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CROSS-LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE IN CROATIAN-ENGLISH-SPANISH  
MULTILINGUALS: EVIDENCE FROM SPOKEN AND WRITTEN  
PRODUCTION

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Graduation Thesis

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## **Abstract**

This thesis deals with the issue of crosslinguistic influence in multilinguals who, besides their mother tongue Croatian, also speak English and Spanish. The aim of this paper is to establish whether the multilinguals use other languages they know in spoken and written production, and whether they use previously acquired skills and findings related to those languages during that process. The theoretical part of the paper covers the definitions of the concept of crosslinguistic influence, history of the development of the field, as well as possible theories why crosslinguistic influence appears or does not appear in particular cases. Furthermore, what is briefly discussed are the separateness of languages in the brain and numerous factors which influence the occurrence of CLI. Finally, there is a short overview of the status of English and Spanish languages in Croatia.

The research part consists of two studies comparing two groups of language users: one where participants are not proficient speakers of English and Spanish, but still possess enough knowledge to be called multilinguals, and the other whose participants are at a high level of both languages. The language samples were obtained through the qualitative method of gathering data, i.e. writing compositions on a certain topic (group 1) and translation of texts and oral interview (group 2), while the data obtained were analyzed and systematized according to the type of influence.

At the end of the paper there is a conclusion, implication and relevance of this paper for educational context, as well as suggestion for further research.

**Key words** - cross-linguistic influence, transfer, multilingualism, mother tongue, foreign language

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## **Introduction**

It is definitely not easy to explain cross-linguistic influence - it is a complex phenomenon, but fascinating at the same time, and because of that fact it has grabbed the attention of many researchers and scholars. Numerous studies have been conducted involving a variety of language combinations, but the majority of them dealt with only two languages and ignored the trilingual, as well as other multilingual speakers. In the last few decades the world has gone through some major changes and the number of multilingual people has drastically increased due to globalization, which certainly calls for more attention and focus on this phenomenon. Precisely one of the main reasons for choosing this topic was the lack of information and research on the relationship that exists between Croatian, English and Spanish languages (especially between Croatian and Spanish), which makes this paper even more valuable. Other important thing which motivated me to plunge into this area was my personal interest in this topic. From my own experience as a learner, and from what I have seen and experienced so far while teaching and interacting with multilinguals, I can safely say that the way in which multilingual people use their knowledge and skills related to the languages they know is fascinating, and even more if we are dealing with a complete beginner in a particular language.

The main questions I wanted to answer were: Is it possible to know several languages and manage to keep them apart in the mind? Is it even realistic to expect that multilingual speakers never show signs of crosslinguistic influence? If not, what are the factors which influence the inability to do so? Finally, are there parts of the language which are more prone to transfer than others?

Even though this thesis intends to answer these and many other questions related to the issue, this topic is so broad and complex that it was impossible to address all the problems regarding this phenomenon. Other studies including these three languages will certainly need to be conducted, preferably more extensive and elaborate ones. Hopefully, this paper will encourage scholars and researchers to become more interested in the subject and recognize the importance of acknowledging and dealing with the growth of multilingualism in Croatia and around the globe, as well as to predict and understand better the difficulties the learners may encounter during the language learning process.

## Important terms and concepts

It is crucial to define the terminology used in this paper first. If the key concepts are unclear and not appropriately defined, misunderstandings and misconceptions about the topic in question may arise.

*Cross-linguistic influence* (CLI) is a concept not easily defined. However, in the myriad of definitions, when mentioning the term *cross-linguistic influence* in this work, I will rely on the definition proposed by Kellerman and Sharwood Smith (1986) since it is not too restrictive and exclusive (see: Towards the definition of cross-linguistic influence).

L1, or the *first language*, will be used to refer to the mother tongue of the speaker, i.e. the language that was acquired first, even if that language may no longer be the dominant one in the speaker's mind. The term *second language* (L2) has a slightly broader meaning and it will refer to any language that the speaker has subsequently acquired. In other words, *second* will not only refer to the language that was chronologically acquired second, but it will refer to any language learned/acquired after the mother tongue regardless of the order of acquisition. Still, taking into consideration the specific topic of this work, i.e. research into cross-linguistic influence in people who speak English, Spanish and Croatian, in some cases it will be necessary to use the term *third language* or L3 to avoid possible confusion. However, as far as the theoretical part is concerned, the term L2 will be used to cover L2, L3 and/or any subsequently learned/acquired language, as mentioned earlier.

In certain works the terms *bilingualism*, *trilingualism* and *multilingualism* also appear often: and while the first two concepts clearly indicate the number of languages involved, the term multilingualism does not reveal anything about the exact number of languages. Hufeisen and Marx (2004, p. 142) claim that “bilingualism and trilingualism are (thus seen as) specific subtypes of a superordinate concept of multilingualism” (in Lozano González, 2012), and in some works the term “multilingual” also refers to bilingual persons. In order to avoid confusion, in this paper the term “multilingualism” will refer to the knowledge of more than two languages.

It should also be noted that the terms *acquisition* and *learning* should not be used interchangeably. Krashen (1977) proposed the definitions of both concepts, stating that acquisition is a subconscious process that is characterized by a “natural internalization” of the



language without any conscious effort on behalf of the speaker, while learning is a conscious process where the language in question is “formally internalized” which implies feedback, error correction and learning explicit language rules” (in Liceras, 1992, p. 143). In Croatia, at least when it comes to Spanish and English languages, it virtually comes down to *learning*, rather than *acquiring* the language (see: Status of English and Spanish in Croatia). For that reason, I will refer to *learning* English and/or Spanish, and *acquiring* Croatian.

### **Towards the definition of cross-linguistic influence**

All languages that exist in the world are somehow different; each has its own way of expressing thoughts, desires, experiences and needs (O'Neill *et al.*, 2005). The notions of language contact and cross-linguistic influence have always been intriguing to both ordinary people and scholars, so it could be said that the interest for the topic exists since antiquity. There were references to cross-linguistic influence, bilingualism and language interaction even in ancient Greece. For instance, in one of the earliest references to the phenomena, in Homer's *Odyssey* Odysseus tells Penelope about the „mixed languages of Crete”. Moreover, the multilingualism was so widespread in ancient times that the instances of language contact appear in a variety of legal and commercial documents, personal letters and even epitaphs (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 1). Undoubtedly, the empirical interest in cross-linguistic influence (CLI) or transfer phenomenon has existed long before the formal establishment of the field. However, unlike most well-known factors which affect language acquisition and use (e.g. acculturation, anxiety, input, universal principles and parameters), often investigated from a particular theoretical point of view, research on transfer have mostly been exploratory in nature, mainly driven by theory-neutral questions. It certainly does not mean that the theoretical interest in CLI is nonexistent; in their preface, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) say that probably due to the complexity, broad scope and long history of interdisciplinary interest in the subject the researchers decided to adopt the “research-then-theory” approach.

So, how should we define cross-linguistic influence or *transfer* (as some call the phenomenon)? There are numerous definitions offered in books, articles and scholarly journals, a clear indicator of the importance and interest in the subject. In applied linguistics, transfer is defined as “a process in foreign language learning whereby learners carry over

what they already know about their first language to their performance in the second language” (Crystal, 1980, p. 62). In behaviourist psychology, on the other hand, they define it as “the automatic, uncontrolled, and subconscious use of past learner behaviours in the attempt to produce new responses” (Dulay *et al.*, 1982, p. 101). However, it must be noted that even though some laypeople and scholars use both terms interchangeably, up to 1980s it was considered inappropriate to label the term *transfer* due to the association with the behaviourist notion of skills transfer. *Interference* is yet another term to label the phenomenon, but it also conveys behaviourist connotations and suggests that transfer should be seen in a negative light.

By looking at the above proposed definitions of this phenomenon, it is evident that the focus of scholars is on the influence of an L1 on subsequently learned/ acquired languages (*forward transfer*), and that an L2 / L3 influence on the mother tongue (*reverse transfer*) as well as the influence of a non-native language on another (*lateral transfer*) are unrighteously neglected and ignored. Since this thesis does not exclude any type of transfer, they all need to be taken into consideration. Kellerman and Sharwood Smith (1986) proposed a more neutral term *cross-linguistic influence* to refer to “the full range of ways in which a person’s knowledge of one language can affect the person’s knowledge and use of another language” (in Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 3). It is a much broader term, since it includes not only transfer, but also the lack of transfer, avoidance, underproduction, overall facilitation of learning and strategies of communication (Cook V., 2003). This term has recently been criticized among some scholars, since they advocate that the influence of one language on another in a person’s mind may be the manifestation of an “integrated multicompetence”, and not merely the manifestation of two or more separated competences in the mind (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 4). In a dynamic model of multilingualism, the term *crosslinguistic interaction* appears, which includes not only transfer and interference, but also codeswitching and borrowing, making it an umbrella term for the existing transfer phenomena (Jessner, 2003, p. 49).

Even though the suitability of the terms *transfer* and *cross-linguistic influence* is certainly questionable, at present they are the most appropriate ones and will be used throughout this thesis.

## **History of the field**

Up until the twentieth century, language transfer was branded a negative phenomenon and was mostly associated with “low moral character and limited mental abilities; sloppiness, narrow-mindedness and lack of mental clarity and sound thinking” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 2). What is even more striking, many linguists and psychologists argued that language contact and mutual interference of languages posed a danger to sound thinking (Epstein, 1915), including that phonological transfer occurred because the speakers were negligent, lazy and unwilling to change their phonological behaviour (Jespersen, 1922). For many years and decades, the attention of researchers and people interested in the phenomenon of transfer was solely on the negative transfer (or interference), that is, the errors in the learner’s production caused by another language’s influence. These errors appear because old and habitual behaviour is different from the behaviour being learned. Arabski (2006) gives an example of such transfer by comparing it with driving a car: if one has regularly driven a car that has a gear shift on the floor, the person will invariably reach for the floor when first attempting to drive a car which has the gear shift on the steering column (p. 12). So, systematically, the linguistic discussions on transfer have always appeared in the context of error analysis and all tangible evidence of transfer has been branded as negative transfer. Even some contemporary scholars believe that transfer is simply “falling back on a language that one already knows when lacking knowledge in the language that one is presently learning” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 8). This is known as the “ignorance hypothesis” and the reason why it was subject to harsh criticism was the fact that it completely negates that a second language could influence the first, even when it is obvious that the L2 user has not forgotten his or her mother tongue, not even those particular words and structures in the L1 which exhibit L2 influence (p. 10). So, it can be concluded that CLI is much more complex and intricate than simply falling back on a known language while acquiring/learning a new one.

During the 1950s and 1960s, hardly any studies on language transfer from non-native languages were produced, and the dominant object of investigations for many years was the role of the mother tongue and the previously mentioned bad or negative influence L1 has on the subsequently learned languages. Kellerman (1995) opposes this rather biased and unfair claim and points out that “there are cases where the L1 can influence the L2 not only in a linguistic, but also in a cognitive way, which is by no means a negative phenomenon, and that these cases may be beyond individual awareness”. The main reason for one-sidedness of the

data from transfer research and the exaggerated emphasis on the negative effects is because there is not much information about how exactly L1 has a positive and facilitating effect on the second language learning (Ringbom, 1987, p. 58). Nowadays it is well-known that transfer studies have broadened their focus and also investigate the influence that non-native languages have on the L1 and the other phenomena linked to it, something which has been neglected and denied for so long. Traditionally, it was thought that once established, the L1 competence is no longer subject to change and was considered to be stable. Now we know that is not the case and that L1 competence is a dynamic phenomenon which can be subject to both L2 influence and L1 attrition (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 17).

There were researchers who always had the bigger picture in mind, not allowing the importance and complexity of this fascinating phenomenon to fade away. DeAngelis and Dewaele (2009) mention some noteworthy publications which deal with the issue of CLI in multilingual speakers. The first is Weinreich (1953), who in his book *Languages in contact* argues that transfer in fact does not even necessarily have to involve “outright transfer of elements at all”, a view which was brought to surface again in the 1970s when error analysis started to be fiercely criticized. Another one is Vildomec (1963), whose views proved later to be highly innovative, revolutionary and fairly accurate. He stated that more than one language can simultaneously influence a target language, claiming that if “two or more tongues which a subject has mastered are similar (both linguistically and psychologically) they may co-operate in interfering with other tongues” (in Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009, p. 64).

The 1980s were marked by a rapid growth of research on non-native language influence, in particular of research on language distance and its role in transfer from non-native languages. One thing that emerged, among other findings, is that languages that are not as close to the target language can also influence it, even if the language “closer” to the target language was in the speaker’s mind (Schmidt & Frota, 1986; in Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009, p. 67). What follows are the eight landmark findings brought to light which were groundbreaking at the time and helped to understand better the concept and the multifacetedness of cross-linguistic influence, establishing what we know now about the phenomenon (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, pp. 11-12):

1. Errors are not the only outcome of CLI. In many cases the consequences of CLI are positive, such as in cases where it leads to conventional language use and accelerated acquisition.

2. CLI can affect not only the rate and ultimate success of learner's second language, but also the route of acquisition, i.e. the stages they pass through as they gain proficiency in their target language.
3. Differences and similarities between languages do not necessarily lead to learning difficulties or transfer. Easily perceived differences make the target-language structures easier to acquire, and similarities are those which often lead learners to make mental associations or *interlingual identifications*.
4. Contrary to popular belief, the occurrence of CLI does not decrease as the proficiency in the target language increases. In many cases CLI only manifests itself after the learner has acquired enough of the recipient language.
5. Language transfer can occur not only from L1 to L2, but also from an L2 to an L3, and from an L2 to an L1.
6. CLI interacts with other factors which together determine the likelihood of transfer (or *transferability*) of a certain structure in a specific context.
7. The effects of transfer are not just limited to language forms, such as morphological, phonological and syntactic structures, but they also extend to the meanings and functions that the users of language associate with those forms. Transfer also encompasses the variety of ways a language is used to perform pragmatic functions.
8. Finally, individual differences play a major role in the extent of CLI exhibited in the use of the recipient language.

As far as recent developments in the field are concerned, it is important to emphasize the growing importance of linguistic relativity, or the *Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis*. Its weak version says that the language structure affects the ways in which the speakers conceptualize their world and influences their cognitive processes, and that knowing more than one language transforms and enhances speaker's worldview and he argues for benefits of linguistic pluralism (en Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 16). With the start of the new millennium, there has been a major increase in research activity. Probably the most significant change in relation to previous decades has happened in the field of trilingualism and trilingual research,

abandoning the traditional view that language transfer is a phenomenon concerned with merely two languages and raising new questions exclusively tailored to multilinguals (De Angelis & Dewaele, 2009, pp. 70-71). This is a revolutionary shift since it is known that the focus of the researchers had previously been mostly on bilingual phenomena and the results of the studies conducted which included only bilingual speakers were used to answer questions which included trilingual speakers as well. Now we know that this is wrong and that bilinguals and trilinguals cannot be put in the same folder since their minds and language processing skills are completely different (more on that in the following chapter).

### **Multilingualism and multilingual speakers**

The rewarding feature of studies of multilingualism is that they do allow fascinating glimpses into the human capacity of processing language and the linguistic resourcefulness of multilinguals. The linguistic versatility is surely even more enhanced when three languages are involved (Hoffmann & Stavans, 2007). Yet, for many years the focus of the researchers and linguists was predominantly on the phenomenon of bilingualism. Multilingual issues were put aside and virtually all research and empirical work have been limited to only two languages. The term “second language acquisition”, even though coined to designate both the acquisition of the second and every additional language, made no clear-cut distinction between acquiring the second language and additional languages (Cenoz *et al.*, 2003, p. 1). Cook proposed different terminology – “*additional* language acquisition” – since the term “second language acquisition” ignores those learners who are adding a language to an existing repertoire of more than one (Cook G. , 2003, p. 72). In this day’s age it is fairly common to find people who speak more than two languages and the advent of globalization has marked a growing popularity of foreign language learning. The majority of world population is either bilingual or multilingual, so we could say that today’s world is “the world of second languages” (Medved Krajnović, 2010, pp. 12,13), which is good enough reason to pay more attention to the issue of multilingualism and cross-linguistic influence.

In the majority of literature, a multilingual is defined as someone who uses more than two languages. McArthur (1992) defines them as people who have “the ability to use three or

more languages, either separately or in various degree of code-mixing” (in Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009, p. 15), and in some occasions the term “polyglot” may occur. If it is taken into consideration that languages often cannot be separated into isolated units with clear boundaries, especially if social, cultural or political factors are included, the question is: *how* to measure the knowledge of a language, i.e. how to decide how many languages a person knows?

This brings up the “native speaker standard” issue, which shifted from some very traditional and restricting views (such as demanding that speakers need to possess a native-like control of the languages in question) to more liberal definitions, which do not demand a native-like proficiency. The reason for lowering the criteria is the fact that the researchers now tend to take a more holistic view of all the languages within the individual’s system, viewing each language in the multilingual integrated system as a part of a more complex system and not equivalent to monolingual speaker processing and representation (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009, p. 19). In addition, it should be noted that it is virtually impossible to expect native-like proficiency and Ringbom (1987) echoes this by claiming that “near-native mastery of a foreign language is attained by only a tiny majority of those who start learning” (p. 131). The ultimate attainment by non-natives which coincides with that of natives is, however, possible; Birdsong (1992) calls those who overlap “exceptional learners” (cited in Davies, 2003, p. 184). Furthermore, Haugen (1970) contended the native-speaker norm, saying that „to be natively competent in two languages would mean to have two different identities, one looking at the world from one point of view, the other from another: it would mean sharing in the social forms, prejudices, and insights of two cultures. In short, it would mean being two entirely different people“ (Haugen, 1970, p. 225). The nature of this thesis asks for this clarification of who is and who is not a multilingual person, because, at least in Croatia, English and Spanish are mostly taught in schools and foreign language schools and it is highly unrealistic to expect to find students who can speak and use those two languages at a native speaker level. These definitions of who a multilingual speaker is undoubtedly classify the research participants as being „multilingual speakers“ and not just monolinguals who possess a certain knowledge of Spanish and English.

In the past, knowing more languages was considered to be harmful to the mind, and this claim was mostly based on language errors and mistakes the speakers were making. Even though they did not refer directly to the issue of multilingualism, Peal and Lambert (1962) should be mentioned here since their study helped combat the entrenched notion that bilingualism and

prior language knowledge are detrimental to the human mind, showing in fact that bilinguals in comparison to monolinguals had certain advantages in terms of cognitive flexibility (De Angelis & Dewaele, 2009). Years and decades later, this theory was even more fortified: when it comes to speakers of more than two languages, it is important to mention Klein (1994), who conducted a research on groups of monolinguals (English as the L1) and multilinguals learning English as a third or fourth language and which showed that multilinguals outperformed monolinguals in both the lexical and syntactic learning, concluding that multilinguals develop qualities which the monolingual counterparts lack, such as metalinguistic awareness and enhanced lexical learning (Gass & Selinker, 2008, p. 153).

Nevertheless, Jessner (2014) states that monolinguals are also able to develop metalinguistic awareness – especially those groups of people who deal with languages on a daily basis, such as journalists or authors, but ultimately echoes Klein and points out that it cannot be compared to awareness displayed in bi- and multilingual users or non-professionals, in both the degree and quality. Vygotsky (1986) mentions that contact with a foreign language can in fact “help children sharpen their knowledge of the L1” (in Jessner, 2014, p. 277). This contradicts the previously mentioned belief of early researchers that multilingualism is something negative and clearly shows that the matter is far more complex and intricate than earlier suggested.

Another important thing that needs to be mentioned and clarified is that in no way multilingual and bilingual systems work in the same way. The common assumption of many researchers in the past (even in recent history) was that trilingual speakers are just basic math: bilingual speaker + one more language. That is absolutely incorrect and now we know that tri- and other multilingual speakers process languages differently than their bilingual counterparts. Cenoz and Genesee (1998) noted that multilingualism is a complex phenomena which implicate all the factors found in bilingualism, as well as “unique and potentially more complex factors and effects associated with the interactions that are possible among the multiple languages” (in Gass and Selinker, 2008, p. 21). Specific research on cross-linguistic influence echoes this claim and indicates that third language production possesses certain characteristics that cannot be found in second language production (Cenoz *et al.*, 2003, p. 2). Other scholars who claim there is definitely a notable difference between bi- and multilinguals are Dewaele (2002), who says that multilinguals differ from bilinguals (L1+L2) in that they suffer less from communicative anxiety, and Kemp (2001) who claims that they develop higher levels of metapragmatic awareness, i.e. the ability to see language as an object



which can be analysed, and to switch between focusing on meaning and focusing on form (in Auer & Wei, 2007, p. 107). Scholars and linguists today stress the importance of conducting more research on the subject, which would help to debunk the entrenched notion of monolingual supremacy and recognize that bilingual and multilingual development is in no way just a deviant form of monolingualism.

When it comes to trilingual speakers, having stored more than two languages in the mind certainly implies more complex patterns of language production. Müller-Lancé (2003, p. 117) mentions that researchers agree on the following characteristics of multilingual language processing:

1. Normally, an individual's competences in various languages will not be at equal levels.
2. L2 speech is generally less fluent than L1 speech.
3. Between the various languages of an individual, there is always some kind of interlanguage transference.
4. L2 learning experiences and strategies affect learning of an L3.

Generally, the observations 1-4 are accepted as a fact. However, the extent of validity for the points 3 and 4 is not very clear and further research need to be conducted. However, in one of their study, Gibson and Hufeisen (2003) have found evidence that knowing more foreign languages facilitates the learning of further languages because multilinguals tend to use conscious and subconscious strategies, as well as transfer techniques through which they use their foreign languages to understand or produce the target language item(s). Nevertheless, this previous language may be the source of many lexical traps, facilitating the production of interference error and hindering access to the correct lexical item.

## **CLI in a multilingual system**

### **Languages in the mind: separated or not?**

There has been much debating on the issue of separateness of languages in the human mind. To this day it is still unclear how exactly languages are stored in the brain; whether they mix and intertwine or are put into separate “compartments”. Researchers and scholars have not yet come to an agreement on this topic, but it is important to acknowledge the significance of the matter since concrete answers would be immensely helpful in trying to understand the issue of cross-linguistic influence and its occurrence.

Evidence which supports the separation hypothesis comes from studies of language loss and aphasia in multilinguals. In the case of language loss, it was found that the languages may be recovered selectively. With regard to aphasia, speakers sometimes exhibit certain disorders which affect only one of the languages known. The so-called *modularity hypothesis* also favours the separation theory - it sees the mind not as a seamless whole, but comprising many specific modules (Garfield, 1987), one of which is supposedly devoted to language (e.g. Fodor, 1983). On the other hand, *the multicompetence framework* proposed by Cook (1991, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2003) is predicated on the view that languages are more or less bounded codes, yet fairly interconnected. This approach, unlike the previous standpoint, allows us to theorize the interaction between multiple languages in the speaker’s mind as a natural and ongoing process and to understand why multilinguals may perform differently from monolinguals in all of their languages, including the L1 (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, pp. 17-18). Cook (2002) concludes that it is impossible to completely separate languages since they are all localized in the same mind, but that total integration is also impossible since L2 users are capable of separating the languages. In other words, he argues against total separation or total integration, claiming that languages interconnect and interact somewhere in between those two extremes, in various ways and on many different levels. However, the reality is that most individuals who are multilingual do not have enough control to keep languages completely apart. From a psycholinguistic perspective, if cross-linguistic influence forms an important part of the dynamic and catalytic system within an individual, it can be seen that the

languages known to a multilingual are not separable into individual languages (Kemp, 2009). The issue of why one cannot fully "compartmentalize" languages and why language mixing occurs is the central topic of multilingualism research.

### **Transferability and linguistic similarity**

One of the most important developments in the history of transfer research was the shift of attention from transfer to transferability. This was a shift from particular cases of transfer to the more fundamental investigation of what makes something likely to be transferred in the first place. Kellerman (1983) synthesized the findings of studies made by various scholars into two general constraints that govern the occurrence of language transfer: *psychotypology* and *transferability*. The essence of the psychotypological constraint is that transfer is more likely to occur when the language user perceives two languages as being similar, whereas the transferability constraint is in the fact that structures perceived by the L2 user as marked (or language-specific) are less likely to transfer (in Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 174). There are several other factors that affect transfer and transferability, such as age, proficiency, personality, aptitude, linguistic awareness and social context. Also, it is important to make a distinction between two types of transfer: learning-related effects dictate whether a person will form interlingual identification or mental associations between languages he/she is learning, and performance-related effects, which depend on the context of language production and influence the amount and types of transfer that may emerge during the actual language use (Jarvis y Pavlenko, 2008, p. 175).

Among other factors that influence both learning and production, we should pay special attention to linguistic and psycholinguistic factors since they are particularly relevant for this thesis. Besides frequency, salience, markedness and prototypicality (which are all classified under this domain), certainly one of the most interesting and widely recognized factors is *cross-linguistic similarity* (also known as „language distance“, „typological proximity“), a term usually defined as a level of resemblance between the source and recipient language. Martín (2000, p. 124) however mentions that it is not very accurate to talk about similarity and difference between languages – rather, it is better to talk about *similarities* and

differences, since we should take into account many levels of language (lexical, syntactic, phonetic etc.).

If we put the terminological differentiation aside, the reason why cross-linguistic similarity is so important in CLI research is because various studies have shown that even though transfer can and *does* occur between languages which are typologically different, the highest number of CLI instances occur when „the source and recipient languages are perceived to be very similar by the L2 user“ (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 176). Particularly, in terms of language production (since it is of interest to this paper), it has been shown that the occurrence of overt transfer is far greater in those speakers whose recipient language is similar to their source language than in those speakers whose source and recipient languages display significant differences in their structures. However, it is essential to mention that the term „similarity“ in no way has only one definition: there is a difference between what is perceived as objective, and what as subjective. In the context of congruence between languages, objective similarity is the actual, predetermined, „real“ degree of congruence between languages, whereas subjective similarity depends exclusively on the L2 user, i.e. whether he/she perceives languages as similar to one another or not. Often, L2 users' perception differs greatly from the actual level of similarity; because of this, some may wish to discard the subjective similarity as a predictor of transfer in favour of the objective similarity (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, pp. 177-178).

Trying to determine which type has more influence on transfer has been a difficult task, but nevertheless certain findings have emerged. Researchers have found that not objective, but precisely the *subjective* similarity (not even subjective differences) is what triggers CLI in the first place. Language users are not even aware of all the similarities and differences between languages and they rely on the subjective similarities they find or believe exist - the basis on which they form interlingual identifications (which consequently may result in CLI). Objective similarities (and differences), even though may not cause CLI, often do determine whether the instance of cross-linguistic influence is positive or negative. And why precisely subjective *similarities* and not differences determine the occurrence of CLI? The reason is pretty logical: it is not the differences, but cross-linguistic similarities we rely on when we learn a foreign language. It is in our nature to establish first the relationship between new

information and what we already know and have stored in the mind. Negative relations (differences) are established only when no positive ones (similarities) can be found or, as Carl James (1980) succinctly puts it, “it is only against a background of sameness that differences are significant” (in Ringbom, 1987, p. 34).

Subjective similarity can furthermore be divided into two types: *assumed* and *perceived*. An assumed similarity is a conscious or unconscious hypothesis that a form, structure, meaning, function, or pattern that exists in the source language has a counterpart in the recipient language, regardless of whether the L2 user has yet encountered anything like it in the input of the recipient language, and regardless of whether it actually does exist in the recipient language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Swan (1985; in Ringbom, 1987, p.68) explains it like this:

When we are set out to learn a new language, we automatically assume (until we have evidence to the contrary) that meanings and structures are going to be broadly similar to those in our own language. The strategy does not always work, of course, - that is why languages are difficult to learn – and it breaks down quite often with languages unrelated to our own. But on balance this kind of ‘equivalence assumption’ puts us ahead of the game; it makes it possible for us to learn a new language without at the same time returning to infancy and learning to categorize the world all over again.

Even though Swan (1985) refers here to the mother tongue-foreign language relationship, I would broaden this definition to include the L2-L3 (L3-L4 etc.) relationships as well. If the learner assumes that a previously learned language is similar to the target language (usually at the early stages of language learning), he/she will “copy-paste” certain structures and meanings from the source into the target language (common case with e.g. Italian and Spanish, perceived as being very similar).

Perceived similarity, on the other hand, is a conscious or unconscious judgment that a form, structure, meaning, function, or pattern that an L2 user *has encountered* in the input of the recipient language is similar to a corresponding feature of the source language; in this case, speakers have some sort of tangible evidence that languages do in fact share similarities. It should be pointed out that the higher occurrence of perceived similarities between languages, the speaker will conclude that the languages are fairly similar, which will lead him or her to assume more additional similarities which in fact do not have to be perceived or even existent in the recipient language. So, it can be seen that being aware of the resemblance between

languages can also lead to errors, as in the case of false friends. Sweet (1964, 1899) mentions that linguistic similarity can be beneficial at the early stages of learning a foreign language, especially if the beginner merely wants to understand the target language, but it becomes a hindrance to any deeper knowledge due to constant cross-associations that appear (in Ringbom, 1987, p. 44).

Other studies which dealt with trilingualism, in particular, have debunked the entrenched notion that the source language of transfer is always the mother tongue, and have reported that the speakers use a “second language which is typologically closer to the L3 as the source language of transfer rather than the typologically distant first language” (Ringbom, p. 104); so, more elements are transferred from L1 only when the first language is typologically closer to the target language. Cenoz (2001) investigated into various factors that might influence cross-linguistic influence, and found that above-mentioned linguistic similarity is a major predictor of CLI. A study she conducted on Spanish-Basque bilinguals acquiring English language showed that, since Basque is unrelated to Spanish or English, there was more transfer from Spanish to English than from Basque to English (in Gass & Selinker, 2008, p. 154). Similar finding deals with experienced germanophone language learners: it has been noticed that they avoid transferences from their L1 in foreign language production when the target language is Romance –their past experiences showed them that there was a great risk of interferences with two completely unrelated languages, so they have opted for another Romance language or English. In this case, L1 is seen as *dormant* language, the Romance target language is the *selected* language, and the foreign transference language is *active*. In this case, the “access filter” for production depended on individual language combination and proficiency, learning experiences and temperament (Müller-Lancé, 2003, p. 127).

### **Other factors that influence CLI**

Even though typology plays a crucial role and is certainly one of the greatest predictors of cross-linguistic influence, the previously-mentioned language proficiency is believed to have the biggest impact on whether something will transfer or not. In the context of language selection, proficiency as well as language activation are more important than learning time

and order, which goes in favour of the previously mentioned finding that the mother tongue is not always the source language, despite the fact that it is usually the language which the user dominates best.

Ringbom (1987, pp. 63-64) mentions other factors and variables that (according to him) play vital roles in language learning which, consequently, influences the extent of cross-linguistic influence:

1. *The stage of learning.* The mother tongue is important at the early stages of learning, and as the time goes by and proficiency increases, the students rely less and less on L1.
2. *Individual characteristics of the learner.* The extent of cross-linguistic influence depends on how successful a learner is in inferring meaning from inter-lingual cues and to what extent he/she will be influenced by formal similarities between languages.
3. *Individual styles of learning.* Ringbom acknowledges the relevance of individual learners' styles when it comes to CLI. Simply put, some learners are more interested in linguistic matters and use different methods to learn languages (e.g. key-word method for learning new L2 words), which only depend on how creative and imaginative a person is.
4. *The learner's knowledge of other languages.* Ringbom claims that not just L1, but other languages as well are reflected in learner language, and the degree of influence is affected by the language distance, proficiency and automatization.
5. *The learner's age and the mode of learning.* It is a common statement that adults tend to rely more on their L1 than children, and that there is more evidence of transfer in foreign language learning than in second language acquisition.
6. *Type of utterance.* Elicited utterances generally exhibit more CLI than spontaneous speech. Translation is seen as a task where CLI is especially strong.
7. *Level of linguistic analysis.* The type of CLI depends on the linguistic levels analysed.

Even though it cannot be determined to what extent these individual variables have affected the results of the research on Croatian-English-Spanish multilinguals, it is certain that they did have some sort of influence on their spoken and written production and therefore must be mentioned.

## How to measure CLI?

Many findings have certainly shown that cross-linguistic influence is neither uninteresting nor should be disregarded. It is a very complex cognitive phenomenon very much affected by the users' perceptions, conceptualizations, mental associations and individual choices (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 13). What seems to be the problem is: *how* to identify whether something is an instance of cross-linguistic influence or not? What if CLI is so covert and subtle that the researchers fail to identify it? And conversely: what if something is seen as a result of CLI, but in fact some other factors were involved?

Scholars have argued whether it is possible to have adequate procedures for identifying and investigating transfer. Felix (1977) claimed that there was not any „well-established criteria by which it can be decided in a unique and principled way which ungrammatical utterances are demonstrably instances of language transfer” (as cited in Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 27), and the majority of scholars concurred on the issue, arguing that they did not have at their disposal any principled means to successfully identify instances of CLI. Some oppose this claim and point out that many empirical investigations of transfer have been conducted in the past, primarily by renowned scholars such as Kellerman (1978), Kleinman (1977), Ringbom (1978) etc., who used sophisticated means to carefully and credibly establish consequences of CLI and/or other factors, although it must be pointed out that this has by no means completely eradicated all doubts and problems related to the identification and measurement of the phenomenon.

To successfully identify cross-linguistic influence, Jarvis (1998, 2000) proposes three types of evidence that researchers must take into consideration when analyzing the data. The first is *intragroup homogeneity*, the evidence that certain behaviour is not simply an isolated case, but that it reflects the common tendency of individuals with the same combination of languages. The second premise is *intergroup heterogeneity* – evidence that not all members of a group display the same language patterns regardless of their L1s and L2s; and finally, the third type is *cross-linguistic performance congruity*, which means the evidence that the language user's behaviour is indeed motivated by his/her knowledge of another language.



And while it has been accepted that a study can still be uncontroversial even when if one of these three firm evidence lacks, it is inarguably much better to present all three types of evidence, collected either through rigorous tests or some more informal evaluation (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

### **Status of English and Spanish in Croatia**

To be able to understand the results of the research conducted, it is important to say something about the status of English and Spanish languages in Croatia.

Spanish language is taught in 15 grammar schools (data from 2004-2005); in some of them it is the obligatory subject in the final two years and in some during the entire period of secondary school education, which is four years (Elías Gutierrez, 295). On the other hand, in this country English is by far the most widely spoken and learned foreign language and its status significantly differs from other foreign languages taught in schools, such as Italian, French or Spanish (already mentioned). Students often describe it as a fairly “easy language”; some people even say that it has “no grammar, or if it has, there are no rules in it” (Close, 1977, p. 13). Knowing it has come to mean better opportunities for employment, better career and better life in general. Over the last two decades or so, there has been a rapid increase in the number of people learning English, partly because of the changes in public policy, such as lowering the age at which English is taught in schools (Graddol, 1997). This happened in Croatia as well, where English was introduced in 2003 as the obligatory foreign language in Grade 1 of elementary school (earlier, foreign language learning was obligatory from Grade 4).

We can say that for Croatian speakers, English has definitely become a *lingua franca*. It permeates the everyday life and the amount of exposure to English is extremely high and is on the constant increase. It penetrated the media (the Internet, TV, radio), popular entertainment, advertising, youth culture etc. and it is very common nowadays to hear people inserting English words and phrases (even whole sentences!) into their everyday formal and informal discourse. The influence of English is best seen in the vocabulary, which has become most

receptive to lexical borrowing, such as calques, hybridisations and loan words (Mihaljević Djigunović & Geld, 2003, p. 337). These aspects greatly influence English language teaching and learning because, on the one hand, they form and shape attitudes towards the language, and, on the other, they affect the amount of exposure to the language in classrooms – the more input learners get outside the classroom, the easier it is for them to build upon that knowledge in the classroom.

Spanish, on the other hand, is a language known for its power and wealth of expression combined with a precision and freedom from ambiguity. Students often believe it is an easy language, when in fact it is full of complexities; its structure demands intelligence, constant forethought and a well-developed sense of logic to be able to speak it correctly (Stevenson, 1970, p. 3). Spanish is not a very popular language in Croatia and not many people speak it, probably because the language is forced to compete with English (for above-mentioned reasons), Italian (for geographical distance), French (Gallo-Romance tradition) and German. Nevertheless, the popularity of the Spanish language is increasing progressively, mostly because of the influence of television and the Internet. Unlike English, which is usually a compulsory foreign language since Grade 1, Spanish has not yet been introduced to primary education in Croatia. Because of that, it is normal to expect significantly higher students' proficiency in English than in Spanish and, therefore, more transfer when using Spanish. The authors of “Zagreb Resolution on Plurilingualism“ have taken into account the status of Croatia as a Mediterranean and Central European country and proposed the introduction of German, French, Italian or *Spanish* as obligatory first foreign languages (Velički, 2007, p. 100), so the status of both English and Spanish in our schools may change in the future.

The results of the research on English, Spanish and Croatian multilinguals make even more sense if we take into account the process of learning the two languages in Croatia and the reality of classroom education. There are very few people who *acquired* the languages (i.e. lived abroad, have parents whose mother tongue is English/Spanish etc.). Croatian learners of English and Spanish rarely find themselves in situations where they have to actively use their knowledge and engage in a meaningful conversation with speakers of other languages, and very few classroom situations can provide students the opportunity to practice their oral skills in a “natural” environment, which leads to bad oral control despite the extensive knowledge they may possess. Surely, our schools need to take this into consideration and change their

approach to foreign language learning.

## STUDY 1

The aims of this study were:

- to find out whether Croatian, English and Spanish influence each other in written production of speakers who are not very proficient in English and Spanish
- to determine the extent of that influence (if found)
- to pinpoint the reasons and draw relevant conclusions

### Sample

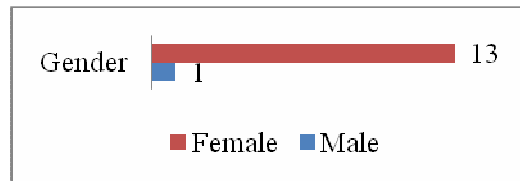
The participants selected for this study were all grammar school students, since they fit the profile of a homogeneous group of native speakers of Croatian who speak English and Spanish as well, but are not so proficient in those two languages. This cross-sectional study<sup>1</sup>, conducted in June 2014, included a group of 14 students of a grammar school specializing in foreign languages (*XVI. gimnazija*) from Zagreb in their third year of education. 13 respondents were female and only one was male. All of them had been learning English (second language) for approximately 12 years i.e. since the beginning of primary education and Spanish (third language) for 3 years, i.e. the beginning of secondary education, except for one participant who had studied Spanish for 5 years. As expected, all of them reported higher proficiency in English than in Spanish. The mother tongue of all participants was Croatian, and none of the participants had lived abroad or had had the opportunity to acquire these two languages in a natural environment.

The two following figures show the data mentioned above:

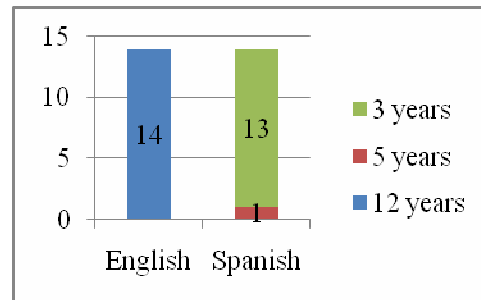
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<sup>1</sup> A *cross-sectional* study of CLI (according to Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 32) is one in which performance data are collected from individual language users at a single point in time, with no attempt made to track how CLI might change in relation to changes in the individuals' knowledge of their languages.

**Figure 1.** Distribution of participants by gender



**Figure 2.** Distribution of participants by years of studying English and Spanish



## Research hypothesis

Before conducting the research and gathering information, there had been several hypotheses about the results of the study:

1. Students would generally rely on Croatian since it is their mother tongue. Also, there was a chance that the students would be influenced to some extent by Croatian simply because the topics were given in that language.
2. CLI would not be as obvious in English compositions as in those in Spanish due to the level of proficiency, which is much higher in English.
3. Avoidance would be particularly obvious in Spanish compositions, since the students were not so proficient and were lacking many vocabulary structures to successfully convey what they really meant.
4. The recency and similarity of languages would, to some extent, influence the nature and frequency of occurrence of CLI.

## **Instruments and procedure**

While selecting appropriate tasks for high school students, I needed to decide what I was testing and how to successfully test it. I had in mind that, due to their level of proficiency, translation would not yield good results. Translation is a very specific task, where words and structures in one language need to be decoded and translated into another language. If a person does not have a certain level of proficiency in a foreign language, he/she is bound to heavily rely on the “strongest” language (which in this case would be Croatian), avoid and leave out many words and structures, which would be useless. Also, there was a chance that the sole presence of Croatian sentences and expressions would generate translations and structures which the students normally would never use. For these reasons, I opted for compositions, which is the least controlled method of gathering language data (Larsen-Freeman & H. Long, 1991). The reason for it was that it would give students the freedom to express themselves without much restraints or limitations, thus showing their way of thinking in the best possible way and without too much external influence.

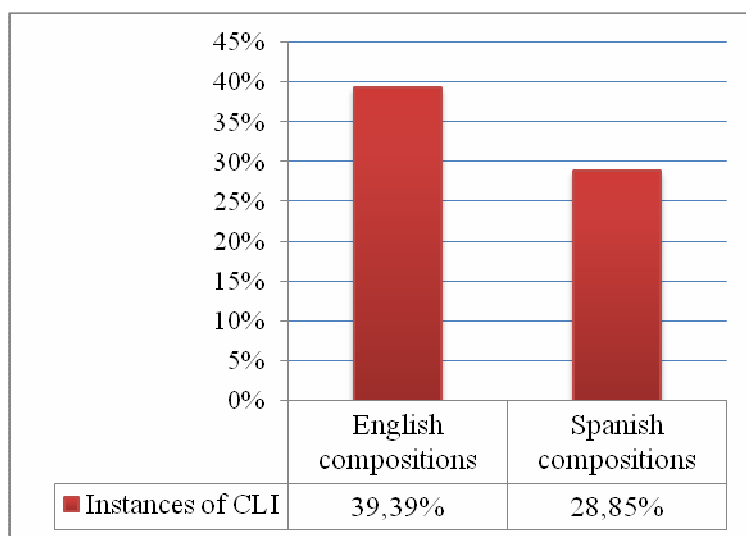
The students were provided with sheets of paper and instructions were given orally. The task consisted of writing two brief compositions – one in English and another in Spanish – on given topics (see Appendix A). Given that they were high school students and only formally instructed in these two foreign languages, they were given often mentioned and debated topics.

Taking into account that they needed to write two compositions in less than 45 minutes, they were given a limit of 150-200 words per each composition. They were asked not to copy from each other and not to resort to any form of help, such as smartphones, dictionaries etc. which would skew the results and produce overly correct and “artificial” sentences that would not show the true nature of multilingual language processing. Furthermore, they were encouraged to write down their thinking process (e.g. if they did not know a word or expression, if they relied on another language while writing something etc.), which would be extremely helpful to the researcher at the time of data analysis and minimize the possibility of mistakes.

## Results

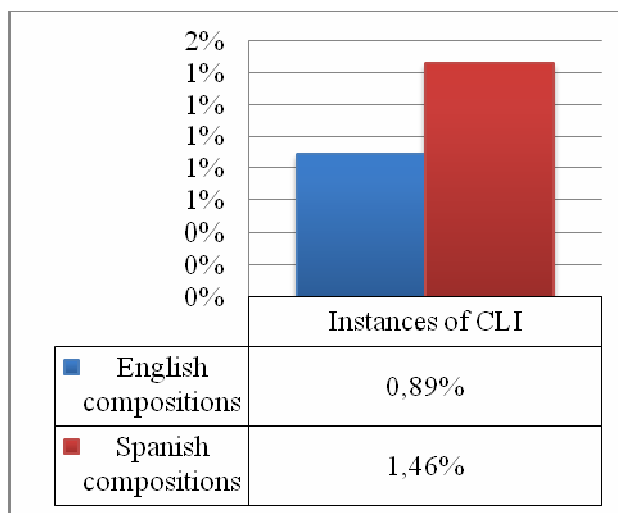
In order to present facts and clarify the results of this study before providing a more detailed analysis for each language, here are the data obtained after collecting and analyzing the compositions in both languages. As far as English compositions are concerned, from 33 errors detected, 13 of them can be attributed to cross-linguistic influence (or 39,39%; see Figure 3). In Spanish compositions, from a total of 52 errors, 15 of them show influence from other languages that the participants know (28,85%). If we take a look at these numbers, it can be inferred that among all the *errors* that the students made, CLI was stronger in written production in English than in Spanish.

**Figure 3.** Percentage of cases of CLI in total number of errors found in compositions



On the other hand, the situation changes regarding the *frequency* of occurrence of CLI if we take into consideration the length of the compositions and the total number of words. Since English compositions were longer (a total of 1,454 words) than Spanish compositions (1,024 words), we arrive to 0,89% of cases of CLI in English compositions, while the percentage is much higher in Spanish compositions – 1,46% - that is, 64% more cases of cross-linguistic influence.

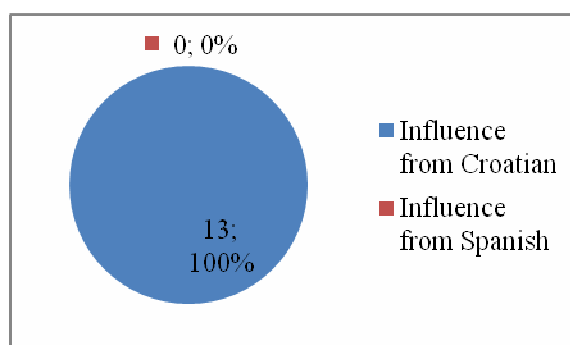
**Figure 4.** Frequency of cases of cross-linguistic influence in compositions



### English compositions

While analysing students' compositions, several findings emerged. It is interesting that no cases of influence from Spanish were detected; however, the lack of them is logical considering the students' proficiency in Spanish, which is still relatively low. The results are presented in the following figure:

**Figure 5.** CLI in English compositions



Furthermore, the structure of compositions was very formal, with many connectors typical for academic environment (*firstly, secondly, also, however, all in all* etc.), which does not come as a surprise considering the type of classroom teaching of English in Croatian secondary



schools. In relation to the third hypothesis, the instances of avoidance were indeed not as obvious as in Spanish compositions, although it is relatively difficult to predict what they purposefully decided to avoid since no feedback was obtained from them in that respect. Although errors do not necessarily entail transfer, and although transfer often does not result in errors, the field has traditionally found instances of negative transfer to be more compelling and easier to verify than instances of positive transfer (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 75). Since it was difficult to detect without doubt the occurrence of positive cross-linguistic influence (which certainly does not mean that it did not exist), the analysis of their written production and pinpointing the instances of cross-linguistic influence was done mostly through error analysis. What follows is the classification of cases of crosslinguistic influence found in students' written production:

***Transfer of structure/ literal translation***

STUDENT'S SAMPLE	CORRECT FORM	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(1a) School uniforms wouldn't allow students to express their style and opinion through clothes and would <i>suffocate their individuality</i> .	kill/destroy their creativity	CRO ( <i>ugušiti individualnost</i> )
(1b) ...at the same time their use <i>suffocates a student's individuality</i> .		
(1c) ...considering the fact that not all people are equally wealthy, it <i>suffocates the children's creativity</i> and individuality		
(2) Every person is individual and school shouldn't <i>make students the same</i> .	make them look alike	CRO ( <i>učiniti ih istima</i> )
(3) ...also kids won't make fun of each other because they will <i>feel the same</i> .	feel alike	CRO ( <i>osjećat će se istima</i> )
(4) I wouldn't mind if I <i>have</i> to wear it	I wouldn't mind if I <i>had</i> to wear it	CRO ( <i>Ne bi mi smetalo da ju moram nositi</i> )

(1a), (1b) and (1c) are quite interesting because those three samples came from three different students, so it is much easier to see the way Croatian multilinguals process languages since we have a pattern here. All three of them used the expression which does not exist in English, and it is most likely a literal translation from Croatian: *ugušiti* meaning *to suffocate*. However, *ugušiti* can also mean *to put an end to something*, like for instance in a phrase *ugušiti pobunu* („to quell a mutiny“). (2) and (3) were written by the same participant. Example (2) is probably a translation from Croatian - *učiniti ih istima* – literally, „make them the same“, as in „make them look alike“, while in (3), the participant most likely wanted to say *osjećat će se istima* - „to feel alike“. Since the Croatian word *isti* can be translated as *same*, the student decided to use this word. In the last example, the participant failed to use correctly the second conditional in English. Even though Croatian has a way of expressing the same thing (*kada bih morao/morala nositi* – *If I had to wear*), it is very common, especially in spoken language to simply use the present form of the verb, which was what the student did (*moram*).

### **Vocabulary errors**

STUDENT'S SAMPLE	CORRECT FORM	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(5) Having and wearing <i>labeled</i> clothes became „too serious“ these days.	<i>designer</i> clothes	CRO
(6) Children probably get a sense of <i>affiliation</i> so everyone becomes more of a group.	a sense of <i>belonging</i>	CRO
(7) School uniforms can prevent things like <i>judgements</i> , prejudice and discrimination.	<i>judging</i>	CRO

In example (5), the phrase in Croatian for „designer clothes“ is *markirana odjeća*, so the student apparently connected the word *markirana* with the English word *marked*, which can also mean *tagged, labeled*. As far as the example (6), *affiliate* means „to closely connect (something or yourself) with or to something (such as a program or organization) as a member or partner“ (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). In Croatian, *affiliation* translates as „*pripadanje, pripadnost*“, so the student obviously translated the Croatian phrase *osjećaj*

*pripadnosti* (“a sense of belonging”) into English, but used the wrong expression. Finally, in (7), one of the meanings of the word *judgment* is „a formal decision given by a court“ (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Since in Croatian *osuda* means both a „formal utterance of an authoritative opinion“ and „strong criticism and disapproval“ (Merriam-Webster Dictionary) which is informal, it is believed that the student wanted to say the latter and used the wrong word.

### ***Misuse/ omission of prepositions***

STUDENT'S SAMPLE	CORRECT FORM	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(8) I don't really see a problem <i>in</i> school uniform	problem <i>with</i> school uniforms	CRO (ne vidim problem <i>u</i> uniformi)
(9) helps the kids <i>in</i> making friends	helps the kids $\emptyset$ make friends	CRO (pomaže djeci <i>u</i> sklapanju prijateljstava)
(10) poverty wouldn't be something that we would pay attention <i>on</i> anymore	pay attention <i>to</i>	CRO (obratiti pozornost <i>na</i> nešto)
(11) the students who like to express themselves <i>throughout</i> clothes...	<i>through</i> clothes	CRO (pokazati osobnost <i>kroz</i> odijevanje)

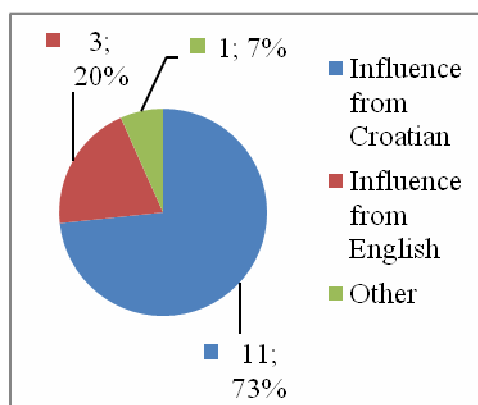
The errors that the students produced here are quite common for native Croatian speakers, especially at that language level. In the examples (8) and (9), they simply translated the preposition *u* as *in*, which is the basic, “default” translation of that preposition, but inappropriate for this context. Similarly, in (10) the student used the English preposition *on* instead of *to*; in Croatian the preposition *na* can be translated as *on*, for instance, as a preposition of spatial relationship: *na* stolu – *on* the table. Example (11) is also interesting, since *kroz* can mean *throughout*, but only in some contexts (e.g. *throughout* the centuries – *kroz* stoljeća). In this case, it is a mistake.

## Spanish compositions

When analyzing the compositions, it was clear that the students were far less proficient in Spanish than in English: the sentences were pretty simple, phrases repetitive and the students stuck to the basic vocabulary, not daring to “step out of the comfort zone”. The compositions (even though written by different respondents), were thriving with similar (even identical) structures, phrases and words, which is logical considering the level of proficiency, as well as learning and teaching environment. The students made quite a lot of grammatical, orthographical and lexical errors, but only those errors which can be explained by cross-linguistic influence have been included in the paper.

As far as numbers are concerned, there have been a total of 15 cases of cross-linguistic influence: 9 were from Croatian, 3 from English and 1 from either Croatian or English. The results are presented in the following figure:

**Figure 6.** CLI in Spanish compositions



What follows are the identified and systematized cases of crosslinguistic influence in written production in Spanish:

### *Transfer of structure*

STUDENT'S SAMPLE	CORRECT FORM	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(1) la gente <i>compran</i> muchas cosas que no <i>quieren</i> o no <i>necesitan</i>	la gente <i>compra</i> muchas cosas que no <i>quiere</i> ni <i>necesita</i>	CRO
(2) tobacco	tabaco	ENG
(3) En el contraste	A diferencia de	ENG

In the example (1), *la gente* („people“) must take a singular verb (*la gente compra* – literally: *people \*buys*); however, in Croatian the noun *ljudi* takes the verb in plural which encouraged the respondent to also use plural in Spanish. Also, the *no - no* structure at the end of the sentence is probably a reflection of Croatian *ne žele ili ne trebaju* („don't want or don't need“), which is quite common for Croatian language. In (2) and (3) we have examples of possible influence from English: in (2), the student presumably thought that English and Spanish are very similar in this case, so she not only relied on English, but transferred the original spelling as well. This transfer makes sense if we look at the Croatian word for “tobacco”: *duhan*, which does not bear any resemblance to its counterparts in English and Spanish. Finally, in (3), the participant reported that the English construction had come to her mind (*in contrast to*), most likely because she also said that she had been relying mostly on English while writing the composition in Spanish because it was “easier for her to do it”.

### *Verb and tense choice*

STUDENT'S SAMPLE	CORRECT FORM	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(4a) <i>Compré</i> muchas cosas este año	he comprado	CRO
(4b) Yo he comprado muchas cosas desde el año pasado y uso la mayoría de lo que <i>compré</i>		
(5) La tecnología <i>es</i> en un nivel	está	CRO/ENG

más alto		
(6) <i>quiero más</i> cuando alguien me da algo simbólico	me gusta más	CRO

The first two examples (4a-b) are fairly common errors Croatian speakers make when using certain foreign languages. In Croatian, there is basically only one past tense („perfekt“) for expressing past, finite actions, while in Spanish (and in English) it is mandatory to use several past tenses, depending on the context. In these cases, since the majority of Croatian speakers sees *pretérito indefinido* forms as the “default” forms for expressing the past events, the students used the *indefinido* form “compré” – “(I) bought” instead of *pretérito perfecto* – “he comprado” – “(I) have bought”, which must be used when we refer to a time period until now, or with time markers which contain *este - este año, mes* (“this year, month”) etc. In (5) can be seen yet another type of problematic language area: the verbs *ser* and *estar*. These are often incorrectly used by the native speakers of Croatian, since there is only one verb *to be* in Croatian – “biti”. Here, the student used the “default” Spanish verb for the verb “to be” – *ser*. Why exactly *ser* is the unmarked verb is still unclear, but it might have something to do with both Spanish and Croatian verbs being very short and rather similar when conjugated. However, since the student provided no feedback, it must be seriously taken into account the possibility of influence from English since both forms are also very similar (*es* – “is”). The last example (6) is a case of semantic extension, where the student opted for the verb *querer* (“to want”; “to like”, “to love”) to express that she liked better something. The thinking process of the participant is unknown, but it can be assumed that she translated directly the Croatian expression *više volim* → *quiero más*, which in fact means *I want more*, not what the student originally wanted to say (“I like better”).

***Misuse/ omission of prepositions***

STUDENT'S SAMPLE	CORRECT FORM	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
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(7) la tecnología es <i>en</i> un nivel más alto	<i>a</i> un nivel más alto ( <i>at a higher level</i> )	CRO
(8) no compro muchas cosas y <i>mayoría cosas</i> yo necesito	la mayoría <i>de</i> las cosas ( <i>the majority of things</i> )	CRO
(9) algunas cosas, <i>in</i> realidad, no necesito	<i>en</i> realidad ( <i>in reality</i> )	ENG

In Spanish (just like in English), the case system is nothing like the case system in Croatian and many times these two languages use prepositions to convey the meaning, so the Croatian speakers have a hard time learning to use them properly. In (7), the student used *en* instead of *a*, which is a reflection of the Croatian construction *na višoj razini* („at a higher level“, literally: „on a higher level“). *Mayoría cosas* in example (8) is a word-for-word translation from Croatian - *većina stvari*, where the student simply left out the preposition. The last one is interesting because here the participant showed influence from English. Because the respondent did not use the preposition *en* in any other sentence, it is unclear whether she made a simple *lapsus calami* or she actually relied on English and assumed that the structure in Spanish is more or less the same. Either way, it is an interesting example of how similarity (assumed or perceived) can influence language processing and production.

### **Grammatical gender**

STUDENT'S SAMPLE	CORRECT FORM	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(10) mis libros <i>favoritas</i>	mis libros <i>favoritos</i>	CRO
(11) una vida pobre y <i>vacío</i>	vida pobre y <i>vacía</i>	CRO
(12) Mis joyas! No <i>lo</i> daría a nadie! Tanto <i>lo</i> quiero!	no <i>las</i> daría a nadie / tanto <i>las</i> quiero	CRO
(13a) <i>demasiado</i> cosas complica las vidas	<i>demasiadas</i> cosas	CRO
(13b) <i>demasiado</i> cosas materiales no mejoran la calidad de la vida		

The assumption was that the students would inevitably show instances of influence from Croatian language when it comes to grammatical gender, simply because these two languages are more similar in that respect, unlike English, which has adopted the natural gender system. Even though the student used the correct form in (10) - the masculine gender for the Spanish noun „book“ – *libro*, she later reported that she was influenced by Croatian when she used *favoritas* (the feminine form), since in Croatian the noun *book* („knjiga“) is of feminine gender. In (11), *la vida* (“life”), even though it is of feminine gender in Spanish, in Croatian the noun is masculine (*život*), so the student used the adjective *vacío* (“empty”), which is the masculine form. *Las joyas* („jewelry“) in example (12) is a feminine noun. The participant was most likely influenced by the Croatian word *nakit* (a masculine noun) when she used the direct object pronoun *lo* in masculine form. The same thing occurred in examples (13a) and (13b). *Demasiado* is invariable and goes before adjectives, while *demasiado/a/os/as* modify nouns (like in this case). But since in Croatian there is only one way of saying both things – *previše* (“too much/many”), the students decided to use *demasiado* most likely for that reason. The participant in (13a) declared relying mostly on Croatian while using Spanish because it is easy for her to translate in that direction. On the other hand, the possibility that the students had English in mind (also invariable form) must not be disregarded.

## Discussion

While analysing the qualitative data collected, many times it was very difficult to determine whether something was an instance of cross-linguistic influence or not. None of the students had written down their flow of thought, dilemmas or difficulties they had had to face while writing the compositions, which would have been very helpful. For that reason, the participants had been sent e-mails with further questions about their compositions. Not all of them had replied, but nevertheless the answers of those who had answered helped in great deal to understand certain phrases, constructions and their way of thinking.

The hypotheses about the results of the study all turned out to be correct:



1. The students showed quite a lot of forward transfer (influence from Croatian), and the occurrence of transfer was indeed greater in Spanish compositions, probably because the students had been avoiding complicated phrases and not venturing too much into the unknown.

2. Post-research feedback obtained from the students and careful analysis of language samples confirmed the assumption that they had indeed been avoiding certain structures and phrases, especially in Spanish, which was mostly due to greater language insecurity and gaps in their vocabulary.

3. Perceived and assumed language similarity indeed played a role in transfer occurrence, especially when it comes to lateral transfer (from English to Spanish). Some students obviously thought that these two languages shared similarities in some aspects and decided to take advantage of English to fill in the existent gaps in Spanish, and some even reported that the mere “order of writing the compositions” (the first topic being in English) influenced to some extent their performance in Spanish.

Even though the sample size was not very large, the analysed data is a helpful tool for understanding the intricacies of Croatian pupils’ multilingual minds and certainly “food for thought” which will hopefully encourage further research.

## **STUDY 2**

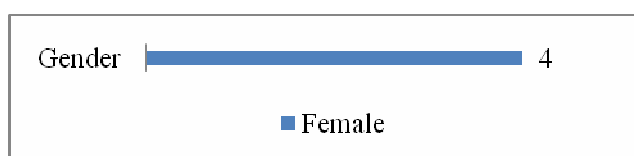
The aims of this research were:

- to investigate the possible occurrence and extent of cross-linguistic influence in proficient multilinguals in translation tasks and spoken production
- to establish the reasons of that influence (if found)
- to compare and contrast the results
- to draw relevant conclusions

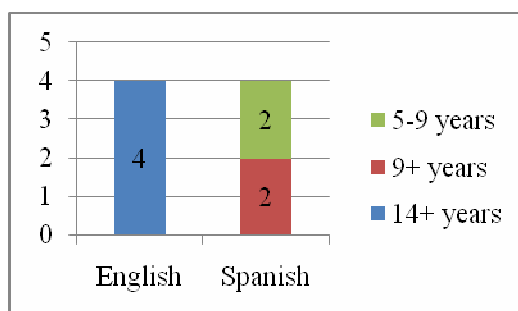
## Sample

The study 2 conducted during June and July 2014 consisted of 4 participants. The group was very homogeneous: all of them were female, who were either at the final year of their studies or have recently graduated. Their mother tongue was Croatian and they were highly proficient in both English and Spanish languages (they were approximately at the same language levels), despite the fact that the two of them started studying Spanish in secondary school, and the other two not until the beginning of higher education (university). As far as their language learning profile, all four of the participants were formally instructed in both foreign languages and none of them had acquired the languages in a natural environment.

**Figure 7.** Distribution of participants by gender



**Figure 8.** Distribution of participants by years of studying English and Spanish



## Research hypothesis

1. The first hypothesis was that cross-linguistic influence would be particularly strong in translation tasks. Furthermore, it was assumed that the participants would show quite a lot influence from Croatian while translating into English/Spanish, simply because the language

input was in their mother tongue, although this was certainly not viewed as the only variable which would influence the translation.

2. The second hypothesis was that the participants would generally show more instances of lateral transfer than the less proficient participants (see Study 1) due to their higher metalinguistic awareness and experience in learning languages.

3. The third assumption was that cross-linguistic influence would not manifest itself as frequently as in spoken production since the participants would have much more time to think, rephrase and alter their translations.

4. Finally, it was assumed that the occurrence of both forward and especially lateral transfer would be particularly strong in spoken production in Spanish, simply because the participants were not as proficient in that language as in English, and because the similarity between English and Spanish in some aspects cannot be disregarded.

## **Translations**

### **Instruments and procedure**

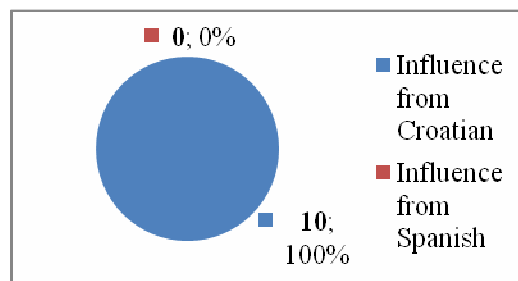
The participants were given four short texts in Croatian to translate them into English and Spanish (see Appendix B). They were asked not to rely on any external form of help, such as dictionaries, the Internet or smartphones, since it would skew research results. The texts selected incorporated various linguistic styles, tenses and topics familiar to the participants; the idea behind it was to obtain as diverse results as possible via texts that were not too complicated and difficult to process and translate, which in turn would produce translations that much better reflect spontaneous production. The participants were encouraged to note down anything that came to their mind to provide an insight into their language processing and resolve any potential dilemmas about the source of influence.

## Results

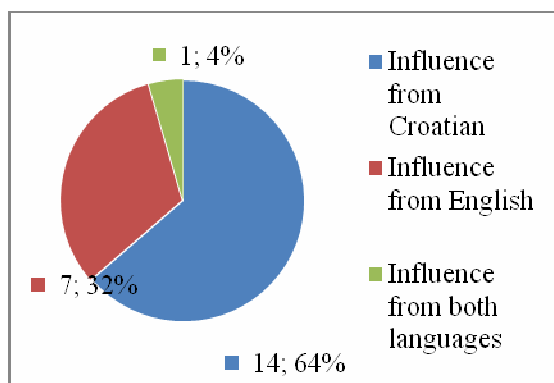
The reason translation was chosen as the first method for collecting language data was because the participants were proficient enough, both in Spanish and in English, to be able to carry out the task successfully. Furthermore, having a controlled language sample and comparable results was thought to facilitate the analysis of data obtained and perhaps notice the pattern in production.

There were a total of 32 documented cases of cross-linguistic influence. 10 of them show influence from Croatian, while there were no influence from Spanish while translating into English. The situation is a bit different when it comes to translations into Spanish: from a total of 22 cases of CLI, 14 (or 64%) of them came from the participants' mother tongue – Croatian – while the rest of them showed influence from English (7 cases, from which 3 belong to positive transfer; 32%), or English and Spanish combined (1 case; 4%). The two following figures show more clearly the distribution of cases of cross-linguistic influence in translation tasks:

**Figure 9.** Croatian → English translations

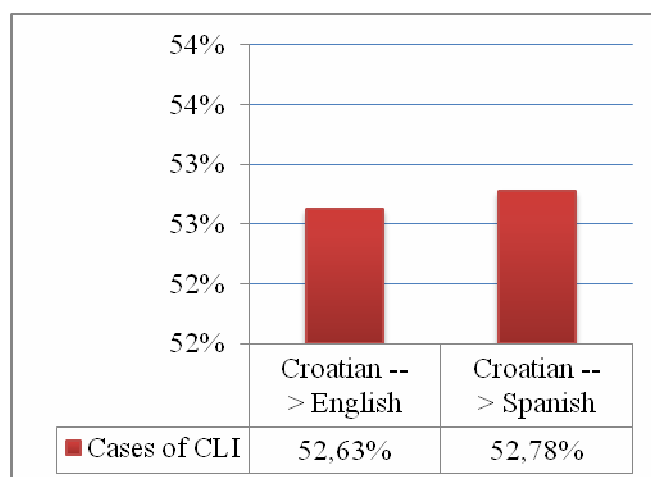


**Figure 10.** Croatian → Spanish translations



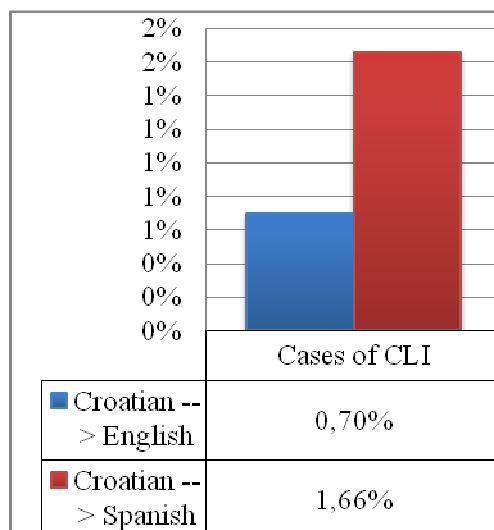
When we compare the total number of errors and cases of CLI in English translations, 10 out of 19 errors can be attributed to cross-linguistic influence (52,63%), while in Spanish translations 19 out of 36 errors show influence from other languages (52,78%), which means that little over half of the total number of errors show signs of transfer.

**Figure 11.** Percentage of cases of CLI in total number of errors found in translations



If we take into consideration the fact that Spanish translations had fewer words (1,329) than English translations (1,424), we can conclude that CLI was certainly stronger in translating into Spanish, which can be seen in the figure that follows:

**Figure 12.** Frequency of cases of cross-linguistic influence in translations



What follows is the analysis of participants' translations and classification of instances of cross-linguistic influence. Every example of CLI is explained, translated (if necessary) and has the source of influence indicated next to it.

### Translations: Croatian → English

#### *Syntactic transfer*

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANTS' VERSIONS	CORRECT TRANSLATION	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(1) većina američkih sveučilišta	most American universities (1a, 1b)	The majority of American universities	CRO

Since *most (...) universities* is a superlative form, the participants' renditions in (4) would mean „the universities which are 'the most American'“. Here, the participants had clearly been influenced by the Croatian word order.

#### *Translational transfer of idioms*

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANTS'	CORRECT	SOURCE OF
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	VERSIONS	TRANSLATION	INFLUENCE
(2) neke od tih gladnih duša koje se nisu mogle odvojiti od maminih juhica	<p>hungry souls that could not be separated from their mom's soup (2a)</p> <p>hungry souls who could not separate themselves from their momma's soups (2b)</p>	that could not separate from their mothers	CRO
(3) kaže da seli iza sedam mora i sedam gora	says that he is moving behind the seven seas and seven mountains	says that he is moving far away	CRO

It is always risky to literally translate idioms into another language. In these cases, it would have been better to put it differently and simplify it. Nevertheless, the participants tried to translate it, since they could not remember or were unfamiliar with the correct idiom in the target language.

### *Nouns and adjectives*

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANTS' VERSIONS	CORRECT TRANSLATION	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(4) Argument da oni koji odu ne vole svoju zemlju mi je također nekako <i>labav</i> .	<p>The statement that those who leave do not love their country is also a little <i>loose</i>. (4a)</p> <p>The argument that those who don't love their country leave it is somewhat <i>loose</i> (4b)</p>	a little/kind of <i>weak</i>	CRO
(5) Obrazovna praksa drugih <i>država</i> s daleko fleksibilnijim obrazovnim sustavima	Other <i>states</i> that have a much more flexible educational system...	Other <i>countries</i> ...	CRO
(6) redakcija	redaction	editorial staff	CRO

*Labav* („loose“) in Croatian means that something is not tightly fastened or attached, but it can also mean that something lacks determination or credibility. In English, however, the latter meaning does not exist, so the collocations *loose argument/ loose statement* do not exist. In (5), the participant extended the semantic properties of the L1 noun, since there is only one word in Croatian for “state” and “country” – *država* (e.g. “the United States of America” – *Sjedinjene Američke Države*). In some cases, it is possible to use the word *state* when referring to a country, but in this context, it is not appropriate and does not convey the right meaning. In the example (6), the participant wrote that she was not sure, but that she believed that was the correct form. It remains dubious whether this is an instance of negative CLI or not, because in *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* one definition says that it is „the staff of writers on a newspaper or other periodical; an editorial staff or department“ (<https://www.wordnik.com/words/redaction>). Regardless of the nature of the influence, it certainly is the instance of one and thus is included in the analysis.

### *Misuse/omission of preposition*

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANTS' VERSIONS	CORRECT TRANSLATION	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(7) riječ (je) o diskriminaciji one djece koja...	this practice <i>discriminates</i> Ø <i>children who...</i>	this practice <i>discriminates against</i> children who...	CRO

As mentioned in Study 1, the omission or misuse of prepositions is fairly common in Croatian speakers of English, since the two languages differ greatly in that aspect. Among proficient users, only one instance of cross-linguistic influence was noted, where the user omitted *against* because in Croatian there is no need to use any preposition at all after the verb *diskriminirati* (to discriminate).



## Translation: Croatian → Spanish

### *Syntactic transfer*

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANTS' VERSIONS	CORRECT TRANSLATION	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(1) Danas broje osmu godinu svojoj turističkoj agenciji...	<i>Hoy hace 8 años que tienen su agencia de turismo...</i>	<i>Hoy cumplen el octavo aniversario (desde que)...</i>	ENG
(2) broj im <i>skokovito</i> raste	su número está <i>aumentando en saltos</i>	su número <i>está creciendo rápidamente</i>	CRO

In example (1), *hace 8 años* means *8 years ago* and cannot be used in this context; the participant was very likely influenced by English (*today it makes... years that*), since the verb *to make* can sometimes be translated as *hacer* („to do“, „to build“, „to make“). In (2), the participant was influenced by the Croatian word *skok* („leap“), which can be translated as *salto*, but in this context it has resulted in incorrect translation, because *skokovito* means *by leaps and bounds*, not the actual, literal movement which the word *salto* implies.

### *Nouns and adjectives*

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANTS' VERSIONS	CORRECT TRANSLATION	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(3) Brojem u Vukovaru još uvijek dominiraju posjetitelji...	Todavía en Vukovar dominan <i>los visitantes</i> ...	los visitantes	ENG
(4) <i>multimedijalni</i> centar	centro <i>multimedial</i>	centro <i>multimedia</i>	CRO
(5) <i>jednodnevni</i> izletnici	excursionistas <i>diarios</i>	excursionistas <i>de un día</i>	CRO
(6) dan <i>sjećanja</i>	(6a) el Día memorial (6b) el Día Memorial	el Día de Recordación	ENG

In example (3), the participant was probably influenced by the English word *visitor*, since the Croatian word *posjetitelj* has no similarity with the Spanish noun. In the following one, the participant assumed that both the Croatian and Spanish words have the letter *l* in them and thus kept it. In (5), the adjective *diario* („daily“) can roughly be translated as *dnevni*, as in *dnevna rutina* („rutina diaria“). But here this collocation sounds awkward and it is not correct. As far as the two examples in (6) are concerned, both participants confirmed the influence from English, probably because they assumed that the languages were similar in this case and decided to compensate for their lack of knowledge of the correct phrase by relying on the English one (*Memorial Day*).

### Verbs

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANTS' VERSIONS	CORRECT TRANSLATION	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(7) Toj se metodi <i>prigovaralo</i> da potiće osjećaj neovisnosti	Muchos <i>objataron</i> que este método promueva la sensación de independencia	Muchos <i>criticaron</i> el método	ENG/CRO
(8) Toj se metodi <i>prigovaralo</i> da potiće osjećaj neovisnosti	Muchos <i>objataron</i> que este método <i>promueva</i> la sensación de independencia	<i>promovía</i>	CRO

Even though they are very similar, in Spanish the word *objetar* does not have the scope of meaning as it does in English, where the word *object* can also mean “to criticise”. In Spanish, it means simply “to oppose sb or sth”. It is possible that the participant in example (7), consciously or unconsciously, translated the word *prigovor* into English: *objection*, the expression used in the court of law, and then simply turned it into a verb, which resulted in

the phrase *muchos objetaron* (“many criticized”; literally: “many objected”). In example (8), if the sentence were correct, the verb *promover* would have to take the imperfect form *promovía*. However, Croatian has no sequence of tenses, so the participant left the verb in present tense, just like in Croatian.

### *Misuse of preposition*

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANT'S VERSION	CORRECT TRANSLATION	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(9) početkom 2000-ih	<i>en</i> los principios del año 2000	<i>a</i> principios	CRO
(10) Vukovar <i>zasad</i> namjernike dočekuje s...	<i>Para ahora</i> , Vukovar puede acomodar...	<i>Por</i> ahora	CRO
(11) znatiželja <i>za</i> tajnama života	la curiosidad <i>para</i> los secretos de la vida	la curiosidad <i>por</i>	CRO
(12) s kojim sam se sprijateljio	<i>con</i> el que me hice amigo (12a, 12b, 12c) <i>con</i> quien me hice amigo (12d)	<i>del</i> que me hice amigo	CRO

Even though the participants in this study were more proficient than those in Study 1, the influence from Croatian in terms of prepositions can still be seen, often a big problem even for advanced speakers. Probably having in mind the Croatian expression “*na početku* (početkom)”, in example (9) the participant decided to use the preposition *en* (which can either translate as *na* or *u*, as seen in the Study 1).

In (10) and (11), Croatian speakers of Spanish often make mistakes as far as the use of *por* and *para* is concerned; in example (2), *zasad* („for now“) has been translated piece by piece: *za* („para“ - *for*) and *sad* („ahora“ - *now*), and in the last example similar thing occurs. The last example (or examples) is very interesting because all four participants made the same error. Since the given text was in Croatian, it is very likely that the error came from Croatian expression “sprijateljiti se *s* nekim” (literally: make friends with somebody), where *s* means *con* in Spanish, but it is not correct to use it here.

### *Grammatical gender*

WORD/PHRASE IN L1	PARTICIPANTS' VERSIONS	CORRECT TRANSLATION	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
(13) <i>Jedna od njih</i> bila je Juanita Mendoza	<i>Una de ellos</i> fue Juanita Mendoza <i>Una de ellos</i> era Juanita Mendoza	Una se llamaba Juanita Mendoza	CRO
(14) <i>četiristotinjak</i> postelja	<i>cuatrocientos</i> camas	<i>cuatrocientas</i> camas	CRO

Just like Croatian, Spanish also has something called „grammatical gender“; therefore, it is necessary that the nouns, pronouns, adjectives and determiners agree in gender. Since in this case *njih* is both the masculine and feminine form for *them*, the participants in (13) assumed that they can do the same in Spanish. In (14), the participant used the „default“, masculine form of the numeral *cuatrocientos* (“four hundred”). In Spanish, however, the hundreds have to agree with the gender of the noun, which in this case is feminine (*las camas* – “beds”, “cots”). Croatian, on the other hand, has no such agreement, which is why Croatian learners of Spanish often make similar mistakes.

Among the translations, three instances of positive cross-linguistic influence were found:

### *Cases of positive crosslinguistic influence*

ORIGINAL TEXT	PARTICIPANT'S VERSIONS	SOURCE OF INFLUENCE
<i>procesuirati</i> apstraktne ideje	<i>procesar</i> ideas abstractas	English ( <i>to process abstract ideas</i> )
zanesenjак	entusiasta	English ( <i>enthusiast</i> )
izletnik	excursionista	English ( <i>excursionist</i> )

All three examples came from a participant who decided to note down whenever she was uncertain of the correct word form. If it had not been for her remarks, it would be pretty difficult to establish the source of influence. In all three cases, the participant chose English as her source language. Examples like these only confirm that cross-linguistic influence does not necessarily mean only committing errors, but that it can have a positive and facilitating effect as well.

## Discussion

Since translations are pretty limited in its nature, the participants were “forced” to use certain vocabulary items and syntactic structures, thus the occurrences of avoidance were not that obvious. However, there were situations where the subjects did not know or were not sure of the correct word or expression, so they decided to “work around it”, either by using paraphrases (for example, replacing *infallible* with *que nunca hacía errores* (infallible - \*’who did not make mistakes’’), or by simply leaving the word/phrase out and putting a question mark. These results suggest several things:

- The first inference is that language proficiency is one of the most important factors in predicting CLI. Since English was reported as the participants’ strongest foreign language, it was expected that they would not show as much (negative) influence as in Spanish, which still cannot compare to English in terms of proficiency, and the results obtained indeed backed this assumption.
- The second is that the mother tongue is not the strongest factor in the occurrence of cross-linguistic influence and sometimes it does not influence the speaker at all. For instance, in Figure 10 can be seen that 32% of CLI came from English; that is, from a language that was not the mother tongue of the participants (Croatian). One case involved influence from more than one language, which is also a characteristic of multilingual processing. Some scholars, like Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, p. 213), mention that “CLI can occur in both the forward and reverse directions, as well as bidirectionally, which means that two or more languages may influence each other at the same time in the mind of a single individual“.

So, it is safe to say that there are other factors besides the mother tongue which play an important role in deciding on the source of influence/transfer, such as recency or the perceived/ assumed similarity between languages.

## **Spoken production**

### **Instruments and procedure**

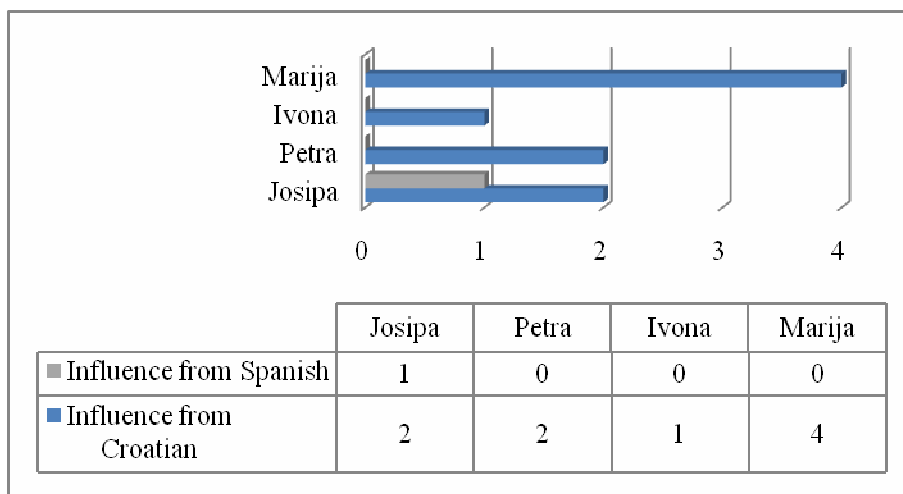
To collect the data from spoken production, an interview was conducted with all four participants. The interview consisted of four general topics written in Croatian: the idea was that the participants give their opinion on the topics presented, by using English (first two topics) and Spanish (last two). In order to elicit as many language samples and obtain a variety of results, the selected topics were general and included different areas of interest, encouraging the use of different tenses, structures and vocabulary items (see Appendix A). Since many researchers have found that a speaker's personality also plays a role in language production, and because their personality can become extremely pronounced in close contact with the researcher, where they must give their personal opinion in a time-limited (and for some, stressful) environment, each participant was individually analyzed and the results are presented accordingly.

### **Results**

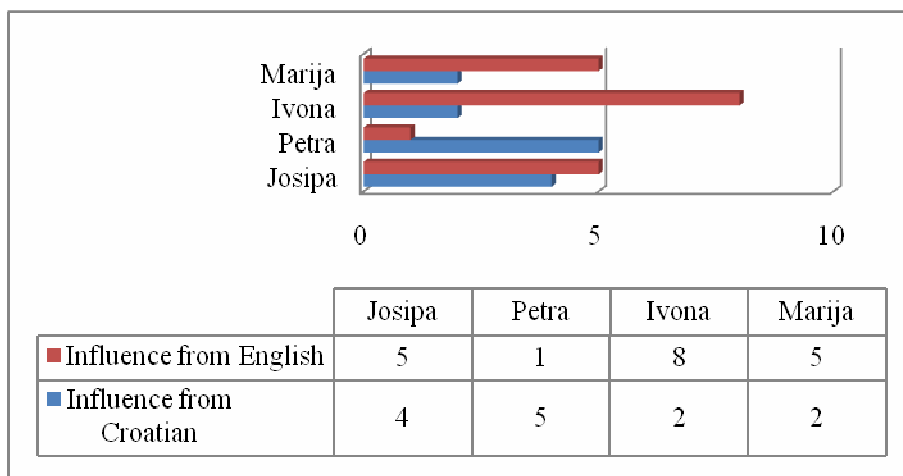
The analysis of data from spoken production revealed that there were a total of 42 instances of CLI in both languages combined. Out of 10 cases of CLI which were established in spoken production in English, only one case of transfer from Spanish was detected, while the rest can be attributed to influence from Croatian. On the other hand, the occurrence of crosslinguistic

influence was much higher in spoken production in Spanish: out of 32 documented cases of CLI, 19 show influence from English and 13 from Croatian. These results are presented in Figures 13 and 14:

**Figure 13.** CLI in spoken production in English



**Figure 14.** CLI in spoken production in Spanish



Considering the small number of subjects, what follows is the detailed analysis of spoken production in English and Spanish of each individual participant. Some sentences, phrases and words have been translated to understand them better.

## Interviewee 1: Marija

The first participant, Marija, had started learning English in Grade 4 and Spanish when she had enrolled in university, but reported a 2-year-long passive knowledge of the language because she had not had any opportunity to use it actively. Also, she recently came back from Luxembourg, where she had gone for a traineeship of five months. This is a relevant piece of information to understand and interpret the results better, since the recency of language use (active use of English during that period of time) certainly affected the spoken production and the extent of CLI. She was more confident while speaking English: she used complex structures and did not recycle them all the time, but sometimes she hesitated when she encountered a “hurdle” (inability to express herself in the right way, or difficulty with finding the correct word/phrase).

### *English*

While giving her opinion on the issue of interfaith marriages, her transfer errors were mostly related to grammar and prepositions. Here are the examples:

(1) I don't know *how would they react*. (\*how they would react).

(2) If I lived in both communities, it could work if we (me and my husband) *respect* each other's religion. (\*respected)

In both examples, she showed influence from Croatian. In (1), she failed to use the appropriate question form, probably because in Croatian there are no inversions in forming questions<sup>2</sup>, while the following example reflects the nature of Croatian language where there is no sequence of tenses or tense shifting, so she used the verb in present form.

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<sup>2</sup> Ne znam *kako bi reagirali* – I don't know how they would react.



There was only one documented instance of prepositional transfer:

- (3) Atheism is like, believing like there's no *point in life*. (...) You have to have a *point in life*... (\*point to life)

where *point in life* would literally translate into Croatian as “smisao/svrha u životu” (*u* meaning *in*).

The second topic (to describe her last trip) was more familiar to her and she exuded more confidence during the conversation, so she did not show much cross-linguistic influence. The only instance of CLI that was detected was:

- (4) We went to *Brussel* that same week (\*Brussels)

In Croatian, the city is called *Bruxelles* (pronounced: *brie-sell*), so in (1), she omitted the letter “s”, probably because she had had the Croatian pronunciation in mind.

### *Spanish*

When we look at Marija’s production in Spanish, it is easy to notice that the occurrence of CLI is significantly higher than in English. The following examples of CLI are related to the first topic (volunteerism):

- (1) Es verdad que muchos jóvenes no han hecho *algún* trabajo voluntario. (\*ningún)

- (2) Sólo *crea una satisfacción* de que has ayudado a alguien. (\*te da una satisfacción)

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*Kako bi reagirali?* – How would they react?

(3) Creo que la situación *causa mucha depresión*. (\*provoca depresión)

The examples are all instances of transfer from English, her primary source of influence (as she later confirmed). In the example (1), she decided not to use the double negative – which would be a good choice in English, but this is incorrect when it comes to Croatian and Spanish, where double negatives are accepted and used. In cases (2) and (3), the structures she selected mirror the structures which are typically found in English, and they sound a bit awkward in Spanish.

When she had to describe the best trip of her life (the second topic), she was more at ease, but still relied on other languages. Two instances of influence from Croatian were detected:

(4) Yo *vivía* en Luxemburgo cinco meses. (\*viví)

where she used *vivía* (“was living”) instead of *viví* (“lived”), which is used when the duration is clearly stated. Here, she relied on Croatian which does not demand such usage and requires the imperfective aspect (*vivia*).

(5) Es increíble que se trate de una capital, de una *ciudad principal*...

In this example, she used the correct noun (*la capital*), but then quickly progressed to describe the word and literally translated the Croatian phrase *glavni grad* (“the capital”) – *ciudad principal*.

The next two examples illustrate how English influenced her during the conversation, which can partially be attributed to the recency of use:

(6) Es una oportunidad excelente, (...) especialmente para la gente que estudia lenguas, y pasar algún tiempo en un...uhh... (she has problems with finding the right words)... *estado foráneo*. (\*país extranjero)

(7) Lo que me impresionó más es esa ciudad multicultural, *multilingual*, *multi no-se-que*... (\*multilingüe)

where *estado foráneo* means *foreign country*. She was questioning the word *foráneo* because she was not sure whether she could say it that way (implying that she used English as a source language because of the similarity between the two words). In example (10), she again could not remember the correct form, so she again relied on English.

In general, Marija was less confident and not so comfortable while using Spanish, so she decided to stay in her comfort zone, which resulted in the structural simplicity and repetitive vocabulary, while the retrieval of correct phrases and expressions was considerably slower. As far as the sources of CLI are concerned, she stated that, while speaking English, she was mostly relying on Croatian and paraphrasing if she did not know how to say something; on the other hand, her source of influence in Spanish was mostly English and she somehow wanted to “combine the two languages together”; also, she tried to avoid the subjunctive mood, prepositions and did not use many tenses because she did not want to, and I quote, “take too much risk”.

## **Interviewee 2: Ivona**

Just like Marija, Ivona had also spent some time in Luxembourg, so the analysis of her spoken production in Spanish showed a fairly large amount of transfer and influence from English. She did have some difficulties expressing her ideas, partly because that is part of her personality and she was feeling a bit uncomfortable being tested, and partly because she did not have much to say about some topics or was uncertain about her viewpoint.

*English*

As far as English topics are concerned, she did not show much influence from Croatian or Spanish. The only instance of any influence was related to the sequence of tenses, like in the following example:

(1) He posted on the forum that he *is* going to Paris and that he *is* going by car. (\*was)

She did, however, have some problems recalling certain words and phrases, but she was more or less successful in paraphrasing them and work around them.

### *Spanish*

As previously mentioned, her 6-month-long stay in a country where the international language of communication is English certainly affected the way her mind processed languages, so the influence of English was more than obvious.

The analysis of her spoken production in Spanish showed just how much English affected her spoken language. Take a look at the following examples:

(1) Necesito algún tiempo para - sada bi tako upotrijebila „spanglish“!<sup>3</sup> - *force myself* para moverme.

(2) En Europa creo que es algo normal y que todos hacen; que se... *appreciates, evaluates...? Znam da nije evaluar ni apreciar*<sup>4</sup>...

(3) No *he tomado parte en* algo así.

(4) Creo que puede ayudar, claro, si hay dos personas que....*competen? comp... compete?* para el mismo lugar de trabajo.

In (1), she wanted to use *forzar*, but desisted and instead paraphrased the utterance. A similar thing happened in (2), where she wanted to come up with the correct word in Spanish by relying on English and Croatian respectively (later she mentioned the verb *cijeniti* – “appreciate”). She ultimately opted for the verb *apreciar*.

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<sup>3</sup> I feel the need to use „spanglish“ now!

<sup>4</sup> I know it is not „evaluar“ or „apreciar“.

In the example (3), she relied on English (“to take part in sth”), but in this case she did not make a mistake, so it can be said that the influence was positive. In the last example, she could not remember the right word, so English verb *to compete* came to her mind. Also, influence from Croatian can be noted in *lugar de trabajo*: “radno mjesto”, where *lugar* literally means *mjesto*, the physical place (the correct phrase would be *puesto de trabajo*). She confirmed later that Croatian was her source of influence in this particular case.

Two more instances of transfer from Croatian were noted:

(5) Algunos lo ven como „ah, tu *no trabajaste nada* en concreto“.

(6) No he buscado trabajo para *llegar a paso de entrevistas*.

In (5), she was talking about the lack of work experience and she used *trabajar nada* (literally: “to work nothing”) because *trabajar* (“raditi”) in Croatian can either mean “to work” or “to do something in general”. Since she had the latter meaning in mind, she simply translated *raditi nešto* as “trabajar”, which does not have the scope of meaning as it does in Croatian. In (6), *llegar a paso de entrevistas* is a literal translation from Croatian “doći do tog koraka” – to “arrive to that step”, meaning to reach a particular stage.

The second topic was also fruitful in terms of CLI, particularly from English:

(7) Luxemburgo como ciudad es muy pequena, pero a mi me gusta mucho; *hay una pecul.... peculiaridad?*

(8) Visite Francia, Alemania, Bélgica, *Nederlan... Nederlanda? Holanda?* (\*los Países Bajos)

In (7) and (8), she was browsing her mental lexicon in search of correct words, and English was her primary choice, probably because she reckoned that the vocabulary items of both languages are fairly similar in that respect. In the first case, she got the word right, so the influence was positive; however, in the second example, English was not helpful since it shares no similarities with the country’s name in Spanish (English: *the Netherlands*).

In the last two examples:

(9) En general, fue... *very nice*.

(10) Como no teníamos dinero, aprovechábamos los *happy hours*.

she did not even try to alter the original phrases in English because it was “the first thing that came to her mind”, and she could not remember the Spanish counterparts at that very moment.

It was interesting to collect language sample from this participant because she was the best example of how recency can affect your performance in your spoken language. She did show influence from her mother tongue, but English was always somehow present, always in the “back of her mind”, which could be easily noticed during the conversation with her. To what extent her shyness and nervousness attributed to her performance is not clear, but the results are very interesting nonetheless and help to cast some light on the issues which are related to the multilinguals’ spontaneous spoken production.

### **Interviewee 3: Petra**

Petra, unlike Marija, said that she did not rely on Croatian at all when speaking English, but that every once in a while, “a Spanish word or expression would pop up in my (her) head”. She also affirmed that she did not paraphrase or avoid any particular structures because she had been using English since Grade 4. Conversely, she said that she had been relying on Croatian/ English, as well as paraphrasing a lot while using Spanish because she did not know it that well and thus did not feel as confident as in English.

#### *English*

There were almost no documented instances of cross-linguistic influence when it comes to English, and only two cases appeared to have some sort of root in Croatian:

(1) My sister has a boyfriend who is....*nothing*...actually.

(2) My mother told me that there *is* a possibility that it *is* affecting me. (\*was)

In the first example, although not a mistake, it sounds awkward to use *nothing* as a means of saying that somebody is neither a believer nor a non-believer. In Croatian, however, it would be possible to say in that situation that somebody is *ništa* („nothing“) and it would not sound peculiar or offensive. The example (2) has to do with the sequence of tenses, which, as already mentioned before, does not exist in Croatian.

### *Spanish*

The analysis of Petra's speech indeed showed that she was more proficient in English than in Spanish (as she herself reported), and there were significantly more instances of CLI. However, she did not avoid complex structures or vocabulary items she was unsure of, which explains, to some extent, the amount of CLI occurrence.

In the first topic (the volunteer work) she mostly showed influence from Croatian, as it can be seen in the following examples:

(1) No sé si es *la hospital*, no sé en qué lugar. – (\*el hospital)

(2) No fue trabajo de fisioterapeuta, sino cuidar a alguna *vieja* en la ciudad. (\*anciana)

(3) Allí se encontraron y vinieron *en* nuestro pueblo. (\*a)

(4) Si decimos: Hice un trabajo voluntario *allí* y *allí*... (\*por aquí y por allá)

(5) No quiero que ella *trabaja algo* que no le va a pagar tanto esfuerzo. (\*hace algo)

*Hospital* is a masculine noun in Spanish, but feminine in Croatian, which most likely influenced her choice of the definite article in (1). In example (2), *vieja* is a derogatory term to refer to an old lady and it can even be a slang word for *mother*. Since the Croatian word is *starica* (*stara* meaning *vieja*, “old”), she did not have time to think too much, so she decided to use *vieja*, but later corrected herself and used *señora* (“lady”). In (3), again we can see how Croatian influences the choice of preposition: *doći u selo* – literally: venir *en el pueblo* (\**al pueblo* being the correct form). As mentioned earlier, the average Croatian speaker has difficulty mastering Spanish (and English) prepositions, so falling back on the mother tongue

is understandable. *Allí y allí* in (4) is a literal translation of the Croatian phrase *tamo i tamo* (“there and there”), used when exact names of places are irrelevant to the conversation. In (5), she used the similar phrase as Ivona: *trabajar algo* (\*to work sth).

The second topic (the best trip) was not as fruitful as the one before in terms of CLI, perhaps because she was more familiar with the topic in question and had already used the language structures related to that context, so only one case of CLI was documented:

(6) Durante el verano hay unos.... uf....*popusti, dis*.... (\*descuentos; rebajas)

Here, she wanted to use the English word *discounts* because it was the first thing that came to her mind, although the Spanish word is pretty similar too. At the end, she gave up and skipped it altogether because she just could not remember the right word.

#### **Interviewee 4: Josipa**

Josipa was an interesting subject because she was very talkative; she was not afraid to speak her mind and did not worry too much about the correctness of her speech, which consequently resulted in some rather interesting utterances.

#### *English*

In the first topic (interfaith marriages), she did not show much influence from other languages. Some sort of CLI was detected in only two cases:

(1) He doesn't mind raising our kids *in a Catholic*... (she cannot find the right word)  
*religion*. (\*as Catholics)



(2) It is something I would like to... *nije translate?... prenijeti, da....* promote in their education...

In example (1), *in a Catholic religion* is a word-for-word translation of a Croatian phrase *u katoličkoj vjeri*, which is perfectly acceptable in Croatian, but not in English (the correct expression would be *to raise children as Catholics*). Example (2) is very interesting because it appears that she relied on Spanish here: the verb *trasladar* can mean “prenijeti”, or “transfer”, because she wanted to say that she would like to transfer it onto her children. Since *translate* and *trasladar* are very similar in that respect, it was the first verb that crossed her mind. However, she quickly corrected herself and instead used another word.

The second topic (her last trip) was not so prolific, where only one case of influence (from Croatian, to be precise) was documented:

(3) I would tell them a bit about the stuff that's inside, *why is it important in the end*.

As mentioned before, in Croatian there is no distinction between forms for declarative and interrogative sentences, so she mistakenly translated the “declarative” form in Croatian into English by using inversion.

### *Spanish*

Josipa's spoken production in Spanish showed significantly more CLI than her production in English:

(1) Se hace mucho para los *viejos*. (\*ancianos)

(2) Encontré un perrito pequeño y primero lo *tomó* mi tía. (\*acogió)

In examples (1) and (2), it can be seen how Croatian influenced her speech. In the first case *viejo* means *star*, “old”, so she simply translated *starci* (“old people”) into Spanish as *viejos*. The second case shows how she relied on the Croatian word *uzeti* (her aunt took - *uzela*; *tomó* - the dog, meaning she decided to keep the dog for a while).

The following four examples all show influence from English:

(3) Conozco personas que lo hacen *a una base diaria*. (\*a diario)

(4) Y entonces se busca solo la *transportación*. (\*transporte)

(5) Lo han construído todo ellos solos con su dinero, y la comida para los perros y los gatos y para *vaccinarlos* y todo esto. (\*vacunar)

(6) Espero que algún día cuando estoy buscando trabajo que pueda...hmmm...*exploatar*?  
(\*usar)

She obviously relied on English here (*on a daily basis, transportation, vaccinate and exploit*), even though in the example (6) she admitted that the prefix *ex* came from Croatian *iz* (*iz + koristiti -> iskoristiti*; „to use“, „to exploit“).

The second topic did not show as much influence as the one before, but it nonetheless showed influence from both English and Croatian language:

(7) Nuestro profesor quiere *hacer un ejemplo de ti*. (\*usarte de ejemplo)

(8) Él no tiene más *puestos* libres. (\*asientos)

(9) Para ir y ver Madrid, el centro, la agencia turistica debe *encontratar* algún guía local de Madrid, y no de Croacia. (\*contratar)

Example (7) is a literal translation of the English phrase *to make an example of sb*, and it is not correct to use it in Spanish. In (8), she simply translated the Croatian word *mjesto* („a place“, „a seat“) as *puesto*, which is a perfectly fine translation, just not in this context. The last example (9), the verb *encontratar* does not exist at all in Spanish (*en* is redundant). The reason why she added this *en* is because the Croatian verb for contratar is *unajmiti*, where the prefix *u* is commonly translated into Spanish as *en* (as already mentioned in earlier studies).

## **Discussion**

It was interesting to see how proficient Croatian multilingual speakers process languages in an environment which is time-limited and where they are forced to quickly find the appropriate ways of expressing themselves, without much time to embellish their speech and overthink it.

It can be seen that the participants did not rely as much on other languages while speaking English: only 10 instances of CLI were detected. It was mostly because they were proficient enough to say what they meant, without feeling the need to resort to other languages. Also, the status of English language in Croatia, which basically permeates the entire society, certainly played an important role. Children start learning the language even in kindergarten, which cannot be said for Spanish as well, for it is still a relatively unknown and “exotic” language in Croatia.

When comparing the results of spoken production in Spanish and English, it is obvious that the occurrence of CLI was significantly higher in Spanish - a total of 32 instances of CLI were found among the spoken data. Since 19 cases exhibit influence from English and only 13 influence from Croatian, the results corroborate the afore-mentioned hypothesis that the participants would show more lateral transfer while speaking Spanish - three out of four participants showed more influence from English than from their mother tongue, which goes hand in hand with Ringbom’s claim that “not just L1, but other languages as well are reflected in learner language, and the degree of influence is affected by the language distance, proficiency and automatization” (see 4, on page 23). Taking into consideration the cases of Marija and Ivona, recency should also be added to the list.

## **Conclusion and implications for teaching**

It is essential to define the relevance of this topic and state the implications of this paper for the teaching practice. Jessner (1999) paints a bleak picture of a language learning environment where teachers continue to ignore common features between L1, L2, L3 etc.

instead of stressing them. He points out that ignoring and “offending” the processes of language learning inevitably leads to a high number of learners who are multilingual on paper, but who are far from being “real” multilinguals (Müller-Lancé, 2003). So, teachers should be aware of the ways other languages influence the language(s) which they are attempting to teach and how they may effectively deal with negative influence and take advantage of any positive transfer in order to maximize teaching potential. It is very useful to know as many contrasts and language aspects that exist between the languages they are teaching and the languages used by students as possible. If the teachers are not aware of the biases, they cannot help learners to become aware of the potential biases and to avoid them. For instance, ‘false friends’ are examples which must be exposed in the classroom because students tend to believe they are synonymous in meaning and over-extend analogies to their previously learned languages. The investigation of errors is extremely important because it provides the teacher with a systematic list of errors, their nature and their causes. Such a list is a very helpful “handbook” whenever he/she wants to identify and eliminate some error (Filipović, 1975, p. 6). However, in order to successfully work with CLI in the classroom, it is necessary to conduct more research concerning positive cross-linguistic influence to contrast the significantly larger number of research regarding negative cross-linguistic influence. Still, teaching should not be only about “breaking the habits” of the previously learned languages, but it is also about adopting new ways and methods of communication and learning new skills that go beyond the knowledge of cross-linguistic influence (O'Neill *et al.*, 2005).

The process of investigating how these three languages influence each other proved to be a great challenge, but it was definitely a very interesting one. However, one thing is clear: the relationship between English, Spanish and Croatian languages (and especially this particular topic) certainly need to be further researched. A greater number of participants should be included and, if it is possible, longitudinal studies should be conducted with diverse groups of multilingual speakers to see how exactly their way of thinking and processing the languages changes over time. Alongside English, a large number of students in Croatia have shown interest in learning additional foreign languages (like French, Italian, Portuguese etc.), and Spanish has definitely found its place among those languages, so it is essential to become aware of the current language map in Croatia and work towards understanding and facilitating language learning processes. I hope that this paper will be of use to anyone interested in this topic and that it will encourage future research.

## **Sažetak**

Ovaj rad bavi se pitanjem međujezičnog utjecaja kod višejezičara koji, osim svojim materinjim hrvatskim, također govore engleskim i španjolskim jezikom. Cilj je ustanoviti služe li se višejezične osobe u usmenoj i pismenoj produkciji na stranom jeziku ostalim

jezicima koje poznaju, te koriste li prethodno usvojene vještine i saznanja povezane s tim jezicima. Teorijski dio rada uključuje definicije pojma međujezičnog utjecaja, povijest razvoja područja te moguće razloge nastanka tog fenomena odnosno razloge izostanka. Također, navode se teorije o razdvojenosti jezika u mozgu, brojni faktori koji utječu na pojavu međujezičnog utjecaja te instrumenti kojima ga je moguće mjeriti, a sami kraj teorijskog dijela rada nudi i kratak uvid u status engleskog i španjolskog jezika u Hrvatskoj.

Drugi dio rada obuhvaća dva istraživanja provedena na dvjema skupinama govornika: prva skupina uključuje ispitanike koji ne vladaju tako dobro engleskim i španjolskim jezikom, no opet dovoljno da ih se može nazvati višejezičarima, dok druga uključuje iskusne višejezičare na visokom stupnju poznavanja jezika. Krajnji cilj je bio usporediti dobivene rezultate i uočiti sličnosti, tj. razlike među grupama ispitanika, te u isto vrijeme smanjiti mogućnost pogreške i doći do vjerodostojnih zaključaka. Istraživanja su provedena metodom kvalitativnog prikupljanja podataka, odnosno sastavcima na određenu temu (grupa 1), te prijevodom zadanih tekstova i usmenim intervjuom (grupa 2), a dobiveni rezultati su sistematizirani i analizirani ovisno o tome radi li se o pozitivnom ili negativnom jezičnom prijenosu.

Na kraju rada nalazi se zaključak, te relevantnost i implikacije ovog rada za obrazovni kontekst.

**Ključne riječi** - međujezični utjecaj, jezični prijenos, višejezičnost, materinski jezik, ini jezik

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## **Appendix A**

Compositions (Study 1):

## ISTRAŽIVANJE ZA DIPLOMSKI RAD

Dob \_\_\_\_\_

Spol \_\_\_\_\_

Engleski učim: \_\_\_\_\_ godina

Španjolski učim: \_\_\_\_\_ godina

E-mail adresa (za eventualna pitanja): \_\_\_\_\_

Napiši kratki sastavak na **engleskom** jeziku (150-200 riječi) na sljedeću temu:

### **Školske uniforme: prednosti i nedostaci okruženja u kojem su svi jednaki**

„Prošle godine Osnovna škola Antuna Mihanovića prva je u Osječko-baranjskoj županiji uvela školske uniforme i to prvašićima s ciljem da uskoro svi učenici u školi budu jednaki, barem kad je odjeća u pitanju. Ovaj potez odmah nam se učinio pozitivnim, osobito u kontekstu sve većeg problema izoliranja, zadirivanja, pa čak i zlostavljanja djece na temelju onog što imaju ili nemaju na sebi. Odlučili smo detaljnije istražiti ovu temu i saznati - imaju li uniforme doista pozitivan učinak na sigurnost i socijalizaciju djece, učenje i školu općenito?“ (preuzeto sa: [www.klinfo.hr](http://www.klinfo.hr))

*Što misliš o odluci ove škole? Koji je tvoj stav po pitanju školskih uniformi?*

*Da li uniforme guše kreativnost i individualnost ili potiču jednakost i toleranciju?*

*Koje su dobre i loše strane nošenja školskih uniformi?*

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Napiši kratki sastavak na **španjolskom** jeziku (150-200 riječi) na sljedeću temu:

### **Čini li nas zaista sretnima kupovanje i akumuliranje materijalnih stvari?**

*Smatraš li da previše materijalnih dobara komplicira živote, umjesto da ih poboljšava i olakšava? Postoji li granica kada možemo reći da imamo „previše toga“?*

*Koliko si ti kupio/dobio stvari u posljednjih godinu dana?*

*Da li ti neke stvari "skupljaju prašinu" ili ti sve treba?*

*Čega se materijalnog nikada ne bi mogao/la odreći, a čega da?*

## Appendix B

Translations (Study 2):

PRIJEVOD (španjolski):

*1.) Puno volje, odvažnosti, predanosti i mašte nosili su u svojim kovčezima Vukovarci Zrinka i Zoran Šesto kad su se početkom 2000-ih vraćali u svoj rodni grad. Dvoje zanesenjaka imalo je viziju turističkog Vukovara. Danas broje osmu godinu svojoj turističkoj agenciji Danubiumtours, inovativni turistički brod-multimedijalni centar im je pred porinućem, a turizam u njihovu gradu već neko vrijeme nije utopija.*

*Brojem u Vukovaru još uvijek dominiraju posjetitelji koji dolaze zbog nedavne povijesti. Samo za Dan sjećanja grad ugosti između 50.000 i 100.000 jednodnevnih izletnika, ali i 'klasični' turisti, s noćenjima, već se broje u desecima tisuća. Vukovar zasad namjernike dočekuje sa samo četiristotinjak postelja. Broj im, međutim, skokovito raste posljednje dvije godine, a rastu i broj noćenja, broj kruzera u luci, broj stranaca u vukovarskim restoranima i okolnim seoskim gospodarstvima koja se bave agroturizmom.*

*2.) Smatram da nema bolje metode od montesorijske kako bi se djecu upoznalo s ljepotama svijeta i kako bi se u njima probudila znatiželja za tajnama života. Toj se metodi prigovaralo da potiče osjećaj neovisnosti i samostalnosti – što je u mom slučaju vjerojatno bilo točno. S druge strane, nikada nisam naučio dijeliti, izračunati korijen ili procesuirati apstraktne ideje. Bili smo tako mladi da se sjećam samo dvoje školskih kolega. Jedna od njih bila je Juanita Mendoza, koja je sa sedam godina umrla od tifusa, nedugo nakon osnutka škole, i toliko me se dojmila da prizor nje u lijesu s krunom i bijelim velom na glavi nikada nisam mogao zaboraviti. Drugi je bio Guillermo Valencia Abdala, s kojim sam se sprijateljió već na prvom odmoru, i moj nepogrješivi liječnik za mamurluk ponedjeljcima.*

## PRIJEVOD (engleski):

### Težak udarac za razvoj vještina i šireg znanja

1.) Nakon što je ministar Željko Jovanović po preporuci Ustavnoga suda ukinuo 20-godišnju praksu dodjele dodatnih bodova pri upisu u srednju školu za učenike koji su paralelno s redovnom pohađali glazbenu ili plesnu školu te učili drugi strani jezik, u redakciju Jutarnjeg stižu brojni prigovori roditelja. Ustavni je sud, međutim, procijenio da je riječ o diskriminaciji one djece koja u svojim sredinama nemaju mogućnosti pohađanja plesnih ili glazbenih škola.

Ovakvom odlukom prekinuta je praksa nagrađivanja dodatnoga truda, smatraju roditelji.

Obrazovna praksa drugih država s daleko fleksibilnijim obrazovnim sustavima posve je drukčija, pa primjerice većina američkih sveučilišta iznimno cijeni (i boduje) vještine studenata ostvarene izvan nastavnog procesa. Ocjena je u takvim slučajevima tek jedan od pokazatelja uspjeha, katkad jednako vrednovana poput uspjeha postignutog u sportu, debati ili nekom od umjetničkih područja.

2.) Argument da oni koji odu ne vole svoju zemlju mi je također nekako labav. Zašto mlad i sposoban čovjek ne bi otišao negdje gdje mu se nude bolje mogućnosti i profitirao od svog znanja i školovanja? Tko kaže da se od njih netko jednoga dana neće vratiti, pokrenuti vlastiti biznis i zaposliti neke od tih gladnih duša koje se nisu mogle odvojiti od maminih juhica ne pitajući se pritom odakle mamama novac? Ne, ne mislim da postoji obećana zemlja i da je u tuđem dvorištu trava zelenija, ali bogme je u Lijepoj našoj trava potpuno nestala. Zasnivanje radnog odnosa je samo jedan od problema jer i u slučaju kad ga uspiješ zasnovati, nitko ti ne garantira da ćeš za svoj posao biti plaćen. Ne cvjetam od sreće zbog odljeva mozgova jer se stavljam u poziciju da mi jednog dana dođe sin i kaže da seli iza sedam mora i sedam gora trbuhom za kruhom. Srce bi mi puklo taj čas.



## Appendix C

Spoken production - interviews (Study 2):

**1. Koliko je za tebe važno da se udaš/oženiš za osobu koja je iste vjere kao ti?**

*Da li si ikad razmišljao/la o međuvjerskom braku? Da li bi se ikada mogao/la vjenčati za osobu druge vjere?*

*Koliko je za tebe bitno odgajati djecu u duhu vlastite vjere i tradicije, običaja koje štuješ?*

*Koje su karakteristike i kvalitete najvažnije kako bi ljudi u međuvjerskim brakovima uspjeli nadvladati poteškoće i prepreke koje postoje u takvim zajednicama?*

**2. Opiši zadnje putovanje na kojem si bio/la.**

**1. „Istraživanje Instituta za društvena istraživanja pokazalo da u Hrvatskoj još uvijek 93 posto mladih nije imalo iskustva volonterskog rada u organizacijama civilnog društva“.**

*Zašto tako porazni rezultati? Kakav je tvoj stav prema volontiranju: da li se radi samo o "besplatnom radu" ili postoje neke prednosti?*

*Da li si i sam/a bio/la uključen u volonterske aktivnosti? Ako da, opiši svoje iskustvo.*

*Veliki problem danas u Hrvatskoj je rastuća nezaposlenost mladih, jednim dijelom i zbog manjka radnog iskustva. Da li je moguće volonterskim aktivnostima doći do zaposlenja upravo kroz stjecanje tog ponekad prijeko potrebnog iskustva?*

**2. Opiši najbolje putovanje na kojem si bio/la.**

