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Language proficiency and academic achievement of monolingual Persian-speaking and bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking primary school children in Quchan

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**Language Proficiency and Academic Achievement
of Monolingual Persian-speaking and Bilingual Turkish-
Persian-speaking Primary School Children in Quchan**

Mahmoud Elyasi

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

The thesis aimed firstly to assess the Persian language proficiency and academic achievement of some bilingual Turkish-Persian speakers and their monolingual Persian-speaking counterparts and secondly to examine the relationship between this language proficiency and educational achievement. The study involves 60 children: 30 bilingual (15 male and 15 female) and 30 monolinguals (15 male and 15 female). The subjects are third, fourth, and fifth grade students in two primary schools in Quchan, a town in north-east Iran.

A short, wordless picture book known as 'the frog story' and a conversation were used for assessing subjects' language proficiency. Their end-of-year class reports were also used as the basis for assessing their academic achievement. Meanwhile, bilingual subjects were given a questionnaire so that they would provide the researcher with some more information about their language backgrounds. As the final stage, a comparison was made between monolinguals' language proficiency and their academic achievement and those of their bilingual peers to see whether there is a correlation between these two.

The patterns of results between the groups differed according to the measure being examined. For the Language Proficiency scores there were main effects of Lingualism (monolingual versus bilingual) and Gender, with an interaction of Gender X Lingualism X Grade. There were Lingualism effects showing higher scores on Language Proficiency for monolinguals. There were also Gender effects showing higher scores on Language Proficiency for female students. There was a moderate correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores: the groups with higher mean Language Proficiency score had higher mean School Average Scores. The correlation, however, was stronger among male subjects. Bilingual children also showed a much stronger correlation than their monolingual peers in this concern. There were also Grade effects on the correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores. The correlation for 3rd graders was stronger than that of for 4th

graders, and the correlation for 4th graders was stronger than that of for 5th graders.

With regards to Frog Story, the correlation between the Narrative Total score and the Language Proficiency score was almost the same for monolingual and bilingual subjects. The correlation, however, was slightly stronger for female subjects than for their male peers. When the Narrative Total score was broken down into its component scores, i.e. Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy, monolingual-bilingual differences were quite small for Grammatical Accuracy scores, but the differences were larger for the narrative elements, as recorded in Narrative Style scores.

In general, the results show the complexity and multi-faceted nature of language proficiency and its relation to academic achievement. With regards to the hypotheses stated, both H1 and H2 were supported by the data. Additionally, the effects of two other factors, i.e. grade and gender on the subjects' language proficiency were investigated.

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Last but not least, I would like to thank my family for their patience, tolerance and help. They put up with a long period of loneliness when I was away from home. I am especially grateful to my wife for her loving support; I owe everything to her.

*To my parents,
who provided me with "the initial courses on linguistics"
and to my wife,
for her loving support*

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Overview

Wolfson (1989, p.257) maintains that “one of the most persistent misunderstandings about language has to do with the notion that there is, or should be, a one-to-one correspondence between language and nation”. He adds that in spite of all evidence which supports the contrary, “this myth still exists,” however the fact is that it would be hard to find a single example of a completely monolingual nation. Wardhaugh (1986, p.100) states, “most speakers command several varieties of any language they speak, and bilingualism, even multilingualism, is the norm for many people throughout the world rather than unilingualism”. Grosjean (1982, p.1) also maintains that most people speak two or more languages, bilingualism is the norm, and that “it is difficult to find a society that is genuinely monolingual”.

In this respect, educationalists in different countries might be said to have two major attitudes towards the issue in designing their educational policies. As Lambert *et al* (1993) report, some countries (e.g. Canada, Switzerland, and Singapore) have shown positive attitudes towards this issue by implementing an appropriate system of bilingual education, while many others have failed to design such a system for economic reasons and have thereby caused some problems for the bilingual population. Political attitudes towards this issue have exacerbated the situation. Many governments have ignored the language diversity within their borders by promoting one of the languages spoken in the country and imposing limitations on the speakers of the other(s). For this reason, there has been a suppression of minority languages during history which, in turn, has had some tragic consequences. Following such a policy, has, for example, seriously endangered the survival of many lesser-used languages. Moreover, in many cases

the speakers of the so-called minority languages find themselves confronted by negative attitudes of the majority while using their mother tongues. Cummins and Swain (1986, pp.18-19) quote Tucker's (1977) view, which states that in societies in which the home language is different from that used at school, the home language is degraded by both others and selves and children are socio-economically deprived, it would be better for the child to receive the initial instruction in his/her first language and to shift the instruction to the school language at a later stage.

Poor performance at school by bilingual children is another important problem which has arisen from such an attitude towards bilingual education. To cite Trudgill (1983, p.145), "perhaps the biggest problem they [members of linguistic minorities] have to face is educational". Philips (1983, pp.89-90) states that "these minority children arrive in the classroom knowing different kinds of things. When they encounter school tests, it is as if they are asked to perform 'Apples' when they know 'Oranges' and no one ever tests for 'Oranges'". Lotfabadi (1986, pp.16-17) refers to some problems which can be considered as both linguistic and psychological. He states that a child with a Persian-speaking father and a Turkish-speaking mother is likely to face some problems in his/her language development. He adds that those Turkish-speaking children who attend state schools have trouble with various subjects such as mathematics and natural sciences, as well as with reading and writing skills.

Some researchers believe that bilingualism might have some positive effects not only from the point of view of society, but also for the individual himself/herself and his/her personal education. Peal and Lambert (1962, cited in Wolfson 1989, p.234) found that bilingual children did significantly better on both verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests than did monolingual children. They explain this superior performance by suggesting that the ability to formulate thoughts in more than one language improves children's ability to be flexible in their thinking. According to Hakuta (1986, pp.33-35), Peal and Lambert (1962) reviewed the earlier studies which stated that bilingualism could have harmful effects on children's intellectual development. They concluded that "the bilinguals were superior to monolinguals in concept formation and in tasks which required a certain mental or symbolic flexibility". According to them, these studies did not

pay attention to bilingual children's different socioeconomic backgrounds, and also failed to select balanced bilinguals as their subjects. According to Baker (2006, p.148), Peal and Lambert's (1962) research marked the beginning of a new phase in bilingualism studies in three respects. First, they managed to overcome many of the methodological weaknesses of the previous period. Second, they showed that it is very probable that bilingualism has cognitive advantages over monolingualism. Third, they went beyond using IQ tests and took into account such cognitive functions as thinking styles and strategies.

In this respect, Grosjean (1982, p.226) maintains that those aspects of bilingualism which might have positive effects on cognitive growth would only come into effect when the child has attained a certain minimum of proficiency in the second language. Such ideas are in line with the findings of recent studies, which claim that bilingualism enhances children's educational, social and intellectual achievements (e.g. Cummins 1996). Some researchers (e.g. McLaughlin, 1978) are of the opinion that bilingualism, in general, has no major consequences, either negative or positive, on the cognitive and intellectual development of children.

In Iran, as in many other countries, different ethnic groups with different languages and cultural backgrounds live together (see 1.1.1.1). Based on the studies carried out related to bilinguals in Iran (e.g. Mehrjou and Hadian, 1992; Dinarvand, 1994; Asle Fattahi, 1994), minority children have trouble learning the official language, i.e. Persian, at school, and there are achievement score disparities between them and their monolingual peers. Yet, they maintain, this issue has not been taken into consideration by the educational authorities and curriculum planners. They state that bilingual children, together with monolingual students, attend the same state schools without any access to their mother tongue, and no auxiliary courses in their second language are offered when they start their formal education at school. However, as Hameedy (2004, p.1) reports, the curriculum planners at the Iranian Ministry of Education designed and implemented a one-month preparatory course for non-Persian-speaking children fourteen years ago. This course is designed to be taken prior to entering first grade at primary school. In addition, according to Hameedy, in many provinces a one-year pre-school education course is available to both monolingual and bilingual

children, without any special provisions being made for the non-Persian speakers. It might be worth noting that according to article 15 of the Iranian Constitution, the official language of instruction for all Iranians is Persian. The same article emphasizes that all groupings have the basic right to use their mother tongues in their schools and in the promotion of their native cultures.

It might be worthy of note that although there has been a growing tendency towards employing different approaches to bilingual education and there have been many principal policy responses to the educational and language needs of minority groups throughout the world, the issue is still a highly controversial topic. In this regard, May (2001, pp.167-69) emphasizing the role of education in language maintenance, states that while the fate of a language is not tied to education alone, it would be clearly wrong to dismiss education as merely peripheral to the process of minority language maintenance. He maintains that it should be borne in mind that education has played an important role in establishing the “homogeneous civic culture of the nation-state” which, in turn, has resulted in much minority-language change. Having discussed the assimilationist goals entailed in education, he quotes Fishman’s (1995) view, which states that “greater ethnolinguistic *democracy* does not necessarily imply ethnolinguistic *equality*”. May (2001) considers previous educational policies to be a complete failure and quotes Churchill’s (1986, p.8) view in this concern:

Policy-making about the education of minorities must cope with an overriding fact: *almost every jurisdiction in the industrialized world is failing adequately to meet the educational needs of a significant number of members of linguistic and cultural minorities ... Measured against the criterion of ensuring linguistic and/or cultural survival in the long term, the shortfall is much more serious ...*

The present study aims to find out firstly whether monolingual Persian-speaking students show a better performance than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers on narrative and conversation tasks. Secondly, it seeks to discover whether monolingual Persian-speaking students achieve better academically than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers, and if so, whether there is any

relation between the language performance scores of the two groups and their academic achievement. It is hoped that the findings from this study might help the educational authorities to tackle bilingual students' problems. To meet these objectives, the subjects' language performances were assessed within the framework of the sociolinguistic/discourse approach applied by Bennett and Slaughter (1983), the crosslinguistic developmental study carried out by Berman and Slobin (1994), and the narrative competence assessment practiced by Pearson (2002). Before introducing this study in more detail, it might be useful to present some background information about the linguistic demography of Iran.

1.1.1 Background Information

The Islamic Republic of Iran has a population of nearly 70 million, of which the Persians constitute the largest ethnic group. They predominate in the major urban areas of central and eastern Iran in such cities as Tehran, Esfahan, Shiraz, Yazd, Kerman, Mashhad, and in the villages of the Central Plateau (Figure 1.1).

Iran has a heterogeneous population speaking a variety of Indo-Iranian, Semitic, and Turkic languages. The largest language group, which comprises about 70 percent of the population, consists of the speakers of Indo-Iranian languages. It includes firstly speakers of Persian – the official language of the country – and its various dialects; secondly, speakers of Kurdish and related dialects spoken by the Kurds who live in the cities, towns, and villages of western Iran and adjacent areas of Iraq and Turkey; thirdly, speakers of Luri, the language of the Bakhtiaris and Lurs who live in the Zagros in western part of the country; and finally Baluchi, the language of the people who live in southeastern Iran and adjacent areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan (Figure 1.2). Armenians, a non-Muslim minority, who are mostly Gregorian Christians, speak an Indo-European language that is distantly related to Persian. There are an estimated 250,000 Armenians in the country, half of which live in Tehran, and there are sizable communities in Esfahan, Tabriz, and other cities. The Armenians have their own schools and Armenian-language newspapers. Speakers of Semitic languages include Arabs and Assyrians.



Figure 1.1
Major Cities in Iran
(<http://www.worldatlas.com>)

Those Iranian groups who speak various dialects of Turkic languages are concentrated in northwestern Iran, where they form the overwhelming majority of the population of East Azarbaijan (8), West Azarbaijan (9), and Ardebil (6) provinces. They also constitute a significant minority in the provinces of Hamedan (11), Gilan (5), Golestan (27), Fars (19), Tehran (1), and Khorasan (28). Hameedy (2004, p.2) is of the opinion that non-Persian-speaking people in Iran constitute 42 percent of the total population (Figure 1.3).

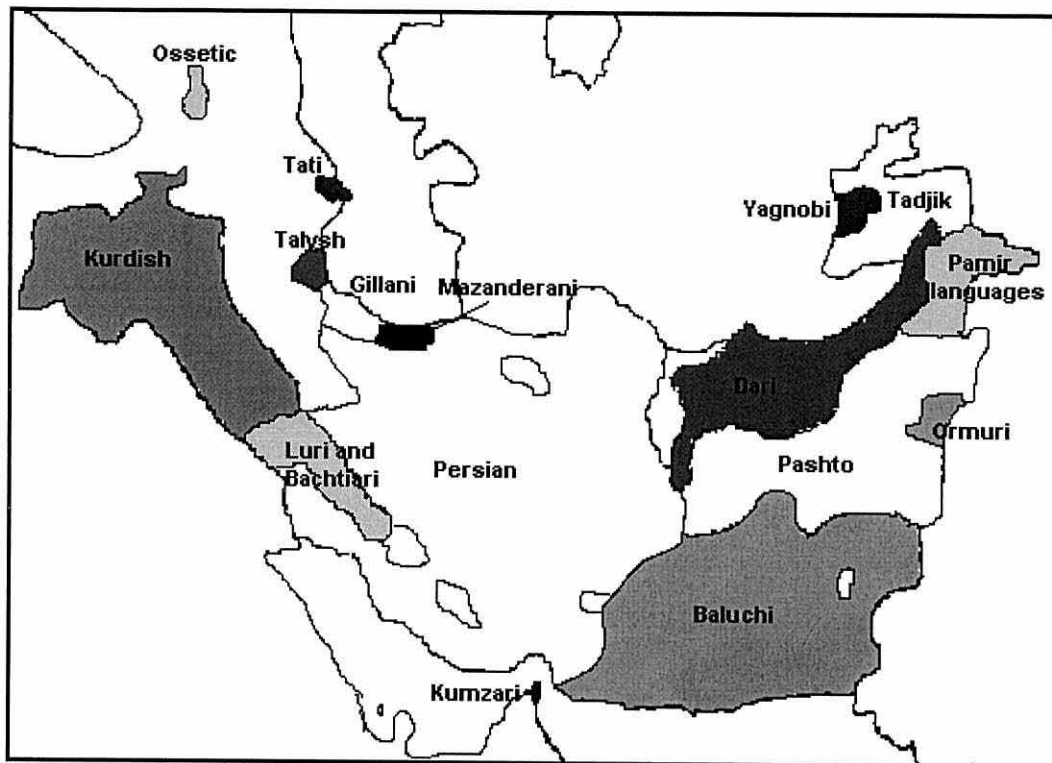


Figure 1.2

Indo-Iranian Languages spoken in Iran and the Neighbouring Countries
 (<http://indoeuro.bizland.com>)

According to Baker and Prys Jones (1998, pp.427-28), about 60% of the population of Iran are Persians and speak dialects of modern Persian. There are also several minority language groups in the country. Turkic languages – notably Azeri, Turkish, and also Uzbek – are spoken by about 20 percent of the population. Kurds make up about seven to nine percent of the population and speak Kurdish. The people living in the south-east speak Baluchi. Both Kurdish and Baluchi belong to Iranian languages, related to Persian. Other minority language groups include Armenian, Arabic, Georgian, and Syrian.

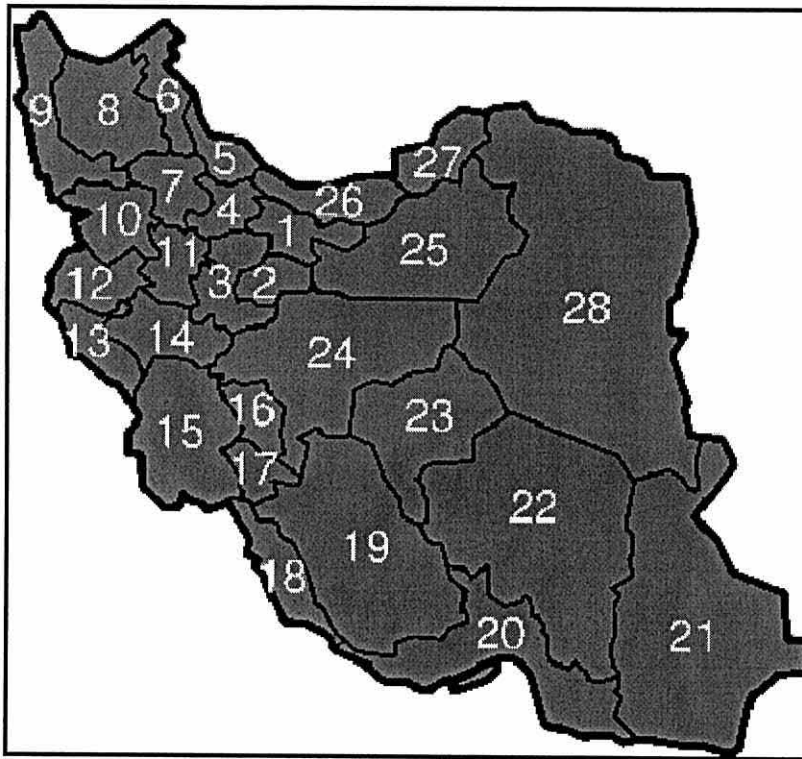


Figure 1.3

Iran Provinces

1.Tehran; 2. Qom; 3. Markazi; 4. Qazvin; 5. Gilan; 6. Ardebil; 7. Zanjan; 8. East Azarbaijan; 9. West Azarbaijan; 10. Kordestan; 11. Hamedan; 12. Kermanshah; 13. Ilam; 14. Lorestan; 15. Khuzestan; 16. Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiari; 17. Kohkiluyeh and Buyer Ahmad; 18. Bushehr; 19. Fars; 20. Hormozgan; 21. Sistan and Baluchestan; 22. Kerman; 23. Yazd; 24. Esfahan; 25. Semnan; 26. Mazandaran; 27. Golestan; 28. Khorasan (Now divided into three provinces: North Khorasan, South Khorasan, and Khorasan Razavi).

(<http://www.key2persian.com>)

According to *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (2003, Vol.3, p.263), Persian is considered to be the native language of around half the population of Iran. Approximately 5% of the population speak non-Persian Iranian languages such as Kurdish and Baluchi, and 20% speak non-Iranian languages, mostly Turkic. It is worthy of note that apart from Persian, Kurdish has the highest percent of speakers among the Iranian languages spoken in Iran. According to May (2001, p.171), Kurdish, which is an Indo-European language, belongs to the

north-western Iranian language family. It is, therefore, more closely related to Persian than to Turkish which belongs to the Altaic branch of language families. He adds that Kurdish is predominantly spoken in the territory called 'Kurdistan'. This area encompasses parts of present-day Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. He considers the total population of Kurdish-speaking people to be around 30 million, of which 15 million live in Turkey. Rosenhouse and Goral (2004, p.860) state that based on Internet sites updated to the period after 1998, the population of some of the ethnic groups of Iran are as follow: Azeris, 15 million; Kurds, 4.6 million; Baluchis, nearly 1.3 million.

It might now be useful to present a brief description of the Persian and Turkish languages which are spoken by the subjects tested in this study. A short description of Persian morphology and syntax which is directly related to narrative texts is presented in 2.7.1.4.

1.1.1.1 Persian

Persian is the official language of Iran. It is the main medium of instruction in schools and the language of media and administration. Historically the Persian language falls into three periods: Old, Middle and Modern. Old Persian was highly inflected, as was Avestan, which is regarded by some as a form of Old Persian and by others as a separate language. Old Persian is attested from the cuneiform inscriptions left by the Achaemenid dynasty (559-331 B.C.) that ruled the lands known as the Realm of the Aryans – from which comes the name of the modern country Iran – up until the conquest of Alexander the Great.

Middle Persian derives directly from Old Persian. Also called Pahlavi, after the Parthians who ruled Persia after the collapse of Alexander's Empire, it is known chiefly through its use in Persian's pre-Islamic Zoroastrian religious writings. Middle Persian prevailed under the Sassanid rulers of Persia (3rd to 7th centuries). Grammatically, much simplification of inflection took place in Middle Persian, which was recorded both in the Aramaic and Pahlavi alphabets.

According to Abolghassemi (1996), the modern form of Persian evolved directly from Middle Persian and may be said to have begun in the 9th or 10th century. It has not changed much since that date and the literary works which were composed ten centuries ago are completely intelligible to Persian-speaking

people in Iran today. The grammar of Modern Persian is comparatively simple. The inflection of nouns and verbs has been greatly reduced since the ancient stage of the language, i.e. Old Persian. The Early Modern period of the language (9th to 11th centuries) – which is preserved in the literature of the Empire – is known as Classical Persian, due to the eminence and distinction of poets such as Roudaki, Ferdowsi, and Khayyam. During this period, Persian was a well-known language, and was adopted as the lingua franca of the eastern Islamic nations.

Scholars recognize three major dialect divisions of Persian: Farsi, or the Persian of Iran, Dari Persian of Afghanistan, and Tajik, a variant spoken in Tajikistan in Central Asia. In Afghanistan, both Dari Persian and Pashtu are spoken. Pashtu is a member of the Iranian group of languages which is spoken by nearly eleven million people in Pakistan and by nearly eight million in Afghanistan, where it is an official language, along with Persian (Crystal, 1992, p.291). In Afghanistan, the Persian language used in schools and heard on the radio seems to have a literary-like tone. The Persian spoken in Teheran serves as a model for more formal styles, but some colloquial styles are closer to Tajik. Only minor lexical differences exist between the literary forms used in Iran and Afghanistan. Although both Pashtu and Dari are official languages, Dari has a special social status in Afghanistan because of its historical prestige; it is the preferred language for communication among speakers of different linguistic backgrounds. It might be worthy of note that Dari or Dari Persian is the earliest form of Modern Persian. The total number of Persian-speaking people is high: about 60 percent of Iran's population are Persian speakers; about 65% of Tajikistan's population speak Tajik-Persian, and Dari-Persian is spoken by over 25 percent of Afghanistan's population. According to *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (2003, Vol.3, p.263), the three major varieties of the Persian language are all official languages: Persian of Iran which has around 40 million of native speakers, Dari of Afghanistan which is spoken by 13 million people, and Tajiki of Tajikistan, which has 4-5 million speakers (Figure 1.4).

Comrie (1987, pp.515-17) states that Iranian languages at the period of Old Persian had a wider geographical distribution than at present. However, the new generations of Iranian languages are still spoken in a wide area, extending from eastern Turkey in the west to the western borders of China in the east. He



Figure 1.4
Persian-speaking Area

presents a map illustrating the approximate present distribution of the Iranian languages (Figure 1.5). He divides the languages which are genetically related to Iranian and currently spoken into four major groups. The first group known as South-West Iranian includes such languages as Persian (Iran), Dari (Afghanistan), and Tajiki (Tajikistan). Luri and Bakhtiari (nomadic, Iran) also belong to this group. The second group called North-West Iranian comprises such languages as Kurdish (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria), Balochi (Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan), and dialects of central Iran. The third group known as South-East Iranian consists of such languages as Pashto (Afghanistan, Pakistan), and Pamir languages (China). The last group is called North-East Iranian and includes Ossete (Caucasia), and Yaghnobi (Tajikistan).

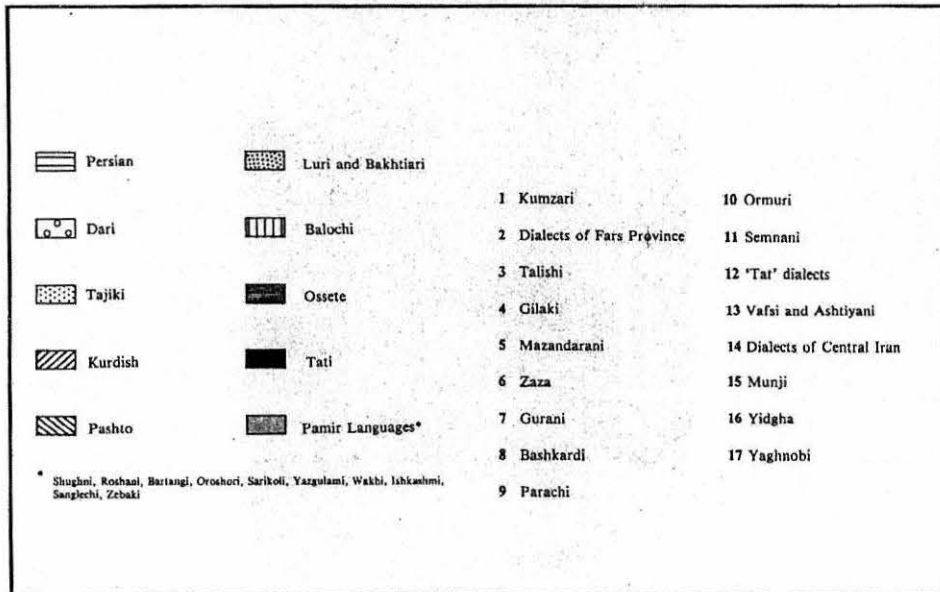
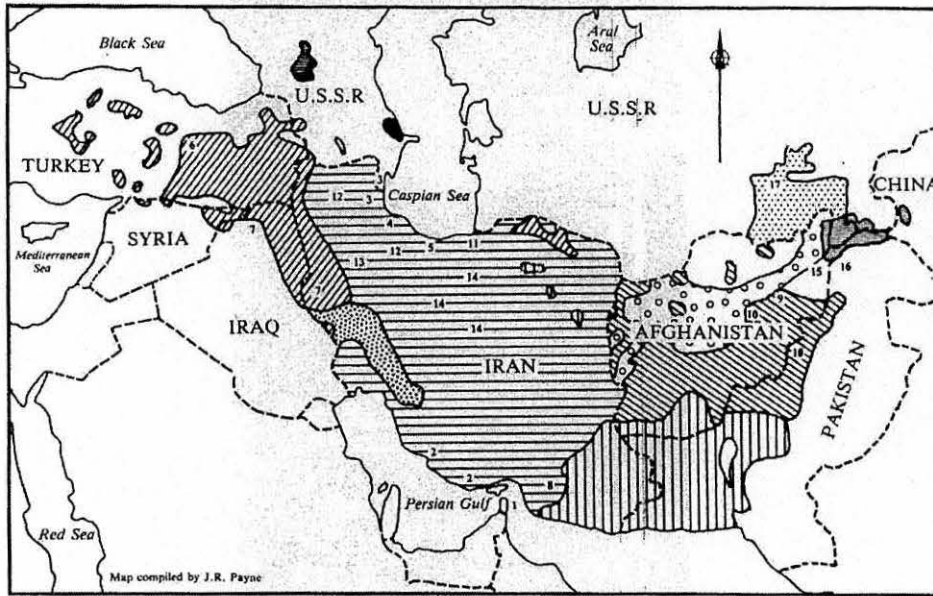


Figure 1.5

Approximate Distribution of Iranian Languages

(Comrie, B. (ed) (1987) *The World's Major Languages*, pp.516-17)

Extensive contact between Persian-speaking people and Arabs led to a large influx of Arabic vocabulary into Persian. In fact, a writer of Classical Persian had at his or her disposal the entire Arabic lexicon, and could use Arabic terms freely either for literary effect or to display erudition. Later, Tehran was chosen as the capital of Persia by the Qajar Dynasty in 1787. After that, the dialect of Teheran rose in prominence, and this Modern Persian dialect became the basis of what is now called Modern Standard Persian.

A great number of Arabic words were added to the vocabulary after the Muslim Arabs arrived in the country in the 7th century. Many old and pure Persian words were abandoned and gave way to words borrowed from Arabic. In the course of the following centuries, a large number of foreign words were borrowed. These foreign languages include Arabic, Turkish, Mongolian, and more recently French and English. During the twentieth century, however, there was a strong tendency to use words of mainly Persian origin. Although Persian still contains a large number of Arabic terms, most borrowings have been nativized, with a much lower percentage of Arabic words in colloquial forms of the language than in formal written styles.

The grammatical structure of modern Persian is very close to that of Dari. Verbs are formed using one of two basic stems: present and past. Aspect is as important as tense and all verbs are marked as perfective or imperfective. The latter is marked by means of prefixation. Both perfective and imperfective verb forms appear in three tenses: present, past and inferential past. The language has an aorist (a type of past tense), and has three moods: indicative, subjunctive, counterfactual. The passive is formed with the verb 'to become', and is not permitted with specified agents. In addition, verbs agree with the subject in person and number. Persian verbs are normally compounds consisting of a noun or an adjective and a verb. Word order in Persian is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV), although modifiers follow the nouns they modify. Furthermore, the language has prepositions. Words are mostly stressed on the last syllable.

The richly inflected morphological system of Old Iranian has been drastically reduced in Persian. The language has no grammatical gender or articles, but person and number distinctions are maintained. Nouns are marked for specificity: there is one marker in the singular and two in the plural. Objects of transitive

verbs are usually marked by the functor *râ*. The morphological features of Arabic words are preserved in loans, thus Persian shows ‘broken’ plural formations. That is to say, a word may have two different plural forms (*ketâb* ‘book’, *ketâb- hâ* ‘books’/ *kotob* ‘books’).

In modern Persian, the number of vowels has reduced from eight in Dari Persian to six (â, a, e, i, o, u), and thus Persian distinguishes short and long vowels. Modern Persian is written in a version of the Arabic script (28 letters), which has some innovations to account for Persian phonological differences from Arabic. These alphabets include four additional letters پ, چ, ج, and ژ which represent four different phonemes, /p/, /č/, /g/, and /ž/, respectively. In Persian script, words are written from right to left, and most letters change form depending on whether they appear at the beginning, middle or end of a word, or on their own. Short vowels are not written, which means the pronunciation and meaning of many words is determined by context.

Persian is known by various names in the various regions of the world in which it is spoken. In Iran, where it is the official language, it is known as Farsi. In Afghanistan, where it is spoken as a second language, it is referred to as Dari Farsi, and in the Republic of Tajikistan, where it is spoken by most people, it is called Tajiki. It is worthy of note that ‘Persian’ is an English word whereas ‘Farsi’ is its Persian equivalent.

In recent years, there has been a growing tendency in English to refer to modern Persian as Farsi. Yarshater (1992, p.28) argues that damage was done by changing ‘Persia’ to ‘Iran’, and believes that the use of ‘Farsi’ instead of ‘Persian’ in foreign languages is just as detrimental. Persian, the term used for centuries in the West, originated in a region of southern Iran formerly known as Persis. It was the language of the Parsa, an Indo-European nomadic people who migrated into the region in about 1000 BC. The older forms of the language are known as Old and Middle Persian. Old Persian was spoken until approximately the 3rd century B.C., and Middle Persian – referred to as Pahlavi – was spoken in the period between the 3rd century B.C. and the 9th century A.D. The use of the names Persia and Persian was gradually extended by the Ancient Greeks and other Western peoples to refer to the Iranian Plateau and the official language spoken in this region, respectively. New Persian is closely related to these ancient forms.

There are thus reasons why it is a mistake to refer to the Persian language as Farsi. First, this would be to ignore the above-mentioned historical facts about this language, since the name Farsi refers only to certain dialects such as the Persian of Iran as opposed to Tajiki, the Persian of Tajikistan or Dari, the Persian of Afghanistan.

Secondly, the use of the word Farsi in English strikes an inappropriate tone to the native speaker. We can draw an analogy between this situation and someone speaking in English about their recent trip to Paris saying, "I went to Paris and there I spoke Français." To use the word Farsi has the same impact and may sound not only pretentious at times but may also violate English word-formation rules.

Thirdly, for an English speaker the word 'Persian', consciously or unconsciously, recalls Iran's rich historical and cultural heritage. Persian is closely associated with Persian history, Persian poetry, Persian carpets, and so on. When this language is referred to as Persian, the audience may associate it with one or more of these relevant ideas. On the other hand, the word Farsi not only lacks these historical and cultural associations, but it also adds to the recent portrayal of Iran as an unknown nation.

Therefore, it would be better to avoid the use of the word 'Farsi' in favour of 'Persian' in foreign tongues and international communities, as the use of the former does not benefit the representation of Iranian culture. For this reason, I have used the term 'Persian' throughout this text while referring to the official language of Iran.

1.1.1.2 Turkish

Broadly speaking, the term 'Turks' refers to the Turkic-speaking peoples of Turkey, Russia, Central Asia, Chinese Turkistan, Azerbaijan, the Caucasus, Iran and Afghanistan. They were originally nomadic peoples who had established a large empire stretching from Mongolia to the Black Sea. Turks speak one of the languages belonging to the Turkic branch of the Altaic language family.

Katzner (1990, p.25) divides Altaic languages into three major subfamilies: Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic. He further classifies Turkic languages into four main groups: Southwestern Turkic (Turkish, Azerbaijani, and Turkmen);

Northwestern Turkic (Kazakh, Kirgiz, Tatar, and Bashkir); Southeastern Turkic (Uzbek, and Uigur); and Northeastern Turkic (Chuvash). He maintains that Turkic languages are a homogeneous group which consists of twenty languages which tend to be mutually intelligible. He adds that Turkish is the most important Turkic language and the Turkish-speaking people make up 50% of the entire Turkic-speaking population.

Johanson and Csató (1998, cited in Comrie 2004, p.23) present a similar classification of the Turkic languages. According to them, Turkic languages fall into four branches: Southwestern (Oghuz) Turkic which includes such languages as Turkish (spoken in Turkey), Azeri (Azerbaijani) (spoken in Azerbaijan, and northwestern Iran), and Turkmen (spoken in Turkmenistan, Iran and Afghanistan); Northwestern (Kipchak) Turkic which consists of Kumyk and Karachay-Balkar (both spoken in the Caucasus), Tatar and Bashkir (both spoken on the Volga), Kazakh (spoken in Kazakhstan and northwestern China), and Kirghiz (spoken in Kyrgyzstan); Southeastern (Uyghur) Turkic which includes Uzbek (spoken in Uzbekistan), and Uyghur (spoken mainly in northwestern China). The fourth group, i.e. Northeastern (Siberian) Turkic includes Tuvan and Altai (Oyrot) (spoken in southern Siberia), and Yakut (Sakha) (spoken in the very large Sakha Republic in Russia). It is worthy of note that in their classification, Chuvash (spoken in the Chuvash Republic in Russia), and Khalaj (spoken by a small population in Central Iran) fall into a separate branch. According to Kornfilt (1987, p.620), Chuvash which is spoken on the middle of Volga, is “radically different from all its relatives”.

Turkish is mainly spoken in Turkey, although it is also used by some minority groups in Cyprus, Greece, Bulgaria and some other countries. According to Grimes (1992), about 56 million people speak Turkish, most of whom live in Turkey. It is the official language of Turkey, and is considered to be the first language of 90 percent of the total population. He adds that in Bulgaria, for example, there are about 850,000 Turkish speakers. Comrie (1987) states that in Cyprus, Turkish is a co-official language (with Greek) and it is spoken as a first language by 19 percent of the population.

In general, two of the three Southwestern Turkic languages, i.e. Azerbaijani (or Azeri) and Turkeman are spoken in Iran. The largest Turkic-speaking group in

Iran is the Azarbaijanis, who comprise a large proportion of all Turkic speakers in Iran (over 85 percent). Most Azarbaijanis are concentrated in the northwestern corner of the country, where they form the majority population in an area between the Caspian Sea and Lake Orumiyeh and from the Azerbaijan border south to the latitude of Tehran. Their language, Azarbaijani (also called Azeri), is structurally similar to the Turkish spoken in Turkey but with a strikingly different accent. About half of all Azarbaijanis live in urban centres. Major Azarbaijani cities include Tabriz, Orumiyeh, and Ardebil. In addition, there are sizable Azarbaijani minorities in other major cities, such as Tehran, Karaj, Qazvin, and Hamedan. The Turkic language spoken by the Qashqais is closely related to Azarbaijani. The Qashqais are Turkic-speaking tribes in the central province of Fars and they make up the second largest Turkic group in Iran. The Turkish which is spoken in Iran is mostly related to the Turkish spoken in Azerbaijan, the neighbouring country, but it has undergone varying developments and has different dialects in various regions. The Turkish dialect spoken in both the Azarbaijan province in Iran and in the neighbouring country, Azerbaijan, is considered to be the mother tongue of the Iranian Turks.

Turkmen is the other Southwestern Turkic language spoken by some Turkmen tribes in Iran. They live in the Turkaman Sahra and in the Gorgan plains, near the Iranian border with its neighbouring country, Turkmenistan. This area extends from the Atrak River in the north, to the Caspian Sea in the west; from the Quchan mountains to the East and the Gorgan river to the South. According to Crystal (1992, p.398), about three million people speak Turkmen. In general, Azarbaijani is more similar to Turkish than to Turkmen (Figure 1.6).

Hayat (1986, pp.169-70) states that the Turks' first migration to Azerbaijan – located to the northwest of Iran – took place in the 7th century B.C. It was followed by two other migrations in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. A group of Turks were also forced to settle in Azerbaijan in the 7th century A. D. after they had been defeated by the Sassanid army. He adds that further invasions of Iran by the Turks began in the 11th century through Khorasan (p.5). Today, Iranian Turks live mainly in the northwest of Iran.

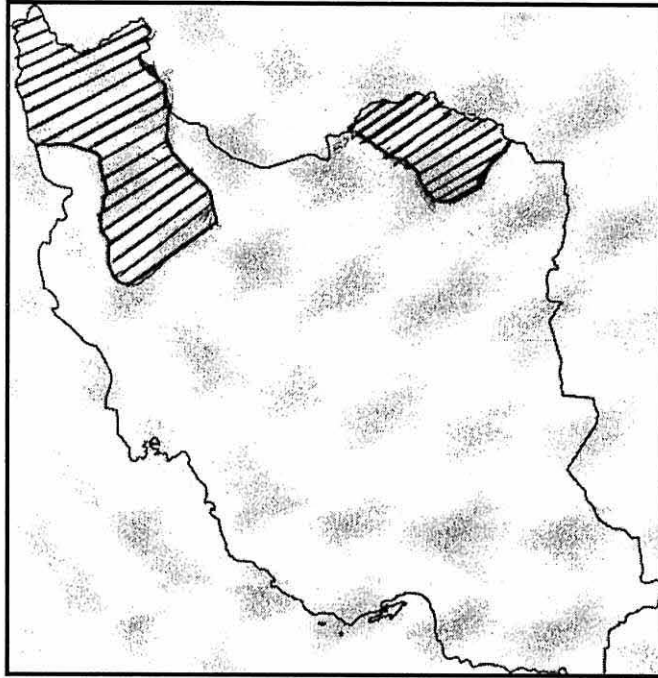


Figure 1.6
Turkish-speaking Areas in Iran

It is common practice to refer to all Turkic languages spoken in the area between Mongolia and Turkey as ‘Turkish’, however it would be better to use the term ‘Turkish’ to refer solely to the language spoken in Turkey, and to refer to all these other languages as Turkish together with a label which indicates the geographical area where they are spoken. We might, for example, talk of the ‘Turkish language of Azerbaijan’, or ‘Khorasani Turkish’. The latter is, in fact, the third most important Turkic language spoken in Iran. It is spoken in the Northeast of the country in Quchan and the neighbouring towns such as Bojnord, Shirvan, Daregaz, Faruj and Chakane, which are located in the North Khorasan and Razavi Khorasan provinces (Fig. 1.7). This language is midway linguistically between Azerbaijani and Turkmen, but is not considered as a dialect of either. It is said that it is related to the southeastern Turkic language, Uzbek. However, Hayat (1986, pp.323-24) considers this language to be one of the dialects of Azerbaijani and slightly different from it. He also believes that interaction with the speakers of

neighbouring Persian-speaking people, Kurds and Turkmen tribes, has caused a shift from Azerbaijani. Khorasani Turkish is not a literary language, but the government broadcasts some programmes in it. This language has its own dialects: west dialect in Bojnurd region, north dialect in Quchan region (probably the largest) and south dialect around Soltanabad, near Sabzevar.

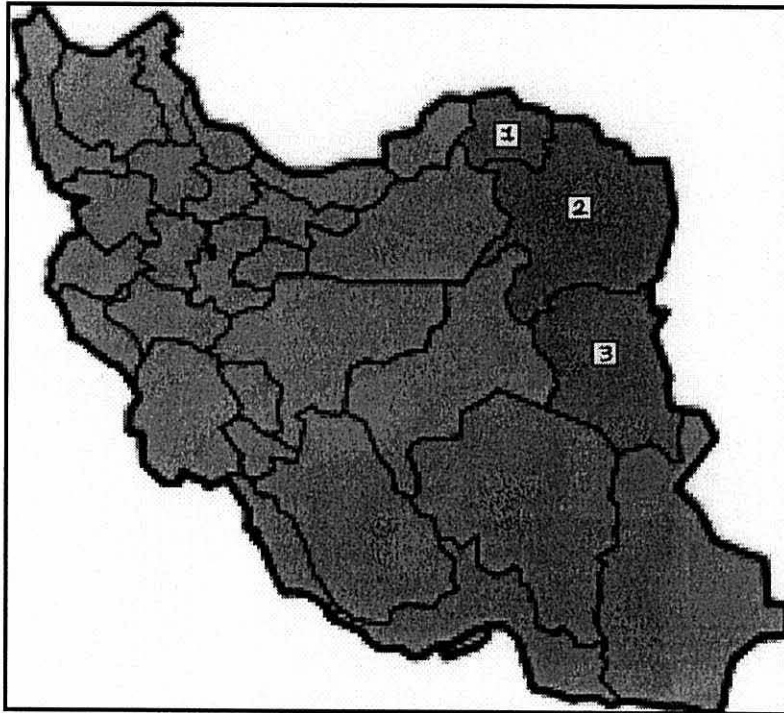


Figure 1.7

Khorasan Provinces

(1. North Khorasan; 2. Razavi Khorasan; 3. South Khorasan)

(<http://experts.about.com>)

Hayat also states that more than one million people in Khorasan Province use Khorasani Turkish as their first language. Khoasani Turkish-speaking people mostly live in northern regions: Bojnord, Shirvan, and Quchan. According to Hayat, the total population of Quchan, which is over 200,000 people, consists of Turkish-speaking (40 percent), Kurdish-speaking (40 percent), and Persian-speaking people (20 percent). Jabani (1985, p.239) maintains that in the Quchan villages, the majority of people speak Kurdish, followed by Turkish-speaking people, and finally a small number of people who speak Persian. At the same

time, the majority of people living in the Quchan town speak Persian. Zowghdar-Moghaddam (1989, p.8) is of the same opinion, and adds that the majority of the town's resident population who speak Persian might have familiarity with the two other local languages, i.e. Turkish and Kurdish.

In general, except for superficial differences in vocabulary, the Turkic languages are sufficiently similar that under other political circumstances they would very probably be considered dialects of the same language. Turkish

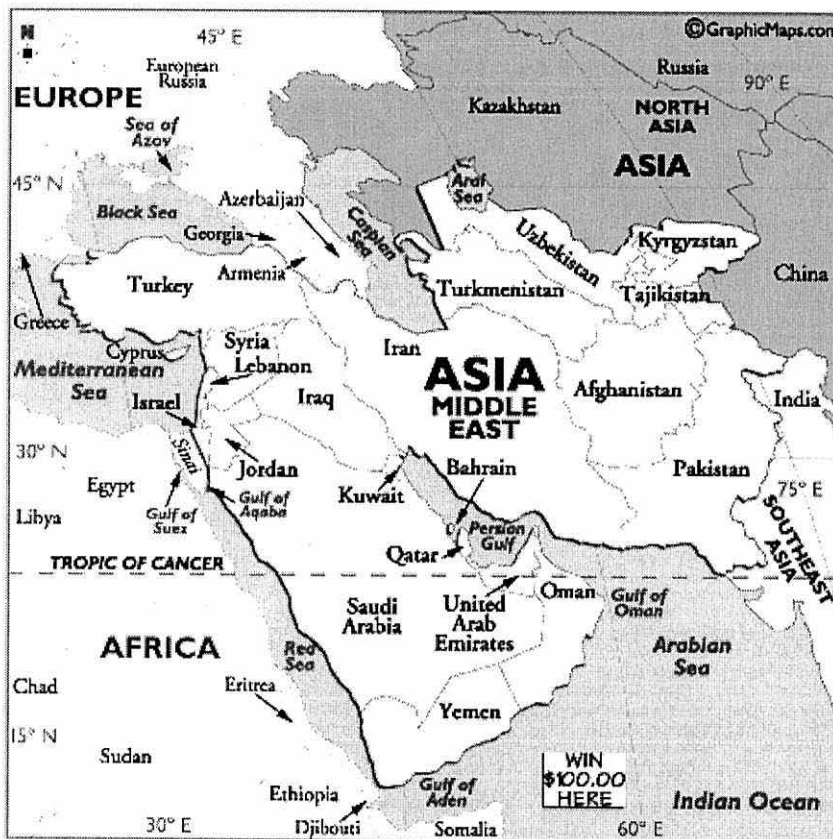


Figure 1.8

The Middle East

(<http://www.worldatlas.com>)

varieties tend to be mutually intelligible, barring vocabulary differences with the Turkic varieties spoken in adjacent areas, in particular Azerbaijani, Uzbek, and Turkmen. Thus, a speaker of Turkish can be understood as far east as Kyrgyzstan. Moreover, the various Turkic languages spoken in Iran are also mutually intelligible (Figure 1.8).

As far as their structural characteristics are concerned, Turkic languages are agglutinating, and unlike Indo-European languages, they are characterized by short base words to which are added numerous prefixes and suffixes. Grammatical functions are indicated by adding various suffixes to stems. Separate suffixes on nouns indicate both natural gender and number, but there is no grammatical gender. Nouns are declined in three declensions with six case endings: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, locative, and ablative. Number is marked by a plural suffix. Verbs agree with their subjects in case and number, and, as in nouns, separate identifiable suffixes perform these functions. The order of elements in a verb form is: verb stem + tense aspect marker + subject affix. According to Berman and Slobin (1994, p.111), the dominant main-clause order in Turkish is SOV. Additionally, adjectives and genitives also precede nouns. Postpositions are used, and relative clauses are located before their heads.

Turkic languages are also distinguished by their vowel harmony, which means that the kind of vowel used in the base word and the suffixes must agree. Thus, lengthy words might be filled with ‘o’s’ and ‘u’s’ or with ‘a’s’ and ‘e’s’, but not with mixtures of these. For example, as Gussenhoven and Jacobs (1998, p.90) state, “high vowels in suffixes agree for [back] and [round] with the preceding vowel in the word”. This is shown below.

(1) <i>Nominative</i>	<i>Possessive</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
[køj]	[køjy]	‘village’
[kep]	[kepi]	‘cap’
[at]	[atω]	‘horse’
[son]	[sonu]	‘end’

Turkish consists of 21 consonants and 8 vowels. The Turkish vowels are divided into four front vowels (i, y, e, and ø), and four back vowels (ω, u, a, and o) (Gussenhoven and Jacobs 1998). As Kornfilt (1987, p. 628) states, Turkish has in general word-final stress. Turkish does not have grammatical gender, and it does not have a definite article either. The numeral *bir* ‘one’ can be used as an indefinite

article (Campbell 2001, Vol. II, p.1692). It is worthy of note that all these four features are shared by Persian.

According to Kornfilt (1987, p.621), prior to the reform of 1928 that introduced a Roman script, Turkish was written in the Arabic script. However, up to the fifteenth century the Anatolian Turks also used the Uighur script to write Turkish. A Latin alphabet was introduced in 1928 and put into force in 1929. This writing system takes into account and symbolizes the sounds that are specific to Turkish by using adopted phonetic symbols. As Kornfilt (1987, p.625) states “the diacritics used for less common sounds makes some of the signs very similar to some versions of the phonetic script”. In Iran, it is common practice to write the Turkic languages using the Arabic script. It might be worth mentioning that for the sake of simplicity, throughout this thesis (except in the preceding paragraphs), I have used ‘Turkish’ to refer to the north dialect of Khorasani Turkish spoken in the Quchan region. The ‘Turkish’ spoken in the Quchan region consists of 21 consonants and 8 vowels: [a] as in *at* ‘meat’, [â] as in *sičân* ‘mouse’, [e] as in *jer* ‘place’, [o] as in *oylân* ‘boy’, [œ] as in *gæz* ‘eye’, [i] as in *it* ‘dog’, [u] as in *su* ‘water’, and [y] as in *syt* ‘milk’.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

As stated earlier, bilingualism is a widespread phenomenon, and as Hoffmann (1991, p.157) argues, it would be unreasonable to consider monolingualism as the norm. Hoffmann also claims that more than half the world’s population are bilingual, and that most countries display considerable linguistic diversity. Yet many governments promote one of the languages spoken in their countries and impose limitations on the speakers of the other minority languages. In many countries, most of the children from these groups have to attend schools in which no auxiliary classes in their second language are offered, and no instruction is given in their own ethnic language. Hoffmann (1991, p.21) also maintains that in many European countries, bilinguals learn the L2 at the expense of the L1, and because of different social pressures, “many minority groups in Europe find themselves undergoing a process of language shift, away from their ethnic tongue and towards the national language of the country they now live in”. In such conditions, in which bilingual children are not exposed to both languages equally,

we are facing, in Hameedy's (2004, p.2) words, "bilinguality of home and school rather than bilingualism". Paulston (1988) considers bilinguality of home and school as a worldwide phenomenon.

Strictly speaking, Iran cannot be characterized as a multilingual society, but there are many minorities which live in various parts of the country. As in many other countries, bilingual children attend the same schools as monolingual children, using the same educational materials. They do not receive any supplementary instruction in their second language and no materials in their mother tongue are on the curriculum.

A brief description of the region under discussion (Quchan) might help to look at the issue from a better viewpoint. This region provides a good example of linguistic diversity, wherein three different ethnic and linguistic groups i.e. Persian, Turkish, and Kurdish have lived together for a long period of time. This area has originally been inhabited by Persian-speaking people since the Indo-European migration to the South more than three thousand years ago. As Shakeri (1986, p.55) states, the Turkish-speaking population settled in the region more than ten centuries ago. He also states that a tribe of Kurdish people was later brought to this part of the country about four centuries ago to protect the northeastern borders against Turkmens and Uzbeks (p.54).

This region is located in the Khorasan province (Figure 1.9), which is considered to be the cradle of the Modern Persian language and literature and the homeland of such great Iranian poets as Ferdowsi, Attar, and Khayyam. It is located in the north-east and encompasses such major Persian-speaking cities as Mashhad, Neyshabur, and Sabzevar. This area has an original Persian-speaking linguistic and cultural atmosphere, and it seems that Turkish and Kurdish-speaking people have been assimilated into the dominant Persian-speaking people's culture. There has been ethnic violence and clashes between the Kurdish-speaking and Turkish-speaking minorities and the central government in the west of the country; however, this region has not been reported as having any ethnic strife or tensions. Throughout history, most Persians speakers' traditions have



Figure 1.9
Khorasan Province
(<http://mapzones.com>)

become part of Turkish and Kurdish people's folklore. Code-switching among Turkish-speaking adults and code-mixing among children are very common. On the other hand, because of the long interaction with Turkish-speaking people, Persian speakers have also been affected by the minority ethnic groups. For example, many Persian speakers are able to speak Turkish to a certain degree, and they use many Turkish idioms and proverbs, and some Kurdish interjections, while speaking Persian. Turkish and Kurdish folk music is also warmly welcomed by the Persian-speaking community. For this reason, it seems that bilingual children living in the region have a better mastery of Persian in comparison with those who live in such areas as East Azerbaijan Province in the western part of the country, where the Turkish language and culture are dominant. According to Manzoorniya (1992), only 41% of the population in this latter part of the country can speak Persian.

It might be worthy of note that such a type of bilingualism, i.e. between a Turukic and an Iranian language is common in a wider area in Central Asia, and varieties of both families of languages may be used simultaneously by speakers having some command of each. In this respect, Schlyter (2004, p.812) considers the bilingualism between Uzbek and Tajik to be the most longstanding and comprehensive kind in Central Asia, stretching from Bukhara and Samarkand and the areas surrounding these two old cities in the Zarafshan Valley through present-day Tajikistan to the Ferghana Valley. Schlyter adds that this situation is considered to be a stable bilingualism “with little difference in functional status and prestige between the two languages”.

1.3 Rationale for the Study

Although bilinguals constitute a very large proportion of the world’s population, it seems that, especially in educational affairs, they are almost universally ignored. Many studies have emphasized the advantages of bilingualism and bilingual education worldwide (Grosjean 1982; Bialystok 1999, in press), yet in many countries, state schools never present any materials in bilingual children’s mother tongue. Neither do the children have access to supplementary classes to practice their second language. Implementing such educational traditions has resulted in many serious problems for minority bilingual children. In Iran, despite the emphasis put in the Iranian Constitution on the basic right of minority groups to use their mother tongues in schools, it can be said that the same kind of educational traditions are still at work, because instruction is entirely in Persian, the language of the majority. Mehrmohammadi (1992) believes that this situation and its consequences have seldom been taken into consideration in Iran, “partly because of the fear that it might give rise to separatist movements and hence threaten the national cohesion, vis-à-vis security”.

According to Karimi (2003, cited in Hameedy 2004, pp.3-4), in the international reading comprehension study of 1970 in which fifteen countries participated, Iran ranked 14th. Neither was there any substantial change in PIRLS 2001 (the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study), in which Iran was one of the lowest ranked countries (32nd among the 35 participating countries). On the evidence of the results of the two international studies, i.e. PIRLS, and TIMSS

(the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study), Hameedy (2004, p.3) concludes that the school curriculum has not been effective for the non-Persian-speaking students, and that it has thus created a problem of 'bilinguality of home and school' for them. He adds that the same factor seems to have contributed to higher grade repetition and drop-out rates among bilingual children, and that there is thus a need for revamping the reading curriculum for all the Iranian students.

Many serious challenges and questions might be said to arise in such conditions, which need to be addressed by educationalists. It would be reasonable, for example, to ask whether there is any significant difference between bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking students' academic achievement and that of their monolingual peers, or whether there is any significant difference between bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking students' language performance in Persian, and that of their monolingual peers on narrative and conversation tasks. Although bilingual education is a matter of great importance to a large sub-population of many countries, relatively little research has been carried out in this area. There have been to date relatively few studies in the field of bilinguals in Iran. Most studies have focused on such issues as comparing the academic achievement of bilingual and monolingual school boys, preschool effects on school performance of the bilingual and monolingual primary school boys, and bilinguals' low performance in reading and writing skills (e.g. Mehrjou & Hadian 1992; Addeeb 1993; Asle-Fattahi 1994; Dinarvand 1994). The existence of these studies shows the importance of conducting research relating to bilinguals. To my knowledge, no research to date has been carried out to compare bilingual's narrative competence with that of monolinguals. More research is needed which has implications for bilingual education in Iran. By employing a new method of language proficiency assessment and focusing on mere linguistic criteria, the author hopes that the results of the study could help the educational authorities find practical solutions and to contribute to the design of better instructional programmes as well. This would, in turn, help to bridge any identified gaps between bilinguals and their monolingual peers.

It might also be worth mentioning that most studies carried out in Iran have used questionnaires or the subjects' marks in certain school courses to assess

subjects' language mastery. Making use of examples of language production such as conversation or narration could however allow us to assess both the subjects' mastery of grammar as well as of aspects of communication at the same time. It seems that of the studies of bilinguals' language performance that have been undertaken in the country, none have focused on both narration and conversation as a means of assessment. Finally, the role of gender has not so far been investigated extensively in studies of bilingual children in Iran. In fact, in most research reports available, male students have usually been used as subjects. It seems that girls usually do better on tests of language on average than boys and therefore it is important for them to be included in the research. In summary, the shortage of research in the field of bilingual education, which suggests a serious neglect of this field, justifies carrying out scholarly study to investigate this somewhat untrodden path. It is hoped that the present study may also shed some light on the current linguistic situation, and on bilingual education in Iran.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general purpose of this study is to add new insight into the issue of language proficiency by generalizing the findings from the subjects' language performances. It is also one of the general aims of the present study to address some of the questions concerning the present bilingual students' educational situation in Iran by evaluating the students' language performance, analyzing the results obtained, and offering some suggestions concerning the present linguistic situation.

By assessing and comparing the Persian language performance of some bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking students with their monolingual Persian-speaking peers in two primary schools in Quchan, the study seeks to find out whether monolingual Persian-speaking students achieve a better performance than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers on narrative and conversation tasks in Persian. In addition, the study aims to discover whether being bilingual can be considered as a possible contributing factor in the level of the subjects' academic achievements. In other words, do monolingual Persian-speaking students show a better academic achievement than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers, and if so, is there any relation between their language performance scores and

academic scores? The study also helps to find out whether such factors as gender and grade are relevant to the subjects' language performance and academic achievement.

1.5 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The aim of the present study is to find convincing answers to the following research questions:

1. Is there any significant difference between bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking students' Persian performance and that of their monolingual peers on narrative and conversation tasks?
2. Is there any significant difference between bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking students' academic achievement and that of their monolingual peers?

The hypotheses to be tested were:

- H1: Monolingual Persian-speaking students achieve higher scores than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers on narrative and conversation tasks.
- H2: Monolingual Persian-speaking students show better Academic Achievement than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers.

1.6 Definition of Terms

A description of the key terms related to this study and used in the title is given below. An attempt has also been made to clarify the intended meaning of these terms in this thesis.

1.6.1 Bilingual

The term *bilingual* may seem to be very easy to define at first glance. Though a frequently-used term in the literature on bilingual education, the concept is, however, often taken-for-granted. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1986, p.215) defines *bilingual* as "having or using two languages especially as

spoken with the fluency characteristic of a native speaker; a person using two languages especially habitually and with control like that of a native speaker” and *bilingualism* as “the constant oral use of two languages”. The *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2005, p.139) describes *bilingual* as a person who is “able to speak two languages equally well”. Similarly, Bloomfield (1933, p.15, cited in Hoffmann 1991, p.56) considers *bilingualism* as the “native-like control of two languages”. Malmkjær (1991, p.57) states that a *bilingual* person is usually defined as “one whose linguistic ability in two languages is similar to that of a native speaker”. According to *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (2003, Vol.I, p.223), a *bilingual* individual is someone “who controls two or more languages”. The writer, however, admits that one would face considerable confusion if one tries to clearly interpret what is meant by “controlling a language”. In an attempt to define the term, Weinreich (1968, p.1, cited in Hoffmann 1991, p.15), for instance, states that “the practice of alternately using two languages will be called *bilingualism*, and the person involved, *bilingual*”. Li Wei (2000, p.7) states that in the first place, the word ‘bilingual’ refers to a person who possesses two languages. He adds that, however, it can also be taken “to include the many people in the world who have varying degrees of and interchangeably use three, four or even more languages”.

In defining a bilingual, there are also main differences of perspective between those who define bilingualism as native like proficiency and those who see it as based on usage. Baker and Prys Jones (1998, p.2) state that in defining a bilingual person, we may wish to ask whether ‘language proficiency’ is the only criterion for assessing bilingualism, or the ‘use’ of two languages should be taken into consideration as well. In this respect, Li Wei (2000, pp.15-16) argues that according to the more general definitions of bilingualism, people who understand a second language in either spoken or written former or both – but do not necessarily speak or write it – are considered to be bilinguals. He adds that, however, based on a more common usage of the term, bilingual is someone who “can function in both languages in conversational interaction”. In presenting a definition for a bilingual, Myers-Scotton (2006, pp.38-40) also poses the question whether we should emphasize *knowing* more than one language or we have to put emphasis on *using* more than two languages regularly. She adds that in assessing a

bilingual's proficiency, we are facing another problem: Do we have to assess only bilingual's grammatical competence, or we should consider his/her communicative competence as well? Bilingualism, according to her, is "the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation" (p.44). Grosjean (1982, pp.230-31) states that fluency in two languages has often been considered as the major criterion for assessing a bilingual person. He adds, however, putting too much emphasis on fluency has caused the researchers not to draw enough attention to such other factors as "the regular use of two languages, their domain of use, and the bilingual's need to have certain skills (reading and writing, for instance) in one language but not in the other".

In this respect, Romaine (1995, p.11) states that "bilingualism has often been defined and described in terms of categories, scales and dichotomies ... which are related to such factors as proficiency, function, etc". For example, some linguists distinguish between *bilingualism* (societal bilingualism) and *bilinguality* (individual bilingualism). Hamers and Blanc (1989:6) define *bilinguality* as "the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication", while *bilingualism* refers to bilinguality, and equally to "the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual".

Considering the wide range of definitions provided in the literature, it would be difficult to draw a borderline between bilingual and non-bilingual people. Hamers & Blanc (1989, p.7) state that using these definitions would result in a number of difficulties both on theoretical and methodological grounds. They argue that these definitions lack precision and operationalism, since they do not make it clear what is meant by native-like competence, which differs to a large extent among a wide range of the members of the unilingual population. A similar criticism has been offered by Baker (2006, p.8) who maintains that Bloomfield's definition is ambiguous since it is not clear "what is meant by 'control' and who forms the 'native' reference group". In this regard, Baker & Prys Jones (1998) raise the question that if we believe that Bloomfield's (1933) definition of bilingualism as "the native-like control of two or more languages" is too extreme

at one end, would it be reasonable to consider ‘incipient bilingualism’ as the other extreme? According to them (p.91), the term ‘incipient bilingualism’, which was coined by Diebold (1964), makes it possible to include people with minimal competence in a second language as bilinguals. Baker (2006, p.4) defines *incipient bilingual* as a bilingual person who has one well developed language, while the other one is in the early stages of development. Li Wei (2000, p.6) presenting a long list of terms which have been used to describe bilingual speakers, defines *incipient* as “someone at the early stages of bilingualism where one language is not fully developed”.

In this study, although the subjects were selected randomly, an attempt was made to select those bilinguals who seemed to be fairly strong in both languages, i.e. Turkish and Persian. In other words, the preference was to select those who demonstrated a balanced linguistic ability. It might be worthy of note that balanced bilingualism can be a problematic concept as well. For example, some people might consider balanced bilinguals as those who are very low in competence. However, as Baker (2006, p.9) states “the implicit idea of balanced bilingualism has often been of ‘reasonable’ or ‘good’ competence in both languages”. He also comments that although there exists some limitations in defining the notion, “it has proved to be of value in research and discussion”. Thus, in this study, in line with Hoffmann (1991) and in accordance with Baker’s (2006) perception of the term, *balanced bilingual* may be defined as “a bilingual who has a fairly good command of both languages”. It might be worthy of note that having equal competence in both languages does not necessarily mean that a balanced bilingual is able to use them in all contexts and for all functions.

1.6.2 Language Proficiency

Language proficiency is a controversial concept in linguistics. Bachman (1990 p.16) states that “the term ‘language proficiency’ has been traditionally used in the context of language testing to refer in general to knowledge, competence, or ability in the use of a language, irrespective of how, where, or under what conditions it has been acquired”. A distinction is made by Chomsky (1965) between *competence* and *performance*. Competence, according to him, is the

underlying ability which allows linguistic behaviour to take place, while performance refers to the behaviour itself.

In the literature on testing language, *proficiency* is considered as something quite general and identical with language ability. Weir (1990, p.7) argues that we can talk of testing *performance* when we consider a single subject in one isolated situation, but if we are willing to make a generalization about ability to handle other situations, it would be necessary to take into consideration *competence* as well. The term *capacity* proposed by Widdowson (1983) is what entails both performance and competence. Weir (1990, p.7) maintains that Bachman has used the term ‘communicative language ability’ to refer to both competence and the implementation of that competence. He further suggests that Bachman’s view is in line with that of Widdowson who presents a “more inclusive and satisfactory definition of language proficiency”.

When we enter the many different areas of bilingualism and bilingual education, language proficiency seems to become much more problematic a concept. For example, as discussed in section 1.6.1, scholars have conflicting and even opposing views on defining such rudimentary terms as *bilingualism* and *balanced bilingual*. When such a controversial term as language proficiency is discussed in relation to the above-mentioned problematic terms, it serves to confuse the issue further.

Baker (2006, p.3) argues that with respect to bilinguals, we are usually concerned with the *ability* to speak and/or the *use* of two languages. For this reason, he believes that there is an essential distinction between *language ability* on one hand and *language use* on the other. He further notes that this essential distinction is sometimes referred to as the difference between *degree* and *function*. Baker (1996, p.5) maintains that the inconsistency between different researchers and authors in using such terms as language competence, language performance, and language skills to indicate the same meaning makes the issue more problematic. He notes that language *skills* include such “highly specific, observable, clearly definable components” as handwriting. On the other hand, he considers *language competence* as “a broad and general term, used particularly to describe an inner, mental representation of language, something latent rather than overt”. He defines *language performance* as “the outward evidence of language

competence”, and states that we can have a better understanding of language competence by observing language comprehension and production. Finally, he argues that *language ability* and *language proficiency* seem to be used “as ‘umbrella’ terms and therefore used as somewhat ambiguously”. However, what is intended by *language proficiency* in this study is more in line with Rivera’s (1984a) view, which describes language proficiency as knowledge, competence, or ability in the use of a language which is an inner, mental representation of language. In other words, language proficiency has been used as a ‘cover’ term and synonymously with language competence in Baker’s (2006) terminology. By observing the subject’s performance in this study, i.e. his/her language comprehension and production on narrative and conversation tasks, an attempt was made to assess his/her language proficiency. An attempt has also been made to assess the subjects’ proficiencies using a somewhat communicative approach. A detailed description of this approach will be presented in 2.5.

1.6.3 Academic Achievement

One of the objectives of this study is to find out whether there is any significant relationship between the subjects’ language proficiency scores and their school marks. Based on the research carried out about minority bilingual children’s language proficiency in a majority educational setting in Iran, it seems that there would be a significant difference between monolingual and bilingual children’s Persian language proficiency scores on one hand and their school marks on the other. In other words, bilingual children who possess a lower degree of their second language proficiency get lower marks at school. In this study, *academic achievement* is considered to be the knowledge and the skills acquired through the educational system at school and is reflected in the subjects’ school marks.

One of the issues discussed in the literature is the search for more comprehensive definitions of language ability and how to measure language proficiency better. This would allow us a better understanding of bilingual proficiency in an educational setting. Saville-Troike (1983, p.131), for instance, maintains that whatever is assessed by using traditional language proficiency tests to measure such formal aspects of language as pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, “does not adequately reveal the linguistic requirements necessary for

success in school". She adds that "communicative competence would be more adequate as a target for language assessment".

Philips (1983, pp.88-9) is of the opinion that an ethnographic approach to language proficiency assessment of language minority children puts the emphasis on the need to develop assessment procedures in a way which entails culture-specific developmental sequences in the process of communicative competence acquisition. He further notes that "the main concern is that the child be taught in the language in which she or he has the skills to learn, to acquire knowledge, to think creatively".

There has been a shift from such traditional methods of testing as discrete-point to integrative proficiency tests. According to van Els *et al* (1984, pp.320-21) a discrete-point test is analytical in nature and is intended to measure only one point at a time, while in integrative tests "all components of language are integrated and tested in combination in a meaningful context". This shift involves making use of the communicative paradigm in language testing to achieve more realistic ways of assessing language proficiency in natural settings. This shift in the domain of language proficiency testing has led to more distinctions being made between different language abilities. Weir (1990, p.6) maintains that since integrative tests only tell us about an individual's linguistic competence and do not tell us anything directly about his/her performance ability, they are of limited use. According to him, these tests do not help us to be informed about different language tasks he/she may face in real life situations.

Baker (2006, p.13) mentioning the factor of global language proficiency proposed by Oller (1982), argues that the notion of a curriculum based language competence caused different authors to make a distinction between academically related language competence and conversational competence. He also mentions the distinction between surface fluency and academically related aspects of language competence made by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma (1976).

1.7 Theoretical Background

In this study a piece of narrative and a conversation produced by some children are used as the data for assessing the children's language proficiency. The emphasis is here very much on interactional aspects of language. With regards to

the narrative task (see 2.7.1), the study is theoretically in line with premises put forward by Berman and Slobin (1994) and their crosslinguistic developmental approach to relating events in narratives. Their findings relating to children's narrative development have been used to develop criteria for the subjects' language assessment. The narrative device used in this study is in fact Mercer Mayer's book consisting of 24 wordless pictures and known as 'The Frog Story', which was published in 1960. According to Berman and Slobin (1994, p.xi), this picture storybook has rapidly become a 'worldwide research tool'.

The theoretical motivation for the collection of conversational data (see 2.7.2) is Bennett and Slaughter's (1983) sociolinguistic/discourse approach which is based on the general discussions of Hymes (1972) on communicative competence and based on the line of thought put forward in discourse analysis and influenced by such works as Halliday and Hasan's (1976) work on cohesion. The author has also made use of the framework of narrative competence assessment practiced by Pearson (2002) in order to be able to compare the subjects' scores and uncover the differences which might affect their academic achievement. The framework of this study is theoretically also grounded in major work on natural conversation and other forms of discourse. Within this view, according to Brown and Yule (1983, p.ix), the speaker is placed at the centre of the process of communication, and it is asserted that it is the people who communicate and interpret. Accordingly, they point out that "this view is opposed to the study of these issues in terms of sentences considered in isolation from communicative contexts".

1.7.1 Discourse Analysis

In this study we use natural conversation and narrative production as a source of data. For this reason, it seems to be helpful to make use of the findings in the area of Discourse Analysis (DA) and to appeal to factors introduced by discourse analysts in their language proficiency assessments. Such an approach emphasizes the context in which a piece of discourse takes place. According to Brown and Yule (1983, p.27), in order to interpret some linguistic elements we need some kind of contextual information, although this issue does not normally receive much attention in the description of sentential syntax and semantics given by formal linguists. In discourse analysis we are concerned with the analysis of text,

which is a higher unit than the sentence. Halliday and Hasan (1976, pp.1-2) define text as “any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole”. They have defined texture to be an indispensable element of a text. They add what makes up a text is the cohesive relationship within and between sentences.

Schiffrin (1994, p.97) discusses different approaches to discourse. She states that interactional sociolinguistics is the approach which has the most diverse disciplinary origins: it is based in anthropology, sociology, and linguistics, and shares the concerns of all three fields with culture, society, and language. She considers the ethnography of communication to be another approach to discourse which is based in anthropology and linguistics, and she states that it is the most comprehensive of all. In comparison with other approaches, she claims, it focuses on a broader range of communicative behaviours. In addition, this theory and the methodology employed have given way to the discovery of a diversity of forms and functions appropriate for communication (p.137).

Schiffrin (1994, p.190) considers pragmatics as another broad approach to discourse. In her opinion, pragmatics deals with three concepts (meaning, context, and communication) which are themselves of great breadth and have no limits. Leech (1983, p.76) asserts that language is made up of grammar and pragmatics. He considers grammar to be “an abstract formal system for producing and interpreting messages”. General pragmatics, in his view, consists of a set of strategies and principles for successful communication by making use of grammar.

This research includes clause-level phenomena, inter-clausal relations, text structure, and genre forms, and interactional phenomena. Gee (1999, pp.149-50) discusses the *clause* quoting Halliday’s (1994) view which asserts that the clause is the most central unit in processing spoken and written language. Gee considers the clause to be an element which acts as mediator between lower-order units, i.e. words and phrases, and higher-order ones, i.e. sentences.

1.7.2 Berman and Slobin’s Developmental Approach

This study, by using a wordless storybook known as ‘the frog story’ and analyzing the narratives produced by some Persian-speaking monolinguals and bilingual

Turkish-Persian speakers, is to assess their language proficiency. The same material and some of these features used as criteria for assessment in this study are also employed by Berman and Slobin (1994) in their crosslinguistic developmental study (see 2.7.1.1). There are some functional categories related to narratives discussed by Berman and Slobin (1994) which can be used as a basis for language proficiency assessment. Temporality, for example, is one of the most important and most frequent functions, and thus is a very important factor in the organization of narrative structure. Temporality, according to Berman and Slobin, (p.394) is “the ability to develop, to conceptualize, organize, and express complex temporal structures in discourse” and is related to general cognitive and linguistic development. Thus, by studying the subjects’ narratives, both their growth of discourse devices and the degree to which they employ specific linguistic structures are evaluated.

1.7.3 Hymes’ Communicative Competence

Finally, this study puts an emphasis on interactional aspects of language, and is thus also theoretically related to the general discussions of both Hymes (1972) and Canale and Swain (1980) on genres and on communicative competence. Hymes in his well-known article (1972, p.271), opposing Chomsky’s (1965) statement on “the ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community”, believes that in order to have a better understanding of the children’s real situation as communicative beings, we need a theory, “within which sociocultural factors have an explicit and constitutive role.” He also emphasizes the sociocultural features involved in acquisition of competence. He adds that engaging language in social life has a positive, and productive aspect, and that rules of use have also to be taken into consideration, since “there are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless” (p.278).

Canale (1983) maintains that in a communicative approach to language proficiency, the nature of communication and the communicative approach have to be considered as the main concern for those who are engaged in language proficiency assessment. He mentions the seven features proposed by Morrow (1977), which were reformulated in Canale and Swain (1980) and extended in Canale (1981). Communication, according to Canale and Swain (1980), is

interaction-based, and with unpredictability and creativity in both form and message, and presents itself in discourse and sociocultural contexts in which some restrictions are imposed on appropriate language use.

Canale's view of communicative competence has a theoretical framework which consists of at least four domains of knowledge and skill: Grammatical Competence, which involves mastery of the language code and is related to such features as pronunciation, lexical items, rules of sentence formation, and literal meaning. Sociolinguistic Competence, which entails a good command of language use in different sociolinguistic contexts, both for meaning (e.g. speech acts, and attitudes), and for forms (e.g. intonation, and register). Discourse Competence which includes mastery of combining and interpreting forms and meanings in order to have a unified text. Discourse Competence employs cohesive devices such as transition words, and parallel structures and coherence rules such as repetition and relevance of ideas. Strategic Competence which is mastery of verbal and nonverbal strategies such as using paraphrases and gestures to compensate for inadequate competence or performance limitations (Canale 1984, pp.110-12).

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

2.1 Overview

The literature on bilingual matters and childhood bilingualism is extensive and encompasses a wide range of issues. It includes such general topics as childhood bilingualism, the measurement of bilingualism, patterns of bilingual language acquisition, cognitive and educational aspects of bilingualism, and multilingualism and intergroup relations. The present study investigates the language proficiency of a group of eight to thirteen-year-old bilingual subjects and deals with the potential relationship between the subjects' language proficiency scores and their academic achievement. For this reason, the literature review will focus on such relevant topics as childhood bilingualism, the effects of bilingualism on children, language proficiency assessment, and the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement.

Six general areas will be discussed in this chapter. The first section comprises a discussion about childhood bilingualism and different types of bilinguals. This is followed by a section including a review of the effects of bilingualism on bilingual children. The third section deals with assessing language proficiency and presents a review of different approaches to language proficiency assessment. The fourth section focuses on communicative language testing, and in the fifth section some relevant research reports on the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement will be reviewed. The sixth and final section includes a discussion about oral production and introduces some general features of narrative and conversation. It investigates different views on employing children's oral production as a means for language proficiency assessment. A general description of Persian morphology and syntax is also included in the section on narrative.

2.2 Childhood Bilingualism

One of the basic issues in childhood bilingualism is to establish an appropriate definition for bilingualism, and thereby to distinguish between different types of bilinguals. As mentioned earlier, in an attempt to present a definition of the word *bilingual*, linguists have trouble drawing a definite borderline between bilingual and non-bilingual people. It seems that this difficulty is caused by including an idealized notion of a perfect bilingual speaker in some of the definitions. It would therefore be reasonable to talk about bilingualism in relative terms. Taking different kinds of bilinguals into consideration might enable us to have a better understanding of bilingual children.

A term which is used by Hockett (1958, p.16, cited in Romaine 1995) to refer to a certain type of bilingual is 'semilingualism'. Baker (2006) states that bilinguals are usually dominant in using all or some of their language abilities for one of their languages. He further notes that this dominance is not stable over time and place for some bilinguals, resulting in a group of bilinguals who are regarded as not having 'sufficient' competence in either language and who are distinct from dominant bilinguals. According to him, such a bilingual exhibits "a small vocabulary and incorrect grammar, consciously thinks about language production, is stilted and uncreative with each language, and finds it difficult to think and express emotions in either language". He finally comments that these bilinguals are sometimes pejoratively called 'semilinguals' (pp.10-11).

An important dichotomy which plays a significant role in distinguishing between two major groups of bilinguals refers to *additive* versus *subtractive* bilingualism (Lambert 1974). According to Hoffmann (1991, p.21), additive bilingualism indicates that "the addition of a second language to a person's first can result in enriched, or at least complementary, social, cognitive and linguistic abilities", while subtractive bilingualism implies that "the L2 is learnt at the expense of the L1". For this reason, in many countries, the minority groups might be confronted with a situation in which they have to use the national language of the country and gradually lose skills in their first language. In this respect, Hamers & Blanc (1989) maintain that additive bilinguality is the result of a sociocultural context in which the bilingual's two languages are sufficiently valued. In such a

situation, Hamers & Blanc claim, the child's bilingual experience will promote his/her cognitive development, and function as an enhancing factor which ends in greater cognitive flexibility in comparison with his/her monolingual peers. They add that in an environment in which the child's first language is devalued, his/her cognitive development may be delayed compared to that of his/her monolingual counterparts (p.11).

And finally, as Baker (2006, p.9) states, the literature on bilingualism often focuses on a certain type of bilingual which is known as *balanced* bilingualism. He adds that they characterize a balanced bilingual as "a person whose competences in both languages are well developed". Such a bilingual, according to him, is relatively equally fluent in using two languages in different situations. However, he quotes Fishman (1971), who maintains that it is rare to find bilinguals to be equally competent across all contexts, and it is usually the case that bilinguals use the two languages for different purposes and functions.

Hoffmann (1991, pp.21-2) reviews the different opinions about the degree of competence which is necessary for a bilingual to have. She suggests that while some have a minimalist view and consider producing the first complete meaningful utterances in the other language as the beginning of bilingualism (e.g. Haugen 1953, p.7), others express a maximalist view and are of the opinion that bilingualism is knowing two languages "with approximately the same degree of perfection as unilingual speakers of those languages" (e.g. Christopherson 1948, p.4). Hoffman considers these views as being too narrow or too broad to be of much help. She then refers to somewhere in the middle of this continuum as 'equilingualism' or 'balanced bilingualism'. She finally defines the balanced bilingual as a person who has "nearly equal proficiency of the two languages", but whose knowledge in either language does not reach monolingual standards. Similarly, Hamers & Blanc (1989, p.8) point out that "balanced bilinguality should not be confused with a very high degree of competence in the two languages; it is rather a question of a state of equilibrium reached by the levels of competence attained in the two languages as compared to monolingual competence".

Hamers and Blanc (1989, p.10) differentiate between *simultaneous early bilinguality* and *consecutive childhood bilinguality*. The former refers to the child

who has developed more than one language from birth, whereas the latter refers to one who acquired the second language in early childhood after the first language has been achieved.

Mackey (1967, p.555, cited in Romaine 1995, p.12) also maintains that in describing bilingualism there are four questions which have to be dealt with. The first question is concerned with the degree to which the bilingual knows each of the languages. Function is the second issue which takes into consideration “the uses a bilingual speaker has for the languages”. The third subject is alternation, which has to do with the extent to which the bilingual speaker shifts from one language to the other. Finally, interference refers to the degree to which the bilingual speaker is able to keep the two languages separate, or whether they are mixed up.

The question whether it is reasonable to compare bilinguals with monolinguals has also been discussed in the literature. Baker (2006, p.11) states that such a comparison might be unfair and argues that it is necessary to take into consideration any possible and potential difference between bilinguals and monolinguals in their use of their two languages. According to Baker (2006, p.23), different authors (e.g. Grosjean, 1985) consider such comparison as ‘unfair and invalid’. However, he adds that “criterion referenced language tests *can* be used to create comparisons between children, between groups of children and between schools”. Hamers and Blanc (1989, p.15) point out the same issue by emphasizing that the bilingual is “more than the sum of two monolinguals” and that he/she has certain unique traits.

2.3 The Effects of Bilingualism on Bilingual Children

The effects of bilingualism on children have been thoroughly investigated throughout the twentieth century. Because of various and even opposing views towards the issue, the different studies carried out by researchers show contradictory results, and have caused some controversy. In this respect, the effects of bilingualism on cognitive functioning and educational achievement are matters of the greatest importance which find expression in the literature.

Before going over the negative and positive effects of bilingualism on children proposed in different studies, it might be useful to mention some of the

general advantages in becoming bilingual which are often mentioned in the literature. Baker and Prys Jones (1998, pp.6-8) enumerates eight overlapping and interrelating advantages for a bilingual person which appear in current writing and research. These advantages are communicative, cognitive, and cultural in nature, and are as follows: communication advantages (better relationships with their parents), extended family relationships (contribution to the sense of continuity of a family across generations), community relationships (communication with a wider range of people), transactional communication (easier communication because of the ability to lessen linguistic barriers), language sensitivity (more empathic and more patient listeners), cultural advantages (having access to two cultures), economic advantages (having access to a wider set of jobs), and cognitive advantages (probable faster advancement in early cognitive development). Li Wei (2000, pp.22-25) also mentions some of communicative, cultural, and cognitive advantages of bilingualism. Bialystok (1991, p.1) argues that although the study of the cognitive and linguistic achievement of bilingual children is not a recent phenomenon, clear connections based on reliable empirical data have been infrequent. She adds that one factor which has made the issue so difficult to study is the great diversity involved in children's bilingualism.

Baker (1988, cited in Hoffmann, 1991) divides the history of the research on the effects of bilingualism on cognitive functioning into three overlapping periods. These are called "the period of detrimental effects", "the period of neutral effects", and "the period of additive effects", respectively. During the first period, nineteenth and early twentieth-century philosophers, educators, and philologists emphasized the negative effects of bilingualism on the cognitive development of the child. This belief was not based on empirical research, and it seems that employing invalid IQ tests in such English-speaking countries as the USA and Britain may have led to such incorrect results. According to Baker (1988), the research carried out in Wales from the 1920s on was in favour of the use of Welsh as a second language. However, the test scores displayed lower scores for rural bilinguals. Hoffmann (1991) maintains that the studies carried out during this period are characterized by "prejudice and passion" (pp.121-22).

During the second period (1940s-1960s), the dominant view was that bilingualism itself was not necessarily the cause of intellectual disadvantage.

Instead, the research (e.g. Darcy 1953) put emphasis on certain inadequacies in the methods employed and considered them to be the source of such unpleasant results. Hoffmann (1991, p.123), referring to Jones (1959) maintains that having tested the intelligence level of a large number of bilingual children in Wales, he concluded that on the basis of non-verbal IQ tests, "there were no significant differences between the two".

Finally, the period of additive effects started with Peal and Lambert's investigations in Canada (1962). They were aware of the inadequacies of the earlier studies, and tried to control the variables which had an effect on the final results. Having selected only balanced bilinguals and monolinguals as their subjects, they concluded that "bilinguals scored more highly than monolinguals in both verbal and non-verbal measurements of intelligence" (p.123).

Hoffmann (1991) mentions a number of studies carried out in the 1970s which tried to see whether bilinguals were superior to monoglots in certain aspects of cognitive functioning or not. According to Hoffman, Ben-Zeev's experiments (1976) showed that bilinguals got better scores in word substitution exercises. She concluded that bilinguals displayed "greater cognitive flexibility" and seemed to be equipped with "more complex analytical strategies in their approach to language operations." Hoffmann (1991) adds that both Ianco-Worrall (1972) and Ben-Zeev (1976) maintain that bilinguals might have "greater sensitivity towards verbal and non-verbal feedback cues than monolinguals". She goes on to say that this point is reflected in some of the ideas proposed by Cummins (1976) who states that since bilinguals have access to two cultures and are active in two different systems, they possess "a wider and more varied range of experience than monolinguals". She further notes that bilinguals need to switch from one code to another, and suggests that this would be useful for their flexible thinking, since in each language they are involved with different perspectives. However, Hoffmann (1991) rightly argues that it must be taken into consideration that many studies which present optimistic findings are carried out in contexts of additive bilingualism in which children are encouraged to use the two languages, and also to learn in general (pp.124-26).

Diaz & Klingler (1991, p.183) presenting a review of the studies discussing the influence of bilingualism on children's cognitive development focus on

bilinguals' metalinguistic abilities. They conclude that while bilingual children display consistent advantages in doing tasks which involve both verbal and non-verbal abilities, they also display "advanced metalinguistic abilities, especially manifested in their control of language processing".

Hakuta (1986, pp.23-44) presents a very comprehensive and useful review of the studies which addresses the potential effects of bilingualism on cognitive and linguistic development. He discusses the hereditarians' views on the language handicap during the first decades of the twentieth century. He, however, remarks that this was not the majority opinion and that according to some researchers (e.g. Young 1922), contrary to the common belief the language factor is not that much important and the differences in scores between different racial groups is related largely to native intelligence. He further mentions the experiential view of bilingualism and reports Saer's (1924) study of Welsh-English bilingual and monolingual children from both rural and urban areas. By mentioning Peal and Lambert's (1962) study, he discusses the positive views of bilingualism as well. He argues that the contradictory conclusions about the effects of bilingualism are related to the methodology used. He goes on to say that negative effects are observed when bilinguals have lower socioeconomic backgrounds. On the other hand, positive effects are found when the subjects are selected for balanced bilingualism.

Some researchers have tried to find an explanation for these apparently contradictory results of the many investigations carried out about cognition and bilingualism. The Threshold Hypothesis proposed by Cummins (1980) can be considered as such an explanation. Two thresholds are taken into consideration, each denoting a level of language competence which has consequences for the bilingual child. A bilingual has to get to this level of competence in both languages to avoid likely negative cognitive effects. The second threshold is a level of proficiency in both languages which can bring possible positive advantages for the bilingual person. In summary, this theory asserts that the higher the threshold level of proficiency in the second language, the more the positive effects of bilingualism on cognitive growth. Baker (2006, pp.171) portrays this theory as a house with three floors with two language ladders up the sides. The bottom floor which stands below the first threshold belongs to those bilinguals

who have low levels of competence in both languages with likely negative cognitive effects. On the middle floor, which stands somewhere in the middle of the two thresholds, there are those bilinguals who have age-appropriate competence in one of the two languages. Such a status is unlikely to have any significant positive or negative cognitive differences compared with their monolingual peers. Finally, at the top level, the third floor of the house, which stands above the second threshold, we can place those bilinguals who have age-appropriate competence in both languages and thus experience positive cognitive effects. In this regard, Hoffmann (1991) comments that in order to avoid negative cognitive effects, the bilingual must reach the lower threshold.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976, cited in Hoffmann 1991, pp.130-31) also state that if a semilingual child who is at low levels in both languages (being dominant or balanced) does not reach the lower threshold, this would have negative cognitive effects. In other words, they believe that limited linguistic skills would delay academic and cognitive growth. They add that if a child reaches a level of bilingualism somewhere between the two thresholds, i.e. being a dominant bilingual who has reached a native-like level in one of the two languages, there are not likely to be positive or negative effects on his/her cognitive abilities. They further note that we can expect positive cognitive effects for the balanced bilinguals with high levels in both languages who are above the higher threshold level of bilingual competence.

Grosjean (1982, p.226) also mentions some of the studies in relation to potential negative and positive effects of bilingualism. Considering Cummins' (1980) threshold hypothesis he states that more research findings are needed to see whether it is correct or not. He concludes that at present it might be safer to say that bilingualism by itself does not have any significant positive or negative effect on the child's cognitive development and intellectual progress in general.

Thus, positive or negative effects of bilingualism on the child's cognitive development and educational progress seem to be related to the degree of bilingualism he/she achieves. Hakuta and Garcia (1989, cited in Hameedy 2004, p.2) posit that being bilingual is more than having the ability to use two languages. As Woolfolk (2001) and Santrock (2002) maintain, it is rather a matter of degree, and only higher degrees of bilingualism have been observed to have

positive effects on such cognitive functions as “concept formation, creativity, metalinguistic knowledge, and flexibility in thinking”. Baker and Prys Jones (1998, p.89) state that sometimes children’s poor performance on tests measuring their level of creative thinking is attributed to their poor thinking competence. They maintain that their creative thinking might be relatively high and it is actually the language of the tests which prevents them from displaying their cognitive ability.

Another explanation presented in the literature for the apparently incongruous results of the research done on the negative and positive results of bilingualism on cognitive and educational development is the type of programme used in bilingual education. McLaughlin (1978, cited in Papapavlou 1999, p.254) notes that according to the research, negative findings are usually related to those children attending schools within submersion programmes in which they are facing negative attitudes. On the other hand, as Swain and Cummins (1979, cited in Papapavlou 1999, p.254) mention that positive findings are generally associated with majority language groups who go to schools with immersion programmes.

Baker (2006, pp.215-16) presents a comprehensive classification of different types of bilingual education. Fundamentally, he divides them into three broad categories, i.e. monolingual forms of education for bilinguals, weak forms of education for bilingualism, and strong forms of education for bilingualism and biliteracy. In a transitional type of programme, which belongs to the second group, the typical type of child belongs to a language minority, the language of the classroom moves from minority to majority language, the societal and educational aim is assimilation/subtractive, and the aim in language outcome would be relative monolingualism. On the other hand, in immersion type of programme, which is an example of the third group, again the typical type of child belongs to language minority, however the language of the classroom is bilingual with initial emphasis on the second language. The societal and educational aim is pluralism, enrichment, and additive, and the aim in language outcome would be bilingualism and biliteracy.

For this reason, the societal and educational aim plays an important role in bilingual education and thus it is considered as a factor affecting the child’s cognitive and educational development. In other words, in submersion

programmes the aim is assimilation, i.e. placing language minority children in mainstream education. As Baker (2006) states, in such a situation the child may face “stress, lack of self confidence, ‘opting-out’, disaffection and alienation” (p.219), and it may hinder a child’s educational development. Hoffmann (1991, p.21) maintains that in many European countries we are faced with subtractive bilingualism in which bilinguals learn the L2 at the expense of the L1. She contends that because of different social pressures, many minority groups in Europe feel that they are gradually losing their ethnic language and moving towards the national language of the country they live in.

Garcia (1992, p.21, cited in Hameedy 2004, p.2) is also of the opinion that the positive effects of bilingualism are observed if “there exists a positive attitude towards bilingualism and the students’ first languages are not threatened by stigmatization and abandonment”. He argues that in such a situation, and also when the child is not exposed to both languages equally, there would only be “bilinguality of home and school rather than bilingualism”. It is surely different from additive bilingualism which according to Hoffmann (1991) “can result in enriched, or at least complementary, social, cognitive and linguistic abilities” (p.21).

In this regard, Romaine (1995) notes that in many parts of western Europe and in the United States, bilingualism has been seen as “a stigma of recent immigration” rather than as “a learned achievement”. She presents a short introduction on research supporting negative effects of bilingualism. She states that Hakuta (1986) considers the trend towards studying the negative aspects of bilingualism as a consequence of the social and political situation in the United States in the early 1900s, during which many people from southern and eastern Europe migrated to that country (p.108). Having mentioned a few other studies (e.g. Goddard, 1917; Brigham, 1923; Saer, 1924), Romaine (1995) concludes that the research carried out before the 1960s showed that monolingual children were up to 3 years further advanced than their bilingual peers in different skills relating to verbal and non-verbal intelligence (p.111).

In this respect, Baker and Prys Jones (1998, p.91) state that “in a suppressive, assimilationist government regime, minority languages and bilinguals may be underestimated”. Hameedy (2004, p.2) quotes Paulston’s (1988) view saying that

the general policy followed by the approach used in the UK before the 1980's was that of single language instruction and to institutionalize a linguistic assimilation. He goes on to say that the same types of policies are still used in Iran.”

On the other hand, in immersion programmes the aim is to maintain the first language and to foster cultural pluralism and enrichment, and accordingly promote a child's academic progress. Baker (2006, p.246) goes on to suggest that the real immersion programmes with a reasonable degree of educational growth occur when the programme “aims at bilingualism in two prestigious, majority languages”. He further notes that such a situation is seen in such an additive bilingual atmosphere as French immersion schools in Canada, which is radically different from the subtractive, assimilationist aura of ‘structured immersion’ used for Spanish speakers in the USA.

Grosjean (1982, p.17) looks at this issue from a different angle. He states that bilingualism in a minority group often indicates assimilation of that group. For this reason, he states that even the people of Quebec were not as satisfied with the Official Languages Act as was the federal administration in Ottawa. He concludes that using two languages in exactly the same situations would result in retaining only the dominant language.

Cummins and Swain (1986) give a review of some studies reporting negative consequences of bilingualism, and state that most early studies suffered from serious methodological deficiencies. They add that these studies showed that bilingual children who were evaluated by verbal tests of intelligence and academic achievement demonstrated a language handicap. They mention that Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma (1976, pp.8-9) also reported that Finnish migrant workers' children seemed to demonstrate ‘semilingualism’, in that their skills in both Finnish and Swedish were noticeably below those of monolingual Fins and Swedes. Focusing on positive effects of bilingualism, they state that research reports many advantages including higher levels of language skills. They add that several studies carried out within the context of primary immersion programmes showed that immersion children did better on first language skills than students in regular programmes. They mention Barik and Swain's (1978) research which shows that children up to grade 5 who underwent the Ottawa early total French immersion programme performed better than control students on some aspects of

English skills. They also maintain that several studies support the view that bilinguals have greater social sensitivity and more ability to respond with flexibility to cognitive feedback. Considering general intellectual development, according to Peal and Lambert (1962) ten-year-old French-English bilinguals demonstrated a higher level of verbal and nonverbal intelligence than a group of monolinguals with the same SES and gender. Peal and Lambert add that Cummins and Gulutsan (1974) have also reported considerably “higher levels of verbal and nonverbal ability among bilingual children” (p.15). They go on to say that it looks that bilingualism does not result in negative consequences by itself, but it might bring about some problems if certain factors are present. They mention some of these factors. The first factor is concerned with the language group. They argue that negative findings are mostly related to minority language groups. They consider the general value and prestige of the two languages in the home and community as the second factor involved, and state that positive results are related to conditions in which both languages have social and economic value. They refer to socio-economic status as the third factor which plays a role in this matter. In this respect it is worth mentioning Paulston’s (1975) view that bilingual children with higher SES seems to perform well. And finally, they consider school programme variables as an important factor. They argue that positive findings are likely to be associated with immersion programmes while negative results seems to be related to submersion ones (p.7).

Hoffmann (1991, p.118) comments that in most research into bilingual education we can observe an optimistic view about bilingualism, in that it can be established effectively with no negative effects to the child’s linguistic or personal development. She adds that such a general positive feeling can also be observed in most studies about bilingualism and immersion education, carried out in Canada, Wales, and Catalonia. In Hoffman’s view, in such programmes high levels of progress have been observed at no cost to the first language, and there is evidence that such an experience might develop the child’s first language skills as well. However she declares that such positive results were not observed for many children who had schooling in the majority language. For instance, she mentions Cummins’ and Skutnabb-Kangas’ views on this issue, saying that those children who had to use different languages at home and at school “often showed an

inadequate command of both the L1 and the L2, and they performed poorly in academic work”.

Baker and Prys Jones (1998, p.8) believe that the advantages of bilingualism surpass its disadvantages. They maintain that it is not true and logical to ascribe any disadvantage to bilingualism. They maintain that such individual and social problems as delayed speech, low self-esteem, social unrest, and educational failure may falsely be attributed to bilingualism. They conclude that “bilingualism of itself does not cause educational failure”. They consider the child’s underdevelopment in both languages, the need for a relatively high effort by parents in largely monolingual communities, and the issue of multiple identities as the real potential problems of bilingualism. Li Wei (2000, p.24) mentioning the changes in attitudes towards bilingualism states that bilinguals may have some cognitive advantages, ranging from “creative thinking to faster progress in early cognitive development and greater sensitivity in communication”. Bialystok and Cummins (1991, p.225) argue that ignoring the huge diversity among students might have an effect on our evaluation of transitional bilingual programmes. They add that not all minority students show a poor performance in the situations of home-school language switch, since it has been well proved in the United States and Canada that some groups of Asian students have been successful in this respect.

Papapavlou (1999) mentions some of the recent trends concerning the effects of bilingualism on bilinguals. He mentions Cummins’ (1996) view which declares that having positive attitudes towards the first and second languages is an important factor in bilingual children’s academic achievement. He also states that according to Davies *et al* (1997), bilingual children’s performance is certainly affected by the majority members’ attitudes towards bilingual children’s cultural and ethnic background. He quotes William and Hammarberg’s (1998, p.254) view which posits that the languages learned beforehand might also affect a learner’s production of a new, third language.

It might be worth noting that many studies which have mentioned the positive effects of bilingualism on bilingual children prefer to take a very cautious approach towards the issue. McLaughlin (1978, pp.226-27, cited in Grosjean 1982), for example, maintains that it has not been proven that bilingualism has

positive or negative effects on “intelligence, linguistic skills, educational attainment, emotional adjustment, or cognitive functioning”. According to Baker (1988, cited in Hoffmann 1991, p.126), in the research carried out in the field, there seems to be more tendency to put emphasis on positive effects rather than on negative ones. Nevertheless, he takes a cautious view on the issue. He asserts that more research is needed in the field to find out whether considerable advantages have been attained and whether bilingualism really promotes educational development.

2.4 Language Proficiency Assessment

Baker (2006, p.21) maintains that in order to make sense of the world, we have to categorize and classify constantly. He says for this reason we are continuously comparing and contrasting people. He goes on to say that categorizing and sorting often end in simplification, which focuses on similarities and ignores individual differences, and prevents us from observing the complex reality. However, he believes that complication may confound the order and pattern which are needed for the measurement of bilinguals.

Baker & Prys Jones (1998, p.86) state that teachers and researchers often measure and assess bilinguals and bilingualism. They argue that they all need some kind of measurement of bilinguals so that they could carry out research on such topics as bilingual language development, bilinguals’ language performances in different types of bilingual education, and cognitive advantages and disadvantages of being bilingual. They maintain that there are three illustrative reasons for measuring bilinguals. The first purpose is related to determining a language minority distribution within a region. The second purpose involves comparing bilinguals with monolinguals in academic and research circles, and finally, children are sometimes measured so that the teacher could assess their current performances in school in one or both languages.

Language proficiency assessment has a long tradition and encompasses a wide range of methods and procedures. This variety of methods for measuring language proficiency is partly due to different definitions presented for language ability, language proficiency, language competence, and the like. The situation seems to become problematic when we are concerned with language proficiency

assessment in bilingual education. As stated earlier (see 1.6.2) in this study language proficiency is considered as knowledge, competence, or ability in the use of a language which is an inner, mental representation of language, and which corresponds roughly to language competence in Baker's (2006) terminology.

Hoffmann (1991, p.152) maintains that measuring bilingualism is notoriously difficult and that none of the methods and techniques used has been found to be generally satisfactory. She remarks that it is not easy to construct tests that are entirely valid if the appropriateness of the setting within which they are administered is taken into account. Thus, in many cases, the results obtained can only allow the researchers to make cautious statements about part of the bilinguals' proficiency in each language, but not about his or her full bilingual communicative competence.

Hoffman enumerates some of the problems of assessing bilingual proficiency. In her opinion, any sampling and matching procedures with control groups raise the question of comparability. Another problem area concerns the nature of the linguistic means employed. For instance, the language used for a given test may be related to a topic, or couched in a style, unknown to the bilingual person being assessed; it may not accurately reflect his/her social or cultural experience; or it may require the use of skills (e.g. reading or writing) not normally used by the subject in the language being evaluated. In this regard Shohamy (1997, p.4, cited in Baker and Prys Jones 1998, p.88) introduces Critical Language Testing and maintains that it is not a neutral activity, but is related to "cultural, social, political, educational and ideological agendas that shape the lives of all students and teachers". He thus considers those who take the test as "political subjects in a political context". Another danger is the failure to take account of the fact that a bilingual's language competence (which draws on the knowledge of two languages) is different from that of a monolingual (pp.152-53).

Although there are numerous sources on language proficiency testing, language proficiency in bilinguals has received less attention. Milroy (1987, p.210) in her overview of language assessment and bilingualism refers to some complexities with respect to the bilingual population, where code-switching and code-mixing is the norm. She believes that the problem originates in an inaccurate conception of what constitutes 'normal' language behaviour, and

although the patterns underlying this behaviour are quite familiar to sociolinguists, they have not yet become well known to professionals in the social, educational and health services who deal with young bilingual children. In other words, measuring language competence is a very difficult job because we do not have a clear definition of a native speaker's competence in a language. In this regard, Hamers & Blanc (1989, p.15) state that in order to measure language competence we have to have a clear definition of a native speaker's language competence. They add that because of the wide variations between the competences of native speakers it is really difficult to identify the most important characteristics of a native speaker's competence.

Bennett and Slaughter (1983, p.3) state that in analyzing discourse there are "complexities which are qualitatively different from those found in the analysis of lower-level linguistic phenomena". An additional problem in assessing young bilingual children, according to Milroy (1987, p.211) is that at present it is hard to specify what is *developmentally* normal, since very little is known about bilingual language acquisition and developmental patterns. For example, it is not at all clear whether a young British-born Panjabi/English bilingual child will acquire the syntactic patterns of English in the same form or the same order as his or her monolingual counterpart. Speech therapists in Britain are unable to follow their standard practice of assessing the language abilities of young children against both a developmental and community norm.

Hamers and Blanc (1989), presenting some introductory information about bilinguals' language assessment, mention some other problems related to devising language tests. They evaluate critically the measures developed for assessing what they call bilinguality. In this regard, they are of the opinion that in a scientific approach to the study of languages it is necessary to develop measures which are relevant to the conceptual framework adopted, and before measuring concepts it is necessary to conceptualize and operationalize them. Conceptualization, in the view of Hamers and Blanc, is devising "a mental representation by organizing previous knowledge logically in such a way that some of its features will appear as relevant". On the other hand, by operationalizing a concept they mean identifying those prominent features which can be quantified by using a certain methodology. They add that quantification is an introduction to comparison, and

measuring is, in fact, comparing certain quantities with a standard. In operationalizing a concept, they maintain that we often reduce its definition to what a test measures. They posit that such concepts as language competence are multifaceted and thus difficult to operationalize, and the language tests are affected by the definition we offer for language competence in the operationalization process. So those who reduce language competence to the mastery of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, would naturally present tests for these items in assessing language competence. They conclude that we would have a measure language competence at our disposal if we had a clear definition of what a native speaker's competence in that language is. Since we are faced with a wide range of competence of native speakers of the same language, it would be very difficult to identify and therefore to operationalize the prominent features of a native competence (pp.14-15).

Baker (2006) also mentions limitations in language testing and enumerates some ten problems in measuring language proficiency. Ambiguity is the first problem arising out of using such words as 'speak', 'understand', 'read', and 'write' which may indicate a wide range of levels of proficiency: a range from those with minimal proficiency to the native-like control of two languages. He considers context as another problem, saying that a bilingual might be able to understand a language in one context such as a shop and not to be able to use the same language in another context. Baker sees a potential problem in the fact that monolingual proficiency and performance may be taken as the point of comparison (pp. 26-7).

Among the problems related to language proficiency assessment, Baker (2006) also mentions social desirability. He states that respondents may consciously or unconsciously yield incomplete information about themselves, and that "self ratings are vulnerable to exaggeration or understatement". According to him, for self esteem or status reasons people claim that they are fluent in a second language (p.27).

In the literature we can find many research projects on language proficiency measurement which are mainly based on questionnaires and which have made use of such items as Likert-scale statements and Yes/No answers. Papapavlou's (1999) article can be considered as a typical example of such research projects. He

investigated both the academic success of bilingual primary school children from various language backgrounds in a monolingual Greek Cypriot-speaking school environment and their mastery of modern Greek by comparison with their monolingual counterparts. At the same time, he examined whether these children faced any problems of socialization, adjustment and cultural identity. The subjects were composed of 39 bilingual primary school children and 210 monolingual Greek Cypriot children between the ages 9 to 13. The study mostly depended on a questionnaire for bilingual subjects to examine such issues as socialization, simultaneous acquisition of their languages, code-switching and feelings of loyalty towards the language communities they belong to. For material, the researcher depended on two sources: a questionnaire and the end-of-year class reports. The original questionnaire was constructed and given to the pupils in Greek. It included Likert-scale statements, Yes/No answers and open-ended questions. It consisted of three parts, i.e. background information of bilingual children, language background, academic achievement and psychosocial adjustment. According to him, it seems that the results are in accordance with findings of recent studies stating that bilingualism enhances children's educational, social and intellectual achievements.

Although Papapavlou (1999) has designed a comprehensive and well-organized questionnaire, it seems the research suffers from insufficient 'pure' linguistic data. In other words, merely depending on questionnaires and end-of-year class reports may be useful for determining mastery of a language in an educational and social approach, but not for mastery of 'modern' Greek which demands having a deeper insight into the language including both the syntactic and phonological aspects, not to mention the sociolinguistic and communicative ones.

In the literature on bilingual education, different methods of language proficiency assessment have been used. These methods are deeply rooted in the applied linguists' findings and are mainly associated with those experiences gained in monolingual situations. These methods range from traditional proficiency tests to more recent communicative proficiency tests. Baker (2006) enumerates some bilingual measurement devices, and mentions language background or functional bilingualism scales which are considered as self-rating

scales and are designed to measure actual use of two languages as opposed to proficiency. However, he believes that this scale has limitations as well as the problems of ambiguity and social desirability. He mentions self-rating on proficiency saying that these tests have the problem of scaling. He is, however, of the opinion that if such a self assessment is accompanied by teacher assessment, they can be “a powerful tool of teacher”. He also talks of language balance and dominance measures which have been devised to test the relative dominance or balance of a bilingual’s two languages. These include speed of reaction in a word association task, quantity of reactions to in a word association task, and time taken to read a set of words in the respondent’s two languages (pp.23-35).

Baker (2006) also notes that language proficiency tests are normally divided into two classes: norm-referenced and criterion-referenced. According to him, the former type is usually summative and compares one individual with the other, while the latter is mostly formative and yields information about an individual child’s mastery of a specific language skill. In other words, in norm-referenced tests, one subject is compared with a norm (a national or regional average) and can then be placed exactly in an ordered list, while in criterion-referenced tests, the subject is profiled on a particular language skill. He adds that as a curriculum approach there has recently been a shift from norm-referenced tests to criterion-referenced tests. In Baker’s view, this is to some degree due to the movement in language education towards communicative skills. He considers the point of comparison in criterion-referenced tests as an advantage for bilinguals since this type may compare bilinguals with monolinguals (p.23).

Weir (1990) presents a valuable review of language testing history and evaluates discrete points, integrative and communicative approaches to language testing in terms of validity, reliability and efficiency. He quotes Davies’ (1978) view which asserts that by the mid-1970s approaches to testing constituted a continuum stretching from ‘discrete’ or analytical item tests to integrative tests, and that a combination of these views would be “the most satisfactory view of language testing and the most useful kind of language test”. Weir (1990, pp.1-2) also mentions Oller’s (1979) view which supported the integrative end of the continuum. This followed the dominant view, which made a shift from the so-called ‘discrete point’ approach to testing, which Spolsky (1976) termed the

‘psychometric-structural era’, to the age of the integrative approach, which he termed ‘the psycholinguistic-sociolinguistic era’.

Weir (1990, pp.1-3) mentions the advantages and limitations of these different methods. He quotes Davies’ (1978, p.149) view, stating that by adding discrete items in a test its reliability would be increased. On the other hand, using items more similar to language in use would result in tests with higher validity. He also comments that one of the advantages of ‘discrete’ items in a test is that they yield data that are easily quantifiable. Weir mentions Rea’s (1978, p.51) view saying that it is generally accepted that language proficiency is an ability to function in a natural language situation, but considering language as a set of discrete items would result in testing measures which are artificial and sterile, and could only be manipulated in a mechanistic way.

On the other hand, Weir (1990) maintains that using integrative test items such as cloze or dictation was in fact a reaction to atomistic assumptions of the ‘discrete point’ tests. Read (1981, cited in Weir 1990, p.4) mentions that having a psycholinguistic approach to language could be seen more as a dynamic, creative and functional system, whereas a sociolinguistic approach to language puts more emphasis on the concept of communicative competence. Language competence, according to this view, would cover not only knowledge of rules for producing grammatical sentences but include rules for using these sentences appropriately in different contexts (pp.3-4). However, Morrow (1979, cited in Weir 1990, p.5) argues that “neither cloze nor dictation offers the opportunity for spontaneous production by the candidate”.

In this regard, Duran (1984) refers to Spolsky’s (1978) book on the evolution of language proficiency tests and the historical development of discrete-point proficiency tests, and the subsequent emergence of other views of language proficiency assessment. He mentions two such views: *integrative proficiency testing* and *research in the area of communicative competence*. According to Duran, the paper focuses on “a discussion of some implications of communicative competence research on use, interpretation and development of integrative proficiency tests. The central argument to be presented is that persons using integrative language proficiency tests may improve the interpretation and theoretical design of proficiency tests by attending to some of the discourse and

interactional skills uncovered in communicative competence research” (Duran 1984, 44-5).

He gives an overview of the meaning of ‘integrative proficiency testing’. He contrasts ‘integrative proficiency tests’ with ‘discrete-point proficiency tests’, and enumerates some examples of integrative proficiency tests which require the examinees to process language in a complex way, but may or may not, in general, require other sets of social or cognitive skills which are related to actual language use. Oral interviews, for example, rely on social interaction conventions shared among conversationalists.

Duran (1984) explains the notion of *direct* versus *indirect* as proposed, for example, by Clark (1978, p.23). Clark comments:

from a theoretical standpoint the most direct procedure for determining an individual’s proficiency in a given language would simply be to follow that individual secretly over an extended period of time, observing and judging the adequacy of performance in the language-use areas in question: buying train tickets; ordering a meal; conferring with colleagues on work related matters; conversing with friends on topics of current interest; writing a note for the plumber; ordering business supplies by correspondence; and so forth. It is clearly impossible, or at least highly impractical, to administer a ‘test’ of this type in the usual language learning situation.

Some traditional types of test known as grammatical/formal tests attracted criticism from different people. For instance Baker (2006) in assessing a bilingual’s competence in two languages warns against using a simple ‘paper and pencil’ test. He believes that in the testing of language skills, it would not be logical to reduce everyday language competence to tests of specific skills such as multiple choice language tests, dictation, reading comprehension tests and spelling tests. He talks of a radical alternative, i.e. observing a bilingual’s performance in a range of “real communicative situations”: at home, at work, in a shop, and during leisure activity. However, he believes that since this idea is impractical in terms of time, and the observation is unrepresentative because of the unnatural situation, it

would affect its reliability and validity. According to Baker (p.28) in order to have “realistic and representative” data, we not only need to know “how situations relate to one another”, but also “what examples of test performance relate strongly to language competence”. He considers such tests as language dictation artificial and unnatural while in his opinion “communicative performance testing involves creative, unpredictable, contextualized conversation” (p.16).

Cummins (1984a, cited in Hamers & Blanc 1989, p.24) argues that psychometric tests of academic language proficiency are not suitable for the assessment of minority children since they have not reached the level of development needed for these tests to be valid. Hamers & Blanc (1989) comment that even if we were capable making valid psychometric tests, we would not be able to use them for bilinguals’ language assessment, because they have been designed for monolinguals. They go on to comment that an attempt is being made to find a solution by appealing to ethnographic/sociolinguistic approaches (pp.24-5). Hoffmann (1991) is of the opinion that formal tests put relative emphasis on linguistic forms and tend to test the usage of such forms by the speakers. She posits, however, that the answers presented may not reveal their ability to communicate. In other words, in many cases the results can only yield some conclusions about the bilinguals’ partial proficiency in the two languages, and do not entail any formulation about their full communicative competence (p.153). Finally, Saville-Troike (1983, p.131-32) comments that traditional language proficiency tests which focus on pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary do not sufficiently reveal the linguistic requirements needed for success in school. He adds that communicative competence would be a more adequate aim for language assessment. He maintains that ‘communicative competence’ is a more satisfactory and suitable goal for language assessment. The communicative competence of speakers, in his view, can be considered as a body of knowledge and skills which includes the language code employed by them. Moreover, it entails what they can say to whom, how they have to say it properly in any given situation, and even when they should avoid speaking.

In general, lack of sufficient regard of the significance of the productive and receptive processing of discourse by the previous approaches led to the communicative language testing approach. Baker (2006) gives a brief discussion

of communicative language testing. He believes that while using multiple choice language tests, dictation, reading comprehension tests and spelling tests is necessary, reducing everyday language competence to tests of specific skills is inadequate. He states that a radical alternative is seeing how bilinguals perform in both languages in a range of real communicative situations. However, he believes that the idea is impractical in terms of time. Moreover, observing a bilingual during leisure activity is unnatural. He remarks that in order to collect data that is realistic and representative, we need to know how situations (domains) relate to one another. We also need to know the sample of language performance that relates adequately to all round language competence and what examples of test performance relate strongly to language competence.

Communicative competence is one of the key issues in bilinguals' language proficiency assessment. Mentioning the importance of communicative competence in language testing, Baker (2006, pp.28) quotes Skehan's (1988) idea about using language in realistic, everyday settings. Skehan believes that

genuine communication is interaction-based, with more than one participant; unpredictable and creative, i.e. genuine communication may take the participants in unforeseen directions; is situated in a context which is both linguistic/discoursal and also sociocultural; has a purpose, in that participants will be trying to achieve something by use of language, e.g. to persuade, to deceive, etc.; uses authentic stimulus materials, and avoids contrived, specially produced materials; is based on real psychological conditions, such as time pressure; and is outcome evaluated, in that successful performance is judged in terms of whether communicative purposes have been achieved (p.215).

Baker (2006) concludes that a test of language proficiency which meets Skehan's (1988) criteria is probably impossible to achieve. He notes that a test that attempts to approximate these conditions is the oral interview and maintains that there are doubts about whether such interview procedures (e.g. the US Foreign Service oral interview) "can validly imitate and investigate real communicative competence". However, he considers them as "a compromise

between artificial pencil and paper tests and the impracticality of the detailed observation of individuals” (pp.28-30).

Bachman (1990) describes *communicative language ability* in a way that provides a broad basis for both development and use of language tests and language testing research. He considers this description in accordance with earlier work in communicative competence, in that it recognizes that the ability to use language communicatively involves both knowledge of or competence in the language, and the ability to employ this competence (p.81). According to Bachman, language competence comprises two competencies: organizational competence and pragmatic competence. Organizational competence, in turn, consists of grammatical competence which includes those competencies involved in language use (e.g. knowledge of vocabulary, morphology, syntax, and phonology/graphology), and textual competence which includes the knowledge of the conventions for joining utterances together to form a text (e.g. cohesion and rhetorical organization). Pragmatic competence includes not only elements of Bachman and Palmer’s sociolinguistic competence, but also those abilities related to the functions that are performed through language use (p.86).

Canale (1984) gives an overview of testing communicative competence history and states that Carroll (1961) started the movement. Canale suggests that since then there has been a growing tendency to look at language proficiency from “the perspective of language use and communication”, to put less emphasis on knowledge of isolated grammatical forms and to focus more on learner’s overall mastery in employing language “for natural purposes in realistic situations”. He suggests that this trend, which was called ‘integrative-sociolinguistic’ by Spolsky (1978), has derived its existing popularity and ideas from modern sociolinguistics and especially from the work of Hymes (1967; 1968; 1972) on the notion of communicative competence (p.107). On this topic, Hymes (1967, cited in Wallat 1984, pp.11-13) describes the need for a general theory and a body of knowledge to be used for assessing different aspects of the phenomenon of bilingualism. Hymes believes that there are two reasons why an aspect of all conversational styles such as code-switching has not received focused attention. First, the social scientists who took into consideration functional aspects were not trained to deal the linguistic aspects of the issue, and second, educators failed to consider using

different ethnographic methods to become aware of the integrity of the message as an act, and the social use of language. In summary, Hymes comments that in studying speaking, the aim has to be to describe the communicative competence which provides the members of a language community with the ability “to know when to speak and when to remain silent, which code to use, when, where and to whom”.

Weir (1990) presents a useful review of different methods for language proficiency testing and enumerates some distinguishing features of communicative language tests. He maintains that we can find only a few available theories of language to meet the demands of language testing. He adds that it is thus necessary to take care to be exact and accurate about the skills and performance situations for any tests that “claim to assess communicative language ability”. He also mentions that the sample of communicative language ability used in his tests was intended to be as representative as possible so that he could extrapolate from the test data and make statements about communicative language ability in real life situations (pp.10-11).

Weir (1990) further notes that in the literature strong emphasis is put on the importance of test purpose and on authenticity of tasks and the genuineness of texts in tests. He adds that in measuring language proficiency effectively in a situation, we must take into consideration the place, the time, the method, the addressee, the motive, the topic, and the purpose of the language communication. He also draws attention to the role of context as an important factor in communicative language ability, and states that if language completely lacks linguistic, discoursal, or sociocultural context, it would not be meaningful. Weir (1990) also refers to some of the problems related to testing communicatively, and states that this approach offers almost no solution for interpreting tests results after the data has been produced. Another problem which may affect the reliability is the need to help the candidate in the form of prompts, encouragement, correction and opportunity to try again (p.15). Since the communicative approach to language proficiency testing has attracted much attention, the theoretical grounding of this type of testing will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

2.5 Communicative Competence

Testing the ability to speak and to communicate orally in a language is very important in language proficiency testing and is supported by certain theoretical groundings. Heaton (1988) is of the opinion that the tendency to use communicative tests for measuring different language skills has its root in an approach to language known as divisibility hypothesis. In other words, it is the result of trying to have different profiles of one's language performance. For instance, a learner may not have mastery in using spoken language in informal conversations but may do quite well on reading comprehension tests. Thus, the score for a communicative test would contain several measures of proficiency rather than merely a single overall measure. He believes that communicative testing has been greatly influenced by the work on aptitude tests. He adds that it is also said that unlike the separate testing for each skill, which was common in the structuralist approach, it is believed in this new approach that measuring different language skills separately "may have only a limited relevance to real life". He notes that, for example, in academic study it is hardly the case for reading to be employed for its own sake, but rather to serve the needs of writing or speaking (pp.19-20).

Saville-Troike (1983) defines the communicative competence of a speaker as "a body of knowledge and skills which involves not only the language code that they use, but also what they can say to whom, how they should say it appropriately in any given situation, and even when they should say nothing at all" (pp.131-32). According to Milroy and Milroy (1985), a person's communicative competence is his/her ability to choose and recognize the language variety which fits the occasion. They not only look at communicative competence in view of correctness, but also consider it as a means by which they can clarify the potential components of a speaker's language ability as well (p.119).

Rivera (1984a) seems to be a comprehensive source in this regard. She presents issues which help to clarify the nature and scope of communicative proficiency and its relationship to language proficiency. They range from theoretical questions regarding the construct of proficiency, to research relating

communicative proficiency, and to literacy related skills. Language tests and testing methodologies are considered in several papers. Questions are raised as to what tests should be measuring and why. The reliability of currently used language proficiency assessment instruments, as well as the development of new, more appropriate measures is also addressed.

Wallat (1984, pp.3-13) provides a history of the development of communicative competence and its influence in the study of teaching, learning and performance. She considers the social component as the important characteristic of communicative competence. By this feature she means how speakers convey the social information related to the situation they feel is being formed, and how an individual takes action under the assumption that the addressee shares the same expectations about the content and the context of the speech which they both produce. Ramírez (1984, pp.82-3) also gives a brief account of the definitions of communicative competence proposed by different experts. He states that presenting a definition for linguistic competence is relatively unproblematic. This has been defined as “the mastery of the sound system, semantics and basic structural patterns of a language” by Legaretta (1979, p.523). However, he considers the current definitions proposed for communicative competence relatively broad. Among them he quotes Legaretta’s (1979) definition which defines communicative competence as “the ability to adapt the totality of one’s communicative resources, both linguistic and functional (i.e. extra-linguistic and paralinguistic) to a given situation”. She concludes that even the attempts undertaken by applied linguists (e.g. Canale and Swain 1980) have simply displayed a multitude of its potential components.

In their article, Bachman and Palmer (1984, p.35) provide precise definitions of terms used to describe language proficiency. They argue that the term ‘communicative competence’ has been widely used in many different ways. Some consider this concept as the ability to convey a message, and that linguistic accuracy is of no importance. For other people it refers to the social rules of language use. Yet there are some who consider it as a set of abilities which includes knowledge of linguistic, sociolinguistic, and discourse rules. They present a description of three different approaches for testing in order “to specify what language tests measure and to clarify the meanings of technical terms”. The

first approach called *the skill-component approach* and is a revised version of Carroll's (1961) four-skill hypothesis that each of the four language skill domains (i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing) makes use of four kinds of language knowledge. The different types of language knowledge are as follows: phonology/orthography, structure, vocabulary, and rate and general fluency.

The second approach, according to Bachman and Palmer (1984, pp.35-6), was proposed by Canale & Swain (1980) and described by Canale (1984). This is called *the communicative approach*. Canale/Swain's framework entailed four domains of knowledge: Grammatical Competence, Sociolinguistic Competence, Discourse Competence, and Strategic Competence. Grammatical Competence includes firstly knowledge of morphological rules, syntactic rules, vocabulary, and semantic rules which altogether determine the literal meaning of sentences. Secondly, phonological rules which relate the abstract linguistic categories to categories of positions and movements of the organs of speech and to patterns of sounds, and finally orthographic rules which relate linguistic categories to the spelling of words. Sociolinguistic Competence comprises knowledge of sociocultural rules including rules of meaning and rules of forms. Discourse Competence consists of knowledge of rules needed to produce a unified text which, in turn, is divided into rules of cohesion and rules of coherence. And finally, Strategic Competence includes the command of such verbal and non-verbal strategies as using gestures, paraphrases and dictionaries. They add similar theoretical frameworks for communicative language ability have been later proposed by Kessler (1984) and Bachman (1990).

The term 'communicative competence' was coined by Hymes (1972) to suggest that in describing communication in human groups we need to go beyond mere description of language usage patterns and to concentrate on aspects of shared knowledge and cognitive abilities. Hymes (1972, pp.271-72) opposes Chomsky's (1965) statement on "the ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community". Emphasizing the sociocultural features involved in acquisition of competence, he states that in natural speech the speakers may have many false starts and deviate from the rules. He posits that one of the main features of modern linguistics has been that it considers structure as its first aim and tends to degrade use. He argues that in order to have a better

understanding of the children's real situation as communicative beings, we need a theory in which sociocultural factors play an explicit and radical role.

Hymes (1972, p.274) goes on to mention Cazden's (1966, p.190) article reviewing the studies on subcultural differences in language differences in the United States, and quotes her views on the issue that, "in all the studies, the upper socio-economic status children, however defined, are more advanced than the lower socio-economic status children". However, he adds that with respect to the goals set for language use, the lower status children may really surpass "in aspects of communicative competence not observed or measured in the tests summarized".

Hymes (1972, pp.275-76) also states that in Chomsky's theory, one cannot find any intention to distinguish between models of competence for reception and models of competence for production. Then, by referring to Labov's point of view on cases of dual competence in reception and single competence in production with regard to the ability of lower-class among negro children in New York City, and by mentioning the dual competence among the Brundi of East Africa (Albert, 1964), Hymes takes them as evidence that linguistic competence co-varies with interlocutor. Hymes focuses on the need for a social approach even in the cases in which the description of a single homogeneous code is involved.

Hymes (1972, pp.276-79) also puts emphasis on controlling social and contextual determinants so that it is possible to judge acceptable and intuitively correct forms in grammatical description with more ease. In this regard, having control on the dependence of judgements and abilities on context is very important because every response is made in some context. He also puts emphasis on the diversity of competences and states that considering the place of language, we need a theory to manage a heterogeneous speech community with a wide range of competences and the critical role of sociocultural features. A normal child, according to him, has the knowledge of using not only grammatical sentences but appropriate ones as well. He/She acquires a competence which enables him/her to decide what to talk about with whom, where, and in what manner. In addition, he/she knows when to speak and when not to speak. In other words, he/she has at his/her disposal a set of speech acts which allows him/her to participate in different speech events. He maintains that rules of use are formed at

the same time as competence for grammar is shaped. From very early, children develop rules for the use of different forms in different situations and are familiar with different acts of speech.

Hymes (1972, p.280) opposes Chomsky's interpretation of the concept of performance and believes that in such a view there would be no room almost for everything which has any sociocultural importance. He focuses on such questions as "which among grammatical sentences are most likely to be produced, easily understood, less clumsy, in some sense more natural". He argues that the study of such questions is interesting, but the results do not have anything to do with the results of the field of cultural patterning and social action.

Hymes (1972, pp.281-82) states that it is unlikely for the generative grammar with its present view to get into the realm of language, since a social standpoint is needed to be able to take hold of the intuitions and data related to underlying competence. In order to get to such a standpoint effectively, considerable modifications of the existing formulation of the dichotomy of competence/performance is needed. Communicative competence is not made up of a single sector. Hymes adds in this approach to language, we are concerned with two kinds of judgements: with *grammaticality*, in relation to competence, and with *acceptability*, in connection with performance. He also argues that it is not reasonable to consider the formal possibilities of a system and individual knowledge as identical. He goes on to say that *competence* should be viewed as "the most general term for the capabilities of a person" which is dependent on both *knowledge* and *use*. For this reason, he believes that *knowledge* is both distinct from competence and from systemic possibility. Finally, Hymes (1972, p.286) concludes that "in sum, the goal of a broad theory of competence can be said to be to show the ways in which the systematically possible, the feasible, and the appropriate are linked to produce and interpret actually occurring cultural behaviour".

Ramírez (1984) refers to the problems in testing communicative competence and points out that some of these problems are related to the vagueness of the concept or trait to be measured. He believes that the problems of measurement become worse in that it is usual to measure communicative competence by using global rating scale approaches, while the usual measurement of linguistic

competence is using tests which employ a discrete item method. He concludes by noting that this has resulted in the idea that the difference between measured linguistic and communicative competence is to be found in the difference in method of measurement rather than in the trait being measured (pp.82-3).

Finally, van Els *et al* (1984) in their discussion of attempts made in the field of communicative testing conclude that communicative testing is in its infancy. They state that information about the grammar of language in use is insufficient and thus we cannot base tests on it systematically. They put forward that no clear results of empirical research into communicative testing is available. They do, however, mention that the idea of examining the results of communicative teaching by employing communicative tests has gained approval. Mentioning some clear advantages of the approach –“the behaviour-oriented character, the specification of language use, and the close relation to learner needs” – they reach the conclusion that using communicative tests exclusively should be treated with caution (p.331).

2.6 Language Proficiency and Academic Achievement

The relationship of language proficiency to academic achievement is considered as a key topic in bilingual education. Authors and educators have looked at this issue from many different aspects and angles. In his discussion of the validity of communication-oriented language proficiency instruments, Canale (1984), states that there are two important questions to be addressed in this regard. In his opinion, the first question is related to construct, content and face validity. In other words, it has something to do with the appropriate test content and format needed for a communicative approach. He adds a second question, which is posed by Cummins (1983), and concerns predictive validity. This addresses the relationship between communicative proficiency in a certain language and achievement in an academic programme taught in the same language (pp.108-109). Hoffmann (1991), in discussing aspects of bilingual competence and features of bilingual speech, maintains that “one cannot assume an *a priori* relationship between bilingualism on the one hand and personality development and cognitive functioning or educational achievement on the other” (p.134).

Rivera (1984b) is a very useful source of information about the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement in the form of a set of discussions on this issue. In this volume, which is composed of selected papers presented at the Language Proficiency Assessment Symposium held in 1981, Cummins presents his revised theoretical framework for the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement. This article is followed by some prominent scholars' and practitioners' opposing views on Cummins' theoretical framework. These critics provide the reader with an interdisciplinary dialogue and raise some questions concerning Cummins' views. These questions then receive a response from Cummins himself at the very end of the book.

Following his earlier views, Cummins (1984b, p.2) presents a revised form of his theoretical framework for relating language proficiency to academic achievement among bilingual students. He considers lack of an adequate theoretical framework for relating language proficiency to academic achievement to be a major reason for the confusion surrounding both the issue of language proficiency assessment in bilingual programmes and the rationale for bilingual education. He further notes that if we do not have access to such a theoretical framework, it would not be possible "either to develop rational entry (admission or placement) and exit criteria for bilingual programmes or to design testing procedures to assess these criteria".

Cummins (1984b, pp.2-3) then gives some information about the evolution of his theoretical framework. He states that the contradictory effects of bilingualism on cognitive and academic functioning reported in the literature brought about an initial hypothesis concerning the relationship between bilingual skills and cognition. He adds it seemed that the mastery of the two languages at the appropriate period resulted in cognitive advantages, while developing only relatively low levels of bilingual proficiency had negative cognitive effects. This idea led to Cummins (1976) and Toukoma and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977) proposing the Threshold Hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, two thresholds are taken into consideration, each denoting a level of language competence which has consequences for the bilingual child. In summary, this theory asserts that the higher the threshold level of proficiency in the second

language, the more positive the apparent effects of bilingualism on cognitive growth.

Cummins (1984b, p.3) goes on to say that although in the earlier forms of the threshold hypothesis the relationship between L1 and L2 proficiencies was not taken into account, one of the main objectives pursued was finding a framework to predict the cognitive and academic effects of different forms of bilingualism. According to Cummins, the threshold theory was supplemented with the 'interdependence' hypothesis which stated that the first and the second language proficiencies were developmentally interdependent. In other words, the development of second language proficiency was to some degree dependent on the earlier level of development of first language proficiency. Thus, he declares that based on the several studies carried out by Cummins it was clear that older immigrant students (10-12 years old) who had a well-established academic proficiency developed second language academic proficiency more rapidly than their younger immigrant peers.

Cummins (p.4) also argues that at a later stage (Cummins, 1979) a distinction was made between L2 'surface fluency' and those aspects of language proficiency which had more cognitive and academic relations. He stated that many language minority students performed poorly in literacy skills, while they were able to speak very well in their first and second languages in everyday face-to-face situations. He adds that this situation prevented educators from noticing the large, hidden gap in those aspects of first language and second language proficiency which are academically-related. He concludes by stating that these two aspects of language proficiency are referred to as "basic interpersonal communicative skills" (BICS) and "cognitive-academic language proficiency" (CALP) by Cummins (1980).

Cummins (pp.4-5) also notes that the distinction made between CALP and BICS was not, in fact, a distinction between 'communicative' and 'cognitive' aspects of language proficiency. In his view, BICS was considered as "some salient rapidly developed aspects of communicative proficiency" comprising such relatively superficial aspects as accent and fluency. On the other hand, CALP was "socially grounded and could only develop within a matrix of human interaction". He also maintains that within this new framework the interdependence hypothesis

was interpreted based on the “common underlying proficiency” (CUP) model of bilingual proficiency. In this model, CALP (e.g. reading skills) in both L1 and L2 were considered as a “manifestation of one underlying dimension” which can theoretically be developed through instruction in either language. Thus, for the majority of students, instruction in a certain language within an immersion programme does not, in fact, only develop academic skills in those two languages, but also entails “developing the general cognitive and academic abilities” underlying another language achievement.

While discussing language proficiency assessment in bilingual programmes, Cummins (pp.5-6) states that the lack of an agreement on the nature of language proficiency or ‘communicative competence’ resulted in various types of test, each of which claimed to assess certain aspects of language proficiency. He mentions a model of language proficiency encompassing sixty-four separate components. Furthermore, he states that at the same time some believe that what accounts for this variety of educational tests is mainly “a single factor of global language proficiency”. However, he states that Oller (1981) does not consider this global dimension as the only important factor in language proficiency. He goes on to say that some studies carried out by Oller and his colleagues show that “academic and cognitive variables are strongly related to at least some measures of all four general language skills”.

Cummins (1984b, p.6) further notes that this evidence raises a significant question: “To what extent *should* measures of language proficiency be related to measures of academic achievement?” In other words, how much does the construct of the latter overlap with the construct of the former? He adds that instead of asking the above-mentioned questions, researchers have either asked about the quality of this relationship (e.g. the relationship between ‘oral language’ and reading), or paid no attention to it, probably because they thought it had nothing to do with language proficiency assessment in bilingual education. In this regard, he maintains that since the main purpose of measuring minority students’ language mastery is to assign them to classes in which they will most eagerly learn academic skills, we have to look at the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement from this angle.

In putting emphasis on high correlation of some language measures with achievement, Cummins (p.7) adds that many sociolinguists (e.g. Shuy, 1979) declared that “language proficiency is independent of cognitive and academic performance”. He further notes that integrative tests would have to be rejected as invalid because they have a strong relationship to achievement and IQ. In addition, many theorists do not consider unnatural and artificial test situations as adequate for language proficiency assessment, and support instead procedures which measure children’s language proficiency in “naturally-occurring communicative situations”. He also argues that although many theorists consider this requirement to be a basic principle of validity, most of them do not ponder whether or not “the communicative demands of natural face-to-face situations are identical to the communicative demands of classroom situations”. He considers these two situations as different, saying that while in the former the meaning is mainly supported by “the richer ‘real-life’ cues of face-to-face communication”, in the latter more emphasis is put on developing proficiency in processing written texts in which the meaning is mainly held up by linguistic cues.

Discussing English proficiency and Exit Criteria for bilingual children, Cummins (1984b, pp.8-10) states that policy makers and educators usually consider lack of proficiency to be the main cause of language minority students’ poor academic performance in English-only programmes. He adds that they think that the amount of language instruction received by these children is sufficient and so do not relate any such academic failure to lack of English proficiency. He argues that since these students can deal sufficiently with the communicative demands of face-to-face situations, and since they seem to be fairly fluent in English, their English proficiency is adequately well-developed “to cope with the communicative demands of the regular English-only curriculum on an equal basis with native English-speaking students”. He maintains that this justification is false because there is evidence that shows that bilingual programmes which have managed to develop a high level of English academic skills in minority language students have normally emphasized instruction in L1 throughout primary school. He concludes that minority language students undoubtedly need a longer period of time to develop age-appropriate academic skills in English than to develop certain features of age-appropriate English face-to-face communicative skills. Mentioning

some of the teachers' and educators' misconceptions about the language minority students' poor academic performance, he states that the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement has not been appropriately considered either among native-speaking or language minority students. For this reason, he introduces a theoretical framework to conceptualize these relationships.

Because of the confusion regarding both the techniques used for assessing language proficiency and procedures for bilingual programmes, Cummins (p.11) maintains that at least three requirements must be met in developing such a theoretical framework for language proficiency. First, such a framework must have a developmental perspective to account for the difference between those aspects of language proficiency mastered by native speakers and L2 learners on the one hand, and those which seem to differ among individuals as they become older on the other. Secondly, it must be possible to take into account differences between the linguistic demands of the school and those related to contexts outside the school. A final requirement is the capacity to describe the developmental relationships between L1 and L2 proficiency. He also believes that other theoretical frameworks of 'communicative competence' – for example those proposed by Canale & Swain, 1980, and Canale, 1981 – “do not and were not intended to meet these requirements”. Although Cummins considers Canale's framework to be useful for certain purposes, he believes that it is only applicable to bilingual education to a very limited degree since it does not meet the first two requirements mentioned above.

Cummins' (1984b, pp.11-13) framework shows that in the context of bilingual education in the United States, 'language proficiency' can be conceptualized along two continuums. The first continuum is related to “the range of contextual support available for expressing or receiving meaning”. Along this continuum, we move from context-embedded communication to context-reduced communication. In context-embedded communication, the language is supported by “a wide range of meaningful paralinguistic and situational cues”, and the participants can actively reach an agreement on meaning. On the other hand, context-reduced communication mainly depends on linguistic cues to communicate meaning. This vertical continuum is used to reflect the developmental aspects of communicative proficiency and to determine the degree

of active cognitive involvement in the activity or the amount of information to be processed. This continuum stretches from cognitively undemanding to cognitively demanding task or activity.

Cummins (1984b, pp.14-16) concludes that his theoretical framework seems to allow the complexity of L1-L2 relationships to be conceptualized, and provides a more adequate justification for the fact that academic skills in L1 and L2 are interdependent. He adds that a language task which is context-reduced and cognitively demanding would reflect achievement. Concerning the assessment of entry and exit criteria, he asserts that since the child's previous language experiences have, for the most part, taken place in context-embedded situations, it is necessary to incorporate cognitively-demanding context-embedded measures in the assessment procedures for entry purposes. On the other hand, it is recommended to use cognitively-demanding context reduced measures that for exit purposes since they reflect the communicative demands of an all-English classroom more accurately.

Finally, Cummins (1984b, pp.16-17) reiterates that teachers and educators have managed to conceptualize "neither the construct of language proficiency itself nor its relationship to the development of cognitive and academic skills" adequately. This has, for the most part, brought about the confusion related to assessment procedures for selecting entry and exit criteria in bilingual education. Mentioning the two extreme positions proposed by some sociolinguists, and suggested by much of the psychometric research, he concludes that although both these two approaches arbitrarily identify "particular aspects of the construct of language proficiency with the totality of the construct", it has to be borne in mind that "language proficiency cannot be contextualized as one static entity or as 64 static entities". He asserts that both monolingual English-speaking and language minority children continuously develop their language proficiency along different dimensions and specialize it for different contexts. As Cummins himself states: "in academic contexts, certain aspects of language proficiency develop in specialized ways to become the major tool for meeting the cognitive and communicative demands of schooling".

The theoretical framework proposed by Cummins (1984b) has not remained uncriticized and has raised some strong objections from some educators and

sociolinguists. However, most critics have mentioned the strengths of the proposal. Some objections raised are related to degrading sociolinguistic factors involved in presenting a definition for language proficiency, while others aimed at his dichotomy. Genesee (1984, p.21) maintains that while Cummins (1984b) considers the type of language proficiency relevant to school-related language as 'socially grounded' in that it could only be developed within a milieu of human interaction, he practically ignores these social foundations. According to Genesee, Cummins' description of the contrasting social and cognitive conditions which distinguish academic language use from non-academic use is an indication that social factors are of no importance in the school-related use of language. In this respect, Troike (1984, pp.45-6) states that both social and cultural factors may have a more powerful effect on achievement than purely linguistic factors. He opposes Cummins' claim that "everybody acquires basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) in a first language", and mentions Hymes and others, who assert that each community has its own way of distributing different language skills. For this reason, he comments that BICS has to be defined at an entirely minimal level, in order not to deny both personality and individual differences in all social interaction skills. He also states that CALP, to a high degree, is identified strongly with Oller's (1980) general proficiency factor, given which it would also be subject to question from sociolinguistic aspects. He adds that it is more widely believed than before that "all testing is a social (and usually sociolinguistic) event", which is made up of and formed by the participants in the event. Wald (1984, p.59) also asserts that although Cummins to some extent confirms the mitigating effects of social context on the development of literary skills, he fails to recognize "the relevance of natural face-to-face situations to classroom interaction and academic achievement". This indicates that there is a wide gap between psychological theories and sociolinguistic and ethnographic research. Cummins (1984b, p.73), in response to the objections raised in relation to sociolinguistic factors, claims that "although sociolinguistic factors are not discussed in detail in relation to the framework, it appears capable of accommodating the important and myriad influences of these factors".

It seems that extensive research has been carried out into the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement in the literature.

However, Papapavlou (1999, p.254) posits that studies which examine the performance of bilingual students in severely monolingual school environments in which minority language children do not receive any special instruction in their home language, are rare. He makes an attempt to examine the children's academic achievement in the absence of any auxiliary language support in submersion programmes. Saville-Troike (1983, p.131) considers traditional proficiency tests as inadequate and states that in order to "reveal the linguistic requirements necessary for success in school" appropriately one has to employ a communicative approach to language proficiency assessment".

Cummins and Swain (1986) consider the issue of how 'language proficiency' is related to academic achievement as one of the most controversial debates in the field of psycholinguistics and educational psychology in the past twenty years. They believe that different views on ways of conceptualizing the nature of language proficiency have resulted in a wide range of arguments in the area. They add that some have focused on the extent to which 'oral language' is related to the acquisition of reading (e.g. Wells 1981), or on how much learning disabilities are in fact considered as language disabilities (e.g. Vellutino 1979), or on how much the poor academic performance of low socio-economic status (SES) and minority group students has its roots in their different language use patterns in comparison with their middle-class peers (e.g. Labov 1970).

Many studies have, directly or indirectly, examined the above-mentioned relationships. For example, the narrative syntax project was designed to evaluate both language and literacy development by using a single narrative task. In her study, Pearson (2002) asked children to create a story – an extended discourse – so that she could simultaneously discover their strengths and weaknesses at several different levels. As Pearson (2002) mentions, it seems much of the language development in the children aged five to ten takes place at a level above that of the individual sentence (Karmiloff-Smith, 1986). In other words, it has been proved that children are able to use the major syntactic structures of their language by the age of five. She adds that "the ability to work with longer and longer passages is a key element in academic success", and suggests that this is clear from the fact that the length of school texts grows longer as the children move up through the grades. Pearson (2002) goes on to say that it is possible to

use standard passage comprehension tasks to test children's ability to interpret different linguistic devices in reading. She maintains, however, that it is more difficult to test young children's literacy abilities productively, since these children will not learn the mechanics of writing until middle primary school. She asserts, however, that the oral genre of narrative shares many features with written discourse and maintains that "indeed, narrative development even at preschool has shown significant prediction of later literacy development" (Snow & Dickinson, 1990). For this reason, she considers oral narrative ability to be a predictive device to make a judgement about children's growth in those skills which are important for literacy (pp.160-62).

In general, based on the findings of the previous studies carried out in Iran regarding bilingual students' academic achievements (Tavakkoli 2002; Karimi 2003), we might say that there is a wide gap between bilingual and monolingual school children in this respect. Hameedy (2004) studied the data related to a total of 7703 four-grade students who had participated in PIRLS 2001. The subjects were from all 27 provinces in Iran, including some non-Persian-speaking students. He wanted to show that the children's reading scores were related to the extent of exposure to Persian so as to inform the educational authorities of "the need for revamping the educational system in order to bridge the identified gaps". The results showed that around 35% of bilingual subjects never, or only at times, spoke Persian at home, and that there was a significant difference in reading scores of those who had learned Persian in childhood and those who had not. These results are in line with the findings of previous studies carried out in Iran (Mehrjou and Hadian 1992; Manzoorniya 1992; Dinarvand 1994; Addeeb 1993; Asle Fattahi 1994), and emphasize the fact that the academic gap between the Persian-speaking and non-Persian-speaking students has not been bridged even after four years of schooling.

2.7 Oral Production

Different approaches and methods can be employed for language proficiency assessment. With regard to their aims, researchers normally use different types of tasks to assess the candidate's language proficiency. These types of tasks are carried out using a wide range of methods which form a continuum from

traditional methods such as making subjects produce more formal linguistic forms – e.g. tests on grammatical points, and writing compositions – to more recent methods which result in more natural elicitations by the subjects and put more emphasis on the subject's oral production – e.g. relating events by using pictures and oral interviews or conversations.

The ability to speak is very important since it is the most observable to the addressee of the four skills used in any language and can be considered as a visible effort to reflect the communicative function of any language. Testing this ability is, therefore, a most important aspect in language proficiency testing. It might be worth noting, however, that testing this complex skill, especially above the elementary levels, is very difficult. For this reason, it is hard to assess this ability objectively and to get a reliable analysis of the data. In order to assess the speakers' oral productions, many different oral tests have been devised and proposed. Reading aloud, conversational exchanges, using pictures, and the oral interview or conversation are the most significant examples.

In a test of reading aloud the candidate is given a short time to look through a piece of printed material. Then he/she is asked to read it aloud. As Heaton (1988, p.89) mentions, this kind of test has some disadvantages. First of all, this process lacks the element of communicating with another person in a flexible and informal way. Secondly, it may have very harmful backwash effects. Finally, even native speakers who have full command of the language may make errors in doing a test of reading aloud.

Conversational exchanges, according to Heaton (1988, p.90), consist of some drills which are especially appropriate for the language laboratory. For instance the candidates are given a set of situations and are asked to make sentences according to a certain pattern. In this kind of testing, there is focus on certain aspects of spoken language. Additionally an emphasis is put on reading skills. However, many test items in conversational exchanges are far from communicative in any sense, and they lack unpredictable stimuli and responses which are considered as the central component of any productive interaction.

2.7.1 Narrative

Heaton (1988) mentions using pictures as a way of testing the testee's oral production. These include pictures of single objects which are usually used for testing the production of important phoneme contrasts, or pictures of an incident which can be used for testing the total oral skill. Using pictures can be employed for description and narration. In this type of testing, the testees are given a picture or a set of pictures to look through for a short time, and are then asked to describe the picture or relate the events. The use of Mayer's book entitled *Frog, where are you?*, and known as 'the frog story' is a good example of such a kind of oral test. It consists of 24 wordless pictures and has been used as part of this research for assessing some 60 students' language proficiency (see 2.7.1.2). Heaton (1988, pp.92-3) is of the opinion that it is much better to have "separate scores for general fluency, grammar, vocabulary, phonology, and accuracy of description/narration".

There are some advantages in using narratives for language proficiency assessment. In the first place, everybody has some experience in telling stories. As Nelson (1989) remarks "telling stories about past events seems to be a universal human activity, one of the first forms of discourse we learn as children and used throughout the life course by people of all social backgrounds in a wide array of settings." According to White (1989, p.1), "so natural is the impulse to narrate," since it is almost the only way to report how something happened, and a solution to "the problem of how to translate *knowing* into *telling*".

Furthermore, such narratives are a good source of a relatively informal language based on a natural procedure. This is partly because in narrating events, children are more relaxed than in handling other language proficiency tests which are used in some other methods of assessing language proficiency, e.g. written tests, and interviews. Especially when it comes to wordless stories, the subjects have more clues at hand to do the task. On the other hand, according to Toolan (2001, p.4), narrative is involved with "a degree of artificial fabrication or constructedness not usually apparent in spontaneous conversation". Additionally, by considering narratives produced by the subjects, we can assess both the

subject's narrative and linguistic proficiency at the same time, which leads to more valid results.

Besides, it seems that there is a close relation between bilingual children's oral language proficiency and their ability to tell a story. Bialystok (2004, pp.590-91) mentions a study carried out by Herman (1996) which examines the relation between oral proficiency and the ability to tell a story from a wordless picture book in two languages for some kindergarten French-English bilingual children. According to her, Herman (1996) concludes that "the quality of stories that children were able to tell in French was predicted by children's oral proficiency in French".

There are also some functional categories related to narratives discussed by Berman and Slobin (1994, p.394) which can be used as a basis for language proficiency assessment. Temporality, for example, is one of the most important and most frequent functions and is thus a very important factor in the organization of narrative structure. Temporality, in their opinion, is "the ability to develop, to conceptualize, organize, and express complex temporal structures in discourse" and is related to general cognitive and linguistic development.

Because of the advantages mentioned above, employing this method as a basis for assessing such capacities as language proficiency, and consequently using narratives produced by subjects as data to assess language proficiency is becoming increasingly common. For this reason, in this study the focus is on the narratives produced by the subjects. The picture book known as the 'frog story' is one of the most popular means of doing this. What is produced by the children based on this picture book is considered to be narrative and has the typical features of narratives as defined by Labov (1972). According to Labov (p.361), "narrative [is] one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred". He states further, "a minimal narrative [is] a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered ... a minimal narrative is defined as one containing a single temporal juncture". As Toolan (2001, p.148) states, "by temporal juncture, as we have seen, is meant the non-reversibility of two narrative clauses without change of the original semantic interpretation of the story".

Labov (1972) assumes a six-part structure for a fully-formed oral narrative: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result or resolution, and coda. Abstract refers to one or two clauses at the beginning of the story which summarizes the whole story. Orientation identifies in some way the place, time, participants, and their circumstances. It usually appears in the form of some free clauses prior to the development of the narrative action. In Labovian terminology, a clause which describes the circumstances related to the fixed sequence of events of a narrative and which can be moved to anywhere in the text is called a free clause. Complicating action shows what happened in the story. The term evaluation is “the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d’etre*: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at” (p.366). Resolution refers to what finally happens in the story. Finally, coda refers to free clauses at the ends of narratives. Codas usually bridge the gap between the moment of time at the end of the narrative proper and the present. As a whole, according to Labov (1972, cited in Jaworski and Coupland 1999, p.234) “a complete narrative begins with an orientation, proceeds to the complicating action, is suspended at the focus of evaluation before the resolution, concludes with resolution, and returns the listener to the present time with the coda”. Toolan (2001) also presents a comprehensive definition for narrative as “a perceived sequence of non-randomly connected events, typically involving, as the experiencing agonist, humans or quasi-humans, or other sentient beings, from whose experience we humans can ‘learn’” (p.8). Based on this definition, not just any pack of events put together in sequence can be considered as narrative. In other words, ‘non-random connection’ in his view is “a connectedness that is taken to be motivated and significant” (p.6). For this reason, in producing a narrative, it is important for the subjects to use correct verb forms.

The frog story also counts as narrative as defined by Toolan (2001). According to Toolan (pp.4-5), in narrative, there is “a degree of artificial fabrication or constructedness”, which distinguishes it from spontaneous conversation. In other words, “sequence, emphasis and pace are usually planned.” In narrative, there is also “a degree of *prefabrication*” in that the addressees feel it has elements they have already seen or heard or think they have already seen or heard. Moreover, “narratives typically seem to have a ‘trajectory’” in that we can

see some kind of development and even a conclusion. In other words, they have beginnings, middles and ends. According to Toolan narrative also requires “a speaker and some sort of addressee.” Another feature of narrative, which makes it different from such other modes as commentary or description, is called displacement. It is, in fact, “the ability of human language to be used to refer to things or events that are removed, in space or time, from either speaker or addressee.” Finally, “narrative involves the recall of happenings that may be not merely spatially, but, more crucially, temporally remote from the teller and his audience”. In general, he believes that narratives differ to some degree from “more transactional uses of language” in which the speaker expects the addressee “to respond or act in predictable ways”, and therefore in narratives, “some of the normal constraints of how we make sense of discourse seem to be suspended”.

2.7.1.1 Berman and Slobin’s Study

As noted earlier, in the narrative task, by using a wordless storybook known as ‘the frog story’, the narratives produced by Persian-speaking monolinguals and bilingual Turkish-Persian speakers are compared based on several features. The same material and some of these features used as criteria in this study are defined and used by Berman and Slobin (1994) in their crosslinguistic developmental study. Thus, it seems appropriate to explain some of the main points and general concepts discussed by them.

In order to get to objective criteria for a narrative, and to be able to have a better assessment of narrative discourses and thereby to get to a more comprehensive definition of a proficient narrator, Berman and Slobin (1994) focus on ‘form’ and ‘function’, claiming that form and function interact in development. They emphasize that the development of linguistic form has to be studied within a functional framework.

They declare that their framework is “the development of the ability to construct a coherent, hierarchically-organized, goal-oriented narrative, to be told to an adult listener”. They use ‘form’ as a broad term referring to a set of grammatical morphemes and structure types that were considered as key elements in narrative discourse. These include bound inflectional and derivational morphemes, free grammatical morphemes, syntactic structures, systematic shifts

in word order, and some lexical items “encoding notions of temporality, manner, and causation” (p.4). In analyzing the data, they make use of linguistic forms for the communication of narrative events rather than of an analysis of linguistic structure in itself.

On the other hand, by ‘function’ they mean “the roles played by forms to convey structured characteristics of events in narratives” and “the purposes served by these forms in narrative discourse – purposes of constructing a text that is cohesive and coherent at all levels: within the clause, between adjacent clauses, and hierarchically relating larger text segments to one another” (p.4).

Berman and Slobin suggest that ‘form’ includes “a broad range of linguistic devices – from grammatical morphemes and bound inflections to interclausal connectives and syntactic constructions – along with lexical items encoding notions of temporality, manner, and causation” (p.4). On the other hand, ‘function’ for them is “the purposes served by these forms in narrative discourse – purposes of constructing a text that is cohesive and coherent at all levels: within the clause, between adjacent clauses, and hierarchically relating larger text segments to one another” (p.4).

They believe that the relationship between form and function is mutual, and that the two interact in development. In their words “the development of linguistic form must be situated in a functional framework” (p.18). In other words, certain forms are employed to express certain functions and new functions motivate the acquisition of new forms to serve these functions. Labov and Waletzky (1967) believed that basic narrative structures were to be found in the ordinary narratives of ordinary speakers. They also tried, by looking at many narratives, to identify and relate formal linguistic properties to their functions.

Berman and Slobin (1994) state that mastering the use of certain forms for expressing more functions and discovering the complex interrelation is part of developing language skills and becoming a proficient speaker. In this respect, they make certain assumptions about the development of linguistic forms and believe that “individual forms would take on more functions with development” (p.597). They predict that in the narratives produced by 5- to 9-year-olds there will be an increase over time in hierarchical organization, and that “school-age children [as compared to pre-school children] will make causal attributions to events in the

story” (p.33). In their opinion, “becoming a proficient speaker means being able to use linguistic forms to meet specific discourse needs” (p.597), and this “requires fully integrated knowledge of overall resources of the linguistic system and the cognitive ability to maintain a fully updated representation of the listener’s current state of knowledge” (p.598). For this reason, in any language, some forms do not occur at all in the text of the younger children, but might occasionally be observed in the 9-year-olds’ narratives. Berman and Slobin (1994) add that according to their findings, “development of proficient command of form-function interactions continues at least through adolescence”.

Proficient speakers of language, in their view, have access to a rich set of ‘rhetorical options’, which can be used “to express a full range of discourse functions in such activities as conversing, describing, arguing, or narrating” (p.608). Thus Persian-speaking children, for example, must learn that a function like expressing a foreground in narrative can be fulfilled by using an informal colloquial form of the progressive aspect. In relation to the frog story, Berman and Slobin (1994, p.19) enumerate five functional categories and their formal expressions. These functional categories include temporality, event conflation, perspective, connectivity, and narrative style. Temporality, in their view, is “the expression of the location of events on the time line, temporal relations between events, and temporal constituency of events” by means of “tense/aspect marking on verbs, lexical marking of aspect (particles, verbs, and adverbs), temporal conjunction and subordination”. By event conflation, they mean “the encoding of components of events in relatively compact or expanded expressions” by means of “verbs and satellites (especially verbs of motion and locative particles), adpositional phrases, nonfinite verb forms (participles, gerunds)”. Perspective, to them, is “the choice of topics and focus, foreground and background, agent-patient relations” by means of “voice alternations of verbs, pragmatic word-order variation, reference form (NP, pronoun, zero), topic markers”. They define connectivity as “‘knitting the fabric’ of narrative discourse” by means of “syntactic conjunction and subordination (subordinating conjunctions, relative clauses), nonfinite verb forms, nominalizations, topic ellipsis”. Finally, narrative style, which according to them “establishes a personal level of discourse (e.g.

colloquial, racy, matter-of-fact, literary, poetic)” by means of “all of the devices listed above, plus lexical choice, prosody, tempo, and so forth”.

Among the five functional categories mentioned above, ‘temporality’ plays an important role in Berman and Slobin’s approach. They (p.394) believe temporality is one of the most important and most frequent functions in narrative discourse and is thus a very important factor in the organization of narrative structure. In their view, “the ability to develop, to conceptualize, organize, and express complex temporal structures in discourse” relates to “questions of general cognitive development and of linguistic development as well as the interrelation of these two domains”.

Like many other researchers, Berman and Slobin (1994) make a distinction between foreground and background based on temporal categories. They state that in using the English progressive, they consider “both the semantics of temporal marking and the use of such markings to background or foreground events in discourse”, by which they mean what Tomlin (1987) has called ‘grounding’. They also make a connection between ‘tense’ and ‘aspect’ on one hand, and between ‘foreground’ and ‘background’ on the other. Comrie (1985) considers tense and aspect as “two ways in which one can relate a situation to the time line”. In his view, “to locate the situation somewhere on the time line is necessarily in relation to some other specified point or segment of the line, since in one sense all time location is relative”. He considers “this concept of time location essential to the linguistic category of tense”. On the other hand, “one might be interested in discussing the internal temporal contour of a situation, for instance in discussing whether it is to be represented as a point on the time line, or as a stretch of the time line”. He believes that this consideration “provides the conceptual basis for the notion of aspect” (p.6). In this connection, Berman and Slobin (1994, pp.6-9) refer to Hopper’s (1979) suggestion that the main function of the distinction between tense and aspect is “to differentiate main-line (foreground) events from commentary (background) in narrative”. Then they refer to the distinction made by Chvany (1984) between ‘foreground’ and ‘plotline’. In their view, foregrounded utterances refer to an event and stand in a shift-in-time relation. Background material, on the other hand, is not part of the advancing plotline. However, they consider foreground as a matter of perspective.

By referring to some examples in their data, Berman and Slobin (1994) mention the backgrounding function of the progressive (and durative or imperfective aspects in general). They state that this aspect functions as the continuing background against which a foregrounded event happens. In their opinion, example (A) shows the ‘backgrounding’ function of the progressive in which a child of three years and nine months “temporally situates the frog’s escape during the period in which the boy was asleep” (pp.4-5).

(A) *The frog got out, when he’s sleeping.* [E3h-3;9]

They conclude that the command of linguistic devices for grounding must be considered as part of a full account of the acquisition of grammar. They add, “we might expect, then, that the child’s task in acquiring the ‘grammar of narrative’ would be to identify the foreground or main plot line of the story (the semantic task) and to acquire the necessary syntactic forms for mapping this foreground onto linguistic expressions (the formal task)” (p.7).

According to Berman and Slobin (1994), backgrounded material can be related to foregrounded utterances by the temporal relation of ‘simultaneity’. For this reason, simultaneity is considered as a basic element in their concept of time and one of the three basic relations along with the temporal relations ‘before’ and ‘after’ (p.394). They use a somewhat looser definition of simultaneity, and state that “two events, processes, or states are simultaneous if they share a value on the time axis. Temporal boundaries need not coincide” (p.397). Here we are concerned with such expressive devices as tense/aspect systems and lexical items like adverbials, conjunctions, and particles – which include reference to simultaneity. In their study, simultaneity is analyzed as a temporal relation which indicates a certain function within the general discourse structure. They believe that “the dominant temporal relation between utterances in narrative discourse is defined by the *after*-relation which constitutes the chain of foregrounded events”. They add that the relation of simultaneity, in contrast, can be considered as an indicator for all types of supplementary background material. However, they believe that in narratives, simultaneity does not necessarily always denote

backgrounding, and we can either have “simultaneity of events in the foreground, and simultaneity of events and states within the background, or across foreground and background”. In the frog story, we can see a typical context for the first type when several participants are involved in the story, acting in different places at the same time (p.395).

In this respect, they enumerate three ‘levels’ of simultaneity for their database: (a) the time axis of events or the standard case which is simultaneity of two or more ‘event-times’ (The frog was in the jar. And the boy was looking at him.); (b) the time axis of discourse which is the line the speakers take to present the events, and results from a particular perspective taken on events (He wakes up. In the meantime she has come into the room.); and (c) the time axis of perception which is related to the picture-description nature of the frog story. They believe that “a description of a picture-story differs greatly from, for example, a real-world story, a fantasy, or recounting of a film, in that a story must be developed on the basis of a series of static scenes in which different activities are presented as simultaneous. The more closely a subject follows the pictures, the more descriptive the task becomes”. (*One sees the boy laugh and the dog standing in sniffing position*) (pp.398-99).

Concerning the frog story, Berman and Slobin state that, “because of the overlapping activities of the several protagonists, there are many cases in which two kinds of events occur in the same temporal-spatial frame” (p.613). In discussing the channeling of attention and aspectual contrasts, Berman and Slobin (1994) focus on “contrasts between the temporal contours of two simultaneous events, looking for cases in which an event of brief duration takes place within the time frame of an event that is more extended in time” (p.613). Picture 12 (boy falls – dog runs) and Picture 2 (frog escapes – boy and dog sleep) are mentioned as clear examples of this phenomenon. According to Berman and Slobin, “in both of these scenes, it is evident that the two events do not overlap completely in time, and the duration of the first is bounded and contained within the duration of the second” (p.613).

According to Toolan (2001), Labov and Waletzky (1967) base their analysis on the perception of a fixed set of repeated patterns and the putting aside of what they take to be local differences while looking for deeper structural similarities.

Labov and Waletzky state, “We will be relying upon the basic techniques of linguistic analysis, isolating the invariant structural units which are represented by a variety of superficial forms.”(p.12). They define a clause which describes the circumstances surrounding the fixed sequence of events of a narrative as called a free clause and suggest that such clauses can be moved to anywhere in the text. Toolan (2001) continues to say that in the Labovian approach, true narrative clauses, which are the backbone of narrative, are temporally ordered independent clauses which must appear in a fixed presentational sequence together with their dependent subordinate clauses (p.145).

Berman and Slobin (1994) sum up the whole discussion under three headings, namely ‘filtering’, ‘packaging’, and ‘development’. Under ‘filtering’, they state that “the world does not present ‘events’ to be encoded in language. Rather, experiences are filtered – (a) through choice of perspective, and (b) through the set of options provided by their particular language – into verbalized events” (p.9). It is relevant that Berman and Slobin’s study is crosslinguistic in that they have selected some monolingual subjects who speak English, German, Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish to compare their narratives. Half of the subjects in the author’s study are Turkish-Persian bilinguals, and therefore Berman and Slobin’s analysis of their findings might be used in the author’s final analysis to see whether and to what extent the Persian language proficiency of the bilinguals in my study is affected by their Turkish proficiency.

Under ‘packaging’, Berman and Slobin (1994) state that, “A skillful narrative does not simply consist of a linear chain of successive events located in time and space. Rather, events must be packaged into hierarchical constructions” (p.13). They relate this fact to another aspect of perspective-taking, which is the construction of higher-order events. They state that, “one of the chief motivations for the acquisition of complex syntax, we claim, is the child’s growing understanding of the temporal, causal, and motivational texture of events” (p.13).

Under ‘development’, they argue that “younger children take fewer expressive options because: (a) cognitively, they cannot conceive of the full range of encodable perspectives; (b) communicatively, they cannot fully assess the listener’s viewpoint, and (c) linguistically, they do not command the full range of formal devices” (p.15). This focus on age-related factors arises from a

developmental approach in assessing the frog story narratives, and accordingly, subjects belong to five age-groups, i.e. 3-, 4-, 5-, 9-year-old, and adult. This work will again make use of the findings of Berman and Slobin's study by considering the characteristics of their 9-year-old subjects' narratives, since nearly all of the subjects in my study are 8-11 years old (9-year-olds, 21 subjects; 10-year-olds, 21 subjects). In other words, 8-11-year-olds form a continuum which nearly matches the 9-year-olds in Berman and Slobin. In fact, it is possible to take their 9-year-olds' narratives as a basis, and use them in selecting the criteria for assessing their narrative competence. In this way, it can be concluded that the greater the similarity between the narratives and those produced by 5-year-olds in Berman and Slobin, the less proficient they are. On the other hand, the more their narratives resemble those of adults in their study, the more proficient they would be.

In general, Berman and Slobin (1994), state that the development of linguistic form is the focus of their study. In their research, they analyze the production of connected discourse because they think that this form "shape[s] both grammar and the course of its development". Among many different discourse genres, they have selected the narrative because it is built up comparatively early in children; furthermore, the expression of temporality, which is in their centre of attention, is a significant element in this mode of discourse. In their opinion, lack of control on the subject's definition of the task might be considered as the most serious weakness of their study. For the subjects, the task could be interpreted as picture description, picture-supported narrative, colloquial storytelling, bookish storytelling, and so forth.

2.7.1.2 The 'Frog Story'

As stated earlier, in this study, by using 'the frog story', we are assessing both the subjects' narrative competence and language proficiency. The story known as 'the frog story' is in fact Mercer Mayer's book, entitled *Frog, where are you?*, which was published in 1969. Mayer's book consists of 24 wordless pictures which tell the story of the adventures of a boy and his pet frog and dog (see Appendix V). The boy and his dog face many adventures while looking for the frog, which had escaped during the night. According to Berman and Slobin (1994), at least 150

researchers collected data in 50 languages, in different bilingual combinations, and in both spoken and written modes using the frog story. They believed that Mayer's picture storybook was rapidly becoming a "worldwide research tool". They have enumerated some of these studies along with a short description at the end of their book. For example, Bennett-Kastor (2002) poses the question whether narratives created by bilinguals are markedly different from those of monolinguals in ways which "are not clearly related to linguistic or cultural effects" (p.131).

Berman and Slobin (1994) found Mayer's book a suitable material for their research, because they believed it provided a common content to compare narratives across the subjects. In addition, it represented "a typical children's story with a hero (the boy and his dog), a problem (the boy has a pet frog which runs away), a set of actions which follow from this problem (the boy and dog search for the missing frog, and a 'happy ending' (the boy finds his frog, or gets another one in exchange)". In their view, this book was also full of long and sophisticated series of events, and thus allowed narrators to relate to a diversity of subjects (pp.20-1). Berman and Slobin also believed that the book was full of opportunities for the encoding of different temporal distinctions (p.3), and most importantly, that using a single set of pictures as a narrative prop yields "a shared point of departure and a common external basis for comparing the narrative productions of children and adults speaking different languages" (pp. 41-2).

On the basis of this wordless story about the adventures of a boy and his pet frog, Berman and Slobin (1994) carried out a crosslinguistic developmental study. They tried to compare different ways of relating events used by different groups of subjects with different ages and different languages by using a series of pictures in the frog storybook. Their goal was to reach a better understanding of linguistic, cognitive, and communicative abilities that was part of the human ability to get and convey events in the form of words. In their research, they are not only studying the development of the subject's ability to describe situations, but also to relate events to one another.

In their study, Berman and Slobin (1994) focused on the development of linguistic form in children. They preferred to analyze the production of connected discourse because they believed that "the uses of language in discourse shape both grammar and the course of its development". They chose, among other types, the

narrative genre because it develops quite early in children, and because they were interested in the expression of temporality, which played an important role in the narrative mode of discourse. They also noted that, to produce the frog story, the subjects had to have a goal-oriented plot in mind, which demands a more complex, set of linguistic forms. This was partly because of the need for temporal and causal subordination. This feature had a key role in developing the narrative mode of discourse. On the other hand, in discussing form and function, temporality was a very important and frequent functional category, and could be employed in selecting criteria for assessing the subjects' language proficiency (p.17).

Berman and Slobin carried out this research by using a wide range of subjects from preschool (ages 3, 4, and 5), school-age (age 9), and adult narrators in five different languages: English, German, Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish. They were all "monolingual, from middle-class, literate backgrounds, with differences in socioeconomic status being neutralized as far as possible within and across the groups" (p.28). In general, the first group attended preschool or kindergarten, the 9-year-olds were in 4th grade, while the adults were college students or graduates of 18 to 40 years of age. Since their aim was to focus on strictly crosslinguistic comparisons, they tried to minimize the effects of cultural differences as much as possible. However, they believe that this was not entirely possible because storytelling traditions and conventions are different even in the urban, industrialized settings across the different countries in which their data were collected.

Benett and Slaughter (1983) state that this method – using wordless picture books – has attracted a lot of attention in the field of language proficiency assessment. In the Tucson Project, which started in 1980 in Arizona, some bilingual Spanish-English subjects were asked to construct a narrative by looking at a short, wordless picture book. This happened after they were first engaged in an interview (p.5). Although the book was the story of a boy and his pet frog, it was different from Mayer's (1969) book.

In the Arizona project (Bennett and Slaughter, 1983), on the basis of the narratives produced by the subjects, the researchers could observe what they expected from formal schooling and assess the subjects' 'essayist' literacy. For

the researchers, those narratives which were free of the context of elicitation to a high degree were considered as the most proficient. In this case, the listener could follow the story without having an eye on the book all the time, and explained the points of the events from the characters' point of views (p.17).

As stated earlier, the 'frog story' (Mayer, 1969) is the story of a little boy who has lost his frog and is looking for it. The frog leaves the house while the little boy and his dog are sleeping. When the boy gets up and fails to find the frog in the house, he starts looking for it. He searches around the house and the forest nearby. He eventually manages to find the frog playing with a group of frogs by a stream. This story is designed in such a way that it appeals to children under 12. Since it is a story, the subjects have to employ a narrative style, which results in a less formal atmosphere by producing a relatively unconscious language production. On the other hand, in reciting the story, they are expected to follow a certain series of events chronologically and to use the suitable adverbs or adverbial expressions and verb tenses to show the logical sequence of the events to come. Finally, there are some cause and effect actions involved in the story. In order to express these in a logical way the subjects have to use certain connectors.

Berman and Slobin (1994) believe that in doing such tasks as the frog story, in which they are involved with picture sequences, a cognitive demand is imposed on the children since they have "to translate spatially static visual sequences into temporally dynamic verbal output" (p.41). According to Bornens (1990), although the subjects face difficulty in doing the tasks involving pictures, it is proved that such tasks are "a reliable means of tapping children's narrative's abilities from both a cognitive and a linguistic point of view" (p.41).

The pictures in the book are presented in a chronological order from left to right and front to back in the book, which is common in Anglo-Western books. Texts written or printed in Persian, however, follow the opposite direction, i.e. from right to left. In this regard, since Mayer's 'the frog story' is a wordless book and numerals are printed from left to right for the Persian speakers as well, it seems this difference has no negative effect on the results. Persian numerals were also added to the pictures to facilitate the recognition process. Concerning Hebrew, which is also printed from right to left, Berman and Slobin (1994) state that, "the left-to-right orientation of the book, as well as the corresponding

direction of action in the pictures, did not appear to disturb Hebrew-speaking (or Hebrew-reading) children” (p.21).

Concerning the cultural aspects of the pictures, Berman and Slobin (1994), quoting Wilkins’s view, state that “the story depicted in the pictures is by an Anglo-American author who relies on several culture-specific frames (to use Fillmore’s terms) in the pictorial presentation of the story” (p.21). It seems that all of the frames mentioned by Wilkins and quoted by Berman and Slobin (1994) are, to some degree, part of the experience of the preschool children in Iran. There are, however, some obvious differences as well in the frames introduced. For example, concerning the third frame which is related to dogs, in Iran, especially in small cities, having a dog is something unusual. In larger cities, some people keep dogs as pets, and in villages, dogs are trained for guarding the house or looking after the sheep, but never allowed inside buildings. This difference would have some linguistic consequences in the subjects’ narratives. The last frame summarizes “the knowledge/experience of North American [and Northern European] wooded areas, and the type of animals, plants, and terrain found there” (p.22). Since the area in which the study was carried out was different from that of North America with regard to its natural features, the subjects were expected to have some difficulty in recognizing some objects and animals and using appropriate lexical items for referring to them. In this region, because of the dry climate with little rain, one can hardly find a large area of land thickly covered with trees and bushes. It might be worth noting that the subjects’ familiarity with storybooks translated from English and cartoons of Western countries origin made up for this lack of practical experience of forest life to some extent. However, some difficulty arose from the quality of the drawings which caused problems for Berman and Slobin’s subjects as well.

To sum up, in narrating the frog story, it is very likely that every subject (aged above 8) would extract the same plotline which includes loss of the frog, search for the frog, and finally recovery. As stated by Berman and Slobin, “here we are concerned with what those versions have in common: linguistic cohesion on the micro-level of individual clauses and adjacent clauses, and thematic coherence on the macro-level of plot organization”. They also believe that their findings across languages show “a common developmental pattern towards increasing cohesion

and coherence” (p.40). It should be mentioned that in spite of all these advantages, this task has its weaknesses as well. According to Berman and Slobin (1994), “perhaps the most serious weakness is that we have not been able to control the subject’s definition of the task: picture description, picture-supported narrative, colloquial storytelling, and so forth” (p.17). In this respect, while the youngest subjects are oriented more towards the picture description end of the scale, older subjects are oriented more towards the model of literary narrative (p.17).

2.7.1.3 Narration in Iranian Culture

As mentioned earlier (1.2), in this study part of the material being assessed is, in fact, a piece of narrative produced by the subjects based on a wordless book known as ‘the frog story’. The Persian language has a very long and rich literary tradition. Until a few decades ago, most of the stories recited for the Iranian children came from Iran and the neighbouring countries and were limited in number, and passed on by oral tradition. In terms of content, these stories were originally of three types. The first group included fairy tales which lacked local cultural features and seemed to be part of the ancient world cultural heritage. This type of story had been transferred from generation to generation verbally. The second group consisted of those stories which had elements of Iranian mythology and Islamic history. Those stories, which had mythological elements and figures, were mostly based on a written poetic text, for example Ferdowsi’s *Shahnameh*. The epic stories extracted from this book had been narrated by some professional narrators to the people in traditional cafés for many centuries. On the other hand, the stories with religious themes had their roots both in the Quran and in mystical poetry composed by great poets such as Mowlavi. The third group comprised those stories which were borrowed from the literature of western countries and published in the last few decades. Major literary works in French and English were among the first books which were translated into Persian at the beginning of the twentieth century. They included novels written by great European writers, and pieces of poetry composed by great European poets. However, publishing storybooks for children either through translating from French and English, or based on the original Persian literary works is a recent phenomenon, which started nearly at the same time - more than half a century ago.

The first publishing house which published books for children in Iran dates back to 1950. The first storybooks published for children were translations of some stories written in such languages as French and English. These books were not picture-based and consisted of bare texts. Later, both storybooks for children and the Persian textbooks used at primary schools included a few pictures in black and white. However, it was not until fifty years ago that the first textbooks and storybooks with coloured pictures were published for children. At about the same time the first illustrated magazine for children which included stories with coloured pictures appeared.

The new educational system in Iran started about seventy years ago and spread throughout the country in most urban areas within ten years, and in most rural areas within thirty years. Since that time almost all Iranian children, especially those who have attended school, have experience and knowledge of story-reading and storytelling. In this respect, it is necessary to mention the impact of radio and television programmes broadcast throughout the country, which started in the capital about seventy and thirty-five years ago, respectively. The inhabitants of a small town like Quchan in which the study was carried out started receiving radio programmes about fifty-five years ago and television programmes about thirty-five years ago. From the very beginning, both on radio and television, special programmes were designed for children including storytelling sessions and bedtime stories.

In the Persian language narrative tradition, as in much of the western world, narratives are goal-oriented and chronologically structured. In such narratives, you can follow a series of events that form some components which in turn create the global structure of the story. Using the notions used by Berman and Slobin, you can observe three 'core' components: the onset of the plot, the unfolding of the plot, and the resolution of the plot.

2.7.1.4 Persian Morphology and Syntax

Before discussing different criteria for assessing language proficiency, it might be useful to present a general introduction to Persian grammar. It is worth mentioning that here I have tried to describe those grammatical points which are

directly related to narrative texts, while focusing on the frog story. A general description of the Persian language is presented in Section 1.1.1.1.

Berman and Slobin introduced typological characteristics of five languages (1994). These concern such features as having grammaticized tense, grammaticized aspect, being verb-/satellite-framed, dominant main-clause order, noun/adjective order, noun/genitive order, clause combining, and subject ellipsis (p.111). Regarding these characteristics and also with regard to four broad issues relating to narrative discourse, which are most relevant to our study – i.e. tense/aspect, event conflation, perspective, and connectivity – we can attribute the following features to Persian language:

Tense/aspect; this refers to temporal distinctions that are grammatically encoded in the verb phrase. Traditionally, in Persian grammar, tenses are classified into three major groups: past tenses, present tenses, and future tenses. According to Natel-Khanlari (1983), in Persian, “verbs which indicate past tense are of five types: ‘absolute past’ (simple past), past progressive, ‘narrative past’ (present perfect), ‘remote past’ (past perfect), and past subjunctive” (p.36). On the other hand, present tense consists of ‘indicative present’ (simple present) which indicate both present and future (casual style), and present subjunctive. The future tense group has only one member, i.e. ‘future’ (simple future), and it is only used in very formal style. In casual style, future time is expressed by the simple present tense (pp.17-41).

Table 2.1 presents the conjugation of nine major tenses of the verb *raftan* ‘to go’ in first person singular. Auxiliaries are in italic bold type. In conjugating different tenses in Persian, we are concerned with the present stem of the main verb (e.g. simple present, present subjunctive, and ‘present in progress’), or the progressive, simple future, past subjunctive, and ‘past in progress’). Past stems are formed by adding the past morpheme to the present stem (except for *budan* ‘to be’ and *didan* ‘to see’). In this regard, verbs are either regular or irregular. For regular verbs, the past stem is formed by adding one of the past morphemes (-t, -d, *id*, *âd*) without any additional phonetic change (e.g. *xordan* ‘to eat’: *xor/xord*; *bâftan* ‘to knit, to weave’: *bâf/bâft*), while for irregular verbs, the past stem is formed by adding one of the past morphemes with an additional phonetic change to the present stem (e.g. *jâftan* ‘to find’ *jâb/jâft*). The past participle is composed

of the past stem and morpheme *-e*, and the past stem is the same as infinitive without *-an* (*goftan* ‘to go’/ *goft*, *dauidan* ‘to run’/ *dauid*). In the examples given, using different inflectional endings makes it possible for the speaker to delete the subject pronoun at the beginning of the sentence. The imperative form (second person singular) is formed by adding the prefix *be-* to the present stem of the verb (e.g. *xordan* ‘to eat’: *xor/bexor*). ‘F’ and ‘NF’ refer to ‘finite’ and ‘non-finite’ forms, respectively.

In Persian, verbs are conjugated in six forms with six distinct inflectional endings (3 singular and 3 plural forms). These endings are the same for all the tenses (first person singular: **-am**, second person singular: **-i**, third person singular, no ending: **-ø**, first person plural: **-im**, second person plural: **-id**, third person plural: **-and**). In general, because of having six distinct verb endings and employing SOV as the dominant main-clause order, Persian has a great facility for an action which has occurred in the past and its effect or result has remained up until now. Hasan has gone to school (and he is still there).” (Natel-Khanlari, 1983, p.34). In Persian, unlike English, the present perfect is also used with time adverbials of past time reference (see Comrie, 1985, p.28).

Skjærvø in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (2006, Vol.9, p.296) presents the following verbal system for the Persian language:

Present continuous:	mi-rav-am ‘I go, I am going’
Present subjunctive:	be-rav-am ‘(that) I go’
Past simple:	raft-am ‘I went’
Past continuous:	mi-raft-am ‘I was going’
Perfect simple:	raft-e-am ‘I have gone’
Perfect continuous:	mi-raft-e-am ‘I have (regularly) gone’
Pluperfect:	raft-e bud-am ‘I had gone’
Pluperfect continuous:	mi-raft-e bud-am ‘I would have gone’
Future:	xâh-am raft ‘I shall go’

Tense	Example	Structure
'Indicative Present' (Simple Present)	(<i>man</i>) <i>mi-rav-am.</i> 'I go.'	(I) <i>raftan</i> 'go' (F): PREFIX-PRESENT STEM-ENDING
'Absolute Past' (Simple Past)	(<i>man</i>) <i>raft-am.</i> 'I went.'	(I) <i>raftan</i> 'go' (F): PAST STEM-ENDING
'Narrative Past' (Present Perfect)	(<i>man</i>) <i>rafte-?am.</i> 'I have gone.'	(I) <i>raftan</i> 'go' (NF): PAST PARTICIPLE <i>budan</i> (F): SIMPLE PRESENT
'Remote Past' (Past Perfect)	(<i>man</i>) <i>rafte bud-</i> <i>am.</i> 'I had gone.'	(I) <i>raftan</i> 'go' (NF): PAST PARTICIPLE <i>budan</i> (F): SIMPLE PAST
Past Progressive	(<i>man</i>) <i>mi-raft-am.</i> 'I was going.'	(I) <i>raftan</i> 'go' (F): PREFIX-PAST STEM-ENDING
'Future' (Simple Future)	(<i>man</i>) <i>xâh-am</i> <i>raft.</i> 'I will go.'	(I) <i>xâstan</i> (F): PRESENT STEM-ENDING <i>raftan</i> 'go' (NF): TRUNCATED INFINITIVE
Present Subjunctive	(<i>man</i>) <i>be-rav-am.</i> '[if] I go.'	(I) <i>raftan</i> 'go' (F): PREFIX-PRESENT STEM-ENDING
Past Subjunctive	(<i>man</i>) <i>rafte bâš-</i> <i>am.</i> 'I might go.'	(I) <i>raftan</i> 'go' (NF): PAST PARTICIPLE <i>budan</i> (F): PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE
Present in Progress	(<i>man</i>) <i>dâram mi-</i> <i>rav-am.</i> 'I am going.'	(I) <i>dâstan</i> (F): SIMPLE PRESENT <i>raftan</i> 'go' (F): PREFIX-PRESENT STEM- ENDING
Past in Progress	(<i>man</i>) <i>dâšt-am mi-</i> <i>raft-am.</i> 'I was going.'	(I) <i>dâstan</i> (F): SIMPLE PAST <i>raftan</i> 'go' (F): PREFIX-PAST STEM-ENDING

Table 2.1

Major Verb Tenses in Persian

In Persian, as in some other languages, the grammatical form of the present perfect tense consists of the past participle of the main verb and the simple present of the auxiliary *astan* 'be' (-*?am*, -*?i*, *ast*, -*?im*, *?id*, -*?and*), and it has similar functions for purposes of the frog story. (e.g. *pesare az deraxt oftâd-e ast*). The boy off the tree fall:PP be:PRES ("The boy has fallen off the tree."). It is worth noting that while in formal written Persian, simple past and present perfect tenses appear in two different forms, i.e. 'past stem + appropriate inflectional ending' and 'past participle + appropriate inflectional ending', respectively, (Example1) in spoken (Tehrani) Persian, the only difference between these two forms is the stress position. In the simple past tense, the stress is on the past stem, while in the present perfect, the stress falls on the inflectional ending (Ex. 2) (Vahidiyan Kamyar 2001, p.66).

1) *ân ketâb râ did-am/did-e-?am*.

that book POSTPOSITION see: PAST STEM-ENDING, SIMPLE PAST, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR/ -ENDING, PAST PERFECT, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR
'I **saw/have seen** that book.' (written)

2) *ân ketâb râ dîd-am/did-âm*.

that book POSTPOSITION see: PAST STEM-ENDING, SIMPLE PAST, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR/PAST STEM-ENDING, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR
'I **saw/have seen** that book.' (spoken)

Concerning narrative discourse in general and the frog story in particular, we have to focus on certain issues such as tense and aspect. In narrative we are concerned with a sequence of connected events, and "thus 'event', or 'change of state', is the key and fundamental of narrative" (Toolan, 2001, p.17). For this reason, verbs play an important role in interpreting different events in the narrative.

The subjects in this study, as part of their narrative proficiency, also have to be able to distinguish between foreground and background. To do such a task, they need a good command of tense and aspect in Persian. As mentioned above, in Persian both progressive and perfect aspects are used frequently.

In narrating the frog story, verbs with progressive aspect play an important role. The first type of progressive – which was mentioned above – is *past progressive*. It is the simplest of all progressive tenses used in Persian. It shows less duration and is formed by adding the morpheme *mi-* to the beginning of simple past tense. (Ex. 3) It might be worth noting that for the simple past tense the inflectional ending for third person singular is \emptyset (*man raft-am* ‘I went’, *to raft-i* ‘you went’, *u raft- \emptyset* ‘he/she went’, *mâ raft-im* ‘we went’, *šomâ raft-id* ‘you went’, *ânhâ raft-and* ‘they went’).

3) *u mi-david.*

he/she PREFIX-run: SIMPLE PAST

‘He/she was running.’

In addition to the past progressive tense explained above, there are three more verb forms which indicate progressive aspect and are mostly used in informal style. The first form, i.e., *present in progress* indicates that an action or event is taking place at the present time. It is the only form for showing continuity in informal language. This tense is formed with the present tense of the auxiliary *dâštan* ‘to have’ plus the present indicative of another verb. Both auxiliary and main verbs appear in finite form. (Ex. 4)

4) *inġâ pesar-e dâr-e dâd mi-zan-e.*

here boy-the have: PRES STEM-ENDING, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR cry out

(SIMPLE PRESENT):cry PREFIX-PRESENT STEM-ENDING, THIRD PERSON

SINGULAR

‘Here, the boy is crying out.’

The second form called *past in progress* refers to an action or event which was in progress at a time in the past. This tense is made of the simple past tense of the auxiliary *dâštan* ‘to have’ and the past progressive of another verb. Again, both auxiliary and main verbs appear in finite form. (Ex. 5)

5) *vaqti sag-e az panġere oftâd, pesar-e dâšt negâh mi-kard.*

when dog-the off window fall: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

boy-the have: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR watch: PAST

PROGRESSIVE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘When the dog fell off the window, the boy was watching.’

These two forms are frequently used in narratives; however, since the frog story is presented in single separated pictures, the subjects are more inclined to describe most of the pictures and accordingly the first form is more likely to appear. Moreover, these structures are appropriate for the informal style which is a characteristic of the language used for narrating the frog story. Concerning the stress pattern, since these two structures consist of two independent words which can even be separated by a potential pause, both words receive the stress. In the present in progress tense, the stress falls on the second syllable of the first unit and on the first syllable of the second unit, while in past progress the stress is on the first syllable in both units (Vahidiyan Kamyar 2001, p.34).

There is another verb form in Persian which indicates present progressive. It consists of the phrase *dar hâle* ‘at the point of’, the infinitive of the main verb followed by the present tense of the auxiliary *budan* ‘to be’. This form is used in the most formal style and is very unlikely to be used by primary school students. (Ex. 6)

6) *mihmânân dar hâle xordane nâhâr hastand.*

‘The guests are having lunch.’

A similar form is used to express past progressive. It consists of the phrase *dar hâle*, ‘at the point of’, the infinitive of the main verb, and the simple past tense of the auxiliary *budan* ‘to be’, and is used in formal style. (Ex. 7)

7) *mihmânân dar hâle xordane nâhâr budand.*

‘The guests were having lunch.’

In Persian, as in many other languages, the same tense can be used to express two or more different time references. Simple present tense, for example, can express both present and future. (Ex. 8 & Ex. 9) In other words, if we consider the function of different verb forms in Persian, we see that different verbs, even with the same structure, do not always indicate the same ‘temporal’ meaning. (Jahanpanah-Tehrani 1984, p.67)

8) *mâ harruz ânâ râ molâqât mikonim.*

‘We **meet** them everyday.’

9) *mâ fardâ ânâ râ molâqât mikonim.*

‘We **will meet** them tomorrow.’

On the other hand, sometimes a group of verbs with a certain structure and another group with a different structure may convey the same ‘temporal’ meaning. (Ex. 10)

10) *sâ?ate se bud, pedar xâbide bud, mâdar zarf-hâ râ mi-šost, va man ketâb mi-xând-am.*

o'clock three be: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR father sleep: PP

be: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR mother dish-es

POSTPOSITION PREFIX-PAST STEM and I book PREFIX-PAST STEM-

INFLECTIONAL ENDING, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘It was 3 p.m.; dad was sleeping, mum was washing up the dishes, and I was reading a book.’

In example (10), the two verbs *mišost* and *mixândam* both have past progressive structure, but *xâbide bud* has past perfect structure; however, regarding ‘temporal’ meaning, all these verb forms indicate past progressive. This kind of difference is originated in the aspects possessed by Persian verbs. According to Jahanpanah-Tehrani (1984), based on aspect, verbs in Persian can be classified in two groups: ‘punctual’ and ‘durative’ (p.64). Punctual verbs indicate punctual actions or states which last for a very short time but have a very clear

ending. In other words, these verbs refer to a juncture of two actions or states i.e., the end of the first and starting the second action or state. (*oftâdan* ‘to fall’, end of the state of being still and the beginning of the state of fallen). Some other verbs in this group are as follows: *raftan* ‘to leave’, *?istâdan* ‘to stand up’, *palâsidan* ‘to spoil’, *tarkidan* ‘to blow up’, *časbidan* ‘to stick’, *xâbidan* ‘to sleep’, *dâdan* ‘to give’, *nešastan* ‘to sit down’, *mândan* ‘to stay’, *xalâs šodan* ‘to release’, *divâne šodan* ‘to get mad’, *šellik kardan* ‘to shoot’, *sarmâ xordan* ‘to catch cold’, *az beyn raftan* ‘to destroy’, *hads zadan* ‘to guess’, and *dast kešidan* ‘to give up’. In example (10), the verb *xâbidan* ‘to sleep’ is punctual while *šostan* ‘to wash up’ and *xândan* ‘to read’ are both durative.

Durative verbs, on the other hand, refer to those actions or states which have duration and there is thus no emphasis on the beginning or the end of the action or state. (*šostan* ‘to wash up’). Some other verbs in this group are as follows: *bâftan* ‘to knit’, *šomordan* ‘to count’, *raqsidan* ‘to dance’, *duxtan* ‘to sew’, *nasihat kardan* ‘to advise’, *bâzi kardan* ‘to play’, *šenâ kardan* ‘to swim’, *kâr kardan* ‘to work’, *ranj bordan* ‘to suffer’, *dars xândan* ‘to study’, *guš dâdan* ‘to listen’, *qadam zadan* ‘to walk’, and *kaf zadan* ‘to clap’.

It seems that we can label almost all of these verbs as either punctual or durative even out of context. Some of them, however, might either be punctual or durative based on the context in which they have been used. For example, *poxtan* as a transitive verb (‘to cook’) is durative while as an intransitive verb (‘to get cooked’) is considered as a punctual verb. However, *poxtan* as a transitive verb (‘to cook’) can also be used in passive form. (Ex. 11)

11) *nâhâr dâšt poxte mišod.* (informal)

nâhâr dar hâle poxte šodan bud. (formal)

‘The lunch was being cooked.’

Thus, in Persian, punctual and durative verbs have certain features, and in order to express the same ‘temporal’ meaning, Persian speakers have to use one of the two structures whether they decide to use a punctual or a durative verb. Some of these features are as follows:

a. Punctual verbs in present perfect form have the same temporal value of durative verbs of the indicative present progressive form. (Ex. 12)

12) *Hasan xâbide ast va Ali ketâb mixânad.*

‘Hasan is sleeping and Ali is reading a book.’

It is worth noting that punctual verbs may be used in present perfect form to indicate present perfect time. This form is used to emphasize that the action has already taken place. In this case, the main verb is pronounced with a stronger stress. (Ex. 14)

13) *Hasan xâbide/.*

‘Hasan is sleeping.’ (indicative present progressive time)

14) *Hasan xâbide//.*

‘Hasan has slept.’ (and does not need to sleep any more)

b. Punctual verbs in past perfect form have the same temporal value of durative verbs in past progressive form. (Ex. 15)

15) *Hasan xâbide bud va Ali ketâb mixând.*

‘Hasan was sleeping and Ali was reading a book.’

c. Punctual verbs when used in present in progress tense generally indicate an action which is going to happen in a very short period of time (Ex. 16), while durative verbs with present in progress tense usually refer to an action in progress (Ex. 17). Consider the verbs *xâbidan* ‘to sleep’ and *xândan* ‘to read’ which share the same verb structure, i.e., present in progress, in the following sentences.

16) *dârad mixâbad.*

‘He/She’s just about to sleep.’

17) *dârad mixânad.*

‘He/She’s reading.’

As shown in examples (16) and (17), punctual verbs in present in progress form have the same temporal value of near future, while durative verbs in present in progress form indicate an action in progress (Jahanpanah-Tehrani 1984).

d. Punctual verbs when used in past in progress tense generally indicate an action which was going to happen in a very short period of time in the past (Ex. 18), while durative verbs with past in progress tense usually refer to an action in progress (Ex. 19).

18) *dâšt mijoftâd.*

‘He/She was about to fall.’

19) *dâšt minevešt.*

‘He/She was writing.’

Table 2.2 shows punctual and durative verbs in four different tenses and their time references.

Type of Verb	Example	Tense	Time Reference
Punctual	<i>xâbidan</i> ‘sleep’	Present Perfect	Present Progressive
Durative	<i>xândan</i> ‘read’	Present Perfect	Present Perfect
Punctual	<i>xâbidan</i> ‘sleep’	Past Perfect	Past Progressive
Durative	<i>xândan</i> ‘read’	Past Perfect	Past Perfect
Punctual	<i>xâbidan</i> ‘sleep’	‘Present in Progress’	‘Near Future’
Durative	<i>xândan</i> ‘read’	‘Present in Progress’	Present Progressive
Punctual	<i>xâbidan</i> ‘sleep’	‘Past in Progress’	‘Near Future’ in the past
Durative	<i>xândan</i> ‘read’	‘Past in Progress’	Past Progressive

Table 2.2

Punctual and Durative Verbs and their Time References in Persian

It is worth noting that Vahidiyan-Kamyar (1993) believes that only two of the four criteria (c & d) mentioned above can be used for distinguishing all punctual (e.g. *oftâdan* ‘fall’, *raftan* ‘to leave’) from all durative verbs as classified by Jahanpanah-Tehrani (1984). He therefore, considers some of the punctual verbs which comply with all four criteria as ‘punctual-durative’ (e.g. *xâbidan* ‘to sleep’, *nešastan* ‘to sit down’ *?istâdan* ‘to stand up’, *mândan* ‘stay’, *časbidan* ‘to stick’) (p.75).

In general, Persian has the capacity to reflect the temporal features of the event in the morphology of the verb. These adjustments are referred to as ‘grammaticized’ and include: affixation (e.g. *be-dav-am* PREFIX [SUBJUNCTIVE]-PRESENT STEM-INFLECTIONAL ENDING, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR ‘I might run’ / *mi-dav-am* PREFIX [INDICATIVE MOOD]-PRESENT STEM-INFLECTIONAL ENDING, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR ‘I run’), stem change (e.g. *mi-foruš-ad* ‘he/she sells’ – *foruxt* ‘he/she sold’), periphrasis (e.g. *goft* ‘he/she told’ – *xâhad goft* ‘he/she will tell’), and combinations of the above (e.g. *dâšt mi-xord* ‘he/she was eating’ – *xord-e bud* ‘he/she had eaten’). As shown in the examples given above, **tense** is to a high degree obligatory in Persian and accordingly, the grammatical expression of temporality is also obligatory. Moreover, as stated earlier, we can use both ‘present in progress’ and ‘past in progress’ tenses in Persian. In these two forms, we use the present and the past indicative of the verb *dâštan* ‘to have’, respectively. This shows that grammatically, particular types of events progress in time, and the progressive aspect is indicated by certain grammatical elements (Ex. 20). Thus, Persian has both grammaticized tense and grammaticized aspect.

20) *Hasan nešaste ast va Ali dârad ketâb mixânad.*

Hasan sit: PAST PARTICIPLE be: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR and Ali have: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR book PREFIX PRESENT STEM-INFLECTIONAL ENDING, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘Hasan is sitting and Ali **is reading** a book.’

In Persian, there are also different verbs and adverbs of time which are used to indicate categories of extended ungrammaticized aspectual expression. Verbs such

as *movaffaq šodan* (successful get: INFINITIVE) ‘to succeed’, *tavânestan* ‘to manage to’, and adverbials such as *bel?axare* ‘after many attempts’, and *âxeraš* ‘at last’ indicate **achievement** aspect. **Cessive** aspect, which shows the termination of a process, is expressed by such verbs as *tamâm kardan* ‘to stop’, and adverbials like *dar âxar* ‘in the end’. Verbs such as (INFINITIVE+ POSTPOSITION+) *šoru? kardan* ‘to begin’, (ADJ+) *šodan* and adverbs such as *nâgahân/jek daf?e* ‘suddenly’ indicate **inceptive/inchoative** aspect. Other categories of extended aspectual expression such as **prospective** (looking forward to when an event will take place), **recurrent**, and **retrospective** (looking back to when an event happened) are expressed by adverbials such as *tâ* ‘until’, *dobâre/baz ham* ‘again/once more’, and *az* ‘since’, respectively.

Event conflation refers to the way languages array the components of events – location, movement, manner, temporality and causation. As indicated by Berman and Slobin (1994, p.118) and based on Leonard Talmy’s classification, “there are basically two distinct ways in which languages allocate information between the main verb and supporting elements (‘satellites’) in a clause”. In this regard, languages are considered as either **verb-framed** or **satellite-framed**. In the description of movement, in verb-framed languages, the verb alone generally conveys the core information, and the encoding of manner is optional. For example in Spanish, the verb of movement (*entrar* ‘enter’) alone conveys the core information, and the encoding of manner is expressed by a satellite which is typically a gerund or prepositional phrase serving an adverbial function. On the other hand, in satellite-framed languages, the verb simply indicates the fact of movement, and to show direction, it is necessary to add satellites to the verbs. For example, in English, as a satellite-framed language, verb particles serve as satellites. In this respect, Persian is a satellite-framed language: the verb simply indicates the fact of movement – e.g. *raftan* ‘to go’. Although in Persian we can have a combination of movement and manner in a single verb – *qadam zadan* ‘to walk’, *dauidan* ‘to swim’, *šenâ kardan* ‘to swim’, *paridan* ‘to fly’ and so on, to show direction, it is necessary to add satellites to the verbs – e.g. *qadam zadan dar* ‘to walk in’, *dauidan be suje* ‘to run up to’, *šenâ kardan dar arze* ‘to swim across’. Turkish, which is used by our bilingual subjects as their native language, is a verb-framed language, since the core information is usually indicated by the

verb alone – e.g. *qâčmâx* ‘run up to’. As Berman and Slobin (1994, p. 118) point out, “satellite-framed languages allow for detailed description of paths within a clause, because the syntax makes it possible to accumulate path satellites within a single verb, along with prepositional phrases that add further specification”. Considering the frog story, in which much movement is involved, this might be an advantage for Persian, since it provides a more objective basis for comparing the subjects’ language proficiency.

In Contemporary Persian, the infinitive is considered as the original verb form. All infinitives end in the morpheme *-an*. If you omit *-an*, then you would have the simple past tense, third person singular. In other words, the infinitive consists of the simple past, third person singular of the verb plus the morpheme *-an* (Examples 21-23).

21) *davidan* ‘to run’/ *david*. ‘He/She ran.’

22) *bardâštan* ‘to take’/ ... *bardâšt*. ‘He/She took ...’

23) *sabr kardan* ‘to wait’/ *sabr kard*. ‘He/She waited.’

With regard to structure, verbs in Persian are of three types, i.e. *simple*, which consists of just one part; *phrasal*, which is made up of one particle and a simple verb; and *compound*, which includes a noun (or an adjective) and a simple verb (Natel-Khanlari 1983, pp.176-77). Ahmadi-Givi and Anvari (1984, pp.28-9), however, classify verbs in Persian into six groups: the simple verb, a verb which has a one-word infinitive (*gereftan* get: INFINITIVE = SIMPLE VERB ‘to get’); the phrasal verb, which is made up of a particle plus a simple verb (*farâ gereftan* acquire: INFINITIVE = PARTICLE-SIMPLE VERB ‘to acquire’); the compound verb, which is made up of an adjective (or noun) plus a simple verb (*enteqâm gereftan* to take revenge: INFINITIVE = NOUN-SIMPLE VERB ‘to take revenge’); the compound-phrasal verb, which is made up of a noun plus a phrasal verb (*tan dar dâdan* submit: INFINITIVE = NOUN-PARTICLE-SIMPLE VERB ‘to submit’); the verbal phrase, which is made up of more than two words including one preposition (*be kêr gereftan* employ: PREPOSITION-NOUN-SIMPLE VERB ‘to employ’); and finally, the one-person intransitive verb (*xoš âmadan* ‘to enjoy’).

Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, p.7) introduces all the available literature on compound verbs in Persian, and by suggesting that “there are a number of compound verb formation processes with varying degrees of productivity in the lexicon of Persian” presents a new analysis of compound verb system (p.18). He then refers to two general types of compound verb formation processes, namely ‘combination’ and ‘incorporation’.

He presents evidence to support his claim that “in the compounds formed via combination, if the non-verbal part is an adjective or a past participle (in the passive) then the verbal element of the compound serves as an auxiliary and the meaning of these compounds is transparent” (e.g. *delxor kardan* annoyed make ‘to annoy’, *sâxte šodan* build: PP become ‘to be built’) (p.19). On the other hand, in the compounds of the kind which are formed through combination “when the non-verbal part is a noun the verbal element is lexicalized and functions as an aktionsart (‘kind of action’) marker. The meaning of these compounds may not be directly transparent and usually involves metaphoric extension” (e.g. *tahdid kardan* threat do ‘to threaten’, *sedâ zadan* voice strike ‘to call someone’s name’, *jâd dâdan* remembrance give ‘to teach’, *qabul dâštan* acceptance have ‘to admit’, *qute xordan* floating eat ‘to float’) (p.32).

Verbs in Persian can either be intransitive – which occur without a direct object – or transitive – which usually require a direct object. Causative constructions are also used in Persian. Dabir-Moghaddam (1987, p.14) classifies causative constructions as ‘periphrastic’ and ‘lexical’. Periphrastic causative verbs, according to Dabir-Moghaddam, are those causative verbs which appear in a construction which contains a main and a subordinate clause (p.15). Verbs such as *bâ?es šodan* ‘to cause’, *mowjeb šodan* ‘to cause’, *sabab šodan* ‘to cause’, *gozâštan* ‘to let’, *vâdâštan* ‘to make’, *vâdâr kardan* ‘to make’, and *majbur kardan* ‘to force’ are of this type (Ex. 24) & (Ex. 25). The verb in the subordinate clause always has subjunctive mood.

24) *Hasan bâ?es šod ke Ali be sinamâ beravad.*

Hasan cause: SIMPLE INDICATIVE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

RELATIVE PRONOUN Ali PERPOSITION cinema go: PRESENT

SUBJUNCTIVE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘Hasan caused Ali to go to the cinema.’

25) *Hasan Ali râ vâdâr kard ke be sinamâ beravad.*

Hasan Ali POSTPOSITION make: SIMPLE INDICATIVE PAST, THIRD PERSON

SINGULAR RELATIVE PRONOUN PREPOSITION cinema go: PRESENT

SUBJUNCTIVE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘Hasan made Ali to go to the cinema.’

‘Lexical’ causative constructions, on the other hand, refer to those constructions in which both the causative action and its consequences are expressed within a single simple sentence. In this case, the causee appears either in the form of the direct object or in the form of the indirect object. The causative verbs related to this group are of three types: 1) causative verbs which can be considered as causative semantically and lack any distinct morpheme (e.g. *šekastan* ‘to break’ as an intransitive verb / *šekastan* ‘to break something’, *mordan* ‘to die’ / *koştan* ‘to kill’, *jâd gereftan* ‘to learn’ / *jâd dâdan* ‘to teach’); 2) causative verbs which can be formed by adding the grammatical morpheme *-ân-* (informal style) or *-âni-* (formal style) to the stem of some sixty non-causative intransitive and transitive verbs (*dauidan* ‘to run’ as an intransitive verb / *davândan* ‘to make somebody or something run’, *xordan* ‘to eat something’ / *xorândan* ‘to make somebody or some animal eat something’); 3) causative verbs which are formed by adding the auxiliary *kardan* ‘make’ to an adjective and therefore are considered as transitive compound verbs (e.g. *nârâhat budan* ‘to be sad’, *nârâhat šodan* ‘to get sad’ / *nârâhat kardan* ‘to make somebody sad’) (Dabir-Moghaddam, 1987 p.43).

Perspective; from Berman and Slobin’s view (1994), refers to the morphological and syntactic devices that are available for varying the order and semantic roles of nounphrase arguments with respect to the verb. In Persian, the dominant main-clause order is SOV, nouns precede adjectives, and nouns also precede genitives. In Persian, prepositions and not postpositions are used, and relative clauses are located after their heads. Persian does not inflect for case, and word-order variability is relatively low. In sentences which consist of an intransitive verb and an adverbial of place, the word-order change often indicates a shift in style (examples 26 & 27).

26) *u bâlâje deraxt raft.*

he/she up tree go: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘He/she climbed the tree.’ (formal)

27) *raft bâlâje deraxt.* [the same meaning as (26)] (informal)

In Persian both active and passive voices are used. Moyne (1974, p.265) states that what is traditionally called ‘passive voice’ in Persian is in fact, ‘inchoative voice’. Palmer (1971, p.98) and Dabir-Moghaddam (1985), like some other grammarians, in addition to the ‘inchoative voice’ believe in the ‘passive voice’ in Persian as well (p.31). Lambton (1983, p.54) believes that in Persian, the passive voice is avoided by using the active voice whenever possible. Thus, using the passive in Persian is relatively infrequent and less frequent than in such languages as English. In fact it is mostly limited to scientific texts or when the agent is absent from the context. There are, of course, some other elements which compensate for this low degree of usage. Jabbari (2003, p.94) states that, “beside the traditional passive structure (past participle + verb *šodan* ‘to get’), Persian benefits from other passive structures (i.e. pro-dropped sentences with the third person plural of active verbs)”. The functor *râ* plays an important role in this respect. This element makes it possible to use the active voice with passive meaning, when the agent is not mentioned or is even unknown. (examples 28 & 29)

28) *mâšîn dozdide šode ast.*

car steal: PASSIVE PRESENT PERFECT = PP get: PP be: SIMPLE PRESENT,
THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘The car has been stolen’. (passive structure with passive meaning)

29) *mâšîn râ dozdide?and.*

car POSTPOSITION steal: ACTIVE PRESENT PERFECT= PP-INFLECTIONAL
ENDING, THIRD PERSON PLURAL

‘The car has been stolen’. (active structure with passive meaning).

Connectivity; this refers to the way event descriptions are syntactically put into multiclausal constructions. In creating narratives, this goal is usually met by means of such devices as syntactic conjunction and subordination (subordinating conjunctions, relative clauses), nonfinite verb forms, nominalizations, and topic ellipsis.

In Persian, using conjunctions – both coordinating and subordinating- is one of the main devices to serve connectivity. According to some grammarians (Ahmadi-Givi and Anvari 1988), sentences in Persian are of two types: *simple* - which has a single verb - and *complex* - which includes more than one verb (pp.309-10). Nowbahar (1993, pp.13-15) classifies sentences into three groups: *simple* – which consists of a single clause – *sequential (compound)* – which includes a series of two or more than two coordinating clauses connected with coordinating conjunction(s), and *complex*- which consists of at least one main clause and one subordinate clause connected with a subordinating conjunction.

In traditional Persian grammar, conjunctions – coordinating and subordinating – along with prepositions and a third group of morphemes which indicate vocative, accusative, and genitive cases, are traditionally considered a main type of function word. In terms of structure, conjunctions and prepositions are either *simple* – only one word – or *compound* – more than one word. Among coordinating conjunctions, *va* ‘and’, *vali/ammâ* ‘but’, and *jâ* ‘or’ are the most frequent ones. It is worth noting that in both informal language and poetry, *va* /*va*/ is pronounced as the simple vowel /o/. In this case, it is pronounced together with the preceding word without any pause in between (Ex. 30). The same rule applies when *va* connects two single words as well (Ex. 31).

30) *u pošte miz nešast va nâhâr xord.*

he/she at table sit: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR and lunch eat:

SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR (formal)

u pošte miz nešast-o nâhâr xord. (informal)

‘He sat at the table **and** had lunch.’

31) *ruz va šab/ ruz-o šab* ‘day **and** night’

Vali and *ammâ* ‘but’ can be used interchangeably, however, in informal style, using *vali* is more common.

Sometimes, especially in casual style – which is common for narrating ‘the frog story’ – the coordinating conjunction *vali/ammâ* ‘but’ is omitted in compound or compound-complex sentences. In this case, the verb following the omitted conjunction is usually uttered with a stronger stress (Ex. 32).

32) *farjâd mizane ke qurbâqqašo peydâ kone, [vali] //nabude.*

(BNM/f10)

shout: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR SUBORDINATING
CONUNCTION frog his POSTPOSITION find: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, THIRD
PERSON SINGULAR [COORDINATING CONJUNCTION OMITTED] be:
NEGATIVE PRESENT PERFECT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
‘He cries out so that he might find his frog, but it was not
around.’

Sentence (31) is originally a compound-complex sentence; *ke* ‘so that’ is the subordinating conjunction, while the coordinating conjunction *vali/ammâ* ‘but’ is omitted and a stronger stress is put on the verb following the omitted conjunction. *Va* ‘and’ omission is more common, and the verb before the omitted conjunction is usually followed by a pause. In narrating the frog story, in many cases, a pause was used to compensate for the omitted conjunction *va* ‘and’ by the subjects (Ex. 33). The omission of coordinating conjunctions *vali* ‘but’ and *va* ‘and’ is very common in informal Persian language.

33) *sage farâr mokone; pesare mijofte.* (RSL/m10)

‘The dog runs away, **and** the boy falls down.’

In Persian, like in many other languages, a subordinate clause is part of the complex sentence which usually starts with a subordinating conjunction, but in some cases – especially in informal style – it can be omitted (Ex. 34).

34) *mixâham (ke) beravam.*

‘I want to go.’

Subordinate clauses are divided into three different types based on the function they have in relation to the main clause in complex sentences: *noun clause*, *adverbial clause*, and *relative clause*. A noun clause fills the position of a noun in the main clause. Usually *ke* ‘that’ is the complementizer (examples 35-37).

35) *mitarsam (ke) natavânim bijâjim.*

be afraid: SIMPLE PRESENT, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR (SUBORDINATING
COMPLEMENTIZER) can: SIMPLE PRESENT, FIRST PERSON PLURAL come:
PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, FIRST PERSON PLURAL

‘I’m afraid (that) we can’t come.’

36) *midânam ke u alâqemand be naqqâši ast.*

know: SIMPLE PRESENT, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR SUBORDINATING
CONJUNCTION he/she interested to painting be: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD
PERSON SINGULAR

‘I know that he/she is interested in painting.’

37) *u goft ke mehmânhâ hanuz vâred našode? and.*

he/she say: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR that: SUBORDINATING
CONJUNCTION guests yet arrive: NEGATIVE PRESENT PERFECT, THIRD
PERSON PLURAL

‘He/She said that the guests had not arrived yet.’

An adverbial clause is “a subordinate clause which bears to its main clause any of a range of semantic relations similar to those borne by adverbs, such as time, manner, place, instrument, circumstance, concession, purpose, result, cause or condition”. (Trask 1993, p.10) According to Nowbahar (1993, p.23), in Persian an adverbial clause is “a clause which is dependent on the main clause by means of adverbial subordinators and restricts the verb of the main clause to such adverbial features as time, place, cause, and condition”. In Persian, adverbial clauses are typically marked by the presence of subordinators such as *vaqti (ke)* ‘when’, *har jâ ke* ‘wherever’, *hamin ke* ‘as’, *ba?d az ânke* ‘after’, *harčand*

(*ke*)/*agar če* ‘although’, *čon (ke)* ‘because’, *az ânĵâji ke* ‘since’, *tâ (in ke)* ‘so that’, *agar* ‘if’, *magar inke* ‘unless’ (examples 38 & 39)

38) *vaqti ke man telefon zadam ânĥâ az xâne rafte budand.*

when: ADVERBIAL CONJUNCTION I call: SIMPLE PAST, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR they from: PREPOSITION house go: PAST PERFECT, THIRD PERSON PLURAL

‘They had left the house when I called them.’

39) *agar bârân bebârad be mâhigiri naxâhim raft.*

if: ADVERBIAL CONJUNCTION rain: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR to: PREPOSITION fishing go: NEGATIVE SIMPLE FUTURE, FIRST PERSON PLURAL

‘If it rains, we won’t go fishing.’

Different adverbial conjunctions are used in different styles:

When = *vaqti* (casual)/ *vaqti ke* (relatively formal)/ *zamâni ke* (formal)/ *čon* (literary style)

Whenever = *har vaqt* (casual)/ *har vaqt ke* (relatively formal)/ *har zamân ke* (formal)

Since/Because = *čon* (casual)/ *čon ke* (relatively formal)/ *az ânĵâ (ji) ke/ bâ tavaĵĵoh be inke* (formal)

So that = *tâ* (casual)/ *tâ inke* (relatively formal)/ *ke* (formal)

Finally, a relative clause is “a dependent clause introduced by a relative pronoun and modifying some element in the main clause”. (Spears 1991, p.157) In Persian, *ke* ‘who/whom/whose/which/ that’ is the only relative pronoun which serves to link the relative clause to the noun phrase of which it forms a part. This relative pronoun cannot be omitted from the complex sentence (examples 40-43).

40) *mardi ke vâred šod pedare man ast.*

man a who: RELATIVE PRONOUN arrive: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR father POSSESSIVE MORPHEME I be: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD

‘The man **who** arrived is my father.’

41) *mardi ra ke dar madrese didi duste man ast.*

man a whom: RELATIVE PRONOUN at: PREPOSITION school see: SIMPLE PAST, SECOND PERSON SINGULAR friend POSSESSIVE MORPHEME I be: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘The man (**whom/that**) you met at school is my friend.’

42) *mardi ke mâšinaš râ xaridi mo? alleme man ast.*

man a whose: RELATIVE PRONOUN his car POSTPOSITION buy: SIMPLE PAST, SECOND PERSON SINGULAR teacher POSSESSIVE MORPHEME I be: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘The man **whose** car you bought yesterday is my teacher.’

43) *ketâbi râ ke diruz xaridi xândam.*

book a POSTPOSITION which: RELATIVE PRONOUN yesterday buy: SIMPLE PAST, SECOND PERSON SINGULAR read: SIMPLE PAST, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

‘I read the book (**which/that**) you bought yesterday.’

Prepositions are used frequently in Persian; however, according to Ahmadi-Givi and Anvari (1988, p.266) “in Contemporary Persian there is a tendency to drop the preposition, so in ordinary conversations it is omitted if it does not affect the overall meaning of the message” (examples 44 & 45).

44) *ânhâ dar xâne nistand.* (formal)/ *unâ xune nistand.* (informal)

they **at** home be: NEGATIVE SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON PLURAL

‘They are not **at** home.’

45) *be dâneškade raftam.* (formal)/ *raftam dâneškade.* (informal)

to faculty go: SIMPLE PAST, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

‘I went **to** the faculty.’

It seems Persian employs fewer non-finite verbs than English. In Persian, for example, the modal *tavânestan* ‘can’ is used in finite form and is followed by the main verb in finite form (46 & 47).

46) *mitavânam beravam.*

can: SIMPLE PRESENT, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR go: PRESENT

SUBJUNCTIVE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

‘I can go.’

47) *mitavânad beravad.*

can: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR go: PRESENT

SUBJUNCTIVE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘He/ She can go.’

Modals *bâjestan* ‘must’ and *šâjesatan* ‘might’ have lost their finiteness and are no longer considered as modals. *bâjestan* is limited to a few forms (*bâjad*, *mibâjad*, *bâjest*, *mibâjest*, *bâjesti*, and *mibâjesti*) which all have exactly the same meaning and can be used interchangeably. The difference between them is merely a matter of style. *šâjestan* has only one conjugated form (*šâjad* ‘maybe’) and thus is usually labeled as adverbial by grammarians. Both modals (*bâjad/mibâjad/...* and *šâjad*) have the same finite form (third person singular) for all persons and are followed by other finite verbs with different inflectional endings (examples 48-51).

48) *bâjad beravam.*

must go: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

‘I must go.’

49) *bâjad beravad.*

must go: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘He/she must go.’

50) *šâjad beravam.*

might go: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

‘I might go.’

51) *šâjad beravad.*

might go: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘He/she might go.’

Modal *xâstan* ‘will’, which is used for making the future tense, appears in finite form and is followed by a non-finite verb, i.e. the past stem (examples 52-54).

52) *xâham raft*. ‘I will go.’

53) *xâhi raft*. ‘You will go.’

54) *xâhad raft*. ‘He/She will go.’

The same verb i.e. *xâstan* is used as a main verb in the sense of ‘want’, but, unlike its English counterpart, is followed by a finite verb (examples 55-57).

55) *mixâham beravam*. ‘I want to go.’

56) *mixâhi beravi*. ‘You want to go.’

57) *mixâhad beravad*. ‘He/She wants to go.’

Examples (55-57), like example (34), are considered as complex sentences containing noun clauses in which the subordinating complementizer *ke* ‘that’ is omitted.

Using nominalizations is not characteristic of informal Persian, however it is common in more formal language (Ex. 58). To make the style even more formal, and usually as an equivalent to infinitives such as *pahn kardan*, we can use a borrowed word from Arabic (Ex. 59).

58) *pahn kardane jâddehâ az mizâne tasâdofât mikâhad*.

widen (wide + do): INFINITIVE-of roads from rate-of accidents

decrease: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

‘**Widening** the roads decreases the rate of accidents.’

59) *ta?rize jâddehâ az mizâne tasâdofât mikâhad*.

widening (as a noun)-of roads from rate-of accidents decrease: SIMPLE

PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

In Persian, the same form is used for both gerund (Ex. 60) and infinitive (Ex. 61). The infinitive is a distinctly inflected form (*raftan* ‘to go’). If *-an* is dropped

from the final position of an infinitive, there remains the past stem or the simple past (third person singular) of that infinitive.

60) *šenâ kardan varzeše xubi ast.*

swimming (swimming as a noun + do: INFINITIVE): INFINITIVE exercise
MORPHEME ADDED TO A NOUN WHICH IS MODIFIED BY A FOLLOWING
ADJECTIVE good be: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
'**Swimming** is a good form of exercise.'

61) *šenâ kardan dar in darjâče xatarnâk ast.*

swimming (swimming as a noun + do: INFINITIVE): INFINITIVE in this
lake dangerous be: SIMPLE PRESENT, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
'It is dangerous **to swim** in this lake.'

Topic ellipsis is another device which serves connectivity. Ellipsis and elliptical constructions can be found in many languages. Ellipsis refers to a deleted part of an utterance, the meaning of which is understood and can be recovered from the context. In Persian, one, or more than one part of a sentence is sometimes deleted. According to Anvari and Ahmadi-Givi (1988) this phenomenon is based on three different factors. It is partly based on the common language usage and linguistic tradition, which includes some common expressions (Ex. 62). In examples (62-64), the deleted words and morphemes are in bold type.

62) *sobh (-e šomâ) be xeyr (bâšad/bâd).*

morning [-MORPHEME ADDED TO A NOUN WHICH IS MODIFIED BY A
FOLLOWING POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE you] to goodness [be: PRESENT
SUBJUNCTIVE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR/ be: OPTATIVE, THIRD PERSON
SINGULAR
'Good morning.'

In some cases, some part or element is deleted because it is indicated by some other verbal elements in the utterance (*verbal evidence*) (Ex. 63).

63) *be Ahmad goftam ke (Ahmad) salâme marâ be šomâ beresânad.*

to Ahmad tell: SIMPLE PAST, FIRST PERSON SINGULAR COMPLEMENTIZER
 (Ahmad) regards-MORPHEME ADDED TO A NOUN WHICH IS MODIFIED BY
 A FOLLOWING POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE I POSTPOSITION to you take:
 PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
 ‘I told Ahmad to give my regards to you.’

In (63), since Ahmad is mentioned in the main clause, there is no need to repeat the name in the subordinate clause.

In some other cases, an element is deleted because the reader/listener can guess the deleted element(s) by means of the context of the utterance and the general meaning of the sentences or phrases (*semantic evidence*) (Ex. 64) (pp.313-14).

64) *u nâme râ bardâšt va (u nâme râ) xând.*

he/she letter POSTPOSITION take: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
 and (**he/she letter POSTPOSITION**) read: SIMPLE PAST, THIRD PERSON
 SINGULAR

‘He/She took the letter and read it.’

In the case of subject pronoun ellipsis, which is a common feature of Persian, the inflectional ending in the verb functions as verbal evidence and makes it possible for the speaker to delete the subject pronoun at the beginning of the sentence (especially first person and second person). These endings are considered as obligatory subjects. The verbs can also be preceded by an optional subject pronoun (Ex. 65).

(65) *diruz (mâ) be madrese raftim.*

yesterday (we) to school go: SIMPLE PAST, FIRST PERSON PLURAL

‘**We** went to school yesterday.’

It might be worth noting that in Persian, the same pronoun (*u* ‘he/she’) is always used to refer to both feminine and masculine third person singular.

2.7.2 Conversation

As Baker (2006) states, the language theories of the 1960s tended to focus on language skills and components. The skills consist of listening, speaking, reading and writing and the components include grammar, vocabulary, phonology and graphology. It has been suggested that these earlier models paid no attention to the sociocultural and sociolinguistic context of language (Hymes 1972). In addition, these models did not manage to investigate the competence of 'other' people in a conversation. By developing different descriptive and empirical models of language competence, we can access more useful means to look into the competence of both sides in a conversation.

The oral interview or conversation is a type of oral test which is widely used for language proficiency assessment. Heaton (1988) states that advocates of the oral interview claim that this test provides the examiner with a realistic means of total oral skill assessment in a 'natural' speech situation. However, there are others who maintain that the examination is artificial and unrealistic. Heaton (1988) mentions some of the problems of this type of test and offers some solutions to them. He notes that the scoring of this test, like many other tests of oral production, is highly subjective and results in the low reliability of these tests (pp.96-7). As mentioned earlier, Baker (2006) states that a test which "attempts to approximate" Skehan's (1988) conditions for genuine communication is the oral interview. Myers-Scotton (2006, p.44) considers "casual conversation" to be a key element of bilingualism.

Duran (1984) contrasts discrete-point proficiency tests with integrative proficiency tests and states that integrative proficiency tests make the testees process language in a complex way, but in general may or may not require other sets of social or cognitive skills which are related to actual language use. He further notes that oral interviews rely on social interaction conventions shared among the two sides.

Baker (2006, pp.29-30) mentions the most important criteria for a test of language proficiency and maintains that a test that attempts to approximate these conditions is the oral interview. He maintains that there are doubts about whether such interview procedures "can validly imitate and investigate real communicative

competence". However, he considers them "a compromise between artificial pencil and paper tests and the impracticality of the detailed observation of individuals". In this regard Weir (1990) states that tests of communicative ability have to be as direct as possible and have to reflect a 'real life' situation. He adds that tests which are devised to measure ability to interact orally should involve the interactive nature of normal spoken discourse, and the related task should allow for reciprocity and elements of unpredictability (pp.11-12).

Duran (1984) comments that although direct oral proficiency tests frequently elicit speech from testees in naturalistic conversational settings, those who interpret the data have to be aware of interactional dynamics in speech elicitation that influence the data collected. He adds that those who employ direct proficiency tests have to be helped in interpreting the validity of the technique by taking into account larger numbers of discourse skills as evidenced by their testees (pp.53-4).

In analyzing the findings of Arizona Project Bennett and Slaughter (1983) maintain that the data from their study shows that during an oral language interview several different types of 'contexts' may result from the interaction between an adult and a student. They maintain that such different contexts as examination, interview, and conversation seem to have an influence on the level and quality of discourse which is elicited from students. They suggest, for example, that the students' discourse tends to create more discourse samples when there is a mutually established conversational context. On the other hand, an examination sequence results in more sparse discourse production, especially for five to seven-year old children (p.8).

They also mention the distinction made by Wells (1981) between talking 'to a topic' and 'talking topically'. The former usually takes place in rather formal settings in which the topic is controlled over successive turns. The latter occurs in casual conversation in which the topic tends to change as the discourse goes forward. They posit that this distinction is very important when we are trying to elicit adequate language samples from children during a conversational interview. Finally they note that in their study, younger children, especially kindergarten students, would not talk to a topic but could speak topically. On the other hand,

older students, i.e. Grades 2 to 5 could 'talk to topics' and used elaborated discourse if the examiner could elicit this point (p.10).

In general, conversational proficiencies are complicated in nature. Bennett and Slaughter (1983) consider student conversational proficiencies as "a complex and dynamic combination of interactional, discourse and developmental-acquisitional features", since a number of overlapping and interrelated variables are involved (p.12).

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.1 Overview

As stated earlier, two key questions are to be addressed in this research: “Are bilingual Turkish-Persian speakers less proficient in Persian than monolingual Persian speakers?”, and “Is there any relationship between Persian language proficiency and academic achievement?” In this study in Quchan, a conversation, and a short, wordless picture book known as ‘the frog story’ were used to assess some bilingual and monolingual primary school children’s language proficiency. Their end-of-year marks at school were also used as the basis for assessing their academic achievement. The research was also supported by a questionnaire in order to arrive at a better and more valid judgment about the subjects’ language background. During subject selection procedure, another background questionnaire was also used. It might be worth noting that all the subjects were exclusively addressed in Persian; however, in the main study, all male bilingual and most female bilingual subjects recited the frog story in Turkish as well.

3.2 The Tasks and Procedures

The study was comprised of two stages: a pilot study and a main study. The pilot study was carried out at a boys’ primary school in Quchan, a town in the north-east of Iran. In the Iranian educational system, male and female students, at all three levels (prior to university), attend separate schools. The school was located at the eastern edge of the town, where the residents are mostly Turkish-speaking families. They have migrated from the nearby Turkish-speaking villages during the last few decades. The pilot study was conducted with a small number of male subjects.

The main study was performed in the same town, in two primary schools: one girls' and one boys' school. Although the schools were separate and were managed by two different principals, both male and female students used the same building in two different periods of the day and the schools shared the same name, Shahid Mousavian. The school was located at the northern edge of the town. As in the pilot study, it was selected so that it was possible to find a sufficient number of bilingual Turkish-Persian speakers.

The experiences gained during the pilot study affected the main study in different ways. They made it possible to become more familiar with the linguistic variation in the area, and accordingly to select the schools in which I could find more bilingual students. It was also noticed that it was necessary to gather more information about the subjects' linguistic background environment in order to carry out the selection of subjects more easily.

3.2.1 Subjects

The subjects were third, fourth, and fifth graders at primary schools and had received all their schooling in the Iranian school system.

For the pilot study, six monolingual Persian-speaking, and six bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking students participated. They were between the ages of 8 and 11 and were in the third, fourth, and fifth years of primary school.

Having received permission from the educational authorities and school principals, I started selecting the subjects. This procedure consisted of two separate stages. First, I met the students in their classes and I asked them individually to tell me how many languages they could speak. According to the information gathered in this way, it was clear that in all these classes there were monolingual Persian speakers, bilingual Turkish-Persian speakers, and bilingual Kurdish-Persian speakers. After this a number of the monolingual Persian speakers and bilingual Turkish-Persian speakers were chosen as my potential subjects. In order to be sure of having enough subjects, I included in the list a larger number of names than was needed.

At the same session, the subjects were given a background questionnaire to hand to their parents and bring back later. The questionnaire included questions which the subjects would not be able to answer alone. It addressed the parents on

issues such as their own professions, their migration from the village, if any, the language input received by their children, their access to radio and television, and finally the degree to which these children use each language. This questionnaire was constructed in Persian. Both English and Persian versions of this questionnaire are included in Appendix III.

The final subject selection was made mostly on the basis of the information given by the parents in the questionnaire as well as consultation with the teachers, if needed. An attempt was made to select those bilinguals who seemed to be the most ‘balanced’ and fairly strong in Turkish as their second language. According to Baker (2006, p.9), this term has limitations of definition and measurement, but “it has proved to be of value in research and discussion”. Selecting balanced bilinguals would be useful because in the first place, we have some ‘more bilingual’ subjects at our disposal. Secondly, this work supports the hypothesis that Turkish-Persian-speaking bilingual students – especially primary school students – have more problems in their academic achievement than their monolingual Persian-speaking counterparts. Thus, if it is proved that ‘balanced’ bilingual students have more problems in their academic achievement, the results can then more easily be generalized to the ‘less bilingual’ ones.

A larger number of subjects, both male and female, were used in the main study. The subjects consisted of 30 monolingual Persian-speaking – 15 male and 15 female – and 30 bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking – 15 male and 15 female – children, between the ages of 8 to 13. The subjects were all in the third, fourth, and fifth years of primary school (Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). Again, all subjects had

Lingualism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	monolingual	30	50.0	50.0	50.0
	bilingual	30	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 3.1

Number of Subjects (by Lingualism)

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	male	30	50.0	50.0	50.0
	female	30	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 3.2

Number of Subjects (by Gender)

Subject's Grade

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3rd Grader	20	33.3	33.3	33.3
	4th Grader	20	33.3	33.3	66.7
	5th Grader	20	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 3.3

Number of Subjects (by Grade)

received all their schooling in the Iranian school system.

The subject selection procedure was carried out in mostly the same way as in the pilot study. This time, however, in addition to asking some questions concerning their language background and the background questionnaire filled in by parents, use was made of consultations with teachers. Again, it was clear that in all these classes, there were monolingual Persian speakers, bilingual Turkish-Persian speakers, and bilingual Kurdish-Persian speakers. In some classes, there were also a few trilinguals (Turkish-Kurdish-Persian speakers). According to the information given by the subjects, I prepared a tentative list of monolingual Persian speakers and bilingual Turkish-Persian speakers. Then I gave them the background questionnaire (parents' questionnaire) to hand to their parents and bring back later. As in the pilot study, the final subject selection was made mostly on the basis of the information given by the parents in the questionnaire and given in consultation with the teachers. Again, I tried to choose more balanced bilingual

Age No.	8- year- old	9- year- old	10- year- old	11- year- old	12- year- old	13- year- old
1	m3/mo	m3/mo	m3/mo	m4/bi	m5/bi	f5/mo
2	m3/bi	m3/mo	f3/mo	m4/bi		
3	f3/bi	m3/mo	f3/mo	f4/mo		
4	f3/bi	m3/bi	m4/mo	m5/mo		
5	f4/bi	m3/bi	m4/mo	m5/mo		
6	f4/bi	m3/bi	m4/mo	m5/mo		
7		m3/bi	m4/mo	m5/mo		
8		f3/mo	m4/bi	m5/mo		
9		f3/mo	f4/mo	f5/mo		
10		f3/mo	f4/mo	f5/bi		
11		f3/bi	f4/mo			
12		f3/bi	f4/bi			
13		f3/bi	f4/bi			
14		m4/mo	m5/bi			
15		m4/bi	m5/bi			
16		m4/bi	m5/bi			
17		f4/mo	m5/bi			
18		f4/bi	f5/mo			
19		f5/mo	f5/bi			
20		f5/mo	f5/bi			
21		f5/bi	f5/bi			

Table 3.4

Subjects' Age Range (m = male; f = female;
3-5 = subject's grade; mo = monolingual; bi = bilingual)

students as the bilingual subjects. In sum, although the differences between the subjects' linguistic productions might be attributed to such different factors as age (8-11 years old), gender, language background (monolingual/bilingual), and the particular preferences of each subject, with regard to the main objective of this

study, I tended to choose subjects based mainly on their language background. Table 3.1 shows the subjects' age range, gender, grade, and language background.

3.2.2 Data Collection Procedures

The subjects were assessed on their Persian language proficiency. The materials used for the assessment consisted of a package. This package assessed the subject's language production and was divided into two sections: Narration and Conversation. Narration included a wordless book with a set of pictures known as 'the frog story'. In the Conversation section, the subject was engaged in a conversation to talk about some general topics. In addition, the subjects' first semester class reports and end-of-year class marks were used as a basis for assessing their academic achievement for the pilot and the main study, respectively.

3.2.2.1 Narration

This narrative part was used to elicit language production in a relatively informal atmosphere. In the pilot study, I asked the subject to tell a story about a set of pictures, i.e. the frog story (3.5.1.1). I recorded his linguistic narration. Both bilingual and monolingual students took part in the session, and both were tested individually. A small tape recorder was used in order to attract minimal attention and to avoid distracting the subjects.

First, I introduced the wordless book to each subject and told him that I would like him to tell me the story. Later, I asked him to look through the whole book for approximately 5 minutes. When the student finished skimming the book, I asked him to start at the first page and tell me a story to go with the book. If the student had difficulty getting started or keeping on, I preferred to remain silent or to use one of the following prompt types: nod of head; *ba:le* (Okay), *uh-huh*; *ba:qijaš/dige?* (Anything else?), and *dombâlaš* (Go on). In general, I tried to encourage the subject to tell an uninterrupted story. If the subject asked me to tell him the name of an object or an animal, I usually told him to do his best and keep on telling the story. In some other cases, if I provided the subject with an answer, he was not given any credit for that hint. The same is true for those subjects who

mentioned that the frog, which the boy had in his hand at the end of the story, had to be the boy's lost frog after they were given hints at the end of story.

In the main study, the same procedure was followed in the same order and in the same way as in the pilot study. As before, both bilingual and monolingual students took part in the sessions. Again, the subjects were asked to recite the frog story after having a look at the pictures. I allowed all subjects to look at the pictures for about the same amount of time. Both during the story recitation and conversation sessions, the subjects were tested individually, and their voices were recorded on the same tape recorder. In the main study, in order to have access to more evidence related to the bilinguals' mastery of their first language, I asked all the subjects to recite the frog story in Turkish as well. A few subjects, mostly females, refused to recite the story in Turkish, however. While telling the story in Turkish, they were not addressed in Turkish and all directions were given in Persian.

3.2.2.2 Conversation

Both in the pilot study and the main study, immediately following the frog story, the subject took part in a conversation. The language used in this phase was casual. I tried to speak in the most natural way possible so that the subjects could talk freely and feel comfortable. The purpose was to let the students produce a piece of language which was as natural as possible and similar to their everyday language. Whenever I noticed that the subject was unable or unwilling to continue the talk session, I shifted to a new topic, so that I would have more data available for final assessment. Again, various aspects of the language production in this section were assessed. The conversation sessions, like the story recitation sessions, were performed in a small room, and the voices were recorded.

The questions posed included at least one description type topic and one explanation type topic: I asked them to describe a familiar surrounding such as the places they had visited during their trip to a city, and to explain how they do familiar actions such as playing a game or making something. Since there were various options open to them, every subject would produce at least one description topic and one explanation topic to be evaluated. The conversation also included such topics as "talking about rural activities, i.e. farming, raising cattle,

...”, “talking about a wedding ceremony”, and so on. In this section, only Persian was used as the medium of communication.

It might be worthy of note that during the pilot study session, the room in which the conversation and the story recitation sessions took place was relatively small, and both the subject and I sat on a carpet. However, in the main study, the room was rather larger, quieter and more comfortable, though with a more formal and academic atmosphere. During the session, the subject and I sat at a big desk. In this section, only Persian was used as the medium of communication.

3.2.2.3 Questionnaire

A questionnaire was used to provide me with more information about the subject’s language background; however, in my final assessment, I depended on the two previously-mentioned sections, i.e. the narration and the conversation. This questionnaire was mainly based on the one which had already been designed and used by Papapavlou (1999) for assessing the Greek proficiency of some students at one primary school in Cyprus. It examined such issues as socialization, simultaneous acquisition of students’ languages, proficiency and mastery of their languages, code-switching and feelings of loyalty towards the language community they belonged to. Both English and Persian versions of this questionnaire are included in Appendix III.

The questionnaire was used only for bilingual students. This was because it was anticipated that the bilinguals, as members of a minority group in the dominant monolingual community, were supposed to face more problems in verbal interaction and academic achievement. The questionnaire included Likert-scale statements, Yes/No answers and open-ended questions. It was divided into three parts. The first part was related to the children’s background. The second part was concerned with the subjects’ degree of bilingualism, the number of languages they spoke, whether these languages were learnt simultaneously or sequentially, the degree of code-switching or code-mixing, their preference in choosing one language or the other(s), and finally their feelings of loyalty toward the language communities to which they belonged. The third part of the questionnaire focused on the problems, if any, of socialization and adjustment in the school environment and their degree of success in mastering one of their

languages (Persian) in comparison to other monolingual Persian-speaking children of the same age.

It was explained to the subjects that the questionnaire would be used only for the purposes of the study, and that their identities would be kept secret. The questionnaire was given orally because I did not expect the students at primary school to be able to understand and answer the questions fully if presented with it in written form. The subjects answered the items on the questionnaire in a personal conversation, so that their responses could not be affected by the answers given by the other subject(s). These items were read to them one by one and paraphrased, if needed. They were addressed in a casual style so that more relaxed responses could be received. This part could also be considered as a 'warming up' stage for the main two activities for eliciting the bilingual subjects' language production, i.e. the narration and conversation parts which followed the questionnaire completion process. Although the session sounded more like an interview, the subjects' voices were not recorded, and the answers presented by them were only recorded on the questionnaire form. Since the monolingual students had not been asked to fill in the questionnaire, they only took part in the story recitation and conversation sessions. It might be worth noting that the monolingual subjects were also asked to answer some questions concerning their parents' jobs and parental education during their conversation sessions.

In the main study, the same questionnaire was used in the same way as in the pilot study. Bilingual subjects attended the sessions individually, and the language used for addressing them was fairly informal Persian. The items in the questionnaire were read to them one by one, and sometimes paraphrased in order to be able to collect the most accurate information possible. As in the pilot study, the questionnaire was used only for bilingual students; however, the monolingual subjects were also asked to answer some questions concerning their families' socio-economic status (e.g. parents' jobs and parental education) during their conversation sessions.

3.2.2.4 School Marks

The pilot study was performed during the first semester in winter. At the end of the semester, I asked the school authorities to provide me with the subjects' marks

for all courses in the first semester. The main study, however, was carried out in the spring (during the second semester) and therefore, the end-of-year class marks were used. At the end of the academic year, the school authorities were asked to supply end-of-year marks, which included final marks for all of those who had taken part in this study: monolinguals and bilinguals. It seems logical to assume, and it is to some extent true, that in Iran, the second semester marks are more valid than those of the first semester. This is because in practice, the administration of the second semester examinations is governed more strictly by regulations, and is performed more rigidly. However, the end-of-year marks were calculated by combining the first and second semester marks. It is also worth noting that for the students in the fifth year, the questions or items on the examinations are designed by teachers other than those who teach at their schools, and the papers are corrected by teachers other than their own. Hence one may have more confidence in these marks. A complete list of all subjects' school marks and their school averages are presented in Appendix II.

3.2.3 Independent and Dependent Variables

For assessing language proficiency, different approaches and methods can be employed. With regard to their aims, researchers normally use different types of tasks for language proficiency assessment. In this study, in assessing the subjects' Persian language proficiency, there was emphasis on using narration and conversation because these tasks would help inform better judgement about their communicative competence. Thus, in this study, the subject's overall language proficiency score is considered as the main dependent variable.

3.2.3.1 Narrative Measures

Both in the pilot and the main study, a narrative was used as a method of assessing the students' language proficiency. As stated earlier in this study, by using 'the frog story', we are assessing both the subjects' narrative competence and language proficiency. The story known as 'the frog story' is in fact Mercer Mayer's book, entitled *Frog, where are you?*, which was published in 1969. Mayer's book consists of 24 pictures depicting the story of a little boy who has lost his frog and is looking for it. The frog leaves the house while the little boy

and his dog are sleeping. When the boy gets up and fails to find the frog in the house, he starts looking for it. He searches around the house and the forest nearby. He eventually manages to find the frog playing with a group of frogs by a stream. In the narrative section two major parts, i.e. narrative style and grammatical accuracy were distinguished which will be discussed in the section on scoring procedures. Accordingly, with regard to Narration in this study, three different subcategories or factors, i.e. Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Narrative Total (Narrative Style + Grammatical Accuracy) are considered as three dependent variables.

3.2.3.2 Conversation Measures

In order to have a better evaluation of the subject's language proficiency, and to evaluate his/her communicative competence, he/she was engaged in an informal conversation immediately following the narrative session. Bennett and Slaughter (1983) maintain that we should not make evaluations of proficiency dependent on the appearance of a certain set of linguistic or interactional features. They add that each interview and relating of narrative is to some degree unique, and even when participants are completely proficient, it is not reasonable to predict any particular set of features (p.12).

In general, because of the special nature of this type of discourse, I did not try to arrive at a final judgement about the constituents of the conversation section in advance. Instead, while taking Bennett and Slaughter's (1983) study as a model, I tried to adopt an exploratory approach which was influenced by the Canale and Swain's (1980) model as well. During this session, the subject communicated some information about various general topics relating to school, home, leisure-time activities, etc. by answering some open-ended questions. I asked the subject to tell me how he/she would spend his/her leisure time the following summer and to talk about his/her favourite hobbies, and his/her plans for the following summer holidays. The conversation was also aimed at eliciting information about the subject's past experiences, including one of his/her best memories. It also included some other general topics such as rural activities and ceremonies. Thus, conversation is also considered as another dependent variable.

3.2.3.3 Academic Measures

The subjects' end-of-year class reports were the basis for assessing their academic achievement, so that it was possible to address the second research question about any possible relationship between the subjects' Persian language proficiency and their academic achievement. In this study, the subjects' school (average) marks are used as an independent variable and as a basis for their academic achievement. It might be worth noting that in the Iranian educational system – at all levels – the student's academic achievement is assessed on a scale from 0 to 20, and therefore, the subjects' school (average) marks used here (Appendix II) are based on such a scale. There are eleven subjects in the fourth and fifth grade school curriculum. The same subjects (except geography) are included in third grade children's curriculum. The other ten subjects are as follows: Persian Reading, Composition, Dictation, the Koran, Religious Teaching, Social Sciences, Mathematics, Science, Art, and Sport. It is a reasonable assumption that the subject's marks on the first three subjects in the list, i.e. Persian Language, Composition, and Dictation must be a reflection of their language proficiency. For this reason, as part of the study, the potential correlation between the subjects' average marks in these three subjects and their language proficiency scores were examined.

3.2.3.4 Background Variables

As stated earlier, in this study, two questionnaires were used for bilingual subjects: the parents' and the students' questionnaires. The former was planned to be used in the subject selection process, while the latter provided me with some more information about the subjects' language backgrounds. It was assumed that such information might inform a better overall judgment about the subjects' language proficiency. The questionnaire included such general issues as the bilingual subjects' background, their language background and academic achievement, and their psychological adjustment. It is worthy of note that the answers were mostly regarded as subsidiary information to the overall language proficiency assessment process, and thus these items were not considered as the main variables or predictors of Persian proficiency in the final analysis. In general, the information related to such variables as gender and age were directly

employed in the analysis. It is worth noting that in the main study, some additional information about the subjects' socio-economic status (e.g. parents' jobs, and parental education) was collected.

In general, 5 independent variables (Linguality, Gender, Grade, Age, and Socio-economic Status), and 5 dependent variables (Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Conversation) were used. As stated by Pearson *et al* (1996, cited in Pearson 2002, p.164), one of the purposes of examining children's narratives would be to evaluate the development of both discourse devices and the specific linguistic structures which are provided by using extended narratives. Accordingly, by separating the scoring of the stories into independent components and subcomponents, it would be possible to see how much each element has contributed to more global measures of the children's growth. This would be a better framework for examining bilinguals' stories in which it is anticipated that there would be more disconnections between component language skills. And as Cummins (1984a, cited in Pearson 2002, p.164) asserts that it also helps us to separate those elements which seem to develop in the learning process of a certain language, from those elements which are especially related to more general growth across languages.

3.3 Transcription Procedures

In order to facilitate the scoring and analysis of the data, it was transcribed phonemically. To meet this requirement, it was necessary to listen to all recorded data (i.e. the Frog Story, and the Conversation) very carefully so that I could exactly transcribe the whole text and not miss even a single word, quite apart from such suprasegmental features as intonation and pause. It was, however, a difficult and time-consuming process, and in most cases, I listened to each utterance at least twice. Finally, in order to have more reliable transcribed data at hand, correspondence between the recorded data and the transcription was checked for consistency at a later stage.

3.3.1 Phonetic Symbols

In Persian orthography, Arabic characters are used. Like its Arabic counterpart, Persian orthography is written from right to left. For transcribing the subjects'

language production, a set of symbols based on Roman characters was used, so that the reader would have access to a relatively accurate phonemic transcription of the data. Most of the symbols used here are recommended by the majority of Iranian phoneticians for transcribing the Persian language. (Samareh 1981, except c for k, ʝ for g, j for ʝ, and y for j; Yarmohammadi 1981, except tš for č, dž for ʝ, y for j, Æ for a, and α for â; Haghshenas 1977, except j for ʝ, ei for ey, and ou for ow). A complete list of phonetic symbols used in the transcriptions is shown in Table 3.5.

Employing such a set of symbols was also necessary for analyzing the data using systems such as the CHILDES Project (McWhinney, 2000). It also helped to reduce the confusion caused by a lack of symbols in the Persian writing system for representing three frequent short vowels. In most cases, the symbols used are the same as those used in the SAMPA and are recommended in the CHILDES Project (CHAT Manual) by McWhinney (2000).

Concerning the consonants, the symbols [x], [ʔ], and [q] represent the voiceless velar fricative, the glottal stop, and the voiced velar stop consonants, respectively. [š] represents the voiceless postalveolar fricative consonant, and [ž] indicates the voiced postalveolar fricative consonant (Samareh, 1981). The voiceless palatal affricate consonant is shown by [č] while [ʝ] stands for the voiced palatal affricate consonant.

The Persian vowel system is simple. Only six simple vowels are used in Standard Persian. The symbols used for showing vowels are those recommended by Iranian phoneticians, but are the same as those used in the SAMPA, with only one exception: [â] for the back open unrounded vowel ([A] in the SAMPA). This vowel is very similar to the first vowel sound in a standard pronunciation of ‘father’, but it is shorter in length. Other simple vowels are: [a] (front open unrounded), [e] (front close-mid unrounded), [i] (front close unrounded), [o] (back close-mid unrounded), and [u] (back close round). It is worth noting that the two simple vowels [y] (front round close) and [ø] (front round close-mid) are used as free variants of [u] in many words in the local Quchani Persian dialect (*myš/muš* ‘mouse’; *kør/kur* ‘blind’) (Zowghdare-Moghaddam 1989, p.83). In some other words, [y] is equivalent to [i] in Standard Persian (*šyša/šiše* ‘jar’).

Persian Phonetic Symbols (PPS) Used for Transcription								
<i>Consonants</i>						<i>Simple Vowels</i>		
IPA	PPS	Example	IPA	PPS	Example	IPA	PPS	Example
B	b	b ale (yes)	p	P	p âjin (down)	a	a	saxre (cliff)
tʃ	č	čakme (boot)	ɣ	q	joqd (owl)	ɑ	â	surâx (hole)
d	d	sedâ (sound)	r	r	sar (head)	e	e	pesar (boy)
f	f	farjâd (shout)	s	s	sag (dog)	i	i	šiše (jar)
g	g	sang (stone)	ʃ	š	muš (mouse)	o	o	kojâ (where)
h	h	hame (all)	t	t	sâket (quiet)	u	u	qurbâqqe (frog)
j	j	jek (one)	v	v	gavazn (deer)	y	y	šyša (jar)
dʒ	ǰ	ǰangal (forest)	x	x	deraxt (tree)	<i>Diphthongs</i>		
k	k	kojâ (where)	z	z	nazdik (near)	ei	ey	key (when)
l	l	asal (honey)	ʒ	ž	žen (gene)	ou	ow	mow (vine)
m	m	zambur (bee)	ʔ	ʔ	baʔdan (then)			
n	n	tanhâ (alone)						

Table 3.5

Persian Phonetic Symbols

From a phonetic point of view there are six diphthongs in Persian (ow, ey, ây, uy, oy, and ay, in *řow* (barley), *ney* (reed), *čây* (tea), *guy* (ball), *xoy* (a town in Iran), and *hay* (alive), respectively. However, most Iranian phoneticians believe that all these six strings of sounds are only phonetically considered as diphthongs, and are phonemically a combination of one vowel and one glide consonant (Samareh 1981, p.122; Yarmohammadi 1981, p.208; Haghshenas 1977, p.80). Some Iranian phoneticians are of the opinion that phonemically, there is only one diphthong (ow) in Persian (e.g. Bateni 1984, p.155).

3.3.2 Glossing and Transcription Conventions

The transcription was based on the CHAT System (McWhinny 2000). A CHAT transcript consists of three major components: the file headers, the main tier, and the dependent tiers. A header is a line of text which has some information about the participants and the setting. In CHAT three types of headers are used – obligatory, constant, and changeable. There are four obligatory headers which show the beginning and the end of the file along with some information about the data and the participants. Without these obligatory headers, the CLAN commands, employed for analyzing the data in CHAT, will not run correctly. Most of the obligatory headers appear at the very beginning of each file. The second type of headers called constant headers bear the information which is constant through the file and are placed at the beginning of the file. They refer to such basic information as the speaker’s age, gender, or date of birth. These features are unlikely to change during the course of the recording session. On the other hand, the third type of headers known as “changeable headers” refers to information which varies during the course of interaction, which can appear along within the main body of the file. For the purposes of my research, in transcribing the texts related to the subjects’ narratives, I used ten headers in each file (4 obligatory, 4 constant, and 2 changeable). The four obligatory headers are as follows:

@Begin: which indicates the beginning of a file (in this case, ‘the frog story’ narrated by one of the students).

@End: which shows the end of the file (data produced by the subject).

@ID or identification header, which functions as a code to refer to a larger database. For example, in this study, one of the subjects’ ID code is ‘per.mub3.0908=SDM’. The first three letters identify the language spoken by the subject. In this case, for example, ‘per’ refers to Persian which is the language of the data. It is followed by three or four letters to indicate the corpus. In ‘mub3,’ for example, ‘mu’ indicates the school name (Musavian), ‘b’ shows that the subject is bilingual, and ‘3’ refers to the subject’s grade at the primary school. Then comes the file name: ‘stm1,’ in which case ‘st’ refers to the subject’s status as student. ‘1’ shows the subject’s number in the group, and ‘m’ which stands for ‘male’ indicates the subject’s gender. After that there is a four-digit field which

shows the subject's age in years and months. In this case, '0908' shows that the student is 9 years and 8 months old. The final field gives the three-letter code for the subject. Here, '= SDM' is derived from the subject's first name and family name, which distinguish this subject from the remaining 59 students in the study. In most cases, this code is based only on the target student's first name.

@Participants: This includes speaker(s) in a file and consists of three items, the speaker's ID, his/her name, and his/her role. As explained above, the ID consists of three capital letters, and distinguishes each subject from the rest of the subjects. If more than one participant is involved in the interaction, their features would follow the first subject's identification features. In this case, for example, 'SRN Shirin Student, MAH Mahmoud Observer' shows that two participants are involved.

The four constant headers used in each of the files are as follows:

@Age of XXX, @Group of XXX, @SES of XXX and Gender of XXX, which indicate the subject's age in years and months, the subject's group in group studies, the subject's socio-economic status and his/her gender, respectively.

The two changeable headers used in this research are as follows:

@Date, which shows the date on which the interaction has taken place and which is given in the form day-month-year.

@g, along with a number, marks the beginning of 'gems'. Each gem is defined as material that begins with an @g marker and ends with the next @g marker. In this study, each @g includes the material related to one of the 24 pictures of the story. All the headers are followed by a colon and a tab.

Regarding the tiers, as mentioned above, CHAT uses two kinds of tier: main tier and dependent tiers. The main tier consists of a subject's language production in its original and overall form. The main tier starts with an asterisk and is followed by the subject's name code, a colon, and then a tab. In this study, each main tier includes one utterance produced by the subject, which is usually composed of one single clause.

As mentioned earlier, for transcribing the data, I used Latin characters so that the data could be analyzed by using systems such as CHAT. In other words, the data was printed in the form of phonemic transcription. In fact, in this study, the main tier also functions as the dependent Phonetics Tier (%pho). The CHAT

system allows for the use of multiple dependent tiers, however, in most of the transcription of the data, only one dependent tier i.e. English Translation Tier (%eng) is used. This includes a fluent translation of the string produced in English. In some parts, the Comment Tier (%com) has also been used, which indicates comments made by the observer.

Some other symbols which are used in transcription (McWhinney, 2000: 1924) are as follows:

xxx (unintelligible speech, not treated as a word);

xx (unintelligible speech, treated as a word);

www (untranscribed material). The transcriber does not know how to transcribe or does not want to transcribe;

[?] (best guess). It is used to indicate that the previous word or group of words are simply the transcriber's best guess at what was being said and there is some doubt in the transcriber's mind whether this guess is correct;

. (period). This functions as one of the utterance terminators;

? (question). This functions as one of the utterance terminators;

! (exclamation). This functions as one of the utterance terminators;

, (syntactic juncture);

,, (tag question);

(pause between words);

// (accented nucleus). This indicates the placement of strong nuclear accent on the following syllable. This is the nuclear accent that forms the center of a tone group;

: (lengthened syllable);

:: (pause between syllables);

+^ (quick uptake). This is used when an utterance of one speaker follows quickly on the heels of the last utterance of the preceding speaker without the customary short pause between utterances;

[>] (overlap follows);

[<] (overlap precedes);

[/] (retracing without correction);

[//] (retracing with correction);

[///] (retracing with reformulation);

[/-] (false start without retracing);

[*] (error marking).

It is worth noting that when a subject's utterance is given as an example for

GRADE	MONOLINGUAL		BILINGUAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
3	MJT9m	SRN8f	SDM9m	BNR10f
	ALN8m	ZOH9f	RZA8m	AZM9f
	FHD9m	MLH9f	HSC9m	HLM10f
	SDL9m	ASM9f	ALG10m	FTM9f
	IMN9m	MHS8f	AMN9m	MNA9f
4	MHN11m	SHR10f	AMR10m	FZR10f
	AHM9m	EHM8f	RSL10m	FZT11f
	SHL10m	FZE10f	SDJ10m	BNM10f
	HDR11m	ELM9f	HSE10m	MHL9f
	VHD9m	MOD8f	ERM9m	MHB10f
5	HDI10m	MSN11f	MHA11m	ZHM13f
	HMD12m	FRB10f	AHF11m	MGN9f
	MIN10m	SBR9f	MHD11m	ZHA10f
	SDE10m	SMR10f	MSB11m	RHN11f
	HST10m	MRZ10f	MST11m	ELE9f

Table 3.6

Subjects' Codes (including age and gender)

discussion and analysis, a number and a letter are added to the end of his/her name code to show his/her age and gender (the number marks his/her age in years, and the letter 'm' or 'f' indicates the gender) (Table 3.6).

3.3.3 Transcription Sample

Below, part of one of the transcriptions is given as a sample. A sample set of stories produced by two of the subjects is given in transcribed form in Appendix IV. It might be worthy of note that the whole set of stories narrated by all sixty subjects is available on compact disc.

@Begin

@Participants: SDM Saeed Student

@ID: per.mub3.stm1.0908= SDM

@Age of SDM: 9;8.

@Gender of SDM: Male

@Group of SDM: Grade 3

@Date: 25-Apr-2001

@SES of SDM: Low

@g: 1

*SDM: injâ jag pesara bâ jag saga bâ qurbâqqaš .

%eng: Here, there is a boy with a dog, with his frog.

*SDM: injâ qurbâqqaha ra negâ mena tu šiša .

%eng: Here, he is looking at the frog in the jar.

*SDM: badan i saga tuje šiša ra negâ mokona , .

%eng: Then, the dog is looking inside the jar.

@g: 2

*SDM: badan qurbâqqaha mexa dar bija az injâ .

%eng: Then, the frog is trying to get out of here.

*SDM: pesara bâ sageš xâbida .

%eng: The boy and his dog are sleeping.

*SDM: i qurbâqqa az šiša dar mijâd , .

%eng: This frog comes out of the jar.

*SDM: farâr mokona .

%eng: It runs away.

.....

@g: 11

*SDM: badan ## i mera # .

%eng: Then, he leaves there.

*SDM: <saga dombâl> [//] i zamburâ mexân dombâle i saga beran .

%eng: The bees want to chase the dog.

*SDM: i pesara rafte bâley deraxt .

%eng: The boy has climbed up the tree.

.....

@g: 20

* SDM: i pesara ro mige +”/ .

%eng: The boy says.

* SDM: +” sâket bâš ey sag !

%eng: “Oh dog, be quiet!”

.....

@g: 24

* SDM: badan injâ # az qurbâqqahâ [% hmm] xodâhâfezi mokona .

%eng: Then, here, he says good-bye to the frogs.

* SDM: va qurbâqqey xodešo vardâšta .

%eng: And he has taken his frog.

%com: note using formal ‘va’ (and).

@End

3.4 Scoring Procedures

For developing the scoring scales needed for assessing language proficiency different criteria have been employed. Some of these criteria are used for assessing both Narration and Conversation, and others are used only for one of the sections. In general, the selection of criteria was carried out in a way to achieve maximum objective. For this reason, I made an attempt to take a broad view of the matter and to go into details as much as possible so that it would be possible to arrive at a more accurate and valid result. At the same time, I tried to select the features in a way to get to the most objective criteria. Since this study is among the first attempts made for assessing Persian-speaking children’s language proficiency, and because of the fluid nature of communicative competence, in many cases, by using Cummins’ *et al* (1984) views, I preferred to have an exploratory approach to the issue, and tried to generate hypothesis rather than to make *a priori* judgements about its components and test a hypothesis formally (p.62).

In order to meet the above-mentioned goals, I tried to include any relevant item and take into consideration any factor involved in designing the criteria for the assessment of the subject’s language proficiency. For example, considering

the criteria used for assessing the Narrative Style Section of the frog story I made use of seven major criteria for which twenty-four different cases were tested. A separate credit was assigned to each case. In this way, I was sure that part of the total amount of credits is assigned to every single picture of the story. This was true for the Conversation Section as well, in which I considered eight major criteria for which fifteen minor categories were tested.

The subject can get a maximum of 100 credits for his/her overall language proficiency: sixty credits for the Narration Section, and forty credits for the Conversation Section. The Narration Section is, in turn, divided into two areas: Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy, for each of which the subject can get a maximum of thirty credits. Appendix I gives the subjects' overall language proficiency scores for each of the main three sections (Tables 1A to 1D), the scores for all major criteria included in each main section (Tables 2A to 4D), and the detailed scores for each individual category or case related to each criterion (Tables 5A to 7D). Because of the wide number of features and a shortage of space, some codes have been used to indicate fractions of a credit. In general, 'h', '1h', '2h', '3h', '4h', and '5h' are used to refer to 0.5, 1.5, 2.5, 3.5, 4.5, and 5.5 credit(s), respectively. Underlined forms in Tables 5A to 5D show negative credits: 'h' and '1' indicate -0.5, and -1 credit, respectively. It might be worthy of note that in order to carry out the counting and score the items simplest and most reliably, several copies of the Story data were highlighted in different colours, and each item was counted up at least twice.

3.4.1 Narration Measures

The evaluation of the Narration was based on the student's narration of the Frog Story. The criteria for this section are mostly based on Bennett and Slaughter's (1983) report on a project which investigated the language proficiencies in Spanish and English of Hispanic children in the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) in Arizona, Berman and Slobin's (1994) findings about the 9-year-old children's language capacity in narrating the frog story, and Pearson's (2002) findings in her study on narrative competence among monolingual English-speaking and bilingual Spanish-English-speaking schoolchildren in Miami.

Some features are related to the content and some to the form of the narrative. As Pearson (2002, p.170) has pointed out, there is not “a recognized rubric – no ‘answer key’ for scoring stories”. However, we can consider the Frog Story a rich source which can be used for evaluating the subjects’ narrative competence in particular, and language proficiency in general. I divided the whole area of the subjects’ narrative competence into two separate domains, namely narrative and linguistic development so that I could judge the degree to which each of these two domains has played a role in the final language proficiency score. The first area, Narrative Style, took into consideration the subject’s ability to apply a hierarchical story structure, sustain a clear and proper flow of information, and incorporate metacognitive statements in relating the events taken place in the pictures presented in the book. The second domain, Grammatical Accuracy, examined the more purely linguistic aspects of the subject’s performance. In this section, the usage of some forms of the words needed for recounting the story was counted. These include certain conjunctions, adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and selected verb forms.

3.4.1.1 Narrative Style

Narrative style refers to a set of features which are used for assessing the subject’s ability in narrating a story. For scoring the narrative style a metric was devised which partitioned this domain into seven different areas. A full definition of these categories is given below:

3.4.1.1.1 Ability to tell a connected story

This is considered as a three-level scale: ‘Total Narrative’ in which the subject develops a narrative throughout (using mostly *ham* ‘at the same time’, and to a lesser extent *ba:d* ‘then, later’). ‘Separate Pages’ in which the subject narrates events on each page separately. He/she may attempt connection among the ideas within a page, but does not establish connections between one page and the next (using *ba:d* ‘then, later’ and *infâ* ‘here’). And finally, ‘Snapshots’ in which the subject uses short, simple clauses and/or phrases without using enough conjunctions to connect one event to another.

Depending on the type and the number of adverbs and conjunctions (as cohesive markers) used by the subject, he/she might get at most six credits. If the number of *ham* ‘at the same time’ is at least one tenth of the total number of *ham* ‘at the same time’, *ba:d* ‘then, later’, and *injâ* ‘here’, he/she gets two credits, and if the number of *ba:d* ‘then, later’ is at least half of the total number of *ham* ‘at the same time’, *ba:d* ‘then, later’, and *injâ* ‘here’, he/she gets one credit. If the total number of *ham* ‘at the same time’, *ba:d* ‘then, later’, and *injâ* ‘here’ used is at least 30, the subject gets one credit. He/she is also given half a credit for using such conjunctions as *ke* ‘that’, *mowqey ke/ vaqti/vaxti* ‘when’, *çon/barây inke/barâ inke/vase inke* ‘because’, *ammâ/vali* ‘but’, and *tâ* ‘so that’ (at most one credit). The subject might also lose at most three credits for using some other items. If the total number of *ham* ‘at the same time’, *ba:d* ‘then, later’, and *injâ* ‘here’ used is less than 20, the he/she loses one credit, and if the number of *injâ* ‘here’ is more than one third of the total number of *ham* ‘at the same time’, *ba:d* ‘then, later’, and *injâ* ‘here’, he/she loses one credit. And finally, he/she might also lose half a credit for the incorrectly used indefinite article, i.e. *je/jek/jag* ‘a/an’ (at most one credit).

3.4.1.1.2 Ability to explicitly mention core plot components

The plot consists of three key events, and each subject is assessed on the extent to which he/she makes explicit reference to a beginning, middle, and end in the story. The subject gets credits for referring to the last two events, and the maximum number of credits available for this part is eight. These events are as follows:

a. Beginning: explicit mention of the boy’s noticing that the frog is missing (Pictures 2 or 3). All the subjects are expected to mention this event and so they get no credit for this task. In other words, a subject who merely refers to the empty jar without relating it to the boy’s discovery is not credited.

b. Middle: explicit mention of searching (or looking, or calling) for the frog; the subject must go beyond the initial start of the search in the bedroom. The subject has to mention at least six types of search for the lost frog (while describing Pictures 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, and 14). He/she is given one credit for each type (six credits in total).

c. End: the frog, which the boy has in his hand at the end of the story, must explicitly be described as being the same as or substituting for the lost frog (while describing any of the Pictures 22, 23, or 24). The subject would get two credits for satisfying this criterion.

3.4.1.1.3 Ability to use some story features

These include some stereotypical story openers and the narrative intonation pattern. These story openers are usually considered as traditional narrative elements and are used in different languages. Some of the openers which are common in Persian tradition of story telling are as follows: *jeki bud jeki nabud, qeyr az xodâ hič kas nabud, ...* (Once upon a time, ...), *ruzi ruzegâri, ...* (Once upon a time, ...), *jeg ruz jeg pesari bud, ...* (Once there was a boy, ...), *jeg pesari bud, ...* (There was a boy, ...), *jeg pesare bude, jeg sag dâšte* (There was a boy who had a dog, ...). It seems that all these openers serve the same purpose and indeed they are still in use; however, some are more traditional than others. One credit is given for using one of these openers or the like, and there would be no credits if he/she fails to use such an opener.

Although prosody is a very important component of oral narrative, because of shortage of time, the subjects were not tested on all prosodic features. The only prosodic feature examined in this section was the narrative intonation pattern. In this respect, putting stress on the centre of a tone group at the end of each utterance was taken into consideration (e.g. *pesar-e-?o sag-e oftâdan tuje //âb*, boy-the-and dog-the fall: PRESENT PERFECT in //water ‘The boy and the dog have fallen into the water.’ AZM/Picture 18). At the same time, each utterance is uttered in a tone (rising intonation) which puts the listener in the condition of suspense. This feature distinguishes the speaker’s tone in narrating a story from his/her tone while talking about non-narrative topics. For example, some children used a prosodic monotonous style that sounded like an oral reading style and made the task seem like an oral reading. They did not pay attention to the role of the addressee or listener, who remained silent throughout and acted as the recipient of the story. Others, however, used “a repeated low-rising tone at the end of each utterance” which made “the task as something more like a test, which the listener put in the examiner role” (Rivera 1983, p.20). Since the frog story is

picture-based, it seems that it is most appropriate to observe this feature at the end of each scene. It usually accompanies another shift in tone at the beginning of each scene (or at least each episode), in that the first word(s) – especially such introducers as *injâ* ‘here’, *ba?d* ‘then’, and *ba?deš* ‘then’ – are pronounced with a rising intonation. The subject gets one credit for producing at least half of the utterances with the first intonation pattern, with stress on the centre of a tone group at the end of each utterance, and is given half a credit if he/she produces at least one third of the utterances with such an intonation pattern. No credit is given if he/she follows the other two patterns mentioned above.

3.4.1.1.4 Engagement

As Pearson (2002, p.175) states, this feature refers to literary-like language – “expressions that made the child’s rendition more lively or engaging: using a refrain in the story, or direct speech, or even figures of speech”. She mentions stylistic word order inversion as such a case in the frog story sample. The subject is given half a credit for each of the eight items with a maximum of four credits. In general, using these items indicates that the subject is paying attention to detail, and using an elaborate language. These items include referring to the setting, e.g. ‘at night’ (Picture 2), expressing emphasis, e.g. *hame jâ* ‘everywhere’ (Picture 4), paying attention to details, e.g. ‘The boy leaves his room’ (Pictures 6-7), ‘mixing up the deer’s horns with tree branches’ (Pictures 14-16), employing elaborate language, e.g. using direct speech (Picture 20), waving the frogs goodbye (Picture 24), using such words as *lune* ‘nest’, *râhe hal* ‘solution’, *hanuz* ‘still’, *taqriban* ‘almost’, *bihuš* ‘unconscious’, *axmu* ‘sulky’, *niš zadan* ‘to sting’, *nefât dâdan* ‘to save’, and finally using such special words, phrases and expressions as *tašakkor kardan* ‘to thank’, *mesli ke* ‘apparently’, and *fekr mikonam* ‘I think that’.

3.4.1.1.5 Internal states

This refers to different emotions, reactions, or thoughts of the characters. Words such as ‘angry’ would be different from other lexical items referring either to different objects (e.g. ‘beehive’) or different actions (e.g. ‘fall off’) and are thus considered as a subcomponent of the Narrative Style Section. Two credits are allocated to this part. The subject is given the maximum number of credits for

using four words (half a credit for each item) referring to the above-mentioned internal states, including *asbâni/nârâhat/axmu* ‘angry/unhappy/sulky’ (Picture 3) and *xošhâl* ‘happy’ (Pictures 19, 23, or 24), both expressing the boy’s emotions; *sâket bâš* ‘Be quiet!’ (Picture 20), expressing the boy’s reaction, and *fekr mikonam ...* ‘I think ...’, expressing the boy’s thought (Pictures 20 or 21).

3.4.1.1.6 Total number of clauses

As stated earlier, in defining narrative, Labov and Waletzky (1967) focus, primarily, on the clause as “the smallest unit of linguistic expression which defines the functions of narrative”. They state that true narrative clauses are “temporally ordered independent clauses (along with their dependent subordinate clauses) that must occur in a fixed presentational sequence”. Based on Berman and Slobin’s (1994) data related to the frog story in five languages, older children (5- to 9-year-old) produce rather longer texts with greater variability than younger children (3- to 4-year-old), ranging from 35 clauses to well over 100 clauses per narrative. They conclude that 5- to 9-year-old children “produce texts of much the same length across the languages, ranging from around 30 to 50, with an average of about 40 clauses per text – a length which provides a sense of some kind of ‘normative’ text for this task”. They believe that in spite of differences in total sample size, the texts show a close similarity, and thus we can compare the database in quantitative terms; however, they do not consider length in itself as critical for producing a satisfactory narrative based on the frog story picture book since they believe that “even very young children could follow the book picture by picture for a fairly extensive length of time and hence production of extended speech output would not be beyond their cognitive capacity”. They also state that “some cultures seem to elicit longer and more elaborate narratives than others” (Berman & Slobin, 1994, pp.30-32).

A preliminary count of clauses of the texts produced by the subjects in our pilot study shows that in order to produce a satisfactory story, the subject needs to use about fifty clauses. It should be borne in mind that with regard to the special nature of the task, i.e. narrating a picture-based story with a simple plotline orally in Persian, the speakers are likely to use the clauses in the form of simple sentences, and thus nearly all the clauses are main clauses. The subject is given

the maximum number of credits (four credits) for using at least forty clauses. Two credits are given for using at least thirty clauses, and no credit is given for less than thirty clauses.

3.4.1.1.7 Dominant tense

This is defined as 75% of all finite verbs used in a text. Berman and Slobin's study (1994) suggests that despite the influence of each individual language grammar, they are able to classify the texts produced by the subjects based on their age group across the five languages. They managed to introduce the features characterizing the texts produced by members of four age groups generalized across the five languages. These age groups are 3-year-olds, 5-year-olds, 9-year-olds, and adults. As noted earlier, some of the properties selected by them based on the narrative texts produced by 9-year-olds have been taken here in this study as criteria for evaluating the subjects' language capacity in narrating the frog story (p.57).

Berman and Slobin (1994, p.58) analyze each of the profiles related to the four age groups mentioned above along a single developmental continuum which represents four phases they have identified in the evolution of narrative capacities. These phases are as follows:

“(a) spatially-motivated linking of utterances as picture-by-picture description (3-year-olds), (b) temporal organization at a local level of interclausal sequential chaining of events (most 5-year-olds), (c) sequential and/or causal chaining of partially elaborated events (most 9-year-olds) and (d) global organization of entire texts around a unified action-structure (some 9-year-olds, and the adults)”.

It is their view that the notion of ‘action-structure’ is used “in analyses of ‘degree of narrativity’ in which (adult) subjects were required to evaluate and to state the main idea of narrative texts structured in various ways”. This notion had already been used by those authors who consider three levels for narrative structure (i.e. temporality, causality, and action-structure), each of which precedes and entails the other.

As for dominant tense, Berman and Slobin (1994, p.131) maintain that since the frog story narratives are picture-based, and “the events depicted in the book can be viewed as ongoing”, and the pictures can be treated as “depicting a currently unfolding sequence of events”, a present-tense perspective would be completely suitable. However, based on Fleischman (1990), they state that “an oral text related from a picturebook story allows the narrator to select either present or past as the tense in which to anchor the narrative” (p.62). In their view, in English as in other languages, the past tense is considered as “the unmarked or the most typical temporal setting for the recounting of chronologically sequential events in narrative” (p.131). But some subjects prefer to depart from this norm by using ‘narrative’ or historic use of present tense, and generally simple-present forms. For this reason, in our study, as it is the case in Berman and Slobin’s (1994), the simple present tense is considered a norm and is thus criterial for evaluating a narrative as well-formed. However, ‘narrative past’ (present perfect) would be acceptable to some degree since the subjects’ production is picture-based. In fact, Persian-speakers use simple past tense for relating such a story when they recite it from memory. Thus, in this study, subjects are scored for using either simple present or present perfect as dominant tense.

As is clear from Berman and Slobin (1994, p.132), the younger children are not able to use grammatical tense and aspect in an appropriate way. While two-thirds of 3-year-olds shifted back and forth between present and past tense (mixed), all twelve 9-year-olds yielded “a consistent temporal thread to the texts by anchoring them in either past or present tense” (p.132). They state (pp.62-3) that the lack of a clear and sustained ‘anchor tense’ among many of the younger children shows that “they have not yet established a unified narrative thread, in which grammatical tense serves to establish text cohesion and coherence, providing a temporal anchoring which is consistently distinct from time of speech”. In narrating the frog story, the 5-year-olds shift tense more often than either 9-year-olds or adults. The shift from past to present is accompanied by a shift from a narrative to a picture-description mode.

On the other hand, according to Berman and Slobin (1994), the 9-year-old children produce texts which show a sustained narrative mode. In their English version of the frog story narrated by twelve 9-year-old subjects, simple past or

simple present are used as the dominant tense. Since in English texts, the majority of the 9-year-old subjects – unlike most of the 3-, 4-, and 5- year-olds – took past as the dominant tense, it seems that they have been affected by the reading skill learnt at school. At this age, they know how to read and write and have experienced formal schooling for several years and have been exposed to both oral and printed narrative texts both at home and in school.

In the English version produced by 9-year-olds and adults, we observe very few cases of tense shift in a single narrative. In fact, most 9-year-olds in their study preferred to use past tense as dominant while most adults (9 out of 12) favoured simple present as the prevalent tense.

Concerning the four other languages in the study, Berman and Slobin (1994, p.135) state that the past tense was also favoured by most Hebrew 9-year-olds, while the present tense was taken as prevalent by most German, Spanish, and Turkish 9-year-olds. In general, as they point out, “the school-age children clearly prefer a straightforward, uniform narrative mode rather than flexible tense switching for purposes of plot-motivated backgrounding or for shifting from current to anterior and from ongoing to generic temporal reference”.

Berman and Slobin (1994) also consider two complementary functions, i.e. local and extended for these tense shifts. They state that “local tense shifting meets the requirements of grammatical ‘sequence of tense’” (Comrie, 1986). For example, “adults freely shift to past tense in relative and adverbial clauses which describe situations viewed as anterior to the main eventline” (Berman and Slobin 1994, p.134). On the other hand, “the ‘extended’ function of tense shifting is motivated by the thematic organization of the narrative as a whole” (p.134). They also state that “extended tense shifting in the adult English narratives may also function to distinguish between two series of events going on concurrently – one set in the past and another in the present” (p.135).

Interestingly, the Persian sample shows a similar pattern to what is observed in English, in that most adults who were asked to narrate the frog story preferred the present tense as dominant. Based on these samples, it seems that in a ‘basic’ Persian sample of the frog story produced by an adult, about fifty-two clauses are needed to include all the information and thereby to convey the main plotline of the story. In such a sample, there would be about forty-two clauses (at least 80%)

in simple present tense, while it is very likely that the remaining ten clauses would be in present perfect (about five clauses), and present in progress (about five clauses). In order of preference, adults usually take simple past as their second dominant tense to narrate the frog story in Persian. It might be worth noting that in the children's storybooks in Persian, which are similar in style, type and content, the verbs in main (foreground) clauses are mostly in simple present tense.

In this study, using a consistently favoured tense throughout the narration was considered as a criterion for a well-formed narrative. The production is scored based on a three-level scale. If the subject shows a sustained narrative mode using simple present as dominant tense, he/she is given four credits. The subject gets two credits for using present perfect as dominant tense. And finally, the subject is given only one credit if he uses any other tense as dominant, provided that the changes in tense contributes to the meaning or the coherence of the narrative. Otherwise, he/she would get no credits. So the subject can get a maximum of 20 credits for Narrative Style Section.

3.4.1.2 Grammatical Accuracy

These include some aspects of grammatical competence one expects to be used in narrating such a story as the frog story in the Persian language. The subjects can get a maximum of 40 credits for this section.

3.4.1.2.1 Subordinating and coordinating conjunctions

As stated earlier, most of the subjects do not use subordinate clauses. It seems that in this type of story telling in the Persian language, the narrator tries to create single utterances based on the pictures involved. It seems that the nature of this type of language production (compared with the language production in the form of a conversation in which more subordinate clauses were employed by the same subjects), and the limitation imposed by the relatively compulsory one-to-one relationship between a single picture and the related utterance has an effect on the syntactic structure of the utterance produced and the number of its consequent clauses. However, in this type of style in which the narrator employs a relatively less formal language, some pairs of neighbouring clauses describing a picture seem to be used in place of complex sentences, and sometimes a shift in

intonation pattern can compensate for the loss of the necessary subordinating conjunction. Moreover, most Persian-speaking subjects prefer not to use compound sentences for narrating the frog story: they never start a second utterance with the coordinating conjunction *va* ‘and’ – unlike many frog stories in English – and rarely use *ammâ/vali* ‘but’. These conjunctions are often replaced by such adverbs as *ba?dan* ‘later’, and *in?â* ‘here’. In some cases, *va* ‘and’ is replaced by the adverb *ham* ‘as well’. It might be worth noting here that according to Michaels (1981), the subject’s style is not necessarily the same as the teacher’s preferred style, since children from different backgrounds come to school with different narrative strategies and prosodic conventions for giving narrative accounts (p.423).

For example, in narrating the frog story in Persian, the subject might use such prosodic conventions as a pause instead of the coordinating conjunction *va* ‘and’. A teacher might combine the same neighbouring sentences by adding *-o* ‘and’ (used in informal style). Or as Toolan (2001, p.184) remarks, we are sometimes concerned with a literate-style speaker’s account versus an oral-style speaker’s account, which leads to such other lexis/prosody contrasts as marking of a resultative connections between two narrative events in the story. He states that

This is marked in the literate-style speaker’s account by the standard written connective, *so*, while in the oral-style speaker’s account it is signalled prosodically by a stressed high fall on *then*. In other words when *then* is prosodically marked in this particular way it is intended to convey causal relation and not merely temporal relations; whether addressees derive that meaning –difference or not is precisely the issue.

The same rule applies to Persian when *dar natî?e* (so) is compensated by an allomorph of *va* (and) in an oral-style speaker’s account.

But, as stated earlier, in the Labovian approach, true narrative clauses are temporally ordered independent clauses which must appear in a fixed presentational sequence and are accompanied by their dependent subordinate clauses. Thus, at least at some critical points of the story, the subjects are expected to use subordinating conjunctions in order to create the appropriate sequential

and/or causal chaining of different events in the story. Otherwise, the text follows picture-description mode rather than narrative. In this respect, the subjects are only tested on using some of the conjunctions which play an important role in the mainstream of the story, i.e. using the subordinating conjunction *vaqti ke/ mowqe?i ke* ‘when’ and the coordinating conjunction *ammâ/vali* ‘but’. The subject gets two credits if he/she uses *vaqti ke/ mowqe?i ke* ‘when’ in describing one of the pictures 3, 6, 7, 17, and 22, while he/she gets one credit for using the same conjunction correctly in describing one of the other pictures. Additionally, the subject is given two credits if he/she uses *ammâ/vali* ‘but’) in describing one of the Pictures 4, 5, 8, 11, and 14, while he/she is given one credit for using the same conjunction correctly in describing one of the other pictures. Therefore, the total credits for this section would be four.

3.4.1.2.2 Aspect variation

It is also possible to make a judgment about the subject’s competence by the degree to which he/she uses verbs with different aspects (especially progressive and perfect aspects) in narrating the frog story for purposes of plot-motivated backgrounding or highlighting specific segments of the story. For example, in the frog story, Picture 6 refers to two actions happening at the same time (the dog falls down/ the boy is looking at the dog), in which the narrator has to express the background by using appropriate tense and aspect. This section consists of two parts.

a. Inflectional devices. According to Berman and Slobin (1994), “progressives focus on the internal contour of events characterized as having temporary duration” (p.137). They believe that since the younger children rely on the “picture-description mode”, they prefer not to use simple present-tense verbs. They consider the events depicted in the frog story as ongoing, and therefore “describe them from the temporal perspective of immediate present rather than the generic or narrative stance of simple present” (p.141). Based on their data produced by English-speaking subjects, fully two-thirds (66%) of all the present-tense forms used by 3-year-olds take progressive aspect, compared with around half among 4-year-olds (48%), a third (30%) among 5-year-olds, and even less out

of all the present-tense forms used by older narrators (22% of 9-year-olds present-tense clauses, 17% among the adults) (p.138).

In Persian oral narrative style, simple present is the dominant tense; however, present in progress is mostly used for backgrounding. As noted earlier (see 2.7.1.4), the grammatical construction of this verb form consists of an auxiliary and a main verb. This type of verb aspect is used along with a verb with unmarked aspect to making a clear distinction between background and foreground clauses.

Concerning perfect aspect, Berman and Slobin (1994) state that in their English data, verbs marked for perfect aspect serve two related functions: they either “express anteriority” showing that one event has occurred prior to another, or “meet the requirements of traditional sequence of tense rules” in indirect speech (p.142).

In Persian, perfect aspect is used to show anteriority and, unlike English, in indirect speech there is no backshift of the tense forms from direct speech even when the verb in the main clause is in the past tense. It is worth noting that in narrating the frog story, using present perfect as dominant tense reflects the picture-description mode with a monotonous flow. This is because the first sentence describing each picture usually starts with *inâ* (here), which is similar to and has the same effect as the narratives in which simple present is the dominant tense and in which the first sentence describing each picture usually starts with *hâlâ* (now). However, in narrating such stories as the frog story, some children prefer to use present perfect tense to describe and highlight the first setting and the main characters and then shift to simple present tense.

Altogether, in narrating the frog story, it is important that the subjects use some verbs with progressive or perfect aspects for background clauses. The subject would get two credits if he/she uses two verbs with perfect aspect while describing Pictures 3 and 4. Picture 3 refers to two actions (the boy wakes up/ the frog *has come out of* the jar), and in Picture 4, two other actions are involved (the boy looks for the frog/ the dog’s head *has slid into* the jar). On the other hand, the subject is given one credit if he/she uses two background clauses with progressive aspect in describing Pictures 6 and 9. Picture 6 refers to two actions (the dog falls down/ the boy *is looking at* the dog), while Picture 9 refers to two other actions (the boy looks into the hole/ the dog *is shaking* the tree). The subject might also

get another credit for using two more background clauses with progressive aspect while describing any other two pictures. So the subjects can get a maximum of four credits for part (a).

b. Noninflectional devices. There are also different noninflectional devices in different languages for encoding aspectual distinctions. Berman and Slobin (1994) enumerate “three periphrastic means of expressing lexical aspect in English: particles like *down*, *off*, and *on*; verbs like *go*, *start*, and *keep (on)*; and adverbials like *already*, *all over (the place)*” (p.145). They state that in the frog stories a combination of these devices is used to express the ‘extended’ aspect. They focus on two aspects which are relevant to the frog story, i.e. inchoative, which expresses the beginning of activities and change of state, and protractive, which shows continuation of activities and extensions of state (p.145).

In Berman and Slobin’s (1994) English data, aspectual particles are mostly used to describe locative trajectories. The particle *around* and *on* are used to mark iterativity – indicating repeated individual events – and protraction, respectively. Concerning aspectual verbs: such verbs as *go* followed by *-ing*, *start* followed by an infinitival or *-ing*, and *go on/ keep on* are used to express such lexical aspects as lative, incipient, and protractive, respectively. Finally, regarding adverbials of aspect, *already* occurs only twice, *meanwhile* and *suddenly* are used only once, and the phrase *all the time* is not used at all across the corpus. On the other hand, the word *still* is widespread in the English corpus (pp.145-49).

In the Persian frog stories, I focus on inchoative, protractive, and iterative aspects. This emphasis is due to the plotline of the frog story in which the boy starts searching for his lost frog, looks for it continuously, and searches for it again and again in different places. In this respect, the subjects are tested on using the particles *pâjin* (down) in describing Picture 6 or Picture 12, and *ruje/ bâlâje* (up) while describing Picture 11 or 14, aspectual verb *didan* (to see/ to notice) followed by a noun clause in describing Picture 3, and adverbial of aspect *hanuz* (still) anywhere in their productions. The subject gets half a credit for each of the four types of usage mentioned above. In the first place, he/she is tested on these items in relation to the sentences he/she has produced for describing Pictures 6/12, 11/14, 8, 3/22, 4, and 10, respectively. In these situations, the competent subjects are expected to use the above-mentioned items. If the subject fails to use these

items in relation to the pictures mentioned above, but has used one of any of them in other places in the text appropriately, he/she will be given half a credit for that item.

3.4.1.2.3 Lexicon

In order to evaluate the subject's lexical repertoire, his/her production is checked and credited for usage of some key and prominent lexical items. Because of the influence of the subject's local Persian dialect or cultural differences, some synonyms are accepted as well. However, they are also scored for sustaining the same dialect (standard Persian or Quchani Persian dialect) throughout the whole story. The word list consisted of three categories including four different parts of speech, i.e. noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. It included some content words which seemed necessary for the subjects to narrate the frog story. In the first group, there are twelve concrete nouns: *qurbâqqe* (frog; Pictures 1 or 2), *tong/šišē* (jar; P2), *čakme/kafš* (boot/shoe; P4), *jangal* (forest; P8), *kandu/kanduje asal* (beehive; P9/10/11), *surâx* (hole; P9/11), *muš/mušē sahrâji/sanjâb* (mouse /rat/squirrel; P10/11), *joqd* (owl; P11/12/13), *sang/taxte sang/sange bozorg/saxre* (stone/rock/cliff; P13/14/15), *gavazn* (deer; P14/15/16), *âb/darre/pâjine darre/ rudxune/mordâb* (water/valley/river/lagoon; P17/18) and *taneje deraxt/konde* (trunk; P18/19/20/21). The subject gets half a credit for using each of the words in this group with a total of six credits.

Since the main theme of the story is the search for a lost frog, it seems that verbs of motion play an important role in the constant flow of the story. For this reason, the second group consists of twelve verbs (mostly motion verbs): *turafatn/jâraftan/jâkardan/tukardan* (to go into/to put into; Pictures 4 or 5), *dâd zadan/sedâ zadan/farjâd kešidan/sedâ darâvardan* (to cry out/to scream; P5/14), *oftâdan/part šodan/partâb šodan* (to fall down/to tumble; P6), *baqal kardan* (to hug; P7), *paridan/bâlâ paridan* (to jump; P9/10), *xarâb kardan/ andâxtan/ kanadan/pâjin âvardan/bardâştan/oftâdan* (to break/to take/to fall down; P9/10/11), *tarsidan* (to scare; P10/13), *donbâl kardan/donbâl rafatn/donbâl oftâdan/ donbâl âmadan* (to pursue/to chase; P12), *hamle kardan/nok zadan/zadan* (to attack/to assault/to rush; P13), *bâlâraftan az/bâlâ?âmadan az* (to climb onto; P14), *oftâdan* (to fall down; P18), and *didan (ke)* (to see/to observe/ to notice;

P22). Again, the subject gets half a credit for using each of the words in this group (with a maximum of six credits).

The third group includes two adverbs: *xejli* ‘very’ (Pictures 1, 3, 6, 7, or 23), and *jek dafe?i/je martabe?i* ‘suddenly’ (Pictures 2, 4, 6, 10, 15 or 17). The subject gets half a credit for using each of the words in this group with a total of one credit. Thus, the maximum number of credits available for this part is thirteen.

3.4.1.2.4 Morphosyntactic elements

Based on the data collected for the pilot study, it seemed that nearly all the subjects had a good command of such morphosyntactic elements as subject-verb ending agreement and possessive morphemes. Nevertheless, the subjects were assessed on the morphemes related to subject-verb ending agreement. These include some morphemes which were used by the subjects in describing Pictures 2, 12, and 23. Since selecting appropriate verb forms (tenses) is included in other items of Grammatical Competence, the emphasis here is put on using the correct verb-endings for the number and person.

As mentioned earlier (see 2.7.1.4), Persian has a simple two-way number contrast between singular and plural, and a three-way distinction among first person, second person, and third person. Persian verb endings show variety, in that in conjugating any verb with any tense, we have to use six different endings. Each ending shows whether the subject is singular or plural, and whether it refers to first person, second person, or third person. For this reason, in the case of subject pronoun ellipsis, which is a common feature of Persian and makes it possible for the speaker to delete the subject pronoun at the beginning of the sentence, no ambiguity occurs.

In Persian, singular subjects are followed by verbs with singular endings. Inanimate third person plural subjects are usually used with verbs with singular endings, but animate plural subjects have to be used with verbs with plural endings (Natel-Khanlari 1983, p.52). By using the verb endings related to Pictures 2, 12, and 23, the subjects are tested on the appropriate use of this grammatical element. The subject is given one credit for using correct endings related to each of the three pictures with a maximum of three credits.

3.4.1.2.5 Dominant dialect

Based on the data collected for the pilot study, it seems that most subjects use one of the known Persian dialects as their dominant form. Among the monolingual Persian-speakers and bilingual Turkish-Persian-speakers, at least three different Persian dialects can be distinguished: The Tehrani dialect is mostly used by those who are born in the capital or have lived there for a long period of time. This dialect is very similar to Standard Persian which is used on radio and television, e.g. news programmes, but it differs from Standard Persian in some aspects. Such difference can mostly be observed in pronunciation with a marked difference in intonation. Tehrani is also used on radio and television for programmes in which less formal form of language is needed, e.g. the movies. It seems that in Quchan this dialect is generally spoken by monolingual Persian-speakers who are the members of the urban population and the upper middle class. It should be mentioned that because of the social prestige of Tehrani dialect and its powerful influence on the young, there is a tendency among the young (especially females) to speak in this dialect. Then comes Local Quchani dialect which is considered to be one of the known Persian dialects in Khorasan Province and seems to be spoken by monolingual Persian-speaking children born in Quchan or bilingual children who have grown up in Quchan. These people usually belong to the lower middle class. Last comes the ‘neutral academic’ Persian dialect, which has elements of both Standard Persian and local Quchani dialects. This form seems to be more similar to Standard Persian than any other dialect and is mostly used by the bilingual (lower) middle class children who have acquired it by attending school and have been under the influence of the ‘academic’ Persian language used by the teachers.

In general, in any subject’s language production we are involved with a dominant dialect, including dominant Quchani, dominant Tehrani, or dominant ‘neutral’ dialect. In this study for example, a dominant Quchani dialect is the dialect in which the total number of the lexical items which are clearly identified as Quchani dialect – and not as Tehrani dialect, ‘neutral’ dialect, and Standard Persian – in the subject’s production is at least half of the total number of all the

lexical items which are clearly identified as Tehrani, Quchani, and ‘neutral’ dialect in the same text.

The subject is given four credits for using either Tehrani or Quchani as the dominant dialect. He/she gets two credits for using the ‘neutral’ dialect as the dominant language form. This is because the ‘neutral dialect’, for the most part, is considered as a formal variation which is not suitable for narrating stories. No credit is given if the subject does not sustain the same dialect (Tehrani, Quchani, or the ‘neutral’ dialect) throughout the whole story.

3.4.1.2.6 Fluency

Since fluency is part of the language competence, the subject would lose credits because of disfluency in the form of false starts, repetitions, hesitations and pauses, inappropriate rewordings and paraphrases, and other types of repairs. He/she would lose one credit for having at least sixteen cases of such repairs. The subject would lose two credits for having at least thirty-one cases, and three credits for having more than forty five cases of the above-mentioned repairs. He/she would also lose at most one credit for having at least five other similar cases (mainly incorrect forms). Altogether, the subjects can get a maximum of 30 credits for Grammatical Competence Section.

3.4.2 Conversation Measures

As stated earlier, all the subjects also took part in a conversation. Again, various aspects of the language production in this section were assessed. Because of the nature of the conversation task, I was faced with wide fluctuations of types and amounts of language production in this section. Unlike Narration, in which the subjects used the pictures as a motive and a clue, thereby having similar texts in type and amount, in Conversation, they were faced with different open questions which could result in quite disparate language productions.

Concerning the scoring scales used for this section, while making use of some of the criteria introduced by Bennett and Slaughter (1983), I tried to assess some features which are related to the field of communicative competence as well. In general, because of the special nature of this type of discourse, I did not try to select all the criteria needed for judgment in advance. Instead, some decisions

were made about the scoring scales during the assessment procedure, resulting in some major revisions to the criteria. Since there is neither any detailed theory of the components of communicative proficiency nor any detailed study related to the Persian language in this field, I tried to develop part of the indices used for assessing the subjects' conversations on the basis of the conversation data themselves. Thus, having listened to some of the conversations which were chosen randomly, I developed and selected the final scoring categories and scales. These criteria were based on aspects of the conversations which appeared to be more salient. In general, because of the wide variety of categories related to this field, an attempt was made to choose those features which are more directly relevant to this type of language communication in the Persian language. In this feature selection process, elements related to both the form (e.g. language tone and style) and the content (e.g. richness and relevance of information communicated) of conversational discourse were taken into consideration. An attempt was also made to include some extralinguistic features (e.g. gesture) as well.

In this section, apart from talking about different issues which facilitated communication, the subjects were evaluated on eight items including Summer Activities, Explanation, Description, Memory, Contextual Information, Diction, the Subject's Overall Language Style and Fluency. It should be mentioned that the subject can get a maximum of 40 credits for Conversation. The items and the criteria based on which the subjects' performances in Conversation were evaluated are as follows:

3.4.2.1 Summer Activities

This part refers to a report on what the subject does (or had done) on his/her summer holidays such as taking a trip, visiting friends and relatives, and taking part in leisure activities. The criteria used for assessing this section is the amount of language production, and the number of subordinating and coordinating conjunctions used for explaining the summer holidays when he/she is addressed by the first question. Compared with the picture-based narrative section, it is more likely for the subjects to use more conjunctions in Conversation. Using different conjunctions provides a frame for the subjects to express causal and temporal

relations when talking about a chain of events, circumstances and ideas. This criterion also reflects to some extent the coherence and brevity of the text produced. In order to pass better judgment based on this factor, and to get more valid results about the amount of language production, the total number of the clauses produced throughout the whole conversation was calculated. The subject gets half a credit for each clause in his/her longest answer to the question, with a maximum of two credits. He/She would also get one credit for each of the conjunctions used in the same answer with a maximum of two credits. Thus, the maximum number of credits available for this part is four.

3.4.2.2 Explanation

This refers to an explanation of how the subject plays a certain game, or how he/she talks about producing a certain dairy product. It should be mentioned that for the assessment of the first four items mentioned above, i.e. Summer Activities, Explanation, Description, and Memory the same criteria (the number of clauses and the number of conjunctions) are used. The subject gets half a credit for using each clause with a maximum of four credits. He/She is also given half a credit for using each conjunction appropriately while explaining a process with a maximum of two credits. The maximum number of credits for this part would be six.

3.4.2.3 Description

This part refers to a description topic describing the places the subject had visited during the last summer. Again, the number of clauses, and the conjunctions used in describing an item are considered as the criteria. Here, the subject gets half a credit for using each clause, with a maximum of four credits. He/She is also given half a credit for using each conjunction appropriately while describing somewhere or something, with a maximum of two credits. Thus, the maximum number of credits available for this part would also be six.

3.4.2.4 Memory

This refers to one of the subject's most interesting memories. I tried to create such an atmosphere for the subject, so that he/she could recite the event in a very natural way. Again, as we had in the case of the last three items, the subject gets

half a credit for using each clause with a maximum of four credits. He/She is also given half a credit for using each conjunction appropriately while reciting one of his/her memories with a maximum of two credits. The maximum number of credits available for this part would also be six.

3.4.2.5 Contextual Information

This refers to the information about the scene at which, and the circumstances in which something happened. The subject is tested on this feature when describing the places he/she visited during the last summer, or talking about one of his/her most interesting memories. Again, the subject gets half a credit for using each clause, with a maximum of four credits. He/She is also given half a credit for using each conjunction appropriately while reciting one of his/her memories with a maximum of two credits. Accordingly, the maximum number of credits available for this part would also be six.

3.4.2.6 Diction

This refers to some lexical items – mostly nouns – which are not expected to be used by all the subjects participating in Conversation. Some of these words are as follows: *museum, club, shrine, pilgrimage, praying, resting place, port, gas station, waterfall, organ, drum, substance, root, skull, ghost, apparatus, mould, pump, hook, carving, recreation, joke, accident, to dance, moderate, humid, historical, scientific, miscellaneous* and *specially*. The subject is given half a credit for using one to five cases of such words. He/She gets one credit for using six to ten cases, one and a half credits for using eleven to sixteen cases. Finally, two credits are awarded for using at least sixteen cases of such lexical items. The maximum number of credits available for this part would be two.

3.4.2.7 Overall Subject's Language Style

This includes such features as rate, intonation and style, cooperation, and gesture. *Rate* refers to the subject's rate of speech: whether his/her rate is slower than expected, faster than expected, or appropriate for such a conversation. *Tone* refers to the intonation pattern used by the subject: whether he/she has appropriate shifts – rising and falling – in the course of speech or not, while *style* refers to using

different degrees of formality, and the dominant dialect or accent used. *Cooperation* indicates the subject's willingness to follow the course of conversation. Finally, *gesture* refers to the body movements, including such items as nodding, shaking head, smile, laugh, and surprise. If the subject is not very good at implementing these four skills, he/she would get only one credit for each case. If he/she uses them well, he/she is given two credits, and finally if he/she is very good at making use of them, he/she would get three credits for each case. Thus, the maximum number of credits available for this part would be twelve.

3.4.2.8 Fluency

The subjects are expected to be able to use Persian with fluency, especially when they are participating in a conversation in the form of an informal talk involving two people. In this section, the subjects are also tested on this feature. Thus they would lose credits because of disfluency in the form of pauses, corrections, repetitions, wrong forms, hesitations, interruptions, and other types of repair. The subject would lose one credit for having at least one to six cases of the eight types of disfluency mentioned above. He/She would lose two credits for having seven to twelve, three credits for having thirteen to eighteen, and four credits for more than eighteen cases of such repairs. Altogether, the subject can get a maximum of 40 credits for Conversation.

3.5 Analysis Model

In all, there was a summary score, Language Proficiency, composed of a Narrative Total Score and a Conversation Score. Narrative Total Score, in turn, was comprised of a Narrative Style Score and a Grammatical Accuracy Score, which were composed in turn of 7 and 6 subcomponents, respectively. The Conversation Score was composed of 8 subcomponents. These 26 measures allowed the Frog Stories to be ranked from a variety of perspectives consistent with the main avenues of evaluation in the narrative literature. Considering the type and the nature of the study, such statistical devices as Independent Samples T-Test, One-way ANOVA, Univariate Analysis of Variance, and Correlations were used for analyzing the data and testing the hypotheses. The three hypotheses specified

above were evaluated in terms of between-subject questions, with sub-hypotheses as follows:

3.5.1 Between-Subject Questions

H1. How do monolinguals and bilinguals compare with respect to overall scores in Persian on the global measure of Language Proficiency both with respect to narrative aspects in general and to conversational aspects?

H2. How do monolinguals and bilinguals compare with respect to overall scores in Persian on the global measure of narrative ability with respect both to the specifically narrative aspects (Narrative Style Score and subcomponents and to linguistic aspects (Grammatical Accuracy Score and subcomponents)?

H3. How are observed differences between bilinguals and monolinguals on a global measure of narrative ability in Persian evidenced in the elements which make up the global measure?

3.6 Concluding Remarks

As mentioned earlier, the goal of this study was to assess and compare the Persian language proficiency of two groups of monolingual Persian-speaking and bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking students and to find out whether there is any relationship between the subjects' Persian language proficiency and their academic achievement. In this chapter the methodological framework of the study was discussed. I explained how both pilot and main studies were carried out with regard to subject and material selection, and data collection.

A description of phonetic symbols, glossing, and conventions used for transcribing the data along with a sample of one of the subject's language production was also presented. This section was followed by an introduction to Persian morphology and syntax with special emphasis on those grammatical points which are most relevant to children's narrative texts and to the less formal Persian language in general. Finally, the different criteria used for the subjects' language proficiency assessment were introduced and discussed in detail.

Chapter Four: Analyses and Results

4.1 Overview

The pattern of results between the groups differed according to the measure being examined. For the Language Proficiency scores there was evidence of the effects of Lingualism (monolingual versus bilingual) and Gender, with an interaction of Gender X Lingualism X Grade. There were Lingualism effects resulting in higher scores on Language Proficiency for monolinguals. There were also Gender effects resulting in higher scores on Language Proficiency for female students. It is surprising that the Grade effect on Language Proficiency scores was negative in most cases. That is, not taking into consideration the Gender effect – for both monolingual and bilingual children – 3rd graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of 4th graders, and 4th graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of 5th graders.

There was a moderate correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores: the groups with higher mean Language Proficiency scores had higher mean School Average Scores. However, the correlation was stronger among male subjects. Bilingual children also showed a much stronger correlation than their monolingual peers in this regard. There were also Grade effects on the correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores. The correlation for 3rd graders was stronger than that for 4th graders, and the correlation for 4th graders was stronger than that for 5th graders.

With regards to the Frog Story, the correlation between the Narrative Total score and the Language Proficiency score was almost the same for monolingual and bilingual subjects, however the correlation was slightly stronger for female subjects than for their male peers. When the Narrative Total score was broken

down into its component scores, i.e. Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy, monolingual-bilingual differences were quite small for Grammatical Accuracy scores, but the differences were larger for the narrative elements, as recorded in Narrative Style scores.

4.2 Descriptives

The descriptive statistics in Table 4.1 help define the information in the database. The table presents the mean, the standard deviation, the minimum and the maximum of the scores related to the five dependent variables of the study. It should be noted that the subjects could get a maximum score of 30 for their Narrative Style and a maximum score of 30 for their Grammatical Accuracy. Together these make up the Narrative Total score. Subjects could also get a maximum score of 40 for Conversation. The Narrative Total score plus the Conversation score makes up the Language Proficiency score, with a maximum of 100.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Language Proficiency Score	60	30	80	54.53	12.312
Narrative Total Score	60	15.50	49.50	32.4083	7.32623
Narrative Style Score	60	5.00	29.00	17.4417	5.67412
Grammatical Accuracy Score	60	9.00	21.50	14.9667	2.77529
Conversation Score	60	8	36	22.13	6.931
Valid N (listwise)	60				

Table 4.1

Descriptive Statistics for Language Proficiency Score and its Components

4.3 Principal Analyses

Considering the type and the nature of the study, such statistical means as Independent Samples T-Test, One-way ANOVA, Univariate Analysis of Variance and Correlations were used to analyze the data and test the hypotheses. There

standard deviations for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy and Conversation. It shows both bilinguals' and monolinguals' values on Language Proficiency as well as and the Frog Story

Group Statistics

	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Language Proficiency Score	monolingual	30	57.70	11.475	2.095
	bilingual	30	51.37	12.489	2.280
Narrative Total Score	monolingual	30	34.2167	6.64323	1.21288
	bilingual	30	30.6000	7.63544	1.39403
Narrative Style Score	monolingual	30	19.0500	5.42877	.99115
	bilingual	30	15.8333	5.53879	1.01124
Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	30	15.1667	2.37927	.43439
	bilingual	30	14.7667	3.15062	.57522
Conversation Score	monolingual	30	23.48	6.588	1.203
	bilingual	30	20.77	7.107	1.298

Table 4.2

Statistics for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Conversation Scores by Lingualism

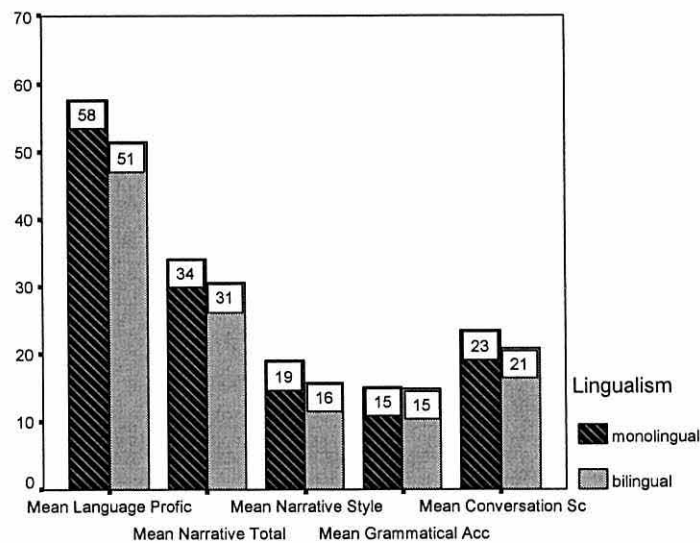


Figure 4.1

Mean Scores for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Conversation by Lingualism

summary variables. The scores are given separately for the two main subgroups of subjects to enable comparison.

Monolinguals' and bilinguals' values on the Language Proficiency and on the Frog Story summary variables are also shown in Figure 4.1. It can be seen that there is evidence of the effect of Linguicism, which manifests itself in higher scores on Language Proficiency for monolinguals. In general, the Grammatical Accuracy scores were more consistent than the Narrative Style scores at all levels across the two subgroups.

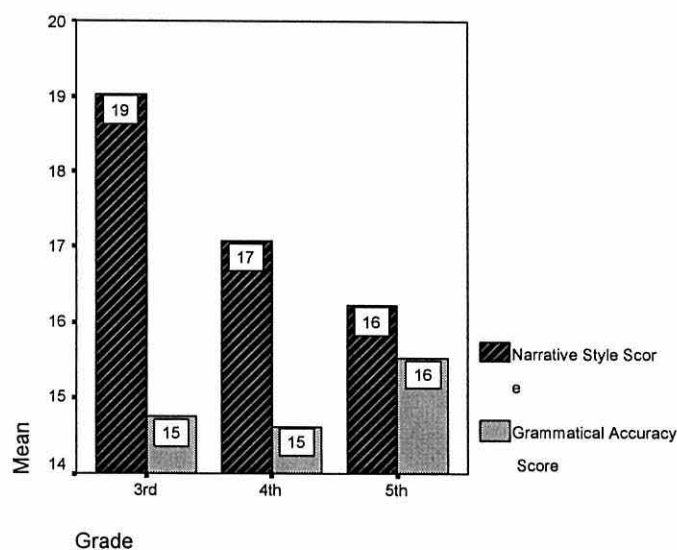


Figure 4.2

Mean Scores for Narrative Style, and Grammatical Accuracy by Grade

As represented in Figure 4.2, the subjects' mean Narrative Style score was higher than their mean Grammatical Accuracy score for all grade levels. However, mean Narrative Style scores were dramatically better at 3rd grade.

As described above, the 3-way Univariate analysis of variance using Type III sums of squares was also run first for the summary variables and then for the component scores. There were three fully crossed between-subjects factors: Linguicism (monolingual vs. bilingual), Gender (male vs. female), and Grade (3rd, 4th or 5th). A multiple range Duncan test for Grade was applied to yield a groupwise alpha of .05.

There were also significant effects of Gender. Table 4.3 shows the means and the standard deviations for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy and Conversation. It shows both female and male

Group Statistics

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Language Proficiency Score	male	30	50.92	11.527	2.105
	female	30	58.15	12.185	2.225
Narrative Total Score	male	30	30.4833	6.98210	1.27475
	female	30	34.3333	7.26510	1.32642
Narrative Style Score	male	30	16.2667	5.47995	1.00050
	female	30	18.6167	5.71097	1.04268
Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	30	14.2167	2.87883	.52560
	female	30	15.7167	2.49373	.45529
Conversation Score	male	30	20.43	7.211	1.317
	female	30	23.82	6.310	1.152

Table 4.3

Statistics for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Conversation Scores by Gender

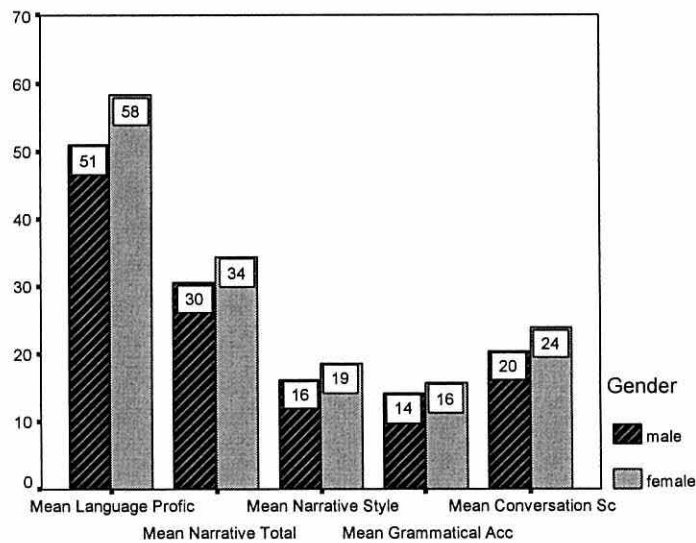


Figure 4.3

Mean Scores for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Conversation by Gender

subjects' values on Language Proficiency and the Frog Story summary variables by gender. The scores are given separately for the two main subgroups of subjects for comparison.

Male and female subjects' values on the Language Proficiency and the Frog Story summary variables are shown in Figure 4.3. It can be seen that, there are Gender effects resulting in higher scores for female subjects.

In general, the Grammatical Accuracy scores were more consistent than the Narrative Style scores across the two subgroups.

It is surprising that the Grade effect on Language Proficiency scores was negative in most cases. In other words, without taking into consideration the Gender effect – for both monolingual and bilingual children – 3rd graders' Language Proficiency scores were higher than those of 4th graders, and 4th graders' Language Proficiency scores were higher than those of 5th graders. Table 4.4 shows the mean and the standard deviation values for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy and Conversation. The scores are given separately for both monolingual and bilingual subjects at each grade for comparison.

Table 4.5 also shows both male and female subjects' values on Language Proficiency as well as the Frog Story summary variables. The scores are given separately for both male and female subjects at each grade for comparison.

Third, 4th and 5th graders' values on the Language Proficiency and the Frog Story summary variables are presented in Figure 4.4. It can be seen that there is a Grade effect, manifesting itself in higher scores for 3rd graders almost on all scores.

Group Statistics

Grade		Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
3rd	Language Proficiency Score	monolingual	10	61.45	7.452	2.356
		bilingual	10	53.80	15.137	4.787
	Narrative Total Score	monolingual	10	36.9500	4.02389	1.27246
		bilingual	10	30.6000	8.96537	2.83510
	Narrative Style Score	monolingual	10	22.1500	3.33375	1.05422
		bilingual	10	15.9000	6.69909	2.11844
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	10	14.8000	2.01660	.63770
		bilingual	10	14.7000	3.63012	1.14795
	Conversation Score	monolingual	10	24.50	5.617	1.776
		bilingual	10	23.20	7.704	2.436
4th	Language Proficiency Score	monolingual	10	56.50	13.908	4.398
		bilingual	10	51.00	13.534	4.280
	Narrative Total Score	monolingual	10	32.3000	7.56527	2.39235
		bilingual	10	31.1000	8.76166	2.77068
	Narrative Style Score	monolingual	10	17.6500	5.65219	1.78738
		bilingual	10	16.5000	6.15991	1.94793
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	10	14.6500	2.62520	.83016
		bilingual	10	14.6000	3.11627	.98545
	Conversation Score	monolingual	10	24.20	8.270	2.615
		bilingual	10	19.90	7.720	2.441
5th	Language Proficiency Score	monolingual	10	55.15	12.284	3.884
		bilingual	10	49.30	8.879	2.808
	Narrative Total Score	monolingual	10	33.4000	7.46027	2.35914
		bilingual	10	30.1000	5.49141	1.73654
	Narrative Style Score	monolingual	10	17.3500	5.98633	1.89304
		bilingual	10	15.1000	3.86437	1.22202
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	10	16.0500	2.44324	.77262
		bilingual	10	15.0000	3.00000	.94868
	Conversation Score	monolingual	10	21.75	5.903	1.867
		bilingual	10	19.20	5.803	1.835

Table 4.4

Statistics for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style,
Grammatical Accuracy and Conversation Scores by Lingualism and Grade

Group Statistics

Grade	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean		
3rd	Language Proficiency Score	male	10	52.50	14.735	4.660	
		female	10	62.75	6.456	2.042	
	Narrative Total Score	male	10	31.0000	9.30054	2.94109	
		female	10	36.5500	3.91897	1.23929	
	Narrative Style Score	male	10	17.9000	7.72010	2.44131	
		female	10	20.1500	3.90904	1.23615	
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	10	13.1000	1.99722	.63158	
		female	10	16.4000	2.68535	.84918	
	Conversation Score	male	10	21.50	7.670	2.426	
		female	10	26.20	4.553	1.440	
	4th	Language Proficiency Score	male	10	46.90	10.530	3.330
			female	10	60.60	13.352	4.222
Narrative Total Score		male	10	27.8000	5.99166	1.89473	
		female	10	35.6000	8.06846	2.55147	
Narrative Style Score		male	10	14.4000	4.49568	1.42166	
		female	10	19.7500	5.87485	1.85779	
Grammatical Accuracy Score		male	10	13.4000	2.71621	.85894	
		female	10	15.8500	2.42728	.76757	
Conversation Score		male	10	19.10	8.595	2.718	
		female	10	25.00	6.712	2.123	
5th		Language Proficiency Score	male	10	53.35	8.538	2.700
			female	10	51.10	13.155	4.160
	Narrative Total Score	male	10	32.6500	4.60103	1.45497	
		female	10	30.8500	8.30010	2.62472	
	Narrative Style Score	male	10	16.5000	3.17105	1.00277	
		female	10	15.9500	6.58470	2.08227	
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	10	16.1500	3.00971	.95175	
		female	10	14.9000	2.37814	.75203	
	Conversation Score	male	10	20.70	5.613	1.775	
		female	10	20.25	6.365	2.013	

Table 4.5

Statistics for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy and Conversation Scores by Linguicism and Gender

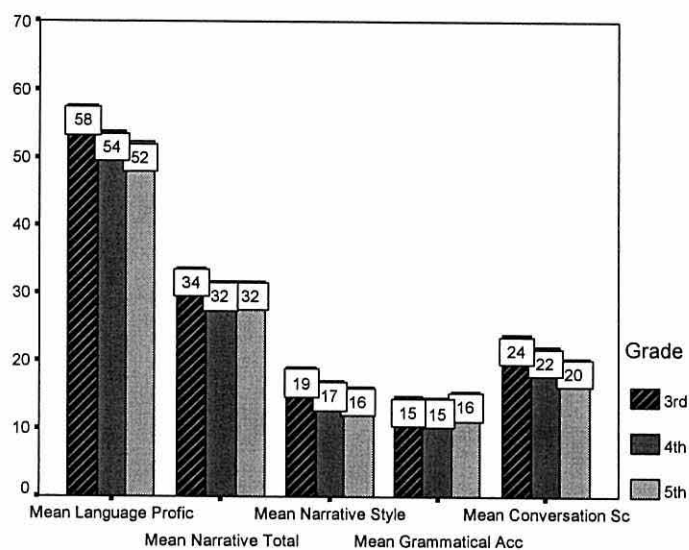


Figure 4.4

Mean Scores for Language Proficiency, Narrative Total, Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Conversation by Grade

The subjects' values on the Language Proficiency and the Frog Story summary variables are presented in Figure 4.4. It can be seen that there is negative Grade effect on most variables – including Language Proficiency – giving lower scores for 5th graders.

4.3.1 Language Proficiency Score

Table 4.6 gives the Language Proficiency values for the monolingual and bilingual subjects.

Group Statistics

	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Language Proficiency Score	monolingual	30	57.70	11.475	2.095
	bilingual	30	51.37	12.489	2.280

Table 4.6

Statistics for Language Proficiency Score by Lingualism

An independent Samples T-test was conducted. It showed that without taking into consideration the Gender effect, there is a significant difference in Language Proficiency scores between monolingual and bilingual subjects ($t = 2.045$, $p = .045$). Table 4.3 shows that there are higher scores on Language Proficiency for monolingual subjects than their bilingual peers. In other words, monolingual Persian-speaking students have a better performance than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers on the Language Proficiency test containing narrative and conversation tasks (Figure 4.5).

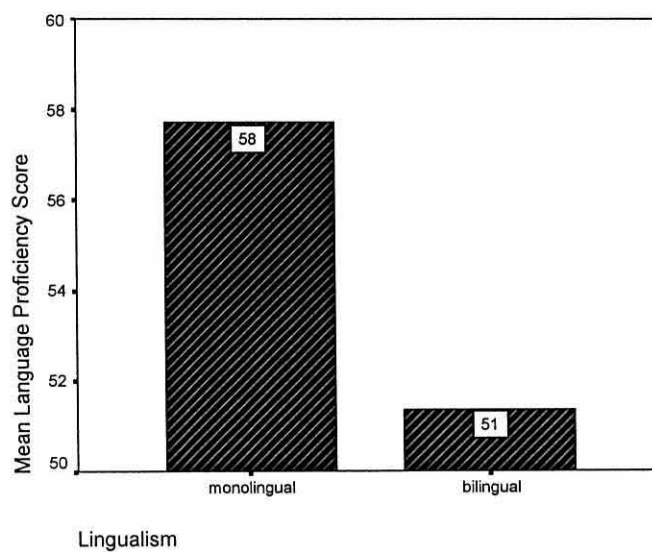


Figure 4.5

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Lingualism

Group Statistics

Gender	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
male	Language Proficiency Score monolingual	15	54.93	11.497	2.968
	bilingual	15	46.90	10.417	2.690
female	Language Proficiency Score monolingual	15	60.47	11.144	2.877
	bilingual	15	55.83	13.109	3.385

Table 4.7

Statistics for Language Proficiency Score by Lingualism and Gender

An independent Samples T-test was also conducted to see the effects of Lingualism on Language Proficiency scores for each subgroup (male/ female) separately. It showed that the Lingualism effect on Language Proficiency scores for both male and female children was non-significant (male: $t = 2.005$, $p = .055$; female: $t = 1.043$, $p = .306$) (Table 4.7).

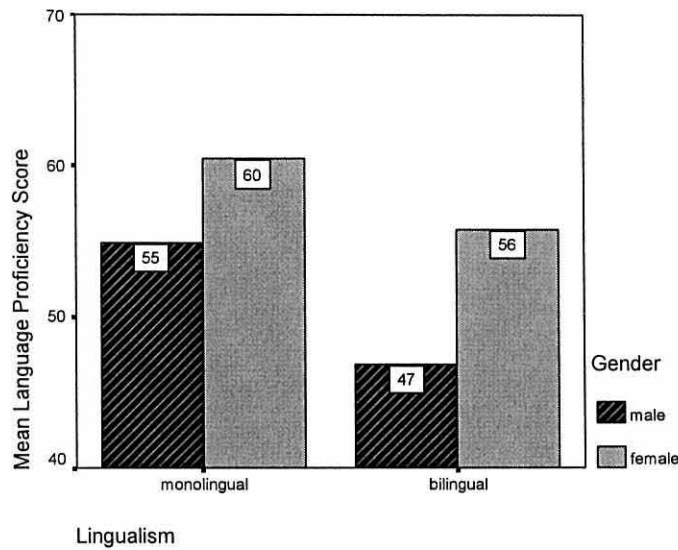


Figure 4.6

Mean Scores for Language Proficiency by Lingualism and Gender

As shown in Figure 4.6, there were significant effects of Lingualism on Language Proficiency scores, in that monolingual subjects had higher scores than their bilingual peers. These effects are consistent across Gender without taking into consideration the Grade effect (Figure 4.6). The effects are also consistent across Grade without taking into consideration the Gender effect (Figure 4.7).

It is worthy of note that when the effects of Grade are taken into consideration, these effects are not consistent for all cases. Concerning 3rd graders, only male monolinguals' scores in Language Proficiency are higher than those of their male bilingual peers. However, female monolinguals' scores in Language Proficiency are lower than those of their male bilingual peers (Figures 4.8). For 4th graders, both male and female monolinguals' scores in Language Proficiency are higher than those of their bilingual peers (Figure 4.9). Finally, monolingual 5th

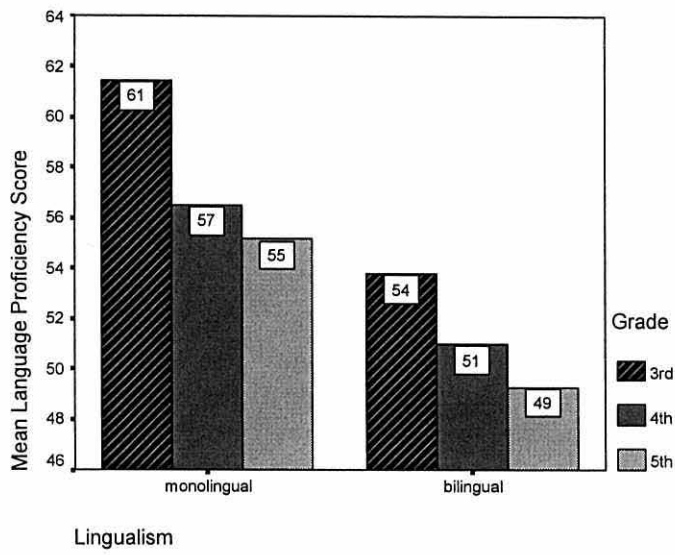


Figure 4.7

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Lingualism and Grade

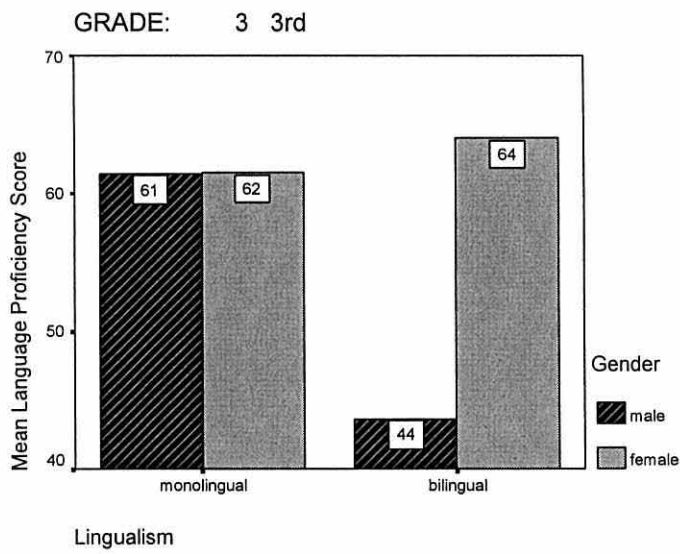


Figure 4.8

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Lingualism and Gender (3rd Grade)

graders' scores in Language Proficiency are higher than those of their male bilingual peers, while male monolinguals' scores are lower than those of their

female bilingual peers (Figures 4.10). As mentioned above, there were also significant main effects of Gender on Language Proficiency scores.

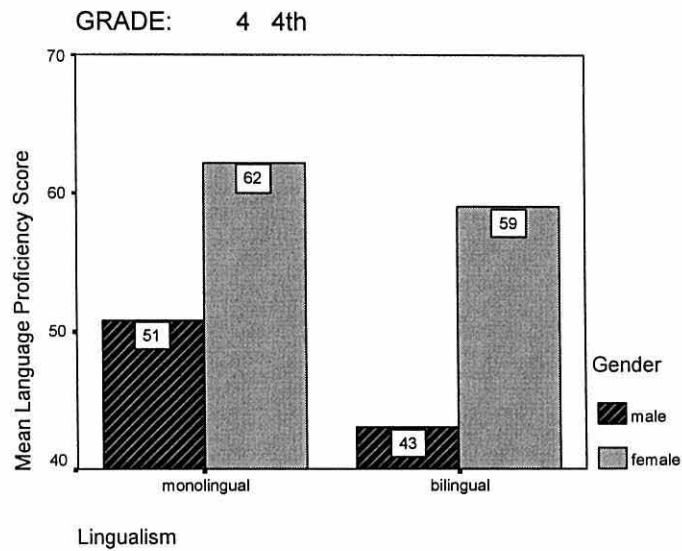


Figure 4.9

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Lingualism and Gender (4th Grade)

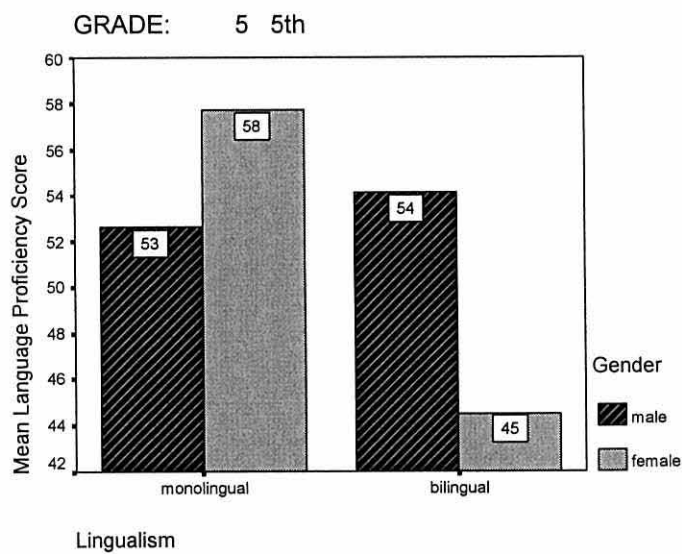


Figure 4.10

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Lingualism and Gender (5th Grade)

Table 4.8 gives the Language Proficiency values for the male and female subjects.

Group Statistics

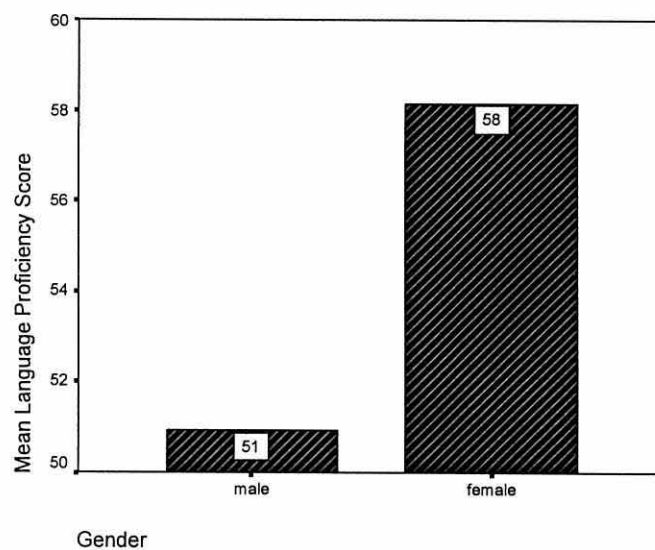
	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Language Proficiency Score	male	30	50.92	11.527	2.105
	female	30	58.15	12.185	2.225

Table 4.8

Statistics for Language Proficiency Scores by Gender

An independent Samples T-test was conducted, which showed that without taking into consideration the Linguicism effect, there was a significant difference in Language Proficiency scores between male and female subjects ($t = -2.362$, $p = .022$). Table 4.9 shows that there are higher scores on Language Proficiency for female subjects than for their male peers. In other words, female students have a better performance than their male peers on the Language Proficiency test (Figure 4.11).

An independent Samples t-test was conducted to see the effects of Gender

**Figure 4.11**

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Gender

on Language Proficiency scores for each subgroup (monolingual/ bilingual) separately. It showed that the Gender effect on Language Proficiency score for bilingual children was significant, at the 0.05 level. ($t = -2.066$, $p = .048$), while the Gender effect on Language Proficiency scores for monolingual children was not significant ($t = -1.338$, $p = .192$).

Group Statistics

Lingualism	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
monolingual	Language Proficiency Score male	15	54.93	11.497	2.968
	Language Proficiency Score female	15	60.47	11.144	2.877
bilingual	Language Proficiency Score male	15	46.90	10.417	2.690
	Language Proficiency Score female	15	55.83	13.109	3.385

Table 4.9

Statistics for Language Proficiency Score by Gender and Lingualism

Surprisingly, female bilinguals' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of male monolinguals (mean 55.83 vs. 54.93 respectively) (Table 4.9).

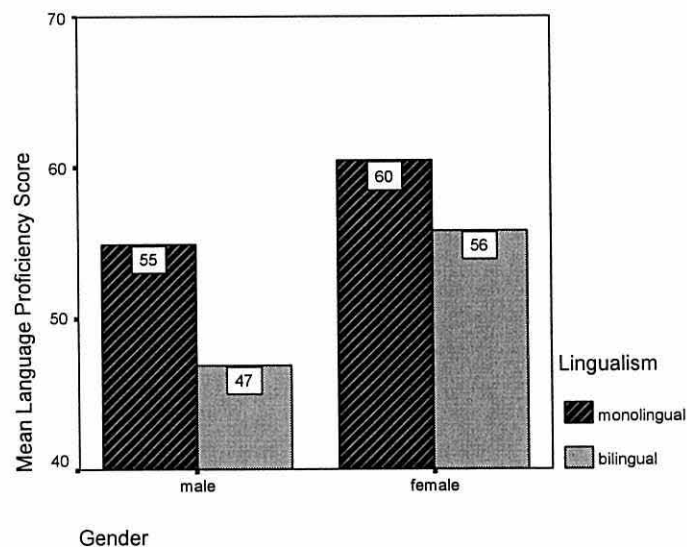


Figure 4.12

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Gender and Lingualism

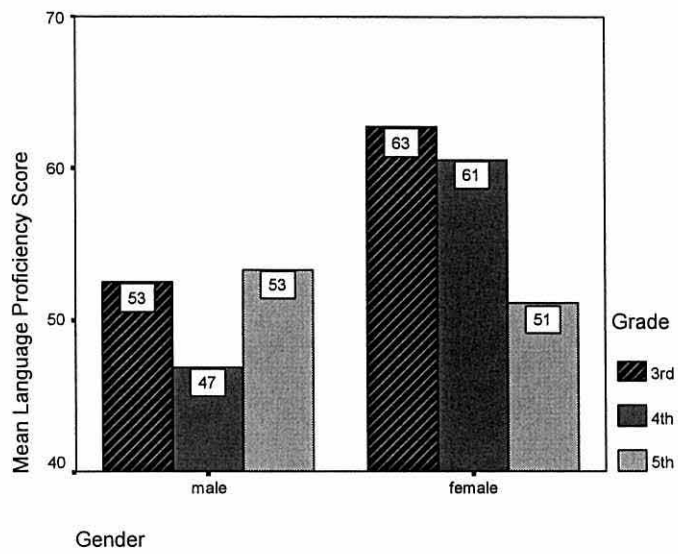


Figure 4.13

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Gender and Grade

Gender effects on Language Proficiency scores are consistent across Lingualism without taking into consideration the Grade effect (Figure 4.12).

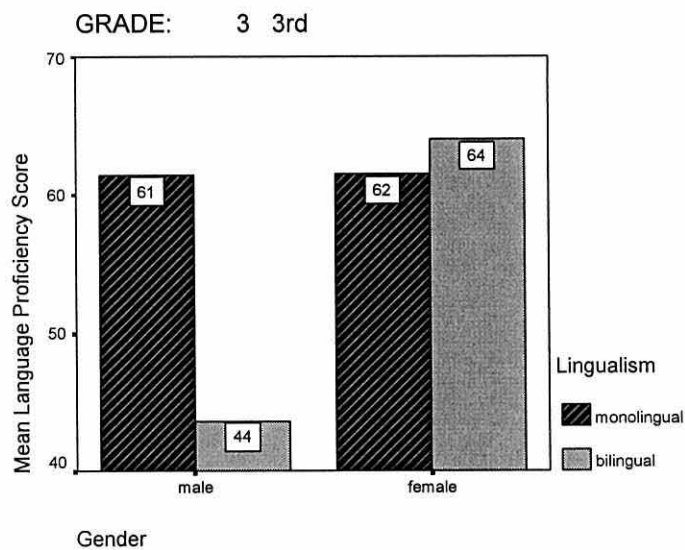


Figure 4.14

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Gender and Lingualism (3rd Grade)

These effects are also consistent across 3rd and 4th grades, but not across 5th if Lingualism effect is taken into consideration (Figure 4.13).

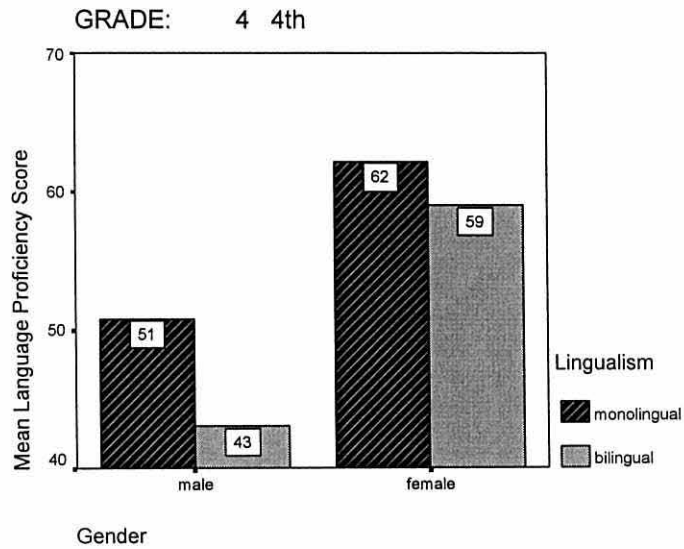


Figure 4.15

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Gender and Lingualism (4th Grade)

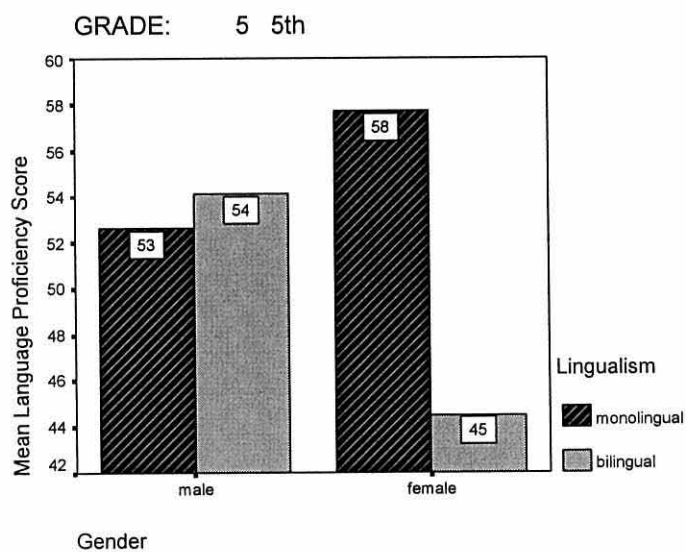


Figure 4.16

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Gender and Lingualism (5th Grade)

When the effects of Grade are taken into consideration, the Gender effects are consistent across 3rd and 4th grades (Figures 4.14 and 4.15). Regarding the 5th grade, monolingual female subjects' scores in Language Proficiency are higher than those of their bilingual peers. However, bilingual female subjects' scores are lower than those of their bilingual male peers (Figure 4.16).

There were also significant effects of Grade on Language Proficiency scores. Table 4.10 gives the Language Proficiency values for 3rd, 4th, and 5th graders.

The Grade effect on Language Proficiency scores was negative. That is, not taking into consideration the Gender effect, the 3rd graders' mean Language

Report

Language Proficiency Score			
Grade	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
3rd	57.63	20	12.257
4th	53.75	20	13.651
5th	52.23	20	10.855
Total	54.53	60	12.312

Table 4.10

Statistics for Language Proficiency Score by Grade

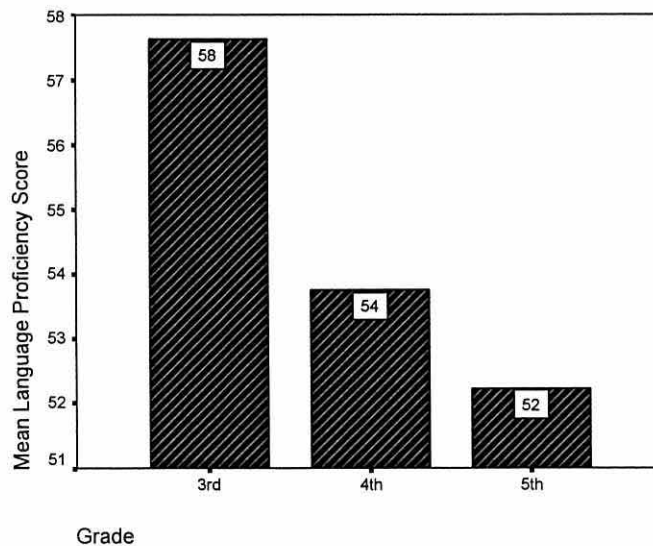


Figure 4.17

Mean Score for Language Proficiency by Grade

Proficiency score was higher than that of 4th graders, and the 4th graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of 5th graders (Figure 4.17).

An independent Samples T-test conducted to see the effects of Lingualism on Language Proficiency score for each subgroup (3rd grader/4th grader/5th grader) separately. It showed that the Lingualism effect on Language Proficiency score for all three grades was not significant (3rd grader: $t = 1.434$, $p = .169$; 4th grader: $t = .896$, $p = .382$; 5th grader: $t = 1.221$, $p = .238$). It is worthy of note, however, that for both monolingual and bilingual children, the 3rd graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of the 4th graders, and the 4th graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of the 5th graders (Table 4.11).

An independent Samples T-test was also conducted to see the effects of Gender on Language Proficiency score for each subgroup (3rd grader/4th grader/5th grader) separately. It showed that the Gender effect on Language Proficiency score was only significant for 4th graders at the 0.05 level ($t = -2.548$, $p = .020$). In this regard, the male 3rd graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher

Group Statistics

Grade	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
3rd	Language Proficiency Score monolingual	10	61.45	7.452	2.356
	bilingual	10	53.80	15.137	4.787
4th	Language Proficiency Score monolingual	10	56.50	13.908	4.398
	bilingual	10	51.00	13.534	4.280
5th	Language Proficiency Score monolingual	10	55.15	12.284	3.884
	bilingual	10	49.30	8.879	2.808

Table 4.11

Statistics for Language Proficiency Score by Lingualism and Grade

than that of male 4th graders, while both mean values were lower than that of male 5th graders. Considering female subjects, the 3rd graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of the 4th graders and the 4th graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of the 5th graders (Table 4.12).

A One-way ANOVA was also conducted to see the Grade effect on Language Proficiency scores. When Lingualism and Gender effects were not taken into consideration, the test did not show any significant effect on Language Proficiency scores ($F = 1.023$, $p = .366$). The One-way ANOVA test also showed that Grade does not have any significant effect on Language Proficiency scores for either monolingual or bilingual children (monolingual: $F = .825$, $p = .449$;

Group Statistics

Grade	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	
3rd	Language Proficiency Score	male	10	52.50	14.735	4.660
		female	10	62.75	6.456	2.042
4th	Language Proficiency Score	male	10	46.90	10.530	3.330
		female	10	60.60	13.352	4.222
5th	Language Proficiency Score	male	10	53.35	8.538	2.700
		female	10	51.10	13.155	4.160

Table 4.12

Statistics for Language Proficiency Score by Gender and Grade

bilingual: $F = .315$, $p = .732$). Finally, the One-way ANOVA showed that Grade does not have any significant effect on Language Proficiency scores for either male or female children (male: $F = .919$, $p = .411$; female: $F = 2.934$, $p = .070$). In order to determine which mean values differ post hoc, tests were run. No significant difference was observed. It is worthy of note that a Q-Q Plot shows that the distribution for Language Proficiency scores is normal.

The GLM Univariate procedure was used to check analysis of variance for Language Proficiency by Lingualism, Gender and Grade and thereby to test the null hypothesis about the effects of other variables on the mean Language Proficiency score and finally to investigate the interactions between the above-mentioned factors. Table 4.13 shows the Descriptive Statistics for Language Proficiency. The procedure showed main effects of both Lingualism ($F = 5.051$, $p = .029$) and Gender ($F = 6.588$, $p = .013$), but not of Grade ($F = 1.301$, $p = .282$). However, there was an interaction of Gender X Lingualism X Grade ($F = 3.225$, $p = .049$). Post hoc tests were also used to evaluate differences between specific

Descriptive Statistics

Dependent Variable: Language Proficiency Score

Lingualism	Gender	Grade	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
monolingual	male	3rd	61.40	9.685	5
		4th	50.80	13.531	5
		5th	52.60	10.262	5
		Total	54.93	11.497	15
	female	3rd	61.50	5.579	5
		4th	62.20	13.075	5
		5th	57.70	14.763	5
		Total	60.47	11.144	15
	Total	3rd	61.45	7.452	10
		4th	56.50	13.908	10
		5th	55.15	12.284	10
		Total	57.70	11.475	30
bilingual	male	3rd	43.60	14.024	5
		4th	43.00	5.327	5
		5th	54.10	7.570	5
		Total	46.90	10.417	15
	female	3rd	64.00	7.665	5
		4th	59.00	14.958	5
		5th	44.50	7.906	5
		Total	55.83	13.109	15
	Total	3rd	53.80	15.137	10
		4th	51.00	13.534	10
		5th	49.30	8.879	10
		Total	51.37	12.489	30
Total	male	3rd	52.50	14.735	10
		4th	46.90	10.530	10
		5th	53.35	8.538	10
		Total	50.92	11.527	30
	female	3rd	62.75	6.456	10
		4th	60.60	13.352	10
		5th	51.10	13.155	10
		Total	58.15	12.185	30
	Total	3rd	57.63	12.257	20
		4th	53.75	13.651	20
		5th	52.23	10.855	20
		Total	54.53	12.312	60

Table 4.13

Statistics for Language Proficiency Score by Grade, Gender and Lingualism

mean values. Again, a Q-Q Plot shows that the distribution for Language Proficiency scores is normal. In addition, P Plots of the mean values also facilitate visualization of some of the relationships.

4.3.2 Contribution of Frog Story Component Scores

As stated earlier, Language Proficiency is composed of two main parts: Narrative Total and Conversation. Narrative Total is, in turn, made up of Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy. Table 4.14 gives the Narrative Total, Narrative Style, and Grammatical Accuracy values for the monolingual and bilingual subjects. The two component scores, i.e. Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy responded differently to the independent variables of the study. Moreover, Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy scores were not consistent across different Lingualism, Gender and Grade levels. For this reason, it is necessary to examine both scores in analyzing the different groups' performance on the Frog Stories.

Group Statistics

	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Narrative Total Score	monolingual	30	34.2167	6.64323	1.21288
	bilingual	30	30.6000	7.63544	1.39403
Narrative Style Score	monolingual	30	19.0500	5.42877	.99115
	bilingual	30	15.8333	5.53879	1.01124
Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	30	15.1667	2.37927	.43439
	bilingual	30	14.7667	3.15062	.57522

Table 4.14

Statistics for Narrative Total, Narrative Style,
and Grammatical Accuracy Score by Lingualism

An independent Samples T-test was conducted. This showed that without taking into consideration the Gender effect, there is a significant difference in Narrative Style scores between monolingual and bilingual subjects ($t = 2.272$, $p = .027$) but not in Narrative Total scores ($t = 1.957$, $p = .055$) and Grammatical Accuracy scores ($t = .555$, $p = .581$). The test shows that there are higher scores

on Narrative Style for monolingual subjects than for their bilingual peers (Figure 4.18).

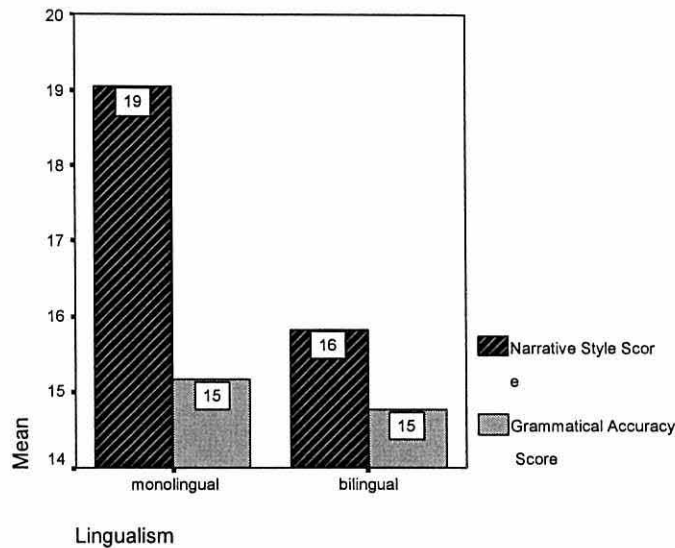


Figure 4.18

Mean Score for Narrative Style, and Grammatical Accuracy Scores by Lingualism

It is worth mentioning that the Lingualism effect on Narrative Total score was significant only for male children ($t = 2.117$, $p = .043$). The effect of Lingualism on Narrative Style score was also significant only for one Gender (male: $t = 2.454$, $p = .021$). Finally, the Lingualism effect on Grammatical Accuracy scores was non-significant for either Gender (Figure 4.19). Table 4.14 also shows that both monolingual male and female subjects have higher scores in Narrative Style than their bilingual peers.

On the other hand, the Gender effect on Narrative Style score was non-significant at both levels of Lingualism, yet different Lingualism levels followed different patterns (monolingual: $t = -.515$, $p = .611$; bilingual: $t = -1.892$, $p = .069$) (Figure 4.20). Table 4.15 shows that both female monolingual and bilingual subjects have higher scores in Narrative Style than their male peers.

Group Statistics

Gender		Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
male	Narrative Total Score	monolingual	15	33.0333	6.55054	1.69134
		bilingual	15	27.9333	6.64365	1.71538
	Narrative Style Score	monolingual	15	18.5333	5.52096	1.42550
		bilingual	15	14.0000	4.55129	1.17514
female	Narrative Total Score	monolingual	15	35.4000	6.74590	1.74178
		bilingual	15	33.2667	7.83506	2.02300
	Narrative Style Score	monolingual	15	19.5667	5.47679	1.41410
		bilingual	15	17.6667	5.96917	1.54123
Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	15	15.8333	2.10159	.54263	
	bilingual	15	15.6000	2.90443	.74992	

Table 4.15
Statistics for Narrative Total, Narrative Style,
and Grammatical Accuracy Scores by Lingualism

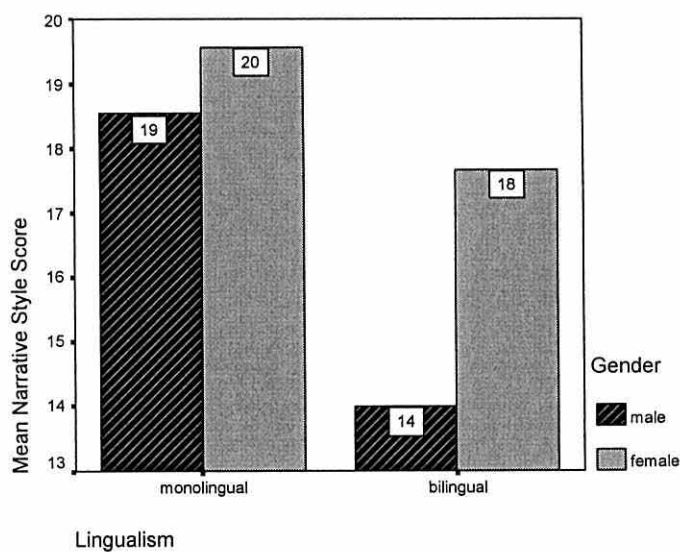


Figure 4.19
Mean Score for Narrative Style Score by Lingualism

There were also significant main effects of Gender. Table 4.16 gives the Narrative Total, Narrative Style, and Grammatical Accuracy values for male and female subjects.

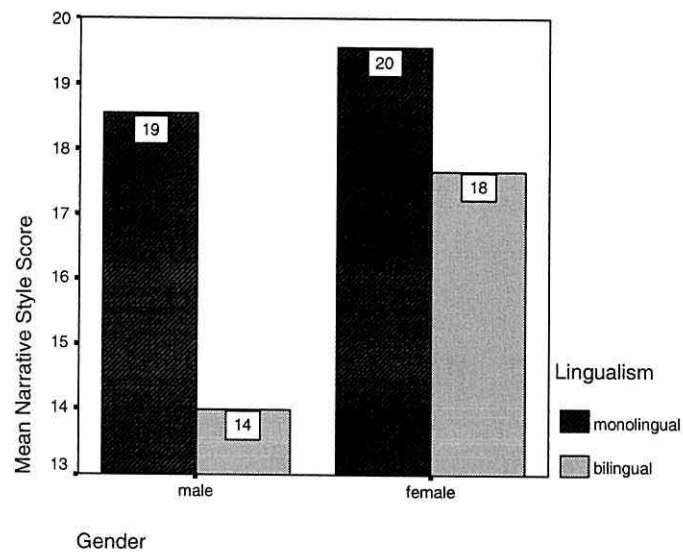


Figure 4.20

Mean Score for Narrative Style Score by Gender

Group Statistics

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Narrative Total Score	male	30	30.4833	6.98210	1.27475
	female	30	34.3333	7.26510	1.32642
Narrative Style Score	male	30	16.2667	5.47995	1.00050
	female	30	18.6167	5.71097	1.04268
Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	30	14.2167	2.87883	.52560
	female	30	15.7167	2.49373	.45529

Table 4.16

Statistics for Narrative Total,
Narrative Style, and Grammatical Accuracy Scores by Gender

The independent Samples T-test showed that without taking into consideration the Lingualism effects, there is a significant difference between male and female subjects for Narrative Total scores ($t = -2.093$, $p = .041$), and Grammatical Accuracy ($t = -2.157$, $p = .035$), but not for Narrative Style ($t = -1.626$, $p = .109$). Figure 4.21 shows that there are higher scores on Narrative Style

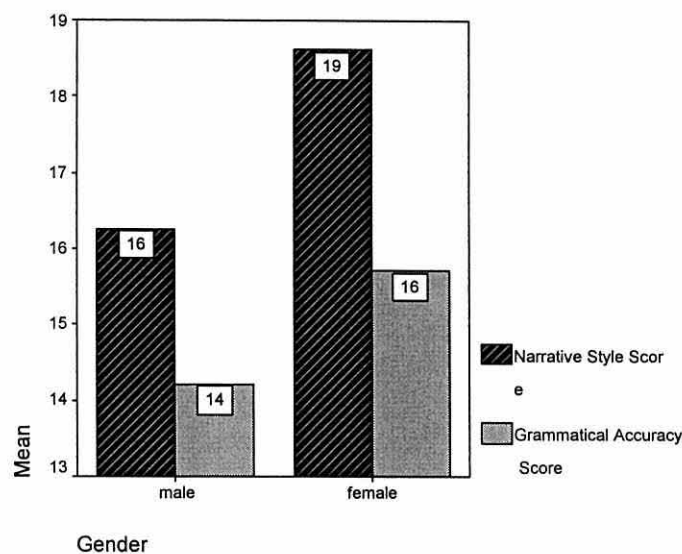


Figure 4.21

Mean Scores for Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy by Gender

and Grammatical Accuracy for female subjects than for their male peers.

An independent Samples T-test was also conducted to see the effects of Gender on Narrative Total score, Narrative Style score, and Grammatical Accuracy score for each subgroup (monolingual/bilingual). This showed that the Gender effect was not significant with regard to Narrative Total scores, Narrative Style scores and Grammatical Accuracy scores for both monolingual and bilingual children (Table 4.17).

As mentioned above, the Grade effect on Narrative Total and Narrative Style scores was negative across all three grades, however almost the opposite was true for Grammatical Accuracy scores. In other words, 3rd graders' mean Narrative Total and Narrative Style scores were higher than those of 4th graders, and 4th graders' mean Narrative Total and Narrative Style scores were higher than those

Group Statistics

Lingualism		Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
monolingual	Narrative Total Score	male	15	33.0333	6.55054	1.69134
		female	15	35.4000	6.74590	1.74178
	Narrative Style Score	male	15	18.5333	5.52096	1.42550
		female	15	19.5667	5.47679	1.41410
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	15	14.5000	2.52134	.65101
		female	15	15.8333	2.10159	.54263
bilingual	Narrative Total Score	male	15	27.9333	6.64365	1.71538
		female	15	33.2667	7.83506	2.02300
	Narrative Style Score	male	15	14.0000	4.55129	1.17514
		female	15	17.6667	5.96917	1.54123
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	15	13.9333	3.26161	.84214
		female	15	15.6000	2.90443	.74992

Table 4.17

Statistics for Narrative Total, Narrative Style,
and Grammatical Accuracy Scores by Gender and Lingualism

of 5th graders (Figure 4.22).

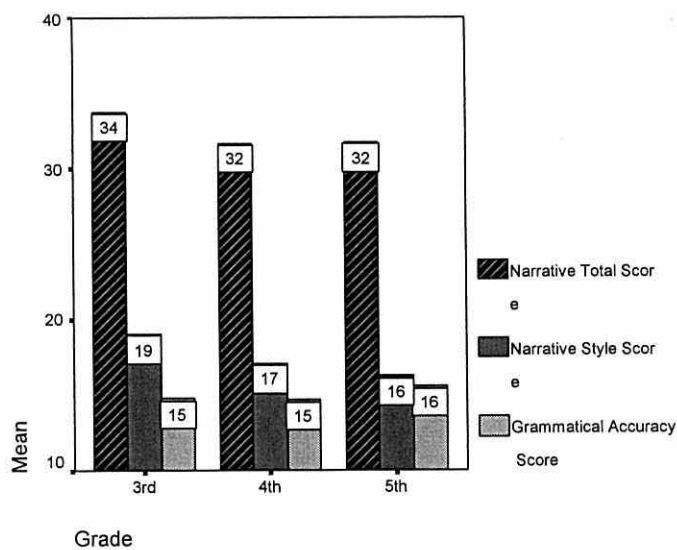


Figure 4.22

Mean Scores for Narrative Total, Narrative Style, and Grammatical Accuracy by Grade

An independent Samples T-test was conducted to see the effects of Lingualism on Narrative Total score, Narrative Style score, and Grammatical Accuracy score for each subgroup (3rd grader/4th grader/5th grader) separately. This showed that the Lingualism effect on Narrative Style score was only significant for 3rd graders at the 0.05 level ($t = 2.641$, $p = .017$) (Table 4.18).

Group Statistics

Grade	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	
3rd	Narrative Total Score	monolingual	10	36.9500	4.02389	1.27246
		bilingual	10	30.6000	8.96537	2.83510
	Narrative Style Score	monolingual	10	22.1500	3.33375	1.05422
		bilingual	10	15.9000	6.69909	2.11844
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	10	14.8000	2.01660	.63770
		bilingual	10	14.7000	3.63012	1.14795
4th	Narrative Total Score	monolingual	10	32.3000	7.56527	2.39235
		bilingual	10	31.1000	8.76166	2.77068
	Narrative Style Score	monolingual	10	17.6500	5.65219	1.78738
		bilingual	10	16.5000	6.15991	1.94793
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	10	14.6500	2.62520	.83016
		bilingual	10	14.6000	3.11627	.98545
5th	Narrative Total Score	monolingual	10	33.4000	7.46027	2.35914
		bilingual	10	30.1000	5.49141	1.73654
	Narrative Style Score	monolingual	10	17.3500	5.98633	1.89304
		bilingual	10	15.1000	3.86437	1.22202
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	monolingual	10	16.0500	2.44324	.77262
		bilingual	10	15.0000	3.00000	.94868

Table 4.18

Statistics for Narrative Total, Narrative Style,
and Grammatical Accuracy Scores by Lingualism and Grade

An independent Samples T-test also conducted to see the effects of Gender on Narrative Total score, Narrative Style score, and Grammatical score for each subgroup (3rd grader/4th grader/5th grader) separately. The test showed that the Gender effect on Narrative score, Narrative Style score, and Grammatical Accuracy score was significant for 4th graders at the 0.05 level (Narrative Total: $t = -2.454$, $p = .025$; Narrative Style: $t = -2.287$, $p = .035$; Grammatical Accuracy: $t = -2.127$, $p = .048$). Additionally, the Gender effect on Grammatical Accuracy

was significant for 3rd graders ($t = -3.118$, $p = .006$). It is worthy of note, however, that for both monolingual and bilingual children, the 3rd graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of 4th graders, and the 4th graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of 5th graders (Table 4.19).

Group Statistics

Grade		Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
3rd	Narrative Total Score	male	10	31.0000	9.30054	2.94109
		female	10	36.5500	3.91897	1.23929
	Narrative Style Score	male	10	17.9000	7.72010	2.44131
		female	10	20.1500	3.90904	1.23615
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	10	13.1000	1.99722	.63158
		female	10	16.4000	2.68535	.84918
4th	Narrative Total Score	male	10	27.8000	5.99166	1.89473
		female	10	35.6000	8.06846	2.55147
	Narrative Style Score	male	10	14.4000	4.49568	1.42166
		female	10	19.7500	5.87485	1.85779
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	10	13.4000	2.71621	.85894
		female	10	15.8500	2.42728	.76757
5th	Narrative Total Score	male	10	32.6500	4.60103	1.45497
		female	10	30.8500	8.30010	2.62472
	Narrative Style Score	male	10	16.5000	3.17105	1.00277
		female	10	15.9500	6.58470	2.08227
	Grammatical Accuracy Score	male	10	16.1500	3.00971	.95175
		female	10	14.9000	2.37814	.75203

Table 4.19

Statistics for Narrative Total, Narrative Style,
and Grammatical Accuracy Scores by Gender and Lingualism

Both Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy scores showed high correlations to Narrative Total scores, and thus both contributed to the global measure. However, the overall correlation of Grammatical Accuracy scores to Narrative Total scores ($r = .72$, $p = .000$) was lower than for Narrative Style scores to Narrative Total scores ($r = .94$, $p = .000$) (Table 4.20).

The One-way ANOVA showed significant effects on Grammatical Accuracy scores only for male subjects ($F = 4.151$, $p = .027$).

The 3-way Univariate analysis of variance was run for Narrative Total, Narrative Style, and Grammatical Accuracy scores. Regarding Narrative Total, the analysis showed main effects of both Lingualism ($F = 4.801$, $p = .033$), and Gender ($F = 5.441$, $p = .024$), and an interaction of and Gender X Lingualism X Grade ($F = 4.630$, $p = .015$). With regards to Narrative Style scores, the Univariate analysis showed main effects of Lingualism ($F = 6.141$, $p = .017$) and an interaction of Gender X Lingualism X Grade ($F = 3.578$, $p = .036$). Finally, for Grammatical Accuracy scores there was a main effect of Gender ($F = 5.217$, $p =$

Correlations

		Narrative Total Score	Narrative Style Score	Grammatical Accuracy Score	Language Proficiency Score
Narrative Total Score	Pearson Correlation	1	.940**	.718**	.872**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000	.000	.000
	N	60	60	60	60
Narrative Style Score	Pearson Correlation	.940**	1	.437**	.841**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.	.000	.000
	N	60	60	60	60
Grammatical Accuracy Score	Pearson Correlation	.718**	.437**	1	.582**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.	.000
	N	60	60	60	60
Language Proficiency Score	Pearson Correlation	.872**	.841**	.582**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.
	N	60	60	60	60

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.20

Correlation between Narrative Total,
Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Language Proficiency Scores

.027) and an interaction between Gender and Grade ($F = 4.524$, $p = .016$).

4.3.3 Conversation Score

Table 4.21 gives Conversation values for the monolingual and bilingual subjects.

An independent Samples T-test was conducted, which showed that without taking into consideration the Gender effect, there is no significant difference in Conversation scores between monolingual and bilingual subjects ($t = 1.535$, $p =$

Group Statistics

	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Conversation Score	monolingual	30	23.48	6.588	1.203
	bilingual	30	20.77	7.107	1.298

Table 4.21
Statistics for Conversation by Lingualism

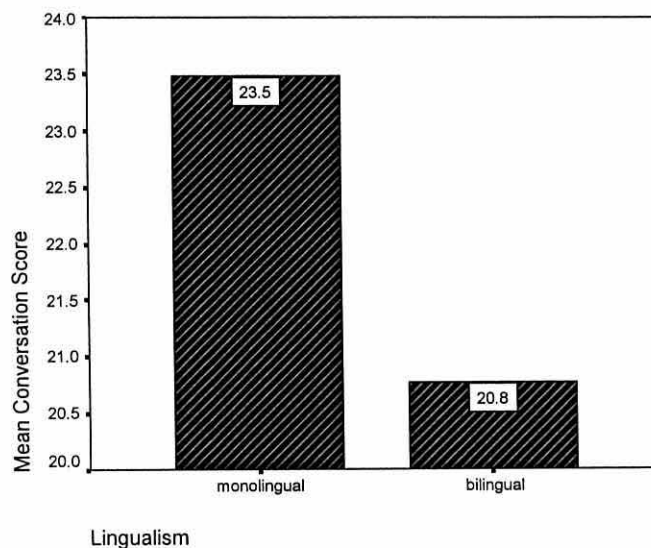


Figure 4.23
Mean Score for Conversation by Lingualism

.130). However, since there is a high correlation between the Language Proficiency and Conversation scores, there are higher scores on Conversation for monolingual subjects than for their bilingual peers (Figures 4.23).

Table 4.22 gives the Conversation values for the male and female subjects.

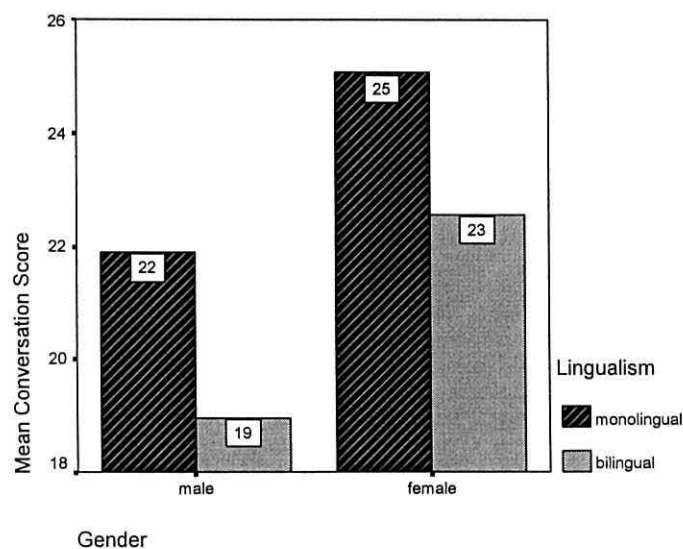
An independent Samples T-test was conducted. This showed that without taking into consideration the Lingualism effect, there is no significant difference in Conversation scores between male and female subjects ($t = -1.934$, $p = .058$).

Group Statistics

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Conversation Score	male	30	20.43	7.211	1.317
	female	30	23.82	6.310	1.152

Table 4.22

Statistics for Conversation by Gender

**Figure 4.24**

Mean Score for Conversation by Gender and Lingualism

However, it also shows that there are higher scores on Conversation for female subjects than for their male peers (Figure 4.24).

Conversation scores showed high correlations to Language Proficiency scores ($r = .86$, $p = .000$) (Table 4.23).

A One-way ANOVA was also conducted to establish the Grade effect on Conversation scores. When Lingualism and Gender effects were not taken into consideration, the test did not show any significant effect on Conversation scores

Correlations

		Conversation Score	Language Proficiency Score
Conversation Score	Pearson Correlation	1	.855**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	60	60
Language Proficiency Score	Pearson Correlation	.855**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	60	60

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.23

Correlation between Conversation and Language Proficiency Scores

($F = 1.195$, $p = .310$). The One-way ANOVA test also showed that Grade does not have any significant effect on Conversation scores for either monolingual or bilingual children. Finally, the One-way ANOVA showed that Grade does not have any significant effect on Conversation scores for either male or female children. It is worthy of note that a Q-Q Plot shows that the distribution for Language Proficiency scores is normal.

The GLM Univariate procedure shows no main effects of Linguicism ($F = 2.468$, $p = .123$), Gender ($F = 3.829$, $p = .013$), and Grade ($F = 1.272$, $p = .290$) on Conversation scores. Table 4.24 shows the Descriptive Statistics for Language Proficiency.

In general, despite statistical significance, the differences in these measures, even across three grades, were relatively small, and thus these measures seemed not to be sensitive enough to specify tangible differences between 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade stories.

Descriptive Statistics

Dependent Variable: Conversation Score

Lingualism	Gender	Grade	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
monolingual	male	3rd	23.00	7.168	5
		4th	22.80	9.776	5
		5th	19.90	6.015	5
		Total	21.90	7.380	15
	female	3rd	26.00	3.742	5
		4th	25.60	7.309	5
		5th	23.60	5.803	5
		Total	25.07	5.483	15
	Total	3rd	24.50	5.617	10
		4th	24.20	8.270	10
		5th	21.75	5.903	10
		Total	23.48	6.588	30
bilingual	male	3rd	20.00	8.682	5
		4th	15.40	6.035	5
		5th	21.50	5.755	5
		Total	18.97	6.973	15
	female	3rd	26.40	5.705	5
		4th	24.40	6.859	5
		5th	16.90	5.424	5
		Total	22.57	7.005	15
	Total	3rd	23.20	7.704	10
		4th	19.90	7.720	10
		5th	19.20	5.803	10
		Total	20.77	7.107	30
Total	male	3rd	21.50	7.670	10
		4th	19.10	8.595	10
		5th	20.70	5.613	10
		Total	20.43	7.211	30
	female	3rd	26.20	4.553	10
		4th	25.00	6.712	10
		5th	20.25	6.365	10
		Total	23.82	6.310	30
	Total	3rd	23.85	6.596	20
		4th	22.05	8.093	20
		5th	20.47	5.846	20
		Total	22.13	6.931	60

Table 4.24

Statistics for Conversation Score by Grade, Gender and Lingualism

4.3.4 School Average Score

One of the hypotheses of this study is that monolingual Persian-speaking students have a higher level of Academic Achievement than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers. Subjects' end-of-year class reports (School Average Score) were considered as the basis for assessing their Academic Achievement.

Table 4.25 gives the School Average values for monolingual and bilingual subjects. It shows that Lingualism had some effects on the School Average Scores.

	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
School Average	monolingual	30	18.5347	1.68498	.30763
	bilingual	30	16.7667	2.30062	.42003

Table 4.25
Statistics for School Average Score by Lingualism

An independent Samples T-test was conducted, which showed that without taking into consideration the Gender effect, there is a significant difference in School Average Scores between monolingual and bilingual subjects ($t = 3.396$, $p = .001$). Table 4.20 shows that there are higher School Average Scores for monolingual subjects than for their bilingual peers. In other words, monolingual Persian-speaking students have a better level of Academic Achievement than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers (Figure 4.25).

An independent Samples T-test was conducted to establish the effects of Lingualism on School Average Scores for each subgroup (male/female) separately. The test showed that the Lingualism effect on School Average Scores is significant only for male children (male: $t = 4.049$, $p = .000$) (Table 4.26).

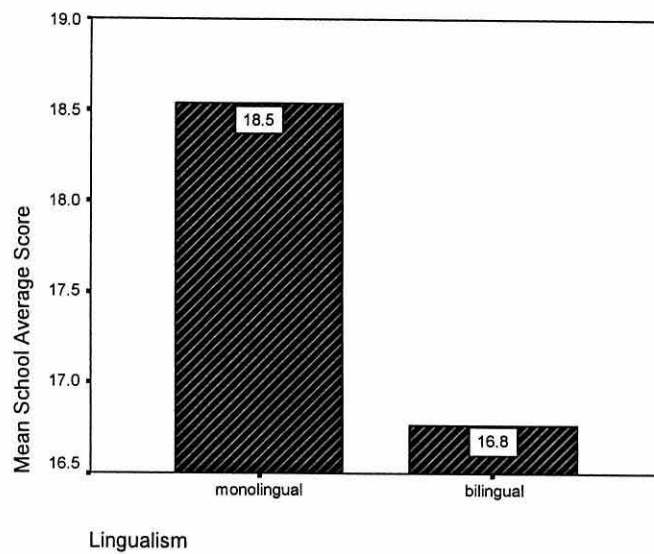


Figure 4.25

Mean for School Average Score by Lingualism

An independent Samples T-test was also conducted to establish the effects of Lingualism for each subgroup (male/female) (Table 4.26). The test showed that without taking into consideration the Gender effect, a significant difference in School Average Scores was only seen for male subjects ($t = 4.049$, $p = .000$), while there was no significant difference for females ($t = 1.021$, $p = .316$). It might be worth not that male monolingual subjects got higher School Average Scores than their female monolingual peers (Figure 4.26).

Group Statistics

Gender	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
male	School Average Score monolingual	15	18.6607	1.76715	.45628
	bilingual	15	15.8680	2.00340	.51728
female	School Average Score monolingual	15	18.4087	1.65053	.42616
	bilingual	15	17.6653	2.28463	.58989

Table 4.26

Statistics for School Average by Lingualism and Gender

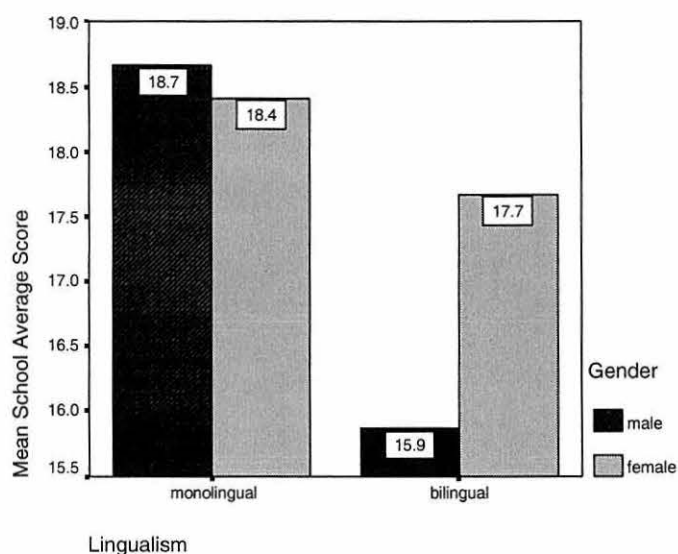


Figure 4.26

Mean School Average Score by Lingualism and Gender

There were also significant main effects of Gender on School Average Scores. Table 4.27 gives the School Average Score values for the male and female subjects.

An independent Samples T-test was conducted, which showed that without taking into consideration the Lingualism effect, there is no significant difference in School Average Scores between male and female subjects ($t = -1.377$, $p = .174$). Table 4.27 shows that there are higher School Average Score values for female subjects than for their male peers. In other words, female students have a better level of Academic achievement than their male peers (Figure 4.27).

Group Statistics

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
School Average	male	30	17.2643	2.33713	.42670
	female	30	18.0370	1.99445	.36414

Table 4.27

Statistics for School Average Scores by Gender

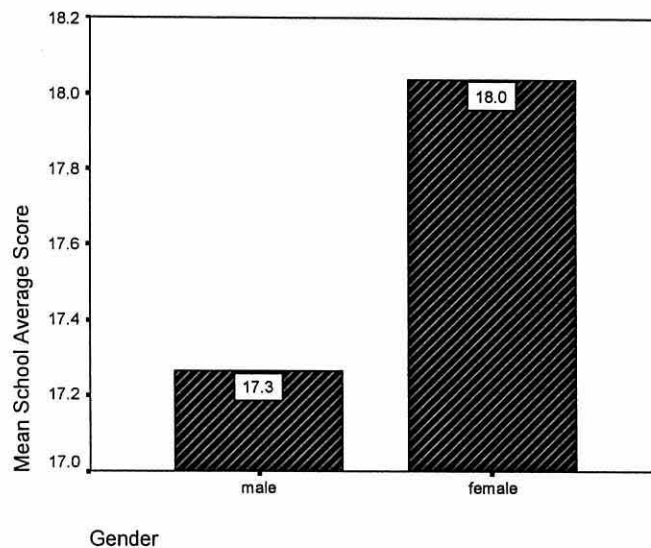


Figure 4.27

Mean for School Average Score by Gender

An independent Samples T-test was also conducted to see the effects of Gender on School Average Scores for each subgroup (monolingual/bilingual). This showed that the Gender effect on the School Average Score for

Group Statistics

Lingualism	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
monolingual	male	15	18.6607	1.76715	.45628
	female	15	18.4087	1.65053	.42616
bilingual	male	15	15.8680	2.00340	.51728
	female	15	17.6653	2.28463	.58989

Table 4.28

Statistics for School Average Score by Gender and Lingualism

bilingual children was significant at the 0.05 level ($t = -2.291$, $p = .030$), while the Gender effect on School Average Score for monolingual children was not significant ($t = .404$, $p = .690$) (Table 4.28).

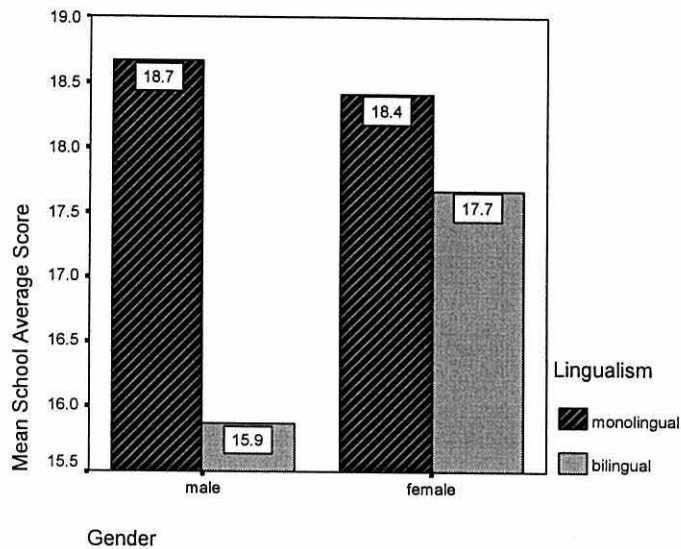


Figure 4.28

Mean for School Average Score by Gender

An independent Samples T-test was conducted to establish the Grade effect on School Average Score. When the Lingualism effect was not taken into consideration, no significant effect was observed. On the other hand, if Gender effect was not taken into consideration, there was a significant effect only for 3rd graders ($t = 2.397$, $p = .032$) (Figure 4.28).

It was hypothesized that there has to be a strong correlation between the subjects' Language Proficiency score and their Academic Achievement, and thus a comparison was also made between the subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores to see whether there is indeed either a significant difference or a strong correlation between these two.

As mentioned earlier (4.1), there was a moderate correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores, with both items following almost the same pattern ($r = .5$, $p = .000$) (Table 4.29).

In general, the lower the Language Proficiency score, the lower the School Average Score. However, the correlation was stronger among male subjects (male: $r = .58$, $p = .001$; female: $r = .37$, $p = .045$). Bilingual children also showed a much stronger correlation ($r = .59$, $p = .001$) than their monolingual peers ($r =$

Correlations

		Language Proficiency Score	School Average
Language Proficiency Score	Pearson Correlation	1	.499**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	60	60
School Average	Pearson Correlation	.499**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	60	60

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.29

Correlation between School Average and Language Proficiency Scores

.24, $p = .192$) in this regard. There were also Grade effects on the correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores. In sum, the lower the grade, the higher the correlation between Language Proficiency scores and School Average Scores. The correlation for 3rd graders ($r = .77$, $p = .000$) was stronger than that of for 4th graders ($r = .51$, $p = .022$), and the correlation for 4th graders was stronger than that of 5th graders ($r = .11$, $p = .657$). It is worth noting that both Narrative Total and Narrative Style scores showed relatively high correlations to the School Average Scores ($r = .511$, $p = .000$ for the former, and $r = .513$, $p = .000$ for the latter) while the overall correlation of Grammatical Accuracy to the School Average Score was much lower ($r = .300$, $p = .020$).

A One-way ANOVA was also conducted to see the Grade effect on Language Proficiency score. When Linguicism and Gender effects were not considered, it did not show any significant effect on Language Proficiency scores ($F = .206$, $p = .815$). The One-way ANOVA test also showed that Grade does not have any significant effect on School Average Score for either monolingual or bilingual children (monolingual: $F = 1.042$, $p = .367$; bilingual: $F = .043$, $p = .958$). Finally, the One-way ANOVA showed that Grade does not have any significant effect on School Average Score for either male or female children (male: $F = .548$, $p =$

.584; female: $F = 2.141$, $p = .137$). In order to determine which means differ post hoc, tests were run. No significant difference was observed in these tests. It is worthy of note that a Q-Q Plot shows that the distribution for Language Proficiency score is normal.

4.3.5 Average Score in Persian, Composition, and Dictation

It seems logical that a subject's marks in three subjects at school, i.e. Persian Language, Composition, and Dictation should be a reflection of his/her Language Proficiency score. For this reason, the correlation between the subjects' average scores in these subjects and their Language Proficiency scores were examined to see whether there is indeed either a strong correlation or a significant difference between these. The results showed that there was a moderate correlation between subjects' Average Scores in Persian, Composition, and Dictation (P.C.D. Score) and their Language Proficiency score ($r = .503$, $p = .000$) at the 0.01 level. However, the correlation was stronger among bilingual subjects ($r = .539$, $p = .002$) at the 0.01 level than their monolingual peers ($r = .325$, $p = .080$). In this regard, male children also showed a much stronger correlation ($r = .532$, $p = .002$) at the 0.01 level than their female peers ($r = .359$, $p = .051$). There were also Grade effects on the correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their P.C.D. Scores. In sum, the lower the grade, the higher the correlation between the Language Proficiency scores and the P.C.D. Scores. The correlation for 3rd graders ($r = .769$, $p = .000$) was stronger than that of 4th graders ($r = .485$, $p = .030$), and the correlation for 4th graders was stronger than that of 5th graders ($r = .145$, $p = .542$).

A comparison was also made between subjects' School Average Scores and their P.C.D. Scores. This showed a high correlation between the two ($r = .933$, $p = .000$) at the 0.01 level. Both Narrative Total and Narrative Style scores also showed moderate correlations to P.C.D. Scores ($r = .541$, $p = .000$, and $r = .547$, $p = .000$, respectively) at the 0.01 level. However, the overall correlation of Conversation score was much lower ($r = .321$, $p = .012$) at the 0.05 level.

An independent Samples T-test was conducted. It showed that without taking into consideration the Gender effect, there is a significant difference in P.C.D. Scores between monolingual and bilingual subjects ($t = 3.291$, $p = .002$). Table

4.30 shows that there are higher scores on P.C.D. for monolingual subjects than for their bilingual peers.

An independent Samples T-test was conducted, which showed that without taking into consideration the Lingualism effect, there is a significant difference in P.C.D. Scores between male and female subjects ($t = -2.735$, $p = .008$). Table 4.31 shows that there are higher scores on P.C.D. for female subjects than for their male peers.

Group Statistics

	Lingualism	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Average Score in Persian, Composition, and Dictation	monolingual	30	18.6667	1.74224	.31809
	bilingual	30	16.8200	2.53165	.46221

Table 4.30

Statistics for Average Score in Persian, Composition, and Dictation by Lingualism

Group Statistics

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Average Score in Persian, Composition, and Dictation	male	30	16.9567	2.69670	.49235
	female	30	18.5300	1.62971	.29754

Table 4.31

Statistics for Average Score in Persian, Composition, and Dictation by Gender

4.4 Summary of the Results Related to the Main Hypotheses

As mentioned earlier, the overall purpose of the present study is to test two main hypotheses and to find convincing answers to the two basic questions related to those hypotheses. Considering the type and the nature of the study, such statistical means as Independent Samples T-Test, One-way ANOVA, Univariate Analysis of

Variance, and Correlations were used to analyze the data and test the hypotheses. In brief, based on the statistical analyses given above, the two hypotheses proved to be true.

Independent Samples T-tests were conducted to see whether there was any significant difference between monolingual and bilingual subjects on Language Proficiency scores. This showed that disregarding the Gender effect, there is a significant difference in Language Proficiency scores between monolingual and bilingual subjects ($t = 2.045$, $p = .045$). Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected. In other words, monolingual Persian-speaking students have a better performance than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers on the Language Proficiency test.

Correlation analyses and independent Samples T-tests addressed the question of whether there was any significant difference between monolingual and bilingual subjects on School Average Scores (Academic Achievement), and how strongly the subjects' Language Proficiency scores were related to their School Average Scores. The independent Samples T-test showed that without taking into consideration the Gender effect, there is a significant difference in School Average Scores between monolingual and bilingual subjects ($t = 3.396$, $p = .001$). Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected. In other words, monolingual Persian-speaking students have a better level of Academic Achievement than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers. Correlation analysis also showed that there was a moderate correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores ($r = .5$, $p = .000$).

Chapter Five: Discussion and Implications

5.1 Overview

As set out in Chapter One, the present research aimed at comparing narrative and conversation tasks produced by monolingual and bilingual students at two primary schools within the framework of analysis on genres and on communicative competence originally proposed by Hymes (1967 & 1972) and later developed by Canale and Swain (1980).

Having measured the subjects' performances in the narrative and conversation tasks and having analyzed them in terms of the determined features in order to be able to compare the subgroups' performances, a summary of the total findings described in detail in Chapter Four will now be presented. A summary of the findings related to each domain will be presented separately to facilitate interpretation.

5.1.1 Summary of the Findings Related to Language Proficiency

As stated earlier, in this study Language Proficiency is made up of two main components: Narrative Total and Conversation. The data indicated that there was a significant difference between monolinguals and bilinguals on the total Language Proficiency score, but that the differences were non-significant for the individual components. The Narrative Total score – which reflects the subjects' score on the Frog Story – is, in turn, divided into two components: the Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy scores. The data showed that there was a significant difference between monolinguals and bilinguals on the Narrative Style score, but that the difference was non-significant for the Grammatical Accuracy score. In other words, the monolingual-bilingual differences were quite small for Grammatical Accuracy scores, but the differences were larger for the narrative

elements, as reflected in the Narrative Style scores. It is significant that since there is a high correlation between the Language Proficiency and Conversation scores, there are higher scores on Conversation for monolingual subjects than for their bilingual peers.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, each of the components within the Language Proficiency, i.e. Narrative Style, Grammatical Accuracy, and Conversation are composed of seven, six, and eight subcomponents, respectively. Of the subcomponents related to the Narrative Style, the bilinguals showed the greatest weakness relative to monolinguals in the Ability to Explicitly Mention Core Plot Components, and the Ability to Tell a Connected Story. There was a significant difference between the subgroups on the Core Plot Components score, while the differences were non-significant for the Connected Story score. Regarding Grammatical Accuracy subcomponents, the bilinguals showed the greatest weakness and strength relative to monolinguals in Lexicon and Fluency, respectively. Finally, with regards to Conversation subcomponents, bilinguals showed the greatest weakness in Summer Activities and Description, respectively.

Considering the possible effects of factors other than Lingualism, the data indicated that the Gender effect on the Language Proficiency score was significant. Both female monolingual and female bilingual children's performance on Language Proficiency was better than their male counterparts'; however, Gender effects were significant only for bilingual children. Although both female monolingual and female bilingual students' scores on Narrative Total, Narrative Style, and Grammatical Accuracy were higher than those of their male counterparts', Gender effects on these three scores for both subgroups were not significant. It is worthy of note that the Lingualism effect on both Narrative Total and Narrative Style scores was significant only for male children. The data indicated that without taking into consideration the Lingualism effects, there was a significant difference between male and female subjects for the Narrative Total and Grammatical Accuracy scores.

The data also indicated that the Grade effect on Language Proficiency scores was negative in most cases. Surprisingly, not taking into consideration the Gender effect, the 3rd graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of 4th graders, and the 4th graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than

that of 5th graders. However, the Grade effect on Language Proficiency was not significant.

Considering the effects of Grade on Language Proficiency components, it might be worthy of note that the difference was only significant for the Narrative Total score at 3rd grade level. In other words, the 3rd graders' score was higher than those of 4th and 5th graders, while the mean Narrative Total was almost the same for both 4th and 5th graders. The Grade effect on the Narrative Style scores was negative across all three grades. In other words, the 3rd graders' mean Narrative Style score was higher than that of 4th graders, and the 4th graders' mean Narrative Style score was higher than that of 5th graders. The Grade effect on the Grammatical Accuracy score did not follow the same pattern, in that while the 5th graders' mean Grammatical Accuracy score was higher than that for both 3rd and 4th graders, the 3rd graders' mean Grammatical Accuracy score was higher than that of 4th graders. Although within the Narrative Total score, the maximum score allocated to both Narrative Style and Grammatical Accuracy was the same, the subjects' mean Narrative Style scores were higher than their mean Grammatical Accuracy scores at all grade levels. The Gender effect on Narrative Total score, Narrative Style score, and Grammatical Accuracy score was significant for 4th graders. The Gender effect on Grammatical Accuracy was also significant for 3rd graders.

5.1.2 Summary of the Findings Related to Academic Achievement

As stated earlier, subjects' end-of-year class reports (School Average Score) were considered as the basis for assessing their Academic Achievement. The data indicated that without taking into consideration the Gender effect, there was a significant difference in Academic Achievement between monolingual and bilingual subjects. Considering the Gender effects, the data showed that there was not a significant difference in School Average Scores between male and female subjects; however, female students had a better level of Academic Achievement than their male peers. The results also showed that the Gender effect on School Average Scores was significant for bilingual children, while the Gender effect on School Average Score for monolingual children was non-significant.

It was hypothesized in Chapter One that there would be a strong correlation between the subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their Academic Achievement. Thus a comparison was also made between the subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores. The data indicated that there was a moderate correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average. In other words, the lower the Language Proficiency score, the lower the School Average Score. This correlation, however, was stronger among male subjects than female. Bilingual children also showed a much stronger correlation than their monolingual peers in this regard. There were also Grade effects on the correlation between subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores. In sum, the lower the grade, the higher the correlation between the Language Proficiency scores and the School Average Scores. The correlation for 3rd graders was stronger than that for 4th graders, and the correlation for 4th graders was stronger than that for 5th graders. It is worth noting that both Narrative Total and Narrative Style scores showed relatively high correlations to the School Average Score, while the overall correlation of Grammatical Accuracy to the School Average Score was much lower.

5.2 Interpretation of the Findings

The primary objective of the study was to find out whether monolingual Persian-speaking students demonstrated a better performance than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers on narrative and conversation tasks. The study also aimed to discover whether monolingual Persian-speaking students had a better level of academic achievement than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking counterparts. In the event that this was the case, the study also aimed to find out whether there was any relationship between their language performance scores and differences in achievement scores. In other words, one of the objectives of the study was to reveal whether there is any correlation between the subjects' Language Proficiency scores and their Academic Achievement Scores.

As a minor aim the study also sought to find out whether such factors as gender and grade were relevant to the subjects' language performances. To achieve such aims, the study put emphasis on the subjects' oral productions and

their natural elicitations and used a set of features associated with narrative-conversational aspects of their language productions.

In general, the results show the complexity and multi-faceted nature of language proficiency and its relation to academic achievement. It seems that when it comes to comparing monolingual children's performance with that of their bilingual counterparts, the situation may well be exacerbated. With regards to the hypotheses stated in Chapter One, both H1 and H2 were supported by these data. Additionally, the effects of two other factors, i.e. grade and gender on the subjects' language proficiency were investigated.

5.2.1 On the Language Proficiency and the Frog Story

There follows an examination of the results of the study with regard to the questions posed in Chapter One. The first question was whether monolingual Persian-speaking students have a better performance than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers on narrative and conversation tasks. The data indicated that monolingual subjects showed better performance in Persian Language on both narrative and conversational tasks.

Considering the components of the Language Proficiency score, the data showed that there was a significant difference between monolinguals and bilinguals on the Narrative Style score, but that the difference was non-significant for the Grammatical Accuracy score. In other words, the data indicates that while monolinguals have a better performance on the features of the Frog Story which are relatively narrative in nature, the gap between monolingual and bilingual children's performance on mere linguistic features of the narrative task is smaller.

These findings might be partly due to the critical role of language input in language acquisition. In other words, bilingual Turkish-Persian speaking children are not exposed to the Persian language as much as their monolingual Persian-speaking peers. As Gathercole (in press) states research comparing quantity of exposure across groups within a single language has shown that amount of input has an effect on timing of language development and language acquisition. She argues that these results indicate that input can play a crucial role in the pacing of the development of structures. According to her, "the more input a child has in a given language, the more likely he/she is to develop a given structure earlier". The

relatively high correlation between bilinguals' Language Proficiency score and the amount of time they have been exposed to Persian – based on their parents' rating in Parents' Questionnaire is in line with this finding.

Another factor which might have had an effect on these finding is the subjects' socio-economic status (SES). As mentioned in the section on the effects of bilingualism on bilingual children (see 2.3), Cummins and Gulutsan (1974) considered socio-economic status as the third factor which played a role in this matter. Paulston (1975) was also of the opinion that bilingual children with higher SES seems to perform well. Gathercole (in press) states that recent research (e.g. Hoff 2003) has shown that “lower-class children hear fewer words per hour and less child-directed speech than their middle- or higher-class counterparts”. These children have little communication with parents since their families have more children. Therefore, their mothers have little time to talk to them, let alone tell stories for them. It is also very likely for their fathers to spend more time outside. These parents are also less likely to buy storybooks for their children or have television sets at home. In short, economic considerations might be one of many that motivate human practices and bilingualism is no exception.

It is worth noting that in the main study, some additional information about the subjects' SES (e.g. their parents' jobs, and parental education) was collected. A close look at the descriptives shows that fifty-one out of sixty subjects belong to low socio-economic status. Besides, seven out of nine subjects who belong to high SES are monolinguals. The findings also show that there is a significant difference in Language Proficiency score, Narrative Total Score, Narrative Style score, and School Average Score between the subjects with Low SES and High SES. In addition, the Low SES subjects' mean values for the Grammatical Accuracy score and the Conversation score were lower than those of their High SES counterparts. The results seem to support Bernstein's (1975) distinction between restricted and elaborated codes.

Finally, monolinguals' better performance in doing narrative and conversation tasks might be due to the fact that the school programme has emphasized using language in a more academic and formal atmosphere, but failed to employ it adequately in more natural settings, in which both sides take part actively. It is also demonstrated that it is much easier for monolingual children to take

command of the situations in which language is used in a more natural way and demonstrate mastery over both linguistic and paralinguistic cues.

Considering the subcomponents of the Narrative Style, bilinguals showed the greatest weakness relative to monolinguals in the Ability to Explicitly Mention Core Plot Components and the Ability to Tell a Connected Story. While there was a significant difference between the subgroups on the Core Plot Components score, the differences were non-significant for the Connected Story score. In other words, although monolingual children did better in mentioning the core plot components of the story in an explicit way and also in telling a connected story, their bilingual peers also showed a relative mastery in the other five areas. Since these items are considered to be two crucial narrative elements, it seems that bilinguals have trouble designing narratives. This might partly be attributed to bilinguals' lack of sufficient practice during the pre-school period.

Regarding Grammatical Accuracy subcomponents, the bilinguals showed the greatest weakness and strength relative to monolinguals in Lexicon and Fluency, respectively. This finding might be considered as evidence that Lexicon is developed separately for each language.

At this point, one might pose the question that whether it is fair to compare bilingual children with their monolingual peers. As mentioned earlier, according to Baker (2006, p.23), different authors (e.g. Grosjean, 1985) consider such comparison as 'unfair and invalid'. However, he adds that "criterion referenced language tests *can* be used to create comparisons between children, between groups of children and between schools". He adds that as a curriculum approach there has recently been a shift from norm-referenced tests to criterion-referenced tests. In Baker's view, this is to some degree due to the movement in language education towards communicative skills. He considers the point of comparison in criterion-referenced tests as an advantage for bilinguals since this type may compare bilinguals with monolinguals. In short, although a bilingual has command of two different systems, we can assess one of these systems when the need arises. In recent research on Frog Story, there are many cases of studies in which groups of monolingual children have been compared with their bilingual peers. Berman and Slobin (1994) present a full list of such studies.

The findings of the present study showed that the Gender effect on the Language Proficiency score was significant in that both female monolingual and female bilingual children's performances on Language Proficiency was better than that of their male counterparts. Some studies have focused on different factors which seem to have an influence on a bilingual's language ability. Mackey (1962) is of the opinion that such factors as gender, age, intelligence, language attitudes and motivation are likely to influence a bilingual's aptitude.

According to Piller and Pavlenko (2004, pp.490-91), prior to the early 1990s, the approaches to language and gender were limited to three frameworks: deficit, dominance, and difference. In the deficit framework women were seen as a group of inferior language users who use a 'powerless language'. The dominance framework was mainly concerned with women's vs. men's language, indicating that men dominate conversations by interrupting women. Finally, the difference framework was based on the main research question "how do women and men use language differently?" However, this framework is in contrast to both deficit and dominance frameworks, it does not seek to explain these differences. As Piller and Pavlenko (2004) state, in early 1990s, there was a paradigm shift in the field resulting to a shift of emphasis from 'women's language' to "an understanding of gender as a system of social relations". It has now become clear that the relation between gender and bilingualism is not a straightforward one. This relation is mainly based on the speaker's status which is, turn, closely related to such factors as ethnicity, race, class, gender and so on.

In general, recent research tends to be more supportive of those theories which assert that female children surpass their male counterparts in their language usage. However, depending to different situations, some contradictory results might arise. For example, although women are known as the 'guardians' of the minority language and might be blamed for subverting assimilation efforts, in the eyes of minority communities, they may become the major 'culprits' for starting language shift and facilitating their children's entry into majority language and culture.

It is also generally believed that girls prefer to use the standard varieties which carry overt prestige. According to Piller and Pavlenko (2004, p.502), it is especially in adolescent peer networks that "the importance of feminine or

masculine connotations of language emerges". Labov (1966, cited in Piller and Pavlenko 2004, p.502) mentioning the distinction between overt and covert prestige language choice in monolingual contexts, states that standard varieties have overt prestige and often carry "connotations on femininity or effeminacy". He adds, on the other hand, non-standard varieties have covert prestige and often carry "associations of tough, rugged working-class masculinity". However, Wodak and Benke (1997, p.141) argue that "survey studies in the Labovian tradition neglect contextual influences. In this study, four out of sixty subjects failed to get the full mark for more accepted dialects and they all belonged to the male groups.

It might be worthy of note that in this study, the effect of age, and by implication, the effect of Grade was not intended to be investigated. The selected age range (8-13 years) was in fact adopted from one of Berman and Slobin's (1994) subject groups (9-year-olds) which were expected to function as a single group on developmental grounds. For this reason, there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the subjects' age and their school grades. The mean age for 3rd, 4th, and 5th graders in this study are 8.95, 9.7, and 10.45 years, respectively, and therefore the subjects' age range is not wide enough to make absolute statements concerning linguistic development (see Table 3.4). Besides, data are based on a cross-sectional design and not on a longitudinal one, and thus conclusions about growth must be tentative, as well. The data, however, might be said to verify the linguistic abilities ascribed to 9-year-old subjects in Berman and Slobin (1994). Labov (1989, cited in Coulmas 1997, p.161) using a similar age continuum, found stylistic variation in the use of t/d deletion and *-ing* by 6-, 7-, 9-year-olds.

In general, the findings show that there was a negative Grade effect on the subjects' Language Proficiency scores. In other words, not taking into consideration the Gender effect, the 3rd graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of 4th graders, and the 4th graders' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of 5th graders. However, the Grade effect on Language Proficiency was not significant.

The negative Grade effect on subjects' Language Proficiency scores in general, and on their Narrative Style scores in particular can be partly due to the

very short span of the subjects' ages: the difference between 3rd graders' mean age and that of their 5th graders' counterparts is just 1.5 years. It, then, would be difficult for this study to achieve fine-grained age differentiations with any statistical significance. If need arises, it would be necessary for the researcher to select the grouping of speakers in fairly broad age ranges.

Considering the effects of Grade on Language Proficiency components, it might be worthy of note that the difference was only significant for the Narrative Total score at 3rd grade level. In other words, the 3rd graders' score was higher than those of 4th and 5th graders, while the mean Narrative Total was almost the same for both 4th and 5th graders. The Grade effect on the Narrative Style scores was negative across all three grades. The Grade effect on the Grammatical Accuracy score did not follow the same pattern, in that while the 5th graders' mean Grammatical Accuracy score was higher than both 3rd and 4th graders' scores, the 3rd graders' mean Grammatical Accuracy score was higher than that of 4th graders.

This negative Grade effect might also be due to the emphasis put on using formal language in Persian textbooks. This situation is exacerbated by not making any distinction between Persian Language and Persian Literature in compiling these textbooks. So, it would be necessary that at least the textbooks for Persian Language courses at primary schools avoid using the formal academic type of language and put more emphasis on employing other types of language which are more appropriate for natural settings. It is worth noting, however, that during the last few years an attempt has been made to compile Persian textbooks for primary school children which serve the above-mentioned goals and thereby giving the children the opportunity to have more conversational practice. The children also need to have more practice on story telling. It might, however, be borne in mind that entering school in itself is considered to be a crucial point in children's life and the educational system might affect children's language performance in such domains as narrating stories. Williams (2004, p.578) states that written literacy is considered to be a necessary element in modern society, and is thus strongly supported by social attitudes and especially by educational institutions. He argues that, however, some educationists (e.g. Kress, 1997) are skeptical about the formal

emphasis on written literacy. In other words, children might gain writing skill at the expense of “other forms of meaning representation”.

There might also some other factors be involved which have had an effect on the results, as it was the case for the Gender effect. As Eckert (1997, p.152) states that in the study of age as a sociolinguistic variable one has to focus on “the nature and social status of age and aging”. In other words, in sociolinguistic studies in which age is considered to be a variable we have to take into consideration such factors as SES as well.

It has to be borne in mind that some psychological factors might affect the results as well which could neutralize the age and grade effects. As Eckert (1997, p.152) states studies on variation often show that “increasing age correlates with increasing conservatism in speech”. Such affective factors as the subject’s personality, attitude, and motivation play an important role here. Children might become increasingly shy with age. It is especially true with the educational atmosphere at the Iranian primary schools. In general, children feel a sense of relief at nursery schools. On the other hand, primary schools practice higher standards of discipline and children are thus under more strict rules and regulations. It seems that the teachers’ attitudes towards children at nursery schools and primary schools are completely different. While at nursery schools kids are usually admired for doing such routine jobs as producing children’s rhymes and stories, their counterparts at primary schools might be admired for sticking to their teachers’ principles. At primary schools, the children might be addressed with strong language, feel insulted, or be punished for their bad conduct or not doing their homework. It is although rare to observe such treatments these days, especially at schools in large cities.

Sometimes, the subjects might deliberately avoid producing certain structure to show that they are not happy with the situation. Sometimes, in the case of bilingual subjects, it might be related to the typological differences between the two languages under discussion. For instance, van Els *et al* (1984, p.63) mention *avoidance* in discussions on error analysis. They argue that “avoidance does not lead to error, but to under-representation of words or structures in L2 use”.

Finally, cultural factors might have played a role in this study. For example, in Islamic societies, female students – and especially those children who belong to

committed Muslim families – are more likely to fail to present all their language ability in the course of an interview or a conversation conducted by an adult male interlocutor. In such a situation, they might feel too embarrassed to follow the natural course of the speech. It might be worthy of note that this negative effect might diminish with SES. In other words, it seems that the subjects of High SES are less likely to be affected by this factor.

Having that said, the findings related to the Grade effect on primary school children's Language Proficiency scores should be considered as a bitter disappointment and a warning for the educational authorities. In other words, it seems that the primary school programmes and teachers have, to some degree, damaged 6 to 8-year-old children's creativity and originality by ignoring their ability to relate events and to tell stories acquired through listening to stories narrated by nursery school teachers, parents and on television.

This study is considered to be among the first attempt to employ the communicative approach to language proficiency assessment for the Persian language. As McNamara (2004, p.766) states "the field of language testing has been engaged in vigorous debate for many years on the modeling of the nature of general language ability, ever since the appearance of the model of communicative competence in a second language set out in a paper by Canale and Swain in 1980". In this study, an attempt has been made to assess the subjects' Language Proficiency based on the features in Canale/Swain's framework which consisted of four domains of knowledge: Grammatical Competence, Sociolinguistic Competence, Discourse Competence, and Strategic Competence. With respect to Grammatical Competence, the subjects were tested on their knowledge of Morphology (e.g. Morphosyntactic Features), Syntax (e.g. Aspect Variation), Vocabulary (e.g. Lexicon), and Semantics (e.g. using synonyms). Concerning Sociolinguistic Competence, they were assessed on such features as turn-taking. With regards to Discourse Competence, the subjects were assessed on their ability to produce a unified text. Finally, with respect to Strategic Competence, they were assessed on their command of such non-verbal strategies as using gestures.

5.2.2 On Academic Achievement

With regard to the second question, namely whether monolingual Persian-speaking students have a better level of Academic Achievement than their bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking peers, the data suggest a lag in Academic Achievement among bilinguals relative to monolinguals. In fact, without taking into consideration the Gender effect, there was a significant difference between monolingual and bilingual subjects for Academic Achievement.

This finding is not entirely unexpected since the grade retention and drop-out rates among bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking school children are higher than those of their monolingual peers. Although the Iranian Ministry of Education has designed and implemented a one-month preparatory course for children whose language is other than Persian, to be taken prior to entering 1st grade, the same situation persists. The low ranking of the country in PIRLS is also in line with these findings. This conclusion is consistent with recent evidence reported in Ahmadpour (1993), Addeeb (1993), Asle Fattahi (1994), and Dinarvand (1994) that bilingual children lag behind monolingual children in their academic achievement. It might be worth noting that such factors as SES, language input, children's attitude and motivation, and the type of bilingual education practiced at schools might have had an effect on these findings. For example, the submersion type of bilingual programme which is employed in the Iranian educational system, and which puts emphasis on the majority language seems to have negative effects on the bilingual subjects' academic achievement.

Considering the Gender effects, the data showed that there was not a significant difference in School Average Scores between male and female subjects; however, female students had a better level of Academic Achievement than their male peers. The results also showed that the Gender effect on School Average Score for bilingual children was significant, while the Gender effect on School Average Score for monolingual children was non-significant.

This finding is partly due to some socio-economical factors. In Iran, girls seem to be surpassing their male counterparts in educational affairs. The rationale behind this phenomenon is that it makes a big difference to their future life. After graduating from university they can get a good job and have a better socio-

economic status. They would also be very happy throughout their married life. Therefore, in the last University Entrance Examination held by the Iranian Ministry of Science, Research, and Technology this summer, girls did extremely well: more than 60% of the candidates who passed the examination and entered the State Universities were female. In this respect, Deuchar (1990, cited in Coulmas 1997, p.140) states that females by using the standard language would be able to improve their own inferior position in a patriarchal society. She adds “the weaker a woman’s position, the more she is forced to be polite. Standard language is only one of many ways to show this deference”.

It might be worthy of note that Iranian students attend single-sex schools. This fact might also have an effect on their academic achievement. Willet (1995, cited in Piller and Pavlenko 2004, p.504) states that in a study of four 7-year-old ESL children within a mainstream US classroom, seating arrangements which kept the boys apart but allowed the girls sit together had “favoured the three female learners”.

The data also indicated that there was a moderate correlation between subjects’ Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores. In other words, the lower the Language Proficiency score, the lower the School Average Score. This correlation, however, was stronger among male subjects than among female. Bilingual children also showed a much stronger correlation than their monolingual peers in this regard, which might indicate that there is a greater likelihood of being able to make absolute statements about correlation between subjects’ Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores for bilingual children than for their monolingual peers.

There were also Grade effects on the correlation between subjects’ Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores, in that, the lower the grade, the higher the correlation between the Language Proficiency scores and the School Average Scores. According to the results, the correlation between the Language Proficiency scores and the School Average Scores was stronger for 3rd graders than for 4th graders, and was stronger for 4th graders than for 5th graders. This finding might be attributed to the nature of the language used in the curriculum for these three grades. In other words, it is more likely that the language used in the syllabus for 3rd graders would bear resemblance to the

language appropriate for the subjects' production in the study. In other words, it seems that it is more probable for the students in lower grades to produce language which is more likely to be used in natural settings.

It is also worth noting that both Narrative Total and Narrative Style scores showed relatively high correlations to the School Average Score while the overall correlation of Grammatical Accuracy to the School Average Score was much lower. Again, it seems that this finding has something to do with the degree of resemblance between the language used in the syllabus and the language appropriate for the subjects' production in the study.

5.3 Implications and Applications

Because of the multidisciplinary nature of bilingualism and lack of a systematic approach to the assessment of bilingual children's language proficiency, and in the absence of a comprehensive framework of analysis, the focus of bilingualism studies has been primarily on the overall comparison of formal aspects of bilingual and monolingual children's language productions. The present study is no exception. In order to be able to conduct research in the field of language proficiency assessment more confidently, it is necessary to have a systematic approach to cast new light upon methods, especially when controversial issues such as the comparison of monolingual and bilingual children are concerned. In this respect, there is a striking need to do more research into the nature of language proficiency, its components and its assessment; into the relationship of language proficiency to academic achievement; and more importantly, into the functioning of the bilingual mind. In other words, in assessing a bilingual child's language proficiency, we need a clear understanding of the issues involved.

Thanks to recent studies in fields such as language proficiency assessment, discourse analysis, and functioning of the bilingual mind, it has become clear that there are many delicate factors which have to be taken into consideration in assessing bilingual children's language proficiency. Such important factors involved in language proficiency assessment and such prominent differences in cognitive functions between bilinguals and their monolingual counterparts deserve to be considered closely both on a theoretical level – by linguists and psychologists, for instance – and on a practical level – by educational practitioners

and instructors, for example. It is hoped that the findings of this study might, from an empirical perspective, shed some new light on both theoretical and practical grounds in this field.

5.3.1 Theoretical Implications

After the publication of Hymes' communicative competence theory in 1967, many studies focused on the communicative aspects of language. This new view had its effects on language proficiency assessment studies in general, and on language testing research in particular. The proponents of this approach were against testing measures which were artificial and sterile, and which could only be manipulated in a mechanistic way. They believed that the score for a communicative test would contain several measures of proficiency rather than merely a single overall measure. Their theoretical framework, consisting of four domains of knowledge and skills, i.e. Grammatical Competence, Sociolinguistic Competence, Discourse Competence and Strategic Competence, encouraged test designers to develop new, more appropriate measures in language proficiency testing.

The applicability of the framework of analysis originally proposed by Hymes (1967) and later developed by Canale and Swain (1980) for the assessment of language proficiency has been demonstrated in this study for assessing a number of subjects' Persian language proficiency. That is to say, one of the contributions of this study has been to verify that the theoretical premises put forward by the above-mentioned scholars seem to be applicable to the narrative and conversational pieces produced by the subjects. In assessing the narrative section (Narrative Total), thirteen measures were used, of which seven were considered as mere narrative criteria (Narrative Style), and the remaining six were grammatical in nature (Grammatical Accuracy). The Conversation section was also made up of eight measures.

Separating the scoring of the stories into independent components and subcomponents would provide us with a better framework for examining bilinguals' stories, in which a greater number of disconnections between component language skills could be anticipated. The findings verify Cummins' (1984a, cited in Pearson 2002, p.164) view, which asserts that in this way we can establish which elements seem to develop in the learning process of a certain

language, and which elements are especially related to more general growth across languages. In other words, by separating the scoring of the stories into independent components and subcomponents, we would be able to see how much each element has contributed to more global measures of the children's growth.

Moreover, the findings of this study will provide Berman and Slobin's (1994) developmental approach to the Frog Story with a large amount of data in an additional language, i.e. Persian. The data, transcribed based on McWhinney's (2000) instructions, contain sixty full frog stories related by monolingual and bilingual children of both genders. However, it should be borne in mind that the subjects in this study, who were 8-13 years of age, belong to only one of the age groups in Berman and Slobin's study (1994).

The findings of this study can also be used to verify the results of such studies as Pearson's (2002). She asserts that as the students move up through the grades, there would be a growth in the length of their school texts in all subjects. She considers "the ability to work with longer and longer passages" as a major factor in the children's academic success. She quotes Chafe's (1980) view on this issue stating that since "the oral genre of narrative has many features of written discourse", narrative development can show a prediction of later literacy development. With regards to the Frog Stories produced by the subjects, we might say that at least at these grade levels, the length of the oral narrative produced is not necessarily indicative of academic success. The findings show that for both monolingual and bilingual groups the mean number of clauses produced by 4th graders is lower than that produced by 3rd graders. At the same time, the mean number of clauses produced by 5th graders is lower than that produced by 4th graders. These findings are, to some degree, in line with those of Pearson's (2002, p.193). She states that, "for the monolinguals, the older children's stories were superior to the younger children's, but they were 75 words and 10 clauses shorter on average". In this study, the mean number of clauses for bilinguals was lower than that of their monolingual peers' for 3rd and 5th graders, but was the same for 4th graders. Similarly, in Pearson's (2002) study, "the bilinguals' stories were shorter than the monolinguals' stories at 2nd grade, but similar at 5th" (p.182).

Furthermore, concerning Cummins' (1984b) distinction between BICS and CALP, the findings of this study do not seem to fully support this. The findings

show that although there is an overall moderate correlation of language proficiency with achievement, the correlation between the Narrative Style score (which seems to be more related to BICS) and academic achievement is higher than the correlation between the Grammatical Accuracy score (which appears more closely related to CALP) and academic achievement. On the other hand, in this study, the two tasks which make up the Language Proficiency score are mostly related to BICS, and since we observe a moderate correlation between the subjects' overall Language Proficiency scores and their School Average Scores, we can conclude that contrary to Cummins' (1984b) view, "the communicative demands of natural face-to-face situations" do not seem to be completely different from "the communicative demands of classroom situations". Cummins considers these two situations to be different, and claims that in the natural face-to-face situations, the meaning is mainly supported by "the richer 'real-life' cues of face-to-face communication", while in the classroom situations, which put more emphasis on developing proficiency in processing written texts, the meaning is mainly held up by linguistic cues (p.7). The fact that monolingual-bilingual differences were quite small for Grammatical Accuracy scores, but that the differences were larger for the Narrative Style scores can also be considered as further evidence supporting this view. In this regard, Wald (1984) rightly asserts that although Cummins to some extent confirms the mitigating effects of social context on the development of literary skills, he fails to recognize the important point of "the relevance of natural face-to-face situations to classroom interaction and academic achievement".

The findings of the present study might also partly serve the interests of those psychologists conducting research on cognitive effects of bilingualism. Thanks to such recent studies as Bialystok (in press), cognitive effects of bilingualism have become the centre of attention. This approach supports the view that "bilingual children will develop control over executive processing earlier than monolinguals", that they have an "enhanced ability to control the use of their knowledge in performance, especially where competing or distracting information must be resisted", and that "the representational systems underlying both languages for bilingual speakers are constantly active and available during all language use activities". The findings of this study may partly explain why

bilinguals outperform in some domains, and thus help in the design of more valid tests for assessing bilinguals' language proficiency.

Since both male and female subjects have participated in this study, the findings might be particularly useful for verifying those theories which assert that female children outperform in oral language tasks. In almost all subgroups and for any variable, the female subjects surpassed their male counterparts, and even female bilinguals' mean Language Proficiency score was higher than that of male monolinguals. Finally, since the subjects' SES was considered as one of the independent variables, the results can be used to support Bernstein's (1975) distinction between restricted and elaborated codes. The findings of the present study show that there is a significant difference in Language Proficiency score, Narrative Total Score, Narrative Style score, and School Average Score between the subjects with Low SES and High SES. In addition, the Low SES subjects' mean values for the Grammatical Accuracy score and the Conversation score were lower than those of their High SES counterparts.

5.3.2 Pedagogical Applications

The findings of the present study in the field of language proficiency, and in particular in the language proficiency assessment of bilingual and monolingual children, may serve the needs of bilingual education in Iran. In other words, from a pedagogical perspective, the data collected from the bilingual children, and the research method adopted in the present study may benefit at least three groups of experts who are in some way associated with, or engaged in the field of bilingual education.

In the first place, the findings might be useful for policy makers in bilingual education by alerting them to the critical situation bilingual children are facing. In this way, they may become aware of the urgent need to design special programmes and to train teachers for the benefit of bilingual children. It may also be possible to compile suitable textbooks and materials. It might be worth noting that while more than 50% of Iranian children speak a language other than Persian, they have to attend schools with submersion programmes, in which the language of the classroom is the nevertheless the majority language, i.e. Persian. In some provinces a one-year pre-school education is also available to both populations, in

which, however, no special provisions have been made for the non-Persian speakers. It is hoped that this study might encourage policy makers to tackle this problem.

Secondly, those who conduct research on bilingualism and bilingual education in Iran might benefit from the tasks used and the results gained in the present study. This work is among the first studies in Persian which employs a communicative approach to language proficiency assessment. The format and the content of the two narrative and conversation tasks can be taken as a model to develop more valid tests for assessing Persian language proficiency of both monolingual Persian-speaking children, and bilingual children who use Persian as their second language and some other language as their mother tongue. This work can also be considered as the first attempt to collect data from monolingual and bilingual children of both genders, using a variety of linguistic variables. Importantly, all of the data has been transcribed based on the principles proposed by McWhinney (2000).

Thirdly, this study can provide teachers who teach bilingual children throughout the country with helpful information and give them useful insights into bilingual issues. Teachers might thus put the new ideas into practice; for example, they might take advantage of such tasks as narrating stories and having conversation with children as a means of teaching oral skills. In addition, local bilingual teachers can use the students' mother tongue to facilitate the learning process.

In sum, the Frog Story measures add to the information provided by other types of testing used in this study for assessing the children's language proficiency. Since the correlations between the Frog Story measures and the Conversation scores were only moderate, we can be relatively confident that these data give information about different aspects of the children's performance.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

A qualitative type of research by nature, this study sought to find convincing answers to the research questions it raised in Chapter One. On the basis of the empirical evidence obtained, the researcher did his best to interpret the findings and draw conclusions. Nevertheless, scholars in the field would admit that simply

by assessing a few dozen stories and conversations produced by bilingual children, and subsequently comparing them with those created by their monolingual peers, one cannot feel a hundred percent confident as to the conclusions. Neither is one able to claim generalizations beyond the limits of the research. Because of the difficulty of data transcription and coding of the semi-naturalistic data restricted to 60 subjects, it would not seem reasonable to claim that the findings based on the Frog Story groups are generalizable to larger groups. The conclusions, at best, have to be restricted to the groups of subjects studied. Therefore, I suggest that further research is required to confirm or refute the same limited conclusions drawn here.

One probable reason why researchers do not feel secure in proposing definite conclusions is the fact that neither the field of language proficiency nor its assessment are provided with established norms or criteria, by reference to which one would be able to confidently evaluate and analyze the findings of the research. To realize such an objective, namely providing the field of language proficiency and language proficiency assessment with definitive norms and criteria would also demand conducting more research projects relevant to the field.

Conducting research into the similar topics is recommended. It would be useful to carry out research to assess bilingual subjects' Persian and Turkish language proficiency. As Pearson (2002, p.164) states, "with stories in two languages from the same children, we were able to assess the degree to which growth in one language appeared to support or hinder the children's growth in the other language for the two domains of 'discourse' and 'language'". It would also be useful to conduct a study to compare the language proficiency and the academic achievement of monolingual Persian-speaking 5th graders with the language proficiency and the academic achievement of bilingual Kurdish-Persian-speaking 5th graders living in the same region, i.e. in some villages near Quchan.

Researchers in this field are recommended to carry out a study to compare the language proficiency and the academic achievement of bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking 5th graders with the language proficiency and the academic achievement of other bilingual Kurdish-Persian-speaking 5th graders living in the same region. Conducting a study to compare bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking/Kurdish-

Persian-speaking 1st and 5th graders' Persian proficiency and academic achievement would be also useful. This would help inform us of different problems the 1st graders are faced with, and to be able to compare them with those who are shortly to leave primary school.

It can be useful to carry out a study to compare bilingual Turkish-Persian-speaking 5th graders' Persian proficiency and academic achievement with trilingual Turkish-Kurdish-Persian-speaking 5th graders' Persian proficiency and academic achievement. It might be worth noting that in the region under discussion, these three language communities (Persian-speaking, Turkish-speaking, and Kurdish-speaking) have lived side by side for centuries. It would also be useful to make a study at the very end of the academic year to compare the language proficiency of bilingual 1st graders' who have attended the Iranian Ministry of Education's one-month preparatory course aimed at helping the non-Persian speakers to meet the demands of schooling in non-native language, with those who have not had this opportunity.

Finally, it would be very helpful to conduct research at the very end of the academic year to compare the language proficiency and the academic achievement of bilingual 3rd graders' who have attended a school system with immersion programmes, with the language proficiency and the academic achievement of other bilingual 3rd graders who have attended a school system without such immersion programmes.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

Although it seems that extensive research has been carried out into the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement, Papapavlou (1999) posits that the studies which examine the performance of bilingual students in severely monolingual school environments, in which minority language children do not receive any special instruction in their home language are rare. He makes an attempt to examine the children's academic achievement in the absence of any auxiliary language support provided by submersion programmes (p.254).

There are many topics of crucial importance which have not yet been examined. Without identifying the overall position of bilingual education within

the whole national educational system, it is almost inevitable that isolated investigations are bound to go astray, failing, at least, to come up with integrated comprehensive conclusions. For this reason, future research into bilingualism and bilingual education in Iran should explore the topics in a broader and more multidisciplinary context in order to provide a more detailed understanding of the important issues involved. In other words, it would be necessary for those conducting research in the field to take into consideration any key sociolinguistic factors at national level.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Subjects' Language Proficiency Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Narrative Style (30)	Grammatical Accuracy (30)	Narrative Total (60)	Conversation (40)	Sum (100)
Third Grade	MJT9m	24.5	13	37.5	19	56.5
	ALN8m	24	16	40	34	74
	FHD9m	22	14	36	18.5	54.5
	SDL9m	23	12.5	35.5	17	52.5
	IMN9m	27	16	43	26.5	69.5
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	11.5	14	25.5	17.5	43
	AHM9m	15.5	9	24.5	8	32.5
	SHL10m	22.5	16	38.5	29.5	68
	HDR11m	12	13.5	25.5	29	54.5
	VHD9m	12.5	13.5	26	30	56
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	22.5	19.5	42	20.5	62.5
	HMD12m	21	14.5	35.5	29	64.5
	MIN10m	14	13	27	21	48
	SDE10m	12.5	18.5	31	15.5	46.5
	HST10m	13.5	14.5	28	13.5	41.5

Table 1A. Monolingual Male Subjects' Overall Language Proficiency Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Female)	Narrative Style (30)	Grammatical Accuracy (30)	Narrative Total (60)	Conversation (40)	Sum (100)
Third Grade	SRN8m	17.5	11.5	29	27	56
	ZOH9f	24.5	14.5	39	30.5	69.5
	MLH9f	16.5	16	32.5	24.5	57
	ASM9f	23	17	40	20.5	60.5
	MHS8f	19.5	17.5	37	27.5	64.5
Fourth Grade	SHR10f	25.5	15	40.5	36	76.5
	EHM8f	26	18.5	44.5	24.5	69
	FZE10f	19.5	17	36.5	27	63.5
	ELM9f	19	16.5	35.5	25	60.5
	MOD8f	12.5	13.5	26	15.5	41.5
Fifth Grade	MSN11f	27.5	17	44.5	30.5	75
	FRB10f	8	12	20	16	36
	SBR9f	13.5	17.5	31	23	54
	SMR10f	22.5	16.5	39	28	67
	MRZ10f	18.5	17.5	36	20.5	56.5

Table 1B. Monolingual Female Subjects' Overall Language Proficiency Scores

Grade	Bilingual (Male)	Narrative Style (30)	Grammatical Accuracy (30)	Narrative Total (60)	Conversation (40)	Sum (100)
Third Grade	SDM9m	13	12.5	25.5	27.5	53
	RZA8m	15	12.5	27.5	11.5	39
	HSC9m	19	13	32	31	63
	ALG10m	6.5	9	15.5	14	29.5
	AMN9m	5	12.5	17.5	16	33.5
Fourth Grade	AMR10m	11.5	17	28.5	21	49.5
	RSL10m	19	12	31	14.5	45.5
	SDJ10m	18	15.5	33.5	11.5	45
	HSE10m	7	9	16	22	38
	ERM9m	14.5	14.5	29	8	37
Fifth Grade	MHA11m	16.5	12.5	29	16	45
	AHF11m	15	18	33	14.5	47.5
	MHD11m	17	14.5	31.5	26.5	58
	MSB11m	17	15	32	25	57
	MST11m	16	21.5	37.5	25.5	63

Table 1C. Bilingual Male Subjects' Overall Language Proficiency Scores

Grade	Bilingual (Female)	Narrative Style (30)	Grammatical Accuracy (30)	Narrative Total (60)	Conversation (40)	Sum (100)
Third Grade	MLH9f	21	15	36	33.5	69.5
	AZM9f	14	19	33	19.5	52.5
	HLM10f	16.5	21.5	38	22.5	60.5
	FTM9f	24.5	15.5	40	26	66
	MNA9f	24.5	16.5	41	30.5	71.5
Fourth Grade	FZR10f	10	12	22	18.5	40.5
	FZT11f	18	15	33	29.5	62.5
	BNM10f	29	20.5	49.5	30	79.5
	MHL9f	18.5	15	33.5	15.5	49
	MHB10f	19.5	15.5	35	28.5	63.5
Fifth Grade	ZHM13f	6.5	12	18.5	16.5	35
	MGN9f	17.5	12	29.5	26	55.5
	ZHA10f	11.5	13	24.5	16.5	41
	RHN11f	20.5	15.5	36	13	49
	ELE9f	13.5	16	29.5	12.5	42

Table 1D. Bilingual Female Subjects' Overall Language Proficiency Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Connected Story (6)	Core Plot Components (8)	Story Features (2)	Engagement (4)	Internal States (2)	Utterance (4)	Dominant Tense (4)	Sum (30)
Third Grade	MJT9m	4.5	7	1.5	2.5	1	4	4	24.5
	ALN8m	1.5	8	2	2.5	2	4	4	24
	FHD9m	6	5	2	2.5	0.5	4	2	22
	SDL9m	6	6	0	2	1	4	4	23
	IMN9m	6	7	1.5	3	1.5	4	4	27
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	4	2	0	1.5	0	4	0	11.5
	AHM9m	1.5	6	0.5	0.5	1	2	4	15.5
	SHL10m	5	5	1.5	2	1	4	4	22.5
	HDR11m	2	5	0	1	0	0	4	12
	VHD9m	-1.5	5	1.5	2.5	1	2	2	12.5
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	4	7	1	2.5	0	4	4	22.5
	HMD12m	3.5	6	1	2	0.5	4	4	21
	MIN10m	1	4	2	1	0	2	4	14
	SDE10m	-1	6	1	1.5	1	0	4	12.5
	HST10m	0.5	5	2	1.5	0.5	0	4	13.5

Table 2A. Monolingual Male Subjects' Overall Narrative Style Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Female)	Connected Story (6)	Core Plot Components (8)	Story Features (2)	Engagement (4)	Internal States (2)	Utterance (4)	Dominant Tens (4)	Sum (30)
Third Grade	SRN8f	4	1	2	2	0.5	4	4	17.5
	ZOH9f	4	7	2	2.5	1	4	4	24.5
	MLH9f	3.5	5	2	1	1	4	0	16.5
	ASM9f	6	6	2	3	2	4	0	23
	MHS8f	4	5	2	3	1.5	4	0	19.5
Fourth Grade	SHR10f	6	6	2	2.5	1	4	4	25.5
	EHM8f	6	7	2	2	1	4	4	26
	FZE10f	6	2	1	1	1.5	4	4	19.5
	ELM9f	2.5	4	2	3.5	1	2	4	19
	MOD8f	0	2	1	1	0.5	4	4	12.5
Fifth Grade	MSN11f	6	8	2	2	1.5	4	4	27.5
	FRB10f	1.5	0	1	1	0.5	0	4	8
	SBR9f	2	7	2	2	0.5	0	0	13.5
	SMR10f	4	6	2	2.5	2	2	4	22.5
	MRZ10f	3	5	2	1.5	1	2	4	18.5

Table 2B. Monolingual Female Subjects' Overall Narrative Style Scores

Grade	Bilingual (Male)	Connected Story (6)	Core Plot Components (8)	Story Features (2)	Engagement (4)	Internal States (2)	Utterance (4)	Dominant Tense (4)	Sum (30)
Third Grade	SDM9m	0	6	0	1.5	1.5	4	0	13
	RZA8m	0.5	3	0.5	2.5	0.5	4	4	15
	HSC9m	5	4	1	1	0	4	4	19
	ALG10m	0	0	0	0.5	0	4	2	6.5
	AMN9m	-1	2	0	0	0	2	2	5
Fourth Grade	AMR10m	1.5	3	1	1.5	0.5	2	2	11.5
	RSL10m	1	6	1	2	1	4	4	19
	SDJ10m	3.5	5	1.5	1.5	0.5	2	4	18
	HSE10m	2	0	1	1	0	2	1	7
	ERM9m	3	2	0	1	0.5	4	4	14.5
Fifth Grade	MHA11m	3	4	1.5	1.5	0.5	2	4	16.5
	AHF11m	1	6	0	1	1	2	4	15
	MHD11m	1.5	5	1.5	2.5	0.5	2	4	17
	MSB11m	1.5	6	1.5	1.5	0.5	2	4	17
	MST11m	5	0	1	1	1	4	4	16

Table 2C. Bilingual Male Subjects' Overall Narrative Style Scores

Grade	Bilingual (Female)	Connected Story (6)	Core Plot Components (8)	Story Features (2)	Engagement (4)	Internal States (2)	Utterance (4)	Dominant Tense (4)	Sum (30)
Third Grade	BNR10f	3	6	2	1	1	4	4	21
	AZM9f	3	3	0.5	2.5	0	4	1	14
	HLM10f	6	2	1	2.5	1	4	0	16.5
	FTM9f	6	5	2	1.5	2	4	4	24.5
	MNA9f	6	5	2	2	1.5	4	4	24.5
Fourth Grade	FZR10f	3	1	1	0.5	0.5	4	0	10
	FZT11f	4	4	2	1.5	0.5	2	4	18
	BNM10f	6	8	2	3.5	1.5	4	4	29
	MHL9f	4	4	2	2.5	0	2	4	18.5
	MHB10f	2.5	4	2	2	1	4	4	19.5
Fifth Grade	ZHM13f	2.5	0	1	0	0	2	1	6.5
	MGN9f	3	5	1	1	1.5	2	4	17.5
	ZHA10f	-0.5	3	2	1	0	2	4	11.5
	RHN11f	3	6	1	2	0.5	4	4	20.5
	ELE9f	1	3	2	1	0.5	2	4	13.5

Table 2D. Bilingual Female Subjects' Overall Narrative Style Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Conjunction (4)	Dominant Aspect (6)	Lexicon (13)	Morpho- Syntactic (3)	Dominant Dialect (4)	Fluency (0)	Sum (30)
Third Grade	MJT9m	0	4.5	4.5	3	4	-3	13
	ALN8m	1	1	10	3	4	-3	16
	FHD9m	0	2.5	6.5	3	4	-2	14
	SDL9m	0	1	8.5	2	4	-3	12.5
	IMN9m	2	2.5	7.5	3	4	-3	16
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	0	4	5	3	4	-2	14
	AHM9m	0	2	5	3	0	-1	9
	SHL10m	2	2	7	2	4	-1	16
	HDR11m	0	1	6.5	3	4	-1	13.5
	VHD9m	0	1	6.5	3	4	-	13.5
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	4	0.5	9	3	4	-1	19.5
	HMD12m	0	2.5	7	3	4	-2	14.5
	MIN10m	0	1.5	5.5	3	4	-1	13
	SDE10m	4	2.5	5	3	4	-	18.5
	HST10m	0	1	6.5	3	4	-	14.5

Table 3A. Monolingual Male Subjects' Overall Grammatical Accuracy Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Conjunction (4)	Dominant Aspect (6)	Lexicon (13)	Morpho- Syntactic (3)	Dominant Dialect (4)	Fluency (0)	Sum (30)
Third Grade	SRN8f	0	2	5.5	2	4	-2	11.5
	ZOH9f	0	2.5	7	3	4	-2	14.5
	MLH9f	0	3	7	3	4	-1	16
	ASM9f	0	2	10	3	4	-2	17
	MHS8f	0	3.5	7	3	4	-	17.5
Fourth Grade	SHR10f	1	0.5	7.5	3	4	-1	15
	EHM8f	2	1.5	10	2	4	-1	18.5
	FZE10f	0	5	8	3	4	-3	17
	ELM9f	1	1.5	7	3	4	-	16.5
	MOD8f	0	1.5	6	3	4	-1	13.5
Fifth Grade	MSN11f	2	3	8	3	4	-3	17
	FRB10f	0	0.5	4.5	3	4	-	12
	SBR9f	1	1.5	8	3	4	-	17.5
	SMR10f	0	3	7.5	3	4	-1	16.5
	MRZ10f	0	2	8.5	3	4	-	17.5

Table 3B. Monolingual Female Subjects' Overall Grammatical Accuracy Scores

Grade	Bilingual (Male)	Conjunction (4)	Dominant Aspect (6)	Lexicon (13)	Morpho- Syntactic (3)	Dominant Dialect (4)	Fluency (0)	Sum (30)
Third Grade	SDM9m	0	2.5	5	3	4	-2	12.5
	RZA8m	0	1	5.5	3	4	-1	12.5
	HSC9m	2	0.5	5.5	3	4	-2	13
	ALG10m	0	1.5	5.5	3	0	-1	9
	AMN9m	0	1.5	4	3	4	-	12.5
Fourth Grade	AMR10m	0	1.5	8.5	3	4	-	17
	RSL10m	0	2.5	7.5	3	0	-1	12
	SDJ10m	0	1	7.5	3	4	-	15.5
	HSE10m	0	1.5	5.5	2	2	-2	9
	ERM9m	0	3.5	5	3	4	-1	14.5
Fifth Grade	MHA11m	0	2	8.5	3	0	-1	12.5
	AHF11m	1	2	8	3	4	-	18
	MHD11m	0	0.5	7	3	4	-	14.5
	MSB11m	0	1	8	3	4	-1	15
	MST11m	3	5	8.5	2	4	-1	21.5

Table 3C. Bilingual Male Subjects' Overall Grammatical Accuracy Scores

Grade	Bilingual (Female)	Conjunction (4)	Dominant Aspect (6)	Lexicon (13)	Morpho- Syntactic (3)	Dominant Dialect (4)	Fluency (0)	Sum (30)
Third Grade	BNR101f	0	2	7	3	4	-1	15
	AZM9f	4	2.5	6.5	3	4	-1	19
	HLM10f	2	4.5	9	3	4	-1	21.5
	FTM9f	1	1	7.5	3	4	-1	15.5
	MNA9f	0	4	6.5	3	4	-1	16.5
Fourth Grade	FZR10f	0	3	3	3	4	-1	12
	FZT11f	2	1.5	4.5	3	4	-	15
	BNM10f	2	2	9.5	3	4	-	20.5
	MHL9f	0	2	7	3	4	-1	15
	MHB10f	0	2.5	8	3	4	-2	15.5
Fifth Grade	ZHM13f	0	1.5	4.5	3	4	-1	12
	MGN9f	0	1	6	3	4	-2	12
	ZHA10f	0	2.5	4.5	2	4	-	13
	RHN11f	0	2.5	6	3	4	-	15.5
	ELE9f	0	3.5	5.5	3	4	-	16

Table 3D. Bilingual Female Subjects' Overall Grammatical Accuracy Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Summer Activities (4)	Explanation (6)	Description (6)	Memory (6)	Contextual Information (4)	Diction (2)	Overall Language Style (12)	Fluency (0)	Sum (40)
Third Grade	MJT9m	2	5	2	0.5	0	0.5	11	-2	19
	ALN8m	4	6	3.5	6	4	1.5	12	-3	34
	FHD9m	0	6	1.5	0	0	1	11	-1	18.5
	SDL9m	0	2	2.5	3	2	0.5	9	-2	17
	IMN9m	4	0.5	6	5.5	2	0.5	11	-3	26.5
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	0.5	2	1	6	2	0.5	8.5	-3	17.5
	AHM9m	0.5	1	1	0	0	0.5	8	-3	8
	SHL10m	4	3	1.5	6	4	1	11	-1	29.5
	HDR11m	4	6	2	6	2	1	11	-3	29
	VHD9m	2	6	3.5	4.5	2	1	12	-1	30
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	0.5	3	1	2.5	4	1	10.5	-2	20.5
	HMD12m	4	2.5	5.5	6	4	1	10	-4	29
	MIN10m	2	6	2	0.5	2	0.5	11	-3	21
	SDE10m	2.5	2.5	0.5	0	0	1	10	-1	15.5
	HST10m	0.5	3	0.5	2	0	0.5	8	-1	13.5

Table 4A. Monolingual Male Subjects' Overall Conversation Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Female)	Summer Activities (4)	Explanation (6)	Description (6)	Memory (6)	Contextual Information (4)	Diction (2)	Overall Language Style (12)	Fluency (0)	Sum (40)
Third Grade	SRN8f	4	3	2.5	6	4	0.5	10	-3	27
	ZOH9f	4	5	3	5	4	0.5	11	-2	30.5
	MLH9f	4	3	4	3	0	0.5	11	-1	24.5
	ASM9f	4	3	3	0.5	0	1	11	-2	20.5
	MHS8f	4	6	2	2.5	2	1	11	-1	27.5
Fourth Grade	SHR10f	4	4	6	6	4	2	12	-2	36
	EHM8f	4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2	1	12	-2	24.5
	FZE10f	0.5	6	3	6	2	1	11.5	-3	27
	ELM9f	4	3	1.5	4	2	1	11.5	-2	25
	MOD8f	1.5	2	2	0	0	1	11	-2	15.5
Fifth Grade	MSN11f	4	6	1.5	6	4	1	11	-3	30.5
	FRB10f	1.5	2	1	1.5	0	1	10	-1	16
	SBR9f	2.5	3	3	3.5	2	0.5	9.5	-1	23
	SMR10f	1	3	6	3	4	1	11	-1	28
	MRZ10f	4	3	2.5	0	0	0.5	11.5	-1	20.5

Table 4B. Monolingual Female Subjects' Overall Conversation Scores

Grade	Bilingual (Male)	Summer Activities (4)	Explanation (6)	Description (6)	Memory (6)	Contextual Information (4)	Diction (2)	Overall Language Style (12)	Fluency (0)	Sum (40)
Third Grade	SDM9m	1	6	6	5	2	0.5	11	-4	27.5
	RZA8m	0.5	5	2	0	0	0.5	5.5	-2	11.5
	HSC9m	0.5	6	6	6	4	0.5	11	-3	31
	ALG10m	0.5	2.5	1.5	0	0	0.5	10	-1	14
	AMN9m	1	4	1	0.5	2	0.5	9	-2	16
Fourth Grade	AMR10m	0.5	3	3.5	3.5	2	0.5	9	-1	21
	RSL10m	1	1.5	1	3	0	0.5	8.5	-1	14.5
	SDJ10m	1	1.5	0.5	1	0	0.5	9	-2	11.5
	HSE10m	1.5	3	0.5	6	2	1	10	-2	22
	ERM9m	0.5	1	0	0	0	0.5	7	-1	8
Fifth Grade	MHA11m	0.5	4	1.5	1	0	0.5	9.5	-1	16
	AHF11m	0.5	6	2.5	0	0	0.5	7	-2	14.5
	MHD11m	1.5	6	0.5	6	4	0.5	11	-3	26.5
	MSB11m	2	4	1.5	4.5	4	1	10	-2	25
	MST11m	0.5	3	6	4	2	1	11	-2	25.5

Table 4C. Bilingual Male Subjects' Overall Conversation Scores

Grade	Bilingual (Female)	Summer Activities (4)	Explanation (6)	Description (6)	Memory (6)	Contextual Information (4)	Diction (2)	Overall Language Style (12)	Fluency (0)	Sum (40)
Third Grade	BNR10f	3	4.5	6	6	4	1	11	-2	33.5
	AZM9f	0.5	3	2	1.5	4	0.5	9	-1	19.5
	HLM10f	4	3	6	0	0	0.5	10	-1	22.5
	FTM9f	2	3	3	4	4	1	10	-1	26
	MNA9f	4	3	5	3	4	1.5	12	-2	30.5
Fourth Grade	FZR10f	4	4.5	3	0	0	1	8	-2	18.5
	FZT11f	4	5	5.5	4.5	0	1.5	10	-1	29.5
	BNM10f	3	2	3	6	4	1.5	11.5	-1	30
	MHL9f	2	1	2	0	0	0.5	11	-1	15.5
	MHB10f	4	4.5	2	5	2	1	12	-2	28.5
Fifth Grade	ZHM13f	0.5	5	1.5	0	2	0.5	8	-1	16.5
	MGN9f	4	5	3.5	4	2	0.5	11	-4	26
	ZHA10f	2	3.5	3	0	0	0.5	9.5	-2	16.5
	RHN11f	1.5	3	2	0	0	0.5	7	-1	13
	ELE9f	0.5	3	2	0	0	0.5	7.5	-1	12.5

Table 4D. Bilingual Female Subjects' Overall Conversation Scores

Monoling. (Male)	Connected Story (6)						Core Plot Components (Total 8= * + 6 + 2)								Story Features (2)		Engagement (Total 4 = 8 * 1/2)								Internal State (2)		Utter- ance (4)		Dominant Tense (4)			Sum (30)	
	2	1	1	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	1	1	4	2		4
MJT9m	2	1	1	2	0	<u>1</u>	<u>h</u>	*	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	H	0	h	0	0	h	H	h	h	h	h	4	2	4	2	1	30
ALN8m	0	0	1	2	0	<u>1</u>	<u>h</u>	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	h	0	0	h	H	h	h	1	1	4	2	4	2	1	24.5
FHD9m	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	h	0	h	0	h	0	h	h	0	h	4	2	4	2	1	22
SDL9m	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	h	0	h	0	0	h	h	0	1	4	2	4	2	1	23
IMN9m	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	H	h	h	0	0	h	H	h	h	h	1	4	2	4	2	1	27
MHN11m	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	h	0	h	h	0	0	4	2	4	2	1	11.5
AHM9m	0	1	0	1h	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	H	0	0	0	0	h	0	0	0	h	h	2	2	4	2	1	15.5
SHL10m	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	*	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	H	h	0	0	0	h	H	0	h	h	h	4	2	4	2	1	22.5
HDR11m	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	*	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	h	0	0	0	h	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	12
VHD9m	0	0	0	0	0	<u>1</u>	<u>h</u>	*	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	H	h	0	0	0	h	H	h	h	h	h	2	2	4	2	1	12.5
HDI10m	2	1	0	2	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	h	h	h	0	0	0	h	h	0	0	4	2	4	2	1	22.5
HMD12m	0	1	1	1h	0	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	h	h	0	h	H	0	0	0	h	4	2	4	2	1	21
MIN10m	0	1	0	1	0	0	<u>1</u>	*	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	H	h	0	0	0	2	2	4	2	1	14
SDE10m	0	0	0	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	h	h	0	0	h	0	0	0	h	h	0	0	4	2	1	12.5
HST10m	0	1	0	h	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	h	0	h	0	0	0	0	h	0	h	0	0	4	2	1	13.5

Table 5A. Monolingual Male Subjects' Detailed Narrative Style Scores

Monoling. (Male)	Connected Story (6)						Core Plot Components (Total 8= * + 6 + 2)								Story Features (2)		Engagement (Total 4 = 8 * 1/2)								Internal State (2)		Utter- ance (4)		Dominant Tense (4)			Sum (30)			
	2	1	1	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h		h	h	h
SRN8f	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	h	H	h	h	0	h	4	2	4	2	1	30		
ZOH9f	2	0	1	2	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	h	h	0	h	0	h	h	h	h	4	4	4	4	4	24.5		
MLH9f	2	0	1	2	0	<u>1</u>	<u>h</u>	*	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	h	0	0	h	h	4	0	4	0	4	0	16.5		
ASM9f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	h	0	h	0	h	H	h	h	1	1	4	0	4	0	4	0	23	
MHS8f	2	0	1	2	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	h	0	h	0	h	H	h	h	h	1	4	0	4	0	4	0	19.5	
SHR10f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	h	h	0	0	0	H	h	h	0	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	25.5	
EHM8f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	h	0	h	0	h	0	h	0	0	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	26	
FZE10f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	h	0	h	0	1	h	4	4	4	4	4	4	19.5	
ELM9f	0	1	0	2	0	0	<u>h</u>	*	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	h	0	h	h	h	H	h	h	h	h	2	4	4	4	4	4	19	
MOD8f	2	0	0	0	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	0	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	h	0	0	H	0	0	0	h	4	4	4	4	4	4	12.5	
MSN11f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	h	0	h	0	h	h	h	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	27.5	
FRB10f	0	1	0	2	<u>1</u>	0	<u>h</u>	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	h	0	0	0	h	0	h	0	0	4	4	4	4	4	8	
SBR9f	0	1	0	2	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	h	h	h	0	0	0	0	h	0	h	0	0	4	4	4	4	4	13.5
SMR10f	2	1	0	2	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	h	h	0	0	h	H	h	0	1	1	2	4	4	4	4	4	22.5	
MRZ10f	0	1	1	2	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	h	0	0	0	H	h	0	1	0	2	4	4	4	4	4	18.5	

Table 5B. Monolingual Female Subjects' Detailed Narrative Style Scores

Monoling. (Male)	Connected Story (6)						Core Plot Components (Total 8= * + 6 + 2)								Story Features (2)		Engagement (Total 4 = 8 * 1/2)								Internal State (2)		Utter- ance (4)		Dominant Tense (4)			Sum (30)	
	2	1	1	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	1	1	4	2		4
SDM9m	2	0	0	0	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	h	0	h	h	1	h	4		0		13	
RZA8m	0	0	1	h	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	h	0	h	h	0	h	h	h	0	0	h	4		4		15	
HSC9m	2	1	1	2	0	0	<u>1</u>	*	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	h	h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		4		19	
ALG10m	0	0	1	0	0	<u>1</u>	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	h	0	0	4		2		6.5	
AMN9m	0	0	0	0	0	<u>1</u>	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2		2		5	
AMR10m	0	1	0	h	0	0	0	-	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	h	h	0	h	0	h	2		2		11.5	
RSL10m	0	0	1	1h	0	<u>1</u>	<u>h</u>	*	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	h	h	h	h	0	1	4		4		19		
SDJ10m	0	1	1	1h	0	0	0	*	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	h	0	0	h	0	0	h	0	h	h	0	2		4		18	
HSE10m	2	0	0	1	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	h	0	0	h	0	0	0	0	2		1		7	
ERM9m	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	h	0	h	0	0	0	0	h	4		4		14.5	
MHA11m	2	1	0	1	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	h	0	h	0	0	h	h	0	0	0	h	2		4		16.5	
AHF11m	0	1	0	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	h	0	0	h	0	0	0	h	h	2		4		15	
MHD11m	0	1	0	1	0	0	<u>h</u>	*	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	h	0	h	0	0	h	h	h	h	0	h	2		4		17	
MSB11m	0	1	0	1h	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	h	h	0	h	0	h	0	0	0	0	h	2		4		17	
MST11m	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	h	0	0	0	0	h	0	0	1	0	4		4		16	

Table 5C. Bilingual Male Subjects' Detailed Narrative Style Scores

Monoling. (Male)	Connected Story (6)						Core Plot Components (Total 8= * + 6 + 2)								Story Features (2)		Engagement (Total 4 = 8 * 1/2)								Internal State (2)		Utter- ance (4)		Dominant Tense (4)			Sum (30)					
	2	1	1	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h		1	1	4	2	4
BNR10f	2	1	0	h	0	0	<u>h</u>	*	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	h	0	h	0	0	0	0	0	0	h	h	4	2	4	2	1	30			
AZM9f	2	0	0	2	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	h	h	h	h	0	0	H	0	h	0	0	4	2	4	2	1	21				
HLM10f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	h	0	h	0	h	H	h	0	h	h	4	2	4	2	1	16.5				
FTM9f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	h	0	0	0	h	0	0	h	1	1	4	2	4	2	1	24.5				
MNA9f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	h	0	h	0	h	h	h	1	4	2	4	2	1	24.5				
FZR10f	2	0	1	1	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	h	0	0	0	0	0	h	0	4	2	4	2	1	10				
FZT11f	2	0	1	2	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	h	0	h	0	h	0	0	h	2	2	4	2	1	18				
BNM10f	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	h	h	h	h	h	H	0	h	h	1	4	2	4	2	1	29				
MHL9f	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	*	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	h	h	h	0	0	H	h	0	0	0	2	2	4	2	1	18.5				
MHB10f	0	1	1	1h	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	h	0	h	H	0	h	0	1	4	2	4	2	1	19.5				
ZHM13f	2	0	0	h	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	2	1	6.5				
MGN9f	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	-	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	h	0	0	H	0	0	h	1	2	2	4	2	1	17.5				
ZHA10f	0	0	0	h	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	H	h	0	0	0	2	2	4	2	1	11.5				
RHN11f	0	1	1	2	0	<u>1</u>	0	*	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	h	0	h	0	h	H	0	0	0	h	4	2	4	2	1	20.5				
ELE9f	2	0	0	0	<u>1</u>	0	0	*	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	h	0	0	0	H	0	0	h	0	2	2	4	2	1	13.5				

Table 5D. Bilingual Female Subjects' Detailed Narrative Style Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Conjunction (4)				Aspect (6)			Lexicon (13)			Morpho- syntactic (3)	Dominant Dialect (4)		Fluency (0)	Sum (30)
		2	1	2	1	2	2	2	6	6	1	3	4	2		
Third Grade	MJT9m	0	0	0	0	2	2	H	2h	2	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-3	13
	ALN8m	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	5	5	0	3	4 (Quchani)		-3	16
	FHD9m	0	0	0	0	0	1h	1	3h	3	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-2	14
	SDL9m	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	4	h	2	4 (Tehrani)		-3	12.5
	IMN9m	0	0	2	0	0	1	1h	3h	4	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-3	16
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1h	3h	0	3	4 (Quchani)		-2	14
	AHM9m	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2h	2	h	3	0		-1	9
	SHL10m	0	0	2	0	0	1h	H	2h	4	h	2	4 (Quchani)		-1	16
	HDR11m	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	13.5
	VHD9m	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2h	3	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	13.5
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	2	-	2	0	0	0	H	5	3h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	19.5
	HMD12m	0	0	0	0	0	1	1h	3h	3	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-2	14.5
	MIN10m	0	0	0	0	0	1	H	3	2h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	13
	SDE10m	2	-	2	0	0	1h	1	4	h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	18.5
	HST10m	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3h	3	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	14.5

Table 6A. Monolingual Male Subjects' Detailed Grammatical Accuracy Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Conjunction (4)				Aspect (6)			Lexicon (13)			Morpho- syntactic (3)	Dominant Dialect (4)		Fluency (0)	Sum (30)
		2	1	2	1	2	2	2	6	6	1	3	4	2		30
Third Grade	SRN8f	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	3h	0	2	4 (Tehrani)		-2	11.5
	ZOH9f	0	0	0	0	0	1h	1	4h	2h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-2	14.5
	MLH9f	0	0	0	0	0	1h	1h	3h	3h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	16
	ASM9f	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5h	4	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-2	17
	MHS8f	0	0	0	0	1	1	1h	3h	3	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	17.5
Fourth Grade	SHR10f	0	0	0	1	0	0	H	5h	1h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	15
	EHM8f	2	0	0	0	0	h	1	5	5	0	2	4 (Tehrani)		-1	18.5
	FZE10f	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	4	3h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-3	17
	ELM9f	0	0	0	1	0	h	1	4	3	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	16.5
	MOD8f	0	0	0	0	0	1	H	3	2h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	13.5
Fifth Grade	MSN11f	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	5h	2h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-3	17
	FRB10f	0	0	0	0	0	0	H	2	2	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	12
	SBR9f	0	0	0	1	1	0	H	5	2h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	17.5
	SMR10f	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3h	3h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	16.5
	MRZ10f	0	0	0	0	0	1h	H	4	4	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	17.5

Table 6B. Monolingual Female Subjects' Detailed Grammatical Accuracy Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Conjunction (4)				Aspect (6)			Lexicon (13)			Morpho- syntactic (3)	Dominant Dialect (4)		Fluency (0)	Sum (30)
		2	1	2	1	2	2	2	6	6	1		4	2		
Third Grade	SDM9m	0	0	0	0	2	0	h	2	3	0	3	4 (Quchani)		-2	12.5
	RZA8m	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2h	0	3	4 (Quchani)		-1	12.5
	HSC9m	2	-	0	0	0	0	h	2h	3	0	3	4 (Quchani)		-2	13
	ALG10m	0	0	0	0	1	0	h	2	3h	0	3	0		-1	9
	AMN9m	0	0	0	0	1	0	h	1h	2h	0	3	4 (Quchani)		-	12.5
Fourth Grade	AMR10m	0	0	0	0	1	0	h	4h	4	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	17
	RSL10m	0	0	0	0	0	2	h	3h	4	0	3	0		-1	12
	SDJ10m	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	3h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	15.5
	HSE10m	0	0	0	0	0	0	1h	3h	2	0	2	2 (Neutral)		-2	9
	ERM9m	0	0	0	0	1	1h	1	2	3	0	3	4 (Quchani)		-1	14.5
Fifth Grade	MHA11m	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	3h	0	3	0		-1	12.5
	AHF11m	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	4h	3	h	3	4 (Quchani)		-	18
	MHD11m	0	0	0	0	0	0	h	4	2h	h	3	4 (Quchani)		-	14.5
	MSB11m	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3h	4	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	15
	MST11m	2	0	0	1	2	1h	1h	5	3	h	2	4 (Quchani)		-1	21.5

Table 6C. Bilingual Male Subjects' Detailed Grammatical Accuracy Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Conjunction				Aspect			Lexicon			Morpho- syntactic	Dominant Dialect		Fluency	Sum
		(4)				(6)			(13)			(3)	(4)		(0)	(30)
		2	1	2	1	2	2	2	6	6	1	3	4	2		30
Third Grade	BNR10f	0	0	0	0	0	1h	h	3	3h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	15
	AZM9f	2	0	2	_	0	1h	1	3	3h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	19
	HLM10f	2	_	0	0	2	2	h	6	2h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	21.5
	FTM9f	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	4	3h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	15.5
	MNA9f	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	3h	3	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	16.5
Fourth Grade	FZR10f	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1h	1h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	12
	FZT11f	2	_	0	0	1	0	h	2	2h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	15
	BNM10f	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	4	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	20.5
	MHL9f	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	3	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	15
	MHB10f	0	0	0	0	0	1h	1	5	2h	h	3	4 (Tehrani)		-2	15.5
Fifth Grade	ZHM13f	0	0	0	0	0	1	h	2	2h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-1	12
	MGN9f	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-2	12
	ZHA10f	0	0	0	0	1	1	h	2h	2	0	2	4 (Tehrani)		-	13
	RHN11f	0	0	0	0	0	1h	1	3	3	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	15.5
	ELE9f	0	0	0	0	1	2	h	3	2h	0	3	4 (Tehrani)		-	16

Table 6D. Bilingual Female Subjects' Detailed Grammatical Accuracy Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Summer Activities (4)		Explanation (6)		Description (6)		Memory (6)		Contextual Information (4)	Diction (2)	Overall Language Style (12)				Fluency (0)	Sum (40)
		Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Place/Time	Vocab.	R.	T.	C.	G.		
		2	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	3	3	3		40
Third Grade	MJT9m	2	0	4	1	2	0	H	0	0	H	3	2	3	3	-2	19
	ALN8m	2	2	4	2	3	h	4	2	4	1h	3	3	3	3	-3	34
	FHD9m	0	0	4	2	1h	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	2	3	-1	18.5
	SDL9m	0	0	1h	h	2h	0	3	0	2	H	2	2	2	3	-2	17
	IMN9m	2	2	h	0	4	2	4	1h	2	H	3	2	3	3	-3	26.5
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	H	0	1h	h	1	0	4	2	2	H	2	2	3	1h	-3	17.5
	AHM9m	H	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	H	3	2	2	1	-3	8
	SHL10m	2	2	2	1	1h	0	4	2	4	1	3	2	3	3	-1	29.5
	HDR11m	2	2	4	2	2	0	4	2	2	1	3	2	3	3	-3	29
	VHD9m	2	0	4	2	3	h	3	1h	2	1	3	3	3	3	-1	30
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	H	0	2	1	1	0	2	h	4	1	3	2	3	2h	-2	20.5
	HMD12m	2	2	1h	1	3h	2	4	2	4	1	3	2	3	2	-4	29
	MIN10m	1	1	4	2	1h	h	H	0	2	H	3	3	3	2	-3	21
	SDE10m	1h	1	2	h	h	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	3	2	-1	15.5
	HST10m	H	0	2	1	h	0	2	0	0	H	3	3	1	1	-1	13.5

Table 7A. Monolingual Male Subjects' Detailed Conversation Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Summer Activities (4)		Explanation (6)		Description (6)		Memory (6)		Contextual Information (4)	Diction (2)	Overall Language Style (12)				Fluency (0)	Sum (40)
		Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Place/Time	Vocab.	R.	T.	C.	G.		
		2	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	3	3	3		40
Third Grade	SRN8f	2	2	2	1	2	h	4	2	4	H	2	2	3	3	-3	27
	ZOH9f	2	2	3h	1h	2	1	4	1	4	H	3	2	3	3	-2	30.5
	MLH9f	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	H	3	3	2	3	-1	24.5
	ASM9f	2	2	2	1	2	1	H	0	0	1	3	3	2	3	-2	20.5
	MHS8f	2	2	4	2	1h	h	2	h	2	1	3	3	2	3	-1	27.5
Fourth Grade	SHR10f	2	2	4	0	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	3	3	3	-2	36
	EHM8f	2	2	1h	1	2	h	1h	1	2	1	3	3	3	3	-2	24.5
	FZE10f	H	0	4	2	2	1	4	2	2	1	3	3	3	2h	-3	27
	ELM9f	2	2	2	1	1	h	3h	h	2	1	3	3	3	2h	-2	25
	MOD8f	1h	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	2	3	-2	15.5
Fifth Grade	MSN11f	2	2	4	2	1	h	4	2	4	1	3	3	2	3	-3	30.5
	FRB10f	1h	0	1h	h	1	0	1	h	0	1	3	3	2	2	-1	16
	SBR9f	1h	1	2	1	2h	h	3	h	2	H	2	3	2	2h	-1	23
	SMR10f	1	0	2	1	4	2	2	1	4	1	3	3	2	3	-1	28
	MRZ10f	2	2	2	1	1h	1	0	0	0	H	3	3	3	2h	-1	20.5

Table 7B. Monolingual Female Subjects' Detailed Conversation Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Summer Activities (4)		Explanation (6)		Description (6)		Memory (6)		Contextual Information (4)	Diction (2)	Overall Language Style (12)				Fluency (0)	Sum (40)
		Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Place/Time	Vocab.	R.	T.	C.	G.		
		2	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	3	3	3		40
Third Grade	SDM9m	1	0	4	2	4	2	4	1	2	H	3	3	3	2	-4	27.5
	RZA8m	H	0	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	H	2	1	1	1h	-2	11.5
	HSC9m	H	0	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	H	2	3	3	3	-3	31
	ALG10m	H	0	2	h	1	h	0	0	0	H	3	3	2	2	-1	14
	AMN9m	1	0	2h	1h	1	0	H	0	2	H	3	2	2	2	-2	16
Fourth Grade	AMR10m	H	0	2	1	2h	1	2h	1	2	H	2	3	2	2	-1	21
	RSL10m	1	0	1h	0	1	0	2h	h	0	H	2	3	2	1h	-1	14.5
	SDJ10m	1	0	1h	0	H	0	1	0	0	H	3	3	2	1	-2	11.5
	HSE10m	1h	0	2	1	H	0	4	2	2	1	3	2	2	3	-2	22
	ERM9m	H	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	H	2	2	2	1	-1	8
Fifth Grade	MHA11m	H	0	2h	1h	1	h	H	h	0	H	3	2	3	1h	-1	16
	AHF11m	H	0	4	2	2h	0	0	0	0	H	3	2	1	1	-2	14.5
	MHD11m	1h	0	4	2	H	0	4	2	4	H	3	2	3	3	-3	26.5
	MSB11m	1	1	2h	1h	1h	0	3h	1	4	1	3	3	2	2	-2	25
	MST11m	H	0	2h	h	4	2	4	0	2	1	3	2	3	3	-2	25.5

Table 7C. Bilingual Male Subjects' Detailed Conversation Scores

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Summer Activities (4)		Explanation (6)		Description (6)		Memory (6)		Contextual Information (4)	Diction (2)	Overall Language Style (12)				Fluency (0)	Sum (40)
		Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Cl.	Co.	Place/Time	Vocab.	R.	T.	C.	G.		
		2	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	3	3	3		40
Third Grade	BNR10f	2	1	4	h	4	2	4	2	4	1	3	3	3	2	-2	33.5
	AZM9f	H	0	2h	h	2	0	1h	0	4	H	3	2	3	1	-1	19.5
	HLM10f	2	2	2	1	4	2	0	0	0	H	3	3	3	1	-1	22.5
	FTM9f	1	1	2	1	2	1	2h	1h	4	1	3	3	2	2	-1	26
	MNA9f	2	2	2	1	4	1	2	1	4	1h	3	3	3	3	-2	30.5
Fourth Grade	FZR10f	2	2	3	1h	2	1	0	0	0	1	3	2	2	1	-2	18.5
	FZT11f	2	2	3	2	3h	2	3	1h	0	1h	3	3	3	1	-1	29.5
	BNM10f	2	1	2	0	2	1	4	2	4	1h	3	3	3	2h	-1	30
	MHL9f	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	H	3	3	2	3	-1	15.5
	MHB10f	2	2	3	1h	2	0	4	1	2	1	3	3	3	3	-2	28.5
Fifth Grade	ZHM13f	H	0	4	1	1	h	0	0	2	H	3	2	2	1	-1	16.5
	MGN9f	2	2	4	1	2h	1	3	1	2	H	3	3	2	3	-4	26
	ZHA10f	1	1	2h	1	2h	h	0	0	0	H	2	3	2	2h	-2	16.5
	RHN11f	1h	0	2	1	1h	h	0	0	0	H	2	2	1	2	-1	13
	ELE9f	H	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	H	3	2	1	1h	-1	12.5

Table 7D. Bilingual Female Subjects' Detailed Conversation Scores

Grade	No.	Monolingual (Male)	Total Score (100)	No.	Monolingual (Female)	Total Score (100)	No.	Bilingual (Male)	Total Score (100)	No.	Bilingual (Female)	Total Score (100)
Third Grader	1	MJT9m	56.5	16	SRN8f	56	31	SDM9m	53	46	BNR10f	69.5
	2	ALN8m	74	17	ZOH9f	69.5	32	RZA8m	39	47	AZM9f	52.5
	3	FHD9m	54.5	18	MLH9f	57	33	HSC9m	63	48	HLM10f	60.5
	4	SDL9m	52.5	19	ASM9f	60.5	34	ALG10m	29.5	49	FTM9f	66
	5	IMN9m	69.5	20	MHS8f	64.5	35	AMN9m	33.5	50	MNA9f	71.5
Fourth Grader	6	MHN11m	43	21	SHR10f	76.5	36	AMR10m	49.5	51	FZR10f	40.5
	7	AHM9m	32.5	22	EHM8f	69	37	RSL10m	45.5	51	FZT11f	62.5
	8	SHL10m	68	23	FZE10f	63.5	38	SDJ10m	45	53	BNM10f	79.5
	9	HDR11m	54.5	24	ELM9f	60.5	39	HSE10m	38	54	MHL9f	49
	10	VHD9m	56	25	MOD8f	41.5	40	ERM9m	37	55	MHB10f	63.5
Fifth Grader	11	HDI10m	62.5	26	MSN11f	75	41	MHA11m	45	56	ZHM13f	35
	12	HMD12m	64.5	27	FRB10f	36	42	AHF11m	47.5	57	MGN9f	55.5
	13	MIN10m	48	28	SBR9f	54	43	MHD11m	58	58	ZHA10f	41
	14	SDE10m	46.5	29	SMR10f	67	44	MSB11m	57	59	RHN11f	49
	15	HST10m	41.5	30	MRZ10f	56.5	45	MST11m	63	60	ELE9f	42

Table 8. Subjects' Total Language Proficiency Scores

Appendix II: Subjects' School (Average) Marks

Grade	Monoling. (Male)	Lang. Prof. (100)	School Average (20)	Monoling. (Female)	Lang. Prof. (100)	School Average (20)	Bilingual (Male)	Lang. Prof. (100)	School Average (20)	Bilingual (Female)	Lang. Prof. (100)	School Average (20)
Third Grade	MJT9m	56.5	19.75	SRN8f	56	16.70	ALN8m	53	17.15	BNR10f	69.5	18.45
	ALN8m	74	19.85	ZOH9f	69.5	19.85	RZA8m	39	15.30	AZM9f	52.5	19.95
	FHD9m	54.5	16.35	MLH9f	57	19.90	HSC9m	63	15.60	HLM10f	60.5	16.65
	SDL9m	52.5	20.00	ASM9f	60.5	19.75	ALG10m	29.5	12.20	FTM9f	66	19.75
	IMN9m	69.5	19.70	MHS8f	64.5	19.25	AMN9m	33.5	12.40	MNA9f	71.5	19.60
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	43	18.59	SHR10f	76.5	20.00	AMR10m	49.5	13.09	FZR10f	40.5	14.18
	AHM9m	32.5	17.27	EHM8f	69	17.00	RSL10m	45.5	18.27	FZT11f	62.5	17.36
	SHL10m	68	19.73	FZE10f	63.5	15.91	SDJ10m	45	17.05	BNM10f	79.5	20.00
	HDR11m	54.5	15.68	ELM9f	60.5	19.86	HSE10m	38	16.27	MHL9f	49	20.00
	VHD9m	56	20.00	MOD8f	41.5	16.27	ERM9m	37	14.77	MHB10f	63.5	18.45
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	62.5	19.95	MSN11f	75	16.91	MHA11m	45	18.00	ZHM13f	35	13.68
	HMD12m	64.5	19.36	FRB10f	36	19.91	AHF11m	47.5	17.23	MGN9f	55.5	15.55
	MIN10m	48	18.91	SBR9f	54	19.91	MHD11m	58	17.82	ZHA10f	41	18.86
	SDE10m	46.5	20.00	SMR10f	67	18.55	MSB11m	57	17.32	RHN11f	49	14.18
	HST10m	41.5	14.77	MRZ10f	56.5	16.36	MST11m	63	15.55	ELE9f	42	18.32

Table 1. Subjects' Language Proficiency Scores and School Average Marks

Grade	Monolingual (Male)	Persian+ Composition+ Dictation (20)	Monolingual (Female)	Persian+ Composition+ Dictation (20)	Bilingual (Male)	Persian+ Composition+ Dictation (20)	Bilingual (Female)	Persian+ Composition+ Dictation (20)
Third Grade	MJT9m	19.6	SRN8f	17.1	SDM9m	17.8	BNR10f	18.6
	ALN8m	20	ZOH9f	19.8	RZA8m	16.8	AZM9f	19.8
	FHD9m	16.5	MLH9f	20	HSC9m	15.8	HLM10f	18
	SDL9m	20	ASM9f	19.8	ALG10m	11.5	FTM9f	19.8
	IMN9m	19.6	MHS8f	19.1	AMN9m	11.1	MNA9f	19.6
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	18.5	SHR10f	20	AMR10m	12.1	FZR10f	15
	AHM9m	17.3	EHM8f	18.1	RSL10m	18.5	FZT11f	17.1
	SHL10m	19.8	FZE10f	17.5	SDJ10m	17.6	BNM10f	20
	HDR11m	14.5	ELM9f	20	HSE10m	17	MHL9f	20
	VHD9m	20	MOD8f	18.1	ERM9m	13.5	MHB10f	19.1
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	20	MSN11f	18	MHA11m	17	ZHM13f	13.8
	HMD12m	19.1	FRB10f	20	AHF11m	16.3	MGN9f	15.6
	MIN10m	18.5	SBR9f	19.8	MHD11m	16.3	ZHA10f	19.6
	SDE10m	20	SMR10f	19	MSB11m	16.1	RHN11f	17.1
	HST10m	12.8	MRZ10f	17.5	MST11m	15.1	ELE9f	19

Table 2. Subjects' Average Marks in Persian Language, Composition, and Dictation

Grade	Monoling. (Male)	Persian Reading	Composition	Dictation	The Koran	Religious Teaching	Social Science	Geography	Mathematics	Science	Art	Sport	Average (20)
Third Grade	MJM9m	20	20	19	20	20	20	-	18.5	20	20	20	19.75
	ALN8m	20	20	20	20	20	20	-	18.5	20	20	20	19.85
	FHD9m	16	17.5	16	17	16	17	-	16	16	15	17	16.35
	SDL9m	20	20	20	20	20	20	-	20	20	20	20	20.00
	IMN9m	19	20	20	20	20	20	-	19	19	20	20	19.70
Fourth Grade	MHN11m	20	16.5	19	17.5	18	20	18	18.5	20	17	20	18.59
	AHM9m	17	16	19	19	18	16	18.5	17	13	16.5	20	17.27
	SHL10m	20	20	19.5	20	19.5	20	19.5	19.5	19.5	19.5	20	19.73
	HDR11m	15	14	14.5	13	17	12.5	17.5	17	17	16	19	15.68
	VHD9m	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20.00
Fifth Grade	HDI10m	20	20	20	20	19.5	20	20	20	20	20	20	19.95
	HMD12m	19	19	19.5	19	20	19.5	19	19	20	19	20	19.36
	MIN10m	19	16.5	20	20	19.5	18	19	19	18	19	20	18.91
	SDE10m	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20.00
	HST10m	15	10	13.5	15	17	16	15	11	15.5	15.5	19	14.77

Table 3A. Monolingual Male Subjects' School Marks

Grade	Monoling. (Female)	Persian Reading	Compo- sition	Dicta- tion	The Koran	Religious Teaching	Social Science	Geog- raphy	Mathe- matics	Science	Art	Sport	Average (20)
Third Grade	SRN8f	17	15.5	19	16	17	17	-	13.5	15	18	19	16.70
	ZOH9f	20	19.5	20	20	20	20	-	19	20	20	20	19.85
	MLH9f	20	20	20	20	20	20	-	19	20	20	20	19.90
	ASM9f	20	19.5	20	20	20	20	-	19	19	20	20	19.75
	MHS8f	18	20	19.5	19	19	20	-	17	20	20	20	19.25
Fourth Grade	SHR10f	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20.00
	EHM8f	19	17	18.5	18	15.5	17	17	13	14	20	18	17.00
	FZE10f	18	15.5	19	15	13	12	15.5	14	14	20	19	15.91
	ELM9f	20	20	20	20	19.5	20	20	19	20	20	20	19.86
	MOD8f	19	18	17.5	18	16	13	14	11	12.5	20	20	16.27
Fifth Grade	MSN11f	20	14	20	18	14.5	16	16	12	17.5	19	19	16.91
	FRB10f	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	19	20	20	20	19.91
	SBR9f	20	19.5	20	20	19.5	20	20	20	20	20	20	19.91
	SMR10f	19	18	20	18	19	19	19.5	16	15.5	20	20	18.55
	MRZ10f	17	16	19.5	18	14.5	15	14.5	14	14.5	18	19	16.36

Table 3B. Monolingual Female Subjects' School Marks

Grade	Bilingual (Male)	Persian Reading	Composition	Dictation	The Koran	Religious Teaching	Social Science	Geography	Mathematics	Science	Art	Sport	Average (20)
Third Grade	SDM9m	17	19	17.5	16	16	13	-	16	20	17	20	17.15
	RZA8m	16	18	16.5	14	11	13	-	15.5	14	16	19	15.30
	HSC9m	17	15.5	15	16	14	12	-	12.5	15	20	19	15.60
	ALG10m	11	12.5	11	11	10	10	-	10.5	11	18	17	12.20
	AMN9m	11	11.5	11	10	10	10	-	10.5	12	18	20	12.40
Fourth Grade	AMR10m	12	14	10.5	12.5	12.5	12	10.5	8.5	15.5	16	20	13.09
	RSL10m	20	16.5	19	19	18	20	13	18.5	20	17	20	18.27
	SDJ10m	15	18.5	19.5	18	14	14.5	14	19.5	17	17.5	20	17.05
	HSE10m	16	15.5	19.5	16.5	16	15	13.5	15	16.5	16.5	19	16.27
	ERM9m	16	14	10.5	15	15	15.5	15	15	10	17.5	19	14.77
Fifth Grade	MHA11m	17	14	20	18	19	17.5	18	18.5	19	17	20	18.00
	AHF11m	17	12	20	17	18	16.5	18	16.5	18.5	16	20	17.23
	MHD11m	17	13	19	17	19	19	20	18	17.5	16.5	20	17.82
	MSB11m	17.5	14.5	16.5	16	16	18.5	18	19.5	16.5	18.5	19	17.32
	MST11m	14.5	12.5	18.5	14	16	17	16	13	15	15.5	19	15.55

Table 3C. Bilingual Male Subjects' School Marks

Grade	Monoling. (Male)	Persian Reading	Compo- sition	Dicta- tion	The Koran	Religious Teaching	Social Science	Geog- raphy	Mathe- matics	Science	Art	Sport	Average (20)
Third Grade	BNR10f	19	18.5	18.5	18	18	18	-	17.5	18	19	20	18.45
	AZM9f	20	19.5	20	20	20	20	-	20	20	20	20	19.95
	HLM10f	19	17	18	17	18	16	-	12.5	12	18	19	16.65
	FTM9f	20	19.5	20	20	20	20	-	20	19	19	20	19.75
	MNA9f	20	19.5	19.5	20	20	19	-	19	19	20	20	19.60
Fourth Grade	FZR10f	16	15.5	13.5	12	13	13.5	13	11.5	12	19	17	14.18
	FZT11f	15	18	18.5	15	17.5	19	18.5	13.5	16	20	20	17.36
	BNM10f	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20.00
	MHL9f	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20.00
	MHB10f	19	19.5	19	18	17.5	17.5	16.5	19	17	20	20	18.45
Fifth Grade	ZHM13f	16	13	12.5	15	10.5	10.5	10.5	13.5	14	17	18	13.68
	MGN9f	17	14.5	15.5	17	12.5	15.5	17	8.5	17.5	18	18	15.55
	ZHA10f	20	19	20	20	12.5	19.5	19.5	18	19	20	20	18.86
	RHN11f	18	14	19.5	16	11.5	10.5	10.5	8.5	13.5	16	18	14.18
	ELE9f	20	18	19	19	17.5	18.5	19	14	18.5	19	19	18.32

Table 3D. Bilingual Female Subjects' School Marks

Appendix III: Questionnaires

1) Parents' Questionnaire

Dear Parents,

This questionnaire (for parents) along with another questionnaire (for children) is used as part of a study which is going to be carried out about bilingual children at some primary schools in Quchan. In this research, the impact of bilingualism on children's academic achievement will be studied. One of the goals of this study is to give suggestions about bilingual education in Iran. If you are willing to answer the questions in this questionnaire, please answer with care. It might be worth noting that the results of this study would be used in my PhD thesis. This questionnaire mainly includes questions to which your child cannot easily give a full answer.

Thank you
Mahmoud Elyasi

Parents' Questionnaire

1. Child's name and surname
2. Child's place of birth
3. Father's job
4. Mother's job
5. Have you migrated from rural areas to Quchan?
 - a) Yes (..... years ago) b) No
6. Have your child been living in Quchan since he/she was born?
 - a) Yes b) No
7. Do you listen to the radio at home? a) Yes (since) b) No
8. Do you watch television at home? a) Yes (since) b) No
9. When did your child start speaking **Persian**? (At the age of))
10. When did your child start speaking **Turkish**? (At the age of))

Has he/she learnt both languages at the same time?

 - a) Yes b) No.....

If no, which one has he/she learnt first?

Fill in the blanks with the appropriate option given below (a, b, ...):

11. Languages used at home:
 - a) Persian 100%
 - b) Persian 80%, Turkish 20%
 - c) Persian 60%, Turkish 40% From child's birth to the age of 3
 - d) Persian 50%, Turkish 50% From the age 4 to 6
 - e) Turkish 60%, Persian 40% From the age of 7 to 9
 - f.)Turkish 80%, Persian 20% From the age of 10 to 11
 - g) Turkish 100%
 - h) Any other ratios

Underline the appropriate answer:

12. My child (seldom sometimes often usually always) speaks **Persian**.

13. My child (seldom sometimes often usually always) speaks **Turkish**.

14. Which language do you use when you talk to your child? (per cent)

a) Father: Persian% Turkish:%

b) Mother: Persian% Turkish:%

15. What is the language used for **teaching** at your child's school?

a) Persian 100%

b) Persian% Turkish%

c) Turkish 100%

d) Other ratios

2) Parents' Questionnaire in Persian

والدين گرامی

این پرسشنامه (مخصوص والدین) به همراه یک پرسشنامه دیگر (مخصوص کودکان) به عنوان بخشی از تحقیق در مورد دانش آموزان دوزبانه (ترك زبان - فارسي زبان) برخی دبستانهای شهر قوچان مورد استفاده قرار می‌گیرد. در این تحقیق، تأثیر دوزبانگی بر پیشرفت تحصیلی دانش آموزان مورد مطالعه قرار می‌گیرد؛ یکی از اهداف این تحقیق ارائه پیشنهاداتی در زمینه آموزش افراد دوزبانه می‌باشد. لطفاً در صورت تمایل، به موارد مطرح شده در پرسشنامه به دقت پاسخ دهید. نتایج این پژوهش در قالب پایان نامه دوره دکتری اینجانب در رشته زبان-شناسی ارائه خواهد شد. لازم به ذکر است که این پرسشنامه عمدتاً در بردارنده سؤالاتی است که فرزند شما قادر به ارائه پاسخی جامع برای آنها نمی‌باشد.

با تشکر

محمود الیاسی

پرسشنامه (مخصوص والدین)

- ۱- نام و نام خانوادگی فرزند
 - ۲- محل تولد فرزند
 - ۳- شغل پدر
 - ۴- شغل مادر
 - ۵- آیا از روستا به شهر مهاجرت کرده اید؟ الف) بله (چند سال پیش) ب) خیر
 - ۶- آیا فرزند شما همیشه در قوچان ساکن بوده است؟ الف) بله ب) خیر
 - ۷- آیا در خانه از رادیو استفاده می‌کنید؟ الف) بله (حدوداً از چه سالی.....) ب) خیر....
 - ۸- آیا در خانه از تلویزیون استفاده می‌کنید؟ الف) بله (حدوداً از چه سالی.....) ب) خیر
 - ۹- فرزندتان در چه سنی صحبت کردن به زبان فارسي را آغاز کرد؟
 - ۱۰- فرزندتان در چه سنی صحبت کردن به زبان تركي را آغاز کرد؟
- آیا زبانهایی را که فرزندتان فرا گرفته است، به طور همزمان آموخته است؟
الف) بله ب) خیر ؛ اگر پاسخ منفی است، کدامیک را زودتر آموخته است؟

پاسخ مناسب (الف، ب،) را انتخاب کنید و در جای خالی بنویسید:
۱۱- زبانهایی که در گذشته در خانه از آنها استفاده شده است:

_____ از بدو تولد تا ۳ سالگی فرزند

_____ دوران ۴ تا ۶ سالگی فرزند

_____ دوران ۷ تا ۹ سالگی فرزند

_____ دوران ۱۰ تا ۱۱ سالگی فرزند

(الف) ۱۰۰% فارسی

(ب) در حدود ۸۰% فارسی، ۲۰% ترکی

(ج) در حدود ۶۰% فارسی، ۴۰% ترکی

(د) در حدود ۵۰% فارسی، ۵۰% ترکی

(ه) در حدود ۶۰% ترکی، ۴۰% فارسی

(و) در حدود ۸۰% ترکی، ۲۰% فارسی

(ز) ۱۰۰% ترکی

(ح) نسبتهای دیگر. لطفاً مشخص سازید:

(ط) مورد ندارد. هنوز کودک به این سن نرسیده است.

- زیر پاسخ صحیح خط بکشید:

۱۲- فرزندم در حال حاضر (به ندرت گاهی غالباً معمولاً همیشه) به زبان فارسی صحبت می کند.

۱۳- فرزندم در حال حاضر (به ندرت گاهی غالباً معمولاً همیشه) به زبان ترکی صحبت می کند.

۱۴- شما به چه زبانی با فرزندتان صحبت می کنید؟ لطفاً درصد را مشخص کنید.

(الف) پدر: فارسی — % ترکی — % (ب) مادر: فارسی — % ترکی — %

۱۵- زبان آموزش فرزندتان در مدرسه چه زبانی است؟

(الف) ۱۰۰% فارسی

(ب) — % فارسی — % ترکی

(ج) ۱۰۰% ترکی

(د) نسبتهای دیگر. لطفاً مشخص کنید.

3) Papapavlou's Questionnaire

(Original questionnaire was in Greek)

Part A: Background information of bilingual children

Circle the letter or number that is appropriate for you:

1. I am (a) male student (b) female student

2. I am 9 10 11 12 13 years old

3. Parental education:

(a) Father

- a. Elementary school
- b. Gymnasium/Lyceum
- c. University

(b) Mother

- a. Elementary school
- b. Gymnasium/Lyceum
- c. University

Part B: Language background and academic achievement

1. How many languages do you speak? 1 2 3 4

2. Which languages do you speak? _____

3. (a) Do you have any brothers/sisters?

Brother: Yes__ No__

Sister: Yes__ No__

(b) Are they bilingual? a. Yes__ b. No__

(c) In what language do you address your brother/sister?

4. In what language do you address your parents?

5. (a) Are your parents bilingual? a. Yes__ b. No__

(b) What languages do your parents speak?

a. Father: _____

b. Mother: _____

6. (a) Did you learn the languages you speak simultaneously?

a. Yes__ b. No__

(b) If not, which one did you learn first? _____

7. (a) Do you know any people who are bilingual like you?

a. Yes__ b. No__

(b) Are you a friend of these people? a. Yes__ b. No__

Answer according to the following Likert scale:

(1) = Definitely agree; (2) = Agree; (3) = No opinion; (4) = Disagree; (5) = Definitely disagree

Fill in the spaces or circle the letter that is appropriate for you:

8. The languages I speak are equally useful

a. in my family 1 2 3 4 5

b. in the world 1 2 3 4 5

9. Knowing two languages has many advantages

1 2 3 4 5

Fill in the spaces or circle the letter that is appropriate for you:

10. (a) Do you feel that you belong to both communities of which you speak the language? a. Yes ___ b. No ___

(b) Which do you consider as being more close to you?

11. (a) Do you refuse to speak one of the two languages?

a. Yes ___ b. No ___

(b) Why _____

Answer according to the following Likert scale: (1) = Always; (2) = Very often;

(3) = Often; (4) = Never

12. Do you use both languages in a single utterance?

1 2 3 4

13. When you describe something, do you use both languages to express it

better? 1 2 3 4

14. Do you sometimes feel that you do not know which language to use?

1 2 3 4

15. Do you reply in a certain language, although you are asked in another?

1 2 3 4

PART C: Psychosocial adjustment

Circle the answer that is appropriate for you:

1. Do you have many friends at school? a. Yes ___ b. No ___

2. Are all your friends bilingual? a. Yes ___ b. No ___

Answer according to the following Likert scale: (1) = Very easy; (2) = Easy; (3)

= No opinion; (4) = Difficult; (5) = Very difficult

3. Was it difficult for you to make friends?

1 2 3 4 5

Answer according to the following Likert scale: (1) = Very superior;

(2) = Superior; (3) = No opinion; (4) = Inferior; (5) = Very inferior

4. Do you consider monolinguals as being superior?

1 2 3 4 5

Answer according to the following Likert scale: (1) = Always; (2) = Sometimes;
(3) = No opinion; (4) = Never

5. Have you ever felt unaccepted in the other children's games because you are a bilingual?

1 2 3 4

6. Does your teacher treat you differently from the other children?

1 2 3 4

Fill in the spaces or circle the letter that is appropriate for you

7. (a) Have you ever found yourself in the situation of wanting to code-switch before your classmates in order to express your feelings better?

a. Yes ___ b. No ___

(b) Why? _____

Answer according to the following Likert scale: (1) = Definitely Agree; (2) = Agree; (3) = No opinion; (4) = Disagree; (5) = Definitely disagree

8. I am different than monolinguals because:

(a) I accept new ideas more easily

1 2 3 4 5

(b) I have more ideas to express

1 2 3 4 5

(c) I accept the differences which exist among people

1 2 3 4 5

(d) I understand things in a different way

1 2 3 4 5

(e) I cannot stand people who are not like me

1 2 3 4 5

(f) I feel that I am in a superior position

1 2 3 4 5

(g) I feel less love for the place I live now

1 2 3 4 5

(h) My manners are better

1 2 3 4 5

Answer according to the following Likert scale: (1) = Very easy; (2) = Easy; (3) = No opinion; (4) = Difficult; (5) = Very difficult

9. Learning Greek in the first grade in comparison to monolingual children was:

1 2 3 4 5

10. Is it easy for you to express your feelings in Greek?

1 2 3 4 5

11. Is it difficult for you to do a summary in Greek?

1 2 3 4 5

Answer according to the following Likert scale : (1) = Always; (2) = Some-times;
(3)= Never

12. Do you use both languages in your oral answers?

1 2 3

13. Do you have to translate from one language in order to answer a
written or an oral question in Greek? 1 2 3

14. Do you think in Greek and then answer the questions given by your
teacher? 1 2 3

Mark the word that is appropriate for you:

15. I am making [more] [less] [the same] orthographic mistakes in
comparison to my classmates.

16. My compositions in comparison to my monolingual classmates are:
[shorter] [longer] [the same]

4) Papapavlou's Questionnaire in Persian

الف - سوابق کودکان دوزبانه

دور پاسخ صحیح را خط بکشید .

- ۱- من يك دانش آموز (الف) پسر (ب) دختر هستم.
 ۲- من ۹ ۱۰ ۱۱ ۱۲ ۱۳ سال دارم.
 ۳- سطح تحصیلات والدین :

الف) پدر
 الف) بیسواد
 ب) ابتدایی
 ج) متوسطه
 د) عالی

ب) مادر
 الف) بیسواد
 ب) ابتدایی
 ج) متوسطه
 د) عالی

ب - سابقه زبانی و پیشرفت تحصیلی

جاهای خالی را پر کنید و یا دور پاسخ صحیح را خط بکشید .

- ۱- شما به چند زبان صحبت می کنید؟ ۱ ۲ ۳ ۴
 ۲- شما به چه زبانهایی صحبت می کنید؟
 ۳- الف) آیا برادر/خواهر دارید؟
 برادر: الف) بله ب) خیر
 خواهر: الف) بله ب) خیر
 ب) آیا آنها دوزبانه هستند؟ الف) بله ب) خیر
 ث) شما با برادر/خواهرتان به چه زبانی صحبت می کنید؟

 ۴- شما با والدینتان به چه زبانی صحبت می کنید؟

- ۵- الف) آیا والدین شما دو زبانه هستند؟ الف) بله ب) خیر
 ب) والدین شما به چه زبانی با شما صحبت می کنند؟
 الف) پدر : ب) مادر :

۶- الف) آیا زبانهایی را که فرا گرفته اید، به طور همزمان آموخته اید؟

الف) بله ب) خیر

ب) در صورتی که این زبانها را به طور همزمان فرا گرفته اید، کدامیک را زودتر آموخته اید؟

.....

۷- الف) آیا افراد دیگری را که مانند شما دوزبانه باشند، می شناسید؟

الف) بله ب) خیر

ب) آیا شما با این افراد دوست هستید؟ الف) بله ب) خیر

با توجه به مقیاس زیر، امتیاز مناسب را انتخاب کنید : (۱) = کاملاً موافقم؛ (۲) = موافقم؛ (۳) = نظری ندارم؛ (۴) = مخالفم؛ (۵) = کاملاً مخالفم

۸ - زبانهایی که از آنها استفاده می کنم، به یک اندازه مفیدند

الف) در بین خانواده ام ۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵

ب) در جهان ۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵

۹- دانستن دو زبان مزایای زیادی دارد

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵

جاهای خالی را پر کنید و یا دور پاسخ صحیح را خط بکشید .

۱۰- الف) آیا شما احساس می کنید به هردو جامعه ای که به زبان آنها صحبت می کنید، تعلق دارید؟

الف) بله ب) خیر

ب) فکر می کنید کدامیک از این دو جامعه به شما نزدیکترند؟

.....

۱۱- الف) آیا شما از صحبت کردن به یکی از این دو زبان خودداری می کنید؟

الف) بله ب) خیر

ب) چرا؟

با توجه به مقیاس زیر، امتیاز مناسب را انتخاب کنید : (۱) = همیشه؛ (۲) = تقریباً همیشه؛ (۳) = اغلب؛ (۴) = هیچ وقت

۱۲- آیا در یک گفتار واحد از هردو زبان استفاده می کنید؟

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴

۱۳- وقتی می خواهید چیزی را توصیف کنید، آیا برای توصیف بهتر از هر دو زبان استفاده می کنید؟

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴

۱۴- آیا برخی اوقات احساس می کنید نمی دانید از کدام زبان استفاده کنید؟

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴

۱۵- آیا اگر به یکی از دو زبان از شما سؤال می شود، به زبان دیگر پاسخ می گوید؟

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴

ج- سازگاري روانشناختي-اجتماعي

دور پاسخ صحيح را خط بکشيد :

۲- آیا ۱- آیا در مدرسه دوستان زيادي داريد؟ (الف) بله (ب) خير
 همه دوستان شما دو زبانه هستند؟ (الف) بله (ب) خير ..

با توجه به مقياس زير، امتياز مناسب را انتخاب كنيد : (۱) = خيلي آسان؛ (۲) = آسان؛ (۳) = نظري ندارم؛ (۴) = سخت؛ (۵) = خيلي سخت

۳- آیا پيدا كردن دوست براي تان سخت بود؟

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵

با توجه به مقياس زير، امتياز مناسب را انتخاب كنيد : (۱) = بسيار برتر؛ (۲) = برتر؛ (۳) = نظري ندارم؛ (۴) = در مرتبه پايين تر؛ (۵) = در مرتبه بسيار پايين تر

۴- آیا به نظر شما افراد يکزبانه برتر هستند؟

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵

با توجه به مقياس زير، امتياز مناسب را انتخاب كنيد : (۱) = هميشه؛ (۲) = گاهي اوقات؛ (۳) = نظري ندارم؛ (۴) = هيچ وقت

۵- آیا هيچ وقت پيش آمده است که بچه هاي ديگر شما را به خاطر دوزبانه بودن در بازي خود شرکت

ندهند؟

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴

۶- آیا معلمتان نسبت به شما رفتار متفاوتي دارد؟

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴

جاهاي خالي را پر كنيد و با دور پاسخ صحيح را خط بکشيد .

۷- الف) آیا هيچ گاه پيش آمده است که براي بيان بهتر احساساتتان در مقابل همکلاسيهاي خود، بخواهيد

زبانتان را عوض كنيد؟

الف) بله (ب) خير

ب) چرا؟

با توجه به مقياس زير، امتياز مناسب را انتخاب كنيد : (۱) = كاملاً موافقم؛ (۲) = موافقم؛ (۳) = نظري ندارم؛ (۴) = مخالفم؛ (۵) = كاملاً مخالفم

۸- من از افراد يکزبانه متفاوتم، زيرا

الف) من نظرات جديد را آسانتر مي پذيرم

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵

ب) من نظرات بيشتري براي بيان دارم

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵

ج) من تفاوتهايي را که بين افراد وجود دارد مي پذيرم

ج) من تفاوتهايي را كه بين افراد وجود دارد مي پذيرم

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

د) من مسائل را به نحو متفاوتي درك مي كنم

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

ه) من نمي توانم افراڊي را كه مانند من نيستند تحمل كنم

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

و) من احساس مي كنم در موقعيت برتري قرار دارم

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

ز) من احساس مي كنم نسبت به مكاني كه هم اكنون در آن زندگي مي كنم، علاقه كمتر دارم

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

ح) رفتارهاي من بهتر است

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

با توجه به مقياس زير، امتياز مناسب را انتخاب كنيد : (۱) = خيلي آسان؛ (۲) = آسان؛ (۳) = نظري ندارم؛ (۴) = سخت؛ (۵) = خيلي سخت

۹ - براي من يادگيري زبان فارسي در كلاس اول در مقايسه با دانش آموزان يکزيانه بود.

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

۱۰ - آيا براي شما بيان كردن احساسات به زبان فارسي آسان است؟

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

۱۱ - آيا براي شما خلاصه نويسي به زبان فارسي دشوار است؟

۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

با توجه به مقياس زير، امتياز مناسب را انتخاب كنيد : (۱) = هميشه؛ (۲) = گاهي اوقات؛ (۳) = هيچ وقت

۱۲ - آيا شما در پاسخهاي شفاهي تان از هر دو زبان استفاده مي كنيد؟

۳ ۲ ۱

۱۳ - آيا شما براي پاسخ دادن به يك سؤال كتبي يا شفاهي به زبان فارسي، بايد از يك زبان ترجمه كنيد؟

۳ ۲ ۱

۱۴ - آيا شما به فارسي فكر مي كنيد و سپس به سؤالات معلمتان پاسخ مي گوييد؟

۳ ۲ ۱

زير كلمه اي را كه صحيح است، خط بکشيد :

۱۵ - من در مقايسه با همكلاسيهائيم غلطهاي املايي [بيشتري] [كمتري] [يكساني] دارم.

۱۶ - انشاهي من در مقايسه با همكلاسيهائيم يکزيانه ام [كوتاهتر] [بلندتر] [برابر] است.

Appendix IV: Sample Transcribed Data

1

@Begin

@Participants: MJT Mojtaba Student

@ID: per.mum3.stm16.0907= MJT

@Age of MJT: 9;7.

@Gender of MJT: male

@Group of MJT: Grade 3

@Date: 1-May-2001

@SES of MJT: Low

@g: 1

* MJT: jeg ruz jeg pesa//ri # jeg sag va jeg qurbâqqey dâst, .

%eng: One day a boy had a dog and a frog.

%com: note the use of formal 'va' (and).

* MJT: jeg saga moxâsta qurbâqqaha ra begi//ra .

%eng: A dog wanted to get the frog.

* MJT: ba:dan jâješân [?] târik, .

%eng: Then, their bed dark.

@g: 2

* MJT: ba:dan mijâd injâ moxâba, .

%eng: Then, he comes here he sleeps.

* MJT: <jeg qurbâqqa # mijâd moxâba> [//] jeg qurbâqqaha mexâd farâr ko//na, .

%eng: A frog wants to run away.

@g: 3

* MJT: <ba:dan # #> [/] ba:dan # <sageš mijâd bâlâ> [//] sageš mijâd ru poš//teš, .

%eng: Then, his dog wants on his back.

* MJT: ba:dan injâ [?] mibina qurbâqqaha nis//teš, .

%eng: Then, here he notices that his frog is not around.

* MJT: ba:dan <jeg guše mige> [?] kojâ rafte i qurbâqqehe, .

%eng: Then, where has this frog gone.

@g: 4

* MJT: hâlâ injâ # dâre tu lebâsâšo hame jâ ro negâ mokone, .

%eng: Now, here, he is looking inside his clothes and everywhere

* MJT: sage rafte tu šišeha ro negâ mikone .

%eng: The dog is there looking inside the jar.

* MJT: hâlâ injâ dâre lebâsâšo hame jâ ro negâ mikone # mibine nisteš, .

%eng: Now, here, he is looking at his clothes, everywhere, he notices it is not around.

@g: 5

* MJT: hâlâ injâ # dâre [?] sedâš mizane .

%eng: Now, here, he is calling it.

* MJT: ba:dan dombâle qurbâqqaš migarde # peydâš nemikone, .

%eng: Then, he searches for his frog, he does not find it.

@g: 6

* MJT: ba:dan # mire, .

%eng: Then, he goes away.

* MJT: injâ i sageš mijofte az i bâ//lâ, .

%eng: Here, this dog falls down.

* MJT: ba:dan dâre fekr mikone qurbâqqaš kojâ rafte, .

%eng: Then, he thinks where his frog might have gone.

* MJT: u vaqt # hami sageš mijof//te .

%eng: The, his dog falls down.

@g: 7

* MJT: injâ ham sagšo <varmidâre # sagšo var> [//] baqal mikone var, .

%eng: Here, he hugs his dog.

* MJT: ba:dan <# moxâd bere be> [//] nârâhat šode, .

%eng: Then, he has got unhappy.

* MJT: dombâle hamu qurbâqqaš migarde # peydâ nakarde ha//nuz .

%eng: He looks for his frog, he has not found it yet.

@g: 8

* MJT: ba:dan # # injâ bâ sageš mijâd, .

%eng: Then, here, he is coming with his dog.

* MJT: injâ se [//] sedâš mizane ke bijâd, .

%eng: Here, he is calling it to come back.

* MJT: qurbâqqe! dâre sedâš mikone, .

%eng: Frog! He is calling it.

* MJT: vâse inke sagešam sedâ darbijâ//re .

%eng: So that his dog starts calling as well.

@g: 9

* MJT: <ba:dan #> [/] ba:dan injâ tuje surâx re negâ mokone, .

%eng: Then, he looks inside this hole.

* MJT: dâd mizane # az [//] sedâš mikone, .

%eng: He cries out, he calls it.

* MJT: sage ham dâre u bâlâ ro negâ mokone, .

%eng: The dog is also looking upwards.

* MJT: bebine tu u //hast .

%eng: To see whether it is there.

* MJT: ba:dan ijam âxar peydâš nomokona, .

%eng: Then, he cannot find it either.

@g: 10

* MJT: ba:dan <tu ra> [?] sedâš mokona, .

%eng: Then, he calls it.

* MJT: ba:dan qurbâqqaha mijâd pišeš, .

%eng: Then, the frog comes to him.

* MJT: i sage dâre bâlâ re negâ mokone .

%eng: This dog is looking upwards.

* MJT: i ba//ram qurbâqqehe az injâ umade pišeš # .

%eng: In this side, the frog has come to him.

@g: 11

* MJT: ba:dan injâ # sageš injâja qurbâqqašam injâ bud [?], .

%eng: Then, his dog is here, his frog was also here.

* MJT: sageš moxâd bere bâlâj de//raxt, .

%eng: His dog wants to climb the tree.

* MJT: ijam rafte bâlâj deraxt # jâje hami: [//] jâje surâxe hami # či beheš migan? # jôqd, .

%eng: Here, it has climbed the tree, at the hole, what is the owl telling him.

@g: 12

* MJT: ba:dan injâ # jôqde zadaš [//] zadaš, .

%eng: Then, here, the owl has beaten him.

* MJT: <ba:dan oftâ//de> [//] ba:dan oftâde sageš dâre farâr mokone, .

%eng: Then, he has fallen, his dog is running away.

* MJT: ba:d <jeg sage> [//] i jôqde mijâd bi//run .

%eng: Then, this owl comes out.

@g: 13

* MJT: injâ parvâ:z mokona mera ha//vâ, .

%eng: Here, it flies into the sky.

* MJT: ijam # dâra gerja moko//ne, .

%eng: Here, he is crying.

* MJT: sage [//] sageš bâ: qurbâqqaš # raf//tan .

%eng: His dog and his frog have gone away.

@g: 14

* MJT: ba:dan injâ # sedâšân moko//ne sage mi//jâd, .

%eng: Then, here, he calls them, the dog comes to him.

* MJT: ba:dan < qurbâqqehâ ra sedâ > [//] qurbâqqahâ ra dâra sedâ moko//ne, .

%eng: Then, he is calling the frog.

@g: 15

* MJT: ba:dan injâm savâre jek âhu mi//še .

%eng: Then, here, he rides a deer.

@g: 16

* MJT: ba:dan # i az ru?e âhu?e dâre mijof//te, .

%eng: Then, he is falling off the deer.

* MJT: sage dâre farâr mokone, .

%eng: The dog is running away.

@g: 17

* MJT: az [//] ba:dan az injâ az ruje âhu o::f [//] mijof//te, .

%eng: Then, he falls off here, off the deer.

* MJT: <ba:dan part miše tuje> [//] ba:dan mijofte tu je::g az u darre?o [?]âhu mijofte .

@g: 18

* MJT: tu injâ ham ke # mijofte tu jek # darre::?i bâ sa//geš # <bâ qurbâqq> [//] va sagešam mijofte ruš # .

%eng: Here, he falls also into a valley, with his dog, his dog falls over him.

@g: 19

* MJT: ba:dan # injâ mera zire âb, .

%eng: Then, here, he sinks into water.

* MJT: dâra bâzi mokona bâ //âb, .

%eng: He is playing with water.

* MJT: sagešam rafta ruš # dâran bâ âb bâzi moko//nan .

%eng: His dog has jumped on him; they are playing with water.

@g: 20

* MJT: injâ ham ke <moxân moxân miga> [//] moxâd bera <tu //in> [/] tu //in, .

%eng: Here, he wants to go inside this.

* MJT: <ba:dan miga sss> [/] ba:dan miga sss, .

%eng: Then, he hissed.

*MJT: ba:dan miga+"/.

%eng: Then, he says.

* MJT: +"xxx sâ//ket # !

%eng: Be quiet!

@g: 21

* MJT: ba:dan injâ me//ra, .

%eng: Then, here, he goes.

* MJT: ba:dan i sage mera unjâ, .

%eng: Then, this dog goes there.

* MJT: va i pesara mera pošte hami:n [/] hamin derax//te .

%eng: And the boy goes behind the tree.

@g: 22

* MJT: injâ ham <u do tâ qur> [//] meran dombâle qurbâqqaš, .

%eng: Here, they go to look for his frog.

* MJT: injâ ham i do tâ qurbâqqahâ ra peydâ moko//nan, .

%eng: Here, these two find the frog.

@g: 23

* MJT: ba:dan injâ ham # bâheš [//] bâhešân bâzi mokonan .

%eng: Then, here, they play with them.

* MJT: bâ baččehâ:š # bâ xode qurbâqqa bâzi mokonan .

%eng: They play with the frog.

@g: 24

* MJT: injâ ham ke dâra sedâšân mezana miga bijâjn .

%eng: Here, he is calling them, telling them to come to him.

* MJT: <ijam qurbâqqa> [//] jag qurbâqqa daste//ša, .

%eng: He has a frog in his hand.

*MJT: sageš dâra mera # i:nâ [//] i//nâ ro sedâ mezana ke bijân .

%eng: His dog is going away, he is calling these, asking them to come to him.

@End

2

@Begin

@Participants: SDM Saeed Student

@ID: per.mub3.stm1.0908= SDM

@Age of SDM: 9;8.

@Gender of SDM: male

@Group of SDM: Grade 3

@Date: 25-Apr-2001

@SES of SDM: Low

@g: 1

* SDM: injâ jag pesara bâ jag saga bâ qurbâqqaš .

%eng: Here, there is a boy with a dog, with his frog.

* SDM: injâ qurbâqqaha ra negâ mena tu šiša .

%eng: Here, he is looking at the frog in the jar.

* SDM: ba:dan i saga tuje šiša ra negâ mokona , .

%eng: Then, the dog is looking inside the jar.

@g: 2

* SDM: ba:dan qurbâqqaha mexa dar bija az injâ .

%eng: Then, the frog is trying to get out of here.

* SDM: pesara bâ sageš xâbida .

%eng: The boy and his dog are sleeping.

* SDM: i qurbâqqa az šiša darmijâd , .

%eng: This frog comes out of the jar.

* SDM: farâr mokona .

%eng: It runs away.

@g: 3

* SDM: ba:dan i pesara bolan šoda .

%eng: Then, the boy has got up.

* SDM: sag [//] sagam bolan šoda , .

%eng: The dog has also got up.

* SDM: dida qurbâqqa nist .

%eng: He finds out that the frog is not there.

@g: 4

* SDM: ba:dan i pesara # lebâseša mupuša , .

%eng: Then, the boy puts on his clothes.

* SDM: mera [//] mexâd bera dombâle qurbâqqaš .

%eng: He wants to look for his frog.

* SDM: i saga ham jag šušeý tuje kallaš jârefta .

%eng: At the same time, the dog's head is trapped in the jar.

@g: 5

* SDM: hâlâ i pesara refta az panŕera birun negâ mokona , .

%eng: Now, the boy is looking out of the window.

* SDM: âj sedâ mezana qurbâqqa! qurbâqqa !

%eng: He is shouting, "Oh, frog! Oh, frog!"

* SDM: i saga ham unĵâ negâ karda .

%eng: The dog has also looked for it.

@g: 6

* SDM: ba:dan # i saga az unĵâ oftâda .

%eng: Then, the dog has fallen down.

* SDM: i pesara ham čiz [//]âmada negâ mokona .

%eng: The boy has come [and] is looking.

@g: 7

* SDM: ba:dan # i pesara asabâniĵa , .

%eng: Then, the boy is angry.

* SDM: sagšo gerefta # .

%eng: He has caught his dog.

@g: 8

* SDM: pesara rafta # dâ [//] qurbâqqa qurbâqqa mokona # dombâle qurbâqqaš .

%eng: Then, the boy is looking for his frog by calling it.

@g: 9

* SDM: ba:dan i pesara bâ sageš rafta .

%eng: Then, the boy and his dog have gone.

* SDM: i sag moxâd u <zamburâ ra> [//] # # e # zamburâ ra čiz kona .

%eng: The boy wants to do something to the bees.

@g: 10

* SDM: ba:dan i mera i bâlâ , .

%eng: Then, this climbs up.

* SDM: iĵam miga nara # i pesa//ra .

%eng: Here, he tells it not to go.

@g: 11

* SDM: ba:dan # # i mera # .

%eng: Then, he leaves there.

- * SDM: <saga dombâl> [/] i zamburâ mexân dombâle i saga beran .
 %eng: The bees want to chase the dog.
- * SDM: i pesara rafte bâley deraxt .
 %eng: The boy has climbed up the tree.
- @g: 12
- * SDM: ba:dan # i pesara az bâlâ oftâde .
 %eng: Then the boy has fallen down.
- * SDM: i zamburâm dombâle sagešan .
 %eng: The bees are chasing his dog.
- @g: 13
- * SDM: ba:dan # < i pesara # az bâlâ > [/] # jag kalâqa az bâlâ âmada dombâle
 pesara # pesara ra bezana .
 %eng: Then, a crow has come down to beat the boy.
- @g: 14
- * SDM: i pesara ham rafte bâlâ , .
 %eng: The boy has also climbed up.
- * SDM: sedâ mokona qurbâqqe! qurbâqqe !
 %eng: He is shouting, "Oh, frog! Oh, frog!"
- @g: 15
- * SDM: ba:dan i gavazn âmada .
 %eng: Then this deer has come.
- * SDM: i pesara ru [/] ruje kamareš nešasta , .
 %eng: The boy has sat on his back.
- @g: 16
- * SDM: ba:dan <i pesara> [/] i pesara ham dombâle sageš karda # .
 %eng: Then, the boy is also chasing his dog.
- * SDM: gavazna dombâle sageš karda # .
 %eng: The deer is chasing the dog.
- @g: 17
- * SDM: i gavazna pesara bâ saga ra endâxta az bâlâ zamin , .
 %eng: The deer has thrown the boy and the dog down.
- @g: 18
- * SDM: ba:dan i pesara bâ sageš oftâda tuje âb .
 %eng: Then, the boy and his dog have fallen into water.
- @g: 19
- * SDM: i [/] i sage # ruje # pesara nešasta , .

%eng: The dog is sitting on the boy.

* SDM: va pesare xošhâle mire .

%eng: And the boy is happy while leaving there.

%com: note using formal 'va' (and).

@g: 20

* SDM: i pesara ro mige +"/ .

%eng: The boy says.

* SDM: +"sâket bâš ey sag !

%eng: "Oh dog, be quiet!"

@g: 21

* SDM: ba:dan i # pesara bâ sageš mera bâlâ # bâley deraxt , .

%eng: Then the boy and his dog climb up the tree.

@g: 22

* SDM: ba:dan injâ negâ karde , .

%eng: Then, he has looked at here.

* SDM: qurbâqqaš injâja .

%eng: His frog is here.

@g: 23

* SDM: ba:dan xošhâl hamitori nešasta ruje deraxt .

%eng: Then, he is happy while sitting on the tree.

@g: 24

* SDM: ba:dan injâ # az qurbâqqahâ [% hmm] xodâhâfezi mokona .

%eng: Then, here, he says good-bye to the frogs.

* SDM: va qurbâqqey xodešo vardâšta .

%eng: And he has taken his frog.

%com: note using formal 'va' (and).

@End

Appendix V: Picture Book

Appendix I

*Frog, where are you?*¹

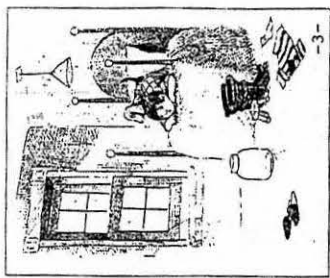
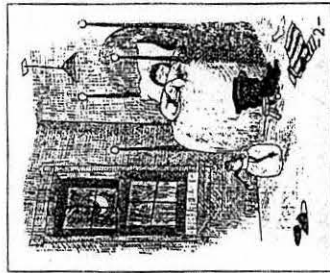


¹ Pictures reproduced from Mayer (1969), with permission of the author/artist and publisher. Original format: 25 cm x 14.5 cm, sepia-tone, one single panel or one-half double panel per page, no text; page numbers added.

Mayer

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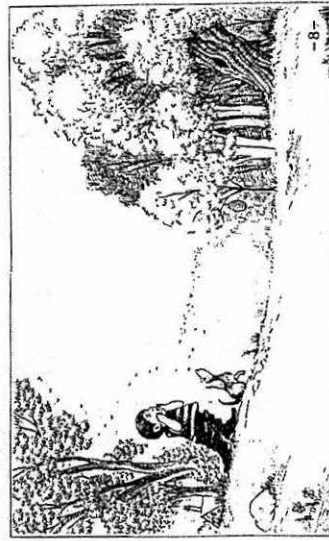
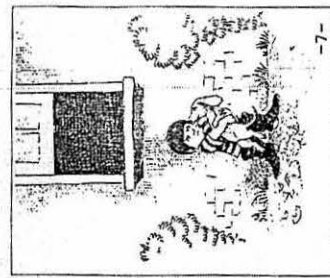
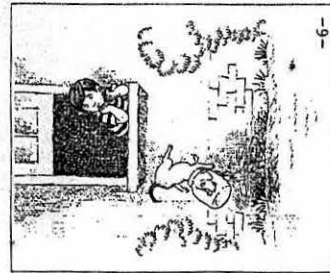
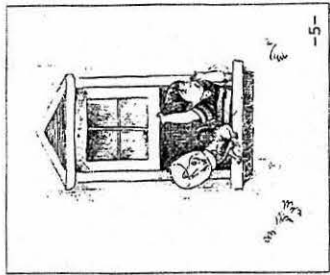
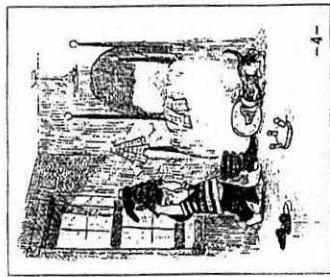
App. Ia: Picturebook



Mayer

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App. Ia: Picturebook



Mayer

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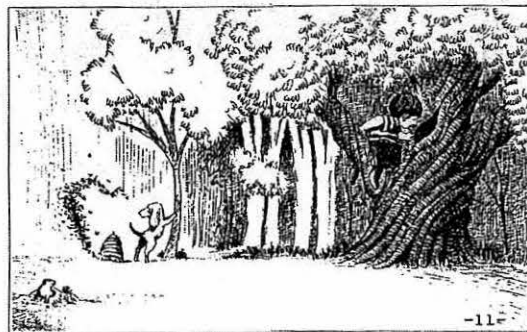
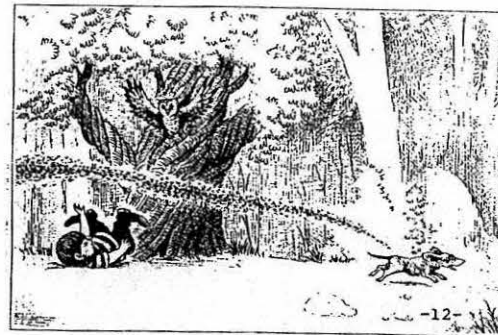
App. IA: Picturebook



Mayer

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App. IA: Picturebook

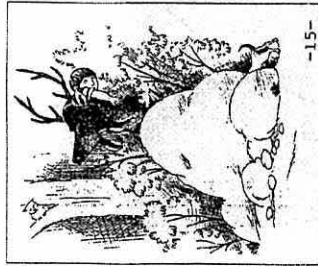


1961

Mayer

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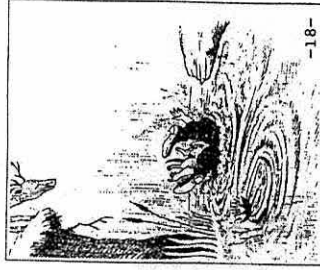


-15-

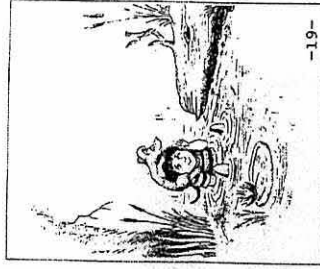
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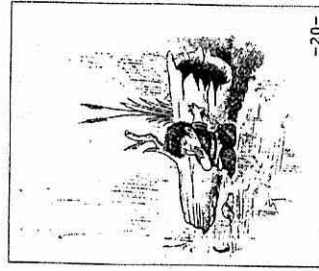
-18-



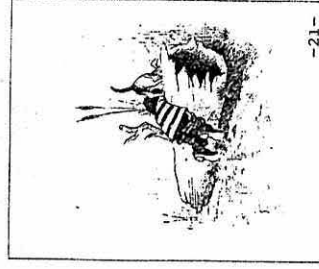
-19-



-17-



-20-



-21-

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App. IA: Picturebook

