

LANGUAGE DOMINANCE IN BILINGUAL ACQUISITION: A CASE STUDY OF NARRATIVE PRODUCTION IN LITHUANIAN

Ingrida Balčiūnienė, Ineta Dabašinskienė

Abstract. The study examines macro- and microstructural characteristics of narrative production in Lithuanian as the first language of a group of Lithuanian-English sequential young (mean age 6;1) bilinguals (n = 12) living in the UK; the control group of monolingual Lithuanian children (n = 12) residing in Lithuania was tested as well.

Monolingual children demonstrated greater vocabulary diversity and used a wider range of syntactic devices to create story cohesion than the bilinguals, although general story length (words, utterances, communication units) was higher in the bilingual group. The results point to specific aspects of language that may be difficult for children to acquire without formal education in Lithuanian. We speculate that the advantage in story length for bilingual speakers might be attributed to a greater emphasis on oral narratives within the UK educational system.

Keywords: narrative analysis, cohesive devices, bilingualism, language acquisition, L1, Lithuanian

1. Introduction

Global travel and work create situations where children grow up in bilingual environments. The minority or the first language (L1) is usually spoken at home and the second or the majority (i.e., state) language is used in schools. Most of research on bilingual acquisition has focused on children's ability to use majority language and fewer studies have examined language development in L1 in these children.

The study investigates macro- and microstructural features of narrative production in Lithuanian as L1 by children growing up as Lithuanian-English sequential bilinguals in the UK.

Narrative language was selected as the research data for a number of reasons. First, narratives are natural to children and, therefore, ecologically valid as a measurement tool (Botting 2002). Second, many previous studies have emphasized the

correlation between early narrative abilities and later literacy development (Snow, Dickinson 1991, Wellman et al. 2011), therefore this finding makes the study of structural features of narrative a very important area of investigation. Language comprehension and expression of knowledge through language are required for much of academic performance (Bishop, Edmundson 1987, Boudreau, Hedberg 1999); therefore, in recent years, interest in children's narrative development cross-linguistically has increased. In order to comprehend and produce a narrative, one has to have sufficient cognitive skills, such as a phonological short-term working memory, executive functions (Duinmeijer et al. 2012, Kornev, Balčiūnienė 2015, 2017), and the knowledge of an internal structure and a system of rules for generating narrative discourse (Hughes et al. 1997). Typically developing young monolingual children begin to produce stories soon after they have formed their first sentences. At the beginning, with the help of adults, they refer to real past events, and at the age of 3–5 children are able to tell longer and more complex personal stories (Miller, Sperry 1988). Young school age children are able to tell a story that includes elements such as characters, setting, an initiating event, a consequence, etc. They develop decontextualized language, i.e., abstract language that is removed from the here and now; this type of language is also referred to as extended discourse (Johnston 1982, Rowe 2013). It is characterized by the use of cohesive devices such as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (Justice et al. 2006), simple, temporal, causal and adversative connectives (McCabe, Bliss 2003, Shapiro, Hudson 1989) as well as other microstructural elements, which serve the purpose of creating a narrative (Squires et al. 2014). However, the path toward mastery of narration during the childhood years is difficult. As age and experience are important factors in building up a story, the results that Berman (1988) reports are not surprising: compared to early-school-age children, a poorer development of the macro- and microstructure of narratives is observed in preschoolers. According to her study, younger children demonstrated greater variability in performance, poorer vocabulary and grammar, and weaker discourse organization skills than school-age children (Berman 1988).

Studies related to the assessment of narratives in bilingual populations have also become widespread due to the fact that migration in Europe and around the globe is gaining momentum. After decades of research on various oral English proficiency skills, knowledge of vocabulary and narrative ability, it has been found that these skills are important precursors to literacy not only for monolingual but also for bilingual children (Oller, Pearson 2002, August, Shanahan 2006). These skills have also been identified as an area of special vulnerability in bilingual populations (Pearson 2002, August et al. 2005). New research in this field suggests that narrative skills positively affect English reading comprehension outcomes within and across languages in Spanish-speaking bilingual students (Miller et al. 2006). Although these findings shed some light on the relationship between narrative production and reading performance, there is still a need to better understand the characteristics and development of bilingual children's oral narratives (Cain 2003, Gutiérrez-Clellen 2004, Simon-Cerejido, Gutiérrez -Clellen 2009).

Most of the studies on narrative productions by bilingual children deal with Spanish-English bilingualism (e.g. Pearson 2002, Muñoz et al. 2003). A limited number of studies that have investigated narrative production in less-widely used

languages (e.g. Gagarina et al. 2015) and the stimulating findings of the completed studies have encouraged us to investigate narrative performance in monolingual (Lithuanian) and bilingual (Lithuanian-English) populations. Although the importance of narrative comprehension and production tasks is highlighted by the documents on Lithuanian education (e.g. *Curriculum Framework for Primary and Basic (Lower Secondary) Education*, 2008) and didactic literature, narrative studies in Lithuania can be said to be at the initial stage. Taking this fact into account, investigations of any sample (children and adults; monolinguals and bilinguals; typically developing and impaired subjects) are necessary for the identification of general tendencies in Lithuanian narrative production, the exploration of the effects of schooling and other factors, and for laying the foundation to ultimately establish monolingual and bilingual norms of narrative abilities.

The principal aim of this study was to describe and compare narrative macro- and microstructure in bilingual (Lithuanian-English) and monolingual (Lithuanian) children, and to identify directions for future research in narrative acquisition in bilingual/multilingual environments. While the study was mainly exploratory, we anticipated influence of the schooling experience, such that bilingual children who were already attending school in the UK would perform better in macrostructure than monolinguals in Lithuania without such experience (for details see the Participants subsection). It is also important to consider that some varieties in performance between bilingual and monolingual children might be due to the different, that is, bilingual, nature of their language competence (Paradis 2007). The unconventional performance by bilingual child in one of the languages should not be considered as deficit in language acquisition, but rather as a unique stage in language development. In order to establish the similarities and differences in both groups, very often the linguistic production of bilingual children is compared with monolinguals.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

Two groups of Lithuanian-speaking children (mean age 74 months) participated in the current study. All the children were considered as typically developing (TD) since they did not have any diagnosis or past record of language delay or impairment (however, we did not conduct any tests before including the children in our study).

The children from Group 1 ($n = 12$, five boys and seven girls) were sequential bilinguals. They lived in the UK and, in addition to attending school in English, attended a Lithuanian language tutor center (4 hours per week). Nine of the bilingual children were born in the UK and 3 were born in Lithuania (two of them moved to the UK before their first birthday and one lived in Lithuania for two years). Both parents of bilingual subjects were Lithuanian native speakers and had been living in the UK for 6–14 years. As reported by parents, all the children used Lithuanian as their first language (L1), and this language was still dominant; their exposure to English was approximately 2–3 years.

Group 2 ($n = 12$) was comprised of eight monolingual boys and four girls. The members of this group lived in Lithuania and attended a state kindergarten daily.

2.2. Materials and narrative elicitation procedure

For the narrative elicitation, we employed a set of pictures the *The Baby Birds* by Gagarina et al. (2012), however, the procedure and the analysis were slightly modified (see below). The session was audio-recorded.

Although the monolingual and bilingual data used for the analysis were collected by different experimenters, they were instructed by the same supervisor (a co-author of the paper) and underwent the same training on the procedure (for more on the materials and procedure see Balčiūnienė 2012).

2.3. Transcription procedures

The stories were transcribed using the CHAT tools (MacWhinney 2010) and coded independently by two linguists, both native speakers of Lithuanian. The transcribers coded each word with morphological information, including the base form of a word and a set of tags expressing morphological characteristics (Lounela 2005), in order to allow automated morphological analysis using CHILDES tools and the morphological “grammar” for Lithuanian. The morphological coding was used, in turn, to calculate microstructural measures (see the Measures section 2.4).

Similarly, syntactic encoding of transcripts provided information on the communication unit (CU) structure (i.e., simple vs. complex sentences) and cohesion devices (see the Measures section).

The measure of agreement between the first and the second coder using Cohen’s kappa was 0.89. Given this high level of agreement, the results of the first coding were used for the subsequent macrostructural analysis. For the narrative microstructure, the agreement between the first and the second transcriber was 82.60%, so the transcription of the first transcriber was used for the subsequent microstructural analysis.

2.4. Measures and scoring procedures

The macrostructural characteristics examined were story structure, structural complexity, and internal state terms. These were scored in accord with mainly Gagarina et al. (2012, 2015) guidelines.

Story structure (SS) components: setting, goals, attempts, outcomes, goal-related and outcome-related internal state terms (IST) as initiating events and reactions were scored 0–17 points in total.

For this study, **structural complexity (SC)** was analysed with a modified version of this measure (Roth, Spekman 1986, Balčiūnienė, Kornev 2016, Kornev, Balčiūnienė 2015, 2017) as being more flexible and sensitive to a child’s macrostructural competence. Specifically, each episode was scored based on its inner structure. Each complete episode (goal-attempt-outcome) was given 4 points. Each incomplete episode, which includes goal-outcome but omits attempt, scored 3 points. Each incomplete episode, which includes goal-attempt but omits outcome or includes attempt-outcome but omits goal, scored 2 points. Each episode, which

includes the only goal but omits attempt and outcome, scored 1 point. Since the picture sequence entails 3 episodes, the structural complexity score can range from 0–12 points in total.

Internal state terms (IST) included perceptual state terms (e.g., *see, hear*), physiological state terms (e.g., *thirsty, hungry*), consciousness terms (e.g., *alive, awake*), emotion terms (e.g., *sad, happy, angry, worried, disappointed*), mental verbs (e.g., *want, think, know, forget, decide*), and speech verbs (e.g., *say, call, shout*). Each IST token was given 1 point.

The microstructural characteristics of the narratives were examined with measures of productivity, lexical diversity, syntactic complexity, and cohesion.

Productivity can be measured by the total number of word tokens (TNT) with and without mazes. In our study, the TNT excluded mazes and linguistic disfluencies such as hesitations, fillers (such as *uh, um*), repetitions, and revisions.

Communication unit (CU) was defined as an “independent clause with its modifiers” (Loban 1976: 9). The stories were segmented to CUs, following Hughes et al. (1997) and Gagarina et al. (2012, 2015).

Lexical diversity was measured by the noun, verb, and adjective lemma/token ratio (LTR).

Syntactic complexity was measured by the mean length of CU in words (MLCUw; described as the number of CUs divided by the number of TNT). The number of clauses per CU (Hughes et al. 1997) is also termed the subordination index (Schneider et al. 2005) or CL/CU ratio (Balčiūnienė 2013).

Cohesion was measured by the production and distribution of connectives in the story. This study employs the methodology suggested by Reilly et al. (2011). According to the given study, cohesion devices were encoded as labeling, event describing, sequential horizontal linking, temporal or causal. For the analysis of cohesion, the total number of horizontal links (TNHL) and temporal/causal links (TNTCL) per story (both within and between CUs) was measured.

3. Results

All the macro- and microstructural measures and indexes were estimated for each subject and compared between the groups. Then, all variables were submitted to a one-way ANOVA and correlational analysis.

3.1. Macrostructure

Macrostructural measures did not show any significant statistical differences between the groups. Monolingual and bilingual children demonstrated similar results in using story structure (SS) elements. The monolingual group scored on average 6.50 points (SD = 2.15) out of 17, with a variation from 3 (minimum) to 10 (maximum) points; the bilingual group scored on average 6.75 points (SD = 2.66), with a variation from 3 to 11 points.

The evaluation of structural complexity (SC) was related to the completeness of narrative episodes: the children on average scored 5.95 points (out of 12). The

monolingual children scored from 0 to the maximum of 12 points, whereas the bilinguals scored from 1 to 10 points. The lowest score, i.e. 0, was given to the subject who was able to provide only descriptive information without any Goal:

Paukštis išskrido. Ir katė ėlipo į medį. Ir šuo užsivijo katę.
'A bird flew away. And a cat climbed up a tree. And a dog chased the cat.'

The ANOVA did not reveal any significant difference between groups. Thus, our prediction that bilinguals with schooling experience would outperform monolinguals in macrostructural measures was not confirmed. Moreover, the correlation between the two macrostructural measures, i.e., SS and SC, was quite similar in the samples: in the monolingual sample $r = 0.91$, in the bilingual sample $r = 0.82$, and in both samples $p < 0.01$.

3.2. Microstructure

Microstructural analysis showed several differences between the samples.

3.2.1. Productivity

The bilingual children produced more tokens (TNT; $F = 5.76$, $p = 0.03$) and more communication units (CU; $F = 4.81$, $p = 0.04$) than monolinguals.

The total number of tokens (TNT) varied between 29 and 48 words per story ($M = 38.50$) in the monolingual sample and between 43 and 73 words per story ($M = 57.75$) in the bilingual one. As for the total number of CUs (TNCU) in the monolingual sample, it varied between 6 and 9 CUs per story ($M = 8.16$); in the bilingual sample, the TNCU varied between 8 and 14 CUs per story ($M = 11.50$). Moreover, the TNT correlated with the TNCU within each sample (MO: $r = 0.77$, $p < 0.01$; BI: $r = 0.93$, $p < 0.01$).

However, the SD in both samples was quite high. In the monolingual sample, the TNT varied between 13 and 66 words per story ($SD = 15.09$); the TNCU varied between 3 and 13 CUs per story ($SD = 2.48$). In the bilingual sample, the TNT varied between 23 and 100 words per story ($SD = 23.33$); the TNCU varied between 6 and 23 CUs per story ($SD = 4.64$). This heterogeneity presumably was caused by some limitations of the method for narrative elicitation and should be taken into consideration in future studies.

3.2.2. Lexical diversity

Despite the high productivity in words, vocabulary seemed to be less developed in the bilingual sample (see Figure 1).

In the monolingual sample, the lemma/token ratio (LTR) varied between 0.40 and the maximum of 1.00 ($M = 0.710$); in the bilingual sample, the LTR varied between 0.37 and 0.63 ($M = 0.543$) but never reached the maximum of 1.00. This means that the monolinguals produced more different words (lemmas), whereas the bilinguals tended to repeat the same lemmas but in different forms (types).

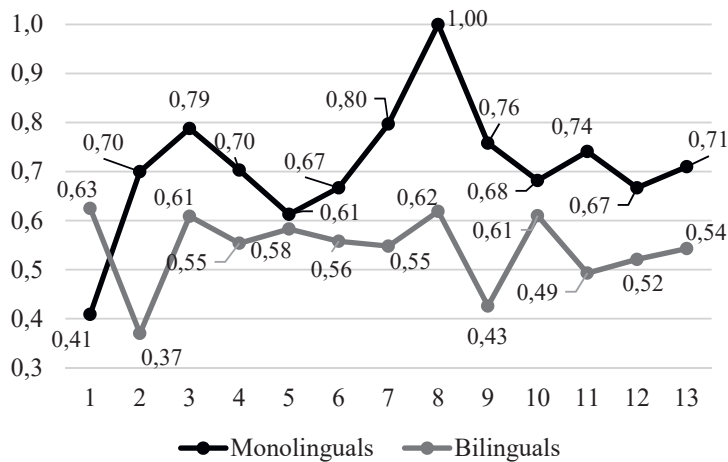


Figure 1. Lemma/token ratio (LTR) within the samples

The analysis of the words also revealed greater lexical diversity of both content and function words in the monolingual sample as compared to the bilinguals (see Figure 2).

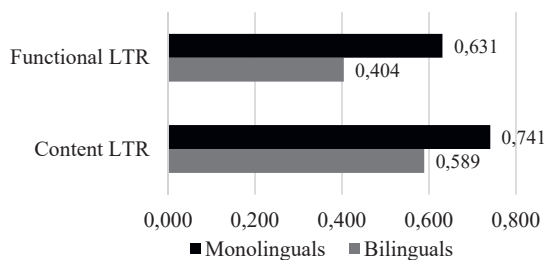


Figure 2. Content vs. functional lemma/token ratio (LTR) within group

In the monolingual sample, the functional LTR varied between 0.26 and the maximum of 1.00 ($M = 0.631$) and the content LTR varied between 0.51 and the maximum of 1.00 ($M = 0.741$). In the bilingual sample, the functional LTR varied between 0.24 and 0.62 ($M = 0.404$) and the content LTR varied between 0.40 and 0.72 ($M = 0.589$).

3.2.3. Cohesion

A high lexical diversity of function words enables a subject to build complex syntactic structures and to produce elaborated stories.

The total number of horizontal links (TNHL) varied between 3 and 6 ($M = 4.83$) as produced by the monolinguals and between 5 and 10 ($M = 8.25$) in the bilingual sample. Thus, the mean of the TNHL was significantly higher in the bilingual sample ($F = 6.31$, $p = 0.02$). The total number of temporal/causal links (TNTCL) varied between 0 and 4 ($M = 0.41$) in the data from the monolinguals and between 0 and

3 ($M = 0.58$) in the data from the bilinguals; the difference between the means of the TNTCL was not statistically significant ($F = 0.12, p = 0.73$).

3.2.4. Syntactic complexity

It appears that cohesion development might be related to syntactic complexity. Although our results did not reveal any significant differences in syntactic complexity between the groups (MLCUw: $F = 0.60, p = 0.45$; CL/CU: $F = 0.00, p = 0.90$), the syntactic complexity measures correlated with cohesion measures within each group (see Table 1).

Table 1. Pearson correlations between syntactic complexity and cohesion measures by group

Monolinguals	TNHL	TNTCL	Bilinguals	TNHL	TNTCL
MLCUw	0.225	0.642*	MLCUw	0.126	0.489
CL/CU	0.188	0.659*	CL/CU	0.580*	0.736**

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

In the monolingual sample, the mean length of CU (MLCUw) correlated with the total number of temporal/causal links (TNTCL; $r = 0.64; p < 0.05$). In both samples, the CL/CU index correlated with the TNTCL (MO: $r = 0.66, p < 0.05$; BI: $r = 0.74; p < 0.01$). In the bilingual sample, the CL/CU index was additionally related to the total number of horizontal links (TNHL; $r = 0.58; p < 0.05$). This result suggests that well-developed syntactic devices, such as complex sentences, enable a subject to produce horizontal links and/or to express temporal/causal inferences.

3.3. Relationships between macro- and microstructure

As Table 2 shows, the analysis did not reveal any significant correlations between macrostructural (story structure and structural complexity) and microstructural variables either in the monolingual or bilingual group.

Table 2. Pearson correlations between macrostructural variables (story structure, structural complexity) and microstructural variables

Monolinguals						
Variable	TNT	TNCU	MLCUw	CL/CU	TNHL	TNTCL
SS	0.33	0.29	0.17	-0.11	0.23	0.42
SC	0.28	0.22	0.18	-0.23	0.19	0.30
Bilinguals						
Variable	TNT	TNCU	MLCUw	CL/CU	TNHL	TNTCL
SS	0.09	-0.06	0.34	0.54	0.12	0.55
SC	-0.12	-0.24	0.52	0.38	-0.11	0.43

SS – story structure; SC – structural complexity; IST – number of internal state terms; TNT – total number of tokens; TNCU – total number of communication units; MLCUw – mean length of communication unit in words; CL/CU – clause/communication unit ratio; TNHL – total number of horizontal links; TNTCL – total number of temporal/causal links.

The third macrostructural measure, i.e. internal state terms (IST), correlated with some microstructural variables. Namely, IST correlated with the total number of adjectives (TNA) ($r = 0.71$; $p < 0.01$) for the monolinguals, and with the total number of CU ($r = 0.72$; $p < 0.01$) for the bilinguals. The analysis also revealed that children, monolinguals and bilinguals alike, tended to use diverse IST terms, e.g. if a child produced ten ISTs, five or six different lemmas occurred.

4. Discussion and conclusions

The study explored macro- and microstructural characteristics of Lithuanian narrative productions by TD sequential bilingual (Lithuanian-English) and monolingual children. The primary purpose of this study was to compare to what extent narratives of bilingual children differ from those produced by monolinguals.

Among all the measures of macrostructure, only the number of internal state terms (IST) revealed a significant positive correlation with some variables of microstructure, such as the total number of adjectives (TNA) and the total number of CU. Therefore, our findings only partially support the predicted correlation between the macro- and microstructure of the narrative. Although we proposed that narratives with more coherent structures would contain a greater proportion of sophisticated connectives than less coherent narratives, the correlational analysis did not provide such evidence.

The study showed similar results of 6-year-olds in the constructing of narrative macrostructure (story structure (SS) and structural complexity (SC)) despite their different linguistic background and educational experience, in contrast to our preliminary expectations. Moreover, the correlational analysis between SS and SC within the samples was also similar. These results suggest that a well-developed story structure helps a child to complete episodes of the story; or, vice versa, the completed episodes build a solid basis for a general story structure.

The microstructure displayed statistically significant differences between the groups regarding three parameters: general productivity, lexical diversity, and cohesion. The bilinguals scored better for general productivity, but lexical diversity was higher in the group of monolingual children. For the cohesion measure, we found a significantly higher number of horizontal links in the narratives produced by the bilinguals, but this finding alone does not indicate better cohesion. A dominance of horizontal links might be an indication that other cohesive devices are less-elaborated. We assume that the monolinguals were able to combine different cohesive devices (labeling, describing events, horizontal links, and temporal/causal links), while the bilingual group preferred horizontal links.

A strong correlation between the total number of communication units (TNCU) and the horizontal links (TNTHL) as well as between the syntactic complexity and the temporal/causal links (TNTCL) was observed in both groups. These results are consistent with the findings from other studies which identified more differences at the microstructural than at the macrostructural level (cf. Pearson 2002).

We also expected that children with academic experience would perform better on the macrostructure level than children without any schooling experience. This prediction was based on Berman's (1988) findings that preschoolers, compared

to early-school-age children, show poorer development. However, our subjects, although having different schooling experiences (the bilingual children have already attended primary school for 2–3 years, while the monolinguals have only been to kindergarten), are of the same age (mean age 74 months in both groups). Slightly better (but statistically not significant) results for the bilingual children suggest that future research with a larger sample of subjects is needed.

Our analysis of the microstructure parameters encourages discussing the results in the context of external factors, such as cultural environment, the social-economic status of the family, and the dominance of societal language.

The established differences between the two samples might be influenced by cultural factors: children may demonstrate differences in narrative production because of their different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (McCabe, Bliss 2003). Our research has shown that the parameter of general productivity is important in this context: the bilingual group produced longer narratives than the monolingual group (more words, from 23 to 100, $M = 57.7$), and this result was statistically significant. This finding might be explained by differences in socialization practices. In UK schools, children are granted a higher degree of freedom in their activities and performances, they are encouraged to act and talk, whereas in Lithuania the rules regarding children's behavior are stricter. Previous studies in the field have identified cross-cultural and linguistic differences not only in story length and the amount of information given (McCabe 1997, Shrubshall 1997), but also in predominant use of verb tenses or tense shifts (Berman, Slobin 1994), mental state terms (Fusté-Herrmann et al. 2006), and uses of referential expressions (Da Costa E. Sousa 1999, Batoréo, Costa 2000, Gülzow, Gagarina 2007). Bilingual children may even produce different narratives in each of their two languages (Gutiérrez-Clellen 2002, Silliman et al. 2002). However, it is not clear whether these differences are due to the variation of bilingual language proficiency, linguistic structural differences, and/or cultural differences related to the acquisition of each of the two languages (Fiestas, Peña 2004). One has also to consider the impact of educational culture in a particular country.

The results of our study also point to the vulnerability of bilingual children regarding L1 loss while acquiring L2. Significantly lower performance in lexical diversity observed in the bilingual group may be an indication of L2 influence which may show the first signals for L1 attrition. It is worth mentioning that the phenomenon of code-switching or abundance of grammatical errors was not observed in the sample. The results of the lexical diversity analysis may indicate that the vocabulary of the bilinguals in L1 is poorer than the vocabulary of the monolinguals. The research on bilingualism reports that usually English skills (in English-speaking countries) become higher than those in L1 when children start to attend educational institutions. The early processes of language attrition or incomplete language acquisition are reported as well. We expected that bilingualism would have an impact on the Lithuanian language skills. Almost all children in the bilingual group were born in the UK and were exposed to the Lithuanian language mostly at home as both parents were speakers of Lithuanian. The bilingual children had already been attending schools for two-three years, and English was the main language of instruction there. In addition, while living in an English-speaking country one cannot be completely isolated from the influence of a societal language.

The bilingual children living in London, in addition to English schools, were also attending Lithuanian language centers several times per week in order to enhance the knowledge of Lithuanian. This factor shows positive parental attitudes towards learning both English and Lithuanian and their understanding of the importance of both languages for their offsprings. However, we realize that the methodology used for this investigation is not flawless: the bilingual group was checked on the story production delivered only in Lithuanian, whereas the children's level of exposure to each language should have also been taken into consideration. Limited exposure to the target language (L1 or L2) may cause worse results in performance, but it is not an indication of language deficit (Nicoladis, Genesee 1997, Paradis 2011, Chiat et al. 2013, Gathercole et al. 2013). It is an established fact that monolingual and bilingual children differ in language development. This is mostly related to distinct social settings where their two languages are used (one language at home, the other at school) and to the cumulative exposure to each language. Moreover, bilingual children experience some overlap of what they are learning about each language (e.g. vocabulary) and code-switching, which is common among bilinguals (Nicoladis, Genesee 1997, De Houwer 2009, Gathercole 2013: 6).

Our study was one of the first attempts to analyze Lithuanian narrative production by young TD monolingual and bilingual children. The observed tendencies and insights presented in this study encourage us to further expand the investigation of microstructure as it reveals language-specific features, especially those of grammar (morphology). Furthermore, a new cross-sectional design for studying different age groups of bilingual children is needed in order to find out whether sequential bilinguals initially rely on their first language when learning English or to find out to what extent the variables of age in language acquisition and exposure to a language are important for revealing a child's linguistic abilities.

References

- August, Diane; Carlo, Maria; Dressler, Cheryl; Snow, Catherine 2005. The critical role of vocabulary development for English language learners. – *Learning Disabilities Research and Practice*, 20 (1), 50–57. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2005.00120.x>
- August, Diane; Shanahan, Timothy (Eds.) 2006. *Developing Literacy in Second-Language Learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel of Language Minority Children and Youth*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Balčiūnienė, Ingrida 2012. Lithuanian narrative language at preschool age. – *Estonian Papers in Applied Linguistics*, 8, 21–36. <https://doi.org/10.5128/ERYa8.02>
- Balčiūnienė, Ingrida; Kornev, Aleksandr N. 2016. Doing new things with language: Narrative language in SLI preschoolers. – *Estonian Papers in Applied Linguistics*, 12, 25–42. <https://doi.org/10.5128/ERYa12.02>
- Batoréo, Jakubowicz Hanna; Costa, Armanda 2000. Reference mechanisms in children's oral and written narratives at the age of ten. – *Psycholinguistics on the Threshold of the Year 2000*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 265–270.
- Berman, Ruth A. 1988. On the ability to relate events in narrative. – *Discourse Processes*, 11, 469–497. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01638538809544714>
- Berman, Ruth A.; Slobin, Dan I. 1994. *Relating Events in Narrative: A Crosslinguistic Developmental Study*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers.
- Bishop, Dorothy V. M.; Edmundson, A. 1987. Language-impaired 4-year-olds: Distinguishing transient from persistent impairment. – *Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders*, 52 (2), 156–173. <https://doi.org/10.1044/jshd.5202.156>

- Botting, Nicola 2002. Narrative as a tool for the assessment of linguistic and pragmatic impairments. – *Child Language Teaching and Therapy*, 18 (1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1191/0265659002ct2240a>
- Boudreau, Donna M.; Hedberg, Natalie L. 1999. A comparison of early literacy skills in children with specific language impairment and their typically developing peers. – *American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology*, 8, 249–260. <https://doi.org/10.1044/1058-0360.0803.249>
- Cain, Kate 2003. Text comprehension and its relation to coherence and cohesion in children's fictional narratives. – *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 21 (3), 335–351. <https://doi.org/10.1348/026151003322277739>
- Chiat, Shula; Armon-Lotem, Sharon; Marinis, Theodoros; Polišenská, Kamila; Roy, Penny; Seeff-Gabriel, Belinda 2013. Assessment of language abilities in sequential bilingual children: The potential of sentence imitation tasks. – Virginia C. Mueller Gathercole (Ed.), *Issues in the Assessment of Bilinguals*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 56–89.
- Curriculum Framework for Primary and Basic (Lower Secondary) Education, 2008. Approved by the Minister of Education and Science of the Republic of Lithuania. 26 August 2008. Resolution No. ISAK-970. http://www.smm.lt/en/ge/docs/18%20overtimas%20SAC%202008%20Bendrosios%20programos%2008%2009%2022_Anglu%20k.pdf (23.9.2011).
- Da Costa E. Sousa, Otilia 1999. Constructing reference in children's narratives. – *Psychology of Language and Communication*, 3 (1), 29–40.
- De Houwer, Annick 2009. *An Introduction to Bilingual Development*. Clevedon, Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- Duinmeijer, Iris; de Jong, Jan; Scheper, Annette 2012. Narrative abilities, memory and attention in children with a specific language impairment. – *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders*, 47 (5), 542–555. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-6984.2012.00164.x>
- Fiestas, Christine E.; Peña, Elisabeth D. 2004. Narrative discourse in bilingual children: Language and task effect. – *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools*, 35 (2), 155–168. [https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461\(2004/016\)](https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461(2004/016))
- Fusté-Herrmann, Belinda; Silliman, Elaine R.; Bahr, Ruth H.; Fasnacht, Kyna S.; Federico, Jeanne E. 2006. Mental state verb production in the oral narratives of English- and Spanish-speaking preadolescents: An exploratory study of lexical diversity and depth. – *Learning Disabilities Research & Practice*, 21 (1), 44–60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2006.00206.x>
- Gagarina, Natalia; Klop, Daleen; Kunnari, Sari; Tantele, Koula; Välimaa, Taina; Balčiūnienė, Ingrida; Bohnacker, Ute; Walters, Joel 2012. MAIN: Multilingual assessment instrument for narratives. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 56 – December 2012. Berlin: ZAS.
- Gagarina, Natalia; Klop, Daleen; Kunnari, Sari; Tantele, Koula; Välimaa, Taina; Balčiūnienė, Ingrida; Bohnacker, Ute; Walters, Joel 2015. Assessment of narrative abilities in bilingual children. – Sharon Armon-Lotem, Jan de Jong, Natalia Meir (Eds.), *Assessing Multilingual Children: Disentangling Bilingualism from Language Impairment*. Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 243–276.
- Gathercole, Virginia C. Mueller 2013. Assessment of multi-tasking wonders: Music, Olympics and language. – Virginia C. Mueller Gathercole (Ed.), *Issues in the Assessment of Bilinguals*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783090105-003>
- Gathercole, Virginia C. Mueller; Thomas, Enlli M.; Roberts, Emily J.; Hughes, Catrin O.; Hughes, Emma K. 2013. Why assessment needs to take exposure into account: Vocabulary and grammatical abilities in bilingual children. – Virginia C. Mueller Gathercole (Ed.), *Issues in the Assessment of Bilinguals*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 20–55. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783090105-004>

- Gutiérrez-Clellen, Vera F. 2002. Narratives in two languages: Assessing performance of bilingual children. – *Linguistics and Education*, 13 (2), 175–197. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0898-5898\(01\)00061-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0898-5898(01)00061-4)
- Gutiérrez-Clellen, Vera F. 2004. Assessment of English language learners: Challenges and strategies. – *English Language Learners: Head Start bulletin*, 78, 47–49.
- Gülzow, Insa; Gagarina, Natalia 2007. Noun phrases, pronouns and anaphoric reference in young children narratives. – *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, 48, 203–223.
- Hughes, Diana; McGillivray, LaRae; Schmidek, Mark 1997. *Guide to Narrative Language: Procedures for Assessment*. PRO-ED.
- Johnston, Judith R. 1982. Narratives: A new look at communication problems in older language-disordered children. – *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools*, 13 (3), 144–155. <https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461.1303.144>
- Justice, Laura M.; Bowles, Ryan P.; Kaderavek, Joan N.; Ukrainetz, Teresa A.; Eisenberg, Sarita L.; Gillam, Ronald B. 2006. The index of narrative microstructure: A clinical tool for analyzing school-age children's narrative performances. – *American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology*, 15 (2), 177–191. [https://doi.org/10.1044/1058-0360\(2006\)017](https://doi.org/10.1044/1058-0360(2006)017)
- Kornev, Aleksandr N.; Balčiūnienė, Ingrida 2015. Narrative production weakness in Russian dyslexics: Linguistic or procedural limitations? – *Estonian Papers in Applied Linguistics*, 11, 141–157. <https://doi.org/10.5128/ERYa11.09>
- Kornev, Aleksandr N.; Balčiūnienė, Ingrida 2017. Fictional narrative as a window to discourse development: A psycholinguistic approach. – Janusz Badio (Ed.), *Events and Narratives in Language*. *Lodz Studies in Language*. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Warszawa, Wien: Peter Lang Publishing, 171–188. <https://doi.org/10.3726/b10924>
- Loban, Walter 1976. *Language Development: Kindergarten through Grade Twelve*. Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Lounela, Mikko 2005. Exploring morphologically analysed text material. – Antti Arppe, Lauri Carlson, Krister Lindén, Jussi Piitulainen, Mickael Suominen, Martti Vainio, Hanna Westerlund, Anssi Yli-Jyrä (Eds.), *Inquiries into Words, Constraints and Contexts*. Stanford: Stanford University, 259–267.
- MacWhinney, Brian 2010. *The CHILDES Project: Tools for Analyzing Talk*. Electronic Edition. <http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/manuals/CLAN.pdf> (23.9.2011).
- McCabe, Allyssa 1997. Developmental and cross-cultural aspects of children's narration. – Michael Bamberg (Ed.), *Narrative Development: Six Approaches*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 137–174.
- McCabe, Allyssa; Bliss, Lynn S. 2003. *Patterns of Narrative Discourse: A Multicultural, Life Span Approach*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Miller, Jon F.; Heilmann, John; Nockerts, Ann; Iglesias, Aquiles; Fabiano, Leah; Francis, David J. 2006. Oral language and reading in bilingual children. – *Learning Disabilities Research and Practice*, 21 (1), 30–43. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2006.00205.x>
- Miller, Peggy J.; Sperry, Linda L. 1988. Early talking about the past: The origins of conversational stories of personal experience. – *Journal of Child Language*, 15 (2), 293–315. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305000900012381>
- Muñoz, María L.; Gillam, Ronald B.; Peña, Elizabeth D.; Gulley-Faehnle, Annette 2003. Measures of language development in fictional narratives of Latino children. – *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools*, 34 (4), 332–342. [https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461\(2003\)027](https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461(2003)027)
- Nicoladis, Elena; Genesee, Fred 1997. Language development in preschool bilingual children. – *Canadian Journal of Speech-Language Pathology and Audiology*, 21 (4), 258–270.
- Oller, D. Kimbrough; Pearson, Barbara Zurer 2002. Assessing the effects of bilingualism: A background. – D. Kimbrough Oller, Rebecca Eilers (Eds.), *Language and*

- Literacy in Bilingual Children. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853595721-002>
- Paradis, Johanne 2007. Second language acquisition in childhood. – Erika Hoff, Marilyn Shatz (Eds.), *Blackwell Handbook of Language Development*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 387–405. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470757833.ch19>
- Paradis, Johanne 2011. The impact of input factors on bilingual development: Quantity versus quality. – *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*, 1 (1), 67–70. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lab.1.1.09par>
- Pearson, Barbara Zurer 2002. Narrative competence among monolingual and bilingual school children in Miami. – D. Kimbrough Oller, Rebecca Eilers (Eds.), *Language and Literacy in Bilingual Children*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 135–174. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853595721-008>
- Reilly, Judy; Aksu-Koc, Ayhan; Appelbaum, Arthur; et al. 2011. Emerging narratives: A cross-linguistic study. – Paper presented at the 12th International Congress for the Study of Child Language. 19–23 July, 2011. Montreal: Université du Québec à Montréal.
- Roth, Froma P.; Spekman, Nancy J. 1986. Narrative discourse: Spontaneously generated stories of learning-disabled and normally achieving students. – *Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders*, 51 (1), 8–23. <https://doi.org/10.1044/jshd.5101.08>
- Rowe, Meredith L. 2013. Decontextualized language input and preschoolers' vocabulary development. – *Seminars in Speech and Language*, 34 (4), 260–266. <https://doi.org/10.1055/s-0033-1353444>
- Schneider, P.; Dubé, R. V.; Hayward, D. 2005. The Edmonton Narrative Norms Instrument (ENNI). <http://www.rehabresearch.ualberta.ca/enni> (5.3.2019).
- Shapiro, Lauren R.; Hudson, Judith A. 1989. Cohesion and coherence in preschool children's picture-elicited narrative. – Paper presented at the National Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development. 27–30 April, 1989. Kansas City, MO.
- Shrubshell, Paul 1997. Narrative, argument and literacy: A comparative study of the narrative discourse development of monolingual and bilingual 5-10-year-old learners. – *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 18 (5), 402–421. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434639708666328>
- Silliman, Elaine R.; Huntley Bahr, Ruth; Brea, Maria R.; Hnath-Chisolm, Theresa; Mahecha, Nancy R. 2002. Spanish and English proficiency in the linguistic encoding of mental states in narrative retellings. – *Linguistics and Education*, 13 (2), 199–234. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0898-5898\(01\)00062-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0898-5898(01)00062-6)
- Simon-Cerejido, Gabriela; Gutiérrez-Clellen, Vera F. 2009. A cross-linguistic and bilingual evaluation of the interdependence between lexical and grammatical domains. – *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 30 (2), 315–337. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716409090134>
- Snow, Catherine E.; Dickinson, David K. 1991. Some skills that aren't basic in a new conception of literacy. – Edward M. Jennings, Alan C. Purves (Eds.), *Literate Systems and Individual Lives: Perspectives on Literacy and Schooling*. Albany: SUNY Press, 175–213.
- Squires, Katie E.; Lugo-Neris, Mirza J.; Peña, Elisabeth D.; Bedore, Lisa M.; Bohman, Thomas M.; Gillam, Ronald B. 2014. Story retelling by bilingual children with language impairments and typically developing controls. – *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders*, 49 (1), 60–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1460-6984.12044>
- UK. The National Curriculum. <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-education> (5.3.2019).
- Wellman, Rachel L.; Lewis, Barbara A.; Freebairn, Lisa A.; Avrich, Allison A.; Hansen, Amy J.; Stein, Catherine M. 2011. Narrative ability of children with speech sound disorders and the prediction of later literacy skills. – *Language Speech and Hearing Services in Schools*, 42 (4), 561–579. [https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461\(2011/10-0038\)](https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461(2011/10-0038))

DOMINANTKEEL KAKSKEELSES KEELEOMANDAMISES: NARRATIIVILOOME JUHTUMIUURING LEEDU KEELES

Ingrida Balčiūnienė, Ineta Dabašinskienė

Vytautas Magnuse Ülikool

Uuring käsitleb Ühendkuningriigis elavate leedu-inglise suksessiivsete kakskeelsete laste (n = 12, keskmine vanus 6;1) leedukeelse narratiiviloome makro- ja mikrostruktuurseid tunnuseid. Kontrollgrupina testiti Leedus elavaid ükskeelseid leedu lapsi (n = 12).

Ükskeelsed lapsed moodustasid mitmekesisema sõnavara ja süntaktiliste vahendite abil sidusama narratiivi kui kakskeelsed, ehkki loo üldine pikkus (sõnad, lausungid, kommunikatiivsed üksused) oli kakskeelsel grupil suurem. Tulemused osutavad eri keelenähtustele, mille omandamisel võib lastel olla raskusi ilma leedukeelse formaalhariduseta. Oletame, et kakskeelsete kõnelejate paremus loo pikkuses võib olla seotud suurema rõhuasetusega suulisele narratiivile Ühendkuningriikide haridussüsteemis.

Võtmesõnad: narratiivianalüüs, kohesioon, kakskeelsus, keeleomandamine, leedu keel

Ingrida Balčiūnienė (Vytautas Magnus University). Her research interests include first language acquisition, narrative analysis, and discourse analysis.

K. Donelaicio 58, 44248 Kaunas, Lithuania

ingrida.balciuniene@vdu.lt

Ineta Dabašinskienė (Vytautas Magnus University). Her research interests include psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics, studies of grammar, spoken language and pragmatics, language policy and multilingualism.

K. Donelaicio 58, 44248 Kaunas, Lithuania

ineta.dabasinskiene@vdu.lt