech.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "comlements form"

In the area of complements form, CAN$^{♀BIL}$ shows the most balanced results, using more neutral forms also in the oral TP. The other TPs less balanced, relying on orate deictic references in their oral and written TPs.

Fig. III.2.28. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "complements form", Kurmanjî test
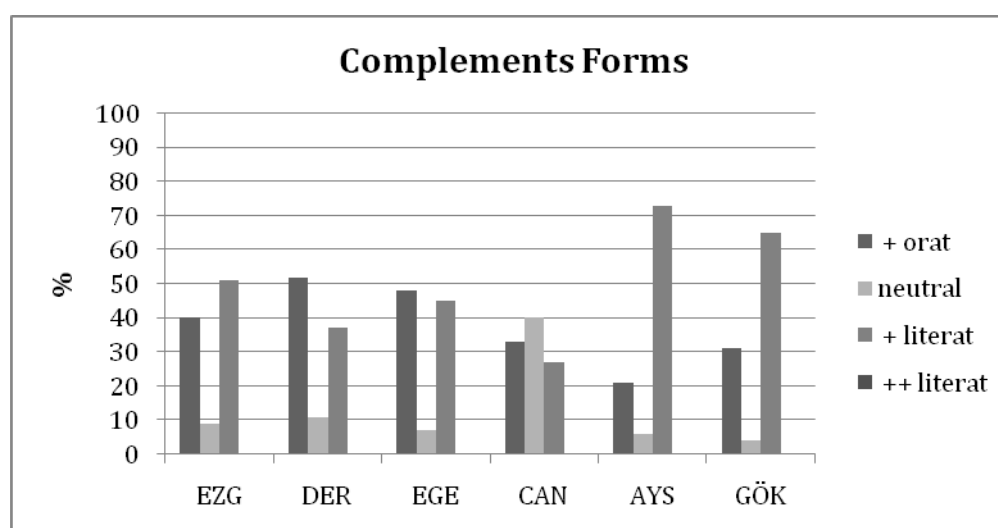
AYS$^{♀BIL}$ and GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ form another group that employs correct indefinite nominal phrases to introduce referents. Also in their uptakes and back-references, literate forms dominate.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "tense"

The results in the category "tense" show nearly no variations, with over 70% neutral simple past markings, as it was already observed in the monolingual TPs of the first grade. When variations are made, they only concern the variation between DUR and simple past tense markings.

Fig. III.2.29. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "tense", Kurmanjî test
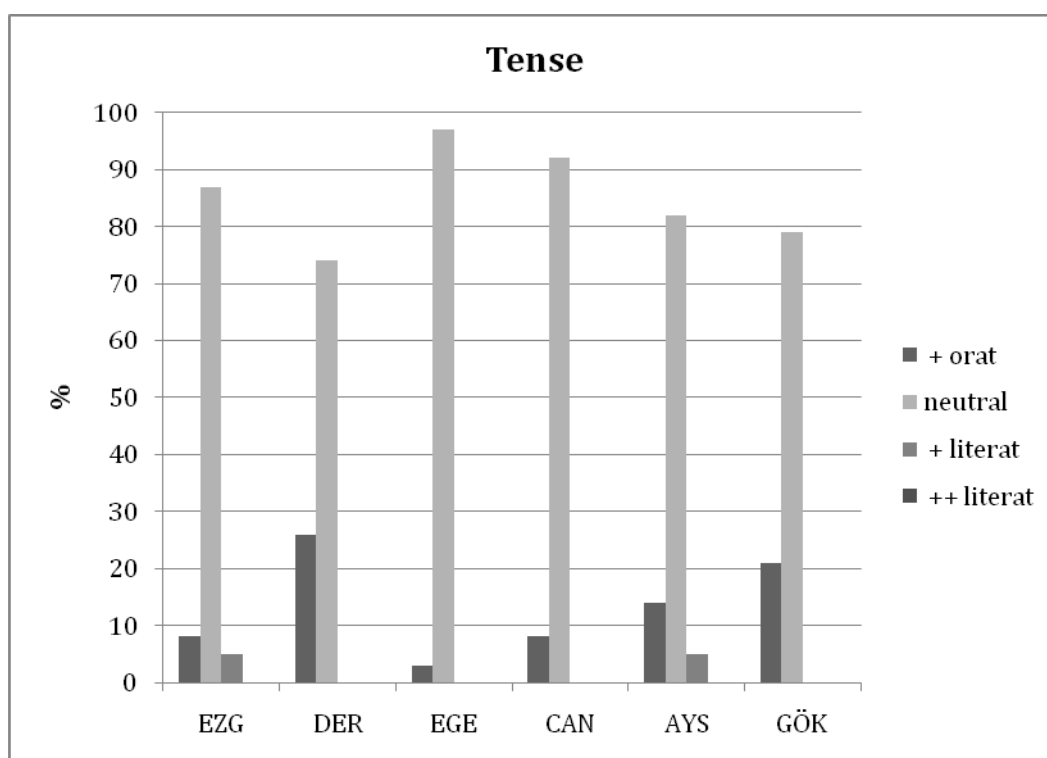
EZG♀ᴮᴵᴸ and AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ prove to be more skilled in this area as they do not only vary between DUR and simple past, but also use literate forms including, for instance, the subjunctive forms. EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ varies the least and employs the most neutral forms of all bilingual case pupils, either simple past or past perfect. The neutral forms, in contrast to Turkish TAM-markings, also include the existential forms, being combined with the simple past in Kurmanjî to refer to past experiences.

As far as genre adequacy is concerned, the pupils do not show any deficiencies, being able to take a specific perspective on events by using DUR in the introductive units and other orate markings, like present tense in interactive units, or past perfect within the chain of events to refer to background information.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "structure"

Although low in percentage, in contrast to the first grade, subordinated ++literate structures do occur in the TPs of the seventh grade bilinguals. Nevertheless, the syntax is highly neutral, in every case higher than 60%, namely matrix clauses with a finite verb, verb final word order and units expended via direct/ reported speech. Similar to the language use of the first-graders is the absence of ++literate ergative constructions.

Fig. III.2.30. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "structure", Kurmanjî test
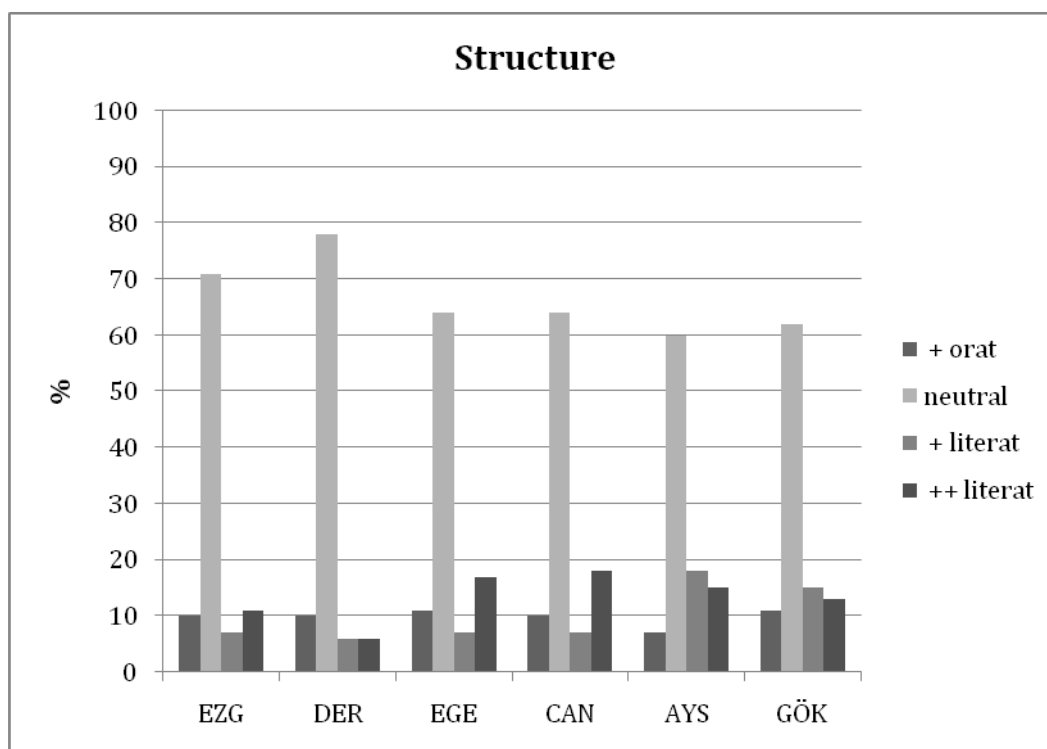
The percentage of the ++literate syntactic elements is higher in the TPs of EGE$^{♂BIL}$, CAN$^{♀BIL}$, AYS$^{♀BIL}$ and GÖK$^{♂BIL}$. The rest of the pupils' TPs show a lower degree of +literate and ++literate syntactic structures. Like in the previously summarised analysis of complements form and tense markings, DER$^{♂BIL}$ is also in the category of syntax the least advanced bilingual pupil.

In some cases, syntax is getting remarkably more complex in the written TPs, while being less complex in the oral verbalisations. This does not apply to DER$^{♂BIL}$'s TPs, but it is most evident in the TPs of AYS$^{♀BIL}$ and CAN$^{♀BIL}$. Similar observations were made in AYS$^{♀BIL}$'s Turkish TPs.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "connection"

Apart from the fact that the case pupils' language skills are differing in the other four analysed categories, their use of connectives points to a high level of linguistic knowledge in Kurmanjî. However, also in this area, the pupils can be put into different groups according to their abilities.

Fig. III.2.31. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "connection", Kurmanjî test
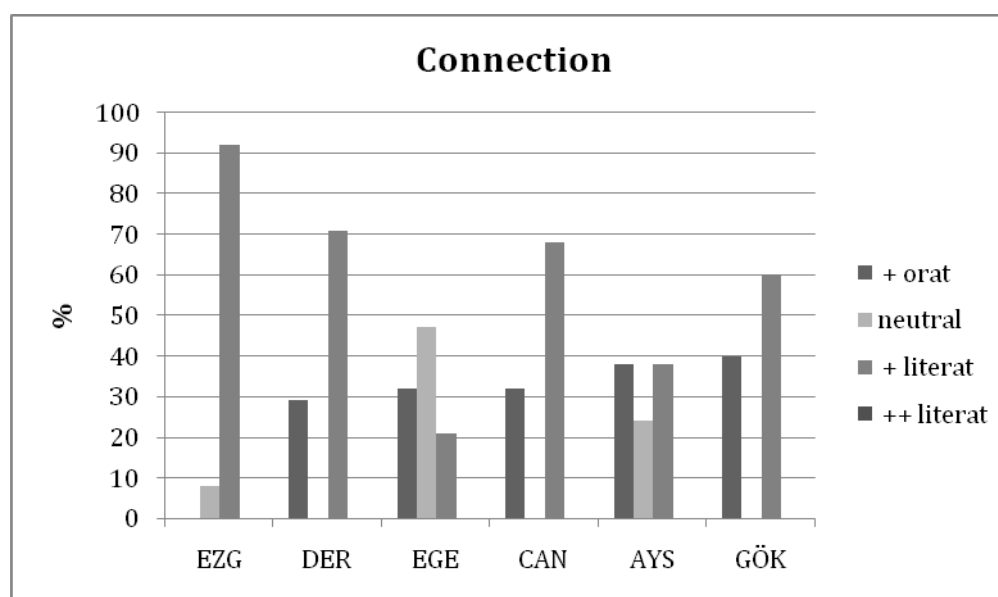
The two pupils who perform their narration more explicitly are using neutral temporal adverbs in the chaining of events, namely EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ and AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ. EZG♀ᴮᴵᴸ seems to be the best performer as she uses more than 90% literate forms. But when the ability to vary between forms and to employ them according to the context is taken into account, EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ produces the best TP in this area.

As opposed to the first-graders in terms of the use of coordinative elements, the coordinating conjunct *û* ('and') and the subordinating conjunct *kû* ('that') are seemingly equally distributed in the oral and the written text products, which can be taken as an indication of a higher acquisition level.

Orate/ literate forms in the category "function"

In the category "function", there is one very important result that is telling in terms of genre knowledge and linguistic skills to perform the specific genre requirements: The percentage of ++literate evaluative units is very low compared to the pupils' tendency towards an evaluative narrating style in the Turkish narratives. Only three of the six bilingual case pupils are able to evaluate the topic of their narrations, namely EZG♀ᴮᴵᴸ, EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ and AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ.

Fig. III.2.32. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orate-literate analysis in the category "function", Kurmanjî test
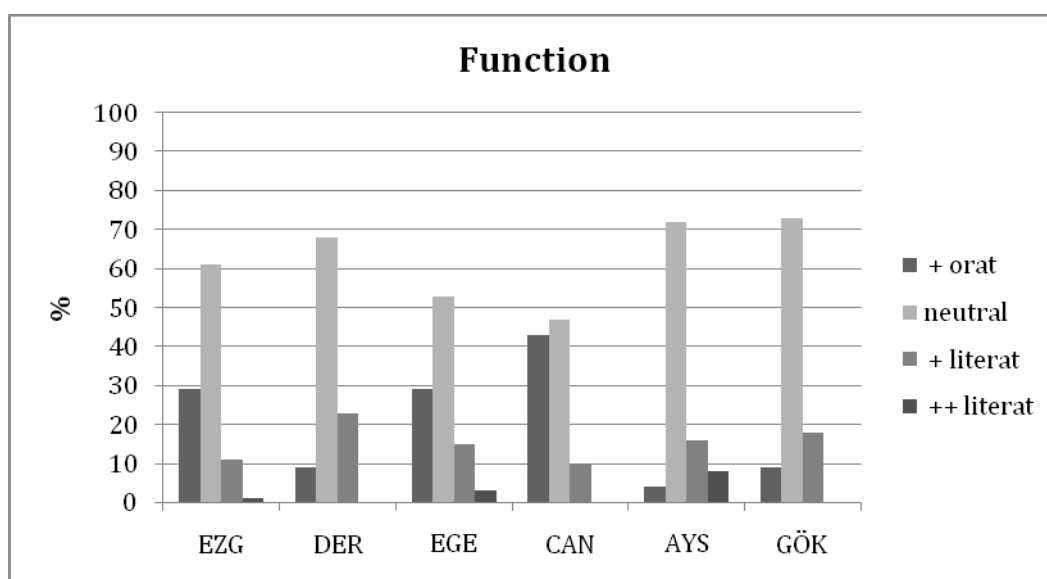
The orate units in CAN♀ᴮᴵᴸ's TPs are high in percentage due to the employment of detailing units via direct speech. EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ and EZG♀ᴮᴵᴸ display a similar style, but in comparison to CAN♀ᴮᴵᴸ, the orate units are only dominant in their oral TPs.

Given these results, AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ is the most advanced pupil in producing a written and oral narrative according to genre specifics, followed by DER♂ᴮᴵᴸ and GÖK♂ᴮᴵᴸ. AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ's case is more special because she even manages to write evaluative units.

Language resources of Turkish used in the Kurmanjî text products

Turkish language resources are in every case of the bilingual pupils involved to a differing degree; more explicitly, there are pupils making extensive use of some elements and do not use others. This applies to word classes on the one hand, and to morphological elements on the other hand.

CAN♀ᴮᴵᴸ, for example, relies the least on Turkish verbal and nominal stems, but she uses only once the mixed morphology (Tr.stem+PFV+Kr.verb=do). EZG♀ᴮᴵᴸ shows a preference for Turkish particles, being discursive elements she uses in her oral text product. AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ employs the most Turkish elements, either stems or suffixes, including also ADJZs and NMLZs, which the rest of the pupils do not use. GÖK♂ᴮᴵᴸ uses the most nominal stems. His knowledge of Kurmanjî morphology seems to be on a high level. The occurrence of only two Turkish suffixes may be taken as an indication of this assessment.

Fig. III.2.33. 7ᵗʰ grade: Language sources, Kurmanjî test
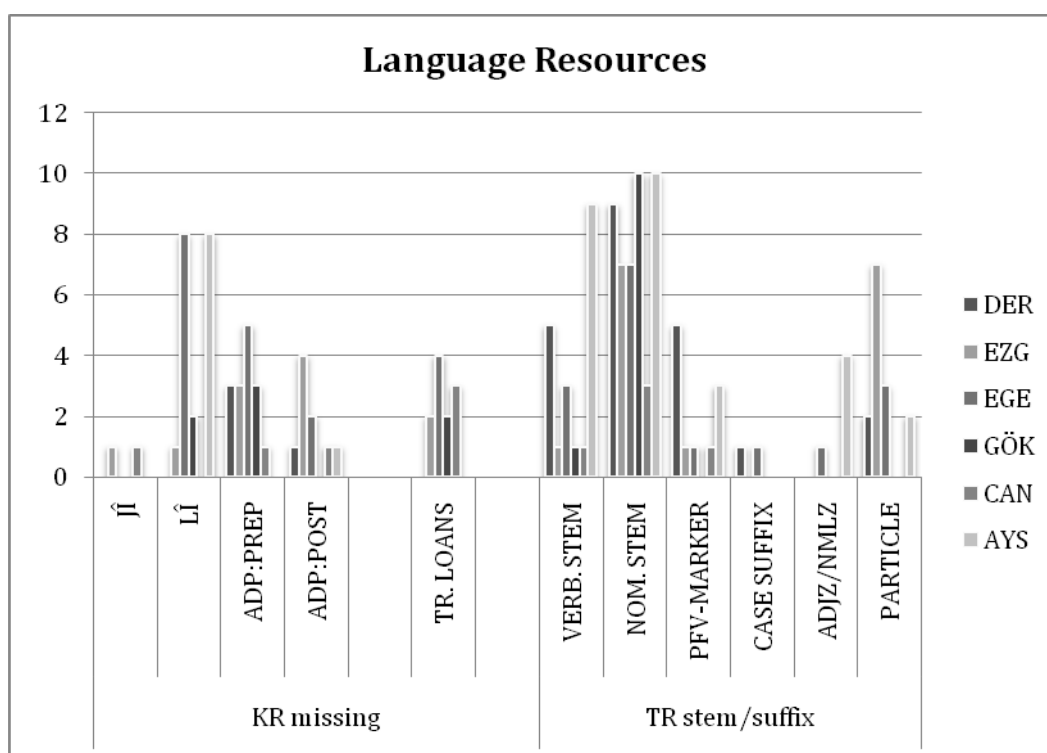
As for the missing Kurmanjî morphological elements, EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ and AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ seem to be the worst cases, leaving out the most prepositions and adpositions, namely the prepositions *ji* ('from') and *lî* ('at/ in/ on'). A fact that cannot be accounted for in the analysis is that *ji* is dropped more often than *lî*.

EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ and AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ both also make a similar use of Turkish loans. However, the number of occurrences of Turkish loans is very low in the TPs of the whole group. This might be considered a sign of an adequate lexicon in Kurmanjî.

In sum, the strategy to compensate a lack of linguistic knowledge in Kurmanjî via the use of Turkish elements is maintained in the written products. The code-switching in the face-to-face interaction with the investigator is somehow difficult to evaluate; a tentative answer to this question is the general observation that code-switching is not practised proficiently enough in order to be considered an everyday language practice of the Turkish-Kurmanjî bilinguals.

2.2.2.2.3 Summary of the orthography analyses of the text products in Kurmanjî

In the writing assignment for the bilingual students of the seventh grade in their first language Kurmanjî, all of the bilingual pupils produced texts. As can be seen in Figure III.2.34 below, the Kurmanjî texts of the bilinguals are slightly longer than the average length of the written narrative texts (Test 1) they produced in Turkish, which is 62.2 words per text (see the summary of the Turkish texts):

Fig. III.2.34. 7th grade: Length of written texts after correction, Kurmanjî test
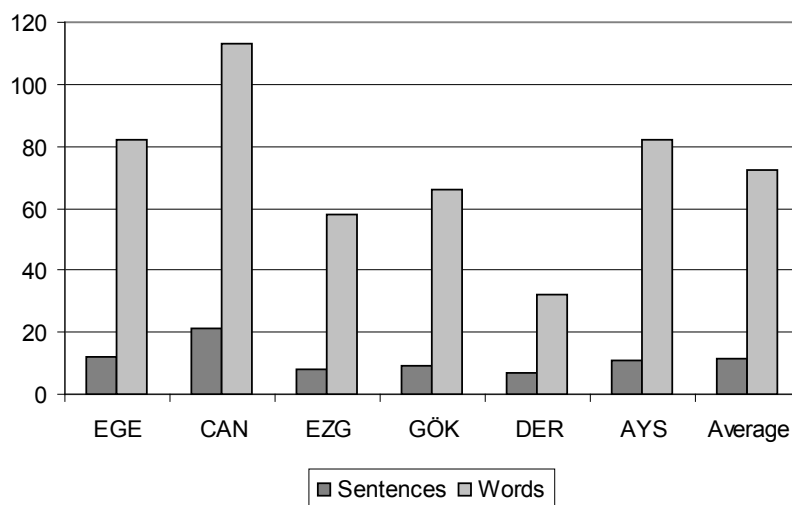
Only two out of the six tested bilingual case pupils, namely CAN♀BIL and GÖK♂BIL, attempt to use the (specific) Kurmanjî diacritics on vowels, i.e. GÖK♂BIL uses <î> and CAN♀BIL <î> and <û>, but only in a few cases and not necessarily correctly. Furthermore, CAN♀BIL, GÖK♂BIL, and also AYS♀BIL employ <j>, and AYS♀BIL also employs <x> correctly in seven out of nine possible instances. EGE♂BIL, EZG♀BIL and DER♂BIL do not employ any of the graphemes that are specific to Kurmanjî, as opposed to Turkish. Thus, CAN♀BIL, GÖK♂BIL and AYS♀BIL seem to have some familiarity with Kurmanjî literacy.

With a percentage of 153.69% errors in relation to the number of words, the overall error ratio is high compared to the Turkish texts. AYS♀BIL has the highest error ratio, while CAN♀BIL seems most successful:

Fig. III.2.35. 7th grade: Total error ratio (in %) in the written Kurmanjî text
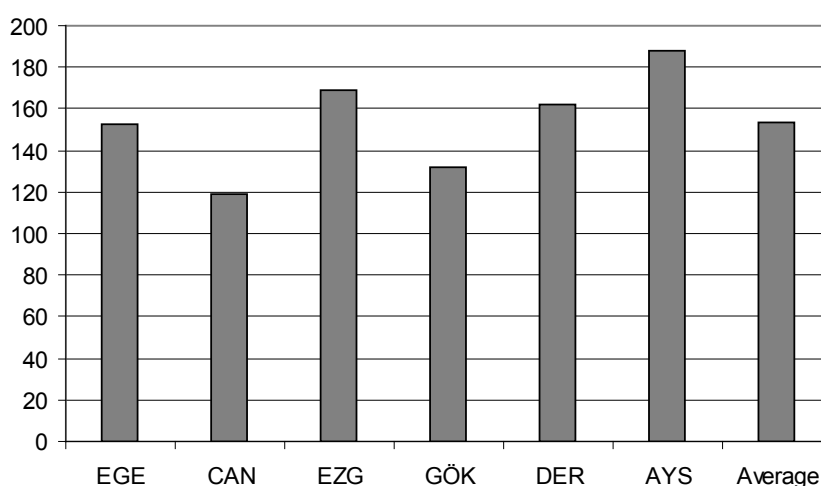
If we differentiate between the different levels of orthography, we see that on average, almost 80% of the errors occur on the phonographic level:

*Fig. III.2.36. 7th grade: Error ratio in the written Kurmanjî text
on the textual, logo- and phonographic level (in %)*
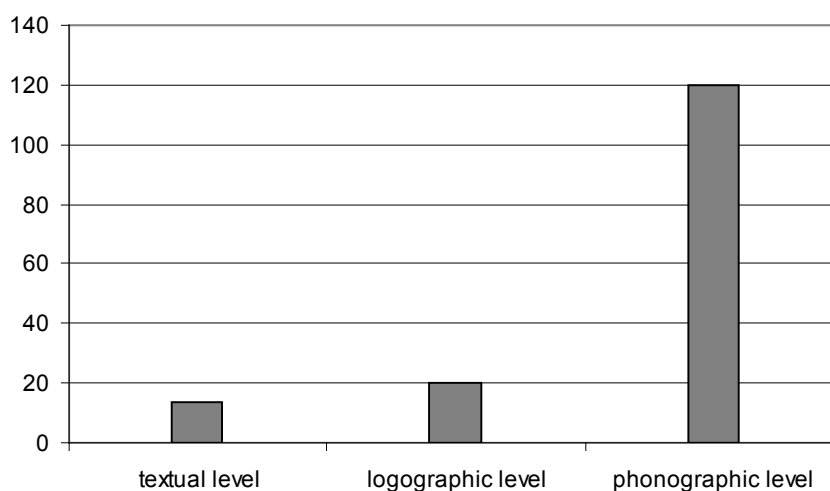
On the **phonographic level**, clearly, the main problem is the representation of the Kurmanjî vowels. The following Figure III.2.37 lists the pupils in the order of correct versus incorrect representation of vowels. It shows that CAN♀BIL and GÖK♂BIL are most successful:

Fig. III.2.37. 7th grade: Correct versus incorrect representation of vowels in the written Kurmanjî text
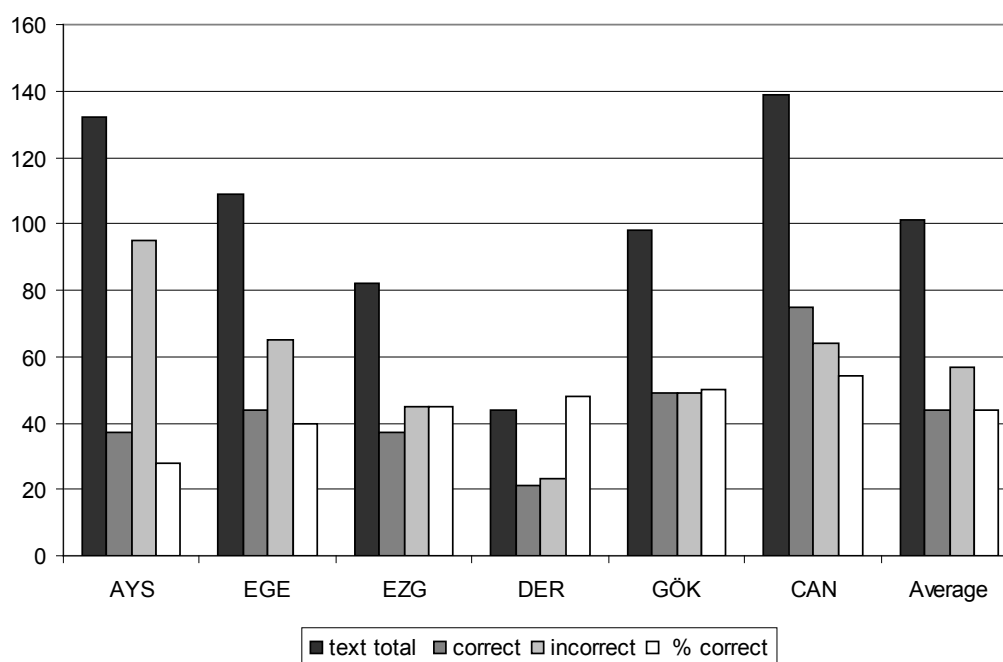
Problems are, as was expected, the representation of high/ front /i/ (<î>), high middle/ front /e/ (<ê>) and long /u/ (<û>), which the pupils usually represent as <i>, <e> and <u> respectively, i.e., without the diacritics. It is remarkable, however, that some of the pupils attempt to represent the vowel quantity in <û> ([u:]), inconsistently as this may be, either by means of doubling a vowel grapheme (EGE♂BIL, CAN♀BIL), or adding <v> (again, EGE♂BIL), or adding <ğ> (EZG♀BIL, AYS♀BIL). Only CAN♀BIL (correctly) employs the diacritic <û> in five out of fourteen environments, and only GÖK♂BIL and DER♂BIL do not attempt to represent vowel quantity at all. Also Kurmanjî middle central /i/ (<i>) and

middle front /e/ (<e>) generally pose problems (see Chapter II.2.2.2.3). Kurmanjî /i/ is represented by <ı> throughout, Kurmanjî /e/ is either (correctly) represented as <e>, or, alternatively, as *<a>.

Missing vowels occur 5 times altogether (EGE$^{\male BIL}$: 1, CAN$^{\female BIL}$: 2, DER$^{\male BIL}$: 2), all of them in unstressed syllables. Vowel epenthesis in order to break up syllable complexity is only found once in EZG$^{\female BIL}$'s text.

Consonants are less of a problem than vowels. Consistent problems occur where the appropriate consonantal grapheme does not exist in the Turkish alphabet. In order to represent the bilabial glide [w] (<w>), the pupils use (Turkish) *<v>, or the vowel-like quality of [w] is emphasised by means of employing <u> for it (DER$^{\male BIL}$). The uvular stop [q]/<q> is represented by *<k> throughout. Remarkably, the velar fricative [ɣ]/ <x> is represented by means of <ğ> in all texts but in EGE$^{\male BIL}$'s, where *<h> is employed instead.

As can be expected, (probably) dialect-based feature differences, reductions and representations of dialectal forms are frequent in all texts. If we list the pupils in the order of their error ratio with consonantal errors (excluding phoneme-grapheme relations with specific Kurmanjî vowels), the following figure emerges, in which GÖK$^{\male BIL}$ and CAN$^{\female BIL}$ again appear as the most successful bilingual case pupils:

Fig. III.2.38. 7th grade: Consonantal norm deviations (specific Kurmanjî PG-relations excluded) in % to text length (words), written Kurmanjî text
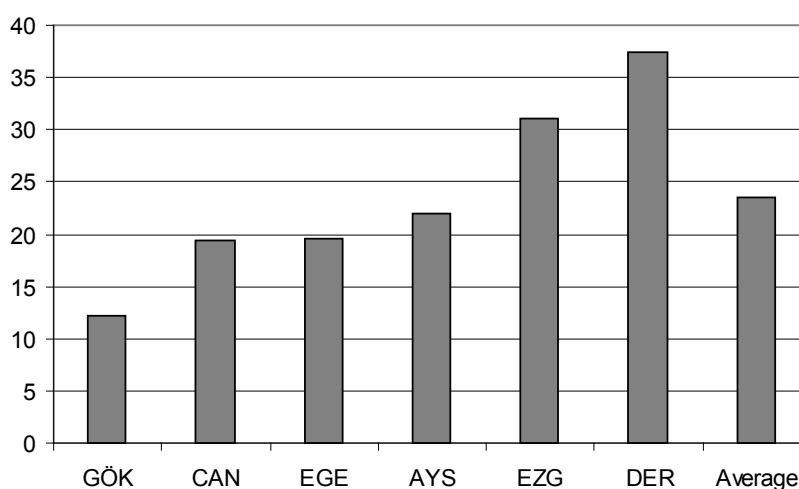
Missing consonants occur much more frequent than in the first-graders' Kurmanjî texts – and they occur in all texts (total: 41 instances; by contrast, first-graders: total of 6 instances). This concerns complex syllable onsets (particularly in EGE$^{\male BIL}$'s text), C+C at syllable boundaries (in GÖK$^{\male BIL}$'s and DER$^{\male BIL}$'s texts), and instances of syllable-initial /h/ (CAN$^{\female BIL}$), word-final /n/ and /t/ in *got* ('s/he said'), while the latter three might be dialectal.

On the **logographic level**, we first consider compound writing with function words where the orthographic norm requires open spelling:

Tab. III.2.16. 7th grade: Compound spellings, written Kurmanjî text

		EGE	CAN	EZG	GÖK	DER	AYS	Total
Postposed attribute	open (correct)				1			1
	closed (incorrect)	2	3	3	1	3	5	17
Deictic	open (correct)				2			2
	closed (incorrect)	7		3				10
Adposition	open (correct)				2	4		6
	closed (incorrect)	2	3	1	1	1	8	16
Light verb	open (correct)				2	1		3
	closed (incorrect)	2	1	2			2	7
Particle	open (correct)						1	1
	closed (incorrect)	3	5	1				9
Junctor	open (correct)		6	1	6	1	5	19
	closed (incorrect)	3	6	1		1	4	15

Thus, we have a relation in which in a total of 106 possible environments of function words, where the standard orthography requires open spelling, 74 (~ 70%) are spelled in closed form.

Differences between case pupils are considerable high in this area, i.e. while DER$^{♂BIL}$ consistently spells these forms in closed form, GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ seems much more aware of the Kurmanjî orthographical word. The other four case pupils display rather similar implementation ratios:

Fig. III.2.39. 7th grade: (Correct) open vs. (incorrect) closed spelling of function words and light verbs, in %, written Kurmanjî text
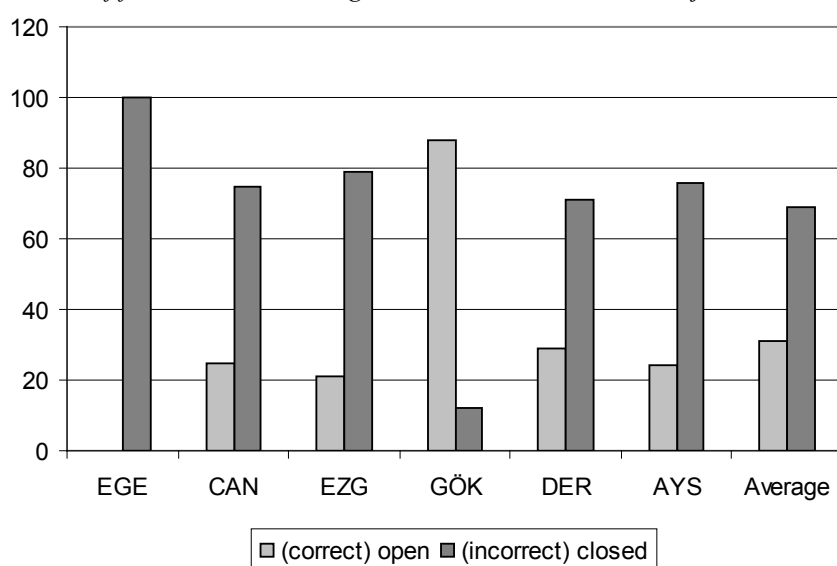
Apart from the instances with function words and light verbs, EZG$^{♀BIL}$ also employs closed spellings in other environments, i.e. verb with (preposed) subject, verb with (postposed) object pronoun and preposed demonstrative with head noun, while in the rest of the case pupils' Kurmanjî texts, other closed spellings do not occur. Open spellings of suffixes does not seem to be a relevant category.

As for a further logographic category, the in-sentence capital letter, which follows the same rules as in Turkish (i.e. it is only allowed with names proper), CAN$^{♀BIL}$'s insecurity with the employment of the capital letter persists, which was already observed in her Turkish texts – in fact, it also persists in the employment of the capital letter at sentence beginning.

In the representation of Turkish loans, or "homophonous diamorphs" (see Chapter II.2.2.2.3.2), the case pupils prefer Turkish orthography, but we see one tendency (as opposed to the first-graders' writings, but not in the case of EGE$^{♂BIL}$) to be consistent now, i.e. either to employ Turkish orthography or to attempt Kurmanjî orthography. CAN$^{♀BIL}$ and GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ attempt to stick to Kurmanjî, while AYS$^{♀BIL}$ and DER$^{♂BIL}$ rather use Turkish orthography:

Fig. III.2.40. 7th grade: Turkish loans/ homophonous diamorphs in the written Kurmanjî texts
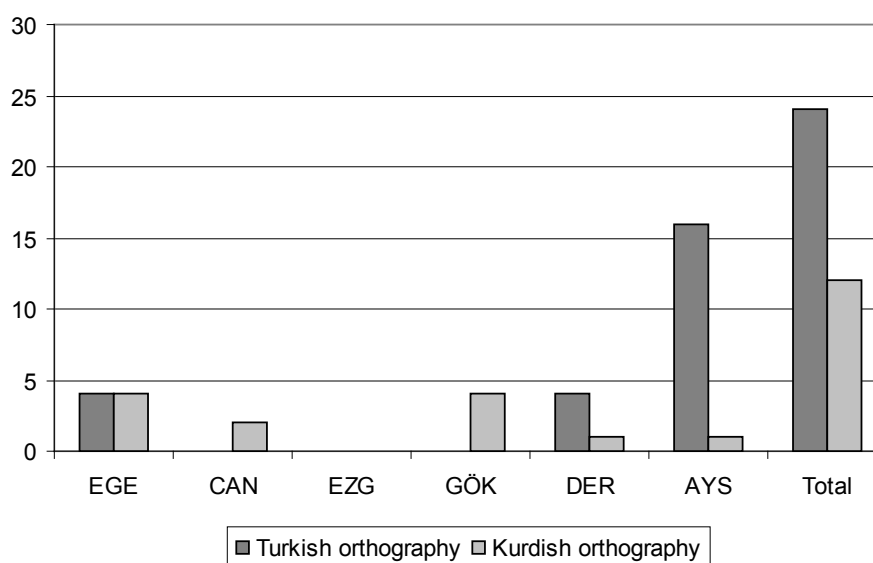
The error ratio on the **textual level** in the Kurmanjî texts of the seventh-graders is 13.77%. Orthographic rules on this level differ from Turkish only with regard to the employment of the comma for (finite) subordinations in Kurmanjî, and this seems indeed to pose a problem, i.e. in 11 environments of the employment of the comma with a subordination, it is only used two times (by CAN$^{♀BIL}$ who also uses the comma extensively in coordination). But leaving this aside, the stronger neglect of the textual level due to a focus on other levels of orthography can be expected considering the highly unusual task that was required of the case pupils – writing a text in their first language. Thus, in altogether 68 sentences, we find 32 correct employments of the full stop and one correct employment of the colon (by GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ who also uses the hyphen <-> to introduce direct speech) – in all other instances, it is not used. The differences between the error ratios of the individual pupils may thus

also be read as differences in the pupils' concentration they were able (or prepared) to devote to the task in general:

Fig. III.2.41. 7ᵗʰ grade: Error ratio (in %) on the level of text structure in the written Kurmanjî texts
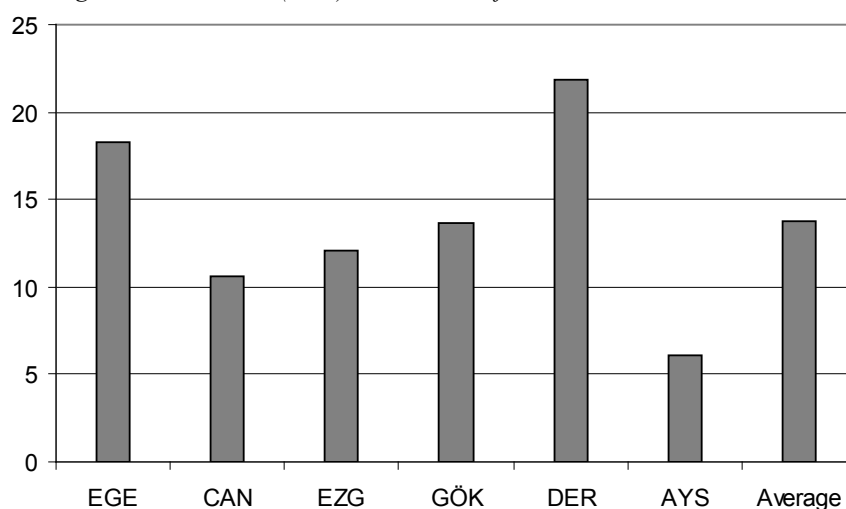
2.2.2.2.4 Summary of Kurmanjî competences

The orate-literate analysis of the Kurmanjî competences reveals, roughly speaking, two groups. On the one hand, there is the group of AYS$^{♀BIL}$, GÖK$^{♂BIL}$, EZG$^{♀BIL}$, EGE$^{♂BIL}$ and CAN$^{♀BIL}$, whose Kurmanjî competences may be varying in the different areas (and also with regard to the way they integrate Turkish elements), but in total, their results are close to each other. On the other hand, there is DER$^{♂BIL}$, whose Kurmanjî competences, apart from the area of orate forms, are but limited.

DER$^{♂BIL}$ has not many resources to rely on in Turkish, either, and this results in a strong helplessness also with regard to the task of writing his first language. The others fulfil this task in very different ways, some even relating to what (limited) they know about Kurmanjî orthography (GÖK$^{♂BIL}$, CAN$^{♀BIL}$, AYS$^{♀BIL}$). In particular CAN$^{♀BIL}$ and GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ even attempt Kurmanjî spelling in those words they use also in their Turkish, GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ showing his high analytical awareness of Kurmanjî on the logographic level, and CAN$^{♀BIL}$ seeming to have a high phonographic awareness. AYS$^{♀BIL}$, on the other hand, whose Turkish orthographic skills are the most advanced in the group of bilinguals, is most successful in transferring her knowledge from Turkish to Kurmanjî, and this also shows on the textual level. EGE$^{♂BIL}$ and EZG$^{♀BIL}$ form a somewhat "middle group" between DER$^{♂BIL}$ on the one and GÖK$^{♂BIL}$, CAN$^{♀BIL}$, and AYS$^{♀BIL}$ on the other hand, in that they seem less confident in their (Turkish) orthographic skills than AYS$^{♀BIL}$, but do not have much familiarity with Kurmanjî literacy to rely on.

3 Empirical Findings of Turkish Lesson Analyses

Müge Ayan & Dilara Koçbaş

This chapter aims to investigate the practical social processes taking place in the first-graders' and seventh graders' classrooms, and the restricting as well as enabling potentials of those social processes. The first grade is important in that it is where the children learn to become 'pupils' while at the same time they acquire the Turkish written language for the first time in an organised way. Some pupils may have learned to read and write to some extent from their parents or elder siblings prior to starting school; however, none of the pupils has gone to preschool education, which makes the first grade education significant for them as it is their first confrontation with the educational organization of the school, i.e. the central institutional location where literacy acquisition takes place. When pupils make their ways to the seventh grade, it is expected that they have mastered the school rules and that they have acquired literacy. By way of analysing the transcripts and video recordings of three selected core lessons of each grade, as well as other lesson videos and field notes as additional data with the aim of supporting the provided evidence and/ or contextualising the results, this chapter aims to unveil the factors which afford and limit literacy acquisition in each grade level.

3.1 Lesson analysis: 1st grade

3.1.1 Introduction

The classroom teacher of the first grade graduated from Hacettepe University majoring in mining engineering, a field in which, against all odds, she could not find a job afterwards. "All my male friends found a job but I could not"[151], she states. In 1997, she gained the right to teach through receiving a teaching certificate, taking the examination after autodidactically acquiring the respective professional knowledge on teaching.

> So, I am not a teaching graduate, yet I devoured teaching books. I studied very hard. You need to be in the field for five years to grapple this profession. I learned the right approach to a child through experience not through pedagogic lessons. But I cannot run a mining field now, for instance.
> (int_sp_classroom teacher-1A_2008_05_MAC (interview))

This is the third time she is teaching first-graders: In a different city, she taught a class from the first grade until the completion of the fifth grade, and in yet another city, she had a class from the first to the end of the third grade. Hence, she has served as a teacher for a total of eight years before the start of LAS research.

A few words need to be added here about the researchers' presence in class. Apart from a few cases, we do not get the impression that the teacher is acting out towards us. She acts as if the researchers are not there at all. There are only a few times when she refers to the researchers during the lesson; for instance, once she said to a pupil who approaches one of the researchers, *abiyle sohbet yok*, "don't chat with the brother". She never asks us

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[151] int_sp_classroom teacher-1A_2008_05_MAC (interview).

questions or makes comments on our presence during the lessons, when she neither greets us nor makes eye-contact with us for the whole year.

3.1.2 Use of space and classroom materials

3.1.2.1 Seating arrangement

All through the school year, the classroom is designed in U-shape as illustrated below:

Fig. III.3.1. 1st grade: Seating arrangement in general
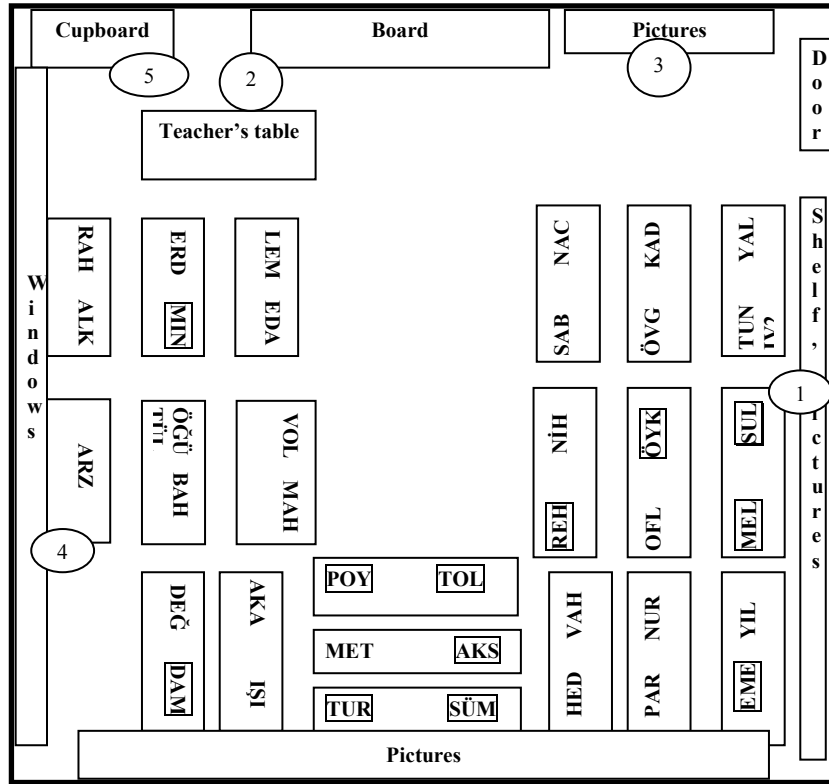
The transcript extract below demonstrates that the teacher looks at the seating as a 'system', and that when there is something going wrong with this system, she modifies it.

```
*EDA:   öğretmenim ben göremiyorum buraya [: burada] .
%eng:   my teacher, I can't see here.
*TEA:   gel leman'nin yanına otur .
 %eng:  come, sit down next to leman.
*TEA:   çantanı getirme, defterini al gel şimdilik # gel .
%eng:   don't take your bag, just bring your notebook, come here for a while.
*TEA:   arkada görmekte zorlanan varmı aranızda ?
%eng:   does any of you have difficulty in seeing when seated at the back?
*TEA:   hiç görmüyorum sürekli ben zorlanıyorum diyen varmı aranızda tahtayı ?
%eng:   is there anyone saying that I can't see, I have always difficulty?
*TEA:   tahtayı göremiyorum diyen varmı ?
%eng:   is there anyone saying that I can't see the board?
*TEA:   arkada oturanlara soruyorum .
%eng:   I am asking to those sitting at the back.
%com:   VOL points to YIL
*HAV:   yildiz öğretmenim yildiz [/] yildiz .
%eng:   yildiz, my teacher, yildiz.
*TEA:   yildiz sen hiç göremiyo(r)musun ?
%eng:   yildiz, can't you at all?
*TEA:   gel .
%add:   YIL
```

%eng: come here.
*TEA: sen çantanı al gel .
%add: YIL
%eng: take your bag and come here.
*TEA: oraya uzun boylu birini oturtalım .
%eng: let someone tall sit down there.
%com: points to YIL's seat
*TEA: ya da hiçkimseyi oturtmayalım .
%eng: or don't let anyone sit there.
*TEA: hava sen görebiliyo(r)musun ?
%eng: hava, can you see?
*TEA: bu sistemde herkesin görüyor olması lazım +/.
%eng: in this system, everyone should be able to see.

(Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 15/2)

Fig. III.3.2. 1st grade: Seating arrangement prior to change in seats.

Fig. III.3.3. 1st grade: Seating arrangement after the change in seats.
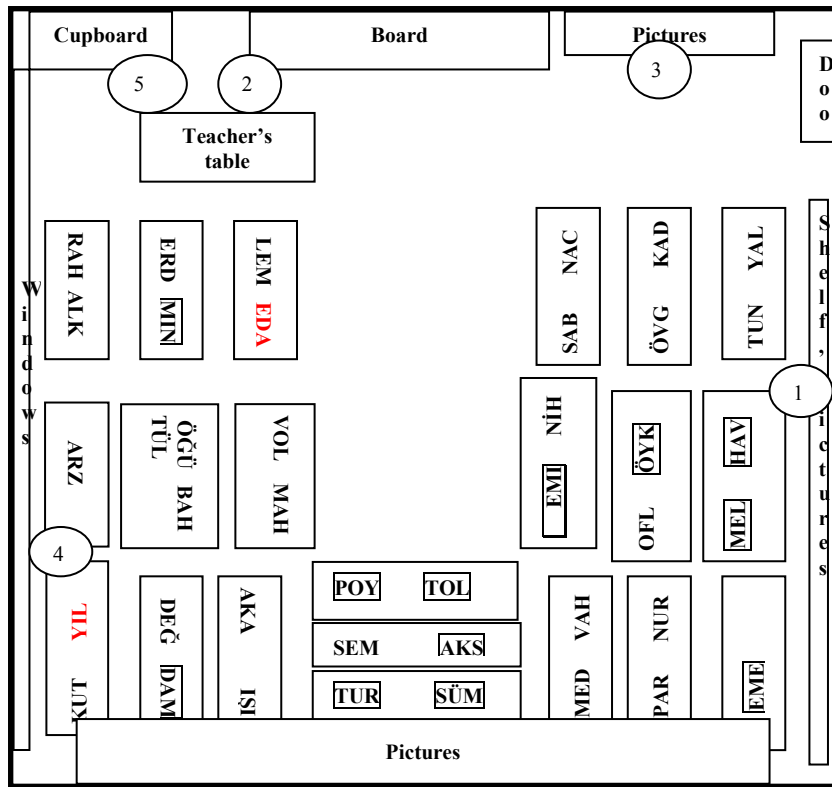
Figure III.3.4 below shows the classroom population throughout the school year. As indicated, the average classroom population is 37.5. Given the fact that the classroom is highly populated, this seating arrangement, arguably, enables the pupils to see the blackboard, which is the one of the main functional devices used in the classroom with the aim of teaching to read and write. In addition, the U-shaped seating arrangement enables the pupils to follow the teacher, while it gives the teacher the opportunity to monitor the pupils by wandering around the pupils' desks.

Fig. III.3.4. 1st grade: Classroom population
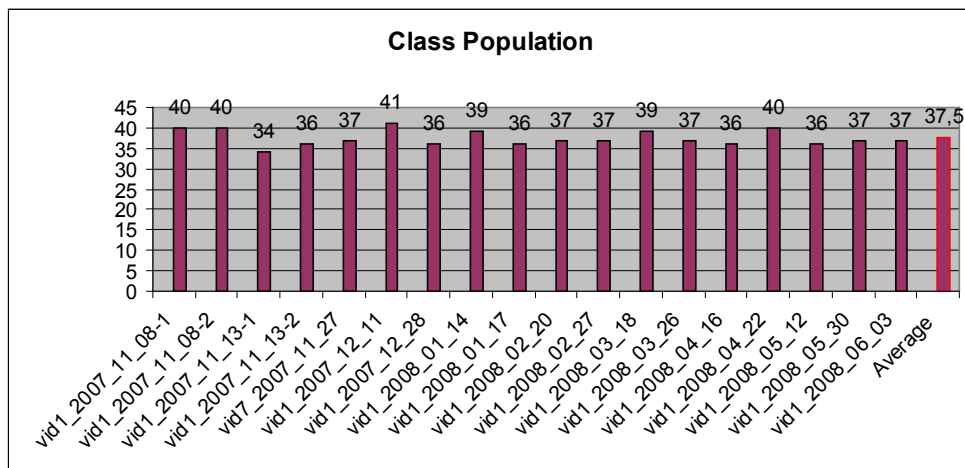
The teacher spends a considerable amount of class hours to monitoring pupils' progress. She assigns the pupils in two main groups in the classroom depending on their progress: (a) the higher achievers and (b) the lower achievers. After giving the pupils assignments according to their achievement levels, the teacher usually walks around the classroom, checking the pupils' works. One classroom rule set by the teacher at the beginning of the school year and repeated for an extensive number of times throughout the year is that the pupils are supposed to sit down and wait for the teacher to approach their desks to get their notebooks checked. However, not all of the pupils adhere to this rule. It is usually the higher achievers who abide by the rule, whereas the lower achievers do not: They stand up, approach the teacher and stick their notebooks into her face. In those instances, the teacher feels obliged to give feedback or to answer their questions. The teacher may not react to the pupils in a consistent manner; at times, she tells them that she is going to walk around to check, and then refuses to check the notebooks of the pupils approaching her, while at other times, she quickly checks the notebooks of the approaching pupils. This restricts the pupils' opportunities to adhere to the classroom rules. The following motives might be underlying the teacher's inconsistent behaviour: Firstly, the teacher might be checking the notebooks when she thinks that she could do so quickly. Secondly, the teacher might think that a particular pupil would not be persuaded to sit down and wait anyway, which would impede her teaching as a whole. Thirdly, she might check a pupil's notebook when he/ she is the only one calling for the teacher's attention. Although she seems to have a reasonable justification when she checks the pupils' notebooks, one would expect that from the point of view of the pupils, the teacher's behaviour would seem unfair. Strikingly, the pupils accept her authority without questioning, and therefore do not object at all. The pupils' adaptation to the teacher's fairness or consistency will be further analysed below.

For brief durations, the teacher tolerates when the pupils leave their desks and approach her in instances as described above, although she instructs them to sit at their desks and wait for her to come over to them to check their work. However, when it is a group of pupils who approach her, she refuses to deal with them as she cannot possibly handle all the pupils' demands simultaneously. Following is an instance where the teacher is approached by a number of pupils.

```
*YAL:   öğretmenim [/] öğretmenim
%eng:   my teacher [/] my teacher
%com:   shows his notebook
*TEA:   ya@i oğlum sırayla geliyorum .
%eng:   my son I am coming by turns .
*TEA:   neden siz beni rahatsız ediyo(r)sunuz habire ?
%eng:   why are you disturbing me continually ?
*TEA:   ben kaç kişiyim ?
%eng:   how many people am I ?
*TEA:   bak ben bir kişiyim ve iki@pr iki şeyi idare ediyorum .
%eng:   look I am just one person and I am handling two@pr things .
*TEA:   durmadan ha@pr ha@pr habire hep@pr hep@pr hepiniz üstüme gelirseniz
        <nasıl başa çıkıcam [: çıkacağım] ben> [>] ?
%eng:   if you all come to me constantly ha@pr ha@pr habire hep@pr hep@pr
        <how will I handle with it> [>] ?
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 11/2)
```

Here, the teacher expresses that she feels disturbed and explains that she cannot handle it if they all approach her all at once. Although the following interaction between YAL and the teacher seems as if she reacts particularly on YAL, the visual context within which this interaction takes place indicates that the teacher is exhausted by the numerous pupils persistently approaching her.

3.1.2.2 Blackboard use

The teacher makes use of the blackboard either in whole-class teaching where she assigns the class to write the respective syllables/ words, or in lessons where she organises her teaching according to different achievement levels. Each blackboard use according to lesson organisation is exemplified below.

Fig. III.3.5. 1st grade: Use of the blackboard in whole-class teaching

Fig. III.3.6. 1st grade: Use of the blackboard in lessons organised for two achievement groups

In Figure III.3.5, the teacher uses the blackboard to write down the syllables that the pupils are supposed to copy into their notebooks. In Figure III.3.6, the teacher divides the blackboard into two parts: The right side is allocated for the advanced group and the left side for the rest of the class.

3.1.2.3 Classroom arrangement in general

In accordance with Article 145 of the Regulations entitled "Classroom Materials" (Doğan et al, 2003:1495), Atatürk's portrait is hung above the blackboard, and placed above the portrait is the Turkish flag, with the moon and the crest facing right. The Independence Anthem is placed on the right side of Atatürk's portrait and Atatürk's "Address to the Turkish Youth" is on the left. All these arrangements point to the way in which the state symbolically makes use of Atatürk and tries to create a sense of nationalism in the minds of pupils. Within the symbolic form created by the state, it is stipulated where Atatürk's portrait is to be positioned and where his "Address to the Turkish Youth" must be placed. On each side of the blackboard, there is another board. The board on the left is allocated for a certain letter (lower case and upper case) and the picture of an object starting with that letter. The teacher makes occasional reference to that board of letters, especially when trying to make the pupils memorise the letters (see letter-sound association in sections 3.1.5.6.3-6 of this chapter).

Fig. III.3.7. 1ˢᵗ grade: Independence anthem, Atatürk's portrait, and his address to the Turkish youth placed above the blackboard

The board on the right hand side of the blackboard contains pictures that show aspects from Atatürk's life such as his father, his house, etc. Regularly, the teacher points at the pictures and asks the pupils what they are showing. This is a kind of choral recitation practice where answers chorused by all pupils together.

Fig. III.3.8. 1ˢᵗ grade: Letter cards on the left board, pictures of Atatürk's life on the right board

Fig. III.3.9. 1ˢᵗ grade: Back wall with shelves

The other two walls of the classroom are allocated for works that the teacher prepares with the pupils (see Fig. III.3.9.), for example a poster with the class's club activities, displaying which pupil is responsible for which club, whereas the club activities "Traffic" and "First Aid" are also displayed on a further board. Note that these activities are not actually carried out, so the pupils are in fact assigned for clubs that do not exist. The wall across from the blackboard contains three boards, on two of which the pupils' works such as drawings and writings are displayed. In the middle of the wall, there are number cards (with numbers in both digits and words) and the season cycle (with each season displayed by a picture and its name written in capital letters). On holidays such as April 23ʳᵈ, the "National sovereignty and children's day", the pupils and the teacher decorate the class with confetti, Turkish flags, drawings, and poems.

Fig. III.3.10. 1ˢᵗ grade: The classroom door with flags and confetti

Fig. III.3.11. 1ˢᵗ grade: Poster with the drawings of Atatürk and his tomb Anıtkabir

3.1.2.4 Pupils' materials (including written materials directly related to lesson content)

3.1.2.4.1 Bags in between: a practice related to writing

A desk is shared by two or three pupils. The scarcity of materials leads to a multi-functional use of the materials at hand: The teacher often asks the pupils to put their school bags in the middle of their desks as a divider of the desk into two. This enables the pupils to create their own space where they can concentrate on their writing. In an alternative classroom design without the bags on the desks, the pupils might tend to look at each other's writings, which would not only impede the teacher's ability to see the individual pupil's achievement levels (so that she can assign tasks accordingly), but would also evoke distraction. Therefore, the division of space also conveys a message about literacy to the pupils: Reading and writing is an activity that you should do on your own by way of concentrating.

3.1.2.4.2 Written materials

The notebooks are the basic material that the pupils use for the whole year. They write all the in-class tasks, the homework and the exercises into their notebooks. In addition to the notebooks, the pupils have textbooks, but they do not bring them to class regularly.

The Turkish Ministry of Education determines which books are used in public schools. It monitors the preparation of the books for all primary and secondary grades and distributes the books for free. There are three textbooks for reading and writing for Grade 1. The first book is called *Okuma Yazma Öğreniyorum* ("I am learning reading and writing") (Fig. III.3.12). The aim of this book is to teach the alphabet. It contains lots of pictures that are associated with letters, and some short texts to practice each letter. Furthermore, the book is thematically organised in four themes: individual and society, Atatürk, health and environment, and a topic called "Our values". The teacher starts with this book in the beginning of the school year, but eventually quits it and switches to her teaching techniques.

Fig. III.3.12-15. 1st grade: "I am learning reading and writing", Textbook for Grade 1; Textbook for Turkish lesson for Grade 1; Workbook for Turkish lesson for Grade 1; Syllable book based on sound-driven approach
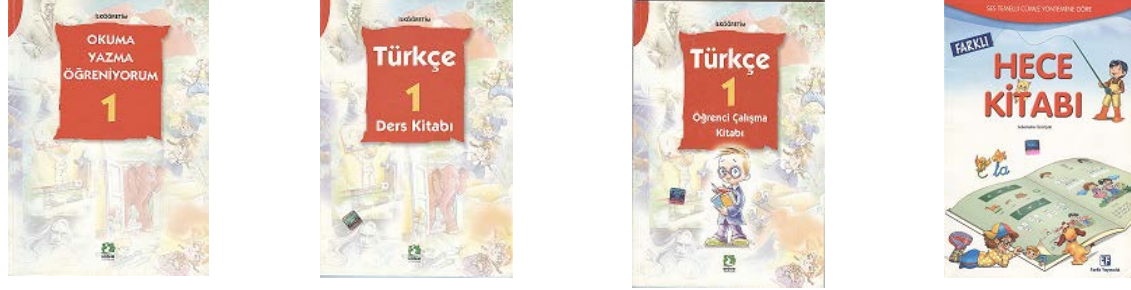
The second textbook is Turkish textbook (Fig. III.3.13), which is also organised in several themes such as "Our World and Space", "Imagination", "Production, Consumption, and Productivity", and "Play and Sport". Similar to the *Okuma Yazma Öğreniyorum* ("I am learning reading and writing"), this book also contains lots of pictures, yet there are no exercises to practice the alphabet. The texts are longer and more complex, with longer sentences, complex structure, and advanced vocabulary. At the end of each text, there are comprehension exercises about the texts and short bibliographic texts about the authors of the texts. Towards the end of the year, the teacher gives the hardworking pupils tasks from this book to keep them busy. The task is usually to copy texts from the book into the notebooks. We did not observe that the teacher using this textbook for whole-class teaching. In addition to the Turkish textbook, there is also an exercise book (Fig. III.3.14), containing several comprehension exercises based on the themes that are presented in the Turkish book. We never witnessed the teacher using this exercise book.

In the first term, the teacher makes the pupils buy a syllable book[152], which is quite similar to the book prepared by the Ministry of Education (Fig. III.3.15). The syllable book is designed according to the sound-driven approach implemented by the Ministry of Education. Similar to the *Okuma Yazma Öğreniyorum*, the syllable book also works through the alphabet letter by letter. There are fewer pictures, but more practice exercises and short texts to practice the letters. The teacher basically follows this book for homework and whole class teaching.

3.1.2.5 Lesson contents

3.1.2.5.1 Lesson content in general in the course of the year

There are two major themes in the teacher's agenda that she follows in the course of the year. One is "learning how to read and write", the other is "rules, roles, and rituals". Given the size of the class, the emphasis on rules, roles, and rituals seems logical since in a class where nearly 40 first-graders come together, the teacher attempts to keep everything under control in order to go through with the lesson.

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[152] The author of this book, Sebahattin Özafşar, has published lots of dictionaries and pedagogic books approved by the Ministry of Education.

In general, the lessons are not thematically organised. There are no special themes that the teacher uses to guide the pupils in in-class activities. Instead, learning how to read and write is handled as a technical skill, and the pupils are expected to read what they see and to write what they hear. Hence, writing and reading assignments are formulated independently from a meaningful context. Neither in-class assignments nor homework are prepared as contextual activities. Mostly, what is emphasised is the technical side of the writing activity such as the size of the letters and the space between words. In addition, a clear handwriting and a well-organised notebook are requirements for every pupil.

Most of the writing activities are copying from the blackboard and from the textbooks. In addition, there are also many dictation activities where the pupils write down what the teacher dictates. She keeps a close track of how well the pupils copy letters and syllables from the blackboard because accuracy is very important to her. For each letter and syllable, the teacher adheres to the following order: She first writes on the blackboard. Then she writes down the first cases of the letters and syllables into each pupil's notebook to make sure that their writing matches her writing. The pupils then continue to write the letters and syllables. The teacher sticks to this procedure until the end of the school term for all pupils except for the "hardworking" ones. Figure III.3.16 is an example from TUR's notebook.

Tab. III.3.16. 1st grade: An example page from TUR's notebook
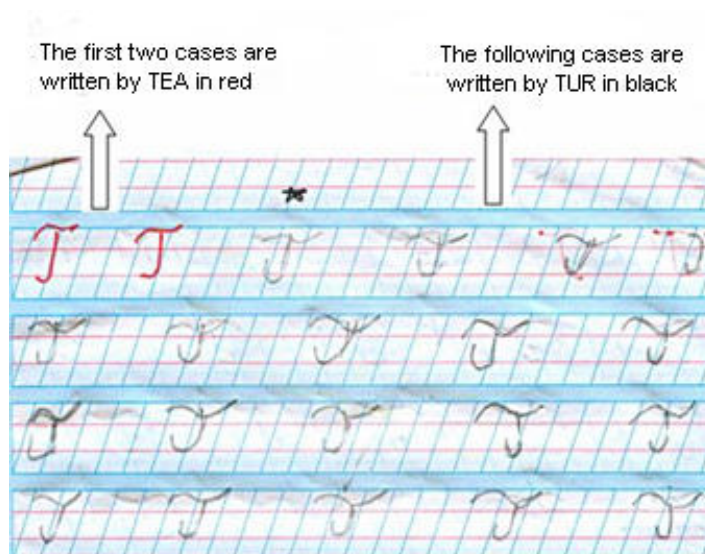
As shown in the example above, TUR does the writing exercises for the consonant capital T. The first two cases of the "T" are written by the teacher. After the teacher writes two "T"s in red, TUR writes the following "T"s in black. Copying letters after the teacher's handwriting is easier for the pupils, especially for the low-achievers. Reading assignments begin at the same time as the writing assignments, but their frequency is lower. In the second term, only the hardworking pupils are expected to read texts in the Turkish book. Towards the end of the school year, the teacher starts giving the hardworking group the task of writing text summaries.

Grammar is not part of the first grade's curriculum. We have never observed the teacher talking about even basic grammatical categories like noun, verb, subject, or object, as all class time is spent on working on letters and syllables. However, one of the important items on the teacher's agenda is teaching punctuation. From the beginning, she teaches the use of dots, commas, question marks, and exclamation marks. She also teaches capital versus small letters as they are used in proper names versus common nouns. While doing that, she uses homophones. For instance, the teacher uses the proper name *Ela* that is written with a capital "E" in contrast to colour *ela* ("hazel") that is written with in lower case. In addition, the teacher also uses proper name *Lale* versus the flower *lale* ("tulip") as an example.

Rules, roles, and rituals portions are a major part of all the lessons. This may indicate that the teacher does not want the pupils to act independently. Rather, she prefers the pupils to act as a unity. For example, one of the mostly emphasised rules is to wait silently until the teacher comes around and checks the notebooks (see above). Since the class is quite crowded, it can take a long time for a pupil to get the teacher's attention. As a result, the pupils get bored during the lesson. But no matter how bored they are, they have to wait for the teacher to come to their desks and check their notebooks. In such a context, class rules become extremely important for the teacher in order to keep the pupils under surveillance. That is why she spends so much time on clarifying rules, roles, and rituals. This will be further elaborated later on.

The teacher also teaches children's songs, short poems, and rhymes. The rhymes and songs that are used in the classroom are traditional children songs. They are not created by the ministry, but are recommended for primary schools. In one case, the teacher asks the class whether they know any new songs. One pupil comes to the blackboard and starts to sing a Turkish pop song. The teacher stops her and sends her back to her seat, saying that she only wants children songs. On occasion, she also makes the pupils write a rhyme into their notebooks and then asks them to memorise these short rhymes. When the teacher feels that the pupils get tired and disoriented towards the end of the lesson, she calls up one of the pupils to recite a rhyme or poem or sing a song. The pupils like this kind of activity a lot and participate actively. It needs to be added that activities with rhymes, poems, and songs do not have an apparent relation to the academic objectives of the lesson.

3.1.2.5.2 Creation of writing assignments

As was said before, writing assignments contain writing letters, syllables, and some short texts to practice the letters. As for the order of teaching the letters, the teacher basically follows the order in the reading and writing book, which is prepared by the Ministry of Education. She also has several teachers' books. Sometimes, she chooses short texts from those books. In the first term, she makes the pupils to buy a syllable book, which is quite similar to the book prepared by the Ministry of Education. The pupils either copy the short texts from one of these books or they copy the text from the blackboard after the teacher writes it on the board. In addition, the teacher sometimes dictates short texts without writing them on the board, but this activity is only for the "hardworking group".

The teacher's main justification for all activities is to *okuma yazmaya geçmek*, "proceed to reading and writing". She presents this as a must for the pupils if they aim to continue to

the second grade. She usually tells the pupils that only the ones who can read and write can continue to an upper grade, and the other ones will have to repeat the class. But at the end of the year, she does not make anyone repeat the class.[153]

As mentioned before, the teacher uses letter and syllable cards that are hung on the wall near the blackboard. On the letter cards, there is a letter and a picture associated with that letter. The picture denotes a word which starts with that letter and which is familiar to the pupils. The teacher uses the cards to make the pupils practice letters and syllables. When she shows the cards one by one, the pupils recite the word and the letter all together aloud. There are also number cards that show numbers. Similar to the letter cards, the pupils recite the number cards one by one.

With the sound-driven approach based on the Ministry of Education's curriculum, the teacher uses letter cards for each letter. She also assigns a sound and a gesture to each letter, which is a method invented by the teacher herself. This helps the pupils to remember which letter she refers to. For example, [r] is for *motor sesi* ("engine sound") and [m] is for *lezzet sesi* ("yummy sound"). The gesture for [m] is a hand gesture of enjoying a meal. Instead of saying "write down [r]", the teacher would say "write down *motor sesi*". She uses this sound-letter association for reading tasks as well. When a pupil is asked to read a CV syllable, the teacher asks him/ her first to find which sound the syllable starts with. She always reminds the pupils to find the first letter, so the pupils would be expected to make the association between [r] and *motor sesi*. The pupils seem to write and read more confidently when they are told to write down or to read a *motor sesi* instead of being told to write down "[r]". At this stage, the pupils cannot read [r], but when someone says it is the engine sound, the pupils are able to recognise the [r] letter. The teacher expects the pupils to make a transfer from recognizing a letter through association to reading a letter. She gradually quits this association and begins to work with syllable sequences, which she calls as "the sequencing strategy", more frequently towards the end of the year.

At the beginning of the term, the teacher has small stickers in the shape of a star. She puts them on the notebooks of some of the pupils as an incentive for those who do their homework. Over time, as the pupils acquire their pupil's role, the teacher gives up such incentives.

The only reference to the outside of the classroom is the life of Atatürk, but the teacher never uses this theme to contextualize the reading and writing activities. As was said before, the activities are not contextualized by any means.

Other than reading and writing, the teacher teaches three subjects in different slots of the week, namely math and life knowledge. We observed two sessions of life knowledge. In one session, the teacher discusses vaporization and uses a kettle to demonstrate how water vaporises. In the other session, the teacher teaches the notions of "individual" and

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[153] In an interview, the teacher tells the researchers that she had only let one pupil fail a grade so far throughout her teaching career, and that was because the parents wanted her to. She continues: "In principle, I am against failing a grade. HAV does not come to school in the morning because she cannot get up but still I am not going to fail her. Otherwise, she will leave school. Will she come to first grade again next year? They would not send her, our people are dignified." (int-sp-1A-classroom-teacher_2008_05_MAC)

"society". Similar to the reading and writing lessons, she follows the textbook prepared by the ministry. Yet, she does not give any reading or writing tasks in relation to any of these activities. There are no hands-on activities. The pupils are supposed to listen and learn. This may indicate that "reading and writing" sessions are constructed differently than lessons on life knowledge.

3.1.2.5.3 Treatment of different text genres in class

The teacher does not talk about the generic properties of texts. Since there is a common curriculum for all first-graders across the country, we can guess that text genres are not part of the curriculum in the first grade in Turkish schools. Rather than discussing different text types (e.g., letters or reports), the teacher teaches the pupils the surface properties of texts. These surface properties include punctuation, capital letters, headings, and paragraph indentation.

Since poems and rhymes are the most common types of texts in this class, it is assumed that the pupils gain an implicit knowledge about these text genres. The pupils' knowledge about these genres is assumed to be implicit as we never witnessed the teacher giving any explanations about them. Later in the second term, she asks the hardworking pupils to write summaries of a text they read. Yet, based on the pupils' confusion about the task and the teacher's overall dissatisfaction with their achievements on the summarization task, we can assume that the summary genre is not elaborated enough in class. The following extract is taken from one of the rare occasions where the pupils were expected to write a summary:

```
*VAH:   örtmenim [: öğretmenim] özetini yazıcazmı [: yazacakmıyız]?
%eng:   my teacher, are we going to write its summary?
*TEA:   nasıl ?
%eng:   how?
*VAH:   özet yazcaz [: yazacağız] ?
%eng:   are we going to write the summary?
*TEA:   +^ evet@i ama on kere okuycaksın ve kitabı kapatıp yapıcaksın [:
        yapacaksın]!
%eng:   yes. but you'll read ten times and you'll summarise after closing the book.
%com:   SER returns to seat, IŞI approaches TEA while TEA is walking around
*IŞI:   <öğretmenim hepsini ezberliyimmi [: ezberleyeyimmi> [x2]?
%eng:   my teacher, shall I memorise them all?
*TEA:   kızım ezberleme değil , akılında [: aklında] kalanı
        yazıyo(r)sun , özet ezberleme değil , oku [x4], biz yaptık burda !
%eng:   my girl, it is not memorising. you'll write what you remember. summary,
        not memorising. read. we did it here.
        (Vid1_2008_03_26: Sequence 3/3, 3/4)
```

The extract above reveals the way in which the teacher formulates the task of summarization; that is, one reads a text ten times consecutively and then closes the text to write the summary based on what one can remember without looking at the text. The teacher also adds that this is not memorisation. Other than this extract, we never observed the teacher explaining what a summary is. As a matter of fact, she sometimes uses these "advanced" activities to keep higher-achieving pupils busy. Towards the end of the term, she spends almost all of the lesson time with the lower-achievers. So, it is quite reasonable that by way of giving an advanced activity to the higher-achievers, the teacher makes them work without expecting them to succeed.

Another type of text that the pupils come across in class is the life narrative as the teacher usually talks about the life of Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. Yet, this text type is not elaborated, either. It is used only in the context of Atatürk and nationalism.

3.1.3 Use of time

3.1.3.1 Lesson beginnings and endings

A lesson period is 40 minutes, the end of which is marked by the ringing of the school bell. The teacher spends most of her time in the classroom, which makes the transition from recess time to lesson time rather blurred. She gives neither an introduction nor a closure to each lesson period, which makes the classroom participants perceive individual lesson periods as part of a whole-day activity. Since all the video recordings belong to the second hour of the school day of the first-graders, the teacher might think that it is irrelevant to provide a specific lesson introduction and closure. Therefore, the duration of lesson preparations is usually two to three minutes.

Below is a transcript excerpt that shows how a lesson as described above begins.

```
*TEA:   evet@i # ders başladı: .
%eng:   okay, the lesson is started.
%com:   TEA leaves the cup in her hand to the table; PUPs take their seats; ÖVG
        approaches TEA
*ÖVG:   öykü beni dövdü: .
%add:   TEA
%eng:   öykü beat me.
*TEA:   şikayetleriniz bittiyse derse başlıycam [: başlayacağım] # evet@i .
%eng:   if you are finished with the complaints, I'll start the lesson.
*TEA:   evet@i oturun .
%eng:   okay, sit down.
*TEA:   erdal otur yerine .
%eng:   erdal sit down.
*TEA:   defterleri çıkartın .
%eng:   take out your notebooks.
%com:   noise continues in the class
*TEA:   evet@i # ş:t@i .
%eng:   yes, sh.
%com:   AKS♀BIL aprroaches TEA
*AKS:   xxx .
*TEA:   defterleri çıkartırsanız derse başlıycam [: başlayacağım] .
%eng:   I'll start the lesson, if you take out your notebooks.
*TEA:   çocukla:r # ders başladı .
%eng:   kids, the lesson is started.
%com:   POY runs towards his desk, MET throws something in the trash; ERD
        approaches TEA
*ERD:   tuvalete gidebilirmiyim öğretmenim ?
%eng:   may I go to the restroom, my teacher?
*TEA:   hayır@i [/] hayır@i .
%eng:   no, no.
%com:   ERD goes back to his seat
*TEA:   <evet@i arkana yaslan> [///] defterini çıkar, arkana yaslan .
%eng:   okay, lean back, take out your notebooks, lean back.
*TEA:   hazır olun bakalım hadi [: haydi] bekliyorum .
%eng:   let's get prepared, I am waiting.
*TEA:   hazır değilseniz öğretmenler odasına gidicem [: gideceğim] .
%eng:   if you are not ready, I'll go back to the teachers's room.
*POY:   hazırız .
%eng:   we are ready.
*MET:   hazırız .
%eng:   we are ready.
*TEA:   konuşmaya devam ederseniz çıkıp gidicem [: gideceğim] .
```

%eng: if you continue talking, I'll leave the class.
*TEA: dersteyiz [?] [//] ders saati konuşma değil .
%eng: we have a lesson, it's time for lesson not for talking.
*TEA: teneffüsü yaptınız, yemeğinizi yediniz bitti # evet@i .
%eng: you had your break, you ate and it is finished.
%com: TEA goes to backside of the desk, takes the key from her bag and opens the closet
*TEA: çocuklar konuşmaya devam ede@pr ederseniz ciddiyim +...
%eng: kids, if you continue to talk, I am serious.
%com: still deals with the closet
*TEA: +, ben sohbetinizi dinlemeye gelmedim .
%eng: I am not here to listen to your chat.
%com: goes back to her usual position with a bag in har hand
*TEA: sessiz olursanız derse başlıycaz [: başlayacağız] # evet@i .
%eng: if you stay silent, we will start with the lesson, yes.
       (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 1/1, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4)

This initiation ritual where the teacher tries to establish concentration takes two minutes and two seconds. It starts with the teacher's announcement that the lesson started. She takes ÖVG's complaint as a cause to warn the class as a whole that they need to stop complaining in order to be able to start the lesson. The teacher instructs the pupils to get ready for the lesson by taking out their notebooks. The initiation routine is interfered by a special occurrence, i.e. ERD's asking for permission to go to the toilet, which is rejected. Following ERD's going back to his seat, the teacher takes up on the initiation routine again by repeating the rules the pupils are expected to follow. She continues to instruct the pupils to get ready for the lesson and warns them that if they do not do what they are told she will have to go back to the teacher's room. Once the classroom reaches a certain level of silence, the teacher begins the lesson by calling up a pupil to come to the blackboard to read a syllable. Remarkably, although the example stems from the middle of the school year, the teacher still needs to give the pupils several warnings and to repeat the classroom rules.

The following excerpt is taken from a lesson which took place in February 2008.

*HAV: ayağa kalk .
%eng: stand up .
*HAV: öğretmen geldi [=! yells] .
%eng: the teacher has come [=! yells]
*IŞI: tülay ayağa kalk !
%eng: tülay, stand up !
*TEA: evet öğretmen geldiğinde napıyoduk [: ne yapıyorduk] ?
%eng: what are we supposed to do when the teacher comes ?
*ALL: ayağa kalkıyo(r)duk .
%eng: we are supposed to stand up .
%com: some PUPs stand up
*TEA: evet otu:r !
%eng: yes, sit down !
%com: PUPs sit down
*TEA: kimisi ayağa kalkma gereği de duymuyor ama .
%eng: some even do not see it necessary to stand up .
*TEA: ha@i ?
%eng: ha@i ?
*POY: eve:t do:ğru [/] do:ğru .
%eng: yes, that's right [/] that's right .
*TEA: şimdi şu: # defterlerinizi önünüze bırakın, araya çanta koyun ve dinleyin
       çok dikkatli bi(r) şekilde .
%eng: now, leave your notebooks on your desk, put your school bags in the
       middle of the table, and listen to me very carefully .
       […]
*TEA: koyun bakayım buraya .

```
%eng:  let's put them here .
%com:  knocks on the desk in front of her with the book in her hand; PUPs keep
       chatting
*TEA:  araya çanta ko:y .
%eng:  put your schoolbags between you and your friend on the desk .
%com:  ŞAF puts his bag on his desk
[...]
*TEA:  evet !
%eng:  yes !
*TEA:  araya çanta koy .
%eng:  put your schoolbags between you and your friend on the desk .
*ARZ:  araya çanta ko:y .
%eng:  put your schoolbags between you and your friend on the desk .
*TEA:  beslenme bitti: .
%eng:  repast is over .
*ARZ:  beslenme bitti: .
%eng:  repast is over .
*TEA:  araya çanta: beslenme bitti: .
%eng:  bags in between , repast is over .
*ARZ:  beslenme bitti: .
%eng:  repast is over .
*TEA:  ş:t@i .
%eng:  şi:t@i .
       (Vid1_2008_02_27)
```

Here, the teacher tries to prepare the classroom to start the lesson. She reminds the pupils of the initiation routine of standing up while the pupils also warn each other to stand up. The teacher prepares the class for the lesson by asking the pupils to put their bags on the table so that they can work on their own without looking at each other. Similar to the lesson discussed before, the high frequency of repetition of rules indicates that the classroom rules are not yet fully internalised by all the pupils. The teacher needs to repeat the rules many times, and the pupils repeat them after her. Remarkably, ARZ, who belongs to the lowest achievement level, repeats every single word the teacher says. Following upon the pupils calling out to each other that they are to stand up because the teacher has come, the teacher asks what the class is supposed to do when the teacher comes in, which shows that she tries to elicit the classroom rules from the pupils. By way of repeating the classroom rules, the pupils are expected to learn and internalise the rules, which finally opens up a medium (co-constructed by the teacher and the pupils) that enables the teaching and the learning of how to read and write.

The next example comes from a lesson in March 2008 and has no initiation routine. As mentioned above, the teacher spends most of her break time in the classroom, which sometimes blurs the transition between the lesson period and the recess period. As this makes individual lessons to be perceived as part of a whole-day activity, no need is felt for making an introduction to each lesson. As the time proceeds over the course of the school year, the teacher feels more pressure towards teaching the pupils to read and write, and begins to work with them on a one-on-one basis. Analysis of the lesson transcripts reveals that she started working with individual pupils already earlier in March, and she now continues this way of working until the end of the school year.

```
%com:  TEA checks notebooks .
*ERD:  yaptım öğretmenim bitirdim !
%eng:  I'm finished, my teacher.
*TEA:  <otur bekle> [>] .
%eng:  sit down and wait.
```

```
*NİH:   <xxx> [<] burda ?
%add:   TEA
%eng:   xxx here?
*TEA:   hıhı@i .
%add:   NİH
*TEA:   şimdi başla .
%eng:   start now.
*TEA:   altı boş kalsın .
%eng:   leave it empty beneath.
*TEA:   yanını doldur .
%eng:   write next to it.
        (Vid1_2008_03_26: Sequence 1/1, 1/2)
```

As for the lesson endings, it can be argued that the teacher does not employ a clear closure to the lessons. As the following excerpt suggests, following one of the pupils' announcement that the bell rang, the teacher says that the topic is to be continued in the next lesson, which is hardly heard. The pupils stand up, and the lesson ends.

```
*EDA:   zil çaldı: .
 %eng:  the bell rang.
%com:   the bell rings, PUPs stand up
*TEA:   bi(r) dahaki ders devam edicez [: edeceğiz] .
%eng:   we will go on in the next lesson.
        (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 25/1)
```

In another lesson, two and a half minutes before the official ending of the lesson, the teacher begins calling up pupils to the blackboard to recite rhymes. As she does not explain why she shifts to the activity of reciting rhymes, we do not have any evidence whether or not she considers this as a cooling-down activity that she draws on towards the end of the lesson. However, as we do not come across such an activity in the lesson endings of the other recorded lessons, we can argue that this can not be considered an intended closure to the lesson. After calling up a number of pupils to recite rhymes, the lesson ends immediately with the ringing of the bell, without the teacher or the pupils saying a word. Following the ringing of the bell, the pupils leave the classroom. Yet another lesson ends as follows:

```
%com:   TEA leaves the classroom
*TEA:   bi(r) dahaki ders devam ederiz .
%add:   TÜL
%eng:   we will go on in the next lesson.
*VOL:   bi(r) dahaki ders devam ederiz !
%eng:   we will go on in the next lesson.
*TEA:   bi(r) üstünden git , bi(r)kaç kere git üstünden .
%add:   VOL
%eng:   go over it, go over it a few times.
%com:   many PUPs are asking TEA questions
*TEA:   şimdi bi(r) dahaki ders devam ederiz .
%eng:   well, we will go on in the next lesson.
        (Vid1_2008_03_26: Sequence 10/1, 10/2)
```

As the comment line in the transcript excerpt indicates, the teacher says to some of the pupils that they will continue in the next lesson because they ask for her help in reading and writing.

As the transcript excerpts provided here demonstrate, the teacher does not make a clear closure to the lessons. As already mentioned at the beginning of this section, lessons with

no clear beginnings and endings suggest that individual lessons are perceived as part of an ongoing whole-day activity, and therefore each lesson does not need to have a beginning and an ending. Arguably, lessons organised in this manner might have an enabling potential since the lack of lesson beginnings and endings in each lesson results in saving time for more literacy teaching and learning activities. It should be mentioned here that pre-lesson activities take more time in the beginning of the school year. As the pupils get used to the class environment, the teacher needs less time to start the teaching unit (see the types of activities in the section below).

3.1.3.2 Types of activities in class

At the beginning of the school year, the teacher planned to teach life knowledge and to especially focus on maths once the pupils arrived at a certain level of literate competences. However, over time she gives up on this objective, and allocates all the lesson activities until the end of the year to teach the pupils how to read and write. While she occasionally teaches math, she omits life knowledge completely.

Occasional insertions of math lessons occur by way of variation when, according to the teacher herself, the pupils get bored with literacy teaching. This indicates that particularly later in the school year, the teacher considers math as a side activity that enables the pupils to recuperate before they go on with the main subject matter, namely Turkish. Math exercises might also be given to the respective group of pupils the teacher is not working with on a one-on-one basis at the time, but such math exercises are not discussed later on, showing that the teacher utilises such tasks in order to keep the pupils busy while she is doing her main job of teaching how to read and write.

The most common activities in Grade 1 are performance assignments (i.e., reciting a rhyme), writing assignments (i.e., writing syllables), and reading assignments (i.e., reading a syllable). Furthermore, there are also special occurrences and interferences that include interruptions by the pupils while the teacher instructs or works with other pupils. The time of one-on-one work with individual pupils includes checking the notebooks and assigning new work.

A typical procedure of literacy teaching is to call up the pupils by turn to randomly pick a syllable card from a plastic bag that the teacher prepared in advance. The pupil reads the syllable she/ he picked and then all pupils pronounce the syllable together with the teacher. Finally, the teacher writes the syllable on the blackboard and the pupils write it down in their notebooks.

In the beginning of the school year, the teacher spends a lot of time on instructions, elaborations, and clarification activities compared to the task itself. Also, she rather employs whole-class teaching and is not working with the achievement groups yet. In one of the early lessons, roughly four minutes are spent on the writing task, whereas nine minutes are dedicated to instruction, announcement, explanation, and clarification for the whole class. As the year unfolds, the pupils get used to the class activities and therefore need less task instruction since the tasks are basically repeated.

In February 2008, the teacher starts to work with two different achievement groups. She teaches the higher-achieving group how to write and pronounce following words with "soft g": *öğün*; *eğer*; *iğne*; *öğle*; *bebeği*; *düdüğü*; *eğlen*; *iğde*; *eğme*; *eğik*; *ağla*; *pikniğe*. The teacher writes each word on the blackboard and expects the pupils to write them down in their notebooks. Simultaneously, she teaches the lower-achieving group the writing and the pronunciation of the following syllables and words: *alma*; *Me*; *me*; *Mete*. Similarly, she writes each word on the blackboard and expects the pupils to write them down in their notebooks. When the teacher finishes her instructions, she walks around the classroom to check the pupils' writings, and works with individual pupils.

In the middle of the school year, the actual writing task and the instruction take up the same amount of time; afterwards, the teacher abandons achievement group tasks and prefers to work with the pupils one-on-one.

As for reading, it should be kept in mind that there is no reading of texts in this first grade. All the reading activities contain letter and syllable reading. These reading activities are relatively shorter compared to the writing activities. There is also change in the time spent for reading activities in the course of the school year, with reading time successively decreasing during the year. For example, the time of reading activities diminish between first and second core lessons. Particularly in the second term, there is often no reading done at all in a lesson, not least because the teacher starts to work with the pupils of the two achievement groups individually, which might result in one group having nothing to do at all while the other group works intensely.

Another type of activity that diminishes in time is the explanation of rules, roles, and rituals in class. Although we observe 54 rules, roles, rituals category in the December core lesson, there are 37 rules, roles, rituals category mentioned in the February core lesson dated, which remains the same in the March core lesson. Similarly, the number of special internal occurrences, such as asking for permission to go to the toilet during class, decreases already in the first term. With the decrease of the category "rules, roles, and rituals", the occurrence of teacher-initiated questions/ answers/ clarifications/ correctional actions increases. In the December core lesson, we observe 16 teacher-initiated questions-answer/ clarification/ correctional actions. This number goes up to 40 in February and is still 32 in March. Similar to the teacher-initiated activities, the number of pupil-initiated questions/ clarifications/ correctional actions increases in the second term. We observe four of such actions in December and 32 in February. This could be a reflection of the teacher's "achievement group" strategy. As the teacher divides the class into two achievement groups, the pupils start to make more efforts to attract the teacher's attention. For example, in the March core lesson, the teacher does not give instructions for the whole class (no whole-class teaching), but on assignments while working with individual pupils and checking their notebooks. The number of pupil-initiated questions/ clarifications/ correctional action is 72 since they frequently ask for confirmation of their assignments or inform the teacher that they are finished with their work. This also contributes the co-constructed character of the lesson. The number of teacher-initiated questions-answer/ clarification/ correctional actions is 32 in this lesson, and the number of pupil-initiated

actions is 72. This means that the pupils initiate more activities than the teacher as the year unfolds.

3.1.4 Classroom dynamics

3.1.4.1 Expected attitudes

3.1.4.1.1 Frame of reference for a "proper pupil": class presidency

Class presidency primarily has a functional purpose in which the respective pupils help to ease the pressure on the teacher to maintain order in a populated classroom and even aid her in academic activities through checking notebooks, distributing books, etc. Further, we observe that the teacher gathers all the qualities that a proper pupil should have in the "class presidency" entity. The class president is chosen by the teacher on the grounds of displaying certain characteristics. By way of frequently accentuating these qualities, the teacher aims to provide a role model for the pupils and to motivate them to adapt to such qualities so that they can advance to the status of "president" as well. The teacher overtly labels the president as her "assistant" and states that disrespect to the "president" would mean disrespect to the teacher.

During the year, the presidents change for numerous times. For example, in the beginning of the year it is HAV. However, due to her irregular presence in school, the teacher takes HAV off the duty and assigns AKS♀BIL, labelled as one of the most studious pupils. Later on, AKS♀BIL is taken off as well because she is talking too much with her neighbouring class-mate during the lessons. Finally, the duty is assigned to POY, and following is an excerpt from the assignment conversation.

```
*TEA:   yalan söyleyenler, çok konuşanlar sınıf başkanı olamaz .
%add:   ERD
%eng:   the ones who lie, the ones who talk a lot cannot be class president.
*TEA:   şikayet edenler sınıf başkanı olamaz, arkadaşlarını dövenler sınıf başkanı
        olamaz .
%eng:   the ones who complain cannot be class president, the ones who beat their
        friends cannot be class president.
[...]
*TEA:   tamam sınıf_başkanı sen, başkan_yardımcısı vahide işilay olsun .
%add:   POY
%eng:   okay you will be the president, and vahide and işilay will be your
        assistant.
*TEA:   hah@i # ama siz konuşursanız sizi de alırım
        görevden .
%add:   SER, IŞI
%eng:   if you talk I will take you off duty.
*TEA:   konuşan [///] çünkü@co davranışlarınızla sınıfa güzel örnek olucaksınız
        [: olacaksınız] .
%eng:   because you will be good example to the class with your proper
        behaviours.
*TEA:   hem giyiminizle, hem kuşamınızla, oturmanızla, kalkmanızla,
        derslerinizle, davranışlarınızla, saygılı ve sevgili insanlar olacaksınız .
%eng:   with your, dress code, the way you sit, stand up, with your lessons,
        behaviours, you will be a respecting and loving person.
%com:   noise arises in the classroom
*TEA:   sen olamazsın çünkü@co sen çok yalan söylüyo(r)sun ve şikayet
        ediyo(r)sun .
%add:   VOL
%eng:   you can't be a president because you lie a lot and complain.
*ERD:   ben ?
%add:   TEA
```

```
%eng:   me?
*TEA:   sen de yalan söylüyorsun .
%add:   ERD
%eng:   you lie too.
*TEA:   arkadaşlarına küfrediyo(r)sun, dövüyo(r)sun .
%eng:   you cuss at your friends and beat them.
*ERD:   dövmücem [: dövmeyeceğim] öğretmenim .
%eng:   I wont beat them up, my teacher.
*TEA:   geçti artık .
%eng:   its too late.
```
                    (Vid1_2008_01_17: Sequence 18/2, 18/4, 18/5)

3.1.4.1.2 Fairness to the pupils

While the teacher emphasizes the characteristics of a proper pupil, she herself aims to stand as a role model to the pupils, always accentuating her fairness towards all of them as exemplified in the following examples:

```
*TEA:   yanıma gelme oflaz .
%eng:   oflaz do not come near me.
*TEA:   bi(r) ihtiyacınız varsa olduğunuz yerden parmak kaldırın yanıma
        gelmeyin .
%eng:   if you need anything raise your hand from your seat, do not come near me.
[…]
*TEA:   bakın çocuklar ben herkesle tek tek ilgileniyorum yanıma gelmeyin .
%eng:   look kids, I am attending everyone individually, do not come near me.
```
                    (Vid1_2007_11_08_1: Sequence 3/4)

Further stating her equal attention, the teacher exclaims:

```
*TEA:   bakın siz gezindiğ(i)nizde benim dikkatim dağılıyo(r) .
%eng:   look, when you walk around in class I get distracted.
*TEA:   bırakıyorum habire farkındamısınız ?
%eng:   do you realize I always have to stop?
*TEA:   gezinmeyin .
%eng:   don't walk around.
*TEA:   ben herkesle tek tek ilgileniyorum .
%eng:   I attend every one individually.
*TEA:   bak şur(a)dan başlıyorum sonuna kadar gidiyorum
%com:   points to the groups I to VII
%eng:   see I start from here and go all the way to that group
*TEA:   hiç şimdiye kadar birinizi atladımmı ?
%eng:   have I ever skipped any one of you to date?
```
                    (Vid1_2007_11_27: Sequence 6/9)

Another example of the teacher's fairness is provided in the following transcript extract:

```
*TEA:   kimdi nöbetçi ?
%eng:   who are the pupils on duty ?
*TEA:   buyur [= gives the eraser to her] .
%add:   ÖYK♀BIL
%eng:   here it is [= gives the eraser to her] .
%com:   ÖYK♀BIL and TUR clean the the blackboard; POY raises a hand
*ARZ:   öğretmenim [/] öğretmenim # yarın da # bizi yap .
%eng:   my teacher my teacher let us be pupils on duty
        tomorrow .
%com:   ARZ stands up
*TEA:   hayır [/] hayır nöbetçi ben oluyorum değil .
%eng:   no no it is not matter of calling yourself on duty .
*TEA:   sırayla başladık .
%eng:   we have started by turns .
*TEA:   bö:yle devam etçek [: edecek] .
%eng:   it will go on like this.
```

```
%com:   points the left side of the classroom
*TEA:   yarın ikisi .
%eng:   tomorrow these two .
*ERD:   onları [//] öbürü +...
%eng:   them the other.
%com:   raises a hand
*TEA:   sırayla .
%eng:   by turns .
*TEA:   <hergün sırası gelen nöbetçi oluyor> [>] .
%eng:   everyday pupils will be on duty when it is their turn .
*ERD:   öğretmenim onlara yardım edebilirmiyim ?
%eng:   my teacher may I help them ?
*TEA:   efendim ?
%add:   ERD
%eng:   pardon ?
*ERD:   yardım edebilirmiyim onlara ?
%eng:   may I help them ?
*TEA:   yok nöbetçi # artık sırayla iki kişi olucak [: olacak] .
%eng:   no, pupils on duty will be two pupils by turns .
*TEA:   iki tane silgimiz var zaten .
%eng:   we have two erasers anyway .
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 1/8)
```

It can be observed that by way of division of labour, the teacher tries to bring an order to the classroom in a just manner: She states that everyday, two pupils will be on duty, and justifies her approach by adding that there are two erasers anyway. In the name of being just, she firmly refuses other the pupils' insisting offers to be on duty.

3.1.4.1.3 Concepts of respect and equality in the teacher-pupil relationship

We observe that the value the teacher most often emphasizes is the concept of respect. Below and in other instances, we see that when the pupils are asked to list the norms and values, they respond "respecting elders", and the teacher makes a correction to include peers. This reflects that in the pupils' perceptions, showing respect is limited to elder people. The teacher promotes a relationship based on equality in terms of respect, saying that "it is not only to love your youngsters and respect your elders, but to love and respect both youngsters and elders"[154].

```
*TEA:   öğretmenin sözü kesilmez arkadaşlarımızın sözü kesilmez konuşurken .
%eng:   teacher's words can not be interrupted while speaking, pupils words can
        not be interrupted
*TEA:   kuralları hatırlıyo(r)muyuz okulda uyulması gereken .
%eng:   do we remember the rules to be followed at school?
%com:   many PUPs says 'yes' loudly
*ERD:   söyleyebilirmiyim öğretmenim [= raising hand] ?
%eng:   may I say it my teacher? not to interrupt the teacher's words
[…]
*ERD:   +, okulda uymamız gereken öğretmenin lafı kesmemek .
%eng:   not to interrupt teacher's words.
*TEA:   arkadaşlarımızın lafını kesmemek .
%eng:   not to interrupt our friends words.
*TEA:   başka ?
%add:   ERD
%eng:   what else?
*ERD:   terbiyesizlik yapmamak hergün büyüklerimize saygı duymak .
%eng:   no vulgarity, to respect our elders every day.
*TEA:   hergün değil büyüklerimize de olsun arkadaşlarımızada olsun sevmeli ve
```

---

[154] Vid1_2008_01_14: Sequence 2/10.

    saygı göstermeliyiz .
%eng: not everyday. we should love and show respect to our elders and friends.
[…]
*TEA: okulda uymamız gereken kurallar .
%eng: rules to be followed at school.
*TEA: bir öğretmenim sözünü kesmeden, arkadaşlarımızın sözünü kesmeden
    dinlicez [: dinleyeceğiz] .
%eng: one, we will listen to our teacher and friends without interrupting their
    words.
*TEA: iki izinsiz dışarı çıkmıcaz [: çıkmayacağız] .
%eng: two, we are not going to step out without permission.
*TEA: uç e:@i sevgi ve saygı göstericez [: göstereceğiz] , arkadaşlarımıza ve
    öğretmenlerimize .
%eng: three, we are going to show love and respect to our friends and teachers.
    (Vid1_2008_01_14: Sequence 1/6, 3/1)

For the teacher, other indicators of showing respect are raising a hand and standing up when talking to her. This may be interpreted as a contradiction because we observe in the teacher's discourse a basis of equality of respect as she tends to accentuate both peers and elders. On the other hand, the rule to stand up when talking to the teacher or when she enters class encompasses a degree of hierarchy in the relationship. However, a more accurate interpretation would involve the teacher's attempts to develop a sense of rules and norms unique to different institutions and relationships as these concepts are somewhat new to these the pupils. As seen in the examples below and on frequent other occasions, the teacher orders different pupils to list proper behaviour patterns.

*TEA: saygımızı nasıl gösteririz alkım ?
%eng: alkım, how do we show our respect?
*ALK: insanların lafını kesmiyoruz .
%eng: we do not interrupt people's words.
*TEA: sözünü kesmiyoruz başka ?
%eng: we do not interrupt, what else?
*ALK: şey # Öğretmene birşey söylerken parmak kaldırıyoruz .
%eng: um, when we say something to the teacher we raise hand.
TEA: parmak kaldırıp konuşuyoruz .
%eng: we raise hand before speaking.
[…]
*ERD: arkadaşlarına vurmamak sataşmamak .
%eng: not to hit your friends, not to pick on them.
*TEA: kavga etmemek de evet@i, o da saygıdır .
%eng: not to fight, yes, that is respect too.
    (Vid1_2008_01_14: Sequence 2/6, 2/9)

*TEA: saygı neydi volkan # ha@i ?
%eng: what was respect volkan?
TEA: hayır@i volkan söyliyecek [: söyleyecek] bana .
%eng: no volkan will tell me.
*VOL: kimseyi döğmek [: dövmek] +/..
%eng: not to beat anyone.
*TEA: çünkü volkan hala saygılı olmanın nasıl olduğunu öğrenemedi .
%eng: because he still has not learned what respect is.
*TEA: neydi saygı ?
%eng: what was respect?
*VOL: kimseyi döğmemek [: dövmemek] .
%eng: not to beat anyone
*TEA: dövmemek <başka> [x2] ?
%eng: not to beat, what else?
*VOL: onları itmemek .
%eng: not to shove.
*TEA: itmemek # başka [/] başka ?
%eng: not to shove, what else what else?
*VOL: döğmemek [: dövmemek] .

```
%eng:  not to beat.
*TEA:  başka bir şey daha var .
%eng:  there is something else.
*VOL:  döğmemek [: dövmemek] .
%eng:  not to beat.
*TEA:  başka ?
%eng:  what else?
*TEA:  bi(r) de bi(r)şey daha vardı neydi ?
%eng:  there was something else, what was that?
*TEA:  bi(r)şey daha vardı ?
%eng:  there was something else?
*VOL:  bi(r) de saygılı olmak .
%eng:  and to be respectful.
*KAD:  arkadaşlarına büyüklerine saygılı olmak .
%add:  TEA
%eng:  to respect your peers and elders.
*TEA:  bi(r) şey daha vardı .
%eng:  there was something else?
*TEA:  onu da bana Enes söylesin .
%eng:  let mahir tell me that.
*TEA:  mahir bi(r) şey daha vardı ?
%eng:  mahir there was something else?
*TEA:  dövmemek başka neydi saygı ?
%eng:  not to beat, what else was respect?
%com:  MAH does not stand up
*MAH:  dürüst olmamak .
%eng:  to be dishonest.
*TEA:  ö(ğ)retmenle  konuşurken  <ayağa  kalkıyorsun>  [x2]  yüzünü
       göreyim # tamam .
       %eng:  you stand up when talking to the teacher, let me see your
       face, all right.
       (Vid1_2008_02_20: Sequence 3/2, 3/3, 3/4)
```

The concept of respect is established as a part of the rights and duties, and the message that it is the pupils' duty to develop a consciousness of respecting the right of others is conveyed:

```
*TEA:  niye gidip sınıfların kapısını açıyo(r)sun kızım !
%add:  EDA, angrily
%eng:  why do you go and open other class' doors my girl !
*TEA:  insanları rahatsız etmeye hakkın yok .
%add:  EDA
%eng:  you have no right to disturb others.
       (Vid1_2008_05_30: Sequence 7/3)
```

We also see that in teaching the pupils the norm to respect peers, a concept of courteousness and fairness in terms of waiting for one's turn is conveyed. This approach on behalf of the teacher is quite significant in the sense that she shows a relentless effort to socially educate the pupils to become individuals who have a sense of rights and duties.

3.1.4.1.4 Other promoted behaviours

Throughout the year, we come across numerous examples where the teacher tirelessly tries to teach the pupils not to swear, yell, beat, argue, and lie as the definition of respect and proper behaviour. She further attempts to teach the pupils not to complain because first of all, she asserts often that it was not a nice thing to complain about each other, as also exemplified in the following extract. Moreover, she tells the pupils to solve their own problems and come to her only when they can not resolve it. This may be partially due to

her attempt to teach them to acquire problem-solving skills, and partially due to the incapacitating effect of such disruptions on maintaining the class order.

```
*TEA:   şikayet de artı hoşuma gitmiyor hiç hoşlanmadığım şey .
%eng:   I don't like complaining at all. It is something that I do not like.
*TEA:   her dak(i)ka şikayet etmeyin beni [: bana] .
%eng:   don't complain to me every instant
*TEA:   kendi sorununuzu kendiniz çözün .
%eng:   you solve your own problems
*TEA:   çözemedinmi bekle teneffüste gel +"/.
%eng:   only come to me when you can not resolve it and wait for recess.
[…]
*TEA:   ayrıca şikayetten hoşlanmıyorum .
%eng:   I don't like complaining at all.
*TEA:   hoşlanmadığım [//] en nefret ettiğim şey de şikayettir .
%eng:   it is the thing I detest the most.
*TEA:   şikayet yok .
%eng:   no complaining.
*TEA:   dersi dikkatle dinleyen fazla da şikayet etmez .
%eng:   plus, the one who follows the class attentively would not complain
*TEA:   dersi dinleyen zaten etrafını görmez .
%eng:   because he/ she would not see what is around.
   (Vid1_2007_11_13_2: Sequence 2/1)
```

In further attempts to educate the pupils on respectful manners, we see the teacher introducing the concept of "apology" instead of outright attacking, as some pupils are naturally inclined to do:

```
*TEA:   özür dilemek de bir kuraldır aslında güzel bir kuraldır .
%eng:   apologising is a rule and in fact it is a very nice rule.
*TEA:   ne dedim birisi size yanlış yaptığı zaman  hemen saldırıp dövmeyin # o
        kişi sizden özür dileyebilir belki .
%eng:   what did I tell you? when someone does a wrong deed to you, do not
        attack and beat them right away may be they will apologize.
TEA:    özür diliyo(r)mu ,dilemiyo(r)mu bi(r) bekleyin bakalım hemen # birisi
        dayak attımı hurra@i sende ona .
%eng:   wait and see that, once someone beats, hurray, you retaliate right
        away.
        (Vid1_2008_01_14: Sequence 2/11, 2 /12)
```

It is observed that the teacher attaches some importance to language use in instilling expected behaviours and proper manners. She reacts to the pupils' language when they use vulgar expressions. For example, she insists that they use "polite you" when addressing herself. She also tries hard to teach them to say "thank you". When a pupil says "thank you", the teacher makes the other pupils applaud.

Another promoted behaviour in this class is using only Turkish instead of pupils' home languages other than Turkish. On one occasion, we witness the teacher warning a bilingual pupil when he speaks Kurmanjî instead of Turkish.

3.1.4.1.5 Implementation of rules

As stated before, throughout the course of the school year, the teacher utilizes every opportunity to manifest specific values and norms. Yet, with reference to rules to be obeyed during the lesson, we observe that the implementation of simple rules, such as not to eat during class and not to ask for permission to go to the toilet, are not fully achieved even at the very end of school year. In a number of instances, we observe the teacher letting pupils

go to the toilet or eat in class. In many other instances, even during the same class period, we see that she does not let the pupils leave the room or eat on the grounds that recess were reserved for such actions, and not the class period. It is likely that the reason why the pupils do not fully internalise the rules by the end of the school year is due to the incoherence between the stated rules and the practice on behalf of the teacher, which leads the pupils not to abide by the set rules as they become tendentially obsolete. What is of further significance is that we do not come across any instant where a pupil reacts to such contradictory and double standard instructions. This may partially be due to the pupils' unquestioned acceptance of the teacher's authority.

3.1.5 Teaching and learning strategies and motivational strategies

3.1.5.1 Teacher-centred discourse and explicit instructions given by the teacher

The lesson discourse is always teacher-centred. The teacher dominates all the activities. She decides when to begin and where to stop. The pupils are asked to raise hand to be called up by the teacher. After a pupil goes to the blackboard to do something or answers a question, the teacher usually makes a comment on that pupil's performance and his/ her progress. She sometimes uses negative language and emphasizes a pupil's weak points. Her voice is always loud, but she seldom shouts. Even when she criticises someone, she stays calm, and usually gives sophisticated moral lessons about the pupils' behaviours. She generally refers to honesty, respect for others, and the worth of hard work.

It seems that the teacher has a program in mind about what the next step is. She does not lose control over the lesson discourse easily as the pupils are in the position of recipients who receive instructions. A number of class rules such as sitting in a "flower" position, and the teacher's authority over the pupils' mobility, strongly emphasize her authority in class.

From the onset of the academic year, the teacher explicitly instructs the pupils on how they should listen to her teaching. For example, while they listen to her, all the notebooks and textbooks are to be closed. The teacher is strict about this structure and even threatens to give a low grade to the pupils who have opened notebooks on their desks while she is teaching. This also shows her authority in class. The following excerpt emphasises this:

        *TEA: ben "defteri aç" demeden kimse defterini açmıyor .
        %eng: no one opens his/her notebook before I say so.
        *TEA: şu okumayın dediğim halde okuyanlar var, yazmayın dediğim halde
                yazanlar var . sebepsiz yere birini aldı: .
        %eng: those who read despite I said do not read and those who write despite I
                said do not write get a one [the lowest grade].
                (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 19/4)

As mentioned above, the teacher tries to be as explicit as possible when formulating her instructions. Since she uses structural tasks and the same task reoccurs regularly (i.e., copying from the blackboard/ textbook, writing what the teacher dictates), the pupils generally know what they are expected to do quite well. Some problems arise because the teacher has two or three achievement groups and assigns different tasks for each group. Yet, as was said before, the pupils are familiar with the tasks, and they ask for clarification when they get confused.

The teacher uses a number of strategies to assure the clarity of her instructions. First, every time before she begins, she attempts to make sure that everybody pays attention to her and all possible conflicts are resolved. In the following excerpt, the teacher tries to rule out all possible problems that would hinder her teaching:

```
*TEA:   ama çıt yok, müdahele etmek yok .
%eng:   but no word , no distruption .
*TEA:   herhangi bir şey yanıma kayıp diye gelmeyin ,
%eng:   I don't want you to come closer to me to say that something is lost .
*TEA:   volkan arkadaşlarını şikayet etme ,
%eng:   volkan, don't complain about your friends .
*TEA:   konuşanlar da ağzını kapatsın .
%eng:   those talking pupils, shut their mouths .
*TEA:   şimdi burayı dikkatli dinleyin .
%eng:   now, listen to that part very carefully.
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 1/4, 1/5)
```

While beginning a teaching unit, the teacher announces which group is to write what. She divides the blackboard in two or three sections according to the achievement groups and writes each group's task separately. The pupils are aware of their places in class since this is also one of the most popular topics. They usually talk about who is and who is not in the "hardworking" group during the breaks. Achievement groups in relation to the group identity will be further elaborated below.

The teacher's respective body position is another source that informs the pupils about which group is addressed. When instructing a particular group, the teacher positions herself in front of the respective section on the blackboard that belongs to that group. Moreover, when addressing a group, she usually turns towards that particular group, which helps the pupils in the group to understand that they are addressed. When the teacher switches to the other group and starts to explain their topic, she positions herself in front of that group's section on the blackboard.

The teacher states rules usually by using an "if-then" structure such as "if you do that, then I do this".

```
*TEA:   sessiz olursaniz derse başliycam.
%eng:   if you become silent, then I start the lesson.
        (vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 1/4 & 1/5)
```

Generally, the teacher makes sure that everybody pays attention and listens to her by repeating her instructions several times in a row. She does the same when explaining a task. That is to say, she repeats her instructions several times to make sure that everybody knows what to do. She even gives instructions to the pupils about where they are expected to write in their notebooks. The following utterance is such an example:

```
*TEA:   e:@i bu şey kalsın [//] metin kalsın . <metinin bir> [///] ı:@i metini  [* metni] o
        sayfada bırakın . arka sayfaya geçin ya da karşı sayfaya geçin . <çünkü
        yumuşak_ge@l^yle ilgili biraz çalışalım> [<] . ama metin kalsın . metine [*
        metne] devam etçez [: edeceğiz] . metinin [* metnin] altını boş bırakın .
        tamammı ? metinin altını boş bırakın .
%eng:   just leave this text for a while. leave this text on that page. write down on the
        next page or on the page nearby. because we now work on soft g. but leave
        this text for a moment. we will continue it soon after. okay? do not write on the
        bottom of the text.
```

(Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 1/6)

In this short instruction, the teacher repeats that the pupils shall leave the task incomplete for the moment five times. She also tells them where to continue to write in their notebook.

Usually, the teacher addresses the class as a whole by using the second person plural or the second person singular. Several times, she says that the class is a unity and no one deserves to be especially featured. When referring to the achievement groups, she uses "that group", "this group", and "other group". Furthermore, the teacher usually uses the imperative such as "do that" or "don't do that" when addressing the class.

The teacher addresses the pupils by using their first names. She knows all the names since the beginning of the term. Sometimes she uses *oğlum* ("my son") or *kızım* ("my girl") instead of the pupil's name, especially when she criticizes a pupil. Although she says she does not like calling someone "lazy", she does the labelling by using other means. For example, she refers to VOL as someone who complains all the time. While doing that, the teacher uses a kind of indirect language in the example below. There is no evidence that VOL understands her as he does not react.

```
*TEA:   hemen şikayete başladı Volkan .
%eng:   volkan has just started to complain again.
*POY:   şikayet etme .
%add:   VOL
%eng:   don't complain.
*TEA:   iki [//] üçüncü dördüncü şikayet . sabah daha sıradayken ilk şikayetini yaptı .
        açılışı yaptı: volkan . şimdi İsmail kapanışı ne zaman yapacak diye bekliyoruz .
%eng:   (this is) second [//] third fourth complaint. he [VOL] did his first complaint when
        he was waiting in line this morning. volkan did the opening (of complaining).
        now we are wondering when he's gonna do the closing (of complaining).
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 13/6)
```

The pupils also address one another with their first names when they are close friends. When someone is not in the circle of friends, she/ he is addressed by saying *şu kız* ("that girl") or *bebe* ("baby"). The teacher tries to correct such behaviours.

Although being very rare, there are some reactions to the teacher's "class as a unity" behaviour, usually among the "laziest" group. Normally, those are the ones who do not comprehend the teacher's structure concerning "everything must be in order and the pupils participate in activities in turn". For example, when a pupil insists on participating in a class activity without waiting for his/ her turn, the teacher gives him/ her the following answer:

```
*TEA:   senin diğerlerinden farkın ne ?
%add:   ERD
%eng:   what is your difference from the others?
[...]
*TEA:   benim gözümde bütün öğrenciler eşittir .
%add:   ERD
%eng:   all pupils are equal in my sight.
*TEA:   kimse kimseden üstün değil . alçak da değil .
%eng:   no one is superior or inferior to others.
*TEA:   özel muamele isteyene kızarım .
%eng:   I get angry when someone wants special treatment.
         (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 23/2)
```

3.1.5.2 Language use

The pupils' answers are usually short since the teacher asks closed-ended Wh-questions. For example, one of the common activities is to read what is written on the blackboard. We never observe the teacher making the pupils read aloud texts from the book or from the blackboard. Usually, individual pupils are asked to read the syllable written on the blackboard, therefore the answer is generally structures as CV, VC, or consists of only one word. This also goes for choral recitation activities.

The teacher usually corrects the pupils' linguistic mistakes whenever she hears them. For example, she corrects one pupil's pronunciation of the word "microphone". The teacher corrects all the wrong answers when someone is called to answer her question. We witness that she corrects errors in tense usage and in time adverbs like "yesterday". She also corrects factual mistakes regarding the discussed topics like how the pupils should behave towards elders. However, the pupils do not engage in free talk in front of the class, they only answer when the teacher asks them something. These answers are usually pretty short. Therefore, we do not witness many occasions where the pupils make errors.

The teacher constantly checks the pupils' notebooks one by one after each task, therefore she is quite aware of their difficulties in certain tasks. For example, one of the problematic letters is "soft g". The teacher teaches the hardworking pupils [soft g], but after some time, while dictating a short text to the hardworking group, she realizes that the pupils confuse [soft g] with [y]. As a result, she changes the course of the lesson and explains "soft g" again with a number of examples.

While teaching a subject or a letter, the teacher uses short sentences, but when she teaches the pupils about rules and morals, she uses long sentences with complex embedded structures and relative clauses. Furthermore, passive constructions are excessively used for rules and morals. For this category, the teacher also uses advanced vocabulary such as *emek* ("labour"), *saygı* ("respect for others") and *eşitlik* ("equality"). Another difference in the way she formulates morals and the way she formulates a task is the use of indirect language. She tends to use indirect language when stating morals, which leads to some confusion among the pupils. On the other hand, she seems to avoid this while teaching a topic. The following is an example:

```
*TEA:   herkes birbirine saygılı olucak [: olacak] .
%eng:   everybody has to be respectful to each other .
*TEA:   saygısız olan da <ikinci sınıfa gelecek> [//] <ikinci sınıfa gelemiycek
        [: gelemeyecek]> .
%eng:   those disrespectfuls <will come to second grade > [//] <will not be able to
        come>.
*ERD:   bişi [: bir şey] söyleyebilirmiyim ?
%add:   TEA
%eng:   may I say something ?
*KAD:   birinci sınıfın xxx .
%eng:   first grade's xxx .
%com:   raises his hand
*TEA:   birinci sınıfta kalacak .
%eng:   they will stay as first graders .
*TEA:   saygılı olucaz [: olacağız] birbirimize .
%eng:   we should be respectful to each other .
*ERD:   şu(&2)nlardan kimse xxx .
%add:   TEA
```

```
%eng:  among those nobody xxx .
*EDA:  say(&2)gılı olucaz [: olacağız] .
%eng:  we will be respectful .
*KAD:  iki_a^nın çok öğretmeni kızgın .
%eng:  two_a's teacher is very angry .
*TEA:  yanlış anladınız .
%eng:  you misunderstood .
*TEA:  iki_a@l^ya gitmiyceksiniz [: gitmeyeceksiniz] .
%eng:  you won't go to two_a .
*TEA:  bir_a [/] bir_a^da kalacaksınız .
%eng:  you will stay in one_a [/] one_a.
       (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 5/3)
```

When formulating a task, the teacher uses a number of temporal adverbs such as "first", "then", "after that". She also makes a lot of references to what she said before by using "what did I say", "you remember I said", and "what we have learned". From time to time, she also uses "we" when referring to the class. However, her repertoire while formulating a task is limited. She uses the same constructions over and over again, such as imperatives, if-then structure, and simple sentences conjoined with temporal adverbials. She does not use elaborated language because the tasks are structured and repeat themselves. When repeating, she changes the sentential constructions, but the complexity level of the sentences remains low.

```
*TEA:  defteri kapat, ağzını da kapat.
%eng:  close the notebook, also close your mouth.
*TEA:  ağız kapalı.
%eng:  mouths (are) closed.
       (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 12/10)
```

While teaching a topic, the teacher uses passive forms, for example, in "soft g" lessons, there are lots of passive constructions about how "soft g" is read and how it is written.

```
*TEA:  eylen eglen ["] diye yazılı:r # eylen ["] diye: # okunur .
%eng:  eylen is written as eglen ["] # it is read as ["] eylen.
       (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 5/4)
```

She uses reduced surface forms, which are normal in Turkish speech. She does not use orate devices such as hedges, dummy words such as *şey* ("thing"), or slang.

In one of our conversations with the teacher, she says that the difficulties faced by bilingual pupils are not related to their being bilingual. She believes that the difficulty has nothing to do with language, and expresses that it is rather an intelligence problem. Apparently, in her perception, some of the pupils learn faster because they are more intelligent than the slow learners.

3.1.5.3 Creating a structured classroom atmosphere for teaching

As already mentioned above, the teacher takes her time to create an atmosphere that she renders feasible for her teaching. For her, teaching and learning of reading and writing should take place in a structured manner. For example, the pupils are called by turn, and are asked to randomly pick a syllable card from the plastic bag. A pupil reads the syllable she/ he picked and then the pupils pronounce the syllable together with the teacher. Finally, the teacher writes the syllable on the blackboard and the pupils write it down into their

notebooks. The teacher instructs the pupils to get ready for a performance assignment by instructing them to lean back, close their notebooks, and not to write before they are told so. As reading is an activity that requires concentration, she tries to get all the pupils to concentrate on the task at hand. While a certain pupil is called to the blackboard, the teacher wants all the other pupils to follow, leaning back with closed notebooks:

```
*TEA:   evet@i arkana yasla:n .
%eng:   yes, lean back.
*TEA:   hazırsanız işilay gelebilir artık .
%eng:   if you are ready, işilay may come.
%com:   IŞI approaches TEA
*TEA:   önce@co işilay çektikten sonra@co +//.
%eng:   first, after işilay picks up.
*TEA:   defteri kapatıyoruz dedim bak defter kapalı !
%eng:   I said notebooks are closed, look, notebooks are closed.
*TEA:   işilay çektikten sonra@co yazmak yok .
%eng:   no writing after işilay picks up.
*TEA:   okuyca:z [: okuyacağız], sonra@co .
%eng:   first we read, then.
*TEA:   kapat semira !
%eng:   close, semira.
%com:   IŞI tries to pick a card from the bag
*TEA:   dur işilay !
%eng:   wait, işilay.
*TEA:   hala hazır olmayanlar va:r .
%eng:   there are still some, who are not ready.
%com:   looks at cluster 7
*TEA:   defteri kapat dedik erdal !
%eng:   we said, close the notebook, erdal.
*TEA:   evet@i daha ne kadar bekliycem [: bekleyeceğim] ?
%eng:   yes, how long should I wait?
        (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 4/1)
```

While IŞI reads, the teacher instructs the pupils not to interfere:

```
*TEA:   kimse söylemeyecek .
%eng:   nobody tells.
*TEA:   sadece işilay okuyor .
%eng:   only işilay reads.
        (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 4/2)
```

The teacher assists IŞI in reading by asking questions such as "no, look, does it start with xxx?" and "what was it?". Following upon IŞI's successful reading, the teacher asks the class to applaud her, and the act of reading takes place in a ritualised manner:

```
*IŞI:   xxx ?
%com:   very quietly
%add:   TEA
*TEA:   hayır@i xxx ile mi başlamış bak bakayım ?
%add:   IŞI
%eng:   no, look does it start with xxx?
*TEA:   <neydi> o [/] neydi ?
%eng:   what was it?
%com:   IŞI approaches TEA
*TEA:   oraya git [/] oraya git .
%eng:   go over there.
*IŞI:   lu@k .
%com:   IŞI goes back to his seat immediately
*TEA:   hah@i lu@k [/] lu@k .
%com:   holds the card up
%eng:   okay, lu.
```

```
*SIT:   lu@k .
*TEA:   alkış !
%eng:   applause.
%com:   the pupils clap
            (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 4/2)
```

After IŞI is sent back to his desk, the teacher asks the class to recite syllables with the letter "l" using the sequencing strategy, which will be further explained below. Once the syllables are recited, the reading assignment is repeated by the whole class, and all the pupils read the syllable "lu" in a very prolonged form:

```
*TEA:   la@k, <le@k, lı@k, li@k, lo@k, lö@k, lu:@k> [>] .
*ALL:   <le@k, lı@k, li@k, lo@k, lö@k, lu@k> [<] .
*TEA:   lu:@k .
%com:   pronounces the letter with a melody
*TEA:   çıktımı sonundaki harf xxx ?
%eng:   does the letter at the end come out xxx?
*ALL:   lu:@k .
*TEA:   önce:@co okuyoruz dedim !
%eng:   first we read, I said.
*TEA:   lu:@k [>] .
*ALL:   lu:@k [<] .
*TEA:   lu@k .
            (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 4/3)
```

As the above extracts suggest, by way of repeating the rules of the activity in each sequence, the teacher stresses the structured aspect of the activity. Once the reading is completed, she allows the pupils to open their notebooks to write the syllable down:

```
*TEA:   şimdi yazalım, açın defterlerinizi.
%com:   takes a piece of chalk
%eng:   now let's write, open your notebooks.
            (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 5/1)
```

The sequences discussed here clearly demonstrate that the teacher seems to believe that sticking to the structure has an enabling potential in the teaching of reading and writing as she makes an enormous effort to make the class behave in accordance with a set structure. It could be argued that her structured approach enables her to manage a crowded class. On the other hand, it has a restricting potential for the pupils who are already advanced at reading and writing, thus they have to wait for the other pupils, which results in restricting them from realising their potentials.

3.1.5.4 Division of class according to achievement levels

As already mentioned, in the teacher's mind, the pupils in the classroom belong to different achievement levels, and the teacher organises the lesson according to these achievement levels by assigning different tasks to different levels. At times, she organises her teaching by reducing the class to merely two achievement levels. At other times, there can be as many as four different levels which are assigned different tasks.

The ways in which the teacher responds to the pupils' individual problems are arranging achievement groups and working one-on-one with different pupils. In the beginning of the year, she pursues whole-class teaching where all the pupils follow the same instruction. In the course of time, some pupils lag behind, while "hardworking ones" "proceed to reading

and writing". Therefore, the teacher divides the pupils based on their achievement levels. She tries to keep track of the progress of each pupil in the class, and to arrange achievement groups accordingly. This creates a very dynamic mobility in terms of the pupils' placement in achievement groups. Sometimes, the teacher arranges two to four groups and instructs them separately. While she teaches one group, the other groups usually wait for their turn. Occasionally, the teacher gives individual tasks to the pupils while they wait until they get her attention.

At the beginning of the term, the teacher also makes the pupils stay after school for extra sessions. Occasionally in the term, she stops doing whole-class teaching and calls one or several pupils from the same achievement level to her desk to work on a one-on-one basis. This also helps her to become aware of the pupils' achievement levels. Towards the end of the second term, the teacher completely quits whole-class teaching and works on a one-on-one basis with the lowest achievers. Interestingly enough, she does not give the pupils new syllables or words to read during one-on-one study. Rather, she makes them read the same syllables or words over and over again as rote memorisation is one of her basic techniques.

In the February core lesson, the teacher works with two achievement levels. While she clarifies different uses of "soft g" [ğ] for higher achievers, she assigns the lower achievers to write words including simple syllables such as *alma* and *Mete*. Interestingly enough, while the transition from one achievement group to the other seems rather vague to an outsider, it is obvious for the classroom participants. Clearly, the pupils have no difficulty in understanding which level the teacher is addressing. The clarity in the pupils' minds is evident as, for instance, when the teacher is working with the higher achievers, some of the lower achievers do not even look at the blackboard, while others seem to listen to what the teacher is teaching, and do not attempt to write it down when the teacher instructs particular pupils to write.

One might expect that the division of the class into achievement levels could have a positive effect on the learning potentials since such an organisation might help cater for individual differences. However, the populated character of the classroom restricts the teacher's intention of handling individual differences, and as a result, there is always a considerable number of pupils sitting idly, waiting for their turn to come. Although the teacher warns them to always keep busy, to do a math exercise, a text study from the syllabus book, or painting when waiting, not many follow this instruction. As a solution to this, the teacher uses peer teaching by appointing a pupil representative and one or two assistants to the representative. Further, she pairs up pupils from two achievement levels, assigning the higher achieving pupils to aid the lower achievers. In some instances, this creates a high level of disturbance in the class. Classroom observation reveals that this may tend to develop to the disadvantage of the lower achievers since higher achievers end up writing for them. Nevertheless, the teacher does not give up on her method of assigning higher achievers to lower achievers, most probably due to the crowded character of the classroom. As a solution, she tries to communicate this problem to the pupils. On one occasion, she changes the seat of a lower achiever who gets too much help form a higher achieving pupil. In the meantime, she explains why higher achievers should not help a lot

because helping is not always advantageous, but might cause laziness in those who are aided.

It is one and a half months after the beginning of the school year that the researchers hear the pupils beginning to mention "hardworking" and "lazy" groups. Although at first, the teacher is cautious not to use those words in front of us, it is obvious from the frequent use on the part of the pupils that she made such a distinction clear to them in our absence. Corresponding with this grouping, the classroom is divided into different achievement groups. The number of different levels of achievement groups varies in accordance with the content of the particular lesson. Towards the end of the first term, the teacher begins to often change the seating arrangements according to the achievement levels.

Fig. III.3.17. 1ˢᵗ grade: Seating arrangement in early November 2007.
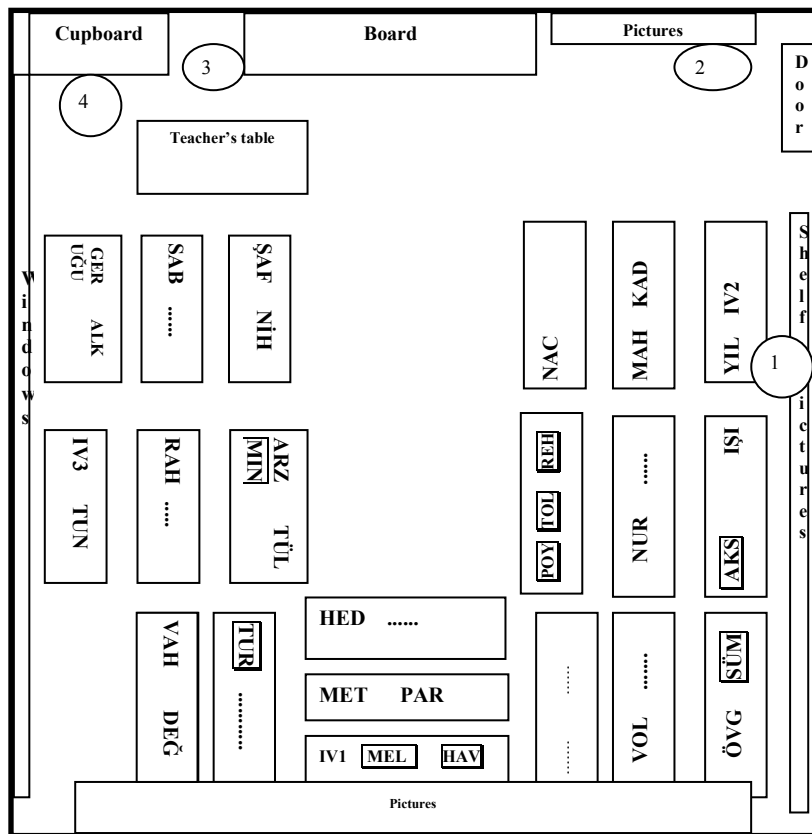
Fig. III.3.18. 1ˢᵗ grade: Seating arrangement in late November 2007.
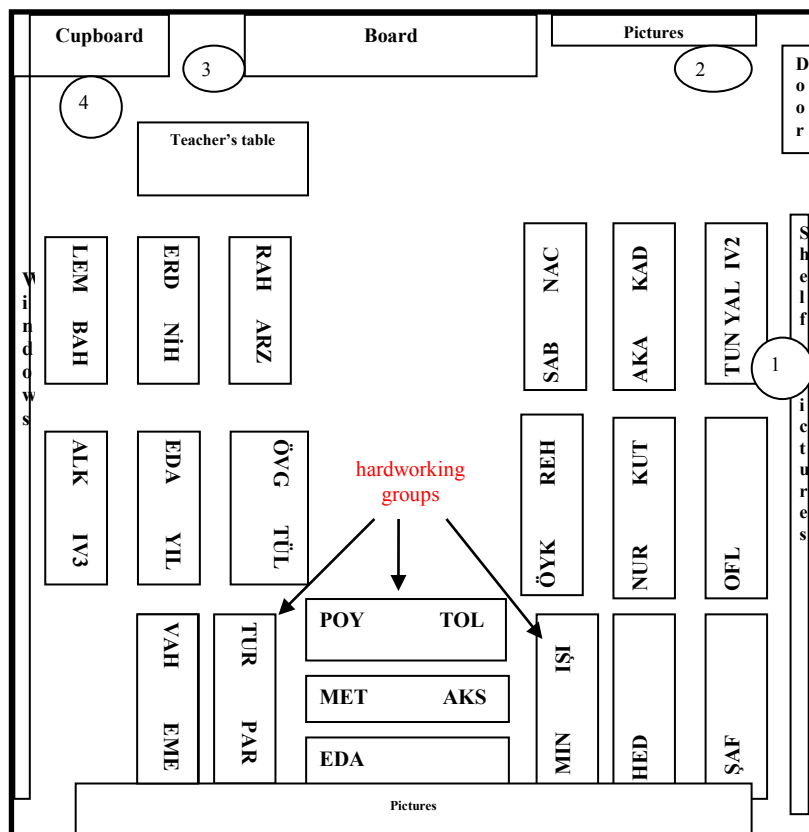
Between early and late November, there is a striking change in the seating arrangement: The pupils are starting to be placed according to their achievement levels. With to this new arrangement, "hard workers" are seated in the fourth cluster with some members in the third and fifth cluster. The less "hardworking" the pupils are, the closer they are seated to the teacher.

Although labelling the pupils as "hardworking" vs. "lazy" might seem quite discouraging for the "lazy" group at first, classroom observation clearly shows that it has a motivating influence on pupils' success. Where one sits in the classroom is a demonstrator of one's prestige in the class. The classroom is made up of different clusters, which resembles a town with different neighbourhoods, the location of which determines one's social class. This has an enabling potential as the clusters in which the pupils belong are not fixed. To the contrary, the teacher changes the clusters when she observes an achievement in individual pupils. The pupils belonging to the "hardworking" cluster need to keep working to be able to preserve their status and therefore prestige. As for the "lazy" group, they are frequently reminded that they need make an effort to become a "hard-worker", which is symbolised by the location of their seat. While this motivates the particular pupil who is upgraded and whose seat is thus changed, it serves as a model for those who want to climb the ladder of success. As the following extract implies, success is achieved by mainly two denominators, namely attending class regularly, and working hard:

```
*VOL:   kutsoy [/] kutsoy [/] kutsoy .
%com:   points to KUT
%add:   TEA
*TEA:   kutsoy'ın yanına oturabilirsin .
%add:   YIL
%eng:   you may sit down next to kutsoy.
*VOL:   a@i ama kutsoy@pr çalışkan .
%add:   TEA
%eng:   but kutsoy is hardworking.
*TEA:   olsu:n .
%add:   VOL
%eng:   doesn't matter.
*TEA:   bunu [= YIL] da çalıştırır, yildiz da çalışkan olur .
%add:   VOL
%eng:   he'll also make her [= YIL] study, also yildiz will become hardworking.
*EDA:   ben de çalışkanım .
%eng:   I am hardworking as well.
*VOL:   tembelsin sen .
%add:   EDA
%eng:   you are lazy.
*EDA:   sen tembelsin .
%add:   VOL
%eng:   you are lazy.
*TEA:   tembel değil çalışan çalışmayan var .
%add:   VOL
%eng:   there is no lazy, there are those studying, and those who are not.
*TEA:   ders çalışan, çalışmayan .
%eng:   studying their lesson and don't.
*OFL:   öğretmenim ama  +/.
%eng:   my teacher but.
%com:   raises her hand
*TEA:   derse devam eden, etmeyen, derse giren, girmeyen .
%eng:   those come regulary or not, those attend classes and not.
*TEA:   devam etmeyen arkadaşlarınızın da çok kaybı var .
%eng:   your friends, who don't come regularly, miss a lot.
*TEA:   melis'in çok kaybı var, oflaz'ın çok kaybı var .
%eng:   melis and oflaz missed a lot of subjects.
*TEA:   devamsızlık da önemli .
%eng:   attendance is also important.
            (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 15/3)
```

In the example of a lesson where the pupils are called to the blackboard to read the syllables, EDA and YIL interfere by complaining that they can not see the blackboard. Following up on that, the teacher changes the seating arrangement and instructs YIL to sit next to KUT. VOL, who actually is not one of the pupils whose seat is being changed and therefore has nothing to do with this event, objects by saying that "but Kutsoy is hardworking", which makes it clear that in VOL's mind, there is a rigid distinction between the two groups. The teacher validates her decision of seating YIL next to KUT by saying: "Doesn't matter. He'll also make her [= YIL] study, also Yıldız will become hardworking." This opens up a topic for the pupils on who is hardworking and who is not, and the pupils, in a bickering manner, begin to use the concept of "lazy" to insult each other. The teacher closes the discussion by saying: "There is no lazy, there are those studying, and those who are not. Studying their lesson and don't. Those come regularly or not, those attend classes and not. Your friends, who don't come regularly, miss a lot. Melis and Oflaz missed a lot of subjects. Attendance is also important." Hence, she elaborates on the concept of "lazy" and what is to be taken into account in defining a "lazy" pupil. Here, the teacher seems to realise what her labelling is causing, and tries to mediate. Moreover, she uses this opportunity to stress the importance of attendance. This will be further developed in the

following section that addresses the academic formation required for learning to read and write.

3.1.5.5 Behavioural requirements of learning how to read and write

It is observed that the teacher accentuates three main points for acquiring reading and writing: attendance, attentiveness, and doing homework.

3.1.5.5.1 Attendance

In the extract below, one can see that in order to learn to read and write and be actively involved in the lesson, continuous presence is a prerequisite, and the pupils not adhering to this rule have no right to disturb others.

> *TEA: oğlum sus gerçeker .
> %eng: gerçeker my son be quiet.
> *TEA: oraya konuşmaya gitmedin ama !
> %eng: you did not go there to talk
> *TEA: hiçbir şey bilmiyorsun okula hiç gelmiyo(r)sun bırak da öteki arkadaşların
>   dinlesin [?] .
> %eng: you don't know anything, you never come to school, at least leave your friends
>   alone so they could listen.
>   (Vid1_2007_11_13_1: Sequence 5/5)

Further, she maintains that in order to proceed to a higher-level group, regular attendance is necessary.

> *HAV: öğretmenim sen bana demedin ki yaz diye, bu diyo [: diyor] yazmamşsın .
> %com: points to AKS♀BIL
> %eng: you did not tell me to write, this tells me I did not write
> *TEA: yazmak zorundasın diğer kümeye geçemedin çünkü şu devamsızlıkların
>   yüzünden.
> %eng: you have to write, you could not proceed to other group because of your
>   truancy.
>   (Vid1_2008_03_18: Sequence 7/4)

The following sequence is yet another typical example that points at the strong relation the teacher frequently draws between coming to school and "proceeding to reading and writing":

> *TEA: ama bakın yalçin üç gündür üst üste artık geliyo(r) farkındamısınız ?
> %eng: by the way, did you notice that yalçin came to school continually for three
>   days.
> *TEA: sabahları kalkıyo(r) .
> %eng: he gets up in the mornings .
> *TEA: yalçina alkış .
> %eng: applaud yalçin .
> %com: the pupils applaud
> *TEA: alkış yalçina .
> %eng: applaud yalçin .
> %com: TEA approaches MAH and KUT
> *TEA: gelicek [: gelecek] bundan sonra söz verdi bana .
> %eng: from now on, he will come, he promised me .
> *POY: okumaya da geç(e)çek .
> %eng: he will gain literacy .
> *TEA: okumaya gelse çoktan geçmişti .
> %eng: if he had come, he would have already gained .
> *TEA: yalçin zeki bi(r) çocuk ama yazık ediyo(r) kendine .
> %eng: yalçin is a clever boy but he damages himself.
>   (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 4/4.3.2)

As can be seen, POY internalizes and reproduces the teacher's discourse as he immediately comments on YAL "proceeding to reading and writing" when the teacher mentions YAL's coming to school regularly. As the school is located at a high-risk school-drop-out area, and the teacher observes that the pupils have a high quota of absence, she is attentive to and watches over the fact that the pupils come to school regularly.[155] She keeps repeating the connection between coming to school and learning to read and write in almost all of her lessons, which explains POY's immediate inference.

3.1.5.5.2 Attentiveness

The teacher emphasises that the pupils are in school only to learn how to read and write and that nothing else is their responsibility. She adds that "the ones who want to become studious would follow the class very attentively."[156] Moreover, from the beginning of the year, she links attentiveness and good performance:

> *TEA: kasımın [//] cuma günü karne şeklinde rapor vericem
> [: vereceğim] .
> %eng: on friday I am going to give a performance report.
> *TEA: o rapora ben şu konuşanların isimlerini [//] şeylerini güzel[/] güzel çarpı
> işaretleriyle ailelerine durumlarını bildiricem [: bildireceğim] .
> %eng: and let parents if you are talking too much.
> *TEA: onun için ## biraz daha dikkatli olun dersi dinlerken .
> %eng: so, be more attentive while listening to lesson.
> *TEA: geliştiril^medi [//] geliştirilmeli diye bir bölüm var
> %eng: there is a "should be improved" section in the report
> *TEA: geliştirilmeli diye o bölümde geliştirmeli kısmını yazdıysam bu arkadaşınız
> okuma yazmaya geçmemiş demektir .
> %eng: and if I have marked that section that means that pupil is talking and have not
> proceeded to reading and writing.
> *TEA: eğer dönem sonuna kadar bu arkadaşın aynı şekilde devam ederse # ikinci
> sınıfa geçse bile okumaya geçemez .
> %eng: and if this pupil continues same way, he will not proceed to reading and writing
> even if they have proceeded to second grade.
> *TEA: okumaya geçemeden de mezun olur .
> %eng: and they would graduate without learning to read and write.
> *TEA: onun için bu sınıfı iyi değerlendirin .
> %eng: therefore, utilize this class well.
> (Vid1_2007_11_13_2: Sequence 2/5)

Qualifications have to be made regarding a contradictory remark made by the teacher. While in the above example, she signals that the pupils can proceed to the second grade without learning to read and write, in another instant, she threatens the pupils that she would prevent them from moving up if they fail to follow attentively and do not succeed in learning how to read and write, "no matter what the regulation says".[157]

> *TEA: evet@i dersleri dinlemeyen arkadaşlarınız gerçekten çok başarısız önce@co
> öğretmeni dinlemeyi öğrenmek lazım .
> %eng: pupils who do not listen to the lesson show really bad performance.
> *TEA: önce@co öğretmeni dinlemeyi öğrenmek lazım .
> %eng: you first need to learn to listen to the teacher.
> *TEA: bir parmak kaldırmadan konuşmayacaz [: konuşmayacağız] # öğretmenimizin
> arkadaşlarımızın sözünü kesmicez [: kesmeyeceğiz] .
> %eng: we are not going to speak without raising hand and we are not going
> to interrupt our friends and teacher's words.
> (Vid1_2008_01_14: Sequence 4/3)

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[155] For details, see chapter IV.1 on school ethnography.
[156] Vid1_2008_02_20: Sequence 7/6.
[157] Vid1_2008_01_17: Sequence 10/4.

Further, as the pupils' involvement with other, non-academic issues not only disrupts their attention and makes it more difficult to learn, but also distracts the flow of the lesson, the teacher limits the pupils' responsibility solely to reading and writing so as to maintain order.

```
*NAC:  öğretmenim bak yerinden kaçtı .
%com:  pointing to UĞU
%eng:  my teacher, look, she fled her seat.
*TEA:  otururmusun yerine ?
%add:  NAC
%eng:  would you sit down?
*TEA:  ders anlatırken gelmeyin buraya [/] gelmeyin .
%eng:  don't come here while I teach the lesson. don't come.
*NAC:  yerinden kaçtı .
%eng:  she fled her seat.
*TEA:  sen dersi dinle o benim sorunum senin sorunun değil .
%eng:  you listen to class, that is my problem not yours.
%com:  GER goes back to his seat
*TEA:  bu benim sorunum sizin sorununuz değil .
%eng:  that is my problem not yours.
%com:  goes towards her desk
*TEA:  konuşan konuşmayan sizi ilgilendirmez .
%eng:  the ones who talk and dont talk is not your business.
*TEA:  yerdeki çöpler sizi ilgilendirmez .
%eng:  the garbage on floor is not your business.
*TEA:  siz okuma yazma öğrenin .
%eng:  you just learn to read and write.
*TEA:  o benim sorunum .
%eng:  that is my problem.
*TEA:  derse bak .
%eng:  look at the lesson.
%com:  points to the board
*TEA:  etrafını izleme !
%eng:  do not gaze around!
        (Vid1_2007_11_13_1: Sequence 6/9)
```

As the teacher continues to provide similar reminders throughout the year, we observe how hard it is to keep the pupils concentrated given the age group and large class population. When it comes to the point when it becomes absolutely impossible to keep them concentrated, the teacher initiates singing, recitation and rhyme activities.

3.1.5.5.3 Studying at home

Studying at home is an issue that the teacher often emphasizes in class. She complains about the pupils' lack of complementary study at home:

```
*TEA:  ş:t@i zaten hayır@i sizin sorununuz ne biliyormusunuz ?
%eng:  you know what your problem is?
*TEA:  <sizin sorun> [///] <iki sorun var> .
%eng:  you have two problems.
*TEA:  birincisi öğretmeni dinlememek .
%eng:  first: you do not listen.
*TEA:  ikinci sorun da ne ?
%eng:  you know what the second is.
*TEA:  evde ders çalışmamak .
%eng:  not studying at home.
*TEA:  eğer +//.
%eng:  if.
*TEA:  +, bu iki sorunu çözemezseniz ben istediğim kadar başa döneyim okuma
        yazma öğrenemezsiniz .
%eng:  you do not solve these two problems no matter how much I start over you will
        not be able to learn to read and write.
```

(Vid1_2008_01_17: Sequence 10/1)

She refers to the model pupils who study at home, and tries to motivate the other pupils to
do the same:

```
*UP4:   çok çalışkan o .
%eng:   he is very hard-wrorking.
%com:   UP4 is either ALK or TUN
*TEA:   çünkü [/] çünkü o evde hiç durmadan yazı yazıyo(r)muş .
%eng:   because because he continuously writes at home.
*TEA:   annesi öyle dedi .
%eng:   his mother said so.
*TEA:   hem de okula başlamadan yazıyo(r)muş .
%eng:   even before he started school he was writing.
*TEA:   abisi yazarken yazıyo(r)muş .
%eng:   he wrote with his older brother.
*TEA:   evet@i # ben sordum onun annesine +"/.
%eng:   I asked his mother.
*TEA:   +" bu çocuk çok çabuk öğrendi dedim +" .
%eng:   I said this child learned too quickly.
*TEA:   annesi de dedi ki +"/.
%eng:   his mother said
*TEA:   önce@co kardeşi yazarken geçiyo(r)muş yanına yazıyo(r)muş .
%eng:   he sat by his brother and wrote.
*TEA:   siz öyle yapıyo(r)musunuz ?
%eng:   do you do that?
*TEA:   hayır@i .
%eng:   no.
*TEA:   eve gidince çantayı at .
%eng:   as soon as you go home, drop stuff.
*TEA:   koş televizyonun başına .
%eng:   and run to the TV.
```
        (Vid1_2007_11_13_1: Sequence 8/5)

3.1.5.6 Main strategies for learning to read and write

3.1.5.6.1 "Look at me"

The transcript excerpt below stems from a part of the lesson where the teacher is walking
around the room, checking the writings in the pupils' notebooks one by one.

```
*TEA:   sen bana bi(r) bak .
%add:   YIL
%eng:   look at me .
*TEA:   a:l:@k .
*TEA:   söylediğimi yaz .
%eng:   write what I have said .
*TEA:   a@l [/] a@l [/] a@l al:@k .
*TEA:   yildiz # a:l@k .
*TEA:   küçük_a@l .
%eng:   lower_a@l .
*TEA:   a:l@l hıh@i al:@k.
```
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 4/4.4)

When teaching YIL[158] how to write *al*, the teacher instructs her to look at her. The strategy
the teacher uses potentially has two implications: First of all, she tries to get the pupil to
concentrate on the task of listening and writing, and during that process, she does not want
the pupil to get involved with anything other than the task at hand. It is observed that the

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[158] Bilingual girl belonging to the lowest achieving group.

teacher tries to draw attention to the rapport build between the pupil and her. Presumably, the message conveyed to the pupils through the use of such a strategy is that if a good rapport can be established, it supports the acquisition of literacy. Secondly, the teacher tries to get the respective pupil to look at her mouth. Arguably, what is thus indicated is that looking at the movement of the teacher's lips and tongue, one can discover exactly which sound she is making. After making sure that YIL is looking at her, the teacher pronounces "a:l:@k", and keeps pronouncing the syllable when YIL is trying to write it down.

Lowest achievers are observed to closely follow the strategies offered by the teacher. In an example where she works with ARZ, there is evidence regarding ARZ's internalising the strategy to look at the teacher as she raises her head and looks at the teacher when she articulates "ma". ARZ then repeats "ma", and writes it down into her notebook.

3.1.5.6.2 "Do it, don't be afraid"; "you must be courageous"

Towards the end of the episode above where the teacher works with YIL, the teacher attempts to encourage her, who is apparently hesitating to write, by saying: "yes, do it [/] do it [/] don't be afraid":

```
*TEA:   evet yap [/] yap [/] yap korkma .
%add:   YIL
%eng:   yes, do it [/] do it [/] don't be afraid.
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 4/4.4)
```

Here, we observe a constructed association between learning to read and write and not to be afraid. Evidently, some pupils have internalized the teacher's discourse. The following extract is a remarkable example for this:

```
*KAD:   öğretmenim +"/.
%eng:   my teacher +"/ .
*KAD:   +" zor geliyo(r) bize ama yapçaz [: yapacağız] .
%eng:   +" we will have difficulty, but we will do .
*KAD:   dediniz +".
%eng:   you said +".
*TEA:   evet .
%eng:   yes .
*ERD:   okuma yazma için bunları yapmamız gerekir .
%add:   TEA
%eng:   for the sake of reading and writing, we should do these .
*TEA:   evet cesur ol(a)caksınız .
%eng:   yes, you must be courageous.
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 0/4)
```

Interestingly enough, we come across the use of the concepts of reading and writing and courage together in the same scene. Needless to say, the association of these two concepts seems to be rather irrelevant at first sight. However, when the transcript excerpt is analysed together with the previous one, it can easily be deduced that the teacher occasionally creates a connection between "courage" (the teacher's encouraging YIL to write by saying "don't be afraid" can also be evaluated within a similar context) and "learning how to read and write". The above transcript extract proves that the pupils belonging to the lowest achieving group are in the process of acknowledging the relevance of courage to learn how to read and write. The teacher must have said something related to the point KAD is making as he

and ERD evidently reconstruct her discourse. Remarkably, we get these kinds of comments only from this particular group of lowest achievers at this time of the school year because the "hard-working" group has already *okuma yazmaya geçmek* ("proceeded to reading and writing"), and therefore, the pupils of the latter group do not feel the need to prove themselves to the teacher by making such comments. KAD and ERD are using a compensation strategy, trying to compensate "being lazy" with their knowledge of rules, roles, and rituals, aiming at being good pupils although they have not yet achieved much in terms of reading and writing.

3.1.5.6.3 Sound-driven approach

The aim of all activities in the first year of Turkish classes is learning letters and syllables. The teacher introduces the letters of the alphabet one by one by using a sound-driven approach. This approach is promoted by the Turkish Ministry of Education and is applied in all first grades in Turkey[159]. In accordance with the sound-driven approach, the teacher first tries to support the pupils' phonological awareness. When a letter is introduced, she first gives the class several words that include and do not include that letter. For vowels, the teacher mentions the position of the tongue for that sound. See the following excerpt where she teaches YUS$^{\male MON}$ the [ɪ] sound one-on-one:

```
*TEA:   dil nasıldı bunda, bak dil yukarda
%eng:   how is the tongue positioned here, see tongue is high.
*TEA:   ı:@k .
%add:   KAN
*KAN:   ı:@k +/.
*TEA:   yap bakiyim [: bakayım] .
%eng:   let me see you do it.
*KAN:   +, ı@k .
        (Vid1_2008_03_26: Sequence 2/2)
```

She also uses a specific word for each letter to help the pupils to remember the sound and letter of that sound. For example, the teacher associates the letter [ɪ] with the word [ışık] ("light"), and whenever she asks for the [ɪ] sound, all the pupils recite [ışığın ı'sı] ("ı sound as in the word *light*") together in one voice. She extensively employs a rote memorization technique as she makes the pupils to repeat letters, words, and syllables over and over again. Choral recitation is also used as another dominant teaching practice. Since the class is too crowded to elicit individual responses regularly, the teacher makes the pupils answer or repeat the letters all together. She also uses individual elicitation from time to time.

The teacher always follows same steps for every letter: First, she introduces the letter, and the pupils write the letter in their notebook for two to three pages. After she checks every pupil's notebook, she introduces some syllables with that letter. The pupils write those syllables for two to three pages again. The teacher checks the notebooks, corrects the mistakes and helps the low achievers. Sometimes at the end of each step, and some other times at the beginning of each step, she shows the right way of doing the task by using the

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[159] As indicated before, in Turkey, the Ministry of Education chooses books to be used at schools and decides on the curriculum and teaching methods. In other words, everything is prepared by a central authority, therefore teachers use what is suggested by the government. In earlier grades, teachers may use their individual techniques more often compared to the ones in the later grades such as 7th grade.

blackboard. The last practice for the newly-given letter is copying a short text from the *Okuma-Yazma Öğreniyorum* ("I'm learning reading and writing") book. In the book, there is a special text for every letter where the letter is used as often as possible. Sometimes the effort to use the new letter in a text is so exaggerated that the text does not make any sense and therefore sounds ridiculous. This also indicates the non-contextual teaching approach of the general education system in Turkey. Here is one example of such texts:

Original text to practice letter "y"	*Translation*
Koy	Put
Koy Oya koy	Put Oya put
Soya soya koy	Peel and put
Koy suya koy	Put in the water
Kaya elini yıka[160]	Kaya wash your hands

The teacher dictates this text to make the pupils practice the consonant "y". These small practice texts are developed only to practice a new letter where the letter is used as much as possible. As a result, the sentences in most of these texts do not have a causal relation to one another. As exemplified in the text above, the sentences are put together in a verse format. The title is written in red. The relation between the lines is weak. The last line does not have any connection with the whole text at all.

Over the year, the "hardworking" pupils continue to learn new letters with short practice texts. The other two achievement groups ("lazy" pupils and "medium achievers") start over studying already introduced letters with already introduced short practice texts. The "hardworking" pupils start to read and write complete sentences and more developed texts earlier than the others, whereas "more developed texts" are here understood as texts that are not developed to practice new letters, but have a narrative plot where sentences are related to one another causally. Towards the end of the school year, the medium achievers start to read and write such more developed texts, as well. Yet, the "lazy" pupils still read and write only syllables and short practice texts by the end of the year.[161]

Among all the letters and syllables, the teacher spends extra effort to teach consonant clusters [CC] at the beginning and at the end of words, and the abstract phoneme "soft g". The general assumption that there is a one-to-one correspondence between phonemes and letters in Turkish determines how the teacher teaches consonant clusters and the abstract phoneme "soft g". She only teaches those topics to the "hardworking" group because the "lazy" group does not advance to that level. We do not observe when the "medium" achievers are introduced to consonant clusters and "soft g". It seems that the teacher does not spend much time on the two advanced topics with this group compared to the "hardworking" one. As a result, we observe that "medium" achievers have difficulties especially with "soft g".

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[160] 2008_01_10_1A _DK (enote).
[161] Note that of the LAS case pupils, none was assigned to the "lazy" group.

3.1.5.6.4 Repetition

Another remark the teacher usually makes is about remembering and recalling what has been learned by means of repetition.

```
%com:  HAV holds her notebook up to TEA
*TEA:  sen de <hep unutuyo(r)sun> ha@i [/] hep unutuyo(r)sun .
%add:  HAV
%eng:  you <alll the time forget it> ha@i [/] all the time forget it .
*TEA:  öyle olmaz ama .
%eng:  it shouldn't be like that .
*TEA:  unutursanız yazma olmaz .
%eng:  if you forget, then there will be no literacy.
       (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 4/4.5)
```

By way of establishing the importance of remembering, the teacher highlights the accumulative aspect of reading and writing.

3.1.5.6.5 Sequencing strategy

Beginning by the end of the first term, the teacher starts to use a new technique to help the pupils remember syllables. She refers to her technique as "sequencing strategy". This technique is not something that the Ministry of Education suggests; rather it seems to be an invention of the teacher herself. The reason that she shifts to such a strategy is the difficulty the pupils are having with the sound-driven approach. When each letter is introduced individually, most of the pupils experience problems with combining two sounds in a CV syllable like [ta]. So, since their major difficulty is with consonants that are hard to pronounce without a vowel, the teacher decides to teach them syllables instead of isolated consonants. By means of this sequencing technique, every consonant is provided in combination with one vowel. This creates a sequence of CVs where C is combined with a vowel in alphabetical order. For example, the sequence is as follows for the consonant [m]: *ma me mı mi mo mö mu mü*. The teacher also uses a VC combination, such as *am em ım im om öm um üm*. She gives this sequence every time when she introduces a new consonant. She then assigns the pupils to write the CV and VC versions of the sequence for two to three pages. When she asks for a CV or VC syllable, she reminds the pupils to use the sequence for the respective consonant and then find the syllable from the sequence. For example, when the pupils are expected to write [me], they are advised first to write the m-sequence, and then find out how [me] is written in that sequence. It can be hypothesised that the teacher switches from the sound-driven approach to the syllable approach by inventing this "sequencing strategy". Presumably, she considers the sound-driven approach to be confusing for the pupils because it is difficult for Turkish speakers to pronounce some letters like [l] or [r] without a vowel adjacent to it. As a result, the pupils tend to read a word like [l-a-l-e] ("tulip") as [le-a-le-a] at the very beginning of the school year. That may be why the teacher invents her sequencing strategy, i.e. the syllable approach, to support the sound-driven approach.

As already mentioned, the sequencing strategy involves both the memorisation and recalling of the sequenced vowels, and the ability to extract the vowel in question. Although some pupils easily memorise the syllables and list them correctly, they may have difficulties in managing to proceed to the second stage.

```
*TEA:   me@k [/] me@k [/] me@k [/] me@k [/] me@k .
%add:   YIL
%eng:   my daughter have you written <me@k> [/] me@k .
*TEA:   kızım me@k olması için yanına bi(r) harf gelicek .
%eng:   my daughter in order for it to be  me@k there should be a letter next to it .
*TEA:   m@l o me@k değil .
%eng:   it is m@l , not me@k .
*YIL:   a@l .
*TEA:   hayır o ma@k olur o zaman .
%eng:   no if so, it will be ma@k  .
*TEA:   me@k olması için ne gelicek [: gelecek] yanına ?
%eng:   for it to be me@k what will come next to it ?
*TEA:   me@k .
*ÖVG:   benimki doğrumu öğretmenim ?
%eng:   is mine correct my teacher ?
*TEA:   ne ol(a)cak ?
%add:   YIL
%eng:   what will come ?
*TEA:   yukar(ı)da yazmışsın bak .
%eng:   you have already written up there .
%com:   HAV approaches TEA and YIL with her notebook
*ÖVG:   e@l .
%add:   YIL
*TEA:   me@k şimdi de te@k .
%add:   YIL
%eng:   me@k now  te@k .
*TEA:   t@l [/] t@l [/] t@l .
*ÖVG:   benimki doğrumu öğretmenim ?
%eng:   is mine correct my teacher ?
*TEA:   te@k olması için ne gelicek [: gelecek] ?
%add:   YIL
%eng:   for it to be te@k  what will come [: gelecek] ?
*YIL:   a@l [/] a@l .
%add:   TEA
*TEA:   gene [: yine] e@l .
%eng:   again e@l .
*TEA:   ne a@l^sı ?
%eng:   what a@l ?
*TEA:   ezberlemiş ya@i !
%eng:   you memorised it!
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 12/7)
```

In the above transcript excerpt, although YIL listed the vowels correctly in the preceding line, she can not find the relevant vowel when she is asked to write down a word. Obviously, YIL has not yet mastered the second stage needed for efficiently using the sequencing strategy. Following the teacher's insistent questions to be able to make YIL bring out the relevant vowel, YIL finds the solution by guessing, simply naming the first vowel on the list, i.e. "a". The teacher responds to YIL's guessing by complaining that YIL memorised it, which implies that she should not have. However, the initial stage of the sequencing strategy involves memorisation, which brings us to the conclusion that what the teacher actually means is that YIL has not proceeded to the second stage of the sequencing strategy.[162]

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[162] Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 19/2 is a similar example, which indicates that BAH is able to list the syllables. However, she can not recognise a syllable when she sees it. Her lack of ability to draw the analogy restricts her ability to make use of the listing strategy in reading.

3.1.5.6.6 "What is the initial sound? Bring X next to it? What did it become?"

As explained before, the teacher assigns a sound and a gesture to each letter. For example, [m] is for *lezzet sesi* ("yummy sound"). The gesture for [m] is a hand gesture of enjoying a meal. This helps the pupils to remember which letter the teacher refers to. She uses this sound-letter association for both writing and reading tasks. When a pupil is asked to read a CV syllable, the teacher asks him/ her first to find which sound the syllable starts with. For example, if a pupil is asked to read [mɯ], the teacher first asks him/ her the following question: "With which sound does this start?". She always reminds the pupils to find the first letter. In the example below, a pupil is expected to make the association between [m] and *lezzet sesi*. When the pupil is successful in finding the first letter, the teacher asks what the second letter is. The second letter in the syllable [mɯ] is [ɯ]. The sound-letter association for the letter [ɯ] is achieved through repeating the phrase *ışığın ı'sı* ("[ɯ] sound as in the word light"). Then, the pupil is expected to combine the two sounds together to read the syllable. Although the teacher seems to acknowledge this breaking down the strategies of teaching how to read into progressive stages (or steps), she does not seem to fully acknowledge that the pupils might have a distinctive difficulty in combining the (steps) stages. The combination of the steps actually equals the ability to read. The teacher expects the pupils to be able to relate and transfer the knowledge gained from the sequencing strategy, which may not be possible for a number of pupils who have not yet proceeded to that stage. Below is an example to this:

```
%com:  TÜL picks a card
*TEA:  allahtan ko@pr <kolay> harfler geliyo(r) [/] kolay .
%eng:  out of chance, she picks an easy letter.
*TEA:  ben bunu [= the bag] iyice karıştırayım ya@i .
%eng:  let me mix it [= the bag] more.
*KAD:  bana kolay gelsin .
%eng:  let me pick an easy one.
*TÜL:  e@l ?
%add:  TEA
*TEA:  hı@i ?
%add:  TÜL
*TÜL:  ne@k .
*TEA:  a:@i ne@kmi o ?
%eng:  is this ne?
*TEA:  nedir o ?
%eng:  what is that?
*TEA:  lezzet_sesi .
%eng:  the sound of appetite.
*TÜL:  m:@l .
*TÜL:  m:@l .
%com:  makes the gesture of enjoying a meal with her hand
*TEA:  ha@i e:@i ?
*TÜLN: m:@l .
*TEA:  e@l^nin sonuna lezzet_sesi getir.
%eng:  bring the sound of appetite at the end of e.
*TEA:  e:@l +...
*TÜL:  m:@l .
%com:  makes the gesture of enjoying a meal with her hand
*TEA:  noldu [: ne oldu] ?
%eng:  what happened ?
*TEA:  e:@l +...
%com:  TEA makes the gesture of enjoying a meal with her hand
*TÜL:  ım@l .
%com:  makes the gesture of enjoying a meal with her hand
*TEA:  lezzet_sesi işte .
```

```
          %eng:  look, the sound of appetite.
          *TEA:  noldu [: ne oldu] ?
          %eng:  what happened ?
          *TEA:  kendi ağzıyla söylüyo(r) okuyamıyor .
          %eng:  she is telling it, but she can not read.
          *OFL:  öğretmenim ben +/.
          %eng:  my teacher, I...
          %com:  TÜL goes back to her seat.
                 (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 21/3)
```

The above sequence indicates that TÜL manages to pronounce isolated sounds, but she can not yet join them.

3.1.6 Frame of reference to literacy

3.1.6.1 Reading for the teacher

Strikingly, the pupils who are called to the blackboard read as if their only addressee is the teacher, and not the other pupils. Their voice is so low that it can only be heard by the teacher who is standing right next to them, and also their body postures show that they are doing their reading exclusively for the teacher. This indicates that in the pupils' perceptions, reading is an activity that is done for the teacher. Although in the example below, 11 pupils in total have previously been called to the blackboard to read syllables, the teacher mentions only now for the first time that the respective pupil should turn to the classroom when reading.

```
          %com:  MAH picks a card from the bag
          *TEA:  evet@i okuyo(r)sun sınıfa dön .
          %add:  MAH
          %eng:  okay, you read. turn (your face) to the class.
          *MAH:  na@k .
          *TEA:  na@k .
          *TEA:  göstermedin ama .
          %eng:  but you did not show.
          *TEA:  na@k .
          *ALL:  na@k .
          *TEA:  na@k .
          *ALL:  na@k .
                 (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 13/6)
```

3.1.6.2 Writing for the teacher

Remarkably, for some of the pupils, the addressee of their writings is also the teacher, whereas others write for themselves. A good example for the former is ŞAF's erasing from his notebook the part where he listed the syllables to be able to find the relevant syllable he is supposed to write. This also shows that in ŞAF's perception, the literacy learning *process* is not included in the end *product*, i.e. what is written in the notebook. A contradictory example becomes evident in the transcript extract below. Like ŞAF, OFL listed the syllables in order to find the relevant syllable; however, unlike ŞAF, she does not erase the listed syllables, and continues to write the assigned syllable next to the listed syllables. When the teacher approaches her to check her notebook, it takes her a while to make sense of this. Once she understands that OFL produced a list by using the sequencing strategy, the teacher instructs her to erase the sequencing part, saying that it confuses her. It is interesting to note that the teacher asks the pupil to change her writing strategy because it is confusing

for the teacher. Also, this proves that in the teacher's mind, the notebook should include the assigned writings, but exclude the learning process.

```
*TEA:   bu ne ya@i ?
%add:   OFL
%eng:   what's it ?
*TEA:   sen napıyosun [: ne yapıyorsun] kafana göremi takılıyo(r)sun ?
%eng:   what are you doing are you hanging around ?
*TEA:   ha@i bunu sen sıralamışsı:n .
%eng:   I got it, you have listed this .
*OFL:   haha@i .
*TEA:   ama # şu sıraladığını sil istersen benim kafam karışıyo(r) .
%eng:   yet, it is better if you erase that sequencing part, it is confusing for me .
*TEA:   şunu sil .
%eng:   erase that .
*TEA:   bi(r) de büyük_me@k var .
%eng:   and also there is capital_me@k .
*TEA:   afferin [: aferin] doğru sıralamışsın .
%eng:   well done, you have listed all correct .
*TEA:   şu aradakini sil .
%eng:   erase that in between.
*OFL:   tamam .
%eng:   all right .
        (Vid1_2008_02_27: Sequence 8/2)
```

3.1.6.3 Reading as an activity that requires concentration

In a performance assignment where the pupils are expected to read randomly chosen syllables, BAH is called to the blackboard and expected to read *re*. The extract below shows that the teacher emphasizes continuously that BAH might have difficulties with the task and that therefore the class members should keep silent.

```
*TEA:   bahar zorlanabilir şimdi sesinizi si@pr [///] ke@pr kesinlikle sessiz olun .
%eng:   bahar may have some difficulty now. your voice... be absolutely silent.
*TEA:   bahar zorlanabilir, çıt@i çıkarmayın, bahar'un dikkati dağılmasın kafası
        dağılabilir .
%eng:   bahar may have difficulty. don't say a word. don't distract bahar.
*TEA:   < bahar gel> [/] bahar gel .
%eng:   bahar come.
*TEA:   kapat defteri .
%eng:   close the notebook.
*TEA:   reha [/] reha kapat hadi [: haydi] .
%eng:   reha, close it, come on.
*REH:   öğretmenim yazmadım ki .
%eng:   my teacher, I did not write.
*TEA:   yaz çabuk .
%eng:   write faster.
*TEA:   tülay kızım neden dediğimi yapmıyo(r)sun ?
%eng:   tülay, my girl, why don't you do what I say?
%com:   BAH approaches TEA
*TEA:   bir tane .
%add:   BAH
%eng:   one unit.
*TEA:   bak bir tane demek şu .
%eng:   look, one unit is this.
%com:   points to one syllable on the blackboard
*TEA:   bi:r [/] bi:r [/] bi:r .
%eng:   one.
%com:   draws a circle around each syllable on the blackboard
*BAH:   bir [/] bir [/] bir [/] bir [/] bir .
%eng:   one.
*TEA:   <kendini boşuna yoruyo(r)sun> [///] boşuna kendini # yoruyo(r)sun .
%add:   TÜL
```

```
%eng:  you tire yourself in vain.
*TEA:  evet@i şimdi: Bahar zorlanıyor, sizin sessiz olmanız gerekiyor .
%eng:  well, now Bahar has difficulty. you should be quiet.
*TEA:  volkan .
*TEA:  bahar zorlanıyo(r) dedim, sizin çok sessiz olmanız lazım .
%eng:  I said that bahar has it difficult. you should be silent.
*TEA:  evet@i .
%eng:  well.
%com:  BAH picks a card
*TEA:  bakalım bahar okuyabilecekmi çok merak ediyoru:m .
%eng:  let's see. I am wondering whether bahar will be able to read.
*TEA:  zorlanıyo(r) çünkü@co .
%eng:  because she is having difficulty.
       (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 19/1 & 19/2)
```

The teacher's effort to make the other pupils keep silent might have an enabling influence on BAH's ability to read as a silent classroom atmosphere expectedly provides an environment that would contribute to BAH's concentration. On the other hand, the teacher's overstressing the fact that BAH is having difficulties in reading might potentially cause performance anxiety, and negatively influence her ability to read, since the following sequences suggest that BAH still does not manage to read despite the teacher's efforts.

The teacher attaching this much importance to the silence in the classroom also implies that reading is an activity that requires attention. This is in congruence with her making the pupils put bags in between them and thereby making them create their own space where they can concentrate on their writing.

3.1.6.4 Conscious reading vs. wrong reading

According to the previous literacy teaching method, syllables, not sounds are emphasized. Words are introduced as units of meaning formed by syllables to serve as structural units to form sentences. However, the parents of the first-graders learned to read and write in accordance with that method, and therefore pronounce [r] as a syllable *re* instead of individual consonant "r". Consequently, the pupils who get parental support at home learn to read with two different methods, and must develop the capability of shifting from one method to the other as they move from home to school and vice versa.

The teacher is against parents teaching their children as she believes this complicates her job even more. In the example below, ARZ reads the way she is taught by her parents, and the teacher calls this "not a conscious reading", and "wrong teaching", which implies that "right" and "conscious" reading is only taught in school, while home-teaching is associated with "non-conscious" and "wrong" outcomes.

```
*TEA:  üstelik farkında olmadan re@k^yi söyledi .
%eng:  besides, she told re without noticing.
*TEA:  bilerek söylemedi yani .
%eng:  without noticing.
*TEA:  bilinçli bi(r) okuma değil .
%eng:  not a conscious reading.
*TEA:  söyledi de .
%eng:  she said it.
*TEA:  yalnız hangisine re@k dedi biliyo(r)musunuz ?
%eng:  but do you know, what she called re?
*TEA:  sadece buna [= holds the card] ne dedi +/.
%eng:  what did she call this?
```

```
*OFL:   öğretmenim parla söylüyo(r) .
%eng:   my teacher, parla is telling.
*TEA:   +, bu da neden ?
%eng:   why is that?
*TEA:   anneleriniz yanlış öğretiyor .
%eng:   your mothers teach wrongly.
*TEA:   şuna [= the letter_r] re@k diyor .
%eng:   they call it [= the letter_r] re.
*ERD:   r:@l .
*TEA:   anne bana bunu yanlış öğretiyor .
%eng:   the mother teaches me this wrong.
*TEA:   bak şunu [= the card] çıkarır çıkarmaz re@k dedi çocuk .
%eng:   she called this (card) re.
*TEA:   yanlış öğretmek yüzünden ben bir türlü arzu'ya ulaşamıyorum .
%eng:   because of wrong teaching, I cannot communicate with arzu/ reach arzu.
        (Vid1_2007_12_11: Sequence 23/7)
```

As the extract indicates, the teacher sees parents as an obstacle to her teaching and does not want them to be involved in pupils' studying as she believes they would teach them wrongly. As a result, a rigid division is drawn between the home space and the school space, hindering the transition from one to the other.

3.1.7 Summary and conclusion

The overall aim of this chapter was to investigate the enabling and restricting potentials of social and linguistic structures in the concrete process of literacy acquisition in the first grade. The first section dealt with the use of space and classroom materials as used in the lesson co-construction through seating and classroom arrangements, blackboard use, and written materials. The second section analysed the way in which time is used in the classroom as it pertains to lesson construction as part of an ongoing whole-day activity with no particular introductions and closures, and the partition of the class period into various activities. The third section laid forth the classroom dynamics as evidenced by the teacher's strategies and attitudes towards creating a classroom atmosphere that facilitates learning. The main teaching techniques observed throughout the school year were summarised. The final section described the frame of reference to literacy as co-constructed by the pupils and the teacher in the daily teaching and learning practices.

It has been evidenced in detail that for the first-graders, the exclusive purpose of being in school is to learn how to read and write as it is explicitly conveyed to them throughout the year. Given this primary purpose, coupled with an underlying assumption that effective learning can only take place within a structured atmosphere with strictly intact rules, roles, and rituals, all lesson contents, material arrangements and activities oscillate around reaching this goal. Towards this end, the U-structured seating arrangement with the blackboard being the central teaching device is quite instrumental in terms of focusing everyone's attention and enabling the teacher's control over the classroom. Further, the absence of other artefacts used for teaching and motivational or enforcement purposes is also instrumental in creating attention as there is no distraction. However, a lack of variety in supplemental devices is also restricting in terms of learning potentials as it becomes harder to keep such an age group focused for longer periods.

The analysis of time management suggests that with the absence of elaborate introductions and closures, more time can be allocated to topical activities. However, the extra time gained this way is offset by the practice that everyone is supposed to do the same in synchronization, and by the overpopulation of the classroom. There is a lot of time vacuum created, forcing the pupils to sit idly and often resulting in chattering while they are waiting for each other when acting as a collective, and waiting for the teacher when she works individually with each group and, later on, primarily with low achievers.

We have observed that there is a mechanical approach to literacy acquisition and consequently, an emphasis on technical skills taught through structural schematic tasks such as copying from the blackboard and the textbook, imitation, repetition and the like. Although pupil-initiated question/ answers for clarification increase towards the end of the year and they contribute as much as the teacher as the year unfolds, these techniques result in learning based solely on rote memorisation.

As for classroom dynamics, the teacher-pupil relationship is significant in the sense that the teacher is unquestioningly accepted as the central authority figure, and this is quite instrumental in attaining the classroom order that facilitates a learning atmosphere easing the pressure on the teacher in an overpopulated classroom. However, the gap she creates between the establishment of certain rules and their actual practice leads to their deficient implementation even by the end of the school year. In certain respects, classroom dynamics go beyond what is imposed by the curriculum and beyond the above-stated purposes. We have observed that the repetition of classroom rules, with the primary aim to learn and internalise them, has a binary purpose. It does not only directly open up a medium that facilitates a convenient teaching and learning atmosphere, but also indirectly serves to move beyond academic education to encompass behavioural education as well. Therefore, although the pupils are treated and expected to behave as pupils from the first day, the intended behavioural education aims to shape the pupils as civil individuals with an awareness of rights and duties. The introduction of concepts such as honesty, respect for the rights of others, fairness, courteousness, equality, justice, and worth of hard work, although seemingly above the pupils' cognition levels, should be interpreted within this framework.

It is noteworthy that although the teacher is very strict about the implementation of rules and norms appropriate for learning, she is also quite flexible when it comes to successfully observing and accommodating classroom dynamics accordingly. This implies her departing from the guidelines of the curriculum with respect to certain teaching strategies the teacher develops. As the teacher is well aware of the advancement level of each pupil, she implements various strategies to enable all of them to join in the learning process. For example, moving from the sound-based approach imposed by the Ministry to the syllable based sequencing strategy, as well as creating a sound-gesture relation, are notable as they are strategies developed by the teacher herself.

Furthermore, as the year begins, there is whole-class learning that develops into achievement-group learning as early as December, and eventually culminates in one-on-one teaching primarily with low achievers towards the end of the school year. Likewise, the lesson composition changes as the year progresses according to progress levels, as well. We

have observed that in the beginning of the year, the time spent on instructions, elaborations and clarifications exceeds the actual time spent on tasks. By mid-year, equal time is spent on both, with instructions slowly waning towards the end, especially when working with the pupils individually. In addition, there is no text reading, but only letter and syllable reading, and the time spent on reading is less than the time spent on writing in the first term. In the second term, we observe the entire absence of reading collectively as the teacher spends most of the lesson time with low achievers. Also, the high-achiever groups proceed to reading and writing complete sentences and more developed texts (i.e., texts with narrative plots) earlier than the others and are asked to summarise texts towards the end of year. However, as the low achievers are still struggling with letters and syllables, the teacher ends up having no time to work with the advanced pupils, or to check their work. Therefore, the most significant downside of these accommodative measures is that it restricts "hardworking" pupils from reaching their full potentials, rather than catering individual differences, as they are mostly left on their own given the overcrowded classroom.

3.2 Lesson analysis: 7ᵗʰ grade

3.2.1 Introduction

The teacher of the seventh LAS grade, in his mid-20ies, is in the third year of his teaching career. He stems from Central Anatolia, and following a year of teaching in his hometown, he came to our school of research and has been teaching here for two years. He is the Turkish teacher for all three sections of the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, so he has no free time except Tuesday mornings. In addition to the Turkish lessons, he also teaches the counselling course for one hour per week. He is responsible for the social activities of this seventh grade, such as deciding which pupil is assigned to which social club.[163] In his free time, he likes using computers, downloads movies from the internet and listens to music on the internet.

3.2.2 Use of space and classroom materials

3.2.2.1 Seating arrangement

Until November, the seventh-grade classroom was designed with desks arranged in rows as illustrated in Figure III.3.19:

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[163] In the middle grades in Turkish schools, every teacher is assigned to a particular class for one one-hour counseling lesson per week. The responsibilities of the teacher include deciding and organising the pupils' social clubs and discussing themes such as social values and social responsibilities of the pupils.

Fig. III.3.19. 7th grade: Seating arrangement 1
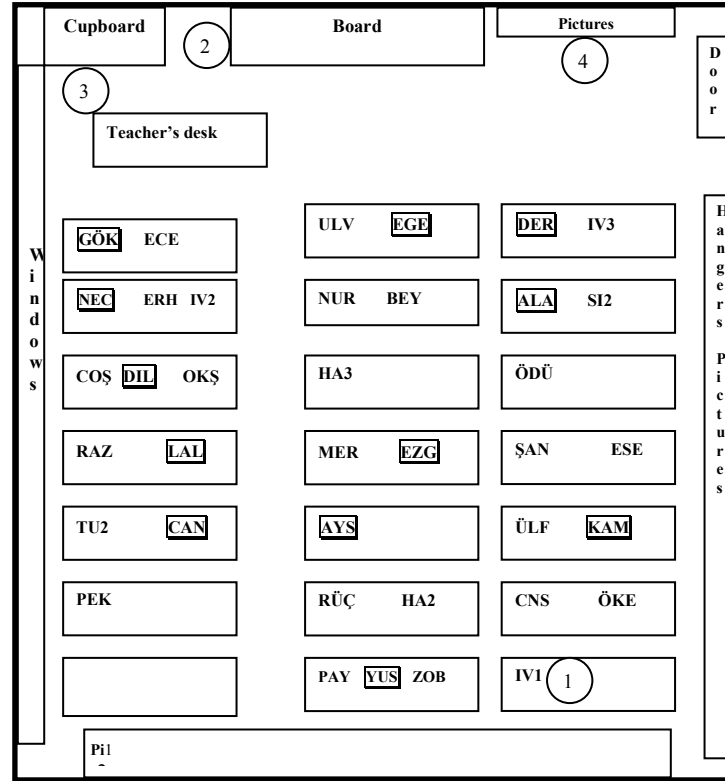
From then on, the seating arrangement was changed to an U-shape (see Fig. III.3.20), and stayed like that until the end of the school year. Although the collected data does not provide any information about the restricting and enabling potentials of the two different seating arrangements, it can be argued that the U-shaped seating arrangement facilitates a better view of the blackboard, which is the main functional item of the classroom.

Fig. III.3.20. 7th grade: Seating arrangement 2
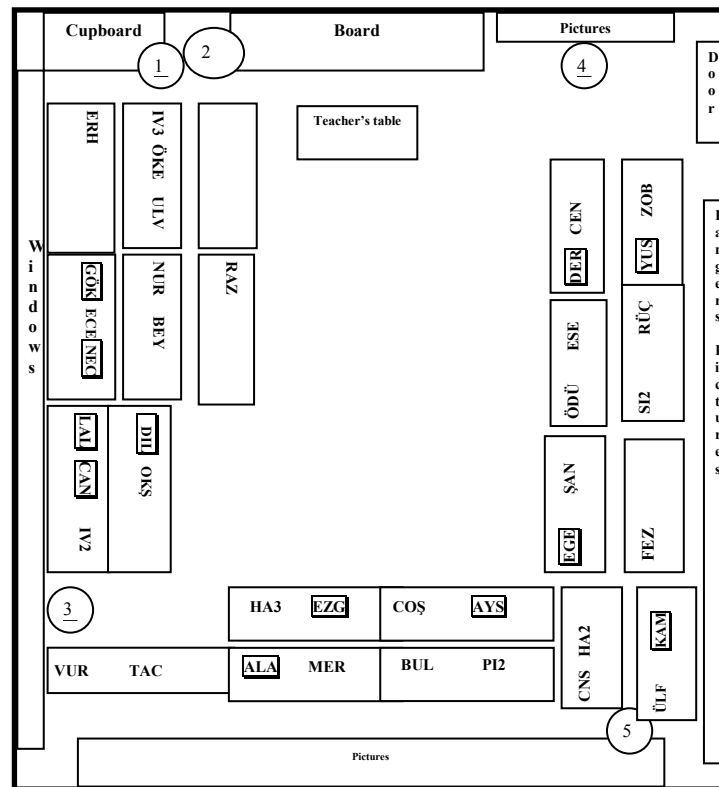
Figure III.3.21 below shows the classroom population throughout the school year. As indicated, the average classroom population is 35 pupils. Given the fact that the classroom is highly populated, the seating arrangement displayed above, arguably, has an enabling effect in encouraging pupils' contributions as well.

Fig. III.3.20. 7th grade: Classroom population
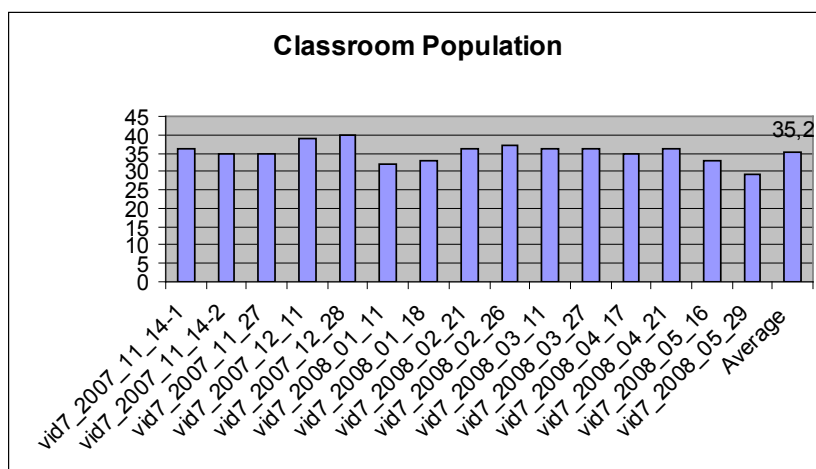
3.2.2.2 Blackboard use

In some of the lessons, the name and the subject of the lesson are written on the upper left side of the blackboard. As this is the responsibility of the pupils in duty, which rotates

every day, and since the teacher does not follow up whether the pupils in duty carry out this part of their responsibility, the lesson subject is not always displayed on the blackboard. Originally, the respective pupils look into the Turkish textbook for the subject of the lesson as the textbook is organised thematically (see below).

In the majority of the lessons, there are no writings on the blackboard throughout the class. Sometimes, it is used by the pupils' representative prior to the teacher's arrival at the classroom, noting down those pupils who speak while waiting for the teacher. During the lesson, the teacher either makes no use of the blackboard at all, or employs it for grammar units (see Figures III.3.21 and III.3.22 below).

Fig. III.3.21. 7ᵗʰ grade: TEA's use of the blackboard for grammar

Fig. III.3.22. 7ᵗʰ grade: Translation of the writings on the blackboard in Fig. III.3.21
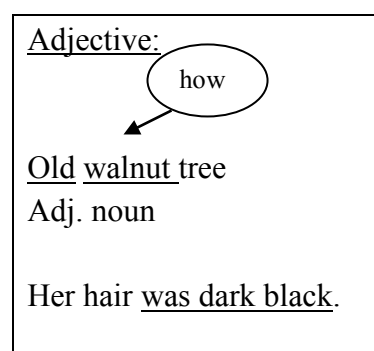
The teacher usually dictates definitions of grammatical categories such as "adjective" and "adverb". He uses the blackboard to work on the examples by writing them down and explaining them himself, but sometimes he also calls up a pupil and makes him/ her write the examples. The pupils copy from the blackboard into their notebooks.

3.2.2.3 Classroom arrangement in general

The display of Atatürk's portrait, the Turkish flag, and the other patriotic items is basically the same as in the first grade (see section 3.1.2.3 of this chapter). In addition to the blackboard, there are two more boards, one of which is hung on the right side of the blackboard, the other on the back wall of the classroom behind the clusters 5, 6, and 7. These boards have the purpose of exhibiting the pupils' works, but they also exhibit their works above the coat hangers placed behind the clusters 1, 2, and 3. The pupils' works might, for example, be on the meaning and importance of special days that are determined by the Ministry of Education, such as *Polis Haftası* ("National Police Week") (see Fig. III.3.24). Additionally, there is a number of works that state the importance of the Turkish language and how to protect it from the influence of English (see Figures III.3.25-28). Furthermore, some standard topics taken from the curriculum (e.g., the benefits of reading books) are also worked on and presented on the classroom boards (see Fig. III.3.26). The teacher assigns hardworking pupils such as EZG♀ᴮᴵᴸ, NES♀ᴮᴵᴸ, and AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ to the duty of preparing and organising these boards. However, it needs to be mentioned that not all of these pictures are functional since the theme referred to in the lesson does not necessarily

relate to what is exhibited in posters and on boards. We never observed that the teacher or the pupils mention them during the lessons.

Fig. III.3.23. 7th grade: Poster on "Occupations"

Fig. III.3.24. 7th grade: Board on "National Police Week"

Fig. III.3.25. 7th grade: "HEY! My Friend Do You Know Turkish? (If so, speak Turkish)
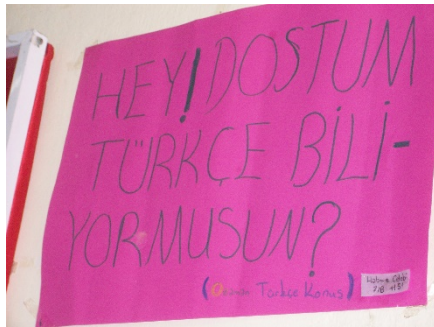
Fig. III.3.26. 7th grade: Board on the benefits of reading books

Fig. III.3.27. 7th grade: Poster offering Turkish translations for English words used in daily life
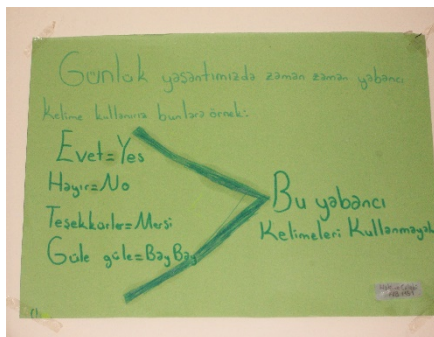
Fig. III.3.28. 7th grade: Poster saying "We shall not ruin our Turkish with foreign words"
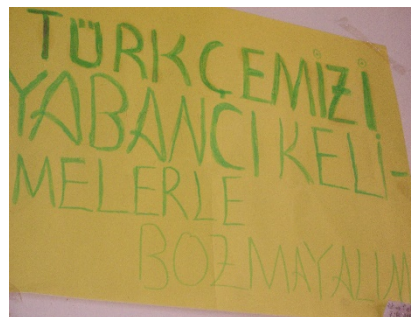
On the left side of the blackboard, there is a messy closet with books inside. The pupils occasionally make use of these books, but the messiness does not help them to make efficient use of the books. Moreover, the books in the class library are quite randomly compiled. For example, in the same shelf there is a book called "evolution deception" and a

book with the marketing line "it is going to drop like a bomb to working class' agenda". There are a few English and French books as well. The books are listed on a hand-written piece of paper and hung on the side of the bookshelf in April. And already in April, the shelves are totally dispersed and books thrown around. Once the listing has been done, the job is finished, and no one cares what happens afterwards.

The teacher's desk is placed in the middle of the classroom, enabling all the pupils to see him at all times. He either stands in the middle of the classroom or sits on his desk, and from time to time, he walks around the room to monitor he pupils.

3.2.2.4 Pupils' materials

The pupils are not well equipped concerning the materials they ought to bring to the classroom. In each lesson, a number of pupils can be observed without a book opened in front of them. In such cases, they either share books with their neighbouring classmate, or they just sit idly. Also, it is common for the pupils to forget their pencils and erasers, in which case the exchange of materials takes place during the lesson. The pupils searching for basic classroom materials is common and often results in lesson disruptions. The following excerpt is taken from a lesson where the teacher has just started a dictation:

```
*ÖDÜ:  kırmızı kalemin varmı ?
%add:  DIL
%eng:  do you have red pencil?
%com:  walks towards DIL
*TEA:  ödül geçen ders sana kızdım dimi [: değilmi] ?
%eng:  ödül, in the last lesson, I was angry with you, right?
*TEA:  kalem ayarla dedim .
%eng:  I told you to have a pencil with you.
       (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 3/3)
```

In this example, a pupil asks another pupil whether she has an extra red pencil. The teacher warns them because this exchange is happening during the lesson. He reminds them that he already got angry in the previous lesson upon the same behaviour because it creates distraction.

3.2.2.5 Written materials directly related to lesson content

The teacher has a teacher's manual[164] open in front of him, and usually reads from there. The manual is prepared and distributed by the Ministry of Education for all grades and includes guiding instructions for class activities and questions that can be used during class discussions. The teacher usually reads a series of open-ended questions one after another, each of which originally invites long, elaborated discussions, which obviously makes it impossible for the pupils to react appropriately. We may judge by the way in which the teacher makes use of the manual that it has the sole function of facilitating the teacher's job, preventing him from getting into the trouble of preparing for the lesson. It can be concluded

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[164] The teacher's manual is prepared in accordance with the new curricular programme that was put into effect in 2004/ 2005. The underlying idea of the programme is a pupil-centred approach that leads the pupils to question and explore, leaving the teacher with the function of guidance and facilitating.

that, used in this way, the teacher's manual potentially restricts in-class discussion activities.

The pupils have a set of a matching textbook and workbook, each of which is designed in accordance with the curricular programme published by the Ministry of Education. The lesson content is strictly dependent on the textbook and the workbook, the content of which is as follows (see Fig. III.3.30):

Fig. III.3.28-29. 7th grade: Workbook, textbook.   *Fig. III.3.30. 7th grade: Table of contents of the workbook and textbook.*

Theme 1: Rights and freedom,
Theme 2: Ataturkism,
Theme 3: Nature and universe,
Theme 4: Emotions and dreams,
Theme 5: Habits,
Theme 6: National culture.

As already stated, the teacher and therefore the pupils follow the textbook page by page, and rather than aiming at a holistic understanding of the themes in question, the overall purpose is to complete the exercises and proceed to the next exercise/ page. In an incident where the pupils are to present their homework on examples for adjectives, it was observed that they do not correct their answers by way of erasing the wrong one and replacing it with the correct one. Moreover, the teacher does not warn the pupils to correct their answers either. As a result, the pupils' notebooks consist of some wrong examples for adjectives together with a number of right examples, written below the same headline. Again, this points at an approach where the ultimate purpose is to finish or to complete a given work, but it does not involve going back and checking whether it is done correctly.

The pupils also have notebooks that they rarely use. All notebooks start with *İstiklal Marşı* ("National Anthem"). The pupils copy the full anthem from their textbooks into their notebooks. Then comes a chart about the pupils' reading habits. They are expected to write

how many pages they read each week in that chart. Notebooks are mainly used for writing down the teacher's dictations and examples. The pupils also write exercises such as essays and poems in their notebooks. Most pupils do not carry their notebooks with them, therefore they have a tendency to write on loose pieces of paper. The teacher complains that the pupils write on papers and lose them afterwards. That is why there are lots of missing pages also in the case pupils'' notebooks. The following list shows what EZG♀BIL's notebook, which is one of the most complete ones, contains:

– *İstiklal Marşı* (National Anthem) for 2 pages,
– chart about her reading habits,
– a national poem about the Çanakkale War,
– several definitions and examples of grammatical categories dictated by the teacher,
– several texts with comprehension questions and answers to those questions,
– one short essay about *Cumhuriyet Bayramı* ("Republic Day"),
– one expository essay on the saying *Tatlı dil her kapıyı açan sihirli bir anahtardır* ("kindness does more than harshness"),
– one personal narrative by using some predefined words,
– one personal narrative about her winter break,
– one incomplete fable (she only writes the beginning formula *Bir varmış bir yokmuş evvel zaman içinde kalbur saman içinde* etc. – "once upon a time"),
– one short story about a teacher and her class,
– an incomplete fable titled *Akıllı Keçi* ("smart donkey"),
– an incomplete essay titled *Padişahlar* ("kings"),
– one incomplete poem called *İstanbul'a mektup* ("letter to Istanbul"),
– a love poem to her lover called *Sevda bu kadar*.

3.2.3 Use of time in lesson construction

3.2.2.1 Lesson beginnings

A lesson period is 40 minutes, the end of which is marked by the ringing of the school bell. The pupils are expected to be present and ready in the classroom when the school bell rings, and the pupils' representative is expected to write the names of those who speak in the absence of the teacher on the blackboard. The teacher commonly enters the classroom late without any explanation about why he is late. Below are selected transcript excerpts that show how a typical lesson begins.

```
*TEA:   evet@i oturalım .
%eng:   well, sit down.
*TEA:   oturalım !
%eng:   let's sit down.
%com:   PUPs shout and talk to each other when TEA comes in.
[…]
*TEA:   evet@i geç !
%eng:   well, sit down.
*ECE:   hocam .
%eng:   my teacher.
*ECE:   okuyabilirmiyim ?
%eng:   may I read?
TEA:    evet@i oturduk .
%eng:   okay, we sat down.
```

In the example above, the teacher enters the classroom 8:52 minutes after the official beginning of the lesson, and instructs the pupils to sit down. In this short excerpt, the teacher repeats the same words *evet oturalım* ("well, sit down") four times while waiting for the pupils to be ready for class.

```
*TEA:   ş:it@i .
*TEA:   oğlum ?
%eng:   my boy.
%com:   rising intonation, looking at the male PUPs who are in front of the door; DER is
        standing next to the TEA's table
*TEA:   hala çalıyo(r) ya:@i .
%eng:   he is still playing [= the flute].
%com:   looks at KAM; KAM puts his flute in his school bag
*RAZ:   hocam .
%eng:   my teacher.
%com:   showing a book to TEA
*DER:   ayakta kaldım .
%eng:   I don't have a seat.
*TEA:   yerine geç oğlum !
%eng:   sit down to your place.
%com:   looks at DER; PUPs go on talking and walking around the classroom
*TEA:   ayağa kalkıyoruz dimi [: değilmi] ?
%eng:   we stand up, right?
*ÖDÜ:   evet@i .
%eng:   yes.
*TEA:   konuşmuyoruz !
%eng:   we don't talk.
%com:   with rising intonation
*CNS:   hocam xxx .
%eng:   my teacher xxx.
*TEA:   ş:it@i .
*TEA:   evet@i iyi dersler .
%eng:   well, have a good lesson.
*ALL:   sağol .
%eng:   thank you.
*TEA:   oturalım .
%eng:   let's sit down.
[…]
*TEA:   evet@i .
%eng:   well.
*TEA:   dinleme metnimiz vardı dinliyo(r)duk dimi [: değilmi] ?
%eng:   there was a text that we listen, we were listening it, right?
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 0/1, 0/2, 0/3, 0/6, 1/1)
```

Here, the teacher enters classroom 7 minutes after the official beginning, instructs the pupils to stop ongoing activities and reminds them of the initiating rituals such as standing up when the teacher enters the class. He announces that they will continue with the text that they working on before.

In the following example, similar to the previous ones, the teacher enters the classroom 14:25 minutes after the bell rang. He is nervous, yells at the pupils for not being in their seats, and orders them to be quiet, shouting. The teacher reminds class representative (ŞAN) to maintain order before he comes to class.

```
%com:   PUPs wait for TEA; a group of girls play a game by clapping their hands; TEA
        enters room and walks to his table while PUPs are talking; TEA is standing
        behind his table
*TEA:   şi:t@i !
%eng:   sh!
%com:   TEA waits for PUPs to settle and looks at class a little nervously; PUPs stand
```

up; OKŞ is sitting near BUL and PI2 and she moves to her desk when TEA
enters room; OKŞ passes by TEA while she is going to her desk and bows
TEA
*TEA: ne geziyorsun or(a)da ?
%add: OKŞ
%eng: why are you walking there?
*OKŞ: tenefüste ordaydım !
%eng: I was there during the break.
%com: surprised, pointing at the desk she came from with her flute
*TEA: tenefüs geçti bak beş dak(i)ka oldu .
%eng: the break is over, look it has been five minutes.
%com: looks at his watch
*TEA: sıranda bekliceksin [: bekleyeceksin] !
%eng: you should wait at your desk.
%com: OKŞ settles her desk and looks blankly at her desk friend because of TEA's
        words; ŞAN walks towards TEA's desk and puts a notebook on it
*TEA: şanli senmisin başkan ?
%eng: şanli, are you the class representative?
*ŞAN: evet@i .
%eng: yes.
*TEA: niye bunlar yerine oturmuyor?
%eng: why do they not sit down?
*NES: hocam başkanlığını yapmıyo(r) !
%eng: teacher, he does not act as a proper representative.
*TEA: sanamı sordum bi(r) sus ya@i !
%eng: did I ask you? stay silent.
%com: shouts
*NES: ama yapmıyo(r) .
%eng: but he does not act.
*ŞAN: hocam otur dediğim zaman <oturmuyo(r)lar> [?] .
%eng: teacher, they don't sit down when I ask them.
*TEA: oğlum sen bur(a)da ol(a)caksın herkes yerine otur(a)cak .
%eng: my boy, you will be there and everyone will sit.
%com: pointing at TEA's table
*EZG: dinleyenmi var öğretmenim !
%eng: teacher, as if there is anyone listening.
*ŞAN: öğretmenim xxx .
%eng: teacher xxx.
*TEA: sen yaz isimlerini bak dinliyo(r)mu dinlemiyo(r)mu napıyo(r)
        [: ne yapıyor] .
%eng: note down their names, then you'll see whether they listen or not.
*KAM: hocam .
%eng: teacher.
*TEA: şi:t@i .
%eng: sh.
*TEA: konuşmayın !
%eng: don't talk.
*TEA: oğlum bundan sonra başkan bur(a)da ol(a)cak .
%add: ŞAN
%eng: my boy, from now on the representative will be here.
*TEA: sen ayaktasın diğerleri yerine otur(a)cak .
%eng: you will be standing and the others will be seated at their desks.
*TEA: evet@i oturalım !
%eng: yes, let's sit down.
%com: PUPs sit down
*TEA: örneklerden bir iki tane alıp devam ediyoruz .
%eng: let's collect a few more examples and go on.
        (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 0/1, 0/2, 0/3, 1/1)

Above excepts indicate that the teacher expects the pupils to wait for him silently although
he enters the class late, which suggest that he assumes a hierarchical relationship where he
is superior and has rights to which the pupils are not entitled. Also, the pupils are well used
to the teacher's tardiness since they do not show much reaction when he is late.

3.2.2.2 Lesson endings

The teacher finishes the lesson as soon as the bell rings, usually without saying anything to the pupils, nor closing the lesson formally. Below are selected transcript excerpts that show how a typical lesson ends.

```
*TEA:  evet@i sorunun devamında ne diyo(r) okuyalım !
%eng:  well, let's look how the question goes on.
*TEA:  aysel oku bakalım sorunun devamını !
%eng:  aysel, read the rest of the question.
*ALL:  zil çaldı .
%eng:  the bell rang.
       (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 9/6, 10/1)
```

At the end of the lesson displayed above, the bell rings and class is finished just as the teacher asks to read the last part of the question, and he ends the activity instantly. Although being in the middle of an exercise, it seems that this matters neither to the teacher nor the pupils.

```
*TEA:  evet@i .
%eng:  well.
*OKŞ:  hadi hocam xxx .
%eng:  come on, my teacher.
*NES:  birincisini yapabilirmiyim ?
%eng:  may I answer the first one?
*TEA:  bi(r) tane daha var .
%eng:  there is one more.
*NES:  of::@i .
*ÜLF:  beş .
%eng:  five.
*ÜLF:  hocam zil çal(a)cak .
%eng:  my teacher, the bell is going to ring.
*HA3:  hocam bi(r) dak(i)ka .
%eng:  my teacher, just a second.
*LAL:  devam [/] devam .
%eng:  go on.
*NES:  hocam <bu aralar hiç kompozisyon> [>] yapmıyoruz .
%eng:  my teacher, we have not been writing composition recently.
*TEA:  <konuşmuyoruz> [<] !
%eng:  don't talk.
%com:  the bell rings
*ÖKE:  zil çaldı .
%eng:  the bell rings.
       (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 8/1, 8/2)
```

In this excerpt, the teacher dictates writing exercises on the use of the apostrophe. He attempts to continue the dictation on one more example, and NES$^{♀BIL}$ asks for permission to answer. Since it is the last minute of the lesson, the teacher is reminded that the bell will ring soon, but he insists on continuing by saying *devam, devam* ("go on, go on"). It is always the pupils who remind him when the bell rings as they are obviously waiting for this to happen.

In the following example, the bell rings while the teacher dictates types of adjectives. This time it is LAL$^{♀MON}$ who reminds him of the bell, and some pupils say *oleeey* ("hurray"). The teacher checks his watch, which might indicate that he does not expect the lesson to be over already, but he does not continue. KAM$^{♂MON}$ utters his regrets that the bell rings as if he has just started to understand the topic.

```
*TEA:   yan başlık .
%eng:   sub-title.
*TEA:   şi:t@i .
%com:   sits on his chair again
*NES:   hocam üçü yazdırmadınız .
%eng:   my teacher, you didn't dictate the third.
*LAL:   zil çaldı .
%eng:   the bell is ringing.
*RAZ:   ole:y !
%eng:   hurray!
%com:   TEA checks his watch
*TEA:   tamam .
%eng:   okay.
*KAM:   tüh@i be@i !
%eng:   dash it!
        (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 11/3 & 12/1)
```

Above excerpts indicate that both the teacher and the he pupils disperse as soon as the bell rings. Any incomplete topic is left as it is, and the following lesson takes over from the point at which the previous lesson was left. In the next lesson, the teacher usually calls up one of the hardworking pupils and asks them to remind him where the previous lesson ended.

3.2.2.3 Types of activities in class

In grade 7, there are five lesson hours of Turkish, amounting to a total of 200 minutes a week. In this class, lessons last about 30 minutes on average (see Table III.3.1 for total time of lessons). Based on the table below, the total lesson time per week is 150 minutes on average. Since the teacher enters class about 10 minutes late, he tends to spend less time on preparatory measures and starts the teaching unit immediately. On average, the duration of initial routines is 41 seconds.

Tab.III.3.1. 7th grade: Total lesson time of video-recorded lessons

Lesson	Total time of lesson (presence of teacher)	Time of initial routines
vid7_2007_11_14_lesson1	30:40	01:19
vid7_2007_11_14_lesson2	28:04	00:34
vid7_2007_11_27	27:33	00:24
vid7_2007_12_11	31:08	00:33
vid7_2007_12_28	23:50	00:00
vid7_2008_01_11	23:41	00:31
vid7_2008_01_18	33:20	00:09
vid7_2008_02_21	32:32	00:03
vid7_2008_02_26	24:03	00:15
vid7_2008_03_11	33:01	01:17
vid7_2008_03_27	36:20	00:39
vid7_2008_04_17	25:34	00:46
vid7_2008_04_21	35:21	01:59
vid7_2008_05_16	38:28	01:25
vid7_2008_05_29	36:08	00:33

The most common activities are dictation of homework and definitions, reading assignments (i.e., reading poems, book texts, and self-produced texts), and writing assignments (i.e., writing answers to exercise questions, copying from the blackboard, and drawing tables in the context of comprehension activities). There are also performance assignments where the pupils take the floor to write the answers to exercise questions or draw tables on the blackboard, answer questions, perform drama, analyse words on the blackboard, summarise texts from the workbook, identify suffixes of verbs displayed on the blackboard, and do brainstorming on topics (e.g., "national culture") from the textbook. Based on the lesson statistics, the teacher dedicates most of the lesson time to reading assignments. The time that the pupils spend on reading texts aloud in the class is 6 minutes on average per lesson over the year. The average time of duration of various activities per lesson is as follows: 2 minutes dictation, 3 minutes writing assignments, 3 minutes reading and answering text comprehension exercises, and 2 minutes performance assignments.

The teacher does not spend any time on working with individual pupils on a one-on-one basis (i.e., instances where the pupils ask for confirmation of their assignments). Rather, he prefers to do whole-class teaching all the time. The number of pupil-initiated question-answer/ clarification/ question/ correctional action is always higher than the number of teacher-initiated actions during the school year. While the average number of pupil-initiated question-answer/ clarification/ question/ correctional action is 12, it is 6 for teacher-initiated activities.

3.2.2.3.1 Reading and answering exercises from the workbook

The reading and answering of exercises from the workbook is the main lesson activity, consisting of the teacher calling up pupils to read out loud the question and then answer it. Occasionally, the teacher inserts an instruction unit into this activity. He collects a number of contributions before he instructs the pupils to proceed to the next question. In between these activities, the lesson is often distracted by special occurrences. The following section further scrutinizes the way in which reading and answering sessions are operationally created by the classroom participants.

3.2.2.3.1.1 Calling up on the pupils and reading of exercise

Below are the examples on how the units of instruction are constructed through the pupils' participation in class activities, the teacher's instructions, his clarifications, elaborations and so on. It should be noted that the examples are excerpts from one and the same lesson in March 2008. In this lesson, the class is engaged in mainly text-related activities such as the theme and the main message of the story they are working on. The teacher says which exercises the pupils are to read in the workbook, and it is also the teacher who chooses who reads the question and who reads the answers.

```
*TEA:   sıradaki <etkinliği> [?] okuyalım .
%eng:   let's read the following exercise.
*YAM:   hocam beşinci etkinlik .
%eng:   my teacher, the fifth exercise.
%com:   PUPs raise their hands
*TEA:   nesli oku bakalım !
%eng:   nesli, come on, read.
```

```
*NES:   beşinci etkinlik .
%eng:   the fifth exercise.
%com:   does not stand up
*NES:   dinlediğiniz metinde belirtmek istenen ana düşünceyi ve yardımcı düşünceleri
        yazınız .
%eng:   write the main idea and the supporting ideas of the text you listened to.
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/6)
```

As can be seen, the teacher instructs to read the next exercise in the workbook, and chooses NES♀BIL to read it. The called-up pupil reads only the question/ exercise. While normally, the pupils are expected to stand up while talking to the class or to the teacher, NES♀BIL does not stand up. In this exercise, the same pupil who reads the question is reading the answer, as well. However, the teacher sometimes chooses another pupil to answer the question. He primarily calls on pupils who raise a hand and are willing to contribute. As a result, the same pupils get the floor over and over again during the lessons.[165] The teacher goes on to explain how to find the main idea of the story shown in the following excerpt.

3.2.2.3.1.2 Instruction

```
*TEA:   ana düşünceyi bulurken ne yapıyoruz ?
%eng:   what do we do to find the main idea?
*TEA:   kendinize şu [= metinde bize nasıl bir mesaj verilmek istenmiş] soruyu
        soruyo(r)sunuz .
%eng:   you ask yourself this question [= what kind of a message does the text intend
        to convey us].
*TEA:   acaba metinde bize nasıl bi(r) mesaj verilmek istenmiş ?
%eng:   what kind of a message does the text intend to convey us?
*TEA:   metinde şunlar anlatılmış derseniz o konusu olur .
%eng:   if you tell what is told in the text, it is the theme.
*TEA:   olmaz .
%eng:   it is not (the answer).
*TEA:   metinde bize nası(l) bi(r) mesaj verilmiş ?
%eng:   what kind of a message does the text convey us?
*TEA:   o [= metinde bize nasıl bir mesaj verilmiş] soruyu yanıtlicaz [: yanıtlayacağız] .
%eng:   we will answer that question [= what kind of a message does the text convey
        us].
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/7)
```

The teacher explains what the question entails. He anticipates the kinds of wrong answers the pupils may give, and takes factual correctional action in advance. In other words, he gives clues to the pupils as to what kind of answer he expects. The pupils may or may not take this explanation into consideration, which is exemplified in NES♀BIL's following answer:

3.2.2.3.1.3 Answering of exercise

```
*NES:   metnin ana düşüncesi torunun dedeye duyduğu sevgi .
%eng:   the main idea of the text is the grandson's love for his grandfather.
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/8)
```

Although the teacher had given the warning that he did not expect this kind of answer, NES♀BIL either did not listen, or she did not understand even though she listened. Given

---

[165] The teacher's carrying on the lesson with a group of chosen pupils will be further discussed in the section concerning the establishment of discipline.

that she is one of the studious pupils, it can be deduced that the pupils are not clear as to how they should differentiate between the main idea and the theme.

3.2.2.3.1.4 Special occurrence

NES$^{♀BIL}$'s answer is disrupted by a special occurrence:

```
*TEA:   sen yan tarafa [=next to ALA] geç bakim [: bakayım] !
%com:   pointing to ERC
%eng:   move to the next place.
*TEA:   Ercan .
*ERH:   hocam bunlar xxx .
%eng:   my teacher, they xxx.
*TEA:   oğlum sen niye bu kadar konuşuyo(r)sun ya:@i ?
%eng:   my boy, why do you talk so much?
*ERH:   hocam zobu değil paydaş konuşuyo(r) hocam .
%eng:   my teacher, zobu does not talk, paydaş talks, my teacher.
*TEA:   sanamı sordum .
%eng:   did I ask you?
*ULV:   hocam buraya gelsin hocam .
%eng:   my teacher, let him sit here, my teacher.
*ERH:   xxx izin alsaydı .
%eng:   xxx if he/she asked for.
*ULV:   buraya gelsin .
%eng:   let him come here.
*ALA:   oraya geç .
%com:   pointing to ULV
%eng:   go over there.
*TEA:   hep konuşuyo(r)sun ya:@i .
%eng:   you always talk, ya [= complaining].
*TEA:   geç .
%eng:   go.
%com:   points to ZOB; ZOB changes his place and sits next to ULV
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/9)
```

Special occurrences, which may take place in between any sequence, point at the lack of a holistic understanding of lesson activities. Activities are always prone to be distracted. The pupils easily adapt to this distractibility of activities, and keep track of where the lesson was distracted before the special occurrence took place. The following section is an example for this.

3.2.2.3.1.5 Taking over after the special occurrence

Since special occurrences are so common in the lessons, it is important how the teacher takes over after them and constructs the attention again.

```
*TEA:   evet@i .
%eng:   yes.
*TEA:   anlamadım .
%eng:   I did not understand.
*TEA:   konuştukları için nesli tekrar et !
%eng:   since they were talking. nesli, repeat.
*NES:   metnin ana düşüncesi torunun dedeye duyduğu sevgi .
%eng:   the main idea of the text is the grandson's love for hi grandfather.
*TEA:   güzel .
%eng:   good.
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/10)
```

At the end of the special occurrence, the teacher gives NES$^{♀BIL}$ the signal to continue by

saying that he did not understand because of the talking, and NES$^{♀BIL}$ takes over the lesson from the point where it was left, and gives an incorrect answer as far as the teacher's instruction regarding how the main idea is to be differentiated from the theme is concerned. Interestingly, the teacher validates NES$^{♀BIL}$'s answer by saying "good", but then in his elaboration as illustrated in the following section, he makes it clear that this actually was not the kind of answer he expected.

3.2.2.3.1.6 Elaboration of instruction

```
*TEA:   şimdi bak !
%eng:   now look.
*TEA:   duyduğu sevgidir dersen bu metnin konusu olur .
%eng:   if you say that it is his love, then it is the theme of the text.
*TEA:   bize nası(l) bi(r) mesaj veriyo(r) ?
%eng:   what kind of a message does it convey us?
*TEA:   bu soruyu yanıtlicaksınız [: yanıtlayacaksınız] .
%eng:   you will answer this question.
[...]
*TEA:   evet@i bu soruyu yanıtlayalım .
%eng:   okay, let's answer this question.
*TEA:   acaba metinden nası(l) bi(r) mesaj çıkarırız ?
%eng:   what kind of a message do we get from the text?
[...]
*TEA:   bize neler söylemek istemiş olabilir ?
%eng:   what does it intend to tell us?
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/11)
```

By way of repeating the question regarding the main message of the story, the teacher intends to get the pupils closer to the answer he expects. However, instead of bringing variety to his explanation (by way of giving examples, for instance), which might be helpful in making the pupils grasp what kind of answer he expects, he repeats the same question by paraphrasing it. In the sequence above, the teacher repeats himself three times by reformulating his question.

In cases where the teacher's elaborations do not suffice, the pupils ask their neighbours for further elaboration. The teacher sometimes encourages this peer help by saying *anlamayanlar anlayanlara sorsunlar* ("the ones who do not understand shall ask the ones who do"). For example, in the course of an activity based on information provided in the text, the pupils are expected to draw the family tree of Mehmet Okur, a basketball player. Several pupils (e.g., ALA$^{♀MON}$, YUS$^{♂MON}$) do not know the meaning of "family tree". As far as it could be observed, none of the pupils except NES$^{♀BIL}$ have adequate information to solve the task, most of them painting a regular tree in their notebooks as no one else knows what it means, either.

3.2.2.3.1.7 Pupils' adaptation to the teacher's instructions and vice versa

Clearly, the teacher's elaboration does not facilitate the pupils' comprehension since even NES$^{♀BIL}$ and EZG$^{♀BIL}$, who are among the most studious pupils in class and among the ones chosen by the teacher to carry on the lesson, do not give correct answers, as is illustrated in the following extract.

```
*NES:   hocam her dedenin torunuyla arkadaş olduğunu onunla oyun oynabileceğini
        söylüyo(r) .
%eng:   my teacher, it tells that every grandfather is a friend to his grandson and he
```

                    can play with him.
        [...]
        *EZG: öğretmenim bur(a)da çocuk diyo(r) ya@i .
        %eng: my teacher, here the kid says.
        *EZG: ı:@i trenin pili bitti dedemin pili bitmesin .
        %eng: the batteries of the train are out, don't get my grandfather's as well.
        *EZG: öğretmenim bur(a)da çocuk daha çok dedesine bağlanmış sevgiyi yani@co
                    nası(l) söylim [: söyleyeyim] +/.
        %eng: my teacher, the kid is connected to his grandfather. the love. how can I tell?
        *TEA: evet@i .
        %eng: well.
        *EZG: daha çok dedesini seviyo(r) .
        %eng: he loves his grandfather more.
        *EZG: onu bırakmak istemiyo(r) .
        %eng: he does not want to leave him.
                    (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/12)

As will be shown in the following sequence, the teacher does not repeat once more what "main message" means, but instead invites the pupils to think on a meta-level on the main purpose of the workbook activities:

        *TEA: başka ?
        %eng: what else?
        *TEA: kendinizi yormuyo(r)sunuz ya:@i .
        %eng: you don't try.
        *TEA: bu soruların amacı bizi düşünmeye yöneltmek .
        %eng: these questions are intended to make us think.
        *TEA: yani@co sizin düşünmenizi sağlamaya çalışıyo(r) bu sorular .
        %eng: these questions try to make you think.
        *TEA: biz bur(a)da anlatır geçeriz bunları ama .
        %eng: we can lecture here about them and pass into another subject.
        *TEA: düşünme_ [//] eğitimini almadıktan sonra bi(r) faydası olmaz .
        %eng: it is no worth if you don't get the training to think.
        *TEA: amacımız kendiniz düşünerek bulmaya çalışın yanıtlarını soruların .
        %eng: we aim that you find the answer to the questions by thinking.
                    (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/13)

In relation to the teacher's call "to think", at this stage, we would like to give an account of a striking incident, which could be labelled as the construction of schooled literacy as an activity detached from the pupils' everyday lives:

During a free-time activity, KAM$^{\male MON}$ tries to memorise notes that he prepared for the social studies exam and asks a question from his notes to his neighbouring peer, *Neden göç ediyoruz?* ("why do we migrate") – a question whose answer is not in his notes. He reads this question from a piece of paper. He does not get a response and asks the question again, this time assertively. It is very interesting to note that the pupils who are living in this neighbourhood and who have experienced or witnessed migration in one way or another are not able to make a connection between their school work and their everyday lives. KAM$^{\male MON}$'s parents have migrated to Istanbul from the Black Sea region, yet he does not know that coming from another city to Istanbul is a form of migration. Interestingly, KAM$^{\male MON}$ has memorised answers to questions such as the establishment date and the name of first press agency, or the date when the first population census was made; yet, he can not give an answer to a question that concerns him personally. This indicates that he has drawn a rigid distinction between that which is personal and that which is textual. If

KAM$^{\male MON}$ could become aware that his real life experience can be related to written texts, he would have easily been able to answer such a question.

Reverting back, both the teacher's instruction concerning the difference between "theme" and "main idea", and his explanation regarding the purpose of the lesson activities remain incomprehensible and elusive for the pupils. LAL$^{\female MON}$'s answer is yet another example pointing at her confusion:

```
*LAL:   şimdi hocam her insan oyuncak gibidir .
%eng:   now, my teacher every person is like a toy.
*TEA:   ve .
%eng:   and.
*LAL:   e:@i .
%com:   plays with a pencil and then she drops it
*LAL:   ay:@i ıh:@i [=! laughing] .
*TEA:   ş:it@i .
%com:   looks at ÖDÜ and HA3
*LAL:   e:@i bozulur .
%eng:   so it breaks down.
*LAL:   sonunda pili biter # insanların .
%eng:   at the end, people get out of battery.
*LAL:   ölür .
%eng:   they die.
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/15)
```

In this example, LAL$^{\female MON}$ summarises the story rather than providing the theme or the main idea. In that respect, LAL$^{\female MON}$'s answer is not different from the previous answers given by other pupils. This is also the case in other topics. Even though the teacher has repeated definitions several times, the pupils give similar responses to other topics with similar mistakes.

3.2.2.3.1.8 The teacher providing the final answer

Unable to get the answer he expects from any of the pupils, the teacher gives it himself in the form of a suggestion:

```
*TEA:   şöyle bi(r) şey olabilirmi ?
%eng:   can it [= the answer] be like this?
*TEA:   elimizdekini kaybetmeden önce elimizdekilerin kıymetini bilmeliyiz .
%eng:   we should recognize the importance of the things we have, before we lose
        them.
*TEA:   olabilirmi ?
%eng:   can it be?
*LAL:   evet@i .
%eng:   yes.
*TEA:   olabilir dimi [: değilmi] ?
%eng:   it can be, right?
*TEA:   böyle bi(r) ana fikir mesajı çıkarabiliriz .
%eng:   we can get such a message of main idea.
        (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 1/15)
```

As the example suggests, the teacher tries to convey the impression that he is not giving the ultimate answer; however, he imposes the answer on the pupils by saying "It can be, right?". Instead of keeping the pupils' responses open to expansion, the teacher always searches for alternative low-level answers. In other words, the conversational structure constructed as such limits the pupils in that it requires brief responses from them. Within

this framework, the teacher and the pupils can not work within the conversational structure in ways that allow for extended answers and a higher level of thinking and argumentation, all of which serve to develop oral textual skills. Finally, the teacher ends the search for correct answers, and gives the answer himself.

3.2.2.3.1.9 Collecting contributions

The previous conversations between the teacher and the class continues as is displayed in the following excerpt. In this part, the teacher gives the floor to other pupils, and they talk about the next exercise in the workbook. The teaching unit is allocated to the "supporting ideas", and it provides evidence about the way in which the sessions of collecting contributions are constructed.

```
*TEA:  sen söyle !
%eng:  you tell.
%com:  AYS raises hand
*AYS:  yardımcı düşünceler hocam .
%eng:  the supporting ideas, my teacher.
*TEA:  aynısı evet@i .
%eng:  the same, well.
*TEA:  metnin yardımcı düşünceleri .
%eng:  the supporting ideas of the text.
*NES:  o ne demek hocam ?
%eng:  what does it mean, my teacher?
*TEA:  neymiş ?
%eng:  what is it?
*TEA:  yardımcı düşünce de .
%eng:  the supporting idea.
*TEA:  mesela böyle bi(r) mesaj çıkardık .
%eng:  for example, we get such a message.
*TEA:  kaybetmeden önce elimizdekilerin kıymetini bilmeliyiz .
%eng:  we should recognize the importance of what we have, before we lose them.
*TEA:  başka nası(l) mesajlar çıkarırız ?
%eng:  what other messages can we get out of it?
*TEA:  başka neler olabilir ?
%eng:  what else can it be?
*TEA:  yani@co sadece bunu söylemiyo(r) tabii ki metin bize .
%eng:  the text does not tell us only this.
*TEA:  çeşitli şeyler söylemiş dimi [: değilmi] ?
%eng:  it tells various things, right?
       (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 2/1)
```

Again, the teacher elaborates what "supporting idea" means by way of listing a number of sentences with various wordings.

```
%com:  AYS raises hand, stands up
*AYS:  hocam sevgiyle bağlanan bağ olabilirmi ?
%eng:  my teacher, can it be attachment felt by love?
*TEA:  olabilir .
%eng:  it can be.
*TEA:  başka ?
%eng:  what else?
       (Vid7_2008_03_11: Sequence 2/3)
```

AYS$^{♀BIL}$ makes a rather irrelevant contribution that is more like a title than an additional thought as explained by the teacher. Notwithstanding, the teacher validates AYS$^{♀BIL}$'s irrelevant utterance and continues to invite further contributions. This indicates that after having explained what an "additional message" is, the teacher does not take correctional

action towards the pupils' responses. As a result, after AYS$^{♀BIL}$'s answer, which is in phrase format rather than a complete sentence, all the pupils prefer to give phrasal answers. It is safe to argue that the teacher's tendency to give explanations and not examples in addition to his inclination towards not correcting the pupils' answers restricts their capability of comprehension.

As the following excerpt from a grammar assignment, where CAN$^{♀BIL}$ is called out to read a sentence with an adjective, illustrates, the pupils accept the fact that the time given to them for their contributions is limited.

```
*TEA:   evet@i .
%eng:   yes.
*TEA:   cansel .
*CAN:   upuzun saçları vardı .
%eng:   she had very long hair.
%com:   CAN sits after talking and raises hand again
        (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 1/3)
```

Immediately after CAN$^{♀BIL}$ gives an example, she sits down and raises her hand again, which suggests that being given permission to speak means that one is only allowed to give one single answer. Given the highly populated classroom, the teacher might not have any other solution than restricting the duration of each pupil's contribution so that others can also be allowed to speak. Nevertheless, it needs to be highlighted that the pupils' right to give only one answer when called up results in restricting oral text production skills.

3.2.2.3.2 Dictation

Below is an example of the teacher dictating the instruction for a performance assignment for the whole class. The dictated instruction is *Toplumsal dayanışmanın bizim ve ülkemiz için önemini araştırarak bir rapor hazırlayınız* ("Research and prepare a report on the benefits of social solidarity for us and our country"). His dictation is interrupted by the pupils' questions, asking the teacher to repeat the phrases as he dictates the instruction.

```
*TEA:   evet@i yazıyorsunuz !
%eng:   okay, let's write.
%com:   PUPs begin to write what TEA says into their notebooks
*ÜLF:   hocam xxx .
%eng:   my teacher xxx.
*DER:   bir, iki, üç, dört, beş .
%eng:   one, two, three, four, five.
*ÖKE:   ne yazıyoruz ?
%eng:   what do we write?
*TEA:   çevrendeki insanlara söyle !
%eng:   tell the people around.
*ULV:   hocam ses gelmiyo(r) .
%eng:   my teacher, I can't hear.
*TEA:   toplumsal dayanışmanın .
%eng:   of social solidarity.
*TEA:   ş:it@i .
*TAC:   +" toplumsal dayanışmanın .
%eng:   of social solidarity.
*TEA:   toplumsal dayanışmanın .
%eng:   of social solidarity.
*VUR:   ne hocam ?
%eng:   what is it, my teacher?
*ACU:   +" toplumsal dayanışmanın .
%eng:   of social solidarity.
```

```
*TEA:   evet@i .
%eng:   well.
*DER:   birisi yazsın !
%eng:   let someone write.
*TEA:   toplumsal dayanışmanın +...
%eng:   of social solidarity.
*TEA:   konuşuyo(r)sunuz anlamayıp sonra@co soru sorup duruyo(r)sunuz .
%eng:   you are talking, then you don't understand and keep asking questions.
*ERH:   <+" toplumsal> [>] .
%eng:   social.
*TEA:   <bi(r) şey anlatırken> [<] konuşmayın !
%eng:   don't talk, when I am telling something.
*TAC:   <hocam <xx> [//] sizin söylediklerinizi yazıyoruz> [>] .
%eng:   my teacher, xxx we write what you tell.
*SED:   <+" toplumsal> [<] .
%eng:   social.
*ÖKE:   <+" dayanışmanın> [>] .
%eng:   solidarity.
*TEA:   <toplumsal> [<] dayanışmanın .
%eng:   of social solidarity.
*ECE:   +" dayanışmanınmı o ?
%eng:   is it of solidarity?
*TEA:   <bizler ve ülkemiz için> [>] .
%eng:   for us and our country.
*TAC:   +" bizler ve ülkemiz için .
%eng:   for us and our country.
*TEA:   bizler # ve +/.
%eng:   us and.
*TEA:   +, ülkemiz için .
%eng:   for our country.
*TEA:   toplumsal dayanışmanın bizler ve ülkemiz için.
%eng:   social solidarity for us and our country.
*TEA:   önemini araştırarak .
%eng:   researching its importance.
*EGE:   +" toplumsal dayanışmanın ?
%add:   ŞAN
%eng:   of social solidarity?
*TEA:   önemini # araştırarak +...
%eng:   researching its importance.
*TAC:   ++ yazınız .
%eng:   write.
*TEA:   önemini araştırarak .
%eng:   researching its importance.
*TEA:   bir [/] bir  .
%eng:   one.
*EGE:   hocam +" bizler ve <ülkemizin> [>] ?
%eng:   my teacher, us and our country?
*ÖKE:   <iki> [<] .
%eng:   two.
*TEA:   bizler ve ülkemiz için önemini araştırarak # bir rapor hazırlayınız !
%eng:   prepare a report, researching its importance for us and our country.
        (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 8/2)
```

It can be observed that the practice of writing down (but not necessarily comprehending) what the teacher dictates to the pupils is firmly established in class. Through writing in the context of dictation, the comprehension activity is altogether postponed. As from the earlier grades on, meaning is not emphasised in the writing activities, the pupils might have developed a tendency to postpone the comprehension loop after they finish writing the text. In addition, the teacher's dictation of the performance assignment is scattered by pupils' questions. That might result in the confusion, as well.

It is commonly observed that also in lessons other than Turkish, the pupils, irrespective of

Turkish being their first or second language, develop a distance towards the act of text comprehension. This is usually apparent in text summaries. For example, in a social studies lesson, the pupils get the floor to summarise a text about nuclear waste. While presenting their summaries, they look at the textbook text for every sentence they formulate. Yet, looking at the book does not help them and they make up incomplete and sloppy sentences. The teacher warns them not to look at the original text while telling the summary, but to recount what they have understood from the text, whereas the pupils state that they can not think of anything just like that.

Below is an excerpt from the beginning of a sequence of a dictation activity that starts as a note-taking activity:

```
*TEA:   unutuyorsunuz bunu not alın .
%eng:   you forget it, note it down.
*TEA:   evet@i not diyin [: deyin] .
%eng:   yes, write the title note/ memo.
*TEA:   yazalım .
%eng:   let's write.
        (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 10/8)
```

Although at first, the teacher seems to give the initiative to the pupils by way of making them take notes, but then he immediately begins dictating. On the one hand, it can be argued that the teacher's approach might be an obstacle to the pupils' development of note-taking skills. On the other hand, it should also be stated that note-taking when performed as a dictation might open up an enabling potential for the pupils with Turkish as a second language.

Another striking example regards the primacy of form over content: The main concern of the pupils while writing is the color of their pen that they are going to use in each section. In an activity where they are instructed to write down the answer of a particular question in the workbook, the teacher dictates the answer and the pupils write it down. After a while, ALA$^{\female MON}$ asks the teacher not to dictate anything else because there was not enough space for the answer in the workbook. Similar comments come from other pupils, as well, and the teacher tells them to write somewhere else. It is interesting that the pupils ask the teacher to end the dictation when they run out of space regardless of the message of the text. Further, it accentuates how the space provided in the workbook puts a quantitative limitation to the answer, and how fitting the solution into the space provided is viewed as more important than completing the text.

Finally, it needs to be noted that the teacher expects the pupils to write in a self-involved manner without raising their heads while he is dictating, and this may easily become a very cumbersome activity after a while so that several pupils might state that they are bored or ask the time, indicating that the pupils openly exchange their feelings without hesitation.

3.2.2.3.3 Writing activities

In only two of the lessons observed by the researchers, the teacher asks the pupils to produce a freely written text. However, analysis of the notebooks reveals that the pupils are indeed involved in free writing more often, which might be a coincidence, but also could

indicate that the teacher prefers the pupils not to do such exercises in lessons where the researchers are present, either because free writing opens up the space to threaten discipline, or because the teacher leaves the classroom during the text work, which is not a preferable action in the presence of the researchers.

Consider the following ethnographic incident:

> TEA assigns writing a composition assignment during class time on the subject of: "Write a structured composition on Republic Day holiday". He further gives instructions to write on a new blank page and to leave space for the heading: "The title is written in the end. We are planning introduction, development and conclusion sections. Keep your imagination wide open".
> (2007_10_7B_DK (enote))

All three of his guiding instructions cover a wide array of topics, yet he lists them in direct sequence and without any explanatory remarks. And not surprisingly, in congruence with the teacher's mechanical instructions, DER$^{\male BIL}$ approaches his desk while he is correcting papers to ask for clarification as he clearly has not understood the assignment formulation. The teacher simply sends DER$^{\male BIL}$ back to his table without even considering his question, telling him to just write quite impatiently: "Geese! Just write!"[166] Consequently, DER$^{\male BIL}$ begins to directly copy the poem from the book into his notebook.

On another incident where the pupils are asked to write an essay, following a reading and answering exercises from the workbook with 15 minutes lesson time left, the teacher instructs the class again to start a new page, to leave the heading for the end, and to write the full text first. Then he reads out loud the respective assignment questions from his manual that are supposed to guide the pupils in their text production. Each of the questions are very important from a rhetorical point of view. While one whole lesson could very well be spent on each one of these questions, discussing them with the pupils and developing their expository writing skills, the teacher is content with merely listing them and passing the subject. Even if these subjects had been covered in previous years, for seventh-graders who are at the introductory level of learning expository writing, the need and benefit of discussing each of these questions in detail is unquestionable.

Another essay subjects is "Tell me who your friend is and I tell you who you are". Although the teacher writes this down on the blackboard, DIL$^{\female MON}$ copies it in her notebook as "Tell me your friend and I tell you about her."[167] Needless to say, these two sentences connote totally different meanings, which clearly suggests that she is engaged in writing without understanding the message of the text. While some of the pupils are writing a *kompozisyon* ("essay"), the teacher, without any concern that he may be disrupting their concentration efforts, intervenes to remind them of writing principles that cross his mind, listing the following: *İmla kuralları önemli. Yazımı, sayfa düzeni. Atasözü, Özdeyiş artı puan getirir.*[168] ("Orthographic rules are important. Spelling, page structure. Proverbs, epigraphs would get you extra points"). Here, the teacher gives hints how to successfully produce an essay, but he only lists the qualities related with the surface structure of the text,

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[166] 2007_10_7B_DK (enote)
[167] 2007_11_30_7B_DK (enote).
[168] 2007_11_30_7B_DK & 2007_11_30_7B_MAC (enote).

such as orthographic rules and page structure. Furthermore, he states that proverbs would get the pupils extra credit without explaining how they could insert proverbs into the text in the first place. He finishes by stating: "As a matter of fact, we would need to write a composition at least an hour each week, but we don't."[169] He does not go on to explain why they do not practice that.

Following ethnographic incident is significant in that it points at the construction of writing as a mechanical activity:

> KAM♂MON directly copies the poem titled "*my childhood*" to his notebook. When asked why he is doing that, he simply asserts: "*Do you think I know?*" adding *"TEA said he would give points to ones writing nice."*
> (2008_02_26_7B_BC (enote))

So, the most important motivation for the pupils is to get good grades through achieving the surface structure of an essay.

3.2.2.3.4 Reading and comprehension activities

The following ethnographic incident points out that the pupils do not know the rationale behind reading a text:

> A reading activity on the biography basketball player Mehmet Okur is followed by exercises from the workbook. When DER♂BIL asks ALA♀MON why they read this article adding "Are we going to be Mehmet Okur when we grow up?" ALA♀MON responds: "How would I know, is it me who produced this text?"
> (2008_04_01_7B_DK (enote))

This ethnographic incident suggests that while performing a class activity, the main emphasis needs to be on explaining why they do such activity rather than simply having the pupils do it. Nonetheless, it is quite striking to observe the pupils' level of involvement in such activities. However, this also has a very negative consequence in the sense that they become conditioned to performing automatically without questioning and understanding the logic behind anything they do.

The pupils do several reading-aloud tasks during the year. However, the performances of some pupils (e.g., KAM♂MON, DER♂BIL) are not satisfactory as they pause at wrong places while reading. Someone who listens those pupils without knowing the text would have difficulties in understanding. Also, some pupils go back in the text and correct the word they misread, reflecting that they comprehend what they read. Other pupils (e.g., DER♂BIL), on the other hand, do not correct their misreadings and just continue, which indicates that they do not understand what they read.

In addition to the pupils' difficulties in reading, the structure of the texts in the textbook also affects their text comprehension negatively. Some of the texts in the book are only fragments of original texts. Furthermore, in texts translated from another language into Turkish, there are several sentences that do not make any sense. As a result, unclear details appear in the texts. Consequently, these cause incoherence and disconnection in the text

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[169] 2007_11_30_7B_DK (enote).

unity. Such deficiencies may result in the pupils having difficulties in comprehension. Hence, we observe that they are not able to summarise the texts that they have just read when asked to do so.

The pupils do not like reading activities. For example, OKŞ complains about how boring her book is and asserts she reads at home, but does not want to read the boring books in school. But the teacher claims that he read that book as well and it was not boring at all, hence making OKŞ's complaint invalid. Here, the teacher's judgment is conveyed to overrule a pupil's assessment: If a book is not boring to the teacher, it should not be boring to the pupils. On another occasion, NES$^{♀BIL}$ writes an essay on how damaging forced reading hours are, and reads it aloud in class. Subsequent to her criticism, the class livens up, and giggles and whispers are heard while the teacher is looking away. BEY tells the teacher that NES$^{♀BIL}$'s essay sounded like it was addressed to him. Interestingly, the teacher is content with only saying that the text is okay and nice. It cannot be said whether his disinterest stems from not having listened to the presentation, or whether he simply does not want to open up a debate on the issue.

In another instant, it is interesting to observe EGE$^{♂BIL}$ reading the religion book. He is reading a short paragraph on "superstitions", a paragraph on why some beliefs are considered superstitions. As soon as he completes reading, he turns around to the pupil behind him and asks how much they are going to read. The pupil tells him, until end of the chapter, but EGE$^{♂BIL}$, forgetting he just read that part, starts to look for a paragraph titled "superstitions" towards the end. This indicates again that for EGE$^{♂BIL}$, like for many of the other pupils, comprehending skills are constructed as something different than reading the word/ text.

3.2.2.3.5 Using unknown words/ phrases in sentences

Using unknown words or phrases in sentences is a common task in the workbook after reading a piece of text. Several incidents reveal the pupils' problems in comprehending new words and using them in sentences with the right meaning. For example, when the teacher gives a definition for the word *erdem* ("virtue") as "merit", NES$^{♀BIL}$ in response claims that last lesson, the teacher defined it as bravery and courageousness; NEC$^{♂MON}$ intervenes mockingly that the meanings of the words change every lesson, and GÖK$^{♂BIL}$ carries on with the joke to see what it will be next lesson, raising much laughter. In constructing sentences using a new word, the pupils might use the noun form of when in the sentence they provide, it should be the adjective form (e.g., *erdem*, "virtue" instead of *erdemli*, "virtuous"). Another common mistake is choosing words that are semantically wrong in a given context. Although several pupils use the dictionary to look up words, they often do not get the correct meaning. When they misuse words, most of the time, the teacher does not correct them. As a result, such exercises do not contribute to the pupils' comprehension. As the wrong use of words is further being verified by the teacher through the lack of factual correction, the pupils learn them incorrectly.

It is noteworthy that some pupils make such unaccountable and vague activities into entertainment outlets for themselves. For example, NEC$^{♂MON}$ has written into his workbook, which he then erased: *Emel eve gel* "Emel come home" and *Erdem mısır yer*

"Erdem eats corn" for the words subsequently "wish" and "virtue", which are also used as proper names.[170]

Furthermore, the definitions of the words provided by the teacher often mislead the pupils. For example, in an attempt to explain "concentration camps", he gives an example of "refugee camps" for civilians flown from Afghanistan, and the pupils, in turn, make sentences using positive connotations for "concentration camp" like *Başbakan Türkiye'de bir toplama kampı açmaya karar verdi*[171] ("Prime Minister has decided to open a concentration camp in Turkey"). Such misunderstandings are usually not resolved by the teacher.

3.2.2.3.6 Grammar activities

Grammar activities are usually done by way of the teacher writing a word on the blackboard and calling up pupils to analyse it into its morphemes. For example, the teacher writes *köydeyim* ("I am in the village") on the blackboard and asks the pupils to dissect the verb into its morphemes (i.e., village-LOC-1SG). However, some pupils have problems with such grammar exercises, and some of their errors might be interpreted as evolving in the context of bilingualism. On one occasion, the teacher writes *bil-me-miş-im* on the blackboard and asks what the *-me* suffix is. GÖK$^{\male BIL}$, a Kurmanjî-Turkish bilingual pupil, responds that it is a person marker (*kişi eki*). The teacher, in return, scolds the class, accusing them of not paying attention, and continues to explain what the suffix is. When the teacher asks the question again, GÖK$^{\male BIL}$ correctly identifies the suffix as marking negation this time, but he looks puzzled since in Kurmanjî, *me* is used as "we" (free morpheme), and he may have confused these two usages.

In the workbook, some verbs are listed, and the pupils are asked to produce the given verbs with different inflections. For example, they are expected to produce the negative question form of the verb *uyuyoruz* (sleep-IPFV-1PL). Although the right answer is *uyumuyor musunuz* (sleep-NEG-IPFV-QUE-2PL), DER$^{\male BIL}$ says *uyuyorsunuz mu* (sleep-IPF-2PL-QUE), which is not acceptable in standard Turkish. Almost all of the pupils (except for ALA$^{\female MON}$) make errors with *pekiştirme sıfatı* (intensive adjective) exercises. For example, the teacher writes *kara kalem* ("black pen") on the blackboard and asks the pupils to use the phrase with the intensive adjective form, which NUR names to be *kapkalem*, intensifying the noun instead of the adjective, which is not acceptable in Turkish. Both DER$^{\male BIL}$ and NUR, who are Turkish bilingual speakers, give unacceptable forms, but they do not hesitate using forms that they probably have never heard before.

The following example is revealing in that some of the pupils make wrong use of the templates[172] given by the teacher when it comes to analyze the internal structure of the words:

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[170] 2008_03_14_7B_MAC (enote).
[171] 2008_04_01_7B_DK (enote).

[172] Templates will be further discussed below.

> In an activity where PUPs are instructed to analyse the word '*söylerdi*' written on the BB '*söy*' is marked as the verb root. When KAM$^{\male MON}$ is asked by the researcher what *söy* means, he responds: "It can not be to söymek, so it is a noun"*("Söymek olmuyor demek ki isim bu).* When the researcher insists on asking KAM$^{\male MON}$ the meaning of *söy*, TEA coincidentally mentions that '*söy*' means '*söz*' in ancient Turkish. KAM$^{\male MON}$ turns to the researcher and remarks: "*see, it is a noun*".
> (2008_04_21_7B_DK (enote))

3.2.4 Classroom dynamics

3.2.3.1 Hierarchy

As already indicated in Section 3.2.2 concerning the use of time in lesson construction, the teacher assumes a hierarchical relationship between himself and the pupils. He constantly tries to establish his authority by way of continuously warning the pupils in a scolding tone. However, a great majority of the pupils do not seem to take the teacher's authority seriously. Some do not even hesitate to answer back or to get into power struggles with the teacher. While some of the power struggles stem from the pupils not taking the teacher seriously, others arise from their justifiable discomfort. In the latter, power struggle is not initiated by the pupils but rather by the teacher who takes it personally when the pupils do not obey his orders. The following ethnographic incident is an example for this:

> ULV has his coat on in one of the lessons. TEA tells him to take off his coat. ULV rejects it by saying " Soğuk ama!" (But it is cold!). TEA insists in his statement, ULV answers back and says "e, soğuuk" (it is cold). TEA gets nervous and commands "Don't insist, just take off your coat". While saying that, TEA pulls ULV from his coat. Eventually, ULV goes out of his desk, takes off his coat, and hangs it on the coat rack.
> (2007_11_20_7B_MAC (enote))

As commonly observed in the lessons throughout the year, the teacher does not give a say to the pupils, his attitude bearing restricting potential:

> *EGE: hocam bi(r) şey söyleyebilirmiyim ?
> %eng: my teacher, may I tell something?
> *TEA: ses olmicak [: olmayacak] .
> %eng: no noise.
> *TEA: söyleme ya@i .
> %eng: don't tell.
> *EGE: ama yazamam hocam xxx .
> %eng: but I won't be able to write, my teacher xxx.
> (Vid7_1007_12_11: Sequence 3/7)

The teacher does not let EGE$^{\male BIL}$ speak although he is insistently asking for permission to do so. As a consequence, EGE$^{\male BIL}$ loses interest in class altogether, closes his notebook and leans back in his seat, and never contributes in the remains of the lesson. Similarly, during one dictation activity, ERH is slapped by the teacher for having spoken out loud, and is scolded for having a bad hand-writing. The class goes into complete silence, and ERH just sits idly without writing anything for the remainder of class. This incident is indicative of the restricting potential of the teacher's pedagogical approach that hinders class participation.

3.2.3.2 Lack of communication

Throughout the lessons, a lack of communication between the teacher and the pupils is observed. The pupils try to relate to the lesson and ask questions with clarification purposes. However, as the teacher seems to be primarily focused on establishing discipline and order in class, he does not show tolerance towards many of the questions coming from the pupils, and labels them as rambling and distracting the lesson. Interestingly enough, despite the teacher's discouraging attitude, which one would expect to result in the pupils refraining from asking further questions, they seem to keep a certain level of interest in the lesson. At times, however, they appear to feel discouraged and give up their attempts to clarify. The following incident provides an example on this.

In a lesson on adjectives, ERH tries to clarify a complicated explanation given by the teacher, "adjectives qualify words and they precede words", followed by an example: "Her hair was snow white." ERH is puzzled as "snow white" does in fact qualify "hair", and therefore he tries to clarify why it does not count as adjective. The rest of the sequence is as follows:

```
*TEA:  oğlum tamam anlam olarak bunu belirtiyor ama yapı olarak önünde
       değil .
%eng:  okay my boy, as meaning it [=the adjective] indicates that but structurally it is
       not before [=the noun].
*TEA:  aynı bu şekilde .
%eng:  like this.
%com:  points to the first sentence he wrote on the blackboard
*ERH:  haa@i .
*TEA:  bi(r) dinle ya@i .
%eng:  listen.
*TEA:  konuşuyosunuz sonra@co anlamıyosunuz .
%eng:  you talk, so then you do not understand.
*TEA:  otur oğlum müdahale etme .
%eng:  sit down, don't interfere.
       (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 5/2)
```

ERH's attempt to clarify and draw relations between meaning and structure is hindered by the warning the teacher gives, blaming the pupils of talking in class and therefore not being able to understand, and ordering ERH to sit down and not to interfere. The teacher evaluates the questions for clarification as interferences that cause chaos in class. In the name of establishing discipline and order, he overlooks the fact that ERH does not understand the task. Two minutes later, ERH makes yet another attempt to clarify:

```
%com:  ERH stands up
*ERH:  hocam ben bi(r) şey soracam [: soracağım] .
%eng:  my teacher, I would like to ask something.
*NUR:  ne yazcaz [: yazacağız] hocam niteleme ?
%eng:  teacher, what do we write? attributive?
*ERH:  saç değilmi or(a)da belirtilen ?
%com:  points to the examples on the blackboard
%eng:  isn't it the hair, which is indicated there?
*TEA:  ney ?
%com:  looks at the blackboard
%eng:  what?
*ERH:  hocam diyo(r) ya@i onun saçları simsiyah .
%eng:  my teacher, it says his hair is pitch-black.
*TEA:  evet@i .
%eng:  yes.
```

```
*ERH:   <saç belirtiyo(r) dimi [: değilmi] hocam onu> [?] ?
%eng:   the hair indicates it, doesn't?
*TEA:   belirtiyor ama tamlama olmadığı için sıfat olmaz .
%eng:   it indicates, but since there is no phrase, it isn't an adjective.
%com:   ERH sits down
*TEA:   tamlama oluşturması gerek .
%eng:   it should compose a phrase.
        (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 6/2)
```

Here, the teacher introduces the expression "phrase" and offers yet another explanation ("since there is no phrase, it isn't an adjective") in addition to the previous explanation that was already not clear for ERH. At this stage, ERH looks even more puzzled and seems to give up his attempts to clarify as he does not ask any further questions. Since some of the pupils are confused about adjectives, they make wrong attempts when they are expected to produce adjective phrases (e.g., *gökyüzü masmaviydi* "the sky was deep blue") which are not corrected by the teacher. As can be seen, the teacher does not attach importance to whether or not the pupils understand the topic in question. Instead, he gives his ready-made explanations, and goes on with the lesson. Lesson-making in this manner implies an understanding of education that is focused on form and not content. The teacher behaves as if the pupils and him are gathered for the purpose of completing a given content, i.e. the curricular programme in a given amount of time, the school year. In that process of lesson-making, whether or not the pupils grasped the subject matter is irrelevant, and further elaborating on their questions would be an obstacle standing in the way of the teacher's mechanical job of lesson-making that requires quickly finishing topics and proceeding on to others.

The teacher does not come to class prepared, which leads to ambiguity as to what he expects from the pupils. During a classroom assignment, he instructs:

```
*TEA:   türkçe defterlerimize düz kurallı cümleler haline getiricez [: getireceğiz] .
%eng:   we'll write on our Turkish notebooks straight regular sentences.
        (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 3/1)
```

Within less than ten seconds, the teacher first asks the pupils to write "straight regular sentences" in their Turkish notebooks, and then to interpret the poem verbally:

```
*TEA:   bölümler halinde yorumlayalım şu şiiri .
%eng:   let's interpret this poem in parts.
*TEA:   sözlü de konuşabilir isteyen .
%eng:   those who like may answer orally.
        (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 3/3)
```

The pupils persistently try to understand and stay involved through continuously asking questions, most of which go either unnoticed or unanswered by the teacher. Following his obscure instructions, the pupils earnestly ask for clarifications, repeatedly saying that they did not understand. Finally, the teacher responds with a long lag of four minutes and says, "I guess you did not understand"[173], followed by yet another obscure explanation. Interestingly enough, after lengthy attempts of clarification on the part of the pupils that remain unanswered, the teacher tells the class to hurry up, and that they can finish at home.

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[173] Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 3/8.

Hence, another activity is ticked as completed according to his manual, with no real concern for the conveyance of knowledge and skills, which becomes only another means of joke material for the pupils:

```
*TEA:  acele edin hadi bakalım .
%eng:  hurry up, come on.
*TEA:  evde tamamlarsınız .
%eng:  you'll complete at home.
*EGE:  ben evde tamamlarım hocam .
%eng:  I will complete at home.
*ÖKE:  evde altına tamam yaz(ı)cam o kadar .
%eng:  at home, I will write completed underneath it, and it will be done.
       (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 5/1)
```

3.2.5 Teaching and learning strategies

3.2.4.1 Establishment of discipline

The establishment of discipline seems to be a major concern in the seventh-grade Turkish lessons. This major concern of the teacher results in letting the lesson flow with a certain group of pupils and ignoring the attempts to contribute coming from the rest of them. As long as the pupils do not disrupt the flow of class and order, the teacher does not have any objection to their non-involvement in class activities, sitting idly with closed books. For example, DER$^{\male BIL}$ may sit idly throughout class period and the teacher is not bothered with it, but once DER$^{\male BIL}$ throws in a joke, he is immediately rebuked for not having his lesson material ready. Within the same context, the teacher demonstrates a lack of willingness to answer the pupils' questions. For the sake of establishing discipline, many of the subject matters that are evidently confusing for the pupils remain unexplained. Similarly, as the following example illustrates, the teacher does not correct wrong answers given by the pupils when working on adjectives.[174]

```
*ULV:  pazarda kıpkırmızı elma gördüm .
%eng:  I saw bright red apple at the market.
*TEA:  +" pazarda kıpkırmızı elma gördüm .
*TEA:  ege .
*EGE:  gökyüzü masmaviydi .
%eng:  the sky was deep blue.
*TEA:  +" masmavi .
%eng:  deep blue.
*TEA:  güzel .
%eng:  good.
*TEA:  ezgi .
*EZG:  köylü çocuklarının yüzleri kapkara .
%eng:  the faces of village children are pitch-black.
*TEA:  +" köylü çocuklarının yüzleri kapkaraydı .
%eng:  the faces of village children were pitch-black.
       (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 1/5)
```

Immediately after repeating the answer given by ULV, the teacher goes on to call up another pupil to give another example, namely EZG$^{\female BIL}$ who says *gökyüzü masmaviydi* ("the sky was deep blue"). Although the teacher assesses EZG$^{\female BIL}$'s answer as *güzel*

---

[174] Not only does the teacher not correct wrong answers, but he also occasionally gives out wrong information. After a reading activity on a piece of travel writing, he asks if the narrated text is real or fiction, followed by an explanation of fiction as "absurd", "non-sense", and "unbelievable". Obviously, this explanation is closer to "tales" than it is to "fiction".

("good"), it is wrong because EZG♀BIL uses the intensive adjective in the verbal place, while he is expected to use it as an adjective in the sentence. Since the teacher gives positive feedback to EZG♀BIL's wrong answer, all the pupil's answers given after him are similar to EZG♀BIL's. The lack of factual corrections leads to further wrong uses of the language. This could be interpreted as a reflection of the teacher's continuous attempts to establish discipline in several ways, which seems to have a restricting potential.

The teacher refrains from factual correctional action to an extent that one might wonder whether he actually listens to the answers given by the pupils. In an informal conversation between him and the investigators, the teacher justifies his not taking factual correctional action by stating that he does not want to demotivate the pupils by interfering them. So, he regards "correctional actions" as "demotivating interference". Interestingly enough, he is nervous in class and uses vulgar language from time to time, but he does not think that such behaviours demotivate the pupils (see Section 3.2.4.4 on motivational strategies).

3.2.4.2 The lesson as a reading and answering exercise relying on a group of pupils

As already stated, the teacher's main concern in relation to the lesson content seems to be to complete the predefined exercises and proceed to the next exercise. Within this context, the lesson is co-constructed as a reading and answering exercise. Coming to class with no prior preparation, the teacher relies on the teacher's manual and a group of enthusiastic pupils whom he favours. He more commonly carries on class with a group of female pupils, maybe again based on a preconceived notion that girls are more studious and easier to handle. Starting from beginning of the lesson, he first asks EZG♀BIL, AYS♀BIL and NES♀BIL (all of whom are female bilinguals) where they left off before, as opposed to GÖK♂BIL or NEC♂MON who are also just as involved in class activities. This group of pupils eagerly follow the lesson, keep in mind where exactly the previous lesson was cut off, and abidingly raise their hands to be given permission to answer the questions in the workbook. They even know the kind of answer the teacher expects, and give him what he wants in a conformist attitude. The teacher's insistence on his strategy of relying on a group of pupils all through the year and not making a single effort to include other pupils in the classroom activities results in ignoring the majority of the class members, which implies a symbolic violence committed towards the pupils. As a result, they feel alienated and excluded from classroom activities, and a number of pupils even cast themselves alternative roles that imply other ways of "being" in class. Completely alienated from the actual lesson content, these pupils follow the class as if they were watching a scene from a movie. Their participation at a different level is limited to making fun of what is going on in class, such as jokingly saying *boru eki* ("pipe particle") when the teacher says *soru eki* ("question particle").

3.2.4.3 Templates given by the teacher

3.2.4.3.1 The teacher's use of templates

Besides his continuous efforts to establish discipline, the teacher makes frequent use of templates, i.e. brief formulae he expects the pupils to remember when answering his questions. In the following extract, the teacher's wording is conspicuous and indicative of

his focus on introducing the pupils to mere technicalities and abridged methods that boil down to an educational practice designed to prepare them for the exams. The focus is placed on being able to find the answer in the shortest amount of time. Constructed in this way, the seventh-grade Turkish lessons are reduced to mechanical processes.

```
*TEA:   şöyle da ayırabilirsiniz bakın size bi(r) ipucu daha .
%eng:   you can also differentiate like this, here is another clue for you.
%com:   stands up and goes towards the blackboard
*TEA:   sınavda karşınıza çıktı bu işaret sıfatımı işaret [//] şahıs zamirimi ?
%eng:   if it is asked in the exam whether it is demonstrative adjective or personal
        pronoun.
*TEA:   ikisi de o bak nasıl ayırabilirsiniz kısa bir yöntem .
%eng:   if both of them are "o", here is a short method to differentiate them.
            (Vid7_1008_04_17: Sequence 10/7)
```

When asking the pupils here to interpret a poem orally, the teacher offers them several templates. Arguably, the use of such templates potentially enables processes of literacy acquisition since they, provided that the templates adhere to certain rules, open up a possibility for the pupils to master the templates and then proceed to the following step where they can potentially develop the ability to make efficient use of language, and therefore become advanced readers.

The following excerpt illustrates the way in which the teacher makes use of the templates. As will be seen, two of the templates are concerned with which metaphors the poet uses andwith which colour the pupils like respectively.

```
*TEA:   benzetmeler yapmış .
%eng:   he/she uses metaphors.
*TEA:   dikkat ederseniz bakın !
%eng:   if you look carefully.
[…]
*TEA:   +" beyaz barış kadar buluttur demiş .
%eng:   he/she says that white is a cloud as peace.
*TEA:   dikkat edin !
%eng:   be careful.
*TEA:   beyazı # bulutlara benzetmiş .
%eng:   he/she compares white with clouds.
*TEA:   dimi [: değilmi] ?
%eng:   right?
[...]
*TEA:   beyazı # bulutlara benzetmiş .
%eng:   he/she compares white with clouds.
*TEA:   barış kadar demiş .
%eng:   he/she says as much as peace.
*TEA:   miktar olarak da barışı xxx .
%eng:   as quantity, peace xx.
*TEA:   ş:it@i .
*TEA:   <evet şu sesi> [<] bi(r) kesin bakim [: bakayım] !
%eng:   okay, don't talk.
*TEA:   mavi için tüm renkler arasında en sevdiğimdir demiş .
%eng:   he/she says blue is my favourite among the colours.
*TEA:   hepimizin sevdiği renk farklıdır .
%eng:   our favourite colours differ.
            (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 3/3)
```

Here, the teacher first instructs the pupils to find out the metaphors used by the poet. His following statement "our favourite colours differ" implies that he will relate the poem to the pupils' views on the matter. Interestingly enough, over the course of the lesson, this aspect

of poem interpretation fades away, and the pupils' interpretations are restricted to rewording what the poem says.

Another template the teacher frequently draws on is the one for finding out the noun in a phrase. The teacher explains this by saying that if the word does not get the suffix *mek/ mak*, then it is a noun. For instance, in the example of *yaşlı ceviz ağacı* ("old walnut tree"), *ceviz* ("walnut") is a noun because it lacks the suffix *mek/ mak*. However, the adjective *yaşlı* ("old") does not get the suffix, either. Hence, using templates is not safe, but rather confusing because counterexamples are not considered.

3.2.4.3.2 The pupils' reactions to templates

The pupils' handlings of the templates show significant differences. As the following excerpt indicates, a number of pupils object the teacher when he attempts to collect contributions and asks them to talk about the poem, most probably because they know that the only way of talking about the poem is speaking of what the poet meant to imply.

```
*TEA:  evet@İ .
%eng:  well.
*TEA:  şiir üzerine konuşalım .
%eng:  let's talk about the poem.
*NUR:  ya:@i hocam .
%eng:  ya my teacher.
*ERH:  hocam biz okumadık ama .
%eng:  my teacher, we did not read.
*PAY:  xxx .
*TEA:  itiraz yok ya:@i .
%eng:  don't object yaa.
[…]
*TEA:  evet@İ .
%eng:  well.
*TEA:  size göremi ayarlayicam [: ayarlayacağım] <planı> [?] ?
%eng:  should I schedule according to you?
        (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 2/1)
```

In contrast to the pupils who seem to be unwilling to interpret the poem, AYS$^{♀BIL}$, who is the most studious pupil in class, makes efficient use of the templates the teacher offers, which fosters the conclusion that potentially the templates enable her to become an advanced reader.

```
*AYS:  şair kahvereng [//] kahverengini kahvedir diye tanıtmış .
%eng:  the poet presents kahverengi [= brown] as kahve [= coffee].
*AYS:  kahverengi rengine bir^kaç örnek vermiş sonra@co sarıya geçmiş .
%eng:  he gives a few examples for brown and then proceeds to yellow.
*AYS:  sarı çiçekleri çok beğendiğini söylüyor .
%eng:  he tells that he likes yellow flowers.
*AYS:  güneşin rengi sarıdır sarı rengiyse mutluluk rengidir diyo(r) .
%eng:  he says that the colour of the sun is yellow and the colour of yellow is the
        colour of happiness.
*AYS:  kırmızıyı kanın rengi olarak tanımlıyor .
%eng:  he defines red as the colour of blood.
*AYS:  kan ona hayatı anlatırmış hayatsa ölümü .
%eng:  blood tells him about life, and life about death.
*AYS:  şair bir türlü sevemezmiş kırmızıyı .
%eng:  the poet cannot love red.
*AYS:  yeşili bi(r) başka anlatıyor .
%eng:  he explains green in a different manner.
*AYS:  yeşilin narin ve kırılgan olduğunu idda [: iddia] ediyor .
```

```
%eng:  he suggests that green is nice and fragile.
*AYS:  beyazı barış ve bulut olarak tanıtıyor ve beyazın soğuk olduğunu söylüyor .
%eng:  he presents white as peace and cloud and says that white is cold.
*AYS:  şair griyi sevmiyor galiba .
%eng:  I think the poet does not like grey.
*AYS:  grinin ağlamakta olduğunu söylüyor .
%eng:  he says that grey is weeping.
*AYS:  ona göre siyah karanlık ama karanlığın içinde özgürlük bulunuyor .
%eng:  according to him, black is darkness, but there is freedom in darkness.
*AYS:  maviyse onun en sevdiği renk .
%eng:  blue is his favourite colour.
*AYS:  örnek olarak # denizi ve # gökyüzünü vermiş .
%eng   he gives the sea and the sky as examples.
*TEA:  evet .
%eng:  right.
            (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 7/2)
```

As opposed to this, the following example reveals the restriction potentials of the templates: On one occasion, the teacher gives several examples to make the pupils understand the difference between the use of locative morpheme [-de] and conjunctive [de]. His formula is to check if there is a "loss of meaning" when the [-de] suffix is dropped; in this case, the [-de] suffix is the locative morpheme, while when there is not a loss of meaning in the sentence, the [de] suffix is the conjunctive. However, this formula does not go beyond a memorised template. As a matter of fact, we observe this confusion when LAL$^{♀MON}$ is able to give the right definition (loss of meaning when [-de] suffix is dropped), but is unable to answer correctly when the teacher writes an example on the blackboard. Furthermore, since the teacher only relies on formulas in grammar rather than paying attention on meaning, one of his examples appears to be meaningful in both cases when his formulas are applied. EGE$^{♂BIL}$ is the only one who calls this inconsistency to the teacher's attention, which he completely overlooks.

3.2.4.4 Motivational strategies

3.2.4.4.1 The teacher demotivating the pupils

The teacher gives the pupils a feeling of inadequacy that is commonly rebuffed by the pupils. In the following incident, he gives a homework assignment:

```
*TEA:  şiir yazamazsınız da birer yazı yazmaya çalışın metin yazmaya çalışın !
%eng:  you cannot write a poem, but try to write a text.
*KAM:  ne var hocam şiir yazalım .
%eng:  no big deal, my teacher, let's write poem.
*MER:  şiir de yazalım hocam .
%eng:  let us also write poem, my teacher.
*TEA:  tamam .
%eng:  okay.
*TEA:  yazabilirseniz şiir yazın .
%eng:  if you can, write a poem.
            (Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 6/2)
```

Potentially, this approach of the teacher can in itself evoke a feeling of inadequacy in the pupils, preventing them even from giving it a try. In the next lesson, we observe that most of the pupils did not write anything for this task at home. When the teacher provides extra time in the lesson to write the poem, most of the pupils' solutions are sloppy and inadequate. So, the pupils in the excerpt above just react to the teacher's demotivating

evaluation about their skills. The following ethnographic incident is yet another example that indicates that the teacher's negative remarks always trigger reactions from the pupils:

> TEA puts down PUPs claiming: "You should try to derive the meaning of a word from the text before looking it up in the dictionary, you can never do it", LAL♀MON reacts to this holding up her notebook: "See TEA, we can do it!"
> (2008_04_01_7B_DK (enote))

3.2.4.4.2 Product-oriented approach vs. process-oriented approach

The teacher usually reminds the pupils that they will be assessed on the knowledge they gain from what he teaches. In between the classroom activities, he constantly puts the pupils in mind: "You are going to get graded on these, you know that, right?"[175], which signifies that he treats grades as a motivational tool. The following extract shows that the pupils have internalised the idea of being assessed by means of grades, and that this motivational tool has an enabling effect in attracting their attention to the lesson content. First, the teacher asks:

> *TEA: ismin yerine geçen sözcüklere # ne diyo(r)duk ?
> %eng: how do we call words replacing a noun?
>   (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 9/1)

Initially, the pupils do not seem to be interested in answering the question. Apparently, they did not even pay attention to what the question was. To attract their attention, the teacher continues:

> *TEA: bilene artı vercem [: vereceğim] .
> %eng: I'll give a plus to who answers.
>   (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 9/1)

As soon as the idea of getting graded is mentioned, the pupils show considerable attention:

> *NES: bi(r) daha söyleyin hocam .
> %eng: repeat it, my teacher.
> *BEY: efendim hocam ?
> %eng: how was it, my teacher?
> %com: PUPs get excited
>   (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 9/2)

Interestingly, for the sake of getting a good mark, the pupils try out all the terminology they remember so that most of their answers are extremely irrelevant:

> *UP3: sayı sıfatı .
> %add: TEA
> %eng: numeral adjective.
> *TEA: parmak kaldırın parmak .
> %eng: raise your hands.
> *ULV: hocam .
> %eng: my teacher.
> *TEA: hocam yok .
> %eng: don't shout my teacher.
> %com: TEA lets ŞAN answer first
> *ŞAN: e:@i sayı sıfatı .
> %eng: numeral adjective.

---

[175] Vid7_2007_12_11: Sequence 8/6.

%com: LAL laughs at ŞAN; TEA lets PUPs showing hands answer the question
*REN: belgesiz .
%eng: indefinite.
%com: TEA smiles after REN's answer
*ERH: zarf .
%eng: adverb.
*ULV: fiil .
%eng: verb.
%com: TEA smiles a bit
*TEA: unutmuşsunuz bak .
%eng: you all did forget.
*OKŞ: yalın halimi hocam ?
%eng: is it nominative form, my teacher?
*ERH: defterimizde varmı ?
%eng: is it in our notebooks?
*NES: he@i he@i he@i .
*NES: çekimli fiillermi ?
%eng: is it finite verbs?
%com: sticks her tongue out; PUPs search their notebooks to find the answer
*TEA: zarf [//] zamir .
%eng: adverb, pronoun.
%com: TEA turns to blackboard to write, underlines the word "o" in the second
       example and writes "zamir" below it
       (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 9/3, 9/4)

Funnily enough, NES♀BIL makes the following remark, which shows her lack of belief (resulting from her negative experience) that the teacher keeps his promises:

*NES: bilseydik vermezdiniz ki zaten .
%eng: you wouldn't have given (the plus) even if we had correctly answered.
       (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 9/5)

Also other incidents focusing on the idea of being assessed by grades point at a product-oriented approached as opposed to a process-oriented one, while educational practices designed with a specific focus on grades increase the pupils' active participation. Moreover, when we look at the pupils' notebooks and workbooks, we see that they often make notes as *sınavda çıkacak* ("this will be asked in the exam"). So, the overemphasis on grades shows the result-/ product-oriented approach that is also the general approach in the education system. Therefore, the teacher puts much emphasis on formulas, and the pupils add excessive importance to grades and exams. As indicated in the previous sections about the use of templates, such an approach undermines the pupils' learning processes.

The following excerpt from a lesson in April demonstrates that the pupils do not benefit from this product-oriented approach as it is difficult to understand their answers. Here, ERH has an answer to the teacher's question on the differences between demonstrative adjectives and pronouns, but he can not find the right words to express it. So, the product, i.e. the pupils' ability to present a coherent answer to a grammar question, is not satisfactory.

%com: ERH stands up excitedly
*ERH: hocam arasındaki farkı söylimi [: söyleyeyimmi] ?
%eng: teacher, may I tell the difference?
*ERH: hocam sıfat isim xxx hocam ama zamir xxx .
%eng: my teacher, adjective is noun xxx but pronoun xxx.
%com: other PUPs heckle ERH's explanation
*NUR: hocam öğrenci derken kimin belli değil or(a)da .
%eng: my teacher, while saying pupil, whose is indefinite.

```
*TEA:   otur bakim [: bakayım] .
%add:   ERH
%eng:   sit down.
*ERH:   yanlış ?
%eng:   wrong?
*TEA:   otur .
%eng:   sit down.
        (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 10/3)
```

The teacher does not listen to ERH, but turns his back on him and tells him to sit down. Arguably, this has a restricting influence on ERH's oral text developmental skills. In the following sequence, it is evident that ERH has made up his mind on what counts as important lesson content.

```
*ERH:   hocam bunlar sınavda çık(a)cakmı xxx ?
%eng:   my teacher, are you going to ask about these in the exam?
        (Vid7_2008_04_17: Sequence 10/4)
```

Unable to communicate his thoughts, ERH changes his way of relating to the lesson and begins to focus on the exam.

In an informal conversation with the investigators, the teacher expresses that he finds it useless to teach the pupils continuously about adjectives, nouns, roots and suffixes. If it was up to him, he claims he would do more exercises on texts and writing essays, but he could not because of the demands in the *Ortaöğretim Kurumları Sınavı* (OKS), the yearly exam prepared by the Ministry of Education to place the pupils in high schools. In the OKS, there are 25 questions on Turkish out of 100 in total. As for the subject of Turkish, only grammar is asked, and the teacher says he wants to prepare the pupils for that. It is striking to observe the dichotomy between what he says and does. Maybe he is using the OKS as an excuse, but maybe the OKS does really prevent the teacher from doing what he would really like to do.

3.2.6 Summary and conclusions

This chapter aimed to investigate the practical social processes taking place in the classroom of seventh-graders' Turkish lessons, which are supposed to lead over time to the accretion of literacy competence by the pupils. By way of providing evidence about the ways in which the Turkish teacher operationally creates class instruction and how, in response, the pupils adapt to and modify it, it was attempted to disclose the reciprocal enabling and restricting potentials of social practices from a sociological and linguistic perspective.

With this in mind, the first section analysed the way in which classroom space and objects are used. Secondly, the use of time in lesson construction was examined. This section also provided evidence on the types of lesson activities, in other words, it sought to answer how the pupils adapt to various types of activities taking place in the classroom. The third section was allocated to the way in which teacher-pupils relationships are established, how they contribute to the classroom dynamics, and provide a ground on which literacy acquisition takes place. The fourth and final section explored the teaching and learning strategies developed by the teacher and the pupils.

The U-shaped seating arrangement enables the pupils to see the blackboard better, which is one of the main functional items in the classroom, yet it is not used frequently. The blackboard is used to work on the examples after dictating definitions of grammatical categories such as adjective and adverb. Further, the classroom design, which is unifocal in arrangement, is representative rather than functional. The boards on the surrounding walls are there for the purpose of exhibiting the pupils' works. Yet, the themes referred to in the class do not necessarily relate to what is exhibited in the boards. Similarly, the messy structure of the covered bookcase does not help in enabling the pupils to make efficient use of the books. The books in the class library are irrelevant books compiled to serve primarily exhibition purposes. The teacher's desk is placed in the middle of the classroom, enabling all the pupils to see him at all times. He either stands in the middle of the classroom or sits on his desk, and from time to time, he walks around the room to monitor the pupils. The pupils are not well-equipped concerning the materials they ought to bring to the classroom. In each lesson, a number of pupils can be observed without having a book opened in front of them. In such cases, they either share books with their neighbouring peer, or they may sit idly without following any written product with no warning by the teacher unless they disrupt the flow of the lesson.

Investigations of the use of time put forth that the teacher almost always enters the classroom approximately ten minutes after the official beginning time of the lesson. He expects the pupils to wait for him silently although he enters the class late, which suggest that he assumes a hierarchical relationship where he is superior to the pupils and has rights to which the pupils are not entitled. Also, the pupils are well used to the teacher's tardiness. Further, both the teacher and the pupils disperse as soon as the bell rings. Any incomplete topic is left as it is, and the following lesson takes over from the point at which the previous lesson was left. In the next lesson, the teacher usually calls up a hardworking pupil and asks him/ her to remind them where the previous lesson ended. The lessons have neither introductions nor closures, which may be argued to increase the amount of time allocated to the lesson, but nevertheless is offset by the teacher's continuous attempts to establish discipline.

It seems that the teacher's primary concern is to establish his authority by way of continuously warning the pupils in a scolding tone. Although he assumes a hierarchical relationship between himself and the pupils, a majority of pupils do not seem to take him seriously. There are often power struggles where the pupils do not hesitate to answer back. The teacher's pedagogical approach proves to have restricting potentials through hindering active lesson participation. Once scolded, and often unfairly because the teacher shows distinct disfavour for some pupils, these pupils lose interest in the lesson altogether. Once excluded from classroom activities, a number of pupils even cast themselves alternative roles that imply other ways of "being" in class. Completely alienated from the actual lesson content, some pupils even follow the lesson as if they are watching a scene from a movie.

Throughout the lessons, a lack of communication between the teacher and the pupils is observed. The teacher prefers to carry on class activities with a small circle of hardworking pupils. As he is primarily focused on establishing discipline and order in class, when other

pupils try to relate to the lesson and ask questions with clarification purposes, the teacher does not show tolerance towards many of the questions coming from these pupils, and labels them as rambling and distracting the lesson. Interestingly enough, despite his discouraging attitude, which one would expect to result in the pupils' refraining from asking further questions, they seem to keep a certain level of interest in the lesson. At times, however, the pupils feel discouraged and stop their attempts to clarify contents.

Besides his continuous efforts to establish discipline, the teacher makes frequent use of templates, i.e. brief formulae he expects the pupils to remember when answering his questions. He excessively emphasises simple technicalities and abridged methods that boil down to an educational practice designed to prepare the pupils for the exams. The focus is placed on being able to find the answer in the shortest amount of time. Constructed in this way, the Turkish lessons are reduced to mechanical processes serving to prepare the pupils for the exams.

Abundant examples reveal that "form over content" is of primary importance. The teacher does not attach importance to whether or not the pupils understand the topics in question. Instead, he gives his ready-made explanations, and goes on with the lesson. Lesson-.making in this manner implies an understanding of education that is focused on form and not content. The teacher behaves as if the pupils and he are gathered for the purpose of completing a predefined content, i.e. the curricular programme in a given amount of time. In that process of doing lessons, whether or not the pupils grasp the subject matter is irrelevant, and further elaborating on their questions would be an obstacle for the teacher's mechanical job of lesson-making, which requires quickly finishing topics and proceeding on to others.

As a result, grading as a motivational strategy has been successfully internalised by the pupils as the only motivational strategy the teacher uses is grading. He frequently reminds the pupils that they will be assessed. Incidents focusing on the idea of being assessed by grades point at a product-oriented approach as opposed to a process-oriented one. Several examples further prove that educational practices designed with a specific focus on grades increase the pupils' active participation. Moreover, when we look at the pupils' notebooks and workbooks, we see that they often make notes as "sınavda çıkacak" (*this will be asked in the exam*). So, the overemphasis on grades shows the result-/ product-oriented approach that is also the general approach in the education system. Arguably, such an approach undermines the pupils' learning process.

Another striking theme derived from lesson analysis is the lack of activities aimed at text comprehension. The reading and answering of exercises from the workbook is the main lesson activity. The teacher primarily calls up the pupils who raise a hand and are willing to contribute. As a result, the same pupils get the floor over and over again during the lessons, while no effort is made to involve the disengaged pupils.

The way the teacher covers the lesson contents does not seem to enable comprehension. For example, by way of repeating the questions, he intends to get the pupils closer to the answer he expects. However, instead of bringing variety to his explanations (by way of giving

examples, for instance), which would be helpful in making the pupils grasp what kind of answer he expects, he repeats the same question by paraphrasing it. In cases where the teacher is unable to get the answer he expects from any of the pupils, he gives his answer in the form of a suggestion. He tries to convey the impression that he is not giving the ultimate answer; however, he imposes the answer on the pupils by saying, *it can be, right?*. Instead of keeping the pupils' responses open to expansion, the teacher always searches for alternative low-level answers. In other words, the conversational structure constructed as such limits the pupils in that it requires only brief responses from them. Within this framework, the teacher and the pupils cannot work within the conversational structure in ways that would allow for extended answers and a higher level of thinking and argumentation, all of which would serve to develop the pupils' oral textual skills. It can be concluded that the teacher's tendency to give explanations and not examples, in addition to his inclination towards not correcting the pupils' answers, both serve to restrict their capability to comprehend.

It can also be observed that the practice of writing down (but not necessarily comprehending) is firmly established in class. Through writing as dictated, there is no room for comprehension. From early grades on, as meaning is not important in texts and writing activities, the pupils might have developed a tendency to postpone the comprehension after they finish writing the text. It is commonly observed that they, irrespective of Turkish being their first or second language, develop a distance towards the act of comprehension.

Given this approach, observations indicate that most pupils do reading without understanding as they pause at wrong places while reading and/ or do not go back to correct the misread words. What is even more striking is that this goes unnoticed or uncorrected by the teacher as such correctional action would cause him to disrupt his mechanical approach to the lesson flow. It should be noted that in addition to the pupils' difficulties in reading, the structure of the texts in the textbook also influences text comprehension. Some of the texts in the book have been cited as fragments of their original sources. Furthermore, in texts translated from another language into Turkish, there are several sentences that do not make any sense. As a result, there appear unclear details in texts that cause incoherence and disconnection in the text unity. Such deficiencies in the textbook texts may result in the pupils having difficulties in comprehension. In relation to this, we observe that they are not able to summarise the texts that they have just read when asked to do so. This, again, underlines that for many of the pupils, comprehending skills are something different than reading the word/ text.

Further, using unknown words/ phrases in sentences is a common activity in the workbook after reading a piece of text. Several incidents reveal that the pupils have problems in comprehending new words and using them in sentences with the right meaning. The misuse of words and the teacher's lack of taking correctional action here result in an inability to comprehend.

In elaboration activities, the teacher usually reads a series of open-ended questions one after another, each of which invites long, elaborated discussions, which obviously makes it impossible for the pupils to react adequately. We may judge by the way in which the

teacher makes use of the teacher's manual that the manual has the sole function of facilitating the teacher's job, preventing him from getting into the trouble of preparing for the lesson. The teacher and the pupils follow the textbook page by page, and rather than aiming at a holistic understanding of the themes in question, the overall purpose is to complete the exercises and proceed to the next exercise/ page. As a result, the way in which the lesson is constructed potentially restricts discussions.

4 Comparison of Mono- and Bilingual Pupils in Turkish Class

Dilara Koçbaş, Christoph Schroeder & Yazgül Şimşek

4.1 Mono- and bilingual pupils in linguistic analyses

The results summarised below consider the different case pupils' age groups and the matching LAS test types. The comparison of the orate-literate analyses and of the orthographic analyses regards pupils with Turkish as a first language and pupils with Turkish as a second language. Comparisons only refer to the results within the LAS case pupils' groups.

4.1.1 Mono- and bilingual pupils in linguistic analyses: First-graders

4.1.1.1 First-graders – mono- and bilinguals in the orate-literate analysis

LAS Test 1 oral

In LAS Test 1, conducted early in the school, year pupils from the first grade were supposed to narrate the events of the film "The Lost Envelope" orally. Additionally, an oral dictation was elicited. One monolingual case pupil, HAV$^{♀MON}$, could not take part in the tests.

The results of the oral narration in this test are only variable within a small span between the monolingual and the bilingual case pupils. Nevertheless, in some areas, the bilingual pupils show a slightly lower tendency towards literate forms. The percentage of +literate complements, for instance, is with 32% vs. to 45% higher in the monolingual group. There is a clear hint towards a higher linguistic knowledge of the monolingual group in this area.

Fig. III.4.1. 1st grade: Orate-literate analysis T1.1, MONand BIL
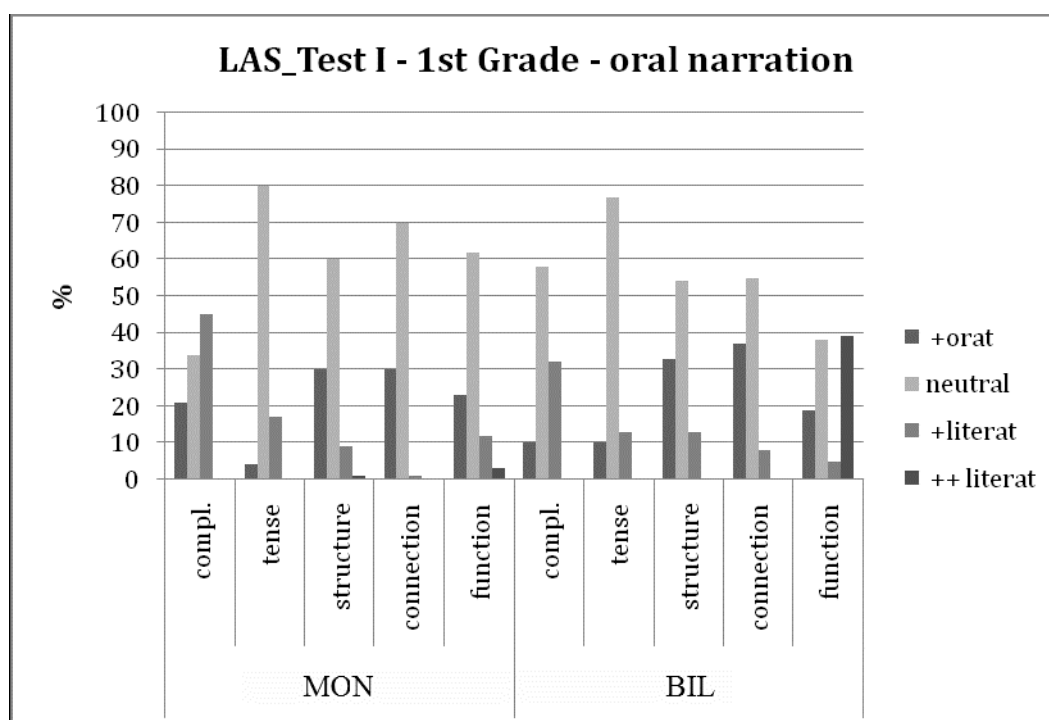
The differences in the use of tense are only marginal; the Turkish monolingual group employs neutral and literate forms to a slightly higher degree. However, within the analysed category "tense", it has to be mentioned that the bilingual group is showing some deficiencies as far as the genre-adequate employment of tense forms is concerned. Some of the case pupils fail to arrange information conveyance according to the requirements of aspect in Turkish, which means that they are not able to differ between the appropriate marking with *-di* (self-experience or factual information) and *-miş* (hearsay or inferred information). The marginal differences between the monolingual and the bilingual group are also observable within the analysed category "structure". Both groups mostly use neutral structures, only one-verb-sentences, for instance. Literate subordinations with converbial elements are rare and seem to be not dependent on whether the children have acquired Turkish as their first or second language. Even the simple converb *-ip*, which is expectable in the first grade, does not occur very often. Some instances of ++literate forms, mostly more complex converbs, are instances of uptakes where structures are provided by the investigators during the face-to-face interactions. A learning effect of the test situation on the child's language production occurred within the monolingual as well as within the bilingual group. The use of connective elements proves to be more eloquent in the bilingual group. While the average percentage of orate connectives is less differing in both groups, there is a higher tendency towards an employment of ++literate connectors in the bilingual group. The results show further that the bilinguals use a wider range of connectors. Within the monolingual group there are cases pointing to a lower stage of language acquisition in this area, namely the use of the connector *o+zaman* ("then/that time") instead of *ondan+sonra* ("then/after that"); cf. MIN$^{MON/F}$ in comparison to DAM$^{♀BIL}$. Within the area function[176], the Turkish bilingual group shows a clear advance compared to the monolingual group: The percentage of speech units with +literate function is rising up to 40%, while reaching only 3% in the monolingual group. This difference can surely be explained by the higher degree of awareness of the genre requirements. Also speech acts commenting, assessing and evaluating the narrated events are causing the high degree of literate units within the category function.

LAS Test 1 dictated

In the dictated narration of the same Test 1, the bilingual group shows a more recognisable ability to adapt to the differing form of language production, resulting in a quite remarkable drop of orate forms, while there is a higher variation of structures used by the monolingual group.

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[176] The category „function" refers to the difference between speech units that are communicative (directed to the co-participating investigator and thus +orate) and to those units that are narrating. The narrating units are further differentiated into the ones chaining the events (neutral), introducing and concluding (+literate) and evaluating (++literate).

Fig. III.4.2. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis T1.2, MON and BIL
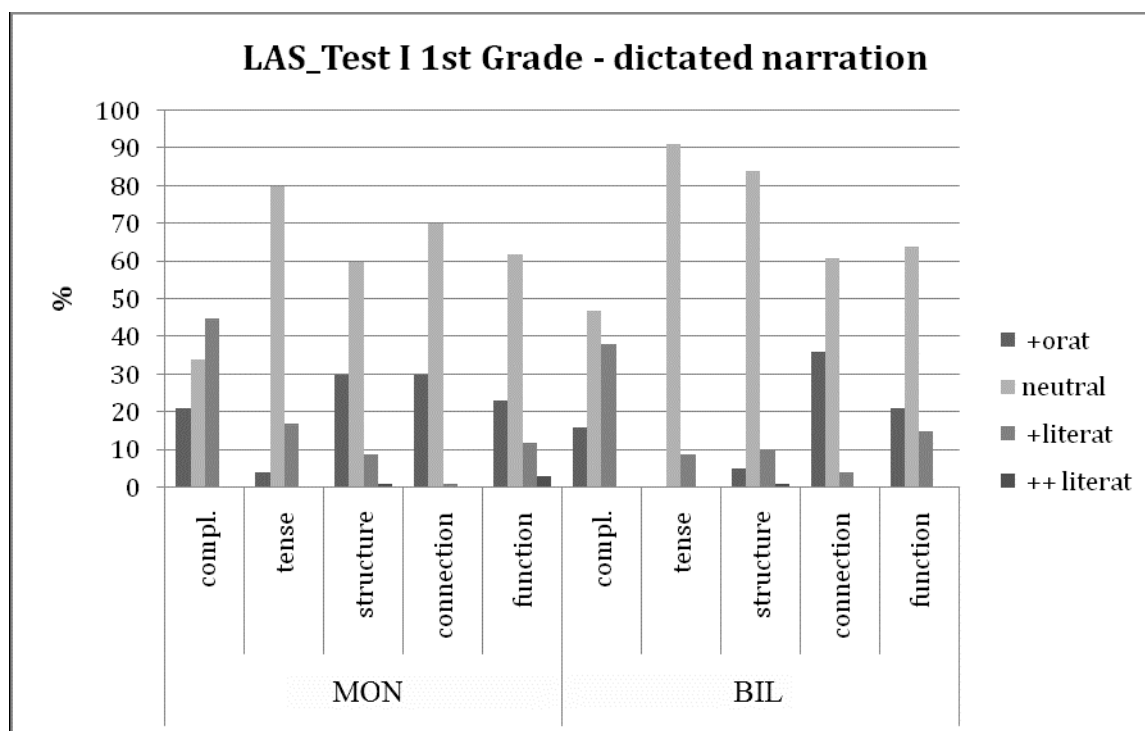
Compared to the results of the oral version, there is nearly no change of linguistic structures the monolingual group of pupils is using. This observation is applicable to all of the analysed categories. In the bilingual group, complements forms are giving a somewhat unclear picture because the dictated narration contains more orate complement forms than the oral narration. Tense marking is in this group neutral in the dictation, reaching 90%. While syntactic structures are similar in both narrated versions in the monolingual group, the bilingual pupils use only 5% oral syntax in their dictations. Connectivity is not changing significantly in both groups throughout both of the narrations. The category "function" conveys a different picture in the bilingual group: The 39% of ++literate units, evaluating speech acts, are dropped in the dictation. At this stage of language acquisition, evaluations usually are triggered by the interaction, question-answer-sequences. But in this case, the number of interactive units, classified as orate, is not equally high. Thus, the high percentage of ++literate units in the bilingual group remains unclear.

LAS Test 2

In LAS Test 2, conducted late in the school year, five monolingual case pupils took part and produced five oral narrations, three written narrations and two dictated narrations. The bilingual group consisted of six case pupils as required, all of these pupils produced an oral narration, five of them were able to write a text that was not too cryptic to analyse; EME♀BIL, for instance, dictated the events in addition to her very cryptic writing, and the dictation was not excluded from the analysis.

LAS Test 2 oral

In some of the analysed categories, results point to no significant differences between the monolingual and the bilingual group. This is the case with complements forms: In the oral as well as in the written versions, the orate, neutral and literate structures are equally distributed. Also in tense markings, we only find marginal differences between the two groups, at least in the oral narration:

Fig. III.4.3. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis T2.1, MON and BIL
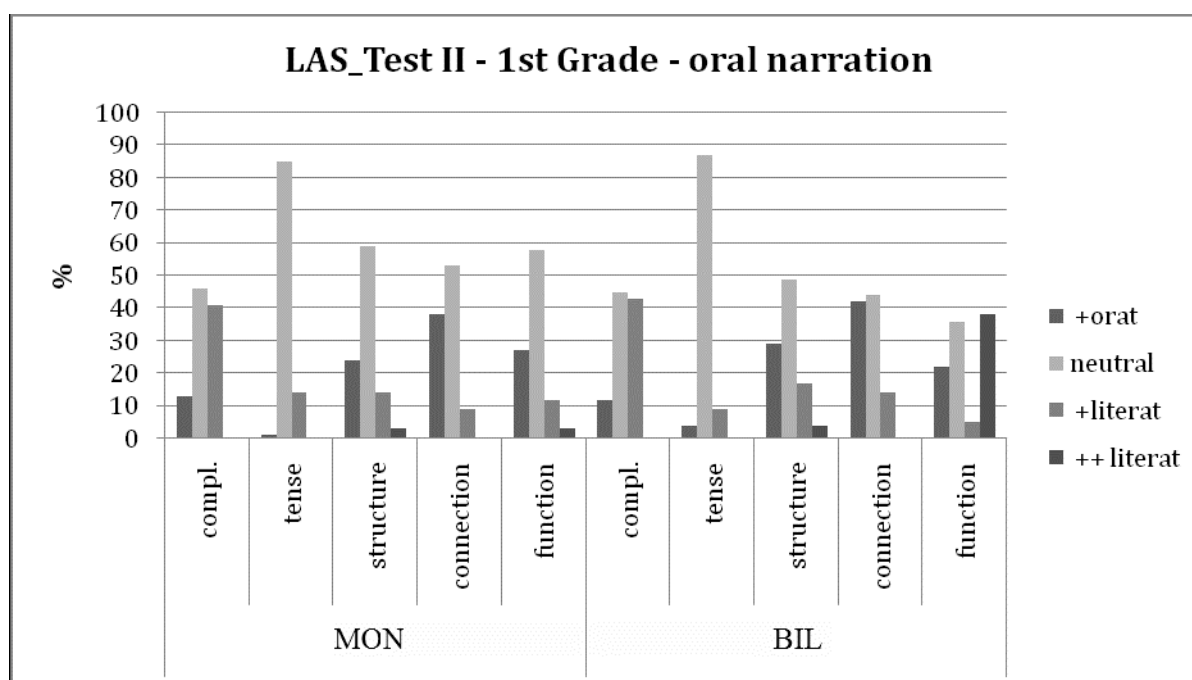
Although the range of literate syntactic structures is equal (including uses of converbial elements), the monolingual group makes use of orate structures to a lower extent. The percentage of the neutral forms is also higher than in the bilingual group, meaning that the monolingual group has an advantage in this linguistic area. Connectives are in both groups mainly orate or neutral elements; it is interesting, though, that the percentage of literate forms is higher in the bilinguals' narrations, 14% compared to 9% in the monolinguals' narrations. As far as the function of information units is concerned, the results are similar to those of the Test 1 oral productions. The bilingual case pupils are strongly tending towards evaluative information, and thus, the score of literate units is high.

LAS Test 2 written

In the second part of Test 2, the first-graders were asked to put their narrative in writing. This task was accomplished by every case pupil differently according his/ her writing skills. However, in the monolingual group, only three of five tested case pupils managed to write the narration; the other two produced a dictation instead. Because the dictations show a specific interpretation of language use by the pupils, the dictations were excluded from the comparison.

Since all of the case pupils are still on a developing level in writing, the results show a considerable simplification of linguistic structures in the written narratives of Test 2 in the first grade, thus causing an enormous increase of neutral structures on every linguistic level.

Fig. III.4.4. 1ˢᵗ grade: Orate-literate analysis T2.2, MON and BIL
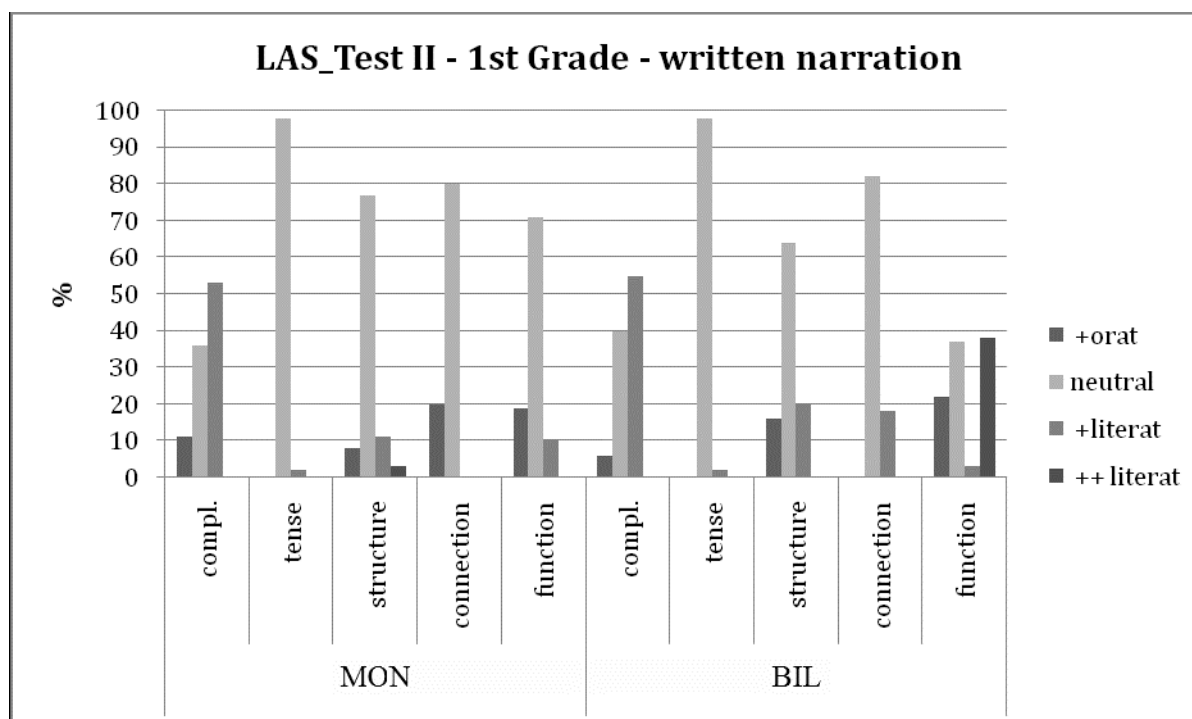
Tense markings are to a very low degree orate in the oral versions in the monolingual and the bilingual group. Usually, those orate markings were used in the introducing units. These kinds of variations are not the case in writings anymore. Instead, the whole chain of events is marked with the neutral tense suffix *-dI*.

Given the results of oral and written products where the percentage of orate structuring is slightly higher in the bilingual than in the monolingual group, syntax seems to be a more difficult area for the bilingual pupils. Neutral forms employed up to 60% by mono- and bilinguals in writing are syntactic units with a finite verb, without subordination. Structures like nominalizations, for instance, classified as +literate elements, occur on a nearly equal level in oral and to a higher amount in writings of the bilingual pupils. The ++literate forms, like complex converbial clauses and subordinations with infinitives, are less apparent and dropped in writings by the bilingual group. Still, their occurrence points to a developing process compared to the results of Test 1. The fact that these ++literate syntactical elements are dropped completely in the writings of bilinguals indicates less extensive language knowledge as compared to the monolingual case pupils.

The employment of literate connectives, on the other hand, is more frequent in the bilingual group. While the use of orate and literate connectors is balanced in the oral narrations, the oral connectives completely disappear in writing, giving rise to neutral forms that are reaching 82%. In the writings of the monolingual group, oral connectors are still making

20% of this category; simultaneously, literate forms (9% in oral narrations) are being dropped in writings.

In the category "function", the monolingual group shows a slight decrease of oral units in writing, consequently giving rise to neutral units. The literate units, like evaluating conclusions present in the oral narratives of this group, disappear in writing. The bilingual group does not show any kind of adaptation process to writing in this category. The amount of evaluating speech acts is high in either form of language production. Compared to Test 1, there are similarities that may be interpretable as "higher level of genre knowledge" of the bilingual pupils as compared to the monolingual group.

4.1.2 Mono- and bilinguals in orthography analysis

Pseudoword test

Out of the 30 forms that were used in the pseudoword test, the total average of orthographically plausible forms, **not** including those cases where pupils break up syllable complexity by means of inserting an epenthetic vowel, is 14.8% per case pupil. If we differentiate between mono- and bilingual case pupils, an interesting picture emerges, i.e. with an average of 18.17% orthographically plausible representations, the bilingual case pupils are far more successful than the monolingual case pupils who show an average of 11.3% plausible representations. The monolinguals have a slightly stronger tendency of employing epenthetic vowels in their representations than the bilinguals (11 versus 8), and if we integrate these into the orthographically plausible forms, the picture changes but little.

If we sum up all phonographically and orthographically plausible forms (including now also representations where a particular segment was analysed, but the representation did not follow orthographical norms), again not much changes:

Tab. III.4.1. 1st grade: Pseudoword test, orthographic consistency and plausibility, MON

| | Forms ctd. | Monolinguals | | | | |
| | | Plausibility | | | | |
		Orthographic	Epenthetic	Other phon. plausible	Total	In %
SÜM	28	16	2	2	20	71.43
MIN	29	14	1	2	17	58.62
OLC	29	12	5	2	19	65.52
TOL	30	21	2	4	27	90.00
MEL	26	3	0	0	3	11.54
HAV	13	2	1	0	3	23.10
Total	155	68	11	10	89	
Average		11.33	1.83	1.67	14.83	53.36

Tab. III.4.1. 1ˢᵗ grade: Pseudoword test, orthographic consistency and plausibility, BIL

	Forms ctd.	Plausibility				
		Orthographic	Epenthetic	Other phon. plausible	Total	In %
TUR	28	25	2	0	27	96.43
REH	25	6	0	3	9	36.00
DAM	30	22	2	1	25	83.33
POY	30	23	1	1	25	83.33
ÖYK	23	17	1	0	18	78.26
EME	26	16	2	0	18	69.23
Total	162	109	8	5	122	
Average		18.17	1.33	0.83	20.33	74.43

Thus, in terms of the orthographic and phonographic plausibility of the representation of pseudowords, the bilingual case pupils remain more successful than the monolingual ones.

With regard to **phenomena on the segmental level**, the bilinguals are slightly more successful, but the differences are smaller now:

Fig. III.4.5. 1ˢᵗ grade: Pseudoword test, PGC-errors, MON and BIL
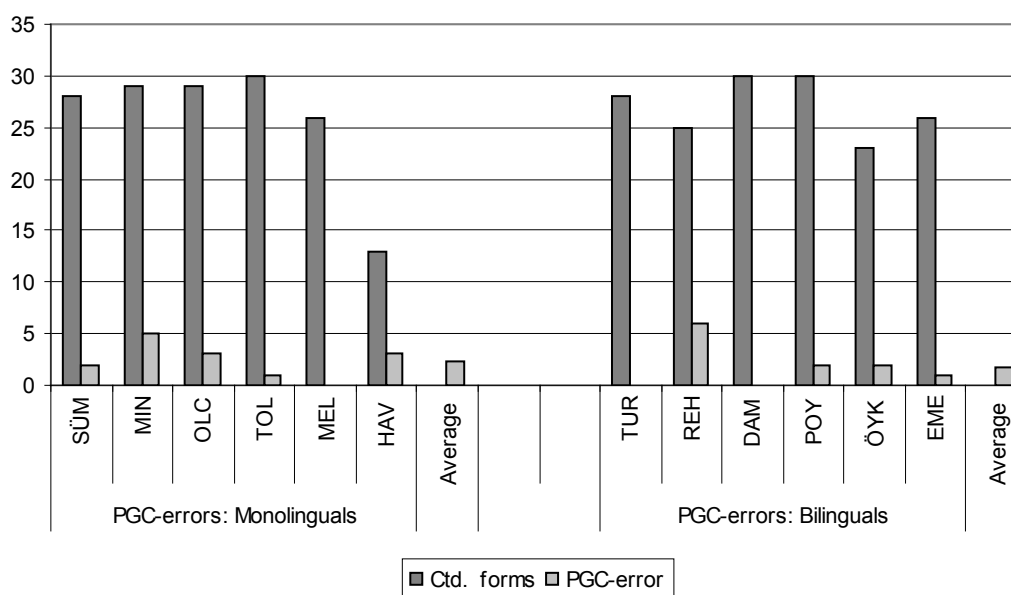
Amongst the bilinguals, REH$^{\male\text{BIL}}$ is responsible for 6 out of 11 wrong representations, and among the monolingual case pupils, MIN$^{\female\text{MON}}$ accounts for 5 out of 14 wrong representations. REH's problems stem, amongst others, from non-orthographic (and non-harmonic) vowel representation, i.e. he consistently represents [y] by means of <u> (e.g., he writes <emul> for [e.myl]). REH is the first-grade case pupil with the lowest proficiency in Turkish. Kurmanjî, his family language, does not have phonemic [y], thus there might be a problem caused by dynamics of second language acquisition. This is also backed by the fact that we find the same phenomenon only in the text of the other first-grade case pupil

with a strong Kurmanjî accent, namely ÖYK♀BIL. However, since we do not have any other written texts from REH♂BIL, we can not rule out that this is simply a graphic problem in the sense that he has not yet learned the particular grapheme <ü>.

Turning to **complexity reduction**, we already noted above that there is a slightly stronger tendency among the monolingual case pupils to follow the strategy of inserting an epenthetic vowel (grapheme) than among the bilinguals (11:8) who do not reduce consonantal onsets so much. Also the reduction of codas is slightly more often observed with monolinguals (7) than with bilinguals (5), as is in general the tendency not to represent a vowel or a consonant (31:25). Reductions from bisyllabic to monosyllabic representations occur far more frequently among the monolingual case pupils (19) than among the bilingual case pupils (6).

So, when comparing the monolinguals with the bilinguals in terms of complexity reduction in the pseudoword test, the outcome parallels that of the plausibility level (see above) in that the monolinguals have a much stronger tendency to reduce complexity of the different types:

Fig. III.4.6. 1st grade: Pseudoword test, reductions, MON and BIL
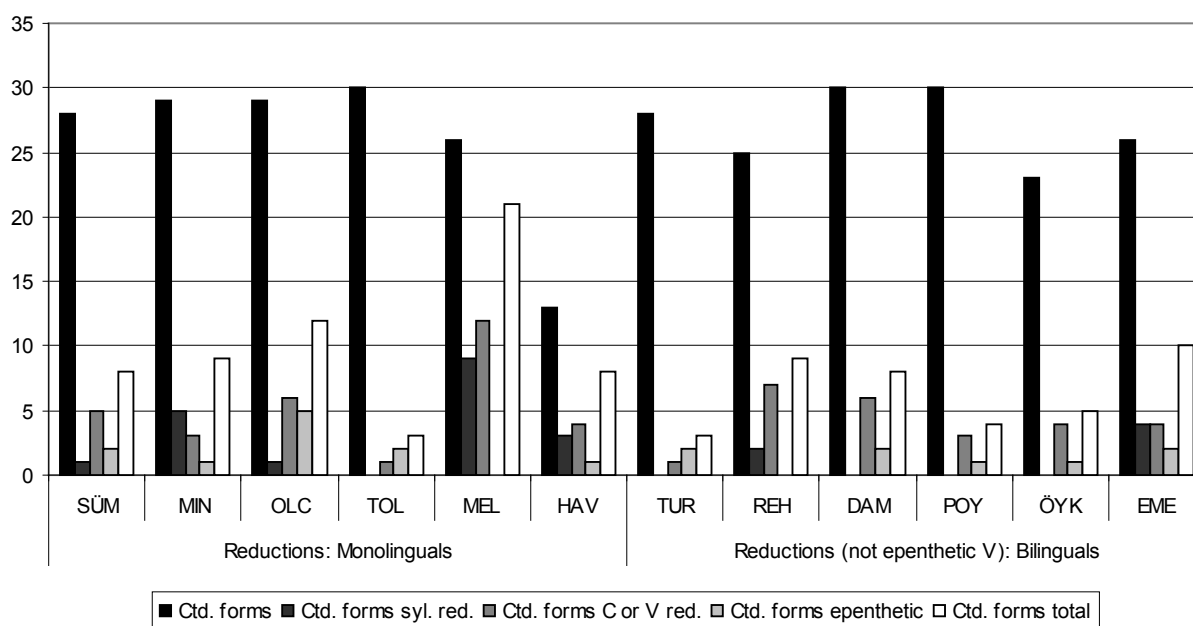
A weaker bilingual pupil like REH♂BIL then has problems with phoneme-grapheme correspondences, and possibly also problems analysing particular phonemes correctly. Syllabic complexity, however, seems rather a problem for the monolingual case pupils than for the bilinguals.

LAS Test 2

Of the nine written texts from the first-graders that could be analysed, five belong to bilingual pupils (TUR♂BIL, DAM♀BIL/F, POY♂BIL, ÖYK♀BIL, EME♀BIL), and four to monolinguals (SÜM♂MON, MIN♀MON, OLC♂MON, TOL♂MON). On average, the texts of the bilingual first-grade case pupils are longer than those of the monolingual first-graders:

Fig. III.4.7. 1st grade: Length of texts in T2, MON and BIL
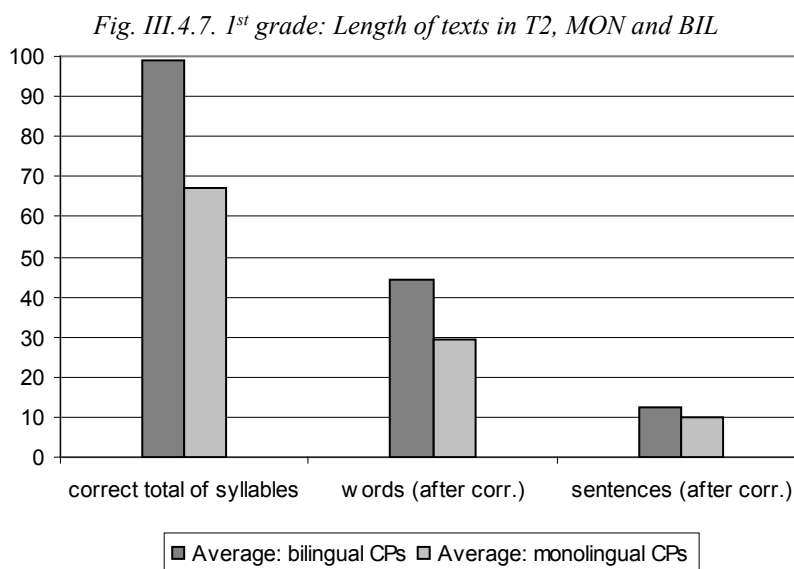
On the phonographic level, we consider the representation of vowels first. While the percentage of missing vowels in the correct total remains 2.2%, for both the monolinguals and the bilinguals, that of the wrong vowels in the text total is 2.7% for the monolinguals, and 2.3% for the bilinguals. Attempts to represent long vowels are only observed with the bilingual case pupils TUR$^{\male BIL}$, DAM$^{\female BIL}$ and ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$ – and TUR and DAM$^{\female BIL}$ employ <ğ> in this. Note that Kurmanjî, the first language of the bilingual case pupils, differentiates phonetically between long and short vowels, thus the discrimination of vowel quantity might be easier for the bilinguals than for the monolinguals.

An instance with regard to a wrong representation of a vowel that might be based on the bilingualism of the pupil is ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$'s writing <u> instead of <ü> – this is either a concentration lapse (i.e., missing dots), or it is based on her strong Kurmanjî accent and thus phonographic (we note a similar phenomenon with ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$ and REH$^{\male BIL}$ in the pseudoword test, see above).

Percentages of missing consonants differ considerably between the monolingual and the bilingual case pupils, i.e., while the percentage of missing consonants in the text total is 3.4% for the bilingual case pupils, it is 6.6 % for the monolinguals, and while the percentage of incorrect consonants in the text total is 2.4% for the bilinguals, it is 5.6% for the monolinguals. Monolinguals and bilinguals score different results in particular with regard to the representation of a consonant in syllable-final position before a consonantal onset: The monolinguals show a stronger tendency not to represent such consonants than the bilinguals. This phenomenon seems a continuation of the tendency towards more syllable reduction among the monolinguals, which was already noted with regard to the pseudoword test (see above). While missing consonants occur in all texts except POY$^{\male BIL}$'s, which is orthographically fully correct, TUR and POY among the bilinguals and OLC$^{\male MON}$ and TOL$^{\male MON}$ among the monolinguals have no incorrect consonant graphemes. Consonantal errors are feature and assimilation errors throughout. There are some consonantal errors, which occur with all case pupils who produce consonantal errors,

namely mixing-up of <n> and <m>, and <m> and <b>. Beyond this, the monolingual pupils SÜM$^{\male MON}$ and MIN$^{\female MON}$ simply produce more errors than the bilinguals DAM$^{\female BIL}$, ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$ and EME$^{\female BIL}$, but error types can not be related to mono- versus bilingualism, but seem to occur on the individual level.

Added vowel graphemes do not occur, but added consonant graphemes are found in five instances in four texts (DAM$^{\female BIL}$, ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$, EME$^{\female BIL}$ (2), SÜM$^{\male MON}$). In these occurrences, they seem a sign of phonographic and (hypercorrect) orthographic awareness, and the fact that three of the four case pupils who add a consonant are bilinguals might again point at the higher degree of awareness in this respect.

On the **logographic level**, we see that bilinguals show both less compound spellings (221 words, 10 compound spellings, i.e. 4,5%) than monolinguals (117 words, 18 compound spellings, i.e. 15.4 %) and less separate spellings (bilinguals 221 words, 6 separate spellings, i.e. 2.7%) than monolinguals (117 words, 9 separate spellings, i.e. 7.7 %). However, the monolinguals' separate spellings all come from OLC$^{\male MON}$ who mixes plain and cursive handwriting, and this leads to a mixture of syllabic and (orthographic) word-oriented spelling. With the bilingual pupils, separate writing (of suffixes) is more evenly distributed, i.e. it occurs with TUR$^{\male BIL}$, ÖYK$^{\female BIL}$ and EME$^{\female BIL}$. With regard to upper case writing, we do not note any differences between monolinguals and bilinguals.

Also on the level of **text-structuring**, no differences between the group of monolinguals and that of the bilinguals could be detected.

4.2 Mono- and bilingual pupils in linguistic analyses: Seventh-graders

4.2.1 Mono- and bilinguals in the orate-literate analysis

LAS Test 1 oral

LAS Test 1 in the seventh grade included an oral and a written narrative. In the oral narration, the results confirm that in almost every analysed area, the bilingual group shows a stronger tendency towards either neutral or literate structures.

Fig. III.4.8. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis T1.1, MON and BIL
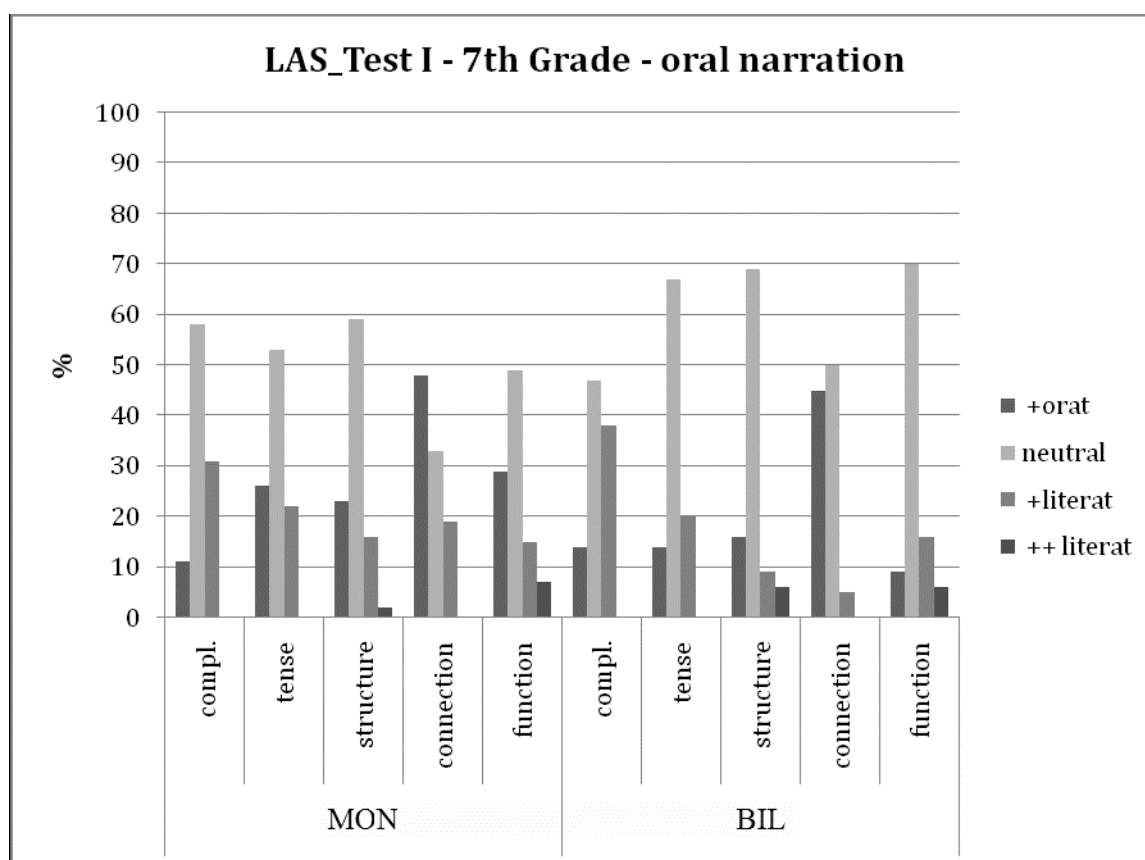
Complement forms in the oral narration of the monolingual pupils differ from the forms used by the bilingual group in the way that monolingual pupils use less orate forms. This fact can not solely be evaluated as being better than the bilingual pupils. The bilingual group uses more literate forms instead, thus being equally eloquent in this category. In the category "tense", where the monolingual group uses more orate markings, the picture is reversed: In this category the, bilingual group tends towards a use of more neutral tense markings, the literate ones being nearly equal. It has to be mentioned that the results in Figure III.4.8 are average percentages, whereas the case pupils rely on specific understandings of the narrative genre when using specific tense markings; e.g. AYS$^{♀BIL}$ who narrates without detailing, and KAM$^{♂MON}$ and ALA$^{♀MON}$ who both create an interactive scene, presenting events as ongoing events, requiring the employment of orate tense markings. A narration style like KAM$^{♂MON}$ is performing provokes also more orate syntactic structures, thus the percentage of those forms is higher in the monolingual group. Within the category "structure", the bilingual group in general performs better than the monolingual group, using more subordinated structures, converbial forms, subordinated infinitives and relative clauses. Nevertheless, the amount of neutral structures remains high. We also find differences within the category "connection", i.e. the monolingual group uses nearly 50% orate connectives, while the bilingual group relies up to 50% on neutral forms. Literate connectives like *ama* ('but'), used, for instance, to signal semantic contrast, are less apparent in the bilingual group. As already mentioned, the monolingual group tends to narrate interactively, which also gives rise to orate speech units in the category function.

LAS Test 1 written

In the written version of the Test 1 narration, the monolingual group manages to adapt to the written information conveyance, except for the categories "tense" and "connection". The bilingual group, on the other hand, has two tendencies: to reduce orate forms in every category, and to use neutral forms rather than literate forms.

Fig. III.4.9. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis T1.2, MON and. BIL
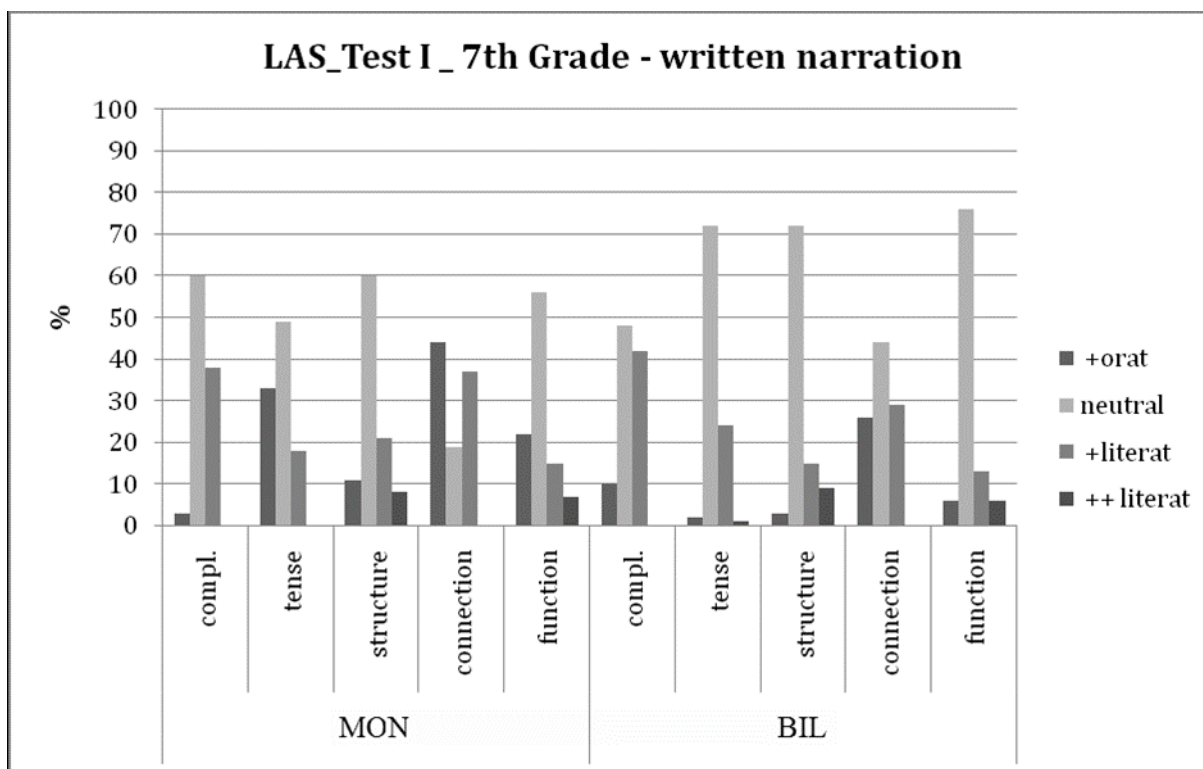
The monolingual group adapts to written language most consequently in the categories "complement forms" and "structure". In both categories, the orate forms are decreasing in the written version; simultaneously, the percentage of +literate and also ++literate forms rises, while neutral forms remain steady. In the category "tense", the high percentage of orate tense markings continues in the written narratives because of the reason mentioned above: The reconstructing of events as an interactive scene results in the use of the orate IPFV -*yor*. The orate narration style of some monolingual case pupils is clearly responsible for the high amount of orate connectives.

In both of the narrative productions, the bilingual group rather relies on neutral structures. The results confirm that the pupils are aware of the written language: The percentages of orate forms are dropping in every category. In that respect, the bilingual group does not differ from the monolingual pupils. Nevertheless, the decrease of orate forms within the category "complements forms" is not as high as it is in the monolingual group. In the categories "tense" and "structure", the decrease (from oral narration to the written version) is more significant in the monolingual group. Bilinguals are more often using literate

connectives in their written narrations, "connectivity" being the category where the movement towards literate forms is most clear in the results of both groups. The same assessment can be made for the category "function".

LAS Test 2 written

In Test 2 in the seventh grade, the pupils were given the task to make corrections on the written narration already produced in Test 1. Only one pupil, KAM$^{\male MON}$, made editing corrections, one other, AYS$^{\female BIL}$, made no changes at all. Rather than editing the previously written texts, 10 pupils took the opportunity to make additions and changes to their writings on the content level. In the monolingual group, three pupils wrote the text from scratch, while three chose only to write one or two additional sentences. DIL$^{\female MON}$ and ALA$^{\female MON}$, two pupils of the monolingual group, wrote additional units that are evaluating the topic. Especially in these two products, a "composition style" taught in Turkish class is remarkable. In the bilingual group, one case pupil, AYS$^{\female BIL}$, made no changes at all, two others wrote additional units. Those units were added to the previously written story; in the case of GÖK$^{\male BIL}$, for instance, the added three sentences are containing additional information on the end of the story; in the case of DER$^{\male BIL}$, the three additional units are evaluative remarks on the previously described incident. One bilingual case pupil, EZG$^{\female BIL}$, who produces a chain of stories rather than writing about a singular incident, chose to rewrite the narration, giving the events a more logical flow and adding two other events.

Because the editing process had a low outcome, the writings in Test 1 and Test 2 show only marginal differences in the two groups of pupils. Thus, the observations made on monolingual and bilingual pupils in Test 2 are similar to those already made above for the writings in Test 1.

Fig. III.4.10. 7th grade: Orate-literate analysis T2, MON and BIL
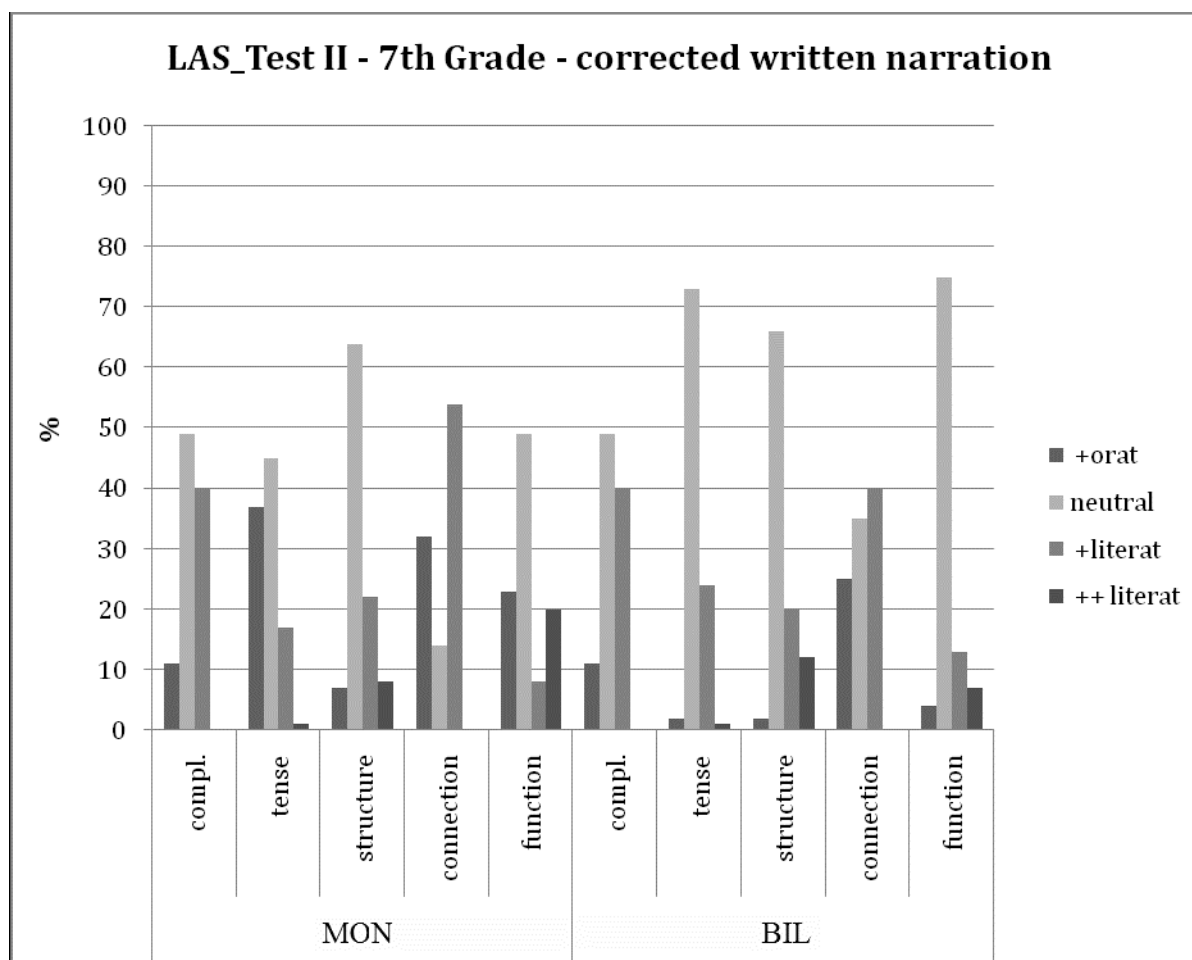
Nevertheless, it has to be added that the corrections and rewritings are causing an increase of literate forms in some analysed categories. In the category "connection", for instance, there is a definite improvement and a much higher degree in use of literate connectives, valid for both groups.

In the category "function", the monolingual group has a higher tendency towards the creation of evaluative units, causing a higher percentage of ++literate units than in the bilingual groups' productions, cf. the additions of DIL$^{♀MON}$, which are all assessments and evaluations on the topic. The bilingual case pupils tend to produce shorter texts (compare for instance DIL$^{♀MON}$ and DER$^{♂BIL}$).

The slight advantage of the monolingual group over the bilingual pupils observed in the first grade in the area of syntax seems not to be the case in the seventh grade any more. From Test 1 to Test 2, there is a visible increase in ++literate syntax within the bilingual group. In Test 2, the percentage of those structures is even higher in the bilingual than in the monolingual group, even though not fully convincing (12% compared to 8%).

LAS test 3 written

In Test 3 conducted in the seventh grade, the pupils were requested to write an instruction on how to use a mobile phone, the topic being more specified, i.e. to give instruction on how to make a call, how to answer an incoming call and how to write a short message. All case pupils were able to perform the task, bilinguals and monolinguals alike. One of the monolingual case pupils, KAM$^{\male\text{MON}}$, even wrote two texts that were treated as different samples in the analysis. Five of the case pupils integrated a picture of the object in question into their writing, but only one of those five, ALA$^{\female\text{MON}}$, managed also to put explanatory writings in the picture. In almost all text products, text external techniques, like sectioning the text into different paragraphs according to content, were used.

As far as the linguistic means are concerned, monolingual and bilingual pupils performed according to their abilities, meaning that those of them who performed well in the narrations were also putting much effort on verbalisation in the instructive text; i.e. LAL$^{\female\text{MON}}$, being of the most eloquent case pupils performing well in both genres, and GÖK$^{\male\text{BIL}}$ and DER$^{\male\text{BIL}}$, both of whom produced a short text with a high amount of morphological errors, again in both genres.

The results of the orate/ literate analysis reveal only small differences between the monolingual and the bilingual pupils. In two of the analysed categories, namely "complements form" and "function", the differences between both groups in using orate and literate structures are too small to be considered significant. The percentages of orate complements, for instance, show only a differing range of 2%.

Moreover, it has to be pointed out that it is the monolingual group that shows the higher percentages of orate structures in almost every category. This applies also to the category "tense". The percentage of orate tense markings reaches 30% in the monolingual group, against only 20% in the bilingual group. Tense markings in this Test 3 illustrate the fact that tense is highly genre-dependent in Turkish. Compared to the narrative genre where also orate markings like the IPFV -*yor* can be used, the instructive genre requires also the employment of literate forms like the AOR -*ir* or the factitive -*dIr*. The dominance of literate markings in the texts produced in this test shows that the pupils are to some degree aware of genre differences.

Genre requirements are also taken into account in the category "function", containing information units that are nearly 90% ++literate in the products of both the monolingual and the bilingual group; in this case, +literate units are introductions and conclusions, while ++literate units are information delivery with explaining and instructing purpose.

Fig. III.4.11. 7ᵗʰ grade: Orate-literate analysis T3, MON and BIL
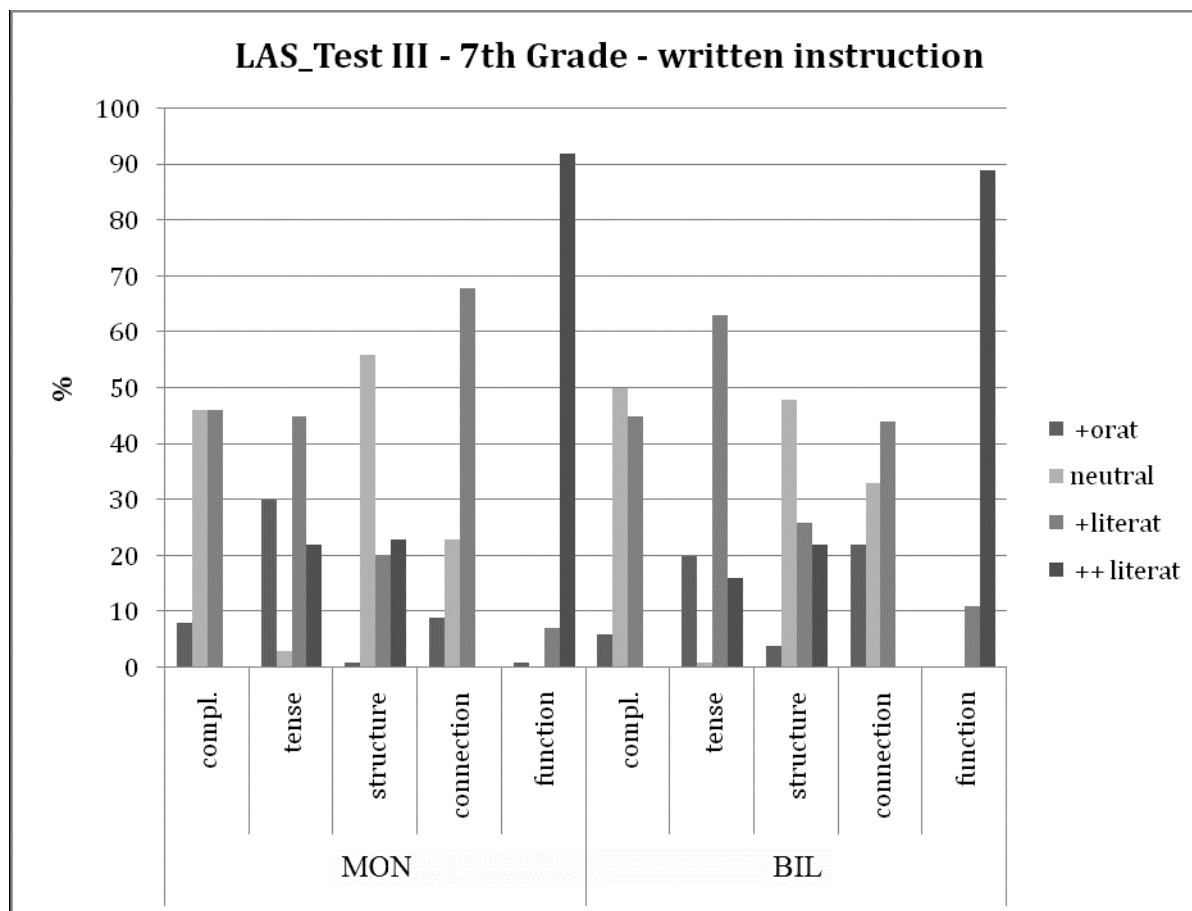
In the category "structure", while the bilinguals had more problems with literate structuring in the narratives, they are using literate forms to the same degree as monolinguals in the instruction. The 4% of orate syntactic structures are due to incomplete sentences where a finite verb was observed to be missing.

The one area where bilinguals are not performing equally is the category "connection". In this category, monolinguals come near 70% in the use of literate connectives, as opposed to 44% in the bilingual group.

Apart from the linguistic analysis, a specific understanding of the genre is observed in almost all text products, presenting the topic from a personal point of view, turning the mobile phone into an object of self-experience and thus trading this personal view, for instance including the presentation of the mobile phone as an instrument to contact family members living elsewhere.

4.2.2 Mono- and bilinguals in the orthography analysis

In the first test, the case pupils produced texts that vary in length between 29 words/ 4 sentences (AYS♀ᴮᴵᴸ) and 138 words/ 28 sentences (EGE♂ᴮᴵᴸ), with the average being 68.5 words/ 14.5 sentences. The mean length of the sentences in the narrative texts is 5.3 words per sentence. With an average of 74.8 words, the monolingual case pupils produced slightly

longer texts than the bilinguals who showed an average of 62.2 words. With an average of 5.8 words per sentence, the monolinguals also produced longer sentences than the bilinguals who produced an average of 4.8 words per sentence. There is no difference with regard to the degree of variation of length between the monolinguals' and the bilinguals' texts. In the third test, the case pupils produced texts that vary in length between 47 words/ 5 sentences (GÖK$^{♂BIL}$) and 187 words/ 22 sentences (AYS$^{♀BIL}$), the average being 100.2 words/ 15.7 sentences. Again, on average, the monolinguals produced slightly longer texts than the bilinguals (monolinguals: average of 106 words; bilinguals: 94 words), but this time, the bilinguals' texts have slightly longer sentences than the monolinguals' (7,9 versus 6,8 words per sentence).

As for **orthographic errors**, we consider all three tests. The total average error ratio (percentage of error per word) is 21.64[177]. On average, it looks as if the case pupils score better as the school year proceeds, i.e. the ratio is 26.38% in the first test, 23.36% in the second, and 15.18% in the third. When we distinguish between monolinguals and bilinguals, the following picture emerges:

Fig. III.4.12. 7th grade: Overall error ratio (% error/ word) in T1, T2 and T3, MON and BIL
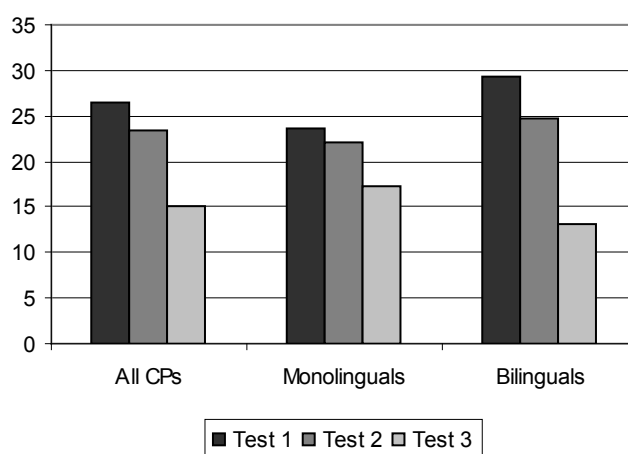
Thus, the monolingual case pupils score better than the bilinguals in the first two tests, while the bilinguals score better than the monolinguals in the third. Differences between the monolinguals and the bilinguals are highest in the first test, and throughout the year, the bilingual pupils seem to improve much more than the monolinguals.

Turning to percentages of errors on the different levels (phonographic level, logographic level, textual level), whereby 100% is the total of errors in the total of texts, it turns out that for the bilinguals, the logographic level is slightly more problematic than the textual level, while for the monolinguals, errors on the textual level make out half of their total of errors:

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[177] Miscellaneous errors are not counted here.

Fig. III.4.13. 7ᵗʰ grade: Errors in % of total errors in T1-3, MON and BIL
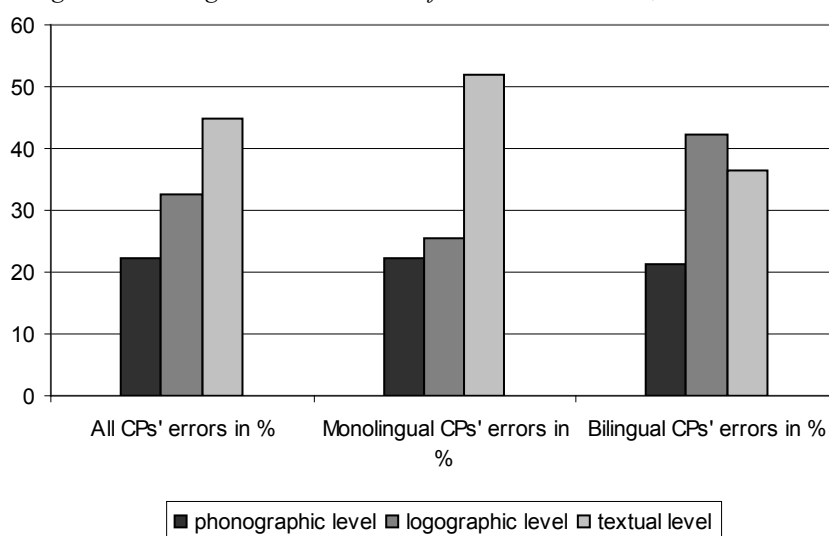
Again, the picture does not change much when we differentiate between the tests:

Fig. III.4.14. 7ᵗʰ grade: Errors in % of total errors per test, MON and BIL
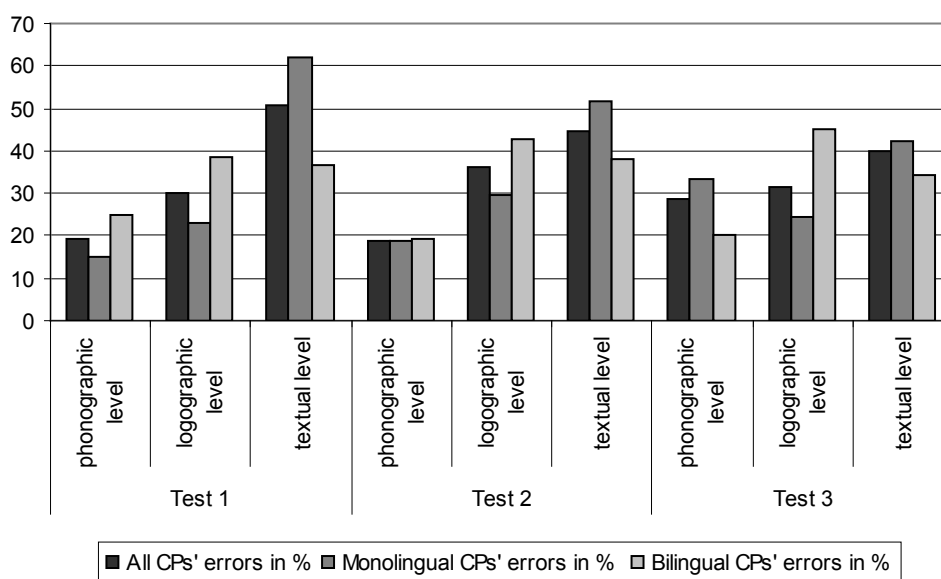
Thus, we find a higher proportion of errors on the logographic level on the side of the bilingual pupils, and a higher proportion of errors on the textual level on the side of the monolinguals. This outcome necessitates a closer look at the different levels.

When distinguishing between monolingual and bilingual case pupils on the **phonographic level**, we see that the bilingual pupils start off from a worse score than the monolinguals, but end up better than the monolinguals, thus contributing more to the improvement than the monolinguals do:

Fig. III.4.15. 7th grade: Error ratio on the phonographic level per test (in %), MON and BIL
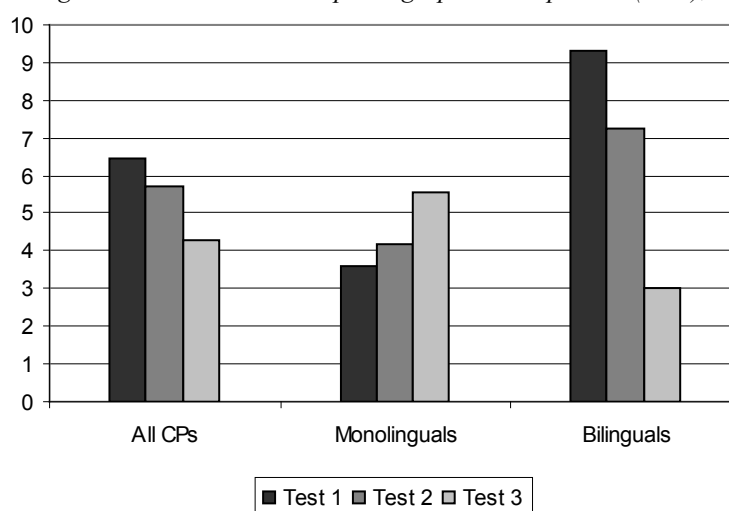
Differences between monolinguals and bilinguals can first be seen in the representation of reductions from spoken language where the group of bilinguals shows a more orthographic spelling (monolinguals: total of 29 reductions in all texts, bilinguals: total of 17 reductions). However, for the monolingual pupils, this is mainly caused by KAM$^{\male MON}$ who is responsible for 17 of the 29 reductions, while the bilinguals' score in the first test is mainly caused by DER$^{\male BIL}$ who writes a very short text and manages to create an error ratio of 38% on the textual level in this. Secondly, in Test 3 where, due to the technical side of the topic treated, the amount of loan words rises up considerably, the monolinguals seem to have more difficulties than the bilinguals (9 errors monolinguals and 1 error bilinguals). Again, the difference is on the side of the monolinguals, mainly caused by KAM$^{\male MON}$ who accounts for 8 out of the 9 wrongly written loanwords.

When distinguishing between monolingual and bilingual case pupils on the **logographic level**, we see that the logographic levels remains the only level where the bilingual pupils score worse than the monolinguals, and this remains persistent throughout the school year:

Fig. III.4.16. 7th grade: Error ratio on the logographic level per test (in %), MON and BIL
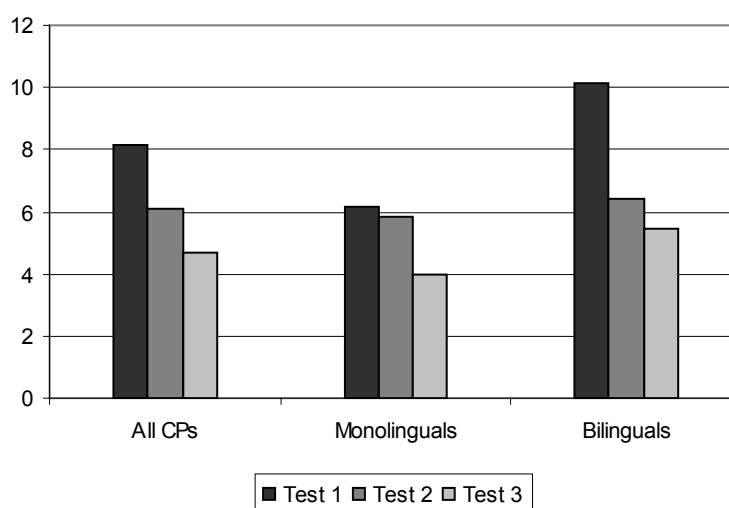
Main error sources are the same with monolinguals and bilinguals, i.e. the (incorrect) closed spelling of clitics, the (incorrect) closed spelling of univerbal function words consisting of two elements, and the (incorrect) employment of the capital letter with words that are not names proper.

There seem to be two sources for the differences between monolinguals and bilinguals. Firstly, the bilingual case pupil CAN$^{\female\text{BIL}}$ has a consistent problem with capital letters, i.e. altogether 25 out of the total of 31 wrong employments of the capital letter with forms other than names proper come from her. Secondly, the bilingual pupils seem to struggle more with enclitics than the monolinguals, i.e., while the total relation of correct to incorrect spellings of clitics is 14:26 (in percent 35:65) for the monolinguals, it is 5:34 (in percent 13:87) for the bilinguals.

When distinguishing between monolingual and bilingual case pupils on the **level of text structuring**, we see that the bilingual pupils score better than the monolinguals, and this remains persistent throughout the school year:

Fig. III.4.17. 7th grade: Error ratio on the textual level per test (in %), MON and BIL
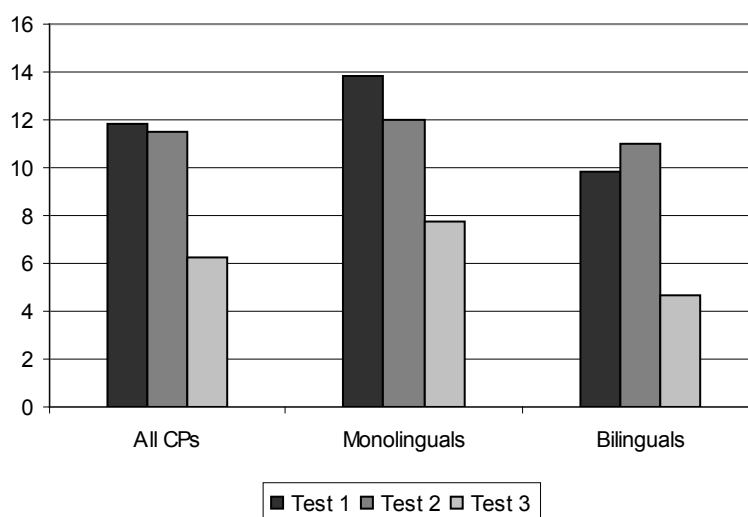
The differences between the mono- and the bilinguals seem to be created mainly by the two monolingual case pupils YUS$^{\male\text{MON}}$ and LAL$^{\female\text{MON}}$ who do not improve in the course of the year, i.e. YUS$^{\male\text{MON}}$ gets a little worse (error ratio from 7% to 8%), and LAL$^{\female\text{MON}}$'s error ratio does not change (i.e., it remains around 4%).

However, with regard to the main source of error on the level of text structure, i.e. marking of the sentence by means of the full stop, the comma or other, the difference between monolinguals and bilinguals is not so great when it comes to the relationship between correct and non-correct employment of punctuation devices. The bilinguals are slightly better than the monolinguals in the first and in the third test, but they score worse in the second:

Fig. III.4.19. 7th grade: Correct employment of punctuation: sentence marking (full stop, comma, other; out of total of environments) in %, all tests, MON and BIL
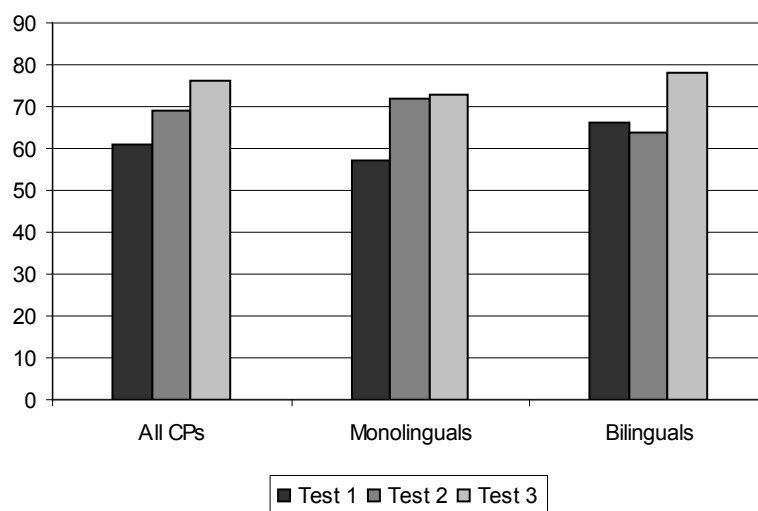
4.3 Mono- and bilingual pupils in linguistic analyses: preliminary conclusions

The differences between the monolingual and the bilingual pupils in the linguistic areas of the orate-literate analysis are marginal. Although there is a divergence of orate and literate structures in some areas, the pupils who are generally performing well in class show also higher abilities in narrating via employment of adequate linguistic structures. This statement is most applicable to the seventh-graders.

In both the group of the bilingual first-graders and (but less clear) the seventh-graders, some pupils show syntactic and/ or morphological deficiencies that can be described as phenomena of second language acquisition. Within the group of the first-graders, this applies particularly to REH$^{\male\text{BIL}}$. Also the use of the possessive suffix in the language production of the bilingual DAM$^{\female\text{BIL}}$ is such a case. And in general, TAM-marking is not as consistent in the bilingual group as in the monolingual group at this age. Among the bilingual seventh-graders, DER$^{\male\text{BIL}}$ is a pupil whose morphological and syntactic errors in the written Test 3 might be related to the fact that Turkish is not his first language. In the first grade, also the Kurmanjî-influenced phonotation sometimes seems to reflect in spelling, as seen with REH$^{\male\text{BIL}}$ and ÖYK$^{\female\text{BIL}}$. Even though Kurmanjî-influenced phonotation continues in the seventh grade, no such influence on spelling could be detected.

In the seventh grade, the bilingual group has compensated the syntactic deficiencies. The genre-specific TAM-marking is not a problem, either. On the other hand, the bilingual pupils at this age have problems with genre knowledge and the transference of this knowledge into written language. The monolingual group in this grade is somewhat better in the use of an evaluative language style. This may rather be an influence of school and writing tasks in class called "writing a composition", which the monolinguals seem to manage slightly better.

As for orthography, we again see that differences between the monolinguals and the bilinguals become less between the first and the seventh grade. In the first grade, the

bilinguals score significantly better in terms of capturing more complex syllable structure and vowel quantity. TUR$^{\male BIL}$, POY$^{\male BIL}$ and DAM$^{\female BIL}$ are even able to turn this into successful explorations of orthographic spelling, and the analysis of their Kurmanjî competences allows the conclusion that these three bilinguals are able to handle their bilingual resources in a most successful manner.

As for the orthographic performance of the seventh-graders, we can speak of a slightly better performance on average of the bilinguals who contribute more to the (however not quite clear) overall improvement than the monolinguals. Again, we find a correlation between Kurmanjî competences and Turkish competences, particularly in the case of AYS$^{\female BIL}$ – less so with CAN$^{\female BIL}$ and GÖK$^{\male BIL}$ whose Kurmanjî competences are on a high level, but where this does not seem to contribute to their Turkish competences.

Part IV: Comparative Lesson Analyses

1 First Grade

Müge Ayan & Helena Olfert

1.1 Findings of Comparative Sociological Lesson Analyses Germany – Turkey

The overall aim of this chapter is to make a comparison of first grade lesson analyses in Germany and in Turkey from a sociological perspective. The main foci will be on the fundamental underlying tenets of different approaches to literacy acquisition and the socially constructed concept of the educated person in two countries.

The first section will be allocated to the use of space and classroom materials studied under material culture. Second, we will analyse the way in which time is used in the classroom. Third, we will look at classroom dynamics as it pertains to the teacher-pupils relationship and the teacher's strategy and attitude towards creating a classroom atmosphere that facilitates learning under the co-construction of social order. Last, we will analyse the tenets of the social construction of the educated person by way of examining the socially constructed concept of the learner and what constitutes learning. Finally, we will conclude through highlighting the main points of the chapter.

1.1.1 The material culture of the classroom

By way of describing seating arrangements, classroom arrangements in general, blackboard use, and written materials used by the pupils and the teacher throughout the school year, this section investigates the way in which the material culture is used in lesson co-construction.

1.1.1.1 Use of space

Germany
The German classroom is a spacious room comprised of multiple points of attraction. The teacher's desk is on the left side and it does not cover the blackboard. There is a seating area where desks are arranged in group tables, and later in the school year in a "comb" structure. There are various functional segments surrounding the classroom such as various boards, shelves and a cosy corner. Pupils' material boxes with their individual name tags are situated in the back, their handicraft works are put up on windows, and all the walls are covered with learning gadgets such as the alphabet and rule signs.

Turkey
The pupils are seated in a U-structure with a total of nine desks in rows of three where everybody faces the blackboard. The teacher's desk is right in the centre in front of the blackboard, blocking the view; yet, as the teacher never sits at her desk, this does not pose a barrier in viewing the blackboard. The desks are covered with table cloth that the pupils are asked to take home to wash on Fridays and bring back the following Monday. Their coats

are hung on the left side of the classroom. Atatürk's portrait is hung above the blackboard, and a Turkish flag is placed above the portrait, with the moon and the crest facing right. The Independence Anthem is placed on the right side of Atatürk's portrait and Atatürk's Address to the Turkish Youth is on the left. On special days, such as April 23rd, the "National sovereignty and children's day", the pupils and the teacher decorate the class thematically with confetti, Turkish flags, drawings, and poems.

Comparison

The German classroom is multi-focal in its arrangement with different spaces with different functions, whereas in Turkey, the space is unifocal, with the teacher's desk and the blackboard in the centre of focus. The multitude of centres of attention causes distraction and contributes to at times cacophonic atmosphere in Germany. In Turkey, the unifocal structure of the classroom helps to maintain the social order as there are not different attraction points that impede concentration. Further, as in Germany, the pupils sit at group tables for most of the year, some of the children are seated with their backs turned to the class, which further tends to contribute to an inability to maintain attention and focus in class. On the other hand, this is never the case in Turkey, where the teacher is able to get the pupils' undivided attention when she asks for it.

1.1.1.2 Seating arrangements

Germany

The seats are arranged in group structure almost throughout the year. In this structure, some pupils have their backs turned to the class. There is a frequent change in desk and seating arrangements where the teacher continuously tries out different pairings. The changes, with no recorded procedure, are arbitrary, with the teacher's main aim being to control the noise and to maintain order in class. However, this tends to have no effect at best or to cause just the opposite effect of increasing discord in the class as the face-to-face structure enables easy social interaction. As the pupils have their materials at different places in the classroom, they are not refined to their seats particularly during individual assignment time when they are wandering around to get their things and often stop by other tables, which creates a noisy and somewhat chaotic atmosphere. Some pupils get singled out and are seated alone in order to prevent them from disturbing others or being disturbed.

Turkey

There is a frequent change in seating arrangements in Turkey as well. However, the teacher's approach is more systematic compared to her German counterpart as she forms groups primarily based on achievement levels (lazy-hardworking continuum). In short, the teacher looks at the seating as a "system", and when there is something going wrong with the "system" she modifies it. Academically, the U-structured seating arrangement enables all pupils to see the blackboard, which is the primary functional device used in the classroom with the aim of learning to read and write. In addition, the U-shaped seating arrangement enables the pupils to observe the teacher, while it gives the teacher the opportunity to monitor the pupils. Socially, the pupils tend to form close cliques with their pairs and the pupils sitting close. The teacher often permits such forming of cliques and

socialisation, and she rarely breaks up any close pairings. Some of the pupils are always up and running around, and intermittently, the teacher threatens to break up pairs if they talk too much as she asserts this influences their performance, but there is no singling out to sit alone as a punishment.

Comparison

In both cases, frequent changes in seating arrangement are the common strategy utilised. However, the Turkish teacher's more systematic approach to seating arrangements based on academic considerations seems to work better in maintaining control. Her strategy to divide the class according to achievement levels also seems to work more effectively as this clear division creates a demarcation in the pupils' perception as well, and it motivates them to be in the "hard-working" group and maintain their status. In addition, through enabling of forming cliques, the pupils tend to collaborate in collective work, whereas in the German case, individual work turns into collective work not only at the group tables, but also through the broad commotion in the classroom where pupils often visit other groups and friends sitting elsewhere.

1.1.1.3 Use of objects

Germany

In the classroom, there is a multitude of artefacts used for teaching, motivation and enforcement purposes. For teaching purposes, there is the blackboard that often only plays a secondary role and is rarely utilised. Also, there is the overhead projector that is a bit more often used, and is the central teaching device when used, displaying pictures to describe or individually filled-out transparencies in schematic tasks. For rule enforcement, there are the sound bowl, the noise light and the rule signs hung up on walls, and all these devices are utilised frequently. However, as the year progresses, the pupils get used to these artefacts, and their significance and effectiveness in enforcement diminishes. As per the motivational devices, artefacts such as the Oskar puppet and the Pikus figurine are often employed especially during the first semester where the pupils seem to highly enjoy them.

Turkey

In the Turkish context, there are few supplementary devices utilised, and they are all for didactic purposes. The blackboard is of primary importance, and the teacher often uses it to write syllables or words that the pupils are supposed to copy down in their notebooks. On each side of the blackboard is another board. The board on the left is allocated for a letter (lower case and upper case) and the picture of an object starting with that letter. The teacher makes occasional references to that board of letters, especially when trying to make the pupils memorise the letters. The board on the right hand side of the blackboard contains pictures that show aspects from Atatürk's life, such as his father and his house. Regularly, the teacher shows the pictures and asks the pupils what the picture is about. This is a kind of choral recitation practice where answers are elicited by all pupils simultaneously. The other two walls of the classroom are allocated for works that the teacher prepares with the pupils. The wall across the blackboard contains three boards where the pupils' works, like drawings and writings, are hanging. In the middle of the wall, number cards and the season

cycle of the year (fall, winter, spring, and summer) are displayed. On the number cards, numbers are displayed in both digits and words. On the season cycle board, each season is displayed with a descriptive picture accompanied by its name written in capital letters. During the lesson, the teacher also often employs the teacher's manual provided by the ministry. In addition to the textbook provided by the ministry, the teacher also consults other textbooks she has purchased herself.

Comparison

The disparity in number and function of devices utilised reflects two fundamental differences. First, the scarcity in Turkish context is due partly to the insufficient economic resources. Second, it reflects the underlying approach to schooling. In the German context, a child-centred approach can be observed where the pupils are perceived as children when they start school who have yet to learn to become a pupil, hence the classroom atmosphere is structured to be fun like a multipurpose playground so as to ease that transition. In the Turkish context, to the contrary, learning is a serious action and has to be performed in a sober atmosphere. In this functional approach, the children are perceived as pupils from the beginning.

1.1.1.4 Pupils' materials and learning devices

Germany

There is a variety of pupils' materials. There are different notebooks and folders, all individually owned and several paid by the parents, classified thematically (e.g., winter/ Easter notebooks) and methodically (e.g., reading pass and related folders). Supplemental work sheets are used frequently, but there are no text or spelling books. Additionally, there are a wall alphabet, wall signs, and educational posters hung up all over the classroom. Specific wall signs comprise the social rules valid for the class, and the work steps for reading exercises that the pupils are directed to by the teacher when asked for clarification on instructions during such-related tasks, which also are conducted by means of "letter drawers". In a special "cosy corner", there are various children's books that have, however, never been utilised during observations.

Turkey

The pupils' materials consist mainly of individually bought pencil, eraser, and covered notebooks and textbooks provided by the school. The pupils use up many notebooks during the school year. There are no other materials the pupils use. The eraser is used frequently by the pupils, highlighting the prevalence of end-product orientation already established so the pupils leave no trace of their mistakes and aim to produce the correct end-product. Likewise, eraser and pencil exchange initiated by the teacher's instructions is frequently done as a collective activity. This sharing in return is praised by applause.

Comparison

There is again a wide disparity as to the number and variety of materials used. There is scarcity in the Turkish context that, while leading to a dry learning process, on the other hand prevents confusion and distraction. In the German context, the multitude of materials

with thematic classification, while triggering interest, sometimes causes the pupils to lose track in trying to keep up, which further contributes to difficulties in maintaining order.

1.1.2 Use of time

1.1.2.1 Beginnings and endings of class periods

In this section we are going to compare how the teacher and the pupils make use of the lesson time as it pertains to beginnings and endings of class periods, introductions and closure practices in co-construction of the lessons.

Germany

A lesson period as started and closed by the teacher rarely exceeds 40 minutes (official lesson time in Germany is 45 minutes), and there is no school bell dividing the lessons and breaks. It is in the teacher's discretion as to when to start and end the lesson that she usually ends early, but she is never late as she cannot leave the class unsupervised. There is an unbalance regarding introduction and closing routines. The teacher usually makes elaborated introductions, but there are almost never lesson reviews and formal closures. The class usually begins with the sound of the sound bowl coupled with the silence gesture, with the teacher situating herself in the centre in front of the blackboard. The greeting song sung in the beginning comes closest to a greeting ritual in general. However, this does not really serve as a greeting as out of the four languages used (i.e., English, Italian, Spanish and Turkish) only Turkish is actually spoken in class. Hence, it tends to serve more for structuring the lesson by way of giving an implicit message that class has begun. Afterwards, the date and the day's schedule are routinely demonstrated by means of subject cards. This initiation routine tends to diminish as the year progresses. At the end of lessons, the teacher attempts to create order for leaving the classroom, i.e. pushing chairs in, waiting until the class is silent, and let all pupils leave accordingly. Yet, this procedure remains arbitrary throughout the year.

Turkey

A lesson period is 40 minutes, the end of which is marked by the ringing of the school bell. The teacher makes neither an introduction nor a closure to a lesson period. She is usually a few minutes late (around 5 minutes), which compels the pupils to sit and wait for her. As they do not know when she is going to come in, they tend to act idly and play around during the waiting period. In the lesson beginnings, the teacher does not use any devices, instead she seldom makes a brief verbal remark that the class has begun and that they need to take out their notebooks. Or she reminds the pupils of the classroom rules and gives out warnings and threatens to leave the classroom if the pupils do not quiet down. In the middle of the school year, the initiation ritual of standing up is introduced, coupled with pupils reminding each other to stand up, but it is not strictly enforced throughout the school year. The reason why such a ritual is initiated in the middle of the year and wanes after a certain period is that the teacher gets upset with the pupils for not waiting for her arrival quietly. Therefore, she exclaims that she will become an "authoritative" teacher, not a "democratic" one, from then on, but then she discards the practice afterwards. The teacher either spends most of her time during recess in the classroom, which contributes to the blurring of

transition from the recess time to the lesson time, or she enters the classroom and picks up from where the lesson left off in the previous class period. And she simply leaves the classroom at the ring of the bell without another word, or merely saying that they will continue the following lesson. Likewise, most pupils immediately stop what they had been doing when the bell rings, and either go out immediately or stay in class.

1.1.2.2 Beginnings and endings of classroom activities

Above, we have looked at the introduction and closure practices, the use of lesson time, and how lessons are constructed as part of an everyday activity. In this part, we will compare how the class period is utilised and how it relates to the maintenance of order in class.

Germany
Just like the class periods, teaching units and exercises are terminated by the teacher based on time considerations without taking into account whether the pupils are actually finished. This arbitrariness in the organisation of activities might lead to confusion for the pupils who do not know what to expect. Also, a lot of discretion is left to the pupils as most of them go on working, suggesting that they interpret "being finished" on their own terms. Most significantly, the lesson vacuums created in between, abrupt unit endings, and, consequently, waiting periods for the class to quiet down and move on to the next activity lead to a lot of idle time and turmoil in class.

Turkey
In the Turkish context, the teacher always tends to proceed to the next activity after observing that most of the pupils are finished with a given exercise. After the teacher checks the pupils' work, the next activity begins in synchrony. However, this waiting period to enable all class to act together contributes to the creation of time vacuums. Similarly, the division of the class according to achievement levels strongly contributes to an inefficient use of time as the pupils end up sitting idly or chatting while waiting for the teacher to check individual works.

Comparison
There is a school bell in the Turkish context but none in the German first grade, which may be interpreted as a difference in the construction of the school day where lessons with no clear beginnings and endings suggest that individual lessons are perceived as part of an ongoing whole-day activity, and therefore each lesson does not need to have a beginning and an ending. However, it can be observed that in both cases, there is no clear demarcation between periods and breaks, beginnings and endings. In the Turkish context, the teacher's time management is more structured as she abides – although constantly arriving a few minutes late – by the school bell, and she organises activities based on completion. On the other hand, for the German counterpart, the teacher's time management is rather arbitrary according to her own discretion in terms of when to end the lesson as well as the activities, but she makes an effort to provide elaborate routine lesson introductions. In the Turkish case, there is no clear introduction or closure to class periods. Arguably, lessons organised in this manner might have an enabling potential since the lack of lesson beginning and ending in each lesson results in saving time for more literacy teaching and learning

activities. In practice, however, time gained from absence of introductions and/ or closures is lost in intervals and vacuums in both cases. Consequently, this results in a lot of idle time and inefficiency in use of class time in both contexts.

1.1.3 Teacher-pupils relationships

In this section, we will examine the characteristics of teacher-pupils relationships in both contexts and lay out the fundamental differences and how this relationship reflects onto the everyday classroom dynamics.

Germany

In the German context, although the teacher is the centre of attention and activities, there is no explicit hierarchy in the relationship between her and the pupils. Rather, relationships are established on an egalitarian basis. The teacher acts like a moderator and a facilitator rather than an authority figure whose instructions and rules must be obeyed unquestioningly. In fact, she has an apologetic tone while giving instructions, which seemingly suggests that she sees literacy acquisition as an exhausting process, hence sympathises with the pupils as they are yet perceived as children learning to be pupils. The teacher is friendly even when rebuking, and gives explanations for why a certain task needs to be carried out. Partly due to this relationship based on equality, there appears to be a power struggle in the form of challenges to the teacher's orders between her and some pupils. Rather than getting strict or seeing an order through, the teacher reaches out to the pupil without commenting on their behaviour, or ignores it completely. Occasionally, the teacher acts unfair towards some pupils, probably having identified "troublemakers" whom she is stricter with than with other pupils. She is not involved with the pupils' individual problems outside the school, but she attempts to offer behavioural regulation with regards to classroom rules exhaustively.

Turkey

In the Turkish context, the teacher-pupils relationships are established on a hierarchical basis where the teacher clearly is the unquestioned authority figure. No challenge to her authority can be noted. The teacher does not shout or demean pupils in any way, but it happens that she shows some form of favouritism for some of the pupils whom she explicitly labels as hard working and well-behaved. During class time, there is no element of intimacy as the relationship is built on the basis of the conception of "we are here to learn to read and write". The teacher does not get directly involved with the pupils' problems outside the classroom, but she appears to consider herself a caretaker who is concerned for her pupils. Subsequently, in concurrence with such stance, the teacher is not only concerned with the academic education of her pupils, but aims to provide behavioural and social advice. Towards this end, she utilises every opportunity in the classroom to convey the characteristics of a proper pupil and person; respect for others, honesty, fairness, and justice are the most pronounced concepts. Although such concepts may be above the pupils' cognition levels at this age, it is striking nevertheless as the teacher expresses that she aims to fill a gap in these pupils' education created by their underprivileged backgrounds.

Comparison

The first fundamental difference to be observed in the two contexts is the hierarchical nature and unquestioned acceptance of the teacher's authority and the related lack of power struggle in the Turkish context as opposed to the relationship based on equality, causing occasional questioning and challenge to the teacher's authority in the German case. Arguably, the unquestioned acceptance of authority in the Turkish case is partially due to the underlying cultural value of utmost respect and undisputed adherence to elders. In both cases, the teachers move beyond academic targets and aim at behavioural formation as well, which in Turkey is assumingly due to an effort to compensate for the socioeconomic impediments in her pupils' everyday lives, while in Germany, the main goal is to adjust the pupils to role-adequate behaviour without references to morals and values like "respect" and the like. Yet, the German teacher seldom labels pupils as compared to the frequent labelling of "hardworking" and "lazy" in the Turkish context.

1.1.4 Co-construction of the social order

In this section, the way in which rules and norms are enforced in the classroom are scrutinised with regards to creating classroom atmospheres that are facilitative to the learning process.

Germany

In Germany, the teacher implements a strategy of avoiding the enforcement of rigid rules. She tends to limit rule enforcement to situational conditions, for instance she warns the pupils not to chatter a lot rather than imposing an overarching general enforcement. Rules are rather negotiable, and there are no clear concrete instructions. As a result, there is a lack of clarity in cognition on the part of the pupils, which leads to the manipulation and renegotiation of the rules and norms. It can be argued that the lack of rigidness in enforcement is partly due to the inability of the teacher to control the classroom dynamics, and partly due to her unwillingness because strong enforcement may result – as at times it already does – in outright confrontation and objection to her already challenged authority. Hence, the communal procedure of rule enforcement becomes painstaking, and instead she chooses to downplay misbehaviours and to make only situational corrections.

Turkey

In Turkey, as the teacher seems to believe that learning can only take place in a structured atmosphere, and as there is no challenge to her authority, she has the ultimate authority in setting the rules and norms and their strict enforcement. Although there are situational incoherencies between set rules and practice (prohibiting going to the restroom or eating during the lesson, but yet inconsistently allowing and not allowing this during the same class period), as there is no questioning of her word, the pupils accept whatever she says without objection. Consequently, on such issues there is no intact successful implementation throughout the whole year. However, with regard to rules of learning, they are successfully implemented and internalised by the pupils.

Comparison

There is an opposite approach to the implementation and enforcement of rules in both contexts. While in Germany, the teacher's unwillingness and/ or incapacity to enforce rules results in vaguely defined rules to be renegotiated anew each time, in the Turkish context, due to the teacher's unchallenged authority and strategy that learning has to take place in a structured atmosphere, she puts much emphasis on successful rule enforcement. It is also striking to note that in both cases, when there is lack of coherence of classroom rules and practices, the gap creates leeway for the pupils' manipulation.

1.1.5 Social construction of the educated person

This section examines the fundamental differences in the approaches to a social construction of the educated person as it manifests itself in underlying philosophical tenets.

1.1.5.1 Socially constructed concept of the learner

Children vs. pupils. The striking fundamental difference between the two cases is related to the perception of and the approach to the pupils: In Germany, the pupils are perceived as children who are learning to become pupils. Within the framework of this conception, the pupils are treated as children initially and are aided by way of creating a child-friendly atmosphere so that an easy transition to becoming a pupil can take place. In Turkey, on the other hand, the pupils are perceived and treated as pupils from the beginning. Hence, in the former case, the teacher alternates between motivational (i.e. fictional) and instructive strategies; in the latter case, the teacher solely uses an instructive approach where the pupils are expected to be serious learners who internalise the rules of a structured atmosphere appropriate for learning to read and write.

Having asserted this fundamental difference in the socially constructed concept of the learner, the underlying tenets of acquiring literacy as manifested in educational strategies will be elaborated.

1.1.5.2 What is learning?

In this section, we will break down and analyse the fundamental underlying precepts of what constitutes learning in each context.

Germany

Pupils as active creators of the lesson design. Collecting contributions becomes a very creative task where the pupils contribute actively to the creation of a story. Hence, they are treated as active creators of the lesson design as opposed to being treated as passive recipients.

Natural skill. In the German context, reading and writing is perceived as a natural ability causing the objectives of the lesson to be conveyed in an implicit way with no explicit declaration that the classroom is strictly reserved for literacy acquisition. On the contrary, as the pupils are perceived as children learning to be pupils, the teacher operates in a rather lenient tone, downplaying the seriousness of the lesson/ subject, and adapting a playful approach to learning. To this end, the teacher utilises fictional constructions with fictional characters and puppets in order to get the pupils to concentrate while aiming to give them a

feeling that they are in a playground rather than a classroom where writing is done for "Penguin Pikus", for instance. Further, technical skills such as good handwriting and orthography are not addressed explicitly and are of secondary importance to acquiring language at a textual level.

Contextualisation. From the beginning, there is a functional approach to literacy where the learning process is contextualised and the teacher embeds learning in textual contexts such as telling stories and writing texts. In the process of contextualisation, the teacher tends to make implicit assumptions about the educational backgrounds of the pupils, making reference to text genres (i.e. letter, diary) without explaining what they are. However, despite providing the context for writing assignments, due to the often vague instructions given by the teacher, the pupils have more or less to decide for themselves what they are supposed to do. Arguably, in such instances, the contextualization technique is not seen through and rather collapses when it comes to actual text production.

Process-oriented, experimental approach. The important step in learning is the process, therefore there is a very flexible attitude towards errors. The underlying conception is that learning can only take place through making errors, so experimenting along the process of learning is much supported. The pupils are encouraged to write with no expressed requirements because what is of primary importance is not the production of a flawless end-product, but to learn to produce texts by trial and error within a context.

Reading and writing as an individual work. The smaller part of the lesson are communal parts like rituals (e.g., everyone repeating the teacher's universal gesture of silence), preparatory measures (e.g., tidying up), games, silencing (e.g., act of "freezing"), schedule creation, praise (e.g., the awarding of the reading certificate), and the lesson discourse. Individual assignments make up the largest portion of any teaching unit, and the act of reading and writing as individual work is more important than the text product. Reading is almost never practised as a communal exercise, but only in some portions, like reading single words when pupils are asked to read out loud together. Otherwise, it is an individual and independent performance. With many pupils regularly asking the teacher individually for assignment clarification and assistance, and with the teacher giving this assistance privately, the opportunity of whole-class instructions on crucial aspects of tasks is not seized. It should further be noted that the pupils not only do reading and writing activities individually, but also determine their own pace. Occasionally, they continue the task at hand even when instructed to stop as there is no explicit definition of what constitutes being finished. Moreover, the multitask nature of activities (e.g., first writing, then painting) and the lack of synchronization in starting and ending tasks does not only contribute to the cacophony in class, but also leads to a reliance on the pupils' own discretion and sense of responsibility.

Turkey

"Learned skill". The teacher frequently and explicitly conveys the message that the pupils are in the classroom to learn how to read and write, with the underlying conception that learning is a serious activity to be done in a concentrated manner, and that reading and

writing can only be learned by way of making proper use of norms and rules. Playful activities, being only manifested in reciting rhymes and singing songs, are approached in an isolated manner, with no apparent relation to the lesson content and to literacy acquisition. It is reserved for the end of class period mostly when the pupils start to lose their concentration.

Mechanical skill. There is an entirely mechanical approach to literacy acquisition. It is all about acquiring technical skills of good handwriting and orthography with an explicit goal of learning how to read and write.

Lack of contextualisation. The mechanical approach leads to the absence of contextualisation, with the classroom being a place reserved merely for the teaching and learning of the technicalities of reading and writing. Neither in-class assignments nor homework are prepared as contextual activities. Mostly, what is emphasised is the technical side of the writing activity, such as the size of the letters and the space between words. In addition, a clear handwriting and well-organised notebooks are requirements for every pupil. The only reference to the outside of the classroom is the life of Atatürk, but the teacher never uses this theme to contextualise the reading and writing activities, either. The pupils begin the learning process with syllables as opposed to words. There is no text activity throughout the year, except for a few pupils who proceed to text reading based on their achievement levels towards the end of the year. Texts to which the pupils are exposed seem to be produced from a non-contextual perspective. For example, in the textbook, there is a special text for every letter where the letter is used as much as possible. Sometimes, the effort to use the new letter in a text is so exaggerated that the text does not make any sense and therefore sounds ridiculous.

Product-oriented approach. The end-product oriented approach leads to a notion that notebooks should only include the assigned writings, and exclude the learning process. Hence, the teacher instructs the pupils to erase the parts that indicate the strategies they use, for instance sequencing syllables, not only because she solely wants to see the end-product, but also because it "confuses her" by her own admission. This, as will be discussed below, results in a text production *for the teacher*, not for the pupil him-/ herself. Consequently, orientation towards the end-product does not enable experimenting and learning by trial-and-error. Given the implicit message that making errors involves risks and curtails learning, the pupils hesitate in their text production, and in return, the teacher finds it necessary to instruct the pupils to be "courageous" when writing.

Reading and writing for the teacher. Both of these activities are done for the teacher. When a pupil is called to the blackboard to read a syllable, (s)he reads as if his/ her only addressee is the teacher, and not the other pupils. This can also be observed in the volume of the pupils' voices (i.e., it can only be heard by the teacher standing right next to them) and their body postures that are directed towards the teacher. Likewise, the addressee of the pupils' writings is the teacher. In the pupils' perception, the learning process is not included in the end-product, i.e., what is written in the notebook.

Reading and writing as activities requiring attention and concentration. As reading is an activity that requires concentration, the teacher tries to get the pupils to concentrate on the task at hand. During a writing period, the bags are put in between the pupils, and some stand up to write or close in on their notebooks. The teacher warns all pupils when a pupil is reading, and she frequently instructs the pupils to get into a "flower" position triggering focus. The teacher seems to be capable of creating attention as most pupils have successfully internalised "becoming a flower" (sitting silently with arms crossed), and perform it on their own.

Idea of "everybody does the same". Lesson portions dedicated to rules, roles and rituals are a major part of the lesson design. This indicates that the teacher does not want the pupils to act independently. Rather, she prefers everyone to do the same and act as a collective. For example, one of the most emphasised rules is to wait silently until the teacher comes and checks the notebook. Such a notion that everybody needs to act in harmony, while easing the pressure on maintaining order, does not, however, cater for individual differences, but rather manifests the idea of collectivism. It should be noted here that the division of the class according to achievement levels does create room for catering individual differences as opposed to the idea of "everybody does the same" where the groups are to proceed according to their advancement level. However, due to the overcrowded population, the teacher falls short of attending and catering the individual differences efficiently. In effect, this causes the pupils to sit idly while waiting for the teacher, hence resulting in inefficiency.

Comparison

As has been conveyed above, we observe entirely different approaches to learning in the compared cases. Before proceeding to outlining these contrasting underlying tenets, it is necessary to point out one conceptual difference: In Germany, what constitutes learning is the acquisition of literacy, whereas in Turkey, learning is conceived as learning to read and write. In Germany, literacy acquisition is treated as a natural ability so that through an implicit objective setting, the pupils can acquire literacy in a playful approach by means of fictional characters and puppets, with the teacher having an alternating motivational and instructional role. In the Turkish context, on the other hand, the underlying assumption is that literacy is a technical skill to be acquired exclusively in school. This leads to an explicit goal-setting of the conception that the only reason for being in the classroom is to learn to read and write. Within this framework, playful activities seem to remain outside the class boundaries, and the teacher has only an instructive role. In addition, the social and functional approach to literacy in the German context leads to contextualisation and targets the textual quality of language. In Turkey, on the contrary, the mechanical approach results in a lack of contextualisation, and a perception of language acquisition as the mere acquisition of technical skills. However, in Germany, efforts towards contextualisation sometimes fail due to a lack of binding instructions so that the actual text products do not necessarily reflect the effort that was made to induce them. In such instances, the Turkish lack of contextualisation in combination with clear instructions seems to produce more efficient results. Furthermore, there are different attitudes towards mistakes because the mechanical approach in Turkey excludes the learning process and highlights the importance

of producing a flawless end-product. The idea of literacy acquisition as the development of a "natural ability" implemented in the German first grade, on the other hand, does not only utilise contextualisation, but also involves the process-oriented approach of getting there through trial-and-error. Consequently, the production of freely produced texts in Germany is an end in itself, whereas in Turkey, the error-free end product is produced for the teacher. Another significant point of difference is that in Germany, the pupils are active co-creators of the lesson design. Through making contributions to the production of a story, they creatively co-design the lesson outcome. In Turkey, on the other hand, the teacher has a set structure and lesson design in mind where the pupils are basically expected to follow; sticking to this structure has an enabling potential in teaching reading and writing as the teacher makes an enormous effort to make the class behave in accordance with a set order. She manages to maintain the adherence to this structure to a very high degree, preventing the potentially disabling effect of the overcrowded classroom. In the German case, on the other hand, until the end of the school year, the teacher is not able, or maybe does not aim to implement a reliable social order. Due to the promotion of individual work where the pupils determine their own pace, as well as by practically leaving it to the pupils' own discretion whether to do a task or not and to what extent, a social order comparable to the Turkish classroom is hardly ever seen through. Consequently, the pupils in the German first grade do not pronouncedly learn that they need to comply to a certain set of rules for their own benefit. This seems to have a debilitating effect in maintaining discipline, attention and concentration amongst the pupils. Accordingly, the teacher not only has minimal supervision and surveillance over the reading and writing process, but also the pupils are never really able to fully disengage from the social context and work on assignments with concentration. In this respect, the Turkish counterpart seems to be more efficient in bringing about an adherence to rules and a maintenance of attention, concentration and synchronisation. Yet, it can be concluded that the attainment of order and synchronisation comes at the expense of creativity and individuality.

1.1.6 Summary and conclusions

In summing up the findings, the foremost striking difference between the two investigated cases is the initial perception of the pupils as conveyed by the teachers. In the German context, the first-graders are perceived as children who will learn to become pupils through a primarily child-centred approach. Only then a pupil will acquire literacy that itself is treated like a natural disposition. This underlying tenet manifests itself in the material culture of the classroom that is constructed as a multi-focal playground environment with lax rules and structure. In contrast, in the Turkish case, a pupil is perceived as a pupil from the very beginning, and the primary reason for being in the classroom is to learn how to read and write. In this context, reading and writing itself is a learned skill and can only take place within a structured environment with rigid rules and norms. Hence, in this respect, the Turkish context is geared towards creating a structured atmosphere appropriate for concentrated and attentive learning.

Furthermore, in the Turkish context, the relationship between the teacher and the pupils is free from power struggles due to the unquestioned acceptance of the teacher's authority,

which enhances her capacity to create and maintain a social order in class that is facilitative to learning. As opposed to that, the latent power struggles and challenges to the teacher's authority in the German first grade prevent the teacher from an open confrontation with the pupils, and her unwillingness to put her authority to test results in an only vague enforcement of rules and norms.

The German first-grade teacher's approach to literacy acquisition at the textual level fosters feasible learning opportunities by means of contextualisation and a process-oriented procedure based on experimenting. However, a frequent lack of binding instructions and guidance might reduce the efficiency of the approach at least for some pupils. On the other hand, as a result of the mechanical approach to learning to read and write in the Turkish case, the lack of contextualisation and the procedure directed at the end-product offers no room for errors and might create uncertainties and a detachment from a holistic understanding of literacy itself. However, these downfalls are reduced by the clear and explicit instructions provided by the teacher.

Another striking difference between the two investigated cases is the approach to individuality. In the German context, from the use of individually possessed materials to the actual process of acquiring literacy, the pupils constantly engage in individual work. By making contributions to the co-creation of a story and afterwards writing about it, they also engage in creative work. Moreover, the pupils themselves are the decision-makers in doing/ completing a task, and are active co-creators of the lesson design. Consequently, there is much emphasis on the pupils' own discretion and self-responsibility at the expense of creating and maintaining order. On the other hand, in the Turkish context, the pupils are more often treated as a collective where almost all activities are carried out in a synchronised collective fashion. Aside from the practice of dividing the class along achievement levels, which in theory caters for individual differences, but in practice causes idleness, there is little leeway for creative and individualised work. Hence, the notion that "everybody does the same" is attained at the expense of the development and expression of individuality.

1.2 Findings of Comparative Linguistic Lesson Analyses Germany – Turkey

1.2.1 Lesson structure and content

In both the German and the Turkish first grade, the lessons can be subdivided into two parts according to their thematic orientation. In the German class, the lessons either include the creation of a free text product or dealing with orthographical issues. For Turkey, in addition to dealing with orthography, the lessons contain to a large part lectures on rules and roles as, e.g., how to be a good pupil and how to behave correctly. These rules are, of course, also part of the German lessons, but they do not form a further lesson unit. So, naturally, the central topic of lessons in the first grade in both countries is orthography teaching, which is done in very similar ways.

The main technique in the Turkish case is memorisation: The pupils mostly recite texts and copy text passages from the blackboard or their text book. This way, they are supposed to memorise the orthographical features of words. Here, the teacher first uses the common

onset approach (*Anlaut*) where each letter is represented by a word that begins with a sound that this letter represents (e.g. *polis* 'police' representing the letter <p>). Additionally, the teacher imparts associations with certain sounds (e.g., motor sound for the letter <r>) and gestures (e.g. "yummy"-gesture for the letter <m>) to help pupils memorise the letter forms.

The pupils have difficulties with this sound-driven approach since according to this method, the letters are learned individually without any hint to their articulation in the syllable. Though this approach is highly recommended by the Turkish Ministry of Education and also supported by the textbook, the teacher starts a new method that she invented herself, the sequencing strategy. Here, she presents each consonant letter in combination with each vowel letter in alphabetical order. This way, she makes the pupils read, copy and also recite chorally all possible syllables that are represented by these CV- or VC-letter-clusters. This shows that the teacher is able to adapt her methods to her pupils' needs on the one hand. On the other hand, she still relies on memorisation and copying.

Also the German teacher instructs the letters with the help of the onset chart. The initial letters of the words are memorised in the first couple of weeks with the help of a rap song. However, the application of this approach for the German orthography is even more problematic than for teaching Turkish orthography. In German, letters often represent different sounds dependent on their position in the word (e.g. the letter <e> in *See* ['ze:] 'sea' and in *Biene* ['bi:.nə] 'bee'). Also, certain consonant letters form consonant clusters that are spelled differently than the mere addition of the single consonant letters (e.g., the letters <s> [s] and <p> [p] form the consonant cluster <sp> [ʃp]). Therefore, the onset method only helps to identify the sound of letters in the initial position of a stressed syllable. For Turkish orthography, there is a greater accordance between a letter and the respective sound it represents regardless of its position in a word. Additionally, the German teacher constantly confuses the letter symbol with the sound of it, which on the one side leads to wrong pronunciation by the pupils, on the other side to misspelling of words due to a wrong pronunciation. She is not aware of the fact that orthography is more than just a transcription and often emphasises that a correct pronunciation of the word would help the pupils to write it correctly. The Turkish teacher, on the other hand, even tries to make the pupils notice the articulation place where a consonant is built, which shows that she has a high awareness of phonologic processes. However, she also has difficulties in explaining the pupils the consonant letter <ğ> or "soft g" (e.g., in *öğretmen* 'teacher' [œɾɛtmɛn]). Instead of making clear that this consonant letter is a mere orthographic marker, she creates an unnatural, orthography-oriented pronunciation for words with "soft g" in order to make this consonant audible for the pupils. So, both teachers orientate by the spelling of the words instead of explaining to the pupils the phonotactic rules that the orthographic rules are based on, be it because their intention is to simplify the orthographic system for the pupils, or because they are not aware of these rules themselves.

With regard to the thematic structuring of the lessons, the Turkish lessons do not refer to any context of world outside the classroom and no thematic organisation as compared to the German class (e.g. seasons, holidays, etc.). Instead, reading and writing are practised as

mere technical skills in the first place. Here, the teacher emphasises a clear handwriting, the correct size of the letters, and a well-organised workbook. Also the texts presented to the pupils in their textbook are not contextualised. They are rather a conglomeration of words that contain the currently discussed letter in many occurrences. This way of text compilation often even leads to texts that totally lack sense. Here again, the pupils' attention is focused on the mere formal aspect of writing and the letter forms, respectively. Only the group of the "hardworking" pupils get to read meaningful texts at the end of the school year.

In the German classroom, free text production without any standards in terms of content, length or especially orthography is in the centre of attention in approximately 60% of the witnessed lessons. Disregarding the orthography, the teacher seemingly does not want to interrupt the writing flow of the pupils. Since the outcome of these text productions is never controlled or corrected by the teacher, she indicates that writing itself does not imply orthographically correct writing, but emphasises the writing process itself. The mechanical skills of writing as well as of orthography are addressed in extra lessons. Especially the sudden turn to orthography in the last third of the school year has to be explicitly justified by the teacher since the pupils are used to write without paying any attention to it up till then.

In the German classroom, also the functionality of writing is demonstrated to the pupils. The teacher at least tries to demonstrate the purposes of a written text: The pupils have to make a list, to write a letter or a diary note. But in fact, neither these different text types nor their structural requirements are ever explained in class.

Also the Turkish teacher tries to discuss one text type in her class. At the end of the school year, she makes the "hardworking" pupils write a text summary, which is a very advanced task for a first-grader that implies a content-related dealing with a text. But just like the German teacher, she does not explicitly work out the special characteristics of this text type that go beyond the formal requirements of a text such as a headline, the marking of paragraphs etc.

In both classes, grammatical phenomena are never mentioned, which is also not regulated in the curriculum. In the first grade, the technical learning of the letters plus certain orthographical markings is the focus of learning, and not work on language in general.

Another similarity of the two classrooms is the fact that reading is far outweighed by writing. In Germany, pupils are almost never told to read more than one sentence in class. Here, they would only read out loud together what the teacher wrote on the blackboard before. Furthermore, they are never told to read aloud a text they wrote in class or at home. Instead, reading exercises are outsourced to outside the classroom to the responsibility of the so-called "reading mothers" (see II.1.3.2.3). Here, such an important task is being handed over to non-professionals and thus practically never controlled.

Also the Turkish pupils are never told to read out loud more than one sentence. More often, they have to read the teacher's blackboard text in chorus. Only the "hardworking" pupils

are told to practise reading coherent texts at the end of the school year, whereas the "lazy" pupils remain reading mere syllables.

Of course, the emphasis on writing is, on principle, justifiable. In practising writing, pupils have to directly apply the orthographic knowledge they have already gained. When reading, they are only passively acquiring these regularities especially when they are "distracted" by the content of the text. In the Turkish class, this is hardly happening since most of the texts the pupils are reading are content-deflated or at least content-reduced. In Germany, on the other hand, the analysis of the reading practice with the reading mothers shows that it often ends up in a simple recoding of symbols without any understanding of the story's plot. This indicates that also the passive appliance of the orthography knowledge is deficient in Germany.

1.2.2 Teaching methods

Both the Turkish and the German classroom discourses are primarily teacher-centred, which seems to be the most appropriate type of lesson discourse for first-graders. This assumption has been proved by the German teacher's attempt to try to introduce a classroom discussion twice, which ended in a complete failure since the pupils were not able to verbalise their opinion or simply did not have one. Also during the reading pass lessons where each pupil is supposed to work on their own, pupils often approach the teacher's desk in search for her approval or help. This clearly demonstrates their need for assistance.

For the Turkish teacher, a non-teacher-centred lesson discourse would be likely to mean a total loss of control since the group is very large, with often more than 40 pupils. Here, the traditional whole-class teaching method seems to be more appropriate. Additionally, the teacher-centred method is perfectly suited for the memorisation and recitation technique the teacher uses to impart orthography.

The researchers almost never witnessed group or partner work. However, both teachers tend to pass over some of their duties to some of the pupils. In the German class, the teacher asks the advanced pupils to explain tasks to other pupils. In the Turkish class, the teacher asks the class representative to check on the workbooks of other pupils. Both tasks mean, of course, a lot of responsibility and are a great reward for the pupils in charge. Still, it is questionable if these pupils already have enough knowledge to instruct and correct others. Certainly, it is not their duty if they are neglecting their own exercises because of this.

In contrast to the Turkish teacher, the German teacher always emphasises individual work, self-responsibility and individualism: There are no set standards in the free text production assignments so that all pupils need to decide for themselves when they are finished with their work. Also in the reading pass lessons, the pupils can choose the progression of the sheets they are working on by themselves. None of this is systematically controlled or corrected by the teacher. However, the fact that pupils often ask for the teacher's help shows that this amount of autonomy might be too much for such young children.

In the Turkish classroom, the teacher focuses on the fact that everybody is equal and does not deserve a special treatment. She does not emphasise the pupil as an individual, but tries to evoke a group feeling in the pupils. However, the respective statements are contradictory to her behaviour because she creates different learning groups according to achievement levels (see below).

In order to create a writing assignment, the German teacher is very creative and child-oriented. She clearly tries to link the compulsory part to a fun and playful part of a lesson. However, in following such an approach, she also emphasises that writing is hard work that she tries to sugar with other pleasant activities like painting or colouring. Another incentive she frequently uses is the waiver of homework for getting finished quickly, another possibility to stress a negative touch on the writing by trying to get over with it soon. In contrast to the Turkish teacher, the German teacher never uses marks as an incentive or punishment since there are no marks in the German first grade, anyway. The Turkish teacher, on the other hand, often threatens to give the pupils a bad mark or to let them repeat the school year. As an incentive, she uses stickers in the beginning of the school year. Both teachers, however, do not act on their own threats, and also no positive effect of the incentives could be noticed.

In both classrooms, the teachers have to face very heterogeneous groups not only with regard to the language background, but especially concerning the learning progressions and achievement levels of the pupils. Both of them handle this situation quite similar: They face the need to divide the class into several groups according to learning advancement. In the Turkish class, the pupils are not only seated according to this group division, but also even labelled as "hardworking" vs. "lazy". Despite of a method change for all pupils (from the sound-driven approach to the sequencing strategy), each group receives its own task and its own instruction. While one group is being instructed, the other one has to remain quiet and wait for their turn. On the one hand, this method is quite inconvenient, and a lot of time is being lost for either group. On the other hand, the needs of each group are taken into account. Still, this method does not emerge as appropriate in order to close the gap between the different levels. On the contrary, this gap has widened by the end of the school year: While the advanced pupils are reading and summarising entire texts, the other pupils are still reading mere syllables.

The German teacher also varies the tasks according to the advancement of the individual pupil. But in contrast to the Turkish teacher, she does not assign herself to which group a pupil belongs, but instead announces different amounts of the same task with the same instruction for all pupils (e.g. writing sentences vs. only words with regard to a certain question). The pupils can decide for themselves what type of task they are going to accomplish according to what they consider themselves capable of doing. But also this method does not lead to the desired effect since many pupils tend to perform the easier task when given the choice.

To sum up, in order to cope with different levels in the classroom, both teachers mostly consider variation in duration/ amount of a task, and not a broad variation of methods.

However, both try to meet the needs of the weaker pupils by offering them individual support.

With regard to bilingual and monolingual pupils, both teachers do not address this issue in class. They might either not consider this a problem, or they simply do not want to discriminate bilingual pupils by overtly ascribing special language problems to them.

1.2.3 Language use

With regard to language use, the two classrooms differ significantly. The German teacher always remains calm when rebuking pupils individually or when the entire class is misbehaving. This defensive strategy is also used when a pupil makes a linguistic mistake. Sometimes, she might repeat the pupil's utterance in the correct way without defining the source of the error more precisely and thus calling the pupil's attention to this mistake. She also accepts one-word-utterances and never encourages the pupils to elaborate more. Giving an instruction for a task, she always remains implicit and does not specify the task by means of exact wording. Instead, she gives numerous examples on how to perform it and repeats the instruction several times in order to make sure that it is well understood. Additionally, she quite often uses colloquial language with very orate structures.

The Turkish teacher, on the other hand, always speaks with a loud voice, but never yells at the pupils. Her instructions are always clearly formulated in the imperative and explicit because of her strict orientation by the text book. Additionally, since the task type is repeating itself constantly, the pupils know what to do as a matter of routine. However, the teacher repeats the task, anyway, several times. She pays a lot of attention to linguistic and factual mistakes the pupils make and always corrects them directly. But also, she does not encourage the pupils to build more complex sentences than one word utterances. She avoids colloquial expressions, but uses short sentences when giving instructions. When the teacher is elaborating on rules and roles, she also utilises literate structures in her speech.

Although both the Turkish and the German pupils get in touch with original texts in the classroom (children's songs and rhymes in Turkey, children's books in Germany), these text types both do not reflect the use of literate structures. This way, the pupils never get in touch with different text types or linguistic structures in the classroom. They are simply reliant on the input given by the teacher herself.

To sum up, one can say that the language of the Turkish teacher is function-guided: When giving instructions, she uses structures appropriate to ensure that the pupils understand the task. When talking about other topics, she also uses more complex structures, thus maintaining the formal setting of the classroom and the teacher-pupils relationship, respectively. The German teacher, on the other hand, does not reflect on the importance of her language use in the classroom and therefore uses the informal register when speaking to the class. This might limit the pupils' opportunities to come into contact with literate structures in language even more.

2 Seventh Grade

Dilara Koçbaş & Inken Sürig

2.1 Findings of comparative sociological lesson analyses in Germany and in Turkey

In the comparison of the Turkish and German lessons in the seventh grade, the basic assumption is that the acquisition of literacy in schools is embedded in historically and culturally shaped views concerning knowledge and language; therefore, differently organised education processes have to be evaluated in the context of different national education systems and the related institutionalised education styles in both countries. In this chapter, the focus is on those features of country comparison that are immediately relevant for sociological LAS lesson analysis, which will subsequently be aligned with the results of linguistic comparison in a concluding section.

2.1.1 Demographic compositions of focal schools

One major difference between the national school systems is the early selection of pupils after primary school and the subsequent differentiation of the school forms in Germany, as opposed to the joint education of all pupils until the eighth grade in Turkey, i.e. until the completion of compulsory education. For LAS analysis, this is indeed a crucial feature as the German seventh-graders in comprehensive schools have already passed through a performance-based selection. The participating school in Germany does not attract pupils with recommendations for advanced education, and thus its pupils are generally not from very educated or very well-off families. Although this kind of deliberate selection is not an issue in the Turkey before the eight grade, it is obvious that the location of the school in one of the poorer, disadvantaged quarters of Istanbul functions as a selective mechanism as well, so the school mainly attracts pupils from families with low educational and economical status. Therefore, both of the two seventh-grade case pupil groups of LAS research include a number of pupils from economically challenged and education-wise low-performing families in both Germany and Turkey, but of course, one has to keep in mind here that this means something entirely different in Germany than it does in Turkey. For example, all the working parents of the seventh-graders in Germany have steady jobs, whereas several of the working parents of the seventh-graders in Turkey only have odd jobs; on the other hand, most of the mothers of both groups are housewives or doing small-scale side jobs.

An extremely conspicuous feature of comparison is that most of the mothers in Turkish focal school have no formal education at all (i.e., equivalent to ISCED 0), and the highest, but rarely achieved educational level in the Turkey group is only ISCED 2 (i.e., lower secondary degree, no vocational training). Since compulsory education in Turkey until 1997 only included the completion of the fifth grade, ISCED 1 is the most common degree among the fathers in the Turkish group of seventh-graders' parents. In addition, the monolingual parents as a whole have slightly better educational degrees than the bilinguals. In the reference group in Germany, there is no parent below ISCED 1, but note here that all parents who only achieved a level 1-degree have a Turkish migration background and are

mostly women. However, the majority of the seventh-graders' parents in Germany are placed on ISCED level 3 (i.e., lower or higher secondary plus vocational training). This finding seems to indicate a lower educational background for Turkish parents, which means that they count on fewer resources to support their children school than the parents in Germany. With the majority of the seventh-graders' mothers in Turkey being illiterate or post-illiterate, the literacy skills of the case pupils can be expected to be rather underdeveloped. Furthermore, it is not unlikely that the gender-imbalance in schools might shape the underlying attitudes towards the education of girls as opposed to boys. This holds for both countries, although probably to different degrees, as far as parents with Turkish origin in Germany are concerned.

2.1.1.1 Attitudes towards the schools' educational mandate

Although in Turkey and Germany, the schools' educational claims are the same, organisational differences on the immediate local level trigger one major difference regarding the excessive school absence. While in the German seventh grade, the average absence quota is 6%, it is 21% in Turkey, which is more than three times high than Germany. Here, the quality of the education collides with the specific organisation's resources to enforce this quality, not because of a limited legal jurisdiction (in both countries, compulsory education is constitutionally stipulated, and can be enforced by executive authorities), but because of the limited means to accommodate the actual number of pupils enrolled. The Turkish school of LAS research is not only critically understaffed (i.e., one teacher per 39 pupils, as opposed to Germany with one teacher per 15 pupils), but also structurally under-equipped. The classroom of the LAS seventh grade is simply not designed to host the whole 45 enrolled pupils of the class. Thus, if the Turkish focal school indeed had to deal with all its actually registered pupils on a regular basis, it would not be able to sufficiently accommodate and sustain its target pupils under the given circumstances.

This, of course, is only possible in a neighbourhood where there is a certain likeliness that parents do not send their children to school regularly, and where pupils tend to skip class from an early point of schooling on. A vicious circle seems to be at hand when considering that irregular attendance and insufficient facilities actually reinforce each other. In the particular context of the Turkish LAS project school, this means that the underprivileged characteristics of the city quarter are constantly reproduced by the organisation's adaptation to the given circumstances. Such a degree of "determinism" does not exist in the German reference school. Of course, there are teachers who criticize the composition of the pupils' body in terms of lacking educational background and parental support as being structural impediments of advanced learning standards. But this limitation does not affect the general exercising of the educational mandate as the school is sufficiently equipped to accommodate and to teach all its allocated pupils. In this context, it is noteworthy that in the German school, the teachers are well-paid, enjoy all privileges of social security, and usually remain on the same staff for the larger part of their professional lives, all of which speaks for rather strong attachments to the job and the school. In the Turkish school, however, the working conditions are comparably poor, and there is a great fluctuation

amongst the teaching staff, indicating weaker attachments that potentially result in a lower appreciation of the job.

Having passed through only minimal or no schooling, the seventh-grade case pupils' parents in Turkey have no clear conceptions of the meaning of school, or differentiated ideas or attitudes regarding the procedure and planning of school careers. Although, in Germany , the case pupils' parents are mostly not thoroughly informed or interested either, their attitudes towards school are quite unambiguous, observing it basically as an institution that provides children with the necessary academic degrees to meet the challenges of the labour market, which mainly corresponds to their own experiences with the organisation. The means of parental school support are in both countries rather low by the respective national standards, but in comparison of the two groups, it is undeniable that the case pupils' parents in Turkey are broadly incapable of helping their children with their school tasks, and do not have clear ideas about the possibility that this help might be needed; therefore, many seventh-graders attend courses in the local community centre so they do get some support outside their homes. The Turkish parents adopt a position along the lines of "bad neighbourhood equals bad school" without considering that they themselves are integral parts of both. Only one of the parents ever approached the school administration in order to address the problem of missing teachers, although several case pupils' parents complain about grievances like the lack of discipline and respect; the majority of them do not attend parent conference days.

In Germany, the case pupils' parents are usually quite clear about the fact that children might need remediation or tutoring in order to achieve sufficient academic degrees, regardless of the actual measures they are taking to support their children school-wise.

Whereas the case pupils' parents in Germany expect the school to guarantee a proper education in principle, the parents of the seventh-graders in Turkey seem to have accepted that the LAS case school does not comply with its universal educational mandate, but mainly consider it a place for safe-keeping. Here, one should not misappropriate the fact that in Germany, the originally unmonitored setting of the classroom is at least to some degree subjected to the social corrective of the pupils and, by extension, their parents; the pupils as a whole are quite likely to inform their parents on what is going on in the classroom, and at least some of the parents consider themselves in a position to give respective feedback to the teacher. In the Turkish case, however, this form of social control is not utilised, which basically means that the teacher is accountable to none.

2.1.1.2 Attitudes towards nationalism, multilingualism, and multiculturalism

Another conspicuous difference between the Turkish and the German school is the communication of the "national idea" that is strongly promoted in the Turkish school and, if at all, rather critically perceived in the German school. Of course, this is due to very different approaches to history and culture that shall not be further elaborated here.

In the context of the analysed school lessons, the national idea is ever-present in the Turkish seventh-grade classroom, with Atatürk's portrait and the Turkish flag on the wall, and the national anthem and other related pamphlets pinned to boards. Every day before

school, the pupils line up to perform the national pupils' pledge. In the Turkish lessons of the seventh grade, the life and works of Atatürk are systematically included in the teaching unit on "Ataturkism" together with the topic of "national culture".

In Germany's schools in general, national symbols or "heroes" do not occur on a regular basis, there are usually no flags or portraits of heads of states or other politicians in the classrooms, and a pledge of allegiance simply does not exist. Also in the German class of LAS research, such symbols are never in use. In the German lessons, the only hint at a "national idea" witnessed during LAS observation is the obligatory discussion of the great classic German literature (e.g., Goethe, Heine), but this literature is never addressed in terms of its "German" quality; it is safe to say that the pupils, mostly lacking the respective educational background, do not connect Goethe or Heine with an idea of Germany's "greatness". On the contrary, the Degenhardt poem that is the assignment in one of the class tests, as well as the novel discussed in the last months of the school year, illustrate a rather critical approach to nationalism, both explicitly addressing racism and chauvinism as problematic issues.

By comparison, it is very obvious that it is part of the Turkish schooling philosophy to raise the pupils to be proud and loyal Turks, whereas in Germany, the notion rather makes for critical citizenship, if at all (as witnessed in LAS lessons). But one has to consider here that apart from a deliberate promotion of nationalism, homogeneity of the clientele is a major concern of school in general, and expectations regarding communitisation are conveyed in the German school as they are in the Turkish school. The main difference seems to be that the Turkish school imparts such expectations explicitly along the lines of the national idea, while in Germany, expectations of homogeneity are conveyed more subtly and without the use of (anyway negatively connoted) patriotic symbolism. For example, in both schools, the pupils with Turkish/ German as a second language are forbidden to talk in their first languages on the school premises; this mainly concerns pupils with Kurmanjî as a first language in Turkey, and pupils with Turkish as a first language in Germany. The political connotation of this regulation, however, strongly differs in both countries.

In Turkey, the use of Kurmanjî or any other Kurdish language in schools was entirely banned in schools. It is not even allowed to refer to the existence of a Kurdish culture or language. Accordingly, a reference to Kurdishness is never witnessed during LAS research in the seventh grade although a number of pupils have a Kurdish background.

In Germany, language use and cultural orientation are not officially regulated, let alone legally stipulated, in most of the relevant domains. The banishment of languages other than German on the school premises is a rather recent development, illustrating a symbolic policy of controlled integration measures, and allegedly aiming at a better German competence for pupils with German as a second language, but it is neither a national nor federal regulation, and only implemented on the individual school's discretion. The banishment does not concern Turkish or other first language classes, and does not include a systematic exclusion of language and culture features, which, in the comprehensive school of LAS research as well as in the specific class observed, are occasionally addressed in a given context, for example grammatical gender or exotic first names.

However, one could argue here that banishment is banishment regardless of the political implications, and that there might be an effect on the pupils' attitudes towards their first languages in both countries, since in both cases, the message conveyed is the lack of appreciation of minority languages at least in the context of school. This also means that in both countries, the potential of bilingualism as a learning resource remains unutilised.

As opposed to the Turkish case school, the German one, as a comprehensive school being characterised by offering every possible school degree including post-secondary education and the *Abitur* ("A-level"), has to make a great effort to ascertain a level of homogeneity that technically ensures advanced standards of education. While in the Turkish school of LAS research, the main attitude towards multilingualism and multiculturalism is official denial, such aspects are addressed and processed in the German case school in a pedagogically and didactically purposeful manner. The multilingual and multicultural character of the German society is broadly accepted, but critically reviewed. The interviewed teachers name the high percentage of pupils with Turkish migration history as a problematic feature of the specific school particularly regarding German language competences and religious orientations. Here, the reference to German language competences often appears to be rather a politically stimulated reflex than triggered by actual issues in everyday schooling since the teachers who were approached during field research are not agreed on whether or not this is a problem limited to pupils with German as a second language. Nevertheless, due to the composition of the pupils' body, the school is willing to deal with such language problems rather than using them as a criterion of exclusion. As opposed to this, there seems to be a basic consensus regarding the religion issue, with certain practices of Islam being perceived very critically on part of the German school. Practical issues of Islam such as headscarf-wearing, food restrictions,and participation in certain school activities by different genders are addressed more than once by the participants with a negative undertone and with pointing at assumed disadvantages for the integration of minority pupils in general. For the particular school, not being geared up for religious diversity, dealing with such peculiarities means a disturbance of a smooth organisational procedure. Albeit not generalisable, it is still noteworthy that one exclusion of a pupil (not a case pupil) witnessed during LAS research concerned a headscarf-wearing Muslim girl who was delegated to the *Hauptschule*, which, of course, is irritating in itself for the comprehensive school technically does have an own branch of the *Hauptschule*.

In the Turkish school, religion is not of any interest or importance, but strong prejudices exist along ethnic lines among the teaching staff, the parents and the pupils. While in the German case, such prejudices are addressed "on the record", but disguised with functional arguments, in Turkey, researchers witnessed negative statements referring to an ethnic group's alleged negative traits (e.g., laziness). In Germany, all protagonists are very careful not to walk into this trap, pointing at a higher awareness of political correctness regardless of actual attitudes.

2.1.1.3 Attitudes towards literacy

Considering the low educational standards in the seventh-graders' families in Turkey, with many mothers (the main caretakers) being illiterate, it is not surprising that no regular

literate practices in the LAS case pupils' families are observed, independent of the mono-/ bilingual factor. In Germany, on the other hand, the findings are more diverse, ranging from extremely scarce literate practices by well-read parents, and from case pupils who never touch a book at home to others who are frequent readers, with a slight surplus of such practices in the monolingual German families. One should consider here that the families in Turkey often simply cannot afford to buy books or sometimes even the newspaper, whereas in Germany, this is rather not a question of affordability because a sufficient density of public libraries facilitates a broad access to books and printed media, and several case pupils' families possess library cards. It is also quite common among the seventh-graders in Germany to use the written options of modern media like SMS, email, and internet chat rooms. Moreover, in the German seventh grade, reading novels is a regular part of teaching, whereas in the Turkish seventh grade, the teacher solely sticks to the required textbooks. Thus, one might conclude that the seventh-graders in Germany are tendentially more familiar with broader concepts of literacy, while for the seventh-graders in Turkey, the application areas of literacy are rather limited.

The different attitudes by seventh-grade teachers towards literacy are rooted in the teachers' different ideas of what they have to provide for their pupils in the focal schools. In the Turkish case, it is quite obvious that the seventh-grade teacher basically regards his job in this particular school as complying with the curriculum. so he sticks to what is demanded in the national exams. He does not give his pupils credit for great achievements in the area of literacy acquisition, but he seems to be not interested in elevating the pupils' intellectual level. He prefers to give answers to the questions in the workbook instead of developing topics thoroughly in communal discourses. His answers mostly include the predefined templates that are thought to offer mechanical accesses to text-analytical and grammatical problems. This is more problematic when we consider that many of the seventh-graders in Turkey have problems in comprehensive reading, display restricted vocabulary, and appear to have difficulties to grasp basic linguistic concepts like hypernyms and synonyms. These problems of the pupils certainly goes back to their underschooled family backgrounds, yet unfortunately the school has not been able to remedy these problems adequately in seven years of schooling. As was suggested above, this seems to point at a structural problem in terms of the interpretation of the educational mandate at least in this particular school, and it would be wrong to link the problems that pupils have in the Turkish seventh grade solely to the specific teacher's attitudes. When we look at the textbook that entirely guides the Turkish lessons throughout the school year, we see that the topics prescribed for the seventh school year by the ministry of education contain themes like "Rights and freedom", "Ataturkism", "Nature and universe", "Emotions and dreams". Whereas in the German textbook, topical units are mostly organized according to the different text genres (e.g., "Reports and reviews", "Descriptions and explanations", "Narrations from old and new times", "Ballads"). The different textbook designs alone certainly hint at a structural difference between the countries' institutional approaches to literacy acquisition in the seventh grade, with an emphasis on the systematic work on language itself in Germany, and an emphasis on the development of universal topics by means of language as a vehicle of information in Turkey. One might characterise

this difference as an active handling of language in Germany. On the other hand, the seventh-graders in Turkey are required to reproduce rather than produce, and vice versa in Germany. Therefore, although the seventh-grade Turkish teacher certainly shows no noteworthy ambitions to promote his pupils' literacy advancement actively, one also has to recognise the fact that the curriculum in general is not geared towards advanced literacy in terms of immediate work on literacy application. This, interestingly, coincides with the finding that also in their homes, the seventh-graders in Turkey are not familiarised with an active handling of the written language.

In Germany, the situation seems to be the other way around entirely. The German teacher has high aspirations regarding the literacy acquisition of the seventh-graders, treating advanced literacy as a superior educational goal, but also as a natural desire that is not at all questioned, turning a blind eye to the pupils' actual foreknowledge and educational background. This particularly comes to light when he refrains from utilising the didactic approaches offered in the textbook; for example, the language- and topic-wise quite complex poem *Belsazar* by Heine is appropriately explained and contextualised in the textbook, but the teacher leaves out the recommended intermediary steps of comprehension, which finally leads to a very superficial and one-sided analysis of the poem in the classroom discourse. Similarly, when discussing Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* (as a German translation, of course), neither the author nor the time and place of the play are elaborated, again leaving out crucial information that would support a thorough text comprehension. Also, in lesson parts dedicated to the work on vocabulary, as far as we observed, the pupils are never asked to use the words defined or the synonyms collected by means of own formulations, so it is not ascertained that the pupils are actually able to integrate the new words into their individual lexicon. Thus, although curriculum and textbook provide a solid basis for a thorough work on language and texts, more often than not, the German teacher sets considerably higher standards than "recommended" by means of the textbook approach, indicating a certain unawareness of the factual needs of the pupils. These high standards are also reflected in the pupils' overall marks in German class, the best being what equals a "B" awarded to only two pupils, with half of the class having what equals a "D" or even an "E". Still, high standards also signal an expectation of advanced capability; academic bias or not, the German teacher does not seem to doubt the general potential of the pupils based on their social and educational backgrounds, as the Turkish teacher seems to do.

In sum, the treatment of literacy acquisition in the Turkish and the German seventh grade appears to be shaped by culturally different approaches to the issue itself, by the specific school's interpretation of the educational mandate, and by the respective teacher's individual handling of topics and texts. The Turkish approach is much more mechanical and more limited than the German one, directed towards technical skills rather than intellectual advancement, whereas the German approach is the opposite, rather neglecting techniques, and demanding greater intellectual and autonomous efforts.

2.1.2 The material world of the classrooms

The physical spaces of the lessons in Turkey and Germany are basically designed along the lines of functional considerations of lessons. Seating arrangements in both classrooms are based on such functional considerations in terms of providing the best possible table structure for mutual observation, but of course, the classroom in Turkey is generally more crowded, with 35 pupils on average to host, as opposed to 26 in Germany. Here, although constant mutual observability is a given, it is noticeable that pupils who sit in the back of the classroom are slightly more often overlooked by the teacher during classroom interactions; on the other hand, it is also visible that pupils who sit more isolated than others (i.e., with no direct neighbour) have usually less problems to disconnect from classroom interaction during individual work. In the Turkish classroom, the sheer number of participants certainly makes it harder for the teacher to monitor the pupils sufficiently regardless of the seating arrangement, which might be one reason why he systematically refrains from ascertaining broad attention and participation from the pupils.

The teacher's desk in the Turkish classroom has a central, singled-out position in front of the blackboard, so it is in permanent focus, emphasising the teacher's constant superior, supervising position. Symbolically, this signals teacher-centred lesson design, with the constellation of tables in the classroom almost reminding of a parliamentary forum, but of course, the teacher is the only person entitled to use the lecturing desk. In the seventh-grade classroom in Germany, on the other hand, the teacher's desk does not have such a prominent position, but is rather inconspicuously integrated in the seating arrangement, albeit facing the plenum and thus still signalling permanent supervision. Although the symbolism points at the teacher being a part of classroom interaction rather than its leader, one should note here that during communal lesson portions, he regularly stands or walks in the centre of the room in front of the blackboard, ascertaining the teacher-centred lesson design in Germany.

Fig. IV.2.1. 7th grade Germany: Seating arrangement
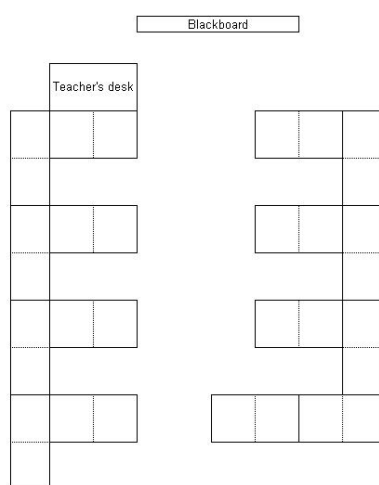
Fig. IV.2.2. 7th grade Turkey: Seating arrangement
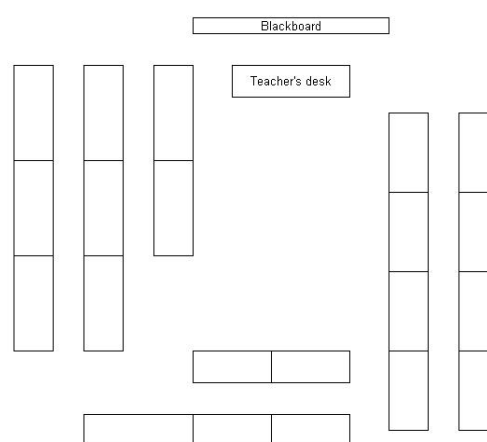
As can be seen in Figures IV.2.1 and 2, in Turkey, the teacher's desk is the in centre of attention, whereas in Germany, the pupils' focus is rather directed to the blackboard. This coincides with the different utilisation of the blackboard in the two classes for the Turkish lessons. In the Turkish classroom, the blackboard is seldom used and not purposefully integrated as a lesson-structuring device, whereas in the German lessons, it plays a major role in the form of a lesson logbook, with immediate discourse results being regularly recorded on the blackboard.

In the Turkish classroom, written language is always present not only in the form of the prescribed Atatürk devotional objects, but also by means of the pupils' written works that are regularly exhibited on the classroom walls. In Germany, the walls remain nearly completely blank most of the school year, and there is no materialised indicator as to what happens in this room except for the broad concept of schooling that is signalled by the given furnishing. This means that in the Turkish seventh grade, the pupils are invited to decorate their classroom as their very own space, with self-made characteristics that distinguish this room from all the other rooms in the building (apart from the obligatory patriotic objects) as a place where they specifically belong. More importantly, the prominent presence of written language in the Turkish case reminds pupils what is done in this room, and what is the purpose of being there. One might only wonder what this does to their understanding of the purpose of school education. In Germany, the anonymous classroom design, albeit functionally explainable since the seventh-graders are not the only class using this room, neither offers a sense of belonging nor a sense of purpose, which has to be restored anew in each lesson solely by discursive co-production.

Although there is no considerable diversification of teaching and studying materials in both LAS-observed classes, differences between the utilisation of devices in two research contexts are observable. A major difference is that the Turkish teacher uses a teacher's manual that he brings to class and follows without exception. Such manuals exist for German teaching, too, but it is never witnessed that the German teacher brings a manual to class, and one might state here that a strategy like this is extremely unusual in German in general. One plausible explanation for the Turkish teacher strictly using the manual is certainly that this way, he does not have to prepare lessons individually, but can literally teach according to the book. But since he is much younger and less experienced than the German teacher, clinging to the manual might also be a sign of inexperience in terms of conducting lessons by himself. After all, in the classroom, the possession of the teacher's manual is an indicator of authority, signalling omniscience and power, which are all characteristics that the German teacher is able to evoke without such a symbolic crutch.

As the blackboard does not play a considerable role in Turkish teaching, and as there is no overhead projector available, collective exercises are carried out solely by means of the textbook and the matching student workbook, which are systematically worked on during the course of the school year. This strategy creates a completely predictable lesson design that enables the pupils to get prepared sufficiently for class. Furthermore, using textbook and workbook together enables the pupils to repeat lesson contents afterwards when necessary even their notes that they are asked to take during the lessons and the writings on

the blackboard are often not helpful enough. In German class, on the other hand, deviations from the textbook are rather common, and in those cases, the pupils have to exclusively rely on the notes they take during the lesson, which might or might not be sufficient in order to recapitulate lesson contents. Of the twelve teaching units offered in the German textbook, eight are treated in the course of the school year, none of which are studied entirely according to the work steps and exemplary texts in the book, whereas the play and the novel dealt with are not at all treated in the textbook (not even on a general level "plays" or "novels"). In grammar units, although some of the discussed phenomena occur in the textbook, the textbook is never used. As was already touched upon in Section 1.3 above, the different utilisation of the schoolbooks in Turkey and Germany points at different underlying attitudes towards literacy in terms of low expectations and aspirations in Turkey where the pupils do not have the agency to participate lesson interactions without the strict guideline of the book. On the other hand, in Germany high expectations and aspirations lead the teacher expect the pupils to develop and acquire topics independently of textbook guidance. This coincides with a frequent use of the overhead projector in German class in order to discuss texts that are not in the book, and with the integration of a dictionary that every pupil possesses in order to work on vocabulary independently.

In both seventh grades, there is no overwhelming discipline amongst the pupils when it comes to bringing adequate material to school, but in both classes, the pupils regularly share or borrow materials. Probably based on the different economical starting situations in both countries, being without the necessary material is usually severely rebuked or even punished in Germany, whereas in Turkey, the teacher seems to show more tolerance in this aspect. In the German case, it is safe to say that missing materials are not a result of limited financial means, but indeed of forgetfulness and carelessness on the part of the pupils (and thus, at least to some degree, their parents). Both teachers put some value on material-related technicalities such as the colour in which to write or underline in texts, or the accurate preparation of work sheets, emphasising the formal aspects of writing and thus characterising writing itself as a formal, sophisticated activity. But looking at the case pupils' handwritings and the condition of their notebooks, one can certainly say that not all of them have internalised the appreciation of writing as a formal act.

Assuming that the utilisation of materials not only reflects the teachers' willingness to make an effort to use the equipment at hand, but also an adaptation to the pupils' ascribed needs and potentials, a more diversified and complex material-related approach in Germany indicates a homogeneity expectation that exceeds the borders of the focal school, but is rather adjusted to national standards. In Turkey, on the other hand, a limited employment of different devices might be the result of the teacher's low expectations for these specific pupils' potentials, which, then again, cannot be entirely denied considering the social context of the focal school. Regardless of underlying prejudices that might be at work here, pupils who are basically unfamiliar with literate practices might indeed profit from the material-wise underload and the categorical orientation towards the textbook, which might provide a sense of security and predictability in a mostly unfamiliar domain. This does not necessarily go for the pupils in Germany, for whom it is not certain that they entirely grasp

all the different concepts of literacy they are offered without such a reliable fallback system.

2.1.3 Teaching strategies

Teaching strategies as observed and analysed in the context of LAS research are here discussed in terms of time management, implementation and enforcement of rules, motivational strategies, and discourse strategies. Basically, one can assume that such strategies correspond to the different countries' didactic and pedagogic standards as conveyed in professional training, but since the lesson itself is structurally excluded from organisational supervision and control, very much depends on the respective actors' capability of co-producing meaningful lesson procedures within the closed entity of the classroom. Consequently, the daily reconstructed relationships between the teachers and the pupils turn out to be quite important, being the very basis for successful or unsuccessful lesson-making.

Both the Turkish and the German teachers have an authoritative teaching style, which means that intentional interaction between the pupils as a part of the lesson design is very limited. The lessons regularly revolve around the teacher who gives instructions and assignments, and orchestrates the discourses. In the German lesson, the co-productive quality of this teacher-centred approach can be observed in the pupils' discourse behaviour. For example, the pupils when contributing to discussions usually observe the teacher's reactions and replies instead of looking at their classmates. That the German seventh-graders cooperate and accept the teacher as the undisputed lesson leader has various reasons, from his status as headmaster to his charismatic personality, but an important factor is certainly his daily great effort to actively include all pupils in the lesson discourse, and to treat them with a usually fair and benevolent demeanour, which is plausible in the context of the general attitudes towards the educational mandate and literacy acquisition as discussed above. On the other hand, the Turkish teacher assumes that his pupils are not qualified for advanced literate education and destined to be under-achievers; therefore, he makes a much smaller effort. In fact, the poor relationship between the Turkish teacher and his pupils, as well as the beneficial relationship between the German teacher and his pupils, have to be reconstructed and co-produced anew in every new lesson, and cannot be taken for granted by either actor.

2.1.3.1 Time management

The management of the given lesson time by the teacher in cooperation with the pupils is an important factor of lesson design not only in terms of time that is actually dedicated to teaching and studying, but also with regards to concepts of punctuality, pace, and efficiency. Note here that the officially designated lesson duration is 40 minutes in Turkey and 45 minutes in Germany.
The following Table IV.2.1 summarises the characteristics of chronological lesson parts in the Turkish and the German lesson.

Tab. IV.2.1. 7th grade: Lesson time management, Germany and Turkey

	Germany	Turkey
Lesson beginning	School bell structures the school day, both teacher and pupils orientate themselves by the bell, lesson usually starts punctually	Teacher is significantly late for the lesson, but expects pupils to be ready on the bell
Lesson duration	No prolonged initial routines, averaged 90% of the lesson time are dedicated to topical units	Considerable time is needed to establish silence and order, correctional action takes up large portions of lesson time
Lesson ending	Teacher has a tendency to overrun lesson time, sometimes remarkably, hinting at suboptimal lesson planning	Teacher stops teaching as soon as the bell rings, just interrupts teaching units
Lesson closure	Almost never formal lesson closures, lesson results are usually not summarised	No formal lesson closures, lesson results are not summarised

In Germany, a constant, feasible management of lesson time provides the seventh-graders with a reliable time structure. As far as the lesson beginning is concerned, punctuality is a factor that all participants have to bow to equally, with the teacher leading by example and thus establishing plausible expectations that the pupils meet almost without exception. As soon as the second bell announces the lesson beginning, the pupils and the teacher have usually unpacked their material and lined up behind their tables, indicating a well-rehearsed routine that does not have to be negotiated anymore, being a daily smooth co-production of lesson time discipline. By this means, uncertainties regarding time-related expectations are initially prevented so that for the following lesson duration, the way is paved for a purposeful, functional use of time without delays in order to deal with topics. However, the German teacher's tendency to overrun lesson time, often as a punishment for what he deems insufficient lesson results, means that the punctuality that is so much emphasised in the lesson beginning is often attenuated when it comes to lesson endings. Here, the unequal power structures of the hierarchy are played off when the teacher forces the pupils to stay behind after the official lesson time has run out, but interestingly, this is an issue that is rather often addressed by the case pupils and also their parents, showing a rather critical attitude towards the arbitrary handling of lesson endings. None of the participants appear to understand lesson overruns as a welcome bonus of teaching and studying time, especially because the teacher often declares them to be a punishment, and the pupils (and thus, their parents) seem to perceive them as such. Accordingly, as formal as the lessons start (lining up, greeting), as informal are the lesson closures, without concluding remarks, and without a formal dismissal, let alone words of goodbye.

In Turkey, the seventh-graders are mostly deprived of time-wise orientation and order. The teacher is regularly late, so they are basically deprived of the allocated teaching time. Thus, although the underlying power structures entitle the teacher to demand punctuality from his pupils regardless of his own time-wise discipline, for the pupils, there is no point in being on time as the classes usually start late. As was touched upon above, the teacher's attitude towards punctuality is certainly one of the features making the teaching in the Turkish

seventh-grade much more troublesome than in Germany as the Turkish lesson usually starts with a violation of rules on both parts (with the pupils clowning around instead of being in quietly in their chairs). Consequently, much time is regularly dedicated to initialising quieting-down sequences that are nearly non-existent in the German reference lessons. In addition, intermediary disciplinary actions also limit the productive use of lesson time. As in the German case, the Turkish teacher abstains from formal lesson closures and does not secure lesson results, which in the German case involves painstaking reconstructions of these results in the following lesson, while the Turkish teacher omits such a procedure entirely. However, the Turkish teacher never overruns the lesson time as his German counterpart does, but always leaves the classroom as soon as the bell rings, signalling that he cannot get away fast enough after he already showed that he is not at all eager to start his teaching in the first place. Of course, what is imparted by this means is a general carelessness and unwillingness on the part of the teacher that is rather likely to spread to the pupils, which, in turn, must be assessed as a major source of the disciplinary problems in this class. On the other hand, ending lessons on time is a re-implementation of punctuality and thus certainty that is constantly missing in the lesson beginnings, so the seventh-graders in Turkey might not know when the Turkish lesson is going to start and thus how long it will be, but they can be absolutely sure when it will be finished.

Whereas the pupils in Turkey are thus frequently deprived of regular teaching and learning time, with corresponding disciplinary issues, the opposite is true for the German case where there is actually a frequent teaching-time overload that is not necessarily appraisable as beneficial since the pupils are visibly decreasingly receptive the longer the additional lesson time goes on, not least because of their overall reluctance towards the punitive character of these lesson overruns. Unsurprisingly, in the Turkish case, the pupils are clearly not in a position to claim the lesson time they are due to, but it is safe to say that in Germany, if a teacher came notoriously late to lessons, this would rather sooner than later filter down to the parents and to the school administration, and then be immediately stopped because of the legal responsibility of supervision alone. In the Turkish case, none of the case pupils' parents address this particular issue during the family interview, be it because they do not know about it, or because they do not deem it a noteworthy problem as long as the children stay on the "safe" premises of the school. This difference in attitudes indicates a deviating perception of the one feature of school lessons that is actually controllable externally, namely the pupils' right to full-time teaching that entirely depends on the teacher's presence, which in fact legally derives from compulsory education.

2.1.3.2 Implementation and enforcement of rules

Interestingly, the case pupils' parents in Germany with Turkish migration background who refer to the Turkish school system unanimously emphasise its high standards of discipline and respect; the case pupils' parents in Turkey, however, criticise these aspects as rather deficient in the LAS case school, but assume other Turkish schools to be more rigorous than this particular one. Of course, in classroom interaction as well as in every other interaction context, respect and obedience have at least partly to be earned, and discipline has to be established and co-produced over and over from lesson to lesson. Being aware of

behavioural demands does not mean to behave comfortably at all times, but it requires strategies to disguise potential rule-breaking, and to develop certain levels of expertise regarding this matter, which is an integral part of the pupil's role. While in the seventh-grade German class, discipline and obedience are no fundamental problems, they are major issues in the Turkish reference class; as was suggested above, the punctual versus unpunctual lesson beginnings alone are crucial preconditions of a subsequent successful or unsuccessful co-production of the lesson. But it would fall short to attribute this conspicuous dissimilarity solely to the particular teacher's personality and capability since it concerns not least the structural differences in the respective schools' positioning as regards the appreciation of the educational mandate. Moreover, it is quite likely that the parents of the seventh-graders in Turkey are not conveying the importance of education or school success to their children in a way that would equip them with a sufficient capability of meeting the demands of the school, as opposed to the case pupils' parents in Germany who predominantly point out that their children take on the responsibility for their school success, which, in turn, will shape their entire future. Thus, even when considering that the Turkish teacher has an attitude problem that the German teacher has not, one has to be clear about the fact that the social contexts of school-making not only enable, but to some degree even facilitate these contrastive attitudes. This also goes for the seventh-grade pupils who operate under diverging assumptions regarding the school's expectations, but also in terms of what they themselves can expect of the school.

Tab. IV.2.2. 7th grade: Implementation and enforcement of rules, Germany and Turkey

	Germany	**Turkey**
Social rules communicated as mandatory for the pupils	Attendance, punctuality, orderly material, silence, attention, active participation	Punctuality, orderly material, silence
Social rules communicated as mandatory for the teacher	Punctuality, fair treatment, appropriate tone	Not determinable
Punishments	Rebukes and warnings, penal minutes; in cases interpreted as more severe by the teacher: writing penal sentences, being sent out of the room, being ordered to talk with the teacher after the lesson; rebukes and punishments are mostly accepted by the pupils without backtalk	Rebukes, scolding, stand with face to wall, threat of bad marks; often not accepted by the pupils who talk back or ignore warnings
Physical violence	Witnessed once; not protested by the pupils	Witnessed on two occasions, and is also threatened; not protested by the pupils

In both of the seventh grades, students are expected to be punctual, to have one's material in order, and to be quiet until called on by the teacher. These rules constitute the most basic demands of successful lesson-making and are denoted by the teachers' rebukes and punishments when pupils violate them. However, in the Turkish seventh grade, social rules basically amount to nothing more than this. Whereas in the German class, active participation and undivided attention are declared rules that are constantly claimed by the

teacher. The Turkish teacher, on the other hand, is usually satisfied with an absence of disturbances, which means that heexpects only silence and order rather than attention or active participation from pupils. Mandatory pupil's behaviour is thus differently defined, again along the lines of a different appreciation of the educational mandate, which in Germany includes the attempt of securing individual learning behaviour as much as possible. Accordingly, diversified and target-oriented demands result in a broad subordination to rules aiming at silence and order, which are treated as the preconditions, not the purpose of lesson-making on the part of the teacher as well as on the part of the pupils. This also means that in the German lesson, no structural boredom arises from lesson vacuums, while in the Turkish case, with the teacher regularly neglecting the pupils, some of them are situated in a permanent lesson vacuum. This, again, provokes the teacher to spend considerable time on disciplinary action in the form of rebukes and backtalk, which then causes lesson vacuums for the rest of the class as well.

It is striking that in the Turkish seventh grade, only one systematic punishment for misbehaviour is witnessed during LAS field research, namely having pupils standing in a corner with the face to the wall, which seems to be a sanction offering a form of exclusion without losing sight of the respective pupil. On the other hand, the teacher leaves it at rebukes and threats of bad marks or physical violence. In Germany, several sorts of punishment are employed, such as writing the collective penal minutes, writing penal sentences, and being sent out of the room. Moreover, the German teacher occasionally orders a misbehaving pupil to have a talk with him after the lesson. It is obvious that immediate, plausible consequences of misbehaviour are prone to have a disciplining effect, especially in addition to the pupils' general willingness to undergo the didactic procedures of the German lesson, whereas the frequent scolding and shouting in the Turkish seventh grade mostly comes to nothing. The German seventh-graders usually accept rebukes and punishments with very rare incidents of backtalk, while the pupils in the Turkish seventh grade frequently talk back, get into arguments with the teacher, or simply ignore his admonishments. One might interpret this as the respective pupils' way to protest their arbitrary treatments by the teacher, but of course, it can also be seen as their way to express their latent frustration with the fact that they are over-challenged.

The use of physical violence by the teacher was witnessed once in the German seventh grade and twice in the Turkish seventh grade where additional threats of physical violence were also recorded. Of course, in both countries, physical violence towards children is legally prohibited in schools, the slight smack in the neck that happened in Germany when a male pupil was inattentive might be interpreted to have a less violent quality than the slap in the face that occurred in Turkey when a male pupil was heckling, and the physical punishment of a male pupil to stand on one leg in front of the class for misbehaviour. Yet, according to the national standards, in Germany, a teacher who hits a pupil, even if it is just a "smack", runs a very high risk of being reported because this is totally unaccepted behaviour and the pupils are entirely aware of it. On the specific occasion, the situation probably does not escalate only because it is really a soft smack, and because most of the pupils do not notice it. The respective pupil, however, is visibly humiliated by the incident. In Turkey, according to the parents' interviews, corporal punishment does not seem to be

that uncommon and that unaccepted. The incidents of punishment, which happened in front of the whole class and were witnessed by the LAS researchers, are not protested by the pupils, but rather trigger rare moments of absolute silence, and cause the concerning pupils to disconnect for the rest of the lesson. Both of the seventh-grade teachers seem to do this with male pupils. The different degrees of violence have to be attributed to the underlying cultural norms entirely, but are to be assessed as border crossings in both contexts, and thus as unprofessional behaviour. One has to be very clear about the fact here that corporal punishment has been abolished because it is a violation of human rights according to the Geneva conventions regardless of the context where it occurs, and in the special context of the school, it is additionally a violation of national child protection laws. Lenience or laxness regarding this issue are, of course, enabled by the quality of the school lesson being a closed interaction system and detached from organisational supervision, predictably bearing the risk of arbitrary acts.

In general, the social rules the teachers are bound to are not as easily determinable as they are when it comes to the pupils because there are only a few instances when pupils clearly identify certain actions of the teachers as deviant behaviour or actual rule-breaking. In the German case, such rule-breakings on part of the teacher that are occasionally criticised or protested by the pupils are unfair collective treatment in the context of penal minutes and lesson overruns, and inappropriate tone when the teacher raises his voice and shouts. In the Turkish case, the pupils constantly defy the teacher, so it is impossible to determine what constitutes actual rule-breaking, and what is criticised or protested.

2.1.3.3 Motivational strategies

As interviews with the seventh-grade case pupils in Germany bring to light, a crucial factor of general learning motivation in class is the relationship between the pupils and the teacher. Usually, the pupils prefer friendly and fair attitudes, but in the student interviews, firm demeanour on the part of the teacher are mentioned to have a motivational quality in terms of studiousness and participation. Conspicuously, despite sometimes explicit preferences and dislikes of certain topics of the German lesson in particular or as a whole, none of the interviewed pupils conditions motivation or active participation in German class on their individual enthusiasm for the subject, indicating that they are already beyond the point where they expected school to be entirely interesting, and also indicating that the school does not convey being interesting as a major concern. Although most of the seventh-grade case pupils in Germany also claim that motivation is important in order to be good at school and to get good marks, they never entirely separate this broader goal from their individual relationship with the respective teacher. Table IV.2.3 below provides an overview of the motivational strategies employed both in German and in Turkish classes.

Tab. IV.2.3. 7th grade: Motivational strategies, Germany and Turkey.

	Germany	Turkey
Engaging interest	Treated topics are based on curriculum; diversification of topic introduction (different approaches), but not meaningful content-wise; topic	Treated topics are strictly followed from the workbook; no strategies to diversify approaches or topics

	development always follows the same structure	
Encouraging participation	Pupils are encouraged and sometimes forced to actively participate (low performance expectations, called up without raising a hand)	Teacher employs discouraging strategies: not responding to the pupils, not trying to include them in discourses, favouring a small group (does not even know the names of all the other pupils)
Incentives	Almost never mentioning of marks and performances	Marks are used as a threat or an incentive

In both seventh grades, as far as we witness, topics are never introduced by referring to their potential relevance; the implicit relevance of topics simply emerges from the fact that they are treated in the lesson, and remains undisputed by the pupils. Unsurprisingly, the treatment of specific topics in both the German and the Turkish lessons is generally based on the respective curriculum and usually not developed by additional materials. In the German lesson, the teacher might use other texts than those in the textbook, but does not employ pictures, films, recordings, or other visual complements that would have an explicit "motivational" quality. On the other hand, the Turkish teacher sticks to the textbook/ workbook procedure without exception. Occasionally, the German teacher varies his strategy of topic introduction, but that does not have any positive effects on pupils' motivation or on the topic development.

As was repeatedly implied above, the German teacher does not question his pupils' general willingness to cooperate; on the contrary, he completely relies on this cooperation by designing each communal lesson portion as potentially including every single pupil. The demand of active participation means that each contribution has to be approved by the teacher , yet pupils' contributions are not likely to be rejected or even criticised, except for obvious mistakes like grammatical or factual errors. So, complying with this standing rule is strongly encouraged by keeping the risk of exposure very low, and additionally by calling on pupils who do not raise a hand, which mostly leads to uncomfortable zero-contributions and rebukes, and thus is a negatively connoted motivation to participate. The situation in the Turkish seventh grade is entirely different, where the teacher in fact actively discourages the majority of the pupils by repeatedly ignoring their efforts to be included in discourses. The teacher does not take any action to include all pupils in communal lesson parts either. Instead, he often works with hard-working and well-behaved female students. Most probably, his strategy of discouragement, although initially appearing to be nothing but counterproductive when considering the disciplinary issues it causes, is – for the teacher – a plausible solution for the problem of lesson conduction and discourse orchestration. As the German case shows, each inclusion of a pupil into the communal discourse, be it voluntary or not, has the potential to keep the respective pupil from being distracted and disturbing the lesson at least momentarily. In the Turkish case, with the objective of working through the textbook expeditiously, the re-occurring exclusion of many pupils who tend to create problems from discourses might at least appear to be the most feasible strategy to prevent delays.

Another difference in terms of motivational strategies is the emphasis on "getting good grades" in the Turkish seventh grade, as opposed to the avoidance of such a notion in the

German reference class. Since an "objective" and valid motivational factor such as getting marks or reports is not employed in the German lessons, motivational strategies in the German classroom are based on the need to please the teacher and to avoid rebukes, which is more important than being successful in school. So, pupils' engagement with the German lesson is therefore more dependent on the teacher-pupils relationship and the pupils' willingness to cooperate. This basically coincides with the pupils' own assessments of their motivations to subject themselves to the German lesson. In Turkey, grades and moving up in school grades are supposed to be strong motivators that the teacher can technically employ regardless of personal issues, but they mostly fail to have more than a momentary disciplining effect. One has to bear in mind here that, with several pupils being repeatedly excluded from active participation, getting good grades is mainly bound to pupils' social behaviour instead of their actual performance.

2.1.3.4 Discourse strategies: text work

The main difference between the discourse strategies in Turkish and German classrooms is the use of textbook/ workbook. Since the Turkish teacher strictly follows the textbook suggested by the Ministry of National Education, the classroom discourse is organized according to the order of themes prescribed in the textbook. This approach generally leads to a much tighter and more target-aimed discursive procedure in the Turkish lesson. Therefore, the discourse is initially shaped along the lines of a clear "right/ wrong" answers to the specific questions on the given text. On the other hand, the broader approach in the German lessons, where pupils' contributions are rather accepted than refused, aims at general comprehension, Thus, the classroom discourse is mostly includes a collection of only loosely connected utterances rather than a questioning-and-answering procedure. Table IV.2.4 displays the typical characteristics of discourse strategies in the context of text work in the German and the Turkish lessons.

Tab. IV.2.4. 7th grade: Discourse strategies in the context of text work, Germany and Turkey.

	Germany	**Turkey**
	Procedure: text is read aloud and then processed by means of guiding questions	
Basic discourse conditions	Development of a topic is conducted by communal work (majority of lesson time), lectures are rare, elaborative parts with the teacher explaining topics are seldom	Development of a topic is conducted by communal work, but often interrupted or terminated by correctional action, or by proceeding to the next workbook exercise without a clear answer to the problem
Moderation	Teacher orchestrates the discourse, seldom makes connections between or comments on different contributions	Teacher orchestrates the discourse, seldom makes connections between or comments on different contributions, does not respond to pupils' questions and utterances adequately
	Lesson discourse is a dialogue between the teacher and the given contributing pupil, pupils rarely refer to each other	
Discourse structure	Discourse is mostly a collection of only loosely connected utterances, progressive discourse structure is created by the teacher's interferences, not by pupils' contributions; teacher's	Discourse is mostly a collection of concluded utterances, lacks progressive structure; the teacher's guiding questions are rather complex (based on workbook); pupils'

	guiding questions are often vague; pupils' utterances rarely consist of more than one sentence, only very few times they are urged to elaborate their contributions by themselves	utterances often consist of more than one sentence, they often endeavour to express themselves explicitly
Discourse results	Teacher is willing to accept the pupils' solutions for a given problem; discourse results are noted down on blackboard, but not finally summarised	Teacher is rather not willing to accept the pupils' solutions for a given problem; discourse results are not secured at all

One has to keep in mind here that with the Turkish approach to text work, the pupils not only always have the respective text in front of them, but they have also the workbook with the guiding questions on hand so teacher and pupils are literally "on the same page". In contrast, the German teacher usually orders the pupils to close the book (or to put away the text sheet) after the text has been read out loud. So, at least the first portion of text work is actually not carried out by means of the original text at hand, and also without any other textual orientation, except, occasionally, the dictionary.

An important general characteristics of communal discourses in the Turkish lesson is that they are often interrupted by disciplinary issues, and also by pupils' queries regarding a given task and broader text comprehension. In the German case, disciplinary action is rather intertwined with the discourse and rarely causes longer disruptions; usually, inattentive or disturbing pupils are called on involuntarily to answer a discourse-related question so that the implicit rebuke is integrated into the communal discussion and not detached from it, and thus does not cause a digression. Furthermore, questions as to what a discourse assignment is about are never witnessed during LAS observation, not only due to the broad acceptance of contributions that almost never indicates that an utterance is entirely off the track, but also because of the incremental discourse structure that seldom includes inadequately difficult questions (which, however, does not mean that the pupils would be commonly able to answer such questions). Interestingly, in the German as well in the Turkish case, if the pupils' utterances produced during the discourse indicate that they do not understand an original question, both teachers systematically refrain from reformulating or elaborating the assignment, but rather go on collecting contributions until someone gets it right. However, in Turkey, if the teacher is unsatisfied with the pupils' solutions, he frequently gives the correct answer himself and goes on to the next exercise, while the German teacher normally is more subtle and rather adds en passant crucial aspects that the pupils do not name, and puts the given solution forward for discussion again, probably in order to ascertain a learning effect for the whole group. Based on the intermediary result of the discourse, the German teacher might subsequently specify the discourse topic, or offer another point of discussion. In general, compared to the Turkish teacher, the German teacher tries harder to structure discourses incrementally (from general to specific questions partitioning the discourse), decreasing complexity and attempting to ascertain that the pupils are able to follow the discussion. On the other hand, the Turkish teacher does not apply such supportive strategies at all, sticking to the unaltered initial task question, not deducing solutions systematically, and thus always taking a higher risk that not all pupils understand the discourse's outcome, a risk that the German teacher rather tries to minimise.

The accepting behaviour of the pupils in the German seventh grade (broad attention and active participation, absence of queries and inquiries) regarding the discourse structuring does not prove that they indeed are all able to intellectually follow the solution process, but it is clear that they widely go along with the teacher's efforts, indicating that his strategy of developing topics gives them a sense of certainty as to what they are expected to learn. Of course, the Turkish case rather implies the opposite effect, with the pupils' behaviour giving rise to the suspicion that they are often already over-challenged at the beginning of discursive lesson portions on text work, and to a large degree not able to extract applicable information from these discourses.

Both teachers have an authoritative discourse moderation style, which in both cases means that the lesson discourse is a dialogue between the teacher and the given contributing pupil, and that the pupils' utterances are rarely built up on one another in both seventh grades, but the pupils are trained to solely rely on the teacher's reactions and replies. Interestingly, in the German case, the general acceptance of contributions often causes the pupils to paraphrase or repeat each other's utterances until someone comes up with a different idea, while in the Turkish case, the stoic repetition of the original question rather causes the pupils to repeat their own utterance until someone (usually the teacher himself) finds a plausible solution for the given problem. In both cases, the form of discourse moderation seems to cause some uncertainties as to the momentary expectations since the pupils are seldom demanded to explain and to evaluate their own ideas and thus are hardly invited to realise their potential errors in reasoning. Moreover, in the German case, the intentional broad inclusion of pupils into the discourse and the often unspecific assignment formulations regularly result in short and often fragmentary utterances on the part of the pupils. The pupils are never asked to elaborate their thoughts, instead they are additionally trained to rely on the progressive communal co-production of discourse results in a way that prevents them from coming up with exhaustive and systematically structured solutions by themselves. In the Turkish seventh grade, the pupils' contributions to the communal discourse are usually more elaborate and expressive because they are not emerging from a complementary discursive progression, but are rather isolated statements. Therefore, while the pupils in the German class profit from the communal discourses, but do rather not learn to produce solutions on their own, the pupils in the Turkish class are compelled to produce autonomous solutions, but do not profit sustainably from the communal discourses.

2.1.4 Learning strategies

Learning strategies of the case pupils in the German and Turkish seventh grades are differentiated in terms of their active participation in the lessons. Many of the seventh-grade case pupils in Turkey are not involved in the communal teaching/ studying activities, but just seem to pass time in the Turkish lessons. In comparison, in the German case, active participation and attention ratios of the pupils are on average significantly higher than in the Turkish case due to the reasons discussed in the previous sections. However, the pupils in both classes employ strategies to appear attentive when they are not, and are submerging and emerging from the surface structure of the lesson according to their own assessment of what is expected of them. Thus, no pupil is attentive and focused all the time, but in the

German case, most of them are careful not to disconnect from the discourse for too long, whereas in Turkish class, attempts to follow the lesson or to actively participate are so often discouraged that lasting disconnection from the lesson discourse is rather common. For example, the predefined templates the Turkish teacher employs in order to systematically, albeit mechanically, provide answer to various problems of grammar and text work are utilised beneficially by some pupils, whereas others seem to be fundamentally over-challenged with the idea behind the templates, and yet others appear to object them in principle. Since the teacher does not explain this tool sufficiently, only some pupils can successfully use the templates. Looking at the seventh grade in Germany, it is the very lack of such tools and systematic approaches that seems to have a negative effect on the pupils' overall performance particularly when it comes to individual writing.

"Free" writing or reading assignments (i.e., not in the form of a dictation, a copying exercise, or a communal reading exercise) only occur two times in the LAS-witnessed Turkish lessons, as opposed to the German case, where in almost each textwork-related lesson, there are longer or shorter individual reading or writing assignments that mostly are prepared in the lesson discourse. Theoretically, one could assume that the text work-related discourse strategies in the Turkish seventh grade as described above have greater enabling potential when it comes to individual writing assignments because of the objective to find profound solutions for given text-analytical problems independently, whereas in the German seventh-grade, the pupils could be expected to have greater difficulties in producing entirely on their own what they are trained to co-produce during discourses. At least the latter assumption holds true, with the text products of many case pupils in the German class showing that they are not really able to manufacture coherent, plausibly structured text analyses in writing by themselves; however, most of the case pupils handle such tasks confidently and knowingly nonetheless. As for the Turkish case, of course one has to consider here that the teacher does not make an effort to include all pupils equally in the first place, always the same pupils are called up to contribute to the discourse, and a considerable number of the students is frequently distracted and inattentive. More importantly, the predefined templates provided by the teacher are not utilised beneficially. So, most pupils in the Turkish class are not successful in individual writing assignments. They usually fail to understand the instructions of the writing assignments, so they either come up with wrong solutions or copy from each other. In general, the case pupils in Turkey seem to be over-challenged with free individual writing tasks, so most of them do not employ effective study skills. In this context, another significant difference between the German and the Turkish approach is that in the German case, discourse results are usually simultaneously noted down on the blackboard, establishing an immediate connection between the oral discourse process and its transformation into written language, a feature that is entirely missing in the Turkish case where the connection between talking and writing is thus mostly not made, particularly when we consider that communal text work almost never results in individual writing assignments. Although in both seventh grades, discourse conclusions are not thoroughly secured, it is plausible that in the German case, there is a greater general coherence between the oral discourses and the resulting writing assignments, also with regards to homework and class tests.

When we consider the case pupils' parents' academic achievements and attitudes towards school, it is not surprising that the parents of the case pupils in the Turkish seventh grade in total do not make any differentiated statement on their children's studying behaviours. Basic facilities of studying at home are generally limited, with the pupils usually neither having a secluded studying place nor parental support or supervision. Regardless of the parents' financial and intellectual means, it is obvious that they are not aware of the fact that the school system in general is actually designed to draw on resources provided in the pupils' homes. On the other hand, in the German context, the case pupils' parents either support or at least supervise their children's studying to a rather considerable degree, or, in a few cases, explicitly delegate all responsibility for their children's school success to the school or the child himself, actively refusing the idea of being responsible themselves.

2.1.5 Summary and conclusions

The comparison between the basic lesson-shaping features in the Turkish and the German seventh grades is based on the family backgrounds, the composition of the pupils' body, and the attitudes towards education, multilingualism, and literacy. In terms of these features, the absolute preconditions of lesson-making in Turkey create greater obstacles to successful literacy acquisition than they do in Germany. The seventh-graders in Turkey have generally fewer resources they can draw on. The school in the Turkish context is an uncertain and foreign place for under-educated families. With the strong emphasis on the patriotic issue, there is no room for their multilingual and multicultural backgrounds. which puts them at even greater disadvantage as compared to their classmates.The multilingual seventh-graders in Germany more or less share the same circumstances. By national standards, they do not belong to an advantageous social stratum, either, and many of them are not equipped with the kind of home support that would enable them to come a long way in the educational system. But in the German context, one can say that the comprehensive school gives them at least an opportunity that they would not have had in the classic three-tier system where almost all of them would have been delegated to the *Hauptschule* and thus very unlikely to achieve advanced academic degrees. The circumstance that the pupils are not automatically excluded from postsecondary education might be the main reason why at least theoretically, homogenising strategies in the case school and in the German lesson also aim at advanced literacy, whereas the unchallenged poor academic skills of the pupils in the Turkish case school result in a systematic negligence of advanced literacy skills that the pupils are probably assumed not to need anyway.

Scrutinising the enabling and restricting potentials of the discussed teaching strategies, one can certainly conclude that the preconditions of school-making in general as well as the basic approaches to lesson-making on the part of the seventh-grade teachers provide for a rather beneficial lesson conduction in the German case, and for a rather counterproductive lesson conduction in the Turkish case as far as literacy acquisition is concerned. However, both cases are equally plausible in the context of the interpretation of the educational mandate communicated by the respective organisation. The enabling and restricting features of teaching strategies are summarised in Table IV.2.5. When we compare those

factors, we see that the problem of literacy acquisition is quite differently approached in the two countries.

Tab. IV.2.5. 7th grade: Enabling and restricting potentials of teaching strategies, Germany and Turkey.

		Germany	Turkey
TIME MANAGEMENT	*Enabling*	Disciplined cooperation and beneficial use of lesson time	
	Restricting	Frequent lesson overruns cause fatigue, unwillingness; no securing of lesson results by means of lesson closure	Disciplinary problems and waste of topical lesson time; no securing of lesson results by means of lesson closure
RULES & ROLES	*Enabling*	Certainty of social expectations and demands, securing of discipline	
	Restricting	Possibility of physical violence, dysfunctional abuse of power	Uncertainty of social expectations and demands; possibility of physical violence, dysfunctional abuse of power
MOTIVATIONAL STRATEGIES	*Enabling*	Low demands, constant observedness, enforcement of participation	Emphasis on institutional success, contextualisation of lesson within organisation
	Restricting	Insignificance of institutional success, low pressure to perform	Lack of supervision, systematic exclusion of participants, discouraging participants
DISCOURSE STRATEGIES	*Enabling*	Incremental discourse structure, simplification of complex problems; low inhibition threshold to participate, broad sense of achievement; reproducing discourse on black board ensures sustainability	Demand to elaborate, exercising expressing thoughts autonomously
	Restricting	No demand to elaborate, no output-driven contributions, no thorough securing of discourse results	No discourse-supportive strategies, no systematic approach to problems; uncertainty of expectations, lack of comprehensibility; no thorough securing of discourse results

The learning strategies of the Turkish seventh gradersare not developed to a degree that would sufficiently enable them to reproduce and practise lesson contents, neither in school nor at home. In the German case, adequate facilities and attitudes point at a greater appreciation of the necessity of studying in general, in school as well as at home. In the German context, a main limitation might rather arise from the fact that, particularly when it comes to text work, the pupils are not sufficiently provided with tools to approach lesson contents systematically.

Overall, it can be concluded that the potentials of literacy acquisition, which in the seventh grade includes advanced textual competences beyond orthography and grammar, seem to be strongly dependent on the respective school's attitudes towards the pupils. Whereas the

teachers' specific didactic and pedagogic techniques might not be generalisable, they still do occur within an organisational structure that is shaped by its well-rehearsed dealings with pupils from a relatively underprivileged educational and social stratum as compared to national standards. Note that both schools have a comparably bad reputation in their neighbourhoods, which, obviously, means something entirely different in the Turkish than in the German case, and one should certainly not underestimate the fact that the Turkish case school is severely under-equipped in every respect from staff to space to materials, while the only thing they have plenty of are pupils. By comparison, the German case school is extremely well-equipped staff-, space- and material-wise, but in constant competition for pupils with neighbouring schools, and in this context, as the Turkish school, mostly attracting a clientele with poor institutionally ascribed prospects. In both schools, this also means that a considerable part of the pupils' body consists of pupils with respectively Turkish or German as a second language and therefore with an ethnic minority background. But only in the Turkish case, a marginalised clientele seems to go hand in hand with a broadly neglected and marginalised school, and the Turkish seventh-grade teacher might be considered an example for a teacher who has entirely accepted that he is dealing with pupils who neither have the means nor a need for an advanced literate education. The German seventh-grade teacher, on the other hand, actually appears to be broadly oblivious to such potential structural limitations of his clientele at least as far as his lesson-making is concerned. Tentatively appraised, one might be prone to trace this back to different culturally established notions of literacy in a highly literate society like Germany in contrast to a Turkish culture where advanced literacy might still be thought to be reserved for an intellectual elite.

2.2 Findings of comparative linguistic lesson analyses, Germany – Turkey

The aim of this chapter is to make a comparison of seventh graders' lesson analyses in Germany and in Turkey from a linguistic perspective.

2.2.1 Lesson content

Germany
In the seventh grade in Germany, there are two main topics: grammar and text work. Although these two broad topics are carried out individually, different aspects of grammar are also incorporated into text-related activities.

Turkey
The lesson content is strictly dependent on the textbook and the workbook prepared by the Ministry of Education. Grammar and text-related activities are the two main topics in the seventh-grade Turkish classroom. Text-related activities do not contain any grammar tasks and vice versa.

Comparison
Since teaching of grammar is incorporated into text work to some extent in the German seventh grade, we can say that main lesson topics are not treated as mutually exclusive tasks. By contrast, in the Turkish seventh grade, there is no relation established between

grammar and text work. Grammar activities are not supported with contextualisation that could be provided through the use of different text types. Rather, the grammatical analysis of words is carried out as an isolated task.

2.2.1.1 Text work

Germany

The text work focuses on two main activities: production and comprehension. The production of texts is mainly practised through the writing of reports, argumentative essays, picture descriptions, dialogues, and abstracts, while text comprehension activities, i.e. reading and discussing of various sorts of texts, are often carried out prior to individual writing assignments and afterwards to secure results. Each topical unit is accompanied by several individual writing assignments, albeit not in every lesson. There is a general pattern of text-related activities in class. First, the text is read aloud. Second, there is a section on text comprehension and clarifying unknown vocabulary, which is either conducted as a question and answer unit or as a collecting-contributions unit. Text production lessons are also carried out by means of collecting contributions where the pupils first discuss a specific text type and then write a text of that type towards the end of the lesson. While an exemplary text production of a pupil is discussed in the communal lesson discourse, a discussion on grammatical aspects is also frequently integrated in the task. However, formal aspects of the specific text type are often neglected or not discussed sufficiently so that the according text products of the pupils tend to reflect a lack of systematic approaches to a given task.

Turkey

The teacher follows the text-related tasks in the workbook one by one. The pupils are supposed to come to class with having filled in the exercises in the workbook. A general pattern to be followed in text production and comprehension activities is provided in the Turkish workbook. Work on texts starts with reading the text in the Turkish textbook aloud several times by different pupils. While one pupil is reading the text aloud, the other pupils are supposed to silently do the listening exercise in the workbook. In the listening exercise, the pupils are meant to evaluate the performance of the one who is reading aloud. The workbook provides the criteria for such an evaluation, e.g. intonation and clarity. Then, the pupils start to get the floor one by one and answer the comprehension questions and tasks on unknown vocabulary in the workbook. Comprehension activities are conducted as a question-answer unit or as a collecting-contributions unit. Although there is a grammar part in each section, the grammar tasks are unrelated to other text-related activities. At the end, the pupils are asked to write a text of the same type as the text in the textbook. The teacher sometimes dictates the definition of a text type such as "deneme" (*essay*) and "makale" (*article*), however, the details of the definitions, such as the structural qualities of the text types, are not discussed in the class. When the pupils' writings are read aloud in the class, the teacher is content with only saying, "it is okay, it is nice" for every product regardless of their quality. In the analysis of the pupils' notebooks, we see that there are some types of texts that they write themselves, like fables, essays, and personal stories. Some case pupils leave their writings incomplete. The most hardworking ones are usually called up to read

their writing aloud in the class. When the teacher gives hints on producing a successful essay, he only lists the qualities related to the surface structure of the "composition" such as orthographic rules and page structure. Furthermore, he states that proverbs would bring extra points without explaining how the pupils could insert proverbs into the text. Although the materials provided by the Ministry of Education offer a systemic way for both text comprehension and production activities, the teacher does not spend much time to discuss the activities in detail. He usually reads a series of open-ended questions one after the other, each of which would invite long, elaborated discussions, which obviously makes it impossible for the pupils to react exhaustively. The teacher does not provide sufficient feedback on the pupils' answers/ performances either. On one occasion, their questions about how to write an essay are dismissed, which leads them to copy from somewhere else.

Comparison

Production and comprehension activities are two basic types of text-related activities in both the German and the Turkish case. The general patterns to approach texts are similar, i.e. comprehension activities are followed by production tasks. While text comprehension exercises are based on comprehension and vocabulary sessions, text production activities include the pupils writing a text from a particular genre. However, it seems that the sole definition of text genres is more important in the Turkish case as the teacher dictates such definitions, but never makes the pupils produce written texts of these types. In the German case, there are frequent discussions on a specific text type before the pupils start to write a text. The teacher provides some of the original texts himself, and he also displays pupils' texts in the form of a transparency or copies to be discussed. As opposed to this, in the Turkish seventh grade, the teacher strictly follows the textbook, the workbook, and the teacher's manual provided by the Ministry of Education. Since the exercises in the workbook are organised as a result of a general curriculum, it can be said that the pupils engage in all sorts of text-related activities in a systematic way. However, the lack of proper support or feedback on the part of the teacher restricts the development of the pupils' writing skills. Moreover, there is not enough focus on how a successful text could be written in the Turkish case compared to the German case. In the Turkish seventh grade, this even results in pupils not understanding a given assignment at all and copying the text from the textbook instead. All in all, the support for text production activities provided by the German teacher gives the pupils a general confidence to be able to solve such tasks, while the Turkish seventh-grade pupils might already founder on the assignment formulation.

2.2.1.2 Work on grammar/ orthography

Germany

Grammar units occur very frequently in the seventh-grade lessons. To some extent, they are connected with text-related tasks. Grammar exercises are solely accomplished as questioning and answering units. The focus in these lessons is mostly on identifying and labelling the constituents in exemplary sentences that are displayed on the blackboard, or to extend a given sentence on the blackboard by means of different adverbial adjuncts. Often, the pupils are called to the blackboard to underline words or mark constituents themselves. Usually, such exercises are declared repetitive units, and the pupils are not supposed to

copy from the blackboard Compared to the grammatical issues, the topics of orthography and punctuation rules are rarely addressed although the pupils have difficulties in these specific fields (especially the use of upper and lower case letters, and subordinate structures). The teacher allocates time for discussing particular orthographic rules only in the course of class tests reviews, using exemplary mistakes from the pupils' tests. The exhaustive treatment of partly advanced grammatical topics is thus somewhat at odds with the pupils' basic orthographic deficits, but the pupils' increased active participation in such exercises and their generally good knowledge of the addressed grammatical problems proves that this is a field where even not so good pupils can gain extra points, while the transfer of this knowledge to the self-produced text not seldom fails.

Turkey

Verbal inflection, word classes, and punctuation are the most frequent topics in the Turkish lessons. Grammar tasks are mostly carried out as a questioning and answering or a collecting-contributions section. The teacher's general pattern in teaching grammar is this: He first dictates definitions of grammatical categories such as adjective and adverb. Then he uses the blackboard to work on the examples. He writes the examples and explains them himself, but sometimes he also calls up a pupil and makes him/ her write the examples on the blackboard. The pupils copy from the blackboard into their notebooks exactly as it is. The task of identifying verbal inflection is given in isolation such as "uyuyorum" (sleep-IPFV-1S). One pupil labels the morphemes of the verb displayed on the blackboard. Then the teacher reads the tasks from the workbook such as "What is the negative question form of it". The pupils are expected to find the form in question. Most of the pupils give the wrong answer, but the teacher does not explain what is wrong, but simply says "right" or "wrong" and continues with the next task. Moreover, he gives the pupils templates or shortcuts for solving grammar tasks such as "attach the -mek/ -mak suffix to the word, if the word does not get the suffix then it is a noun". He repeats the same templates/ hints over and over again and expects the pupils to use the templates in order to solve the grammatical problems. Since in the national exams, the pupils are expected to solve the questions in limited time, the teacher uses the templates for grammar tasks frequently as he claims that they make the pupils find the answers faster. However, some of the pupils make wrong use of the templates.

Comparison

In both Germany and Turkey, the topics in grammar lessons include identifying inflections on verbs, word classes and correct punctuation. These three are the most frequent topics in the Turkish class. Compared to the Turkish class, there are also other frequently discussed topics such as active and passive voices, orthography, and types of pronouns and compounds in the German class. The main way of teaching grammar is questioning and answering. Different than the German teacher, the Turkish teacher does not incorporate grammar tasks into textual activities. Furthermore, in the Turkish seventh grade, the constituents to be analysed are mostly given in isolation. The Turkish teacher mainly uses the blackboard for grammar tasks and expects the pupils to remember the templates that he provides on certain grammatical problems. In that respect, we can say that the teaching of grammar topics in the Turkish seventh grade is more explicit than in the German case,

while at the same time, the German seventh-graders are always supposed to actively solve the problems themselves instead of the teacher giving the answers. This might explain why the German seventh-graders are more successful in such exercises than the Turkish ones.

2.2.1.3 Use of original texts

Germany

In the German lessons, the teacher and the pupils discuss different text types, some from world literature, some from trivial literature, and some exemplary schoolbook texts. Different texts from the same genre (e.g., ballads) are compared with one another in the lessons. The pupils are thus offered a broad variety of written language use not only in terms of genres, but also within genres, for example classic and modern drama or poems. While it is conspicuous that linguistic differences between such texts are hardly ever addressed, dealing with diverse texts and genres is the absolute normality in the German seventh grade. Accordingly, in the class exams, the pupils are expected to analyse texts that they do not know beforehand. Although the novel dealt with at the end of the school year represents a bad example of written language, it is still noteworthy that reading a book is part of the curriculum, and since the pupils are supposed to read the chapters to be discussed in the lesson at home, they are familiarised with a more general concept of reading that is not limited to short texts immediately dealt with in the German lesson.

Turkey

No texts are used except the ones in the Turkish textbook. There are some reading sessions where the pupils bring books from home or borrow one from the library in the class. In those sessions, the pupils sit on their desks and read their books silently. However, there are no discussions prior or after those reading sessions. Moreover, there is no continuity in those sessions. The text types that the pupils come across in the Turkish textbook are biography, poem, story, fable, personal narrative, historical narrative, explanatory essay about the history of spring fest, etc. The discussion on the generic features of the text is carried out by naming the genre without paying much attention to the generic features. It is hard to say whether the pupils benefit from such discussions as they have some difficulty in guessing the type of the text when asked. Furthermore, some of the texts in the book have been disconnectedly cited from their original sources. There are also translated texts from another language in the Turkish book. However, the translations are problematic because there are several sentences that do not make any sense. As a result, there appear unclear details in texts. Consequently, these cause incoherence and disconnection in text unity. Such deficiencies of texts in the book may result in the pupils having difficulties in comprehension. Hence, we observe that the pupils are not able to summarise the texts that they have just read when asked to do so.

Comparison

In the German case, the teacher makes an effort to provide the pupils with an extensive selection of various texts genres and types, while the Turkish teacher solely relies on the Turkish textbook and its partly suboptimal or even misguiding example texts. The approach in the Turkish curriculum is solely directed at content analysis where generic features of a

text do not get any consideration, whereas in the German case, the generic analysis gets more emphasis as the pupils analyse several texts from the same genre. In contrast to the German seventh-graders, the Turkish pupils are not offered text types that are not represented in the Turkish textbook, and they are thus not familiarised with reading extensive texts (i.e., longer texts than the ones in the textbook). Therefore, we can say that since Turkish seventh-graders engage only in the abridged versions of the texts in the textbook, their knowledge about text types is not supported in the Turkish lessons, and their reading habits are not challenged.

2.2.2 Lesson discourse

Germany

For the whole year, questioning/ answering and collecting contributions represent the clear majority of lesson discourses. In general, the number of questioning and answering sections is higher than that of collecting contributions because the former are the sole discourse design in grammar units, while in text work units, both designs occur. The teacher starts with a broad question in collecting contributions sections. A lot of pupils get the floor and contribute to the section, however, not all of these contributions are meaningful. The teacher reacts on the pupils' participation in an encouraging way, i.e. he does not comment on the respective contribution. Even when a contribution is bizarre or wrong, the teacher usually does not entirely reject it. When it comes to interpretative or analytical text work, it might be hard for the pupils to differentiate between good, acceptable, and wrong answers. As opposed to this, the wrong or deficient use of words and grammatical mistakes in spoken language are almost always immediately addressed in the lesson discourse.

Turkey

The teacher does whole-class teaching all the time. He does work with individual pupils on a one-on-one basis. The number of pupil-initiated question-answer/ clarification/ question/ correctional actions is higher than teacher-initiated ones. So, besides the teacher, the pupils technically also have a major role in producing the lesson discourse, but of course with the qualification that many of their initiations come to nothing. Although the teacher places special emphasis on the marks the pupils achieve for their performances, he mostly does not take correctional action towards pupils' responses when they give the wrong answer. Even when they give wrong answers, the teacher says "güzel" (*nice*). As a result, the wrong use of words is further being verified by the teacher through a lack of factual correction. The teacher himself admits that he regards "correctional actions" as "demotivating interference", and therefore tries to avoid such behaviours. When the pupils' answers are not satisfactory, the teacher sometimes dictates the definitions and examples related to the respective topic.

Comparison

Both in the German and the Turkish case, the teachers prefer whole-class teaching. There is no time allocated for one-on-one work with individual pupils. Questioning/ answering and collecting contributions represent the majority of lesson discourses in both cases. In text work, the German teacher usually gives some sort of introduction and starts the text-analytical part with a general question like "what do you remember from the text" before

going into specific aspects like protagonists or text structure. While the general questions often lead to quite arbitrary, irrelevant or redundant answers, this is usually the part where many pupils volunteer to contribute. The Turkish teacher, on the other hand, only uses the questions from the Turkish workbook. He does not make special introductions to a new topic, but just says which topic on which page they study. Therefore, the questions of the Turkish teacher are from the beginning quite specific, for example "ana düşünceyi bulurken ne yapıyoruz" (*what do we do to find the main idea in the text*). When we look at the oral answers of the pupils to the teachers' questions, they might be deemed far from being satisfactory. When the teachers are not satisfied with the answers given by the pupils, they both attempt to elicit the right answers by collecting more contributions from the class. Usually, the Turkish teacher finally gives the right answer by himself. Since both teachers have a tendency towards not correcting pupils' wrong answers content-wise, the pupils' capability to differentiate the right answers from the wrong ones is restricted. We see this tendency more in the Turkish case since the teacher always reacts on pupils' contributions by saying "it is okay, it is nice". However, when the pupils do not succeed in giving the right answer for certain topics in the Turkish seventh grade, the teacher dictates the definitions and examples again and again, which might have an enabling potential because correctional actions in written modality may be more effective than in oral modality. Of course, this also means that the pupils are basically not expected to arrive at solutions by themselves.

2.2.2.1 Instructions

Germany

For grammar tasks, the teacher's instructions/ questions are more specific and concise. Other than grammar tasks, the teacher uses implicit and general instructions to develop a topic. As for writing assignments, he uses various ways of explaining a task in order to be clearer. In other words, the German teacher tries to explain a task by using different strategies instead of repeating the same message. He sometimes also checks whether his instructions are understood by the pupils by making one of them repeat the instructions. This strategy is beneficent for the pupils.

Turkey

The Turkish teacher mostly refers to the Turkish textbook, workbook, and teachers' manual. This also influences his instructions that are specific and brief such as "Cumhuriyet Bayramı konulu planlı bir kompozisyon yazın" (*write a structured essay on the Republic Day*). The way he extends such an initial instruction is also short but not specific. For example, after giving the first instruction on writing a composition, he continues by saying: "En son başlık yazılır. Giriş, gelişme, sonuç bölümlerini planlıyoruz. Hayal dünyanızı geniş tutun" (*The title is written in the end. We make a plan for introduction, development and conclusion sections. Keep your imagination wide open*). This instruction is too general for the pupils to guess what they should do. Furthermore, although all the items in the instruction need further elaboration, the teacher leaves it without any explanation. Consequently, the pupils complain that they do not know how to write a composition, and ask for examples. Yet, the teacher does not provide examples. His tendency to give

explanations but not examples restricts the pupils' capability to comprehend. Lots of the Turkish teacher's instructions are about rules, roles, and rituals. Such instructions are brief and specific such as "konuşmuyoruz" (*we don't talk*). In general, all his instructions are brief. Some of them are specific when he repeats them from the workbook, but some are very general and vague. He uses lots of repetitions where he basically employs different wordings. Yet, the rephrasing of his general instructions does not help the pupils who would need further elaborations to accomplish a task.

Comparison

The main difference between the German and Turkish context is the predominance of the workbook in the Turkish context. Since the Turkish teacher mainly does the exercises in the workbook one by one, he relies on the specific and brief instructions in the workbook. For example, in a text comprehension task, the German teacher asks general questions such as what the pupils have grasped of a poem, whereas for text comprehension activities, the Turkish teacher uses the instructions from the workbook that are very specific, like finding themes, main ideas, and protagonists in a text (while such questions are also asked by the German teacher in the course of the incrementally designed discussion). With respect to writing assignments, the Turkish teacher's instructions are also brief but not specific. On those occasions, he uses instructions that are too general for the pupils to make sense of them. He does not elaborate his instructions even when the pupils ask him for further explanations. In contrast, while explaining a writing task, the German teacher brings variety to his instructions distributed during the lesson section to be clear. Although the Turkish teacher also intends to get the pupils closer to the answer he expects, he repeats the same question by paraphrasing it rather than trying to elaborate it. As a result, he ends up repeating the same message with various wordings, which does not help the pupils to find the targeted answer.

2.2.2.2 Language use

Germany

The German teacher's language can be evaluated as carrying the potential of inviting every pupil to contribute to the lesson. He tends not to use negative language that could hinder pupils to contribute in the lessons. For him, it is more important that someone says something at all than what someone says.

Turkey

The teacher prefers to carry out a lesson with only the most eager pupils contributing. Usually, those pupils are the most studious ones. The teacher does not try to bring the other pupils into the class discussions. He uses mostly a negative language, focusing on what the pupils are not able to do. This approach of emphasizing their shortcomings may create a feeling of inadequacy, hence preventing them even from giving it a try. However, the pupils react on his negative comments immediately by asserting that they are capable enough to do the task. The pupils' language use reflects the teacher's negative language.

Comparison

The Turkish teacher tends to use negative language emphasising the inadequacies of the pupils. For some pupils, his negative language creates resistance and pushes them to assert that they are capable of doing the task. Yet, his negative language hinders others to contribute to the lesson at all. In comparison, the German teacher does not emphasise pupils' shortcomings and tends to invite many pupils to say something in class.

2.2.2.2.1 The teacher's reactions on pupils' language

Germany

The teacher usually corrects pupils when they make a grammatical or lexical errors and when they use colloquial language. He has different strategies for correctional actions such as asking for other contributions or repeating the utterance in the correct version. He puts stress on the pupils using complete sentences when answering a question. He rarely uses colloquial language. Furthermore, he mentions different registers in different contexts.

Turkey

We did not observe any instances where the Turkish teacher corrected the pupils' language errors. He prefers to say simply "yes, okay, good" when the pupils make linguistic mistakes. For example, one of the common mistakes of the Turkish pupils is using wrong words in a given semantic context. When they make up meaningless sentences due to using wrong words, the teacher does not correct them, claiming he does not want to demotivate the pupils by interfering with them, therefore he does not want to correct their mistakes. He regards correctional actions as "demotivating interference". When pupils give wrong answers to grammar questions or to text comprehension tasks, the teacher rejects the wrong answer and asks for other contributions. However, there are also cases when he does not correct wrong answers to grammar questions or to text comprehension tasks. As a result, there are many errors in the pupils' notebooks and workbooks. Most of the time, the pupils say that they do not understand the task, and require further elaboration. On such occasions, we observed a number of cases where the teacher tells them to "ask your friend" or to "just write", or accuses them of not having listened.

Comparison

Whereas the German teacher wants the pupils to use full sentences while giving their answers, the Turkish teacher does not particularly warn pupils when they use one-worded answers. The Turkish pupils usually give short answers in the form of phrases since especially grammar questions require one-word answers. The German teacher also warns the pupils when they use colloquial language. As opposed to this, the Turkish teacher himself uses colloquial and vulgar language while interacting with the pupils. Whereas different registers are mentioned in the German context, the Turkish teacher does not pay specific attention to register use. In the German context, the teacher tries to correct grammatical and lexical errors. In contrast, the Turkish teacher regards correcting interferences as demotivating. Only when pupils give wrong answers to grammar questions, the Turkish teacher corrects them. However, we also observe some instances where he either does not correct the wrong answer or gives wrong information to the class.

2.2.2.2.2 Rebukes

Germany

The teacher rebukes pupils implicitly by calling out their name during the lesson. Although he generally does not explain what is wrong with the respective pupil's behaviour, the pupils know what they are rebuked for. The teacher also rebukes pupils explicitly, like ordering them to stop talking.

Turkey

The Turkish teacher often yells at the pupils when he gets nervous. His style is tense, and this is reflected in his language. He usually gets furious when pupils talk without permission or joke around. On such occasions, he does not hesitate to insult the pupils when rebuking them. Moreover, he seems to think that the pupils deserve this kind of interaction. For example, he yells at EGE$^{\male\text{BIL}}$ by saying, "you are stupid, you just want to hear an insult". The teacher uses vulgar language from time to time such as "bi güzel benzettim!" (*I beat the shit out of someone*).

Comparison

In contrast to the Turkish teacher, the German teacher prefers implicit rebukes over explicitly shouting at the pupils in class. The Turkish teacher gets nervous upon any instance that would result in him losing control over the class. He does not hesitate to insult pupils from time to time.

2.2.3 Concluding summary

The main differences between the German and the Turkish contexts arise from two factors. These are, firstly, the presence of a general curriculum and, secondly, the presence of a textbook, a workbook, and a teachers' manual in the Turkish context. Since the Ministry of Education in Turkey determines what to teach and even how to instruct in classes, the Turkish teacher is brief and specific in his instructions as he follows textbook, workbook, and teachers' manual prepared by the Ministry. Moreover, the Turkish teacher is clear about what he expects. His overall aim is in accordance with the general approach of the Turkish education system, i.e. to prepare the pupils for the national exams. As a result, the support of the development in using literate structures seems to be neglected as the target is to prepare the pupils for multiple-choice exams. In contrast, there is not a strict agenda set by a central authority in the German context. The German teacher carries out his own agenda, which is focusing mostly on grammar activities and studying exemplary texts from the literature. Furthermore, while the Turkish teacher uses only the materials prepared by a central authority, the German teacher uses class materials that he himself chooses and prepares. Since the Turkish teacher uses the questions and the instructions from the textbook one by one, his approach can be evaluated as being less elusive than the German teacher's approach, but also less flexible and, most of all, not adapted to the pupils' actual needs. Not least, clinging to a textbook that is so obviously deficient can certainly be deemed a restricting feature of the Turkish lessons.

Outlook

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The work of the LAS-project developed in six stages, i.e., i) the formulation of the research question, ii) the development of the methodology, iii) the data collection, iv) the analysis of the data, v) the compilation of the results of the analysis, and vi) the development of the answers to the research questions. The present report documents the first and the second stage, it also lays out in detail the results of the analysis, and it begins to answer the research question, which is of a comparative nature.

The comparative lesson analyses (Part IV) that draw their conclusions from the empirical findings of the Turkish and the German lesson analyses (II.3 and III.3) are a first step into the direction of an answer to the question of "how school is done" in the context of migration and multilingualism in the different national, educational, sociological, cultural, and linguistic environments of two countries, Turkey and Germany.

The school protagonists – school organisation, teachers, pupils – who are active in the context of the lesson are described in detail with comparative sociological and linguistic viewpoints in the school ethnographies (II.1 and III.1) and in the case pupil profiles resp. their summaries in II.2 and III.2), and in the comparisons between the mono- and the bilingual pupils in chp. II.4 and III.4).

As we see it, the project makes a number of important contributions to the discussion concerning the interaction of sociological and linguistic factors in the acquisition of literacy in school in the context of migration and multilingualism.

One such contribution is to disclose the protagonists' attitudes towards the school's educational mandate, multilingualism and literacy, and to identify the role these attitudes play in everyday school live. Another is the analysis of how literacy is negotiated openly and covertly in the lesson. A third contribution is the description of how monolingual and bilingual pupils (our "case pupils") are positioned within these attitudes and negotiations. And a fourth contribution is the description of how the monolingual and bilingual pupils themselves react on these attitudes and negotiations – in school, with their individual biographies, *and* equipped with their individual literate competences as tested outside of the immediate school environment.

Through this close introspection into the individual interactions, negotiations, actions and attitudes of the school protagonists, which characterises the approach of the LAS team and which is documented in this report, we hope to arrive at a better understanding of how the reciprocal enabling and restricting potentials of social and linguistic structures convene in the process of the acquisition of literacy in school.

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Appendix

Appendix A1: Sociology

Observationnaires: Categories/ items of observation, criteria

CATEGORY: DISCIPLINE/ CONCENTRATION	
Items of observation	**Criteria**
Ordentliche, saubere Erscheinung *Orderly, clean appearance*	Clothes clean and in order, hair combed, CP is washed
Arbeitsmaterial in Ordnung *Working material in order*	Adequately equipped with writing things, notebooks, textbooks etc.
Kommt pünktlich *Is punctual*	Is in the classroom when bell rings
Hat Hausaufgaben erledigt *Has done homework*	Only appreciable as far as it is checked by the teacher
Hört aufmerksam zu *Listens carefully*	Looks to contributors while they are talking during discourses; is not visibly occupied with something else
Konzentriert sich auf Aufgaben *Concentrates on tasks*	Reacts on instructions immediately, fulfils tasks knowingly and without delay
Sitzhaltung ist diszipliniert/ konzentriert *Sitting position is disciplined/ concentrated*	Does not slouch, fidget, etc.
Ist leicht abgelenkt *Is easily distracted*	Reacts frequently on contacting by other pupils or on disturbances; does not recover quickly from distraction
Lenkt andere ab *Distracts others*	Frequently seeks inappropriate interaction with other pupils
Zeigt großen Lerneifer *Shows great diligence/ eagerness*	Looks alert, reacts adequately on contributions, participates actively, tries to please teacher, seems interested and engaged (is not visibly bored)
Gehorcht dem Lehrer *Obeys the teacher*	Remedies misbehaviour after rebuke, does what teacher says
CATEGORY: PARTICIPATION	
Items of observation	**Criteria**
Zeigt häufig auf *Raises hand often*	Raises hand to contribute frequently throughout the lesson
Meldet sich für spezielle Aufgaben *Volunteers for special assignments*	Raises hand to volunteer for extra tasks or special chores
Stellt Fragen *Asks questions*	Asks topic-related questions when not understanding something
Bittet um Hilfe *Asks for help*	Asks for teacher's support/ indicates need of support when struggling with a task during discourses
Wird von Mitschülern um Hilfe gebeten *Is asked for help by classmates*	Is asked for support by classmates struggling with a task
Nimmt an Diskussionen teil *Participates in discussions*	Plays a part in topical discussions among pupils, participates in non-topical discussions on other issues (i.e., organizational measures, etc.)
Ermutigt andere zum Mitmachen *Encourages others to participate*	Reacts on classmates' contributions positively, urges others to contribute
CATEGORY: PERCEPTION BY TEACHER	

Items of observation	Criteria
Wird angesprochen/ aufgerufen *Is addressed/ called on*	Actively included by teacher in discourse, with or without raising a hand
Wird gelobt *Is praised*	Is praised for contribution or behaviour
Verhalten wird korrigiert *Behaviour is corrected*	Is rebuked by teacher for misbehaviour
Arbeit/ Beiträge werden korrigiert *Work/ contributions are corrected*	Is factually corrected for mistakes
Wird bestraft *Is punished*	Gets extra exercises, is sent out of room, etc.
Wird bevorzugt *Is favoured*	Only when conspicuous: is overly praised, called on disproportionately, not rebuked for apparent misbehaviour, etc.
Wird benachteiligt *Is put at disadvantage*	Only when conspicuous: is disproportionately criticised or punished

CATEGORY: READIND/ TEXT COMPREHENSION

Items of observation	Criteria
Meldet sich für Leseaufgaben *Volunteers for reading out loud*	Raises hand when reading task is announced
Liest erst leise für sich, dann laut *First reads silently, then aloud*	Mouthes words quietly first, hesitates before speaking words
Liest flüssig/ stockend *Reads fluently/ clipped*	(delete as appropriate)
Angemessene Textgestaltung durch Intonation *Adequate intonation*	Intonation while reading indicates proper text comprehension
Legt Zeigefinger unter Lesezeile *Puts finger under reading line*	
Hat Schwierigkeiten mit unbekannten Wörtern *Has difficulties to read unknown words*	Stagnates, misreads only concerning difficult/ foreign words
Wird vom Lehrer unterstützt *Gets teacher's support*	Teacher intervenes, corrects reading, helps along
Während andere laut lesen: Liest mit, konzentriert sich auf Text, hört zu *Reads along, is concentrated while others read out loud*	Looks at text, turns pages appropriately
Während andere laut lesen: Ist unaufmerksam, abgelenkt *Is distracted, not focused while others read out loud*	Does not look at text or to reader, is occupied with something else
Textverständnis: Kann gelesene Texte zusammenfassen *Text comprehension: can summarise reading texts*	Only when such a task is given by teacher: summarises text adequately (information, chronology, no re-narration)
Textverständnis: Kann Texten Informationen entnehmen *Text comprehension: can extract information from texts*	Only when such a task is given by teacher: names valid information from text according to guiding question

CATEGORY: WRITING

Items of observation	Criteria
Hört der Aufgabenstellung aufmerksam zu *Listens carefully to task instructions*	Looks to teacher during announcement, is not occupied with something else
Geht die Aufgabe strukturiert an *Structured approach to task*	Prepares proper material quickly, knowingly, sufficiently
Hat notwendiges Material *Has necessary material at hand*	
Bleibt konzentriert während Aufgabe *Stays concentrated during exercise*	Does not look up often, is absorbed in work, not easily distracted, not seeking interaction
Arbeitet zügig und zielorientiert	Applies replicable order of work steps, does not linger, does

Works expeditiously and target-oriented	not prolong or insert material preparation
Überlegt länger *Contemplates for longer times*	Pores over work without writing
Macht längere Pausen während der Aufgabe *Makes longer pauses during work*	Puts down pen/ book etc., looks around, stretches, seeks interaction etc.
Wendet „Sprechen für Schreiben"-Strategie an *Speaks words while writing*	Says words aloud before and while writing them down
Bespricht Aufgabe mit Banknachbarn *Discusses task with neighbour*	
Sieht sich die Arbeit des Banknachbarn an *Looks at neighbour's work*	Looking for orientation or visibly copying
Bittet Lehrer/ Mitschüler um Hilfe *Asks teacher/ classmate for help*	
Benutzt häufig Radierer/ Löscher *Often uses eraser/ blotter*	
Fängt noch mal ganz von vorn an *Starts all over again*	Crossing out or scrunching up previous work
Macht sich Notizen *Makes notes*	Only when assignment involves reading text: highlights, underlines, writes in text
Meldet sich, um an Tafel zu schreiben *Volunteers to write on blackboard*	
Schreibt an Tafel *Writes on blackboard*	
Hat klare, leserliche Handschrift an der Tafel *Has clear handwriting on blackboard*	

CATEGORY: INTERACTION WITH TEACHER

Items of observation	**Criteria**
Spricht flüssig/ stockend *Speaks fluently/ clipped*	(delete as appropriate)
Fragt nach korrekten Wörtern *Asks for correct words*	Does not find proper term, asks instead of paraphrasing
Spricht in vollständigen Sätzen *Uses complete sentences*	
Spricht leise, unsicher *Speaks faintly, insecurely*	
Spricht undeutlich, zu schnell, nuschelt *Speaks indistinctly, too fast, mumbles*	
Strukturiert Beitrag angemessen *Structures contribution adequately*	Contribution is comprehensible, to the point, consistent
Verliert Faden während des Beitrags *Loses thread during contribution*	Does not arrive at a meaningful utterarance, terminates contribution
Spricht Wörter richtig aus *Pronounces words correctly*	
Zeigt großen Wortschatz *Shows large vocabulary*	Uses synonyms, elaborated vocabulary, can define specific terms adequately
Sprachverwendung ist standardnah *Language use is close to standard*	Avoids extreme vernacular vocabulary, grammar, syntax, pronunciation
Verwendet andere Sprache als das U-Medium *Uses other language than German*	

Family interviews: guideline (both project groups)

→ The first part of the interview should be designed as a conversation; the second part can be questionnaire-guided (e.g., personal details like age, income, etc.)
→ Each family member may be present, also the CP, but the dialogue should mainly concentrate on the parent(s)
→ There shouldn't be more than two investigators present

1. Warming Up

– Introduction (names, thanks for invitation)
– Short explanation of the project (research on how children learn to read and write in school)
– Reasons for the interview (the opinions and evaluations of the family regarding CP's everyday school life for we only get small snippets during our observations; we would like to get to know CP and parents better)

2. Introduction/ stimulus

– Starter question: "What does CP tell about school at home?"/ "What do you pick up on CP's school life?"
  – If need be: subsequent impulse (in case parent says that CP doesn't tell much or anything): "Was that the same with you when you went to school, that you didn't tell your parents much?"

3. Stimulus-generated inquiry

– Taking up aspects from the initial narration ("You just said that …, could you explain that in detail?" etc.)
– Focus on (naturally, the course of the interview may not go in this order):
  – Attitudes towards literacy (reading/ writing customs in the family; education of the parents ...) = We suppose that if parents start to talk about their own schooling, their educational background will be revealed eventually. Attitudes towards literacy might be investigated by relating to didactic methods used in CP's class (referring to workbooks or CP's actual performance …)
  – Literacy education (reading to CP, purchasing books for CP, CP's letters to relatives, diaries) = Here, we could relate to a) the parents' own experiences or b) the CP's "interests" (how does CP spend time after school)
  – General attitudes towards school (value of school education, how useful is it for CP; what does one learn in school, what is important, what isn't) = The subsequent impulse could be "Do contents of today's curricula differ from your own school days? In what way?"
  – Attitudes towards the actual school (why was the actual school chosen, what's the school's reputation, …)
  – Supporting the child regarding homework, material = Parents might say that they find school material too expensive or that they do not approve of the used material.
  – Concern with the child's everyday life in school (control of child's performance, contact with the school, information flow)
  – Evaluation of the child's school life (wellbeing, relations to teachers, classmates)
  – Plans for the child's future

– Child's pastime behaviour
– Attitudes towards raising a child (What does it mean to raise a child? What sort of pedagogy do parents have in their minds regarding their own "methods"? Who is responsible for education, rather the parents or rather the school?)
– Additional focus in migrant families:
  ✓ Migration history (courses; question of citizenship; when and how was the national language learned …)
  ✓ Attitudes towards L1/ L2 (also in relation to each other)

4. Completion, equilibration

– Thanks for conversation, openness; many things we are interested in have been
– mentioned
– Request to be allowed to come back in case there are more questions

5. Observations during interview (field notes)

– Living conditions, housing space, orderliness, hygiene
– Presence of written products
– Behaviour towards interviewers (responsiveness), conversation behaviour
– Striking nonverbal reactions to certain questions

Appendix A2: Linguistics

(1) Excerpt from Germany, 1st grade, Test 1 oral, KEV$^{\male MON}$, oral version:

    *KEV: da war ei^ne frau hochgegangen ne ne treppe

    %eng: a woman went upstairs

    *KEV: und hat &wa hat dann später ein brief verloren

    %eng: and lost a letter later

    *KEV: und dann war der brief auf dem boden

    %eng: and then the letter was on the floor

    *KEV: und dann habm da die jemand gefunden

    %eng: and then they found someone there

    *KEV: und habm dann n paar leute gefragt

    %eng: and then asked a few people

    *KEV: aber keiner hat den brief genommen

    %eng: but nobody took the letter

    *KEV: und da:nn # waren die mit dem brief &sch +//.

    %eng: and then they were with the letter

    *KEV: und in dem brief war geld

    %eng: and there was money in the letter

    *KEV: und dann war warn die wieder gegang

    %eng: and then they left

(2) Excerpt from Germany, 1st grade, Test 1 oral, OSM$^{\male BIL}$, dictated version:

    *IV1: und jetz hätt ich gerne, dass du mir das ganze noch einmal erzählst

    %eng: and now I'd like you to tell it to me once again

    *OSM: noch einmal?

%eng: once again?

*IV1: ja, weil ich das einmal /aufschreibm möchte, weil du das so gut erzählt hast, ja? und du musst dann natürlich n bisschen langsamer sprechen, weil ich ja nich so schnell schreiben kann, okay? gut, leg los

%eng: yes, because I'd like to write it down because you told it so well, alright? and you have to talk a bit more slowly because I can't write that quickly, okay? good, go ahead!

*OSM: ähm@i # sein mann und sein frau sind runtergegangn

%eng: uhm his husband and his wife went downstairs

*OSM: und dann habm sie ein brief gesehn .

%eng: and then they saw a letter

(3) Excerpt from Turkey, 1st grade, Test 1 oral, SÜM^{♂MON}

15	*IV3:	Sümer .
16	*SÜM:	ben # [/] kadın merdivenlerden iniyo(r)du .
17	%mor:	PRO|I&1SG N|woman N|stair-PL-ABL V|go_down-IPFV-PST .
22	*IV3:	hı: .
23	*SÜM:	bi(r) tane kağat [: kağıt] düşürdü .
24	%mor:	QUANT:CARD|one CLF|piece N|paper V|fall-PST .
28	*IV3:	hı: .
29	*SÜM:	ondan+sonra ofisine girdi .
30	%mor:	ADV:TEMP|after+that N|office-POSS&3SG-DAT V|go_in-PST .
33	*SÜM:	iki tane erkek kadın geldi .
34	%mor:	QUANT:CARD|two CLF|piece N|man N|woman V|come-PST .
38	*IV3:	hı: .
39	*SÜM:	ondan+sonra kadınla erkek gördü .
40	%mor:	ADV:TEMP|after+that N|woman CO|with N|man V|see-PST .
43	*SÜM:	çıkardı aldı şeyi .
44	%mor:	V|take_out-PST V|take-PST N|thing-ACC .
47	*SÜM:	açtı baktı para var içinde .
48	%mor:	V|open-PST V|look-PST N|money EXIST|exist N:LOC|inside-LOC .
51	*IV3:	hı:m .
52	*SÜM:	ondan+sonra # erkek gidiyo(r)du .
53	%mor:	ADV:TEMP|after+that N|man V|go-IPFV-PST .
57	*SÜM:	<kadın dedi> # [/] kadın dedi bu şeylere soralım dedi .
58	%mor:	N|woman V|say-PST PRO:DX|this N|thing-PL-DAT V|ask-OPT&1PL V|say-PST.
64	*IV3:	nereye gidiyo(r)du erkek ?
65	*SÜM:	erkek aşa [: aşağıya] iniyo(r)du .
66	%mor:	N|man N:LOC&RED|down-DAT V|go_down-IPFV-PST .
70	*IV3:	hım .
71	*SÜM:	kadın dedi şey # müdürlere soralım dedi .
72	%mor:	N|woman V|say-PST N|thing N|headmaster-PL-DAT V|ask-OPT&1PL
73		V|say-PST .
77	*IV3:	ne sorcaklardı [: soracaklardı] ?
78	*SÜM:	ha parayı # onlarınmı +// .
79	%mor:	CO|yes N|money PRO:POSS|theirs&3PL-Q .
81	*SÜM:	ondan+sonra müdüre gitti .
82	%mor:	ADV:TEMP|after+that N|headmaster-DAT V|go-PST .
85	*SÜM:	o+zaman varmış .
86	%mor:	ADV:TEMP|that+time EXIST|exist-PFV .
88	*SÜM:	öteki de gitti ötekinde yok .
89	%mor:	DET:DX|other CO|de V|go-PST DET:DX|other-POSS&3SG-LOC
90		EXIST:NEG|not_exist .
93	*IV3:	hım .
94	*SÜM:	ötekininmiş .
95	%mor:	DET:DX|other-GEN-PFV .
98	*IV3:	sonra ne oldu ?
99	*SÜM:	sonra bitti .
100	%mor:	ADV:TEMP|later V|finish-PST .

102	*IV3:	+" sonra bitti " .
103	*SÜM:	sonra ben doğru +/ .
104	%exp:	recording ends .

(4) Excerpt from Turkey, 1ˢᵗ grade, Test 1 dictated, SÜM^{♂MON}

12-15	*TXT:	Kağıdını düşürdü.
16	%mor:	N|paper-POSS&3SG-ACC V|fall_down-AOR-PST .
[…
]	*TXT:	Erkekle kadın geldi.
20	%mor:	N|man-CONJ|with N|woman V|come-PST .
[…
]	*TXT:	Kağıdı aldı.
25	%mor:	N|paper-ACC V|take-PST .
[…
]	*TXT:	Açtı para vardı.
29	%mor:	V|open-PST N|money EXIST|exist-PST .
[…]
33	*TXT:	Erkek gidiyordu parayı alıp.
34	%mor:	N|man V|go-IPFV-PST N|money-ACC V|take-CVB:IP .
[…]
37	*TXT:	Kadın dedi belki müdürlerindir.
38	%mor:	N|woman V|say-PST ADV|maybe N|director-POSS&3PL-FACT .
[…]
41	*TXT:	Müdürlere gidelim dedi.
42	%mor:	N|director-PL-DAT V|go-OPT&1PL V|say-PST .
[…]
45	*TXT:	Gittiler.
46	%mor:	V|go-PST-3PL .
[…]
49	*TXT:	Bir tane müdüre sordu.
50	%mor:	QUANT:CARD|one CLF|piece N|director-DAT V|ask-PST .
[…]
54	*TXT:	Para seninmi diye.
55	%mor:	N|money PRO|you&2SG-GEN-Q CONJ|that .
[…]
58	*TXT:	yok dedi.
59	%mor:	EXIST:NEG|not_exist V|say-PST .
[…]
62	*TXT:	Karşındaki şeye sor dedi.
63	%mor:	N:LOC|opposite-°POSS&2SG-ADJZ N|thing-DAT V|ask-IMP V|say-PST .
[…]
67	*TXT:	Gittiler.
68	%mor:	V|go-PST-3PL .
[…]
71	*TXT:	Sordular.
72	%mor:	V|ask-PST-3PL .
[…]
75	*TXT:	Dediler bu para seninmi?
76	%mor:	V|say-PST-3PL DET:DEM|this N|money PRO|you&2SG-GEN-Q ?
[…]
79	*TXT:	Benim dedi.
80	%mor:	PRO|I&1SG-GEN V|say-PST .
[…]
83	*TXT:	Bitti.
84	%mor:	V|finish-PST .
88	*TXT:	Sümer .

(1) Original text from Germany, 1st grade, Test 2 written, ANN$^{♀MON}$

Da Way eine FrAu Die Hate
eine UMSchlaK Der UMSchlaK
IST KunteYGfalen IST Die
WeiTeY GeLAufen UnTaJl
KAM noch eine frAu und ein
MaJl. Da HaYBen Sich GezanKt
WeilJ Die Das GelT HaYBen
sinT sie zur eine VolKenen
frAu BeGanen und Die frau
HaT GesagT nein Das GeHYT
MiY nicht FaYsuchsn aLDa
Da GincJl sie DaYHien Die
frAu BePanKsichseY

(2) Original text from Turkey, 1st grade, Test 2 written, SÜM♂MON

(3) Original text from grade Germany, 1st grade, Test 2 written (Albanian), KON♂BIL

(4) Original text from Germany, 1st grade, *Hamburger Schreibprobe*, KEV♂MON

(5) Original text from Germany, 1st grade, pseudoword test, AND♂MON

(5)   Original text from Germany, 1st grade, picture-word test 1, KEV♂MON

(6) Original text from Turkey, 1st grade, pseudoword test 1st-graders, SÜM♂MON
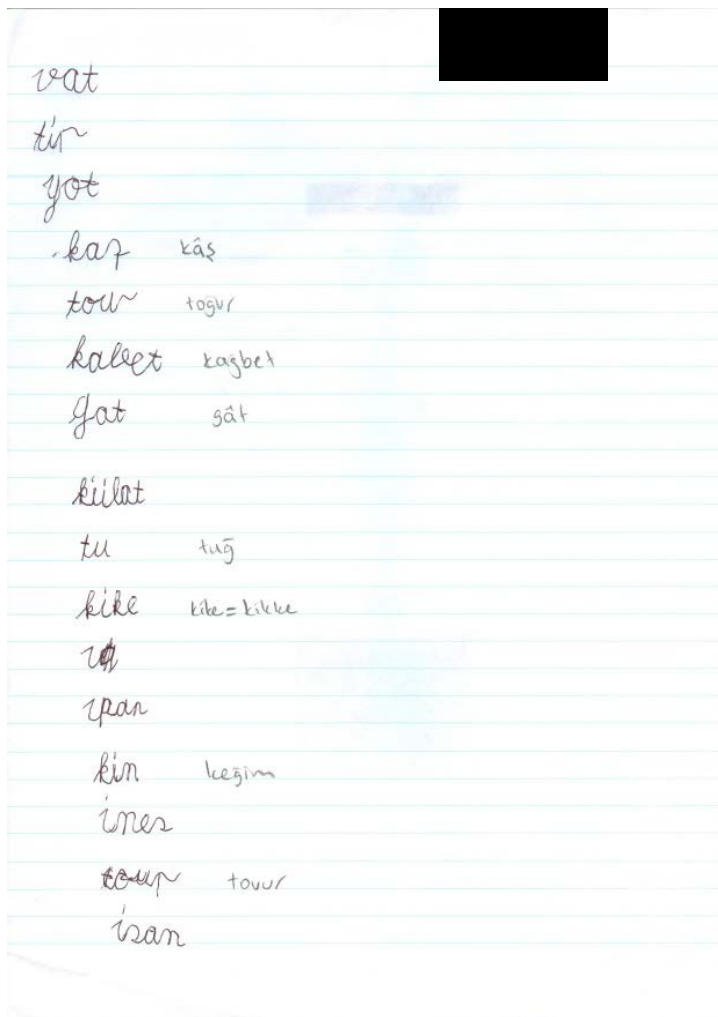
(7) Excerpt from Germany, 7th grade, Test 1 oral, BAR♀MON

    *BAR: die szene mit dem geld

    %eng: the scene with the money

    *BAR: wo die ähm@i frau das geld verliert

    %eng: where the um woman loses the money

    *BAR: hundert euro

    %eng: a hundred euros

    *BAR: ähm@i das fand ich nich so nett

    %eng: um I didn't think it was very nice

    *BAR: dass das mädchen das jetz einfach weggenommen hat

    %eng: that the girl just took it

    *BAR: und das nich wiedergegeben hat

    %eng: and didn't give it back

(6) Excerpt from Turkey, 7th grade Test I-oral: YUS^{♂MON}

15	*YUS:	şey evimiz yanmıştı .
[...]		
19	*YUS:	a [/] o şey aklıma geliyor hep .
20	%mor:	DET:DEM|that N|incident N|mind-POSS&1SG V|come-IPF
		ADV:TEMP|always .
[...]		
24	*IV2:	ne aklına geliyor ?
25	*YUS:	alevler (gülüyor) .
26	%mor:	N|flame-PL .
[...]		
28	*IV2:	hı, nasıl olmuştu ?
29	*IV2:	+^ anlatsana biraz .
30	*YUS:	tinerciler yakmıştı .
31	%mor:	N|thinner-NMLZ-PL V|burn-PFV-PST .
[...]		
35	*YUS:	arka ev de taktaydı [: tahtaydı] .
36	%mor:	N:LOC|back N|house CO|de ADJ|wooden-PST .
[...]		
38	*YUS:	ahşap .
39	%mor:	ADJ|timber .
[...]		
41	*YUS:	o [/] or [//|] orada tinerciler kavga+etmiş .
42	%mor:	DET:DX|there-LOC N|thinner-NMLZ-PL V|N|quarrel+V|do-PFV .
[...]		
46	*YUS:	şey ı::h molotof+koktely(l)i atmışlar yere .
47	%mor:	CO|thing CO|ıh N|molotov+coctail-CM V|throw-PFV-PL N|ground-DAT .
[...]		
50	*YUS:	yanınca bizim orda arkada ağaç vardı .
51	%mor:	V|burn-CVB:INCE PRO|we&1PL-GEN DET:DX|there-LOC
52		N:LOC|back_part-LOC N|tree EXIST|exist-PST .
[...]		
54	*YUS:	o da yandı .
55	%mor:	PRO:DEM|that CO|da V|burn-PST .
[...]		
58	*YUS:	bizim ev yanmıştı .
59	%mor:	PRO|we&1PL-GEN N|house V|burn-PFV-PST .
[...]		
62	*YUS:	bu_kadar .
63	%mor:	DET:DX|this POST|much .

(8) Original text from Germany, 7th grade, Test 1 written, BIA^{♀MON}

Es sitzen zwei Mädchen auf einer Bank und
sehen sich Zeitschriften an.
Da kam ein anderes Mädchen und wollte mit
den beiden Freundschaft schließen, und setzt
sich dazu.
Die anderen beiden versuchen ihr aus dem
Weg zu gehen, und lassen das Mädchen
einfach ganz alleine zurück.

Grund:

Ich finde es nicht gut andere auszu schließen.
Man muss ja nicht unbedingt befreundet
sein, aber man sollte nett mit den anderen
umgehen.

(9) Original text from Turkey, 7th grade, Test 1 written, EGE♂BIL

(10) Original text from Germany, 7th grade, Test 1 written (Turkish), AZA♂BIL

(7) Original text from Turkey, 7th grade, Kurdish test written, CAN♀BIL

Caraki   ez û havalemin ███████████████,
███████████████   tope   Wistbané. ma
gruba   Çekir. Ez ██████, mine   derketin,██████
██████ û ██████ derketin. Êm herseji,
nîzanibun   liyize   le   ██████, ██████ û ██████
zanîbun.
hiza   mi   gota   Aek   Jua   vare
grubema   le   am   nîzanin.
██████ gota   hila   neke   un   derketin.
min   gota   un   hemi   zanen. yek
vo   vere   grubeme   Gibe.
██████ gota   na.
miji   gota   a   nalizim.
Qvji   gota   ti   bilizeji   az   nalizim.
mi   gota   gerek   nine   ûn   bilizin
e   nalizim.
hica   Goma   sinifaĝa   nucistim.
Qvji   nalistin   hatne   sinixe   hica
mini   aylin   ĝayidibun ,   barişmiebun.

(11) Original text from Germany, 7th grade, Test 2, CIG♀BIL

1. ~~Ich habe gesehen, wo~~ die sich ~~verprügelt~~ haben.
2. Das ist uns auch mal passiert, aber die hatten
3. sich nicht ~~verprügelt~~, sondern ein Junge hatte
4. dem anderen ~~ein~~ Beinchen gestellt, dann ist der
5. hingeflogen. ~~Und~~ ~~dann musste er ins Sekretariat,~~
6. und ~~dann~~ musste ~~ich~~ auch ins Sekretariat,
7. weil ich die Klassensprecherin war, ~~und dann~~ *
8. erzählen, was da passiert ist.
9. Dann hat der Schulleiter von dem Jungen die
10. Eltern angerufen. ~~Dann musste er~~ nach Hause, weil er das alles angerichtet hat.
11. aber am nächsten Tag war er wieder da.
12. Das war schon am ersten Tag, wo wir alle ins
13. Sekretariat mussten. Da hat ▐▐▐▐▐▐▐
14. gefragt, was da passiert ist, ~~und dann haben~~ wir
15. ~~gesagt, was da passiert ist.~~ Doch haben wir.
16. Ich weiß das nicht mehr, weil das vor vielen
17. Jahren war.

(12) Original text from Turkey, 7th grade, Test 2 written, EGE♂BIL

Bir gün akşamüstü dayımlar telefon açtı. Dedi ki yarın denize veya pikniğe gideceğiz. Ben de çok heyecanlanmıştım. Sonra hazırlıkları yaptık. Sonra sabah oldu. Babam arabayla dayımlara haber verdi. Bir de 2 amcam ve ailesi de geldi. Sonra biz en az 1- 1,5 saat yolda kaldık. Çünkü çok uzaktı. Sonra oraya vardığımızda oranın görevlisi benim babamı ve dayımı eskiden tanıyormuş. Sonra bize en güzel yeri verdi. Sonra annem ve yengemler yemek hazırlıkları yaptı ve yemek yiyip denize gittik. 2 saat yüzmüştük geldik orada da bir halı saha ve park vardı. Kızlar parkta oynuyorlardı. Biz de top oynuyorduk. Zaman geçiyordu ve baktık ki kapıdan 4 çocuk geldi. Maç yaptık sonra onlar çok küfür ediyorlardı. Bize siz kürtsünüz diyorlardı. Dayımın oğlu 2 tanesinin kafalarını kırdı. Ben de bir tanesinin gözünü, diğerinin burnunu kırmıştım. 1 saat sonra abileriyle geldiler. 2 tanesi başı sargılı, biri burnu sargılı diğeri de elinde buz koyuyordu. ~~Sonra biz gittik gün de böyle geçti.~~ Sonrada ~~ableine~~ abileriyle te kovga ettik onlar daha fazla olduğu birde amcanın oğlunu açınıp halı siler gibi silkeledit onları. Sonrada atsom diğün ol- duğunu hatırladık ve eve gittit dönüştede- yımın oğlu ve amcanın oğluyla silkelediğinin şakalar banıstıt ~~banustit~~ konuşurken eve varmışın sonra diğüne gittit orada kendi- ne bir kız ayarladım. Oda beni beğenmişti ve bu 2 saat sürdü ama ben gerçekten beğenmiştim tabiiki oda beni beğendiğini söyleyip arkasına bata bata geri bana bata bata diğün salonunun kapısından çıktı ve ben a en çok üzüldüm bir daha onu görmedim 2 saatlik aşk buna deler [REDACTED] Merhaba aşkı)

(13) Original text from Germany, 7th grade, Test 3, HIL♀BIL

(14) Original text from Turkey, 7th grade, Test 3, DIL♀MON

(15) Original text from Germany, 7th grade, class test 1, ISA♀MON

Handy-Verbot an Schulen

Dafür - Dagegen

Es wird diskutiert, ob das Handy-verbot weiterhin durchgeführt [wird] oder abgeschafft wird!

Ich, lieber Herr Schulleiter, bin gegen das Handyverbot, da die Kinder in den Pausen das Handy benutzen und wir Lehrer gezwungen sind, ihnen es wegzunehmen. Wenn die Schüler dann ohne das Telefon wieder kommen, bekommen sie sehr viel Ärger, weil die Eltern erst wieder zur Schule kommen, wenn das Kind es bleibt! Und es wäre sehr schön, wenn die Kinder das Handy während des Unterrichts aus haben, aber in den Pausen damit spielen dürfen!

Nun ja, Herr _____ ich

verstehe Sie sogar sehr gut, und es ist auch nicht schön, die Eltern bestellen muss; dennoch wird das Verbot weiterhin durchgeführt, da die Schüler und Schülerinnen hier sind, um zu lernen und nicht zu spielen.

Appendix B: Kurmanjî-Kurdish Glossing Rules for CHAT transcripts

Final Version, 29-06-2009

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The following glossing rules for Kurdish were developed specificly for the Kurmanjî dialect in the frame of the project "Literacy Acquisition in Schools", where we elicted Turkish and Kurmanjî texts from Kurmanjî-Turkish bilingual school children from a school in Istanbul The texts contained various instances of code-switching and dialectal variations of both languages of the bilinguals. We decided to carry out the morphosyntactic analysis of the texts with the help of the CHAT transcription conventions and the CLAN data analysis program (MacWhinney 2000). This necessitated the development of Kurmanjî(-Kurdish) Glossing Rules for the %mor tier in our CHAT transcripts.

Part 1:   **Morphology**
Part 2:   **Parts of speech**
Part 3:   **Problematic cases/Further rules**
Part 4:   **Code-Switching: Turkish/Kurmanjî**
Part 5:   **Signs**

Some important rules:
- In the verbal stem, we only code the past stem (&PST), NOT the present tense stem! But we code past stem in participial forms (&PRF), based on the **past stem plus -i.**
- **di + present tense verb stem**: here **di** is coded as **IND** (Indicative).
- **di + past tense verb stem**: here **di** is codded as **DUR** (Durative).
- **bi + verb stem**: here **bi** is coded as **SUBJ.**
- Categories which are not formally present are not coded. For example with present tense stems, there is no personal marking in the plural, and with past stems, there is no personal marking at all!
- The casus rectus, being the unmarked case, is not coded.
- Forms which consist of more than one element are combined in the main tier with "+" and must be represented as combined forms with "+" also in the morph tier!
- Combinatory forms (e.g. past progressive) are not coded extra if the parts of the combination are already coded otherwise!
- Rule for the coding of the past perfect: the copula must be divided from the lexical verb by "+" both in the main as well as in the morphological tier.

Part 1:   Morphology

Glossing	Category Name / Explanation	Contextualized example (respective form *bold& underscored*)	Glossing of example in %mor:
	The Pluperfect/Past Perfect is a combined category which is not coded as such. It is formed by means of the combination of the	Wan pirtûk xwendî+bûn	PRO|they&3PL&OBL N|book V|read&PST+COP|be&PST-PL

	past stem of a lexical verb with the past stem of the copula. We do not code it as a complex predicate, though.		
1SG	1st Person Singular	Dixwîn***im*** hati***me***	IND-V|read-1SG V|come&PRF-1SG
2SG	2nd Person Singular	dixwîn***î*** hat***î***	IND-V|read-2SG V|come&PRF-2SG
3SG	3rd person singular	dixwîn***e*** hati***ye***	IND-V|read-3SG V|come&PRF-3SG
CMP	Comperative	Ew mal mezin***tir*** e	DET:DEM|this N|house ADJ|big-CMP COP|be&3SG
DUR	Präfix di + past tense verb stem	***di***-xwandin	DUR-V|read&PST-PL
EZ&F	Ezafe Feminine	Mal***a*** min	N|house-EZ&F PRO|i&1SG&OBL
EZ&GENR	Generic Ezafe	Bang***î*** min	V|call-EZ&GENR PRO|i&1SG&OBL
EZ&M	Ezafe Masculine	Kur***ê*** min	N|son-EZ&M PRO|i&1SG&OBL
EZ:PL	Ezafe Plural No grammatical gender in plural ezafe marker.	Zarok***ên*** min	N|child-EZ&PL PRO|i&1SG&OBL
FUT	Future auxiliary – combines with the *subjunctive* prefix attached to the verb root.	Ez *(d)ê* bi-ç-im.	PRON|i&1SG FUT|will SUBJ-V|go-1SG
IMP	Imperative Singular/Plural: the suffix combines with the subjunctive prefix	bi-xwîn-***e*** bi-xwîn-***in***	SUBJ-V|read-IMP&SG SUBJ-V|read-IMP&PL
IND	indicative prefix **di** with a present stem	Ez ***di***xwînim	PRO|i&1SG IND-V|read-1SG
INDF	Suffixal indefinite article	Zarok***ek*** kitêb-a xwe dixwîne	N|child-INDF N|book-IZF PRO:REFL|self IND-V|read-3SG
INF	Infinitive suffix	Sêv tên xwar***in*** Xwend***in*** *Xemil**and**in* *rev**and**in*	N|apple AUX:PASS|come V|eat-INF V|read-INF V|embellish-INF V|kidnap-INF
NEG	(prefixal) Negation	***Ne***hat ***Na***xwîne ***Ni***zanim	NEG-V|come&PST&3SG NEG-V|read-3SG NEG-V|know-1SG
OBL&F	Oblique Feminine	Ez mal***ê*** dibînim	PRON|i&1SG N|house-OBL&F IND-V|see-1SG
OBL&M	Oblique Masculine	Ez hesp***î*** dibînim	PRON|i&1SG N|horse-OBL&M IND-V|see-1SG
OBL&PL	Oblique Plural There is no grammatical gender in plural markers.	Ez hesp***an*** dibînim Ez mal***an*** dibînim Li mal***an*** dimînin	PRON|i&1SG N|horse-OBL&PL IND-V|see-1SG PRON|i&1SG N|house-OBL&PL IND-V|see-1SG PREP|in N|house-OBL&PL IND-V|stay-PL
OPT	Optative suffix, distinguishes between SG and PL and combines with the subjunctive prefix	Bixwend***a*** Bixwend***an***	SUBJ-V|read&PST-OPT&SG SUBJ-V|read&PST-OPT&PL
ORD	Ordinal number marker Both forms are possible	Pênc***em*** Pênc***emîn***	N|five-ORD N|five-ORD
PL	Verbal Plural	dixwîn***in*** xwandin xwandi-***ne*** hat***in***e	IND-V|read-PL V|read&PST-PL V|read&PST-PL-PRF V|read&PRF-PL V|come&PRF-PL
PRF	Perfect, combines with past stem and the personal marker is 3SG (identical to the copula), -ye)	Saet hat***iye*** 4ê. min xwend***iye***	N|clock V|come&PRF-3SG PRO|i&1SG&OBL V|read&PRF-3SG
PRV	Preverb: an affix which forms verbs from verbs	Ez **va**-dı-x-im Ew **da**-di-keve	PRON|i&1SG PRV-IND-V|drink-1SG PRO|he/she/it&3SG PRV-IND-V|go_down-

	cê-, *da*-, *ve*-/*va*-, *veder*-	Ew *cê*-di-ke	3SG PRO|he/she/it&3SG PRV-IND-V|build-3SG
	Forms like: *wer*-, *-and*in, *-ijand*in, *-isand*in are not classified and coded as PRV if they form a allready lexicalised item	Min kitêbek *wer*-gerand.	PRO|i&1SG&OBL N|book-INDF VBZ-V|turn-PST
PST	Simple Past, marked in the verbal stem	Xwend Xwend-in	V|read&PST V|read&PST-PL
PTCP	Resultative subject participle, combined with the past stem, formed with *-a, -î*	Xwend*a* Xwend*î* Şûşt*î* neşûşt*î* Kuşt-*î*	V|read&PST-PTCP V|read&PST-PTCP V|wash&PST-PTCP NEG-V|wash&PST-PTCP V|kill&PST-PTCP
SUBJ	Subjunctive prefix, combines with present tense stem	Ez nikarim kitêbê *bi*-xwîn-im	PRON|i&1SG NEG-V|can-1SG N|book-OBL&F SUBJ-V|read-1SG
SUP	Superlative suffix	Baş*tirîn* pirtuk	N|head-SUP N|book
VOC&F	Vocative Case (Addressing form) Feminine	Zayneb*ê*, ka were	N:PROP|Zeyneb-VOC&F
VOC&M	Vocative Case (Addressing form) Masculine	Ahmed*o*, ka were.	N:PROP|Ahmed-VOC&M

Part 2: Parts of speech

Glossing	Category Name / Explanation	Contextualized example (respective form ***bold&italic& underscored***)	Glossing of example in %mor:
ADJ|	Adjective (qualifying nominal element in adnominal position or used predicatively – not determiner or quantifier)	*Sêva* ***sor*** *Zarokên* ***piçûk***	N|apple-EZ&F ADJ|red N|child-EZ&PL ADJ|small
ADP:PREP|	Preposition	***Bi*** erebeyê ***Bi*** rehetî ***Bê*** navber ***Li*** malê **Heta** sibê **Heta** merdivenê ***Ji+bo*** te ***Bo*** te ***Bona*** te ***Piştî*** pêncan, ***beriya*** pêncan ***Ji xeynî (xencî)*** ***/ ji te pêştir*** ***(Li) Dijî*** ***Li gor(î)***	ADP:PREP|with N|car-OBL&F ADP:PREP|with ADJ|easy-NMLZ ADP:PREP|without N|distance ADP:PREP|in N|house-OBL&F ADP:PREP|until N|morning ADP:PREP|to N|the stairs ADP:PREP|because+of PRO|you&2SG&OBL ADP:PREP|for PRO|you&2SG&OBL ADP:PREP|for_you PRO|you&2SG&OBL ADP:PREP|after ADP:PREP|before ADP:PREP|other_than_you ADP:PREP|other_than_you ADP:PREP|against ADP:PREP|according_to
ADP:POST|	Postposition If there is a preposition and a postposition linked in the sentence (to form a circumposition, we gloss the postponed part of the construction as "ADP:POST"	***Bi*** min ***re*** ***Di*** bexçeyê ***de*** ***Ji*** min ***re*** ***Ber+bi*** malê ***ve***	ADP:PREP|with PRON|i&1SG-OBL ADP:POST|with ADP:PREP|in N|garden-OBL&F ADP:POST|in ADP:PREP|for PRON|i&1SG&OBL ADP:POST|for ADP:PREP|to+to N|house-OBL&F ADP:POST|to

ADV|	Nominal element in adverbial position, not head of nominal phrase	*Heb+heb/ Lib+lib* tên	ADV|piece+piece V|come&PL
ADV:DIR|	Spatial adverb, directional	Kete *hundir* Derkete *derve*	V|walk_in&PST ADV:DIR|in V|walk_out&PST ADV:DIR|out
ADV:DX|	Deictic adverb	*Wesa/Wilo/Wiha/Weha/Wisan* nebêje	ADV:DX|that_way V|say-NEG-IMP&SG
		Heman zarok Zarokeke *wilo/wesa/wusa/we* Zarokên *din* tên *her du*	ADV:DX|same N|child N|child ADV:DX|such N|child-EZ:PL PRO:INDF|other V|come-3PL ADV:DX|both
ADV:MOD|	Modal adverb of probability	*Dibe+ku* ez bêm *Belkî* ez bêm	ADV:MOD|maybe+that PRO|i&1SG SUBJ-V|bring-1SG ADV:MOD|maybe PRO|i&1SG SUBJ-V|bring-1SG
ADV:NEG|	Adverbial negation	*Qet* naçim	ADV:NEG|not NEG-V|go&PST-1SG
	Negation with **ne** (independently)	*Ne* xwendekar im.	ADV:NEG|not N|student COP|be &1SG
ADV:SUP|	adverbial superlative	Pirtuka *herî* baş	N|book-EF&FEM ADV:SUP|best ADJ|good
ADV:TEMP|	Temporal adverb	*îro* newe *sibé/e* were	ADV:TEMP|today NEG-V|come-IMP&SG ADV:TEMP|tomorrow V|come-IMP&SG
		Niha newe *paşî/dûre* were	ADV:TEMP|now NEG-V|come-IMP&SG ADV:TEMP|later V|come-IMP&SG
		Carcaran *Carekê* *Carna* *Hercar* *hem... hem...* *geh... geh* *yan..... yan* *îro* *sibe* *duh* *qet* *hew* *herroj* *ji nişkêve/nişkve* *par* *pêrar* *pêr* *zû*	ADV:TEMP|sometimes ADV:TEMP|once ADV:TEMP|sometimes ADV:TEMP|all_the_time ADV:TEMP|both_and ADV:TEMP|sometimes ADV:TEMP|either_or ADV:TEMP|today ADV:TEMP|tomorrow ADV:TEMP|yesterday ADV:TEMP|never ADV:TEMP|no_longer ADV:TEMP|every_day ADV:TEMP|suddenly ADV:TEMP|last_year ADV:TEMP|the_year_before ADV:TEMP|the_day_before ADV:TEMP|early
AUX:CAUS|	Causative auxiliary	*Da*n şûştin *Da* şûştin Di*d*e şûştin Di-*d*-in şûştin *Da*-(y)e şûştin *Da*-(n)e şûştin Bi-*d*-e- şûştin dê bi-*d*-e şûştin	AUX:CAUS|let_be&PST-PL V|wash-INF AUX:CAUS|let_be-PST&3SG V|wash-INF DUR-AUX:CAUS|let_be-3SG V|wash-INF DUR-AUX:CAUS|let_be-PL V|wash-INF AUX:CAUS|let_be-PRF-3SG V|wash-INF AUX:CAUS|let_be-PRF-3PL V|wash-INF SUBJ-AUX:CAUS|let_be-IMP&3SG V|wash-INF FUT|will SUBJ-AUX:CAUS|let_be-3SG V|wash-INF
AUX:DUR|	in some dialects there is also a progressiv auxiliary. We translate it a "go". It combines with the progressive prefix attached to the verbal root.	Ez *î* di-xwîn-im	PRON|i&1SG AUX:DUR|go DUR-V|read-1SG
AUX:NEC|	Necessitative auxiliary – we translate it as "should". It combines	*Divê* ez wê bixwînim *Divê*-ya min ew	AUX:NEC|should PRON|i&1SG DET:DEM|this&OBL SUBJ-V|read-1SG

	with the subjunctive on the verb.	bixwenda	AUX:NEC|should-EZ&FEM PRON|i&1SG&OBL DET:DEM|this SUBJ-V|read&PST-OPT&SG
AUX:PASS|	Passive auxiliary; we translate it as "come". It combines with the infinitive	*hat* şûştin *Hati+bû* şûştin *tê* şûştin *hati(y)e* şûştin *Bê* şûştin	AUX:PASS|come&PST&SG V|wash-INF AUX:PASS|come&PST+COP|be&&PST&SG V|wash-INF PROGR-AUX:PASS|come-PROG-SG V|wash-INF AUX:PASS|come&PST-PRF V|wash-INF SUBJ-AUX:PASS|come-IMP V|wash-INF
CONJ|	Conjunctor	***Lê (belê)*** ***Wek***	CONJ|but CONJ|like
		Hat ***û*** rûnişt	V|come-PST&3SG CONJ|and V|sit-PST&3SG
		Min dît **ku**	PRO|i&1SG&OBL Vlsay-PST CONJ|that
		Heke/Eger/Ku/Hek	CONJ|if
		Ji+ber+ku ***çimkî*** ***Gava+ku*** ew hatin, em rabûn ***Piştî+ku*** ew hatin, em rabûn	CONJ|from+because+that CONJ|because CONJ|when PRO|he/she/it V|come-PST-3SG PRO|we V|get_up-PST-3PL
		Wexta+ku ***Dema+ku***	CONJ|when+that CONJ|when+that
		Da+ku ***Teva+ku*** ***Bêyî+ku*** ***Ji+dêwla*** ***Ji+dêvsa*** ***Digel+ku***	CONJ|so_that CONJ|although+that CONJ|before/unless+that CONJ|from+instead CONJ|from+instead CONJ|anyway+that
COP|be&1SG	Copula Present Tense First Person Singular	Ez mamoste ***me*** Ez xwendekar ***im***	PRO|i&1SG N|teacher COP|be& 1SG PRO|i&1SG N|student COP|be &1SG
COP|be&2SG	Copula Present Tense Second Person Singular	Tu mamoste ***yî*** Tu xwendekar ***î***	PRO|you&2SG N|teacher COP|be&2SG PRO|you&2SG N|student COP|be&2SG
COP|be&3SG	Copula Present Tense Third Person Singular	Ew mamoste ***ye*** Ew xwendekar ***e***	PRO|he/she/it N|teacher COP|be&3SG PRO|he/she/it N|student COP|be&3SG
COP|be&PL	Copula Present Tense Plural (doesn't distinguish person)	Em mamoste ***ne*** Hûn xwendekar ***in***	PRO|we&1PL N|teacher COP|be&PL PRO|you&2PL N|student COP|be&PL
COP|be&PST-1SG	Copula Past Tense First Person Singular	Ez mamoste ***bûm***	PRO|i&1SG N|teacher COP|be&PST-1SG
COP|be&PST-2SG	Copula Past Tense Second Person Singular	Tu mamoste ***bûyî***	PRO|you&2SG N|teacher COP|be&PST-2SG
COP|be&PST-3SG	Copula Past Tense Third Person Singular	Ew mamoste ***bûye***	PRO|he/she/it&3SG N|teacher COP|be&PST-3SG
COP|be&PST-PL	Copula Past Tense Plural (doesn't distinguish person)	Em, Hûn, Ew mamoste ***bûne***	PRO|we N|teacher COP|be&PST-PL
CP|	Complex Predicate, marked with "+" in the main tier and in the morph tier	Em ji pirtukan ***hez+dikin*** We get pleasure from books	CP|love+PROG-V|do-PL
CO|	Particles which structure the communication:	***Vêca*** ***vêga*** ***axir***	CO|then CO|then CO|at_last
	Discourse Particles, Discourse Connectives	***Herrikê,*** ***Wey, way, he, de,***	CO|woow
CO:GRT|	Greetings and other formula	***Gelî, ey***	CO:GRT|hey
DET:DEM|	Demonstrative determiner:	***Ew*** kitêb	DET:DEM|that N|book

	distinguishes between proximate and distal. Does only distinguish between F and M in the oblique forms. Does only distingusih between SG and PL in the oblique forms.	*Ev* kitêb *Wî* kurik**î** *Wê* kitêb**ê** *Vî* kurik**î** *Vê* pirtuk**é** *van* pirtuk**ên** *wan* pirtuk**ên**	DET:DEM|this N|book DET:DEM|that&OBL&M N|man-OBL&M DET:DEM|that&OBL&F N|book-OBL&F DET:DEM|this&OBL&M N|man-OBL&SG DET:DEM|this&OBL&F N|book-OBL&SG DET:DEM|this&OBL&PL N|book-OBL&PL DET:DEM|that&OBL&PL N|book-OBL&PL
EXIST|	Existential Predicate: Distinguishes between SG and PL, past und present	Sêv *heye* Sêv *hene* Sêv *hebû* Sêv *hebûn*	N|apple EXIST|exist N|apple EXIST|exist-PL N|apple EXIST|exist&PST N|apple EXIST|exist&PST-PL
EXIST:NEG|	Existential negation predicate	Sêv *tune* Sêv *tunene* Sêv *tunebû* Sêv *tunenebûn*	N|apple EXIST:NEG|not N|apple EXIST:NEG|not_be-PL N|apple EXIST:NEG|not_be-PST-SG N|apple EXIST:NEG|not_be-PST-PL
N|	Nominal (head of nominal phrase and nominal base of derivation)	*Kitik/pisik*	N|cat
N:PROP|	Proper name	*Ali* hat	N:PROP|Ali V|come&PST
N:TITL|	Title	*Birêz* Cemal hat Hevalê *hêja*/ xanima *hêja*/*xwendevanên hêja*	N:TITL|mister N:PROP|Cemal V|come&PST
PRO:INDF|	Indefinite pronoun	*Tişt(ek)*	PRO:INDF|something
		Hemu tên	PRO:INDF|all V|come-3PL
		Kes nayê. Bide *yekê* Bide *yekî*	PRO:INDF|anybody NEG-V|come&PST V|give-IMP PRO:INDF|somebody-OBL&F V|give-IMP PRO:INDF|somebody-OBL&M
PRO:DX|	Deictic pronoun	Neçe *wir/wira* *Ji+vir* *Li +vir*	NEG-V|go-IMP PRO:DX|there PRO:DX|from+here PRO:DX|at+here
PRO|i&1SG PRO|we&1PL PRO|you&2SG PRO|you&2PL PRO|he/she/it&3SG PRO|they&3PL	Personal pronoun, casus rectus	*Ez* *Em* *Tu* *Hûn* *Ew* *Ew*	PRO|i&1SG PRO|we&1PL PRO|you&2SG PRO|you&2PL PRO|he/she/it&3SG PRO|they&3PL
PRO:REC1 PRO:REC2	Reciprocal pronoun, translate with "each_other"	Em **hev** dibînin. Em **hevdu** dibînin.	PRO|we PRO:REC1|each_other DUR-V|see-PL PRO|we PRO:REC2|each_other DUR-V|see-PL
PRO:REFL	Reflexive pronoun, translate with "self"	Min ji diya **xwe** re pirtûkek kirî	PRO|i&1SG&OBL PREP|for N|mother-EZ&F PRO:REFL|self POST|for N|book-INF V|buy&PST
PRO|i&1SG&OBL	1st Person Singular Oblique/ adnominal possessive pronoun	**Min**	PRO|i&1SG&OBL
PRO|we&1PL&OBL	1st Person Plural Oblique/ adnominal possessive pronoun	**Me**	PRO|we&1PL&OBL
PRO|you&2SG&OBL	2nd Person Singular Oblique/ adnominal possessive pronoun	**Te**	PRO|you&2SG&OBL
PRO|you&2PL&OBL	2nd Person Plural Oblique/ adnominal possessive pronoun	**We**	PRO|you&2PL&OBL

PRO|she&3 SG&F&OBL	3rd person singular Oblique Feminine/ adnominal possessive pronoun	**_Wê_**	PRO|she&3SG&F&OBL
PRO|he&3SG&M&OBL	3rd person singular Oblique Masculine/ adnominal possessive pronoun	**_Wî_**	PRO|he&3SG&M&OBL
PRO|they&3 PL&OBL	3rd Person Plural Oblique/ adnominal possessive pronoun	**_Wan_**	PRO|they&3PL&OBL
Q|	Wh-word question words	**_Kî_** hat	Q|who V|come-PST
		Navê **kê**?	N|name-OBL Q|whom
		Te **_ci_** dît?	PRO|you&2SG&OBL Q|what V|see-PST-2SG
		Tu diçî **_ku der_**ê?	PRO|you V|go-IPFV-2SG Q|where
		Te **_cawa_** kir?	PRO|you&2SG&OBL Q|how V|do-PST-2SG
		Ka / Kanî	Q|where
		Kîjan	Q|which
		Kengî	Q|when
		Çima	Q|why
		Çend	Q|how_many
		Çiqas	Q|how_much
QUANT:CARD|	Cardinal number	**_Du_** zarok	QUANT:CARD|two N|child
QUANT:ORD|	Ordinal number	_Roja **duyem**_	N|day QUANT:ORD|second
		Cara **yekem**	CLF|time QUANT:ORD|first
QUANT:INDF|	Indefinite Quantifier (adnominal and adverbal)	**_Hin/ Hinek_**	QUANT:INDF|some
		Piçek nan	QUANT:INDF|a_little N|bread
		Birrek zarok	QUANT:INDF|a_few N|child
		Zêde	QUANT:INDF|a_couple_of
		Gelek/Zor/Zehf/	QUANT:INDF|a_lot
		Pir xwarin	QUANT:INDF|much
		Kêm	QUANT:INDF|less
		_Tu / çu_ kes nayê	QUANT:INDF|any
QUANT:DISTR	Distributive quantifier	**_Yeko+Yeko_** tên _hundir._	QUANT:DISTR|one+one
		Yek+a+yek /dudu+pe+dudu	QUANT:DISTR|two+and+two

Part 3:   Problematic cases/Further rules

_ **difficulties in deciding about the status of lexical elements as loanwords**
     kağetık jeketkaxezik jé ket
      hediye-k-î bi-kir-im

– **use of grammatical categories of Turkish**
     like: Conditional suffix -sa/-se

– **remarkable differences between the Kurdish dialects (relevant cases in the data)**
     for instance different gender assignments
     phonetic/phonological differences

– **missing analytic structural elements of Kurdish (Prepositions/Adpositions)**
     Geçık merdivane hata   Keçik **ji** merdivené **da** hat.

– **an extra %syn line for ergative constructions**
     %syn: ERG<   >

Part 4: Code-Switching: Turkish/Kurdish

1) Cases of lexical switches

a) One lexical item: **Erkek** dıbeşeki eze bum   N:tr|man
                                     Kurik dibéje ez é bibim.

b) Loanwords   di **kapi** beklemiga   N:tr_loan|door ...
                                       Tu li ber **derî** bisekine

c) Discourse markers: ov gotina mere un kurmancin **falan+filan**   CO:tr|so_on+ CO:tr|so_on
                                     Ew gotin ji me re hûn kurmanc in **falan filan**.

2) Grammatical borrowing

a) complex predicates with -*miş*   **barışmişbun**   CP|+V:tr|reconcile-PFV@|tr+CO|be&PST-3PL
li hev hatin
     U deri **vurmuş kırın**   CP|+V:tr|knock-PFV@|tr+V|do&PST-3PL
     Û li derî **xistin**

3) Whole utterances in Turkish

    Filim bitti.   <N|film V|end-PST>@tr

Part 5: Signs

Sign	Explanation	Example in %mor:
|	"end-sign" for part of speech-classification	see above list for examples
:	Precedes specification of part of speech	see above list for examples
-	(Hyphen): morpheme boundary	bi-xwîn-im: IRR-V|read-1SG
&	"fusion sign": connects grammatical categories represented by this portmanteau morpheme	
°	Error: Erroneous grammatical marking: "°" precedes category glossing	
°[*xy*]	Erroneously missing element	
+	Marks the parts of a nominal compound	
	Marks the parts of a complex verb, consisting of an N|+V| compound	
	Marks the parts of a function word compound, for example a compound temporal adverb	
	Marks the parts of a formula	
	Marks reduplications	
	MUST ALWAYS BE PARALLELED WITH "+" IN THE MAIN TIER!!	
_	(low score): used if one Kurdish word is translated by two English words	
?	Unclear morphemes, items which can not be identified or which have an unclear function	hat-im-e V]come&PST-1SG-? ? = EVIDENTIAL??
RED	Reduced form: - if reduced grammatical morpheme: combine with the respective morphological category by means of "&" - if reduced part of speech: combine with the respective part of speech by means of ":"	**ji wê** ADP:PREP|from DET:DEM|that&OBL becomes **jê** ADP:PREP|from&RED+DET:DEM:RED|that&OBL