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#### Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Kielten väliset vaikutteet (transfer) ovat monitahoinen ilmiö, jota on tutkittu kielen oppimisen viitekehyksessä aktiivisesti 1900-luvun puolivälistä lähtien. Transfertutkimuksessa on kuitenkin perinteisesti keskitytty tutkimaan lähinnä äidinkielen vaikutuksia opittavaan vieraaseen kieleen. Useamman vieraan kielen vaikutukset toisiinsa ovat tuoreempi ja etenkin suomalaisessa kontekstissa/tutkimusympäristössä vielä niukasti tutkittu tutkimuskohde. Tässä tutkielmassa tarkasteluun on sen vuoksi valittu äidinkielen tuomien vaikutusten lisäksi myös vieraan kielen vaikutukset englannin kielen sanaston oppimiseen ja käyttöön. Tarkasteltavina lähdekielinä ovat suomi ja ensimmäisenä tai toisena vieraana kielenä opittu ranska. Tutkielma keskittyy transfer-prosesseihin alkeistason kielenoppijoiden kielenkäytössä, joka on melko vähän tutkittu aihealue transfer-tutkimuksessa.

Koska tutkimuksen todellisena kohteena on kielten mielensisäinen prosessointi, jonka tutkiminen on mahdollista vain epäsuorasti, aihetta lähestytään laajemman näkökulman saamiseksi kahden erilaisen aineiston kautta. Aineistona on käytetty sekä opettajahaastatteluja, jotka tarjoavat ulkopuolisen tarkkailijan näkökulman kielen oppimisprosesseihin, että oppilaiden tuottamaa kirjallista aineistoa transferin näkyvien vaikutusten tarkastelemiseksi.

Opettajahaastatteluissa nousi esille niin positiivisia kuin negatiivisiakin vaikutteita kielten välillä. Positiivisten vaikutteet olivat kuitenkin negatiivisia huomattavampia etenkin rakenteellisesti tai sanastollisesti toisiaan muistuttavien vieraiden kielten välillä. Oppilasaineistojen analyysi keskittyy transferista aiheutuvien virheiden tarkasteluun ja niiden tyypittelyyn. Tulokset tukevat näkemystä, jonka mukaan toisilla vierailla kielillä voi olla merkittävä rooli vieraan kielen oppimisessa ja käytössä. Lisätutkimusta kaivataan etenkin kielten välisistä positiivisista vaikutuksista.

#### Asiasanat – Keywords

transfer, cross-linguistic influence, lexical transfer, beginner level learners, third language acquisition

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# **Contents**

Contents	5
1 INTRODUCTION	7
2 CROSS-LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE	9
2.1 History of transfer studies	9
2.1.1 Behaviouristic era and contrastive analysis	10
2.1.2 Critical views on transfer and current trends	11
2.2 Defining transfer and its sub-types	12
2.2.1 Problems in defining transfer	13
2.2.2 Different directions of transfer and interlanguage	15
3 LEXICAL TRANSFER	17
3.1 Vocabulary knowledge	17
3.2. Types of lexical transfer	21
3.2.1 Transfer in word forms	23
3.2.2 Transfer in word meanings	26
3.2.3 Transfer in word use	27
4 CROSS-LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE IN L3 ACQUISITION	28
4.1 Linguistic distance/similarity	29
4.2 Order of acquisition and L2 status	31
4.3 Age and proficiency	32
5 LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE FINNISH COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL	34
6 THE PRESENT STUDY	36
6.1 Methodological rigor and motivation of the present data	36
6.2 Teacher interviews	39
6.2.1 Conducting the interviews	40
6.2.2 The analysis of the interviews	42
6.3 Learner language samples	43
6.3.1 Free production task	45
6.3.2 Producing words for a given category	46
7 TEACHERS' VIEWS ON TRANSFER	48
7.1 Cross-linguistic comparison in teaching	49
7.2 The role of transfer in language learning	54

7.3 L1 transfer in different areas of language	59
7.4. Foreign language transfer in different areas of language	63
7.5 The order of acquisition	68
8 TRANSFER IN WRITTEN PRODUCTION	70
8.1 Free production task	70
8.1.1 Transfer in word form	72
8.1.2 Transfer in word meaning	77
8.1.3 Transfer in word use	79
8.2 Producing words for a given category	83
8.2.1 Predetermined elicitation items	83
8.2.2 Transfer in all lexical items	88
9 CONCLUSION	96
Bibliography:	99
Appendix 1: Teacher interview guide	103
Appendix 2: Transcription symbols (Alanen 2006:222)	106
Appendix 3: Learner background information sheet	107
Appendix 4: Free production task sheet	112
Appendix 5: Producing words for a given category worksheet	113

#### 1 INTRODUCTION

Plurilingualism, individual's knowledge in more than one language, is a core value in the modern European language policy, and Council of Europe (1998: 34) recommends for all its member states to promote plurilingualism "by encouraging all Europeans to achieve a degree of communicative ability in *a number of languages*" [my italics]. Foreign language learning is of particular importance in Finland, since Finnish, the mother tongue of the majority of Finns, is little spoken internationally. Thus, not only English, the lingua franca of the modern international community, but also other foreign languages are taught and learned in schools. It is not uncommon for a Finn to learn three foreign languages during his/her formal education; according to the official statistics by National Board of Education, 18.6 % of comprehensive school pupils learned three, and 0.6% four or more, foreign languages at school in 2010 (Kumpulainen 2011). Thus, examining how learning multiple languages affects the language processing of an individual is particularly relevant in the Finnish context.

It is a familiar phenomenon to scholars and laypeople alike that some kind of interaction takes place between languages in an individual's mind, and probably anyone learning one or more foreign languages can recall an event of having confused some elements from two different languages. In scholarly research, the effects of interaction of two (or more) language systems in one's mind are referred to as **cross-linguistic influence (CLI)** or **transfer**, which is the phenomenon investigated in the present study.

The role of cross-linguistic influence varies in different areas of language learning and use. The present study focuses on transfer in lexicon, which is a subsystem that is perhaps the most extensively studied in the field of transfer studies but still calls for further investigation. In Finnish settings, lexical transfer from Finnish and Swedish into English has been investigated by such scholars as Ringbom (1987, 2007), Odlin and Jarvis (2004) and Meriläinen (2010). These studies have examined influence only from Finnish and Swedish, whereas influence from other foreign languages which the learners have possibly learned or are learning is left without attention. However, as noted above, it is not

uncommon for students in Finnish comprehensive schools and upper secondary schools (*lukio*) to study an additional foreign language, most often German, French, Spanish or Russian. (For more statistical information, see chapter 5). Therefore, I consider it important to take these additional foreign languages into account when researching what Finnish learners transfer into English. Furthermore, most studies on transfer focus on adult learners or high-school students, whose proficiency in the target language is relatively high. Elementary stages of learning are considered in much smaller number of studies. Consequently, in the present study, I chose to focus on beginner level learners, more specifically Finnish 6<sup>th</sup> grade pupils some of whom are learning English as a foreign language and some both English and French.

A further reason for choosing this particular age group as the subject of my study is that it allows the investigation of the interaction between these three particular languages: Finnish, French and English. As presented in the official statistics by National Board of Education, most often in Finnish comprehensive schools pupils start learning their first foreign language on the third grade (at the age of 8-9). Later on, in the fifth grade in most schools (at the age of 10-11), pupils can opt for an additional foreign language. In the seventh grade, all the pupils start learning another obligatory language, which is Swedish in case of Finnish-speaking pupils. (Kumpulainen 2011.) Focusing exclusively on influences from Finnish and French is enabled in this study by investigating learners in the stage when they have not yet started learning Swedish, at least not in formal settings.

The present study focused on examining the quality and quantity of lexical influence that pupils drew from their first language (L1), that is Finnish, as well as from their second or third language (L2/L3)<sup>1</sup>, that is French, and how that influence showed in their English production. Three different learner groups were compared with each other in order to examine how the order of acquisition affects the quality and quantity of transfer. Also the teacher's actions, as they might have been encouraging or inhibiting transfer, were discussed. These questions were approached through observation of written samples of learner language as well as by interviewing teachers on how they viewed the role of CLI in language learning.

The terms L2 and L3 are both used here to refer to foreign languages learned in formal settings, the two differing only in terms of the order of acquisition.

In this thesis, I will first provide a theoretical background for the subject of the study; first reviewing the history of transfer studies and explaining the central terminology, then presenting results from previous studies on lexical influence and third language transfer in particular. After that, I will provide an overview on the language policy in the Finnish comprehensive school and introduce the data and methods of the present study, which is followed by the analysis of the current data. The final part of the thesis consists of the discussion on the results and the conclusions.

# 2 CROSS-LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE

In general terms, transfer or CLI can be described as "the influence of a person's knowledge of one language to that person's knowledge or use of another language" (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 1). As Jarvis (2000: 246) points out, transfer is perhaps one of the most researched phenomena in the field of second language acquisition (SLA). However, the research on it is still not comprehensive. In this chapter, I first provide a general overview on the history of transfer studies, illustrating how the views on the phenomenon have changed and evolved through the past decades. After that, in the second sub-chapter, a discussion on the relevant terminology follows.

# 2.1 History of transfer studies

While CLI have most likely occurred and been a topic of interest throughout the human history (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 1), the roots of scholarly study on transfer lie in the 19<sup>th</sup> century historical linguistics, which focused on language contact phenomena and language change (Odlin 1989). In that framework, transfer was researched as a societal phenomenon, that is, language use was investigated on the level of the society rather than of individual speakers. When the scholarly research on language teaching started in the 1940's and 1950's, transfer started to be examined in the level of an individual through a psycholinguistic approach (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 3). Two ground-breaking publications on transfer originate from that era: Weinreich's *Languages in contact* and

Lado's *Linguistics Across Cultures*, which are often cited as cornerstones of the modern transfer research (see e.g. Ringbom, 1987: 46, Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 3, Odlin 2003, Sajavaara 2006: 12). Each of them has contributed to different branches in the field: the former one representing research on bilingualism and the latter one being more closely related to applied linguistics (Selinker 1983: 34). The two approaches have slightly different focuses and they differ, to an extent, in their use of terminology. In the present study, transfer is discussed in the applied linguistics framework, which has affected my choice of terminology and the choice of the studies that will serve as the core of the theoretical background of the present study. Below, I will present a closer overview on transfer research particularly in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) and language learning in formal settings, referring to bilingualism only when the two fields overlap.

### 2.1.1 Behaviouristic era and contrastive analysis

In the 1940's and 1950's, the time when modern transfer research started to develop, behaviourism was the dominant trend in psychology (Sajavaara 2006: 11) and it also influenced strongly the contemporary views on language learning (Ellis 1994: 299). As Ellis (1994: 299) points out, behaviourists considered learning as habit formation based on repetition of responses to certain stimuli. According to the behaviourist view, interference from prior knowledge was the main inhibitive factor for forming new habits that is, learning. Therefore, learning a new habit required unlearning an old one, which cannot be considered reasonable in the context of SLA, as the old habit is learners' L1 and unlearning it is not desirable. Due to this dilemma, L1 remained a factor that was considered to cause difficulty in second language learning, particularly in cases when L2 was distant from L1. (ibid.)

During the behaviouristic era, the view on transfer was rather narrow and transfer was considered mostly as negative L1 influence (influence that deviates the language from the native language norm) on foreign language production, whereas transfer in reception and influence of later-learned languages on a previously acquired language (i.e. reverse transfer) were neglected (Sajavaara 2006: 11-12). In the 1950's and 1960's the main

research method in the field was contrastive analysis and the focus was mostly on pronunciation and grammar (Odlin 2003: 437). This also illustrates how narrow the scholars' perception on transfer was. Even though empirical study on transfer was still scarce, some researchers, such as Fries, considered developing teaching materials for second language acquisition (SLA) and methods designated to learners of a specific native language as an important application of contrastive analyses (Odlin 1989: 16-17). This illustrates the role of contrastive analysis during those decades: it was used as a tool to make predictions about language learning. However, contrastive analysis as a method was soon to receive substantial criticism, as will be pointed out in the next section.

#### 2.1.2 Critical views on transfer and current trends

From the 1960's onward, many began to challenge the behaviourist views and question the role of transfer overall (Odlin 1989: 22). In the 1960's, critical analysis as a method became overpowered by Error Analysis (EA), which "consists of a set of procedures for identifying, describing and explaining learner errors" (Ellis and Barkhuizen, 2005: 51-52). Through error analysis it became apparent that not all errors can be traced back to L1 or other type of cross-linguistic influence but some of them may be intralingual, such as overgeneralization of grammatical rules of the target language, or they may arise from how the learner is taught as well as from other contextual or individual factors (Odlin 1989: 18). The error analyses of the 1960's and 1970's further suggested that there are universal characteristics in learners' errors and that second language acquisition is actually not a fundamentally different process from L1 acquisition (Odlin 1989: 19). Thus, by the end of the 1970's, the value of contrastive analysis in predicting learning outcomes by speakers of a certain L1 had lost most of its credibility. Many scholars suggest that CA is useful when identifying source of learner errors in actual data, but is of little predictive value. However, the predictive value of contrastive analysis has never been completely discarded and remains a controversial question even today. (Odlin 1989: 19).

Much of what is currently known about transfer was established in the 1960's-1980's (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 10), but the emerging criticism on transfer finally led to a period in 1980's-1990's when transfer was much neglected as an insignificant phenomenon

in SLA (Sajavaara 2006: 11). Regardless of the increasing scepticism toward transfer in the 1980's, during that time there were scholars, such as Odlin (1989), who partly disagree with the transfer scepticism. Odlin (1989: 23) criticizes the sceptics' overemphasis on errors and universal developmental sequences, as well as on certain linguistic sub-systems, that is, morphology and grammar. Odlin's (1989) *Language Transfer*. *Cross-linguistic influence in language learning* is generally considered as probably the most significant post-1950's reference in the field and it laid the basis for modern views on transfer (e.g. Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 3, De Angelis and Selinker 2001: 42). After the period of neglect, interest in transfer has been revived in the wake of the new millennium, which has brought many new interesting topics, such as reverse transfer, transfer in discourse, interaction of three or more languages and CLI on conceptual representations, into highlight. (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 13-14). A modern successor to Odlin's (1989) publication is provided by Jarvis and Pavlenko *Crosslinguistic Influence in Language and Cognition* (2007/2010), which offers a broad overview on the recent developments of transfer research in the field of psycholinguistics.

As illustrated above, the views on the role of transfer in language learning have shifted back and forth during the past decades. Regardless of numerous studies conducted in the field, much is still to be investigated before full comprehension of transfer can be acquired (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 8). There still exist differing views on when, where, in what form and to what extent L1 influences learners' L2 knowledge and use (Jarvis 2000: 246). The differing views in the field also show in the varied use of terminology, which is the issue discussed in the next section.

# 2.2 Defining transfer and its sub-types

In this section, I will present the varied terminology that is used in transfer research, discuss the problems caused by the ambiguity of the terms and point out some difficulties in establishing a firm definition for the complex phenomenon in question. The changes in the use of terminology and how transfer has been defined reflect also the overall development of the views in the field, which is outlined in the previous sections. The discussion below further works as a motivation for the terminological choices made in the present study and

suggests which definition best captures the scope of transfer as it is approached in this thesis.

#### 2.2.1 Problems in defining transfer

Since 1980's, the term transfer has been criticized due to its behaviouristic connotations (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 3). As Odlin (1989: 25) points out, contrary to the behaviouristic notion, CLI is not "simply a consequence of habit formation". The term transfer suggests that something is transferred directly from one language to another, but as the research shows, in reality transfer processes are much more complicated and the effects on the language production and reception can be very subtle and thus difficult to detect. Despite the misleading quality of the term, Odlin (1989) finds it likely that the term transfer will be used in the future as well, since it has already persisted over a hundred years having been used as early as in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Withney (1881, as reported in Odlin 1989), long before the theories of habit formation were established.

Odlin (1989: 26) further states that another widely used term dating from the behaviouristic era is **interference**, which refers to the negative effects of transfer. Negative transfer refers to CLI that somehow inhibits or interfers with learning another language. That is contrary to positive transfer, which is defined by Odlin (Odlin 2003: 438) as facilitative influence of similarities between the source language and the target language in language learning. As the knowledge of positive cross-linguistic influences has increased since the publication of Odlin's (1989) book, interference seems to have become less and less employed term in the field.

In the mid-1980's, Kellerman and Sharwood-Smith introduced the term cross-linguistic influence (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 3), which has been since preferred as a theory neutral term for transfer. According to Sharwood Smith and Kellerman (1986: 1), the term cross-linguistic influence (CLI) reflects the idea of a broader concept than mere transfer as it encompasses such phenomena as avoidance<sup>2</sup>, borrowing and L2-related aspects of language

Avoid using structures that are very different from their counterparts in the learner's L1 (Odlin 1989: 37)

loss. However, some scholars regard even the term cross-linguistic influences misleading (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 4) because it partly conflicts with Cook's (2003) notion of multicompetence, which suggests that there are no separate language competences for different languages in an individual's mind but rather one integrated supersystem (Cook 2003: 2). Nevertheless, both transfer and cross-linguistic influence are still commonly distributed terms in the research literature and, although being well aware of the subtle difference in the associative meanings of the term, for practical reasons I have chosen to use these two terms interchangeably in the present study.

Jarvis (2000: 249) further states that the lack of a well-established definition of transfer might be one of the main issues causing confusion and inconsistencies in the research literature (see also Dechert 2006: 4). It is not even clear whether transfer should be viewed as a process, a constraint, a strategy or an outcome of a shared underlying conceptual system of L1 and IL (ibid.). Below, I review some definitions suggested in the literature.

Odlin (1989: 27) provides the following definition:

Transfer is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired.

Jarvis (2000: 250) claims this definition to be the most cited working definition of transfer. However, there are some problems also with this definition. First of all, it excludes **reverse transfer**, that is, transfer from a language that is acquired later than the target language. However, these days, reverse transfer is a widely acknowledged phenomenon and should, thus, be considered in the definition that attempts to describe the whole scope of transfer. Second of all, Odlin (2003:436) himself criticizes his definition of lacking information about what transfer actually involves, in other words, what is meant by the word influence. Jarvis (2000: 252) further points out that the above definition does not refer to how transfer is identified and, consequently, he proposes a new working definition that approaches the phenomenon from the point of view of methodological requirements:

L1 influence refers to any instance of learner data where a statistically significant correlation (or probability-based relation) is shown to exist between some feature of learners' IL [interlanguage]<sup>3</sup> performance and their L1 background. (Jarvis 200: 252)

If interpreted literally, the above definition concerns only L1 influence. However, as current literature points out, CLI can originate basically from any other language of which the learner has some knowledge. Nonetheless, with a slight modification, Jarvis's definition is easily adaptable to cover influences also from other source languages, should the term L1 be substituted by L2 (or L3 etc.) according to what the investigated source language is.

Due to the qualitative nature of the present study, statistical correlation cannot be established from the data and, thus, Jarvis's definition cannot be strictly applied here. The approach to transfer in this study is thus based on Odlin's (1989) definition, with the difference that also reverse transfer is considered. As far as the quality of transfer is concerned, the terms positive transfer and negative transfer are used in this study, rather than the term interference, which is easily associated to behaviouristic views on transfer. As there are multiple possible sources and targets for transfer, further terminology to distinguish different types of interactional relations between the learner's languages has been developed. Below, I will introduce the terminology that is used to describe subtypes of transfer based on its direction.

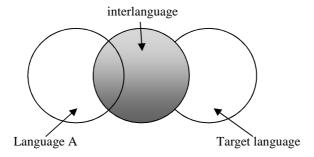
# 2.2.2 Different directions of transfer and interlanguage

As research has shown, transfer is not simply just influence from L1 to L2, and thus a variety of terms has been created to describe the interactional relations between a learner's languages. The term **source language** (**SL**) is used to refer generally to any language from which the transfer originates, whereas the language in the use or knowledge of which the source language has an influence on is called the **target language** (**TL**), **or recipient language**. Most often it is assumed that SL is a language that is learned prior to TL and that kind of transfer is referred to as **forward transfer** (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 12), which contrasts with reverse transfer. Forward transfer and reverse transfer are most often used to refer to transfer that involves L1, whether as the source language or the target language,

See p. 15-16 for a definition of interlanguage

whereas transfer between non-native languages is reffered to as **lateral transfer** (e.g. Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 21-22) or **interlanguage transfer** (e.g. De Angelis and Selinker 2001: 43). As the term interlanguage (which is defined in the next chapter) is a central term used by Dewaele (1998), whose study is one of the main sources of information that the hypotheses of the present study are based on, the term interlanguage transfer, rather than lateral transfer, is preferred in this study to maintain theoretical consistency.

The term **interlanguage** was introduced in the 1970's, when the learner language became considered as "a system in development, and not as an erroneous form of TL" (Martin and Alanen 2001: 34). As Cook (2003: 2) points out, interlanguage has become a standard term used to refer to a speaker's knowledge of a second language. The term is used to distinguish the language knowledge of a native speaker from that of a second or foreign language speaker, since the two are considered significantly different (Odlin 2003: 438). Interlanguage can be also seen as a special type of dialect, as stated by Corder (1981: 14), who also introduces the term 'transitional dialect' to emphasise the instability of such a learner dialect (Corder 1981:18). The nature of interlanguage as being something in between the source language and the target language, yet a language variety on its own, is illustrated in Figure 1, which is taken from Corder (1981: 17).



**Figure 1 (Corder 981:71)** 

Figure 1 clearly illustrates the term interlanguage as referring to not just a partial knowledge of the target language, as the learner language might be perceived, but a separate entity that includes elements from both the target language and the source

language (Language A). In addition to this, interlanguage is formed of elements that are not, per se, part neither of the target language nor of the source language.

So far in this paper, transfer has been discussed as a factor influencing language knowledge and use as a whole. However, it would be negligent to assume that transfer works similarly in all the areas of language learning and use. Thus, in addition to the direction of transfer, it should always be specified which linguistic sub-system is the target of transfer. As mentioned above, the present study focuses on transfer as it occurs in lexis and thus the next chapter is devoted to that particular area of language.

# 3 LEXICAL TRANSFER

Vocabulary is a favourable subject for studying foreign language transfer in particular since, as De Angelis (2007: 41) states, "Non-native influence is particularly visible in the area of lexis, where transfer of non-target information are mostly overt and therefore easily recognizable". This claim is supported, in the results of Poulisse's (1999) study on slips of the tongue, that is performance errors due to language processing problems, in L2 use. In her data, the majority of slips by adult L2 learners were identified as lexical slips (Poulisse 1999: 117). However, in order to discuss lexical transfer, a definition is needed for what vocabulary knowledge is. Therefore, I begin this chapter by discussing how vocabulary knowledge has been defined in literature and what kind of factors lexical knowledge consists of. After that, I will illustrate how transfer can manifest itself on the different levels of vocabulary knowledge, drawing mainly from lexical transfer research conducted in Finnish settings by Meriläinen (2010) and Ringbom (1987, 2001, 2007).

# 3.1 Vocabulary knowledge

As stated above, in order to understand the scope of the different types of transfer that may occur in vocabulary processing, one has to define first what vocabulary knowledge entails. Ringbom (1987:36) points out that, even though knowing a word may appear simply as an absolute state - meaning that one either knows a certain word or not - vocabulary

knowledge consists of many different dimensions and on each dimension the knowledge ranges on a continuum from no knowledge to full knowledge, which is mostly a hypothetical state. Ringbom (ibid) defines vocabulary knowledge consisting of six dimensions, which are presented in Figure 2.

Jarvis and Pavlenko (2010: 73) provide closer definitions to the dimensions introduced by Ringbom. According to them, the first dimension, accessibility, refers to the language user's ability to recognize an item and retrieve it from the memory, whereas morphophonological knowledge means knowledge the spelling and pronunciation of a word in its various forms. The third dimension, syntax, includes the knowledge of the word's grammatical class and its syntactic constraints. (ibid.) Including syntax in vocabulary knowledge might appear confusing since vocabulary and syntax are often contrasted. However, syntactic knowledge is tightly connected to lexical knowledge and keeping these two strictly separate is artificial. The problems in defining the border between syntactic transfer and syntactic aspects of lexical transfer will be discussed in section 3.2.3.

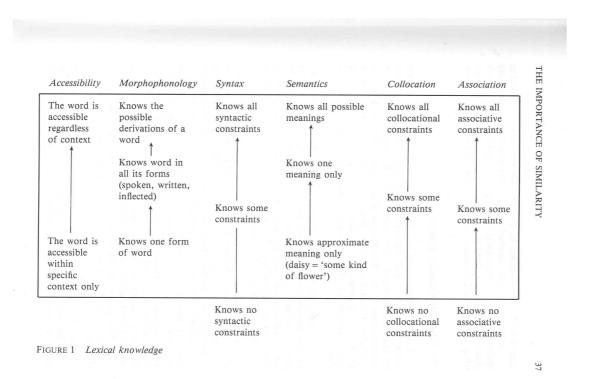


Figure 2. Six dimensions of lexical knowledge. (Ringbom, 1987:37).

Jarvis and Pavlenko (ibid.) describe the fourth dimension, semantic knowledge, simply as the knowledge of the word's meaning(s), whereas collocation and association refer to contextual knowledge and may be regarded as more advanced aspects of vocabulary. More exactly, knowledge of the word's collocation refers to knowledge about which other words the item typically co-occurs with, whereas association refers to the words and items with which the words is associated but does not have a collocational link. Richards (1976, as cited in Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 73) adds yet another dimension to the list, that is, awareness of the formality of the word as well as the register in which it is conventionally used and how frequently. However, as focusing on elementary level learners, who have not yet gained knowledge about the degree of formality of vocabulary items, this dimension is not of relevance in the present study.

According to Jarvis (2009), these six (or seven, if Richards' definition is included) categories can be placed into two main levels of vocabulary knowledge: lemmas and lexemes. These two terms were originally used in lexicography and then associated with mental lexicon by Kempen and Huijbers (1983) and Kempen and Hoejkamp (1987) (as quoted in Jarvis 2009: 100). The lexemic level of word knowledge is the knowledge of the words' formal properties, that is, knowledge about the spelling and pronunciation of the words' inflectional forms (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 82). Lexemes can be, thus, considered as the surface level of vocabulary knowledge. The second level of word knowledge is lemmatic knowledge. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2010: 82) describe lemmas as abstractions underlying lexemes. A lemma carries the semantic and syntactic properties of the word. Semantic properties include the associations of the lemma with concepts as well as with other lemmas (Jarvis 2009: 102), whereas syntactic properties include information about the grammatical class, subcategorization frame and collocational as well as syntactic constraints (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2010: 82). For example, go, goes, going, went and gone are lexemes, whereas [GO] is the underlying lemma (ibid). Jarvis (2009: 100-101) points out that it is important to further distinguish both lexemes and lemmas from mental concepts, even though research has often failed to keep semantic transfer (transfer on the lemmatic level) and conceptual transfer (transfer on the conceptual level) separate. Whereas lemmas consist of linguistic knowledge, concepts are mental images, schemas and scripts

on the level of thought and experimental knowledge (ibid.). As this thesis focuses on linguistic transfer, that is transfer in the level of lemmas and lexemes, further discussion on conceptual knowledge is not of relevance at this point.

Another model for categorizing lexical knowledge is presented by Nation (2001), who describes vocabulary knowledge as consisting of the following three aspects: word form, word meaning and word use. These three categories consist of further sub-categories, which are presented in Table 1. Nation (2001) also emphasises the distinction between receptive and productive knowledge and, in Table 1, each sub-category of lexical knowledge is presented from both the receptive and the productive aspect.

Table 1 What is involved in knowing a word (Nation 2000: 27)

Form	spoken	R	What does the word sound like?	
	written		How is the word pronounced?	
			What does the word look like?	
		P	How is the word written and spelled?	
word parts		R	What parts are recognisable in this word?	
		P	What word parts are needed to express the meaning?	
Meaning form and meaning R What meaning does this word f		What meaning does this word form signal?		
			What word form can be used to express this meaning?	
concept and referents associations		R	What is included in the concept?	
		P	What items can the concept refer to?	
		R	What other words does this make us think of?	
		P	What other words could we use instead of this one?	
Use	grammatical	R	In what patterns does the word occur?	
functions collocations		P	In what patterns must we use this word?	
		R	What words or types of words occur with this one?	
		P	What words or types of words must we use with this one?	
	constraints on use (register, frequency)	R	Where, when, and how often would we expect to meet this word?	
rrequency)		P	Where, when, and how often can we use this word?	

R = receptive knowledge, P = productive knowledge

The three main categories suggested by Nation (2001) align rather well with Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2010) distinction of lexemic and lemmatic knowledge, the knowledge of word

form corresponding to the lexemic knowledge and knowledge of word meaning and word use comprising what is defined as lemmatic knowledge. In the present study, I prefer to apply the terms by Nation (2001), because, as Jarvis (2009:101) points out, even though the distinction between lemmas and lexemes is very useful, in the literature the definitions of the terms lemma and lexeme have not been completely consistent. Consequently, the distinction into lemmas and lexems more ambiguous than Nation's categories: form meaning and use. Furthermore, Meriläinen (2010) and Ringbom (2001) use similar terminology to that of Nation; Meriläinen using the exact terms and Ringbom (2001) referring to "transfer of form" and "transfer in meaning". Thus, using Nation's terminology in the present study is an attempt to maintain terminological consistency in the Finnish context.

How the categories of lexical knowledge are defined reflects also on what types of lexical transfer can be identified. Next, I will introduce categories of lexical transfer considered in this study, which follow the lines of lexical knowledge categories as defined by Nation (2001).

# 3.2. Types of lexical transfer

In this section, I will discuss how transfer may manifest itself in the different areas of vocabulary knowledge defined above and how the different types of transfer can be labelled. The categorisation used in this study is mainly applied from Meriläinen (2010), who examined lexical and syntactic transfer in written production of Finnish upper secondary school students. She classified the lexical transfer occurrences in her data into Nation's (2001) categories (word form, word meaning and word use) and further into subcategories. The sub-categories are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2 Sub-categories of lexical transfer in Meriläinen 2010.

transfer in word form	transfer in word meaning	transfer in word meaning
substitution	loan translations	collocations
relexification	semantic extensions	functional transfer
orthographic transfer		
phonetic transfer		
morphological transfer		

Under the title word form she defines such forms of CLI as substitution, relexification, orthographic transfer, phonetic transfer and morphological transfer. As transfer in word meaning, she defines loan translations and semantic extensions. In the third category, that is transfer in word use, she specifies two sub-categories: collocations and functional transfer. (Meriläinen 2010). Meriläinen (2010: 69) points out that these sub-categories are mostly data-induced and do not (and are not even intended to) cover thoroughly all the aspects of vocabulary knowledge. These sub-categories by Meriläinen's (2010) bear resemblance to those of Ringbom (1987), which are also referred to in this chapter. Both studies, Meriläinen (2010) and Ringbom (1987), serve as a frame for categorization of the lexical transfer in the analysis of the current data, but also the data-driven nature of the analysis is taken into consideration.

In the following three sub-chapters, I will introduce more closely the sub-categories of lexical transfer and provide some concrete examples on each type of transfer. Meriläinen's (2010) study focuses on transfer from L1 to L2, which shows in her definitions and thus she refers to the source language as L1. However, in order to make the definitions applicable to L3 settings, I use the term source language (SL) instead, to refer to any language that is known to the learner in addition to the target language (TL), which can be L1, L2, or, in case of reverse transfer, L3.

#### 3.2.1 Transfer in word forms

Perhaps the most easily identifiable form of lexical transfer is **substitution**, which, according to Meriläinen (2010: 70), refers to occurrences where target language word is substituted with a word from another language. Ringbom (1987, 2001, 2007) refers to the same phenomenon as borrowing or complete language shifts; whereas a term code-mixing, adopted from language contact studies, is used e.g. in Meriläinen (2006, as cited in Meriläinen 2010: 70). However, as Meriläinen (ibid.) points out, the term substitution is more specific to SLA context and thus preferable here. Substitution is a somewhat ambiguous phenomenon in the sense that it cannot be defined absolutely as transfer. Ringbom (1983, 1987), for example, distinguishes borrowings, or complete language shifts, from other type of lexical transfer and regards these two as separate sub-categories of what he calls "lexixal influence". In Ringbom's (1987: 122) data most of the complete language shifts from Swedish to English were high-frequency words such as connectors and adverbs or low-frequency words of foreign origins. As one reason for complete language shift in the use of connectors, Ringbom (1987: 122) suggests that these words probably get less close attention in the production process.

Second category by Meriläinen (2010:71) is **relexification**, which resembles substitution in the sense that an SL form is integrated into TL but, unlike in the case of substitution, the SL word is modified to look more like a TL item. To be used as a source for relexifications, a word has to bear already some resemblance to the target language in the learner's mind (ibid.). Meriläinen (2010:71) provides a couple of Finnish-based examples on relexification in the production of English: *undulate* (pro *budgrerigar*, Fin. *undulaatti*) and *varan* (pro *monitor*, Fin. *varaani*). These are Finnish words of foreign origins and, due to their foreign tone, they are potential source items for relexification. Relexifications may be also based on analogies, such as Swedish/English word pairs *rida/ride*, *glida/glide* → *sprida/\*spride* (=*spread*) (Ringbom 1987: 123).

According to Meriläinen (2006, as cited in Meriläinen 2010: 70-71), in the English production of Finnish-speaking upper secondary school students, substitution and

relexification based on L1 are rare due to the fact that Finnish and English vocabulary bear very little formal similarities (see also Ringbom 1987, 2007). In Meriläinen's (2006, as cited in Meriläinen 2010) data, substitution and relexification from Finnish to English occurred mostly in words that are foreign loans in Finnish, which supports the belief that these two types of transfer occur more often between formally similar items. A similar category to relexifications is that of hybrids, which Ringbom (1987: 123) defines as "forms consisting of morphemes from different languages". More exactly, in the case of hybrids, a source language form is modified to imitate a target language item by adding an actual target language morpheme to it. Ringbom (1987: 123) provides examples of Swedish/English hybrids, such as *I've noticed that I was much pigger after the walking out* (Sw. *pigg = refreshed, fresh, alert*).

The third type of formal transfer, **orthographic transfer**, refers to the influence of source language spelling conventions on the TL spelling (Meriläinen 2010: 71). This type of transfer is obviously exclusive to written production. According to Meriläinen's (2006, as cited in Meriläinen 2010: 71) data, orthographic transfer is common for Finnish learners of English, transfer-induced orthographic errors being especially common in compound words, in the use of capital letters and in the replacement of certain English letters with a typical Finnish equivalent. For example, a Finnish learner could write *kat* instead of *cat*, since both the letters represent the same sound and *c* is not an original Finnish alphabet, or *english* instead of *English*, since, in Finnish, the names of languages and nationalities are not written with a capital initial as in English.

Another transfer category by Meriläinen (2010: 73) that is similar to orthographic transfer is **phonetic transfer**, which also results in erroneous spelling, but, unlike orthographic transfer, originates from phonetic differences between SL and TL. According to Meriläinen (2010: 73), one feature of English that causes difficulties for Finnish learners is the varying stress patterns, which cause deviant pronunciation and sometimes influences also the written production. Finnish learners have sometimes difficulties, for example, in perceiving unstressed syllables and may thus misspell *ashamed* as *shamed* or *increasing* as *creasing*. Another phonetic feature that Finnish learners have difficulties processing is making the distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds, since in Finnish there is no phonological

opposition between the two. As voiced plosives occur only in Finnish loan words of foreign origins, Finnish learners tend to replace b, d and g with their voiceless counterparts (e.g.  $hobby \Rightarrow hoppy$ ). (ibid.) However, it is worth noting, as Meriläinen (2010: 73-74) points out, that due to irregular sound-symbol correspondence of English, spelling errors of intralingual origins are also common in English and thus the origins of the errors should be analysed carefully. Ringbom (1987:134), as well as Jarvis and Pavlenko (2010), view orthography and phonology as separate from lexical transfer, which illustrates how the definitions of transfer categories vary drastically between studies. I have decided to follow Meriläinen's convention, while I consider orthography and spelling as integral parts of lexical knowledge (see Table 1 on the areas of vocabulary knowledge).

Yet another type of transfer that Meriläinen (2010: 74) includes into the category of word form is **morphological transfer**, which can be defined in its broadest sense as "transfer of L1 morphemes into the L2". Morphological transfer has been mostly considered very rare or even non-existent, but more recent research has supported the idea of transferability of morphemes from one language to another (ibid). Meriläinen (2010) gives examples only on grammatical morphemes being transferred such as erroneously adding the plural ending -s to the English word *furniture*, the Finnish equivalent of which takes a plural ending. However, morphological transfer can be manifold, such as **blends**. Ringbom (1987: 123-124) defines blends as occurrences where a source language morpheme is inserted into a target language form, for example *clothers* (Swedish *kläder* = *clothes*) (cf. hybrids, in which a target language morpheme is inserted into a source language item). Ringbom (1987) does not define such a category as morphological transfer, but simply discusses blends as a category of its own under the broad category of lexical transfer. However, as blends concern using SL morphemes in TL, I consider justifiable to combine blends with the general category of morphological transfer.

All in all, morphological transfer is a somewhat challenging category to define since it cannot be regarded as wholly integrated into either lexical or syntactic transfer, but falls somewhere in between. Thus, for example Jarvis and Pavlenko (2010), treat morphological transfer as a separate category that does not belong to either lexical or syntactic transfer. In contrast, Meriläinen (2010) claims that certain occurrences of morphological transfer can

be labelled as lexical transfer, whereas some other instances of morphological transfer are more related to syntax than lexicon. According to that view, for example, adding plural ending into words that do not have a plural form (e.g. \*furnitures) counts as lexical error. The difference between lexical and syntactic errors in morphology will be further discussed in the analysis section of this thesis.

#### 3.2.2 Transfer in word meanings

Meriläinen (2010) names two subcategories under the title word meaning: **loan translations** and **semantic extensions**. Loan translations are defined by Ringbom (1987: 117) as "semantic properties of one item transferred on a combination of lexical items". Loan translations are created when the learner assumes that SL and TL share a similar semantic structure and she or he invents an IL phrase or compound based on a pattern of SL word combination (Ringbom 1987: 115). An example of a loan translation from Finnish to English would be *rain's shade* (pro *umbrella*, Fi. *sateenvarjo*, *sateen* = *rain's*, *varjo* = *shade*). There also exist true loan translations from one language to another and in those cases lexical transfer can produce positive results, but that kind of positive transfer is rather impossible to identify simply by observing learner products (Ringbom 1987: 115).

Semantic extension refers to an instance where the learner has extended the meaning of an L2 item based on the semantic range of its SL equivalent (Ringbom 1987: 116). A classic example, presented by Ringbom, is the sentence *He bit himself in the language*, where the use of the word *language* is influenced by the semantics of the Finnish *kieli*, which means both *language* and *tongue*. Ringbom's (1978a, as in Ringbom 1987:118) examined compositions produced by Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns. His results strongly suggest that loan translations and semantic extensions are almost exclusively based on L1 and not on another FL, even though the latter one would be more closely related to the target language. This is contrary to transfer in word forms, where the factor defining SL seems to be the formal similarities between SL and TL, rather than the L1 or L2 status of the SL (Ringbom 1987: 118).

Semantic transfer is also very common in the case of "false friends", that is a pair of formally similar SL and TL items that, despite of their resemblance in form, bear completely or partially differing meanings (Jarvis 2009: 107). Ringbom (1987: 124) points out that in his data of Finnish learners "The largest number of errors due to Swedish influence are "false friends", where a Swedish word and an English word have formal similarities, which have caused confusion in the learner's mind." False friends cause errors in the learner's language use when both the SL and TL forms are activated in the learners mind and the meaning is faultily drawn from SL (ibid.).

According to Ringbom (1987:124, see also Odlin 1989: 79 and Jarvis 2009: 107), there are different types of false friends, or more exactly, different degrees of fallacy. Some false friends are totally different in meaning, others are similar but not identical in meaning and yet some others are equivalent in a certain context but not in the context in question (ibid). Even true cognates may bear different grammatical restrictions in the two languages. For example, French verb *se retirer* is a reflexive verb i.e. takes a reflexive pronoun, whereas the English equivalent *to retire* is not. This may easily lead a French speaker to produce erroneous English construction *retire themselves*. (Odlin 1989: 79). Even though the above example is an error due to false friends, because it concerns the grammatical constraints of the word, it could also be placed into the category of transfer in word use, which is the topic of the next section.

#### 3.2.3 Transfer in word use

The third main category of lexical transfer is transfer in word use. The knowledge of word use, as defined by Nation (2001: 56), consists of knowing the grammatical functions of a word, its collocations and constraints for its use. In that sense, this aspect of vocabulary knowledge is close to syntax, and transfer in this area is only subtly different to syntactic transfer and partly overlapping. As examples of this transfer type, Meriläinen (2010) defines two sub-categories: incorrect use of **collocations** and **functional transfer**.

As an example of incorrect use of collocation in English based on Finnish, Meriläinen (2010: 76) provides the following sentence: *Most people have made a living to bring up* 

animals. (Fin. kasvattaa = grow, bring up, rear). In this case, a Finnish learner has chosen a translation for the Finnish word that is correct per se but not suitable in the context. By functional transfer Meriläinen (2010: 76) means extending the grammatical conventions and constraints of the source language into the target language in the use of function words. One example of functional transfer, the erroneous use of reflexive pronoun with a verb, was presented in the previous chapter. Another example by Meriläinen is the use of the word *some* as an indefinite article, which reflects the use of the Finnish word joku (= some) functioning as an indefinite article in spoken language. In Meriläinen's (2006) data, functional transfer was the most frequent type of lexical transfer (Meriläinen 2010: 76). Ringbom (1987), on the other hand, do not recognise transfer in language use as a lexical transfer category of its own.

It is worth bearing in mind that, as Ringbom (1987: 116) states, categories for lexical influence are always somewhat artificial; the distinction between categories is not absolute and sharp, but they often overlap to an extent. As seen from above, different scholars categorize transfer types in slightly different ways and also the terms used for each type are varied, which may be a source of confusion when attempting to grasp an overall picture of lexical transfer. For most parts, the present study follows the definitions by Meriläinen (2010). The labelling of the transfer categories is further motivated in the analysis section.

# 4 CROSS-LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE IN L3 ACQUISITION

In this chapter, I will point out the particularities of transfer research in the context of third language acquisition (TLA), and then discuss various factors that may interact with transfer and affect the quality and quantity of transfer in learner's products.

As Cenoz (2001: 8) points out, the transfer research in third language acquisition (TLA) is possibly more complex than in second language acquisition (SLA), since second language users have only two systems that can influence each other (L1  $\leftrightarrow$  L2) whereas in third language acquisition there are two bi-directional relationships the influence of which has to be taken into consideration (L1  $\leftrightarrow$  L3, L2  $\leftrightarrow$  L3). Out of these two relationships, Hammarberg (2001: 37) emphasizes the L2  $\rightarrow$  L3 relationship, stating that knowledge of

previously learned L2s can have a considerable influence on L3<sup>4</sup>. All in all, as learning multiple languages is becoming more and more common in the globalised world, it has become apparent that cross-linguistic influence cannot be regarded as merely native language influence. According to De Angelis (2007:19), non-native languages have been considered as a potential source for transfer from 1960's onwards. However, research on cross-linguistic influence on third language acquisition is still in its infancy (Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner 2001: 2) and studies on non-native language influence are scarce compared to those on native language influence (De Angelis 2007: 20).

There are many factors in L3 processing that may affect what kind of influence is drawn from where, i.e. what is the source language of transfer. De Angelis (2007: 21) lists the following: language distance, target language proficiency and source language proficiency, recency of use, length of residence in and exposure to a non-native language environment, order of acquisition and formality of context. Furthermore, among these factors there are linguistic distance (which has been in the focus in several studies, e.g. Ringbom 1987, 2007), proficiency level, L2 status, recency, context and age. As well as in the field of SLA, in TLA the research has focused more on forward transfer, but also L3 influence in L2 and L1 is gaining more interest (Cenoz & al. 2001: 2). In the present study, the following factors are of central interest: linguistic distance and L2 status/order of acquisition. Also age and proficiency level are considered in comparison to similar studies on more advanced learners and the possible differences in the results are discussed in this respect. Below, each of the central factors is discussed in more detail.

#### 4.1 Linguistic distance/similarity

In both transfer from L1 and interlanguage transfer, cross-linguistic similarities are probably the most obvious factor affecting transferability of certain linguistic items or features. The early transfer studies focused mostly on differences rather than similarities and how they affect language learning (cf. behaviourist view on interference). However, Ringbom (2007: 3) emphasizes that actually the linguistic similarities are more important in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hammarberg uses the term L3 to refer to the currently learned TL, as opposed to priorly learned foreign languages (L2s).

the learning processes than differences, because a learner automatically looks for similarities rather than differences between the new and previous knowledge. Ringbom (1987: 42) further argues that, in the applied linguistics research, it is the **perceived similarities** i.e. what learners perceive similar, rather than linguistically analyzed similarities/differences which should be focused on. Kellerman refers to the perceived language distance between SL and TL forms or structures with the term psychotypology (De Angelis 2005: 382). Also the terms language distance and typological proximity have been used (ibid.). Ringbom (2001: 7-8) points out that perceived linguistic similarity is not necessarily symmetrical, that is, language x can be more easily understood by the speakers of language y than language y is understood by the speakers of x. Perceived similarities also show individual variation and are thus difficult to define. To some extent, the perceived similarity aligns with linguistic relatedness, that is, genetically close languages are likely to be perceived similar. However, not too bold assumptions should be made based on that. (ibid.) Totally unrelated languages as well can be perceived similar to each other, which is the case of Finnish and Swahili. (Ringbom 2007: 79)

Ringbom (2007) defines three types of similarity relationships between linguistic items: similarity, contrast and zero relationship. **Similarity relationship** means that an item or a pattern in TL is perceived functionally or formally similar to an SL item or pattern (Ringbom 2007: 5). A **contrast relationship** exists between SL and TL items which the learner perceives significantly different from each other, but which share a similar underlying system. (Ringbom 2007: 5). A **zero relationship**, on the contrary, means that even though there are some linguistic universals between languages, the learner can perceive only a little or no links between the two languages. Learner's L1 might completely lack a concept which exists in TL. For example, a speaker of an Indo-European language learning Chinese may find it difficult, in the early stages of learning, to make any connections between these two different languages. (Ringbom 2007: 6-7).

Cenoz (2001) conducted a study on the role of linguistic distance, L2 status and age in L3 transfer. He compared three different age groups of Basque L1 speakers (with Spanish as L2) and Spanish L1 speakers (with Basque as L2), who all had been learning L3 English approximately an equal period of time. One central finding of the study was that all three

age groups transferred more from Spanish, which is an Indo-European language like English, than from the non-Indo-European Basque, regardless of which one was the speakers' L1. Cenoz's (2001:15) results also suggest that Spanish L1 speakers – even though still drawing more from Spanish – rely more on Basque than L1 speakers of Basque or Basque + Spanish do. This supports the idea of L2 status having an effect on the choice of source language (see section 4.2 below). It seems, however, that the effect of L2 status, at least in that study, were weaker than that of perceived linguistic distance (Cenoz 2001: 18).

# 4.2 Order of acquisition and L2 status

Order of acquisition is one of the central issues in third language transfer and in the present study. It refers to the order in which learners' multiple languages are learner; which of the foreign languages was learned first and which one later. Dewaele (1998) investigated Dutch university students' lexical inventions in L2 and L3 French interlanguage. The three languages involved in the study were Dutch (L1 of all the subjects), English and French. 32 out of 39 subjects had French as an L2 and remaining 7 had French as an L3. The substantial disparity between the sizes of the subject groups is worth noting, because it may justify questioning of the generalizability of the results. Dewaele (ibid.) categorized the non-target-like lexemes in an oral data produced by the learners according to their source (intralingual vs. interlingual, L1 vs. L2/L3) and compared the two groups, that is L2 learners and L3 learners, with each other. Dewaele's (1998: 486) results suggest that French L2 speakers produce more lexical inventions of intralingual origins whereas French L3 speakers rely more on interlingual strategies. Furthermore, as far as the interlingual strategies are concerned, French L2 speakers relied more on their L1 (Dutch) than L3 English, whereas French L3 speakers relied more on their L2 (English). All in all, considering that the subjects of his study were all approximately in the same proficiency level, the results of Dewaele (1998) clearly suggest that the order of acquisition (OoA) plays a role in transfer in a multilingual context.

Dewaele (1998: 487-488) suggests that among the subjects the selected language (i.e. target language = French) was more active in L2 speakers' mind than in L3 speakers. As far as

the active languages are concerned, when processing French, L2 speakers had a higher level of activation for L1 (Dutch) whereas L3 speakers' L2 (English) was more active. The language that is more active is consequently a more likely source for transfer. In Dewaele's study all three languages were Indo-European languages all rather equally close to each other, which suppresses the effects of linguistic distance on the choice of the source language. An question thus remains: would the influence of cross-linguistic similarity overpower the influence of OoA or the other way round?

Williams and Hammarbeg (1998) investigated both the linguistic distance and L2 status. They conducted a case-study on cross-linguistic influence in the speech production of a multilingual speaker. Based on Williams and Hammarberg's (1998) study, Hammarberg (2001) concludes that L1 and L2 seem to be both activated in L3 processing, but they have different roles. Hammarberg suggests that L2 has a strong supplier role when constructing new words in L3, whereas L1 works as an instrumental language used in pragmatically functional language shifts, such as asking help from the interlocutor with an unfamiliar target language word. This coincides with Dewaele's (1998) results. Taking into consideration the effects of typology, recency of use, L2 status and proficiency as factors that may affect which language is used in which role in L3 production, in Williams and Hammarberg's (1998) case study the L2 status was apparently the decisive factor resulting in the usage of L2 in the supplier role (i.e. as a source language). It is, however, worth noting that the subject of the study knows more than one L2 but only one of them strongly dominates as a supplier language (Hammarberg 2001: 38), which suggest that there are also other influential factors that need closer investigation.

# 4.3 Age and proficiency

Proficiency is yet another central factor affecting transfer and has also been discussed in many studies. It may seem logical to assume that transfer occurs more in the early stages of learning, as in a learning process the learner links new knowledge to the already existing knowledge and, as Ringbom (1987: 60-61) points out, at that point there is not much intralinguistic knowledge to rely on, but previous linguistic knowledge consists almost exclusively of L1 knowledge (or knowledge of other previously learned languages). This

hypothesis is supported for example by Poulisse's (1999) study, which suggest that lower proficiency level learners make more slips of the tongue in their L2 than higher proficiency level learners. However, as Jarvis (2000: 246) points out, there are conflicting results on how the L2 proficiency affects the manifestation of transfer, some studies suggesting that the amount of transfer decreases when target language proficiency increases, whereas other studies suggest the opposite. According to some studies the increase or decrease would not be linear along with the proficiency development, but altering as the learning process proceeds. On top of that, there are also studies that suggest that the amount of transfer does not change or that it fluctuates before taking a certain course (Jarvis 2000: 246-247). Consequently, more research on the matter is required in order to draw any firm conclusions about the effects of proficiency level. It is also possible that the influence of the proficiency level on transfer is different in different areas of language, being different for example in transfer of form than in transfer of meaning. Ringbom (2001: 67) states that L2-based transfer of meaning usually requires near native-like L2 proficiency.

It is not only the L2 proficiency level that has to be taken into account but also the target language proficiency (here: L3 proficiency), even though it is less researched (De Angelis 2007: 33-34). A widely spread belief is that languages in which the speaker has low proficiency are not relevant to investigate as a source of transfer (De Angelis 2007: 35). However, De Angelis (2007: 34) argues that it is well possible that "one or two years of formal instruction [of the source language] are sufficient to affect target language production and development in some meaningful ways."

Even though the effects of proficiency are not in the focus of Cenoz's (2001) study, he does mention that the L3 proficiency level of the 9<sup>th</sup> graders and 6<sup>th</sup> graders was found higher than that of the 2<sup>nd</sup> graders. Considering that more transfer occurred in the 9<sup>th</sup> graders use of English than that of the 2<sup>nd</sup> graders, Cenoz's (2001) results contradict with some other studies that suggest that the amount of transfer would decrease when the proficiency level increases. However, Cenoz (2001) points out that the proficiency of all the subjects in his study is rather limited and maybe the amount of transfer would decrease when they reach more advanced level. Nevertheless, these results show that the effect of proficiency level is not straightforward and still needs to be studied more closely.

As far as the number of transfer occurrences is concerned, Cenoz's (2001, 13-14) results suggest that the amount of transfer increases with age. However, the differences between groups were minor. Between the age groups, there were also differences in the selection of the source language. The difference between the number of transfer occurrences from Basque and of transfer occurrences from Spanish was the most substantial among 9th graders (p.14, table 1.3). This suggests that the awareness of linguistic distance increases with age and the 9<sup>th</sup> graders can perceive linguistic distance between languages more accurately (Cenoz 2001: p.16-17). However, it is often the case (also in Cenoz's study) that higher proficiency level is related to older age, which means that separating the effects of the two is not straightforward.

Above I discussed various factors that can affect how the languages interact in learner's mind and how that manifests in their language production. Before moving on to discussing the present data, I will briefly introduce the language policy in Finnish school, which is to clarify what languages are learned, for how much and in which order in Finnish school and to illustrate how the subjects of this study represent Finnish language learners.

# 5 LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE FINNISH COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

In this chapter, I will present the language policy in the Finnish comprehensive school to the extent that is relevant to the present study. Thus, this chapter will mainly concern the language studies in grades 1-6. By providing some statistics on foreign language learning in the comprehensive school, I aim to motivate why the topic of the present study is an important issue in terms of foreign language learning and teaching in Finnish schools.

As already mentioned, pupils can study multiple foreign languages<sup>5</sup> in Finnish comprehensive school. Compulsory language studies in Finnish-speaking schools include

Here the term foreign language is used to refer to any other language than the language of education in the school in question. In some contexts, Swedish is referred to as a second language rather than a foreign

two foreign languages: A1 which is most often started in the third grade, and B1, which is commonly started in the seventh grade. In addition to these compulsory language studies, pupils can opt for two more foreign languages: A2 in the elementary school, starting in the fifth grade in most schools, and B2, the studying of which is usually started in the eighth grade. It varies from school to school which language studies are offered. (Kumpulainen 2011.)

In the 2000's the role of English in Finnish schools increased in comparison to the 1990's. According to Kumpulainen (2011), in the year 2010, the overall percentage of third grade pupils learning a foreign language was 99.2% and the percentage of learners of English was 90.5%. In year 1998, the corresponding percentages were 99.3% and 87.7%. In 2010, other A1 languages studied in schools were Finnish, (5.2%), German (1.3%), Swedish (1.0%), French (0.9%), Russian (0.2%) and others (0.1%) (Kumpulainen 2003). Very little, if any, change has occurred in those percentages since 2006. More change has happened in the numbers of pupils studying an optional foreign language, A2. In 2006, 27.3% of the fifth graders were studying an A2 language, whereas in 2010 the corresponding percentage was 25.3%. In comparison to the latter half of the 1990's, the decline in the number of students learning A2 language in the 2000's is even more drastic. (Kumpulainen 2011). In 1998, as much as 37.1% of the fifth grade pupils were learning an A2 language, which means that the number of pupils learning an additional foreign language in the elementary school has decreased by almost 12 percentage points between the years 1998 and 2010. A2 languages that were studied by fifth graders in 2010 were English (7.6%), Swedish (7.5%), German (5.5%), French (2.8%), Finnish (0.8%), Russian (0.6%), Sami (0.1%) and others (0.4%). (Kumpulainen 2003.)

To provide an overall picture of language learning in Finnish comprehensive schools, the statistics of how many languages the pupils learn altogether, not only in the elementary school, should be considered as well. In 2010, the majority of comprehensive school pupils, 79.1%, were learning two foreign languages, 18.6% were learning three foreign languages, 1.0% were learning only one foreign language, 0.6% were learning zero foreign languages

and an then again an equal percentage (0.6%) were learning four or more foreign languages (Kumpulainen 2011). These numbers indicate that most pupils learn at least two foreign languages and learning three languages is also relatively common. For this reason, I consider it important to do research on how learning multiple foreign languages influence the language learning of Finnish pupils.

#### **6 THE PRESENT STUDY**

The present study focuses on seeking answers to the following questions:

- 1. What kind of lexical transfer occurs in the written English production of Finnish elementary-level L2 and L3 learners?
- 2. How does the order of acquisition and/or cross-linguistic similarity affect the source, type and amount of cross-linguistic influences that occur in these learners' products?
- 3. How do language teachers view the role of transfer? How are these views reflected on teaching and learning?

The present study is a qualitative in its approach, focusing on a small group of subjects. It is also comparative in nature, comparing different learner groups with each other and comparing learner language samples to teachers' views. In this chapter, I will first discuss the general methodological requirements and challenges in transfer research and how they are met in the present study. Then I will introduce the data and methods used in this study.

#### 6.1 Methodological rigor and motivation of the present data

As cross-linguistic influence is a widely researched phenomenon, understandably also the range of methods in the field has varied over the years and from a single study to another. As a result, Jarvis (2000: 246-248) criticizes transfer studies of methodological

inconsistencies and states that those inconsistencies can explain the great variety of views on the nature of L1 and its interaction with other factors (such as age and proficiency). He questions if all the studies on, for example, the effects of L2 proficiency on transfer have actually been even investigating the same phenomenon (ibid). Jarvis suggests some general methodological standards that should be met when designing transfer studies in order to make the results reliable and comparable. Jarvis's contribution to the methodology in the field is significant, and the methodological framework he introduces has been since followed, for instance, in the Finnish studies by Meriläinen (2010) and Malessa (2011). Below, I will present some of the central problems in transfer research methodology as addressed by Jarvis (2000) and provide an overview on the methodological framework that he suggests.

According to Jarvis (2000: 249), there are three main components that the methodological framework should consist of: (1) a theory-neutral definition of transfer (which is already discussed above in chapter 2.2) (2) a statement of the types of evidence that must be present when arguing for or against CLI and (3) a list of outside variables to be controlled. Below, I will present the types of evidence Jarvis suggests to be of value in investigating transfer and how they have been applied in the field. After that, I will briefly refer to the outside variables and how they can, or should, be taken into account in transfer studies. Some of those variables are discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

A fundamental question when designing a study on transfer is how transfer can be identified reliably. Jarvis (2000, see also Odlin 2003) lists three possible types of evidence which are to be considered. One of them is **inter-L1-group heterogeneity**, which means comparing interlanguage (IL) performance by speakers of different L1's. According to Odlin (1989: 32) this type of evidence is of central importance. This is supported by Ard and Homburg (1992: 49) who also state that it is necessary to compare the performance of large groups with different L1's in order to verify the effects of transfer on SLA. However, on its own inter-group homogeneity is not sufficient evidence for CLI, since it can be caused by other factors as well, such as intralinguistic influence (that is influence of the target language itself) or acquisitional universals, or simply reflect the learners' limited proficiency compared to that of native speakers (Jarvis 2000: 256-257). In contrast to Odlin

(1989), Selinker (1992: 200-209, as cited in Jarvis 2000: 251) focuses on the comparison of a learner's L1 and IL performance. Jarvis (2000: 255) calls this type of evidence **L1-IL performance congruity** and considers it as the strongest type of evidence for transfer but, similarly to inter-L1-group heterogeneity, insufficient evidence on its own. When comparing learners' L1 and IL performances, L1 influence (even when present) can be obscured because of the particularities of learner language (ibid.), which, according to Bialystok and Sharwood Smith (1985:106, as quoted in Ringbom 1987:25), differs from native speakers' language in terms of representation of linguistic structures, the procedures for accessing the knowledge or both (cf. definition of interlanguage, p.13-14).

Considering that some studies have followed Odlin's (1989) emphasis and others Selinker's (1992, as reported in Jarvis 2000) approach, the contradicting study results and views on transfer are not surprising (Jarvis, 2000: 252). As already pointed out above, according to Jarvis (2000: 253), both these provide a possible measure to detect transfer. However, Jarvis (ibid.) yet adds a third type of evidence to the list, which is the similarity in L2 performance by learners who share the same L1. This **intra-group homogeneity** is rarely mentioned in the literature but is, nevertheless, implicitly present in several studies (ibid). Mere inter-group heterogeneity is not sufficient evidence either as it may obscure CLI in cases where two different L1's coincidentally produce similar IL behaviour. There might be also other background factors, e.g. education and culture, which can cause deceiving intergroup heterogeneity where actual CLI does not play a role. (ibid.)

In conclusion, Jarvis (2000: 254) claims that none of the three types of evidence is sufficient in itself to detect transfer reliably, but all the three types of evidence must be considered before an accurate and thorough picture of transfer can be created. However, requiring all three types of evidence in a single study is often unrealistic and thus Jarvis (2000: 255) argues at least two out of three evidence types should be acquired in order to claim a feature justifiably being an outcome of CLI.

When considering the types of required evidence for transfer in TLA (third language acquisition) settings, designing a reliable study becomes even more complicated as the number of variables (i.e. languages) to be controlled increases. In the present study, the

focus is on the comparison of CLI in the products of pupils who study English and French at school and of pupils who study English as their only foreign language. I further compare two groups of learners who both learn two foreign languages (English and French) but differ in terms of the order of acquisition. All in all, the data comprises of three learner groups: 1) learners of L2 English (later referred to as 'English L2 group'), 2) learners of L2 English with additional L3 French (later referred to as 'English L2 + French L3 group') and 3) learners of L3 English with French as their L2 (later referred to as 'English L3 + French L2 group'). The present study, which aims to focus on lateral transfer more than on L1 transfer, does not include comparison between different L1-groups. However, if the term L1 is replaced by a more general concept of 'prior linguistic knowledge' (including both L1 and L2), the subject groups of the present study are sufficient to provide possible evidence similar to that of inter-L1-group heterogeneity. As all the subject groups include several individual TL learners, the comparison of IL production of individuals belonging to the same 'prior linguistic knowledge' group is enabled and thus, the possible evidence of intragroup homogeneity can be acquired.

As described above, the current data is sufficient to enable both inter-group and intragroup comparison and, consequently, two out of the three types of evidence suggested by Jarvis can be drawn from this data, provided that such evidence occurs. The third type of evidence, that is intra-group congruity between learners' L1 and IL performance, cannot be directly acquired in the scope of the present study. It is also worth noting that the data acquired is relatively narrow qualitative data, which means that the learner samples as well as teachers views on transfer are analyzed more as individual cases and are intended to serve as windows to individual learners' language processes rather than as a tool to construct generalizable theories.

#### **6.2** Teacher interviews

Since CLI in the elementary stages of learning is less researched than in advanced level learners and research on similar settings and similar language combination as described above is non-existent, I considered it useful to acquire some practical background knowledge on how CLI possibly shows in L2 and L3 learning in Finnish elementary

schools, before collecting my primary data (i.e. the text samples). As Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001: 35) bring up, interview is a good method for collecting preliminary data when the topic of interest is rather unfamiliar and the researcher cannot predict what kind of answers she or he will get. Thus for the purposes of acquiring complementary data on the topic of the present study, I interviewed three teachers on their experiences in teaching English as L2 (and L3) and specifically on their views on the role of L1 and foreign language transfer in EFL (= English as a Foreign Language) learning.

The teachers who were interviewed were the English teachers of the learner groups who provided the learner data in the present study. In the case of learner group A1.a, which was a compilation of pupils from different English groups from two different schools, the participating teacher had taught only some of the pupils in the group. However, that does not affect her suitability for passing as a participant, since the interview concerned language teaching in general rather than teaching of any particular group of students.

As Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001: 36) mention, interviews can be used to formulate new hypotheses. In the present study, the interview data, together with the theoretical background, is used as a basis for forming hypotheses that are then tested by collecting the learner data. In other words, the teachers' experiences and beliefs about transfer in EFL are compared with the actual transfer occurrences in the learner data. One of the main interests of the present study is to examine whether these two different types of data show similar results on the role of L1 and L2/L3 in EFL.

### **6.2.1** Conducting the interviews

The type of interview used in this study was a semi-structured themed interview. As Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001: 47) state, there is no strict definition for this interview method, but it is a type of an interview that falls somewhere between a fully structured questionnaire and an in-depth interview. There are differing definitions for a semi-structured interview, but the general principle is that in this interview method, some elements, but not all, are predetermined. (ibid.) Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001: 47) further define a specific type of a semi-structured interview that they call a **themed interview**. The term refers to what is

characteristic to this interview type: the interview is focused on specific predetermined themes. According to Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001:48), the themed interview as a method is based on the focused interview method introduced by Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1956) and is also referred to as "the general interview guide approach" by Patton (1990:280, as quoted in Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2001:48).

In the present study, the interview guide was constructed around six themes: (1) the teacher's general view on L1 transfer, (2) the role of L1 in EFL classroom, (3) the teacher's general view on L2/L3 transfer, (4) the role of L2/L3 in EFL classroom, (5) differences between learner groups and (6) the teacher's own actions concerning cross-linguistic comparison/contrasting. A draft version of the interview guide consisting of 30 questions was piloted in April 2012. On the basis of the pilot interview and feedback, the interview guide was then reformulated. The final version of the interview guide (see Appendix 1) consists of 19 main questions and possible additional questions. Even though the actual questions were written down, their use was rather referential and the structure of the interview was aimed to be flexible, as the definition of semi-structured interview suggests. In practice, the order and the wording of the questions, as well as the use of additional questions and requests for further explanation, varied from one interview to another.

The three research interviews were conducted in April and May 2012. All the participating teachers were working in different elementary schools in Central and Eastern Finland. Their work experience as a teacher varied from 5 years to 32 years. In an ideal situation, all the participating teachers would have had experience on teaching English both as L2 and as L3, but as teaching English as L3 is relatively rare in Finnish elementary schools, that ideal was not fulfilled in this study. Two of the teachers had experience on teaching English also as L3 and the interview of the Teacher 3, who only had experience on teaching English only as L2, slightly differed from the other two interviews as the questions concerning L2 transfer and order of acquisition were left out. The teachers were sent a summary of the interview guide via e-mail a couple of days before the interview, so that they could prepare themselves for the discussion topics and reminisce about their relevant teaching experiences. The interviews were conducted in Finnish, as that was the mother tongue of all the participants as well as of the interviewer and, thus, considered to encourage natural

discussion and accurate self-expression. The interviews were recorded. The length of the interviews varied between 20 and 30 minutes.

### **6.2.2** The analysis of the interviews

The first step into the analysis of the recorded interview data was transcribing the interviews. As the present research questions are more concerned about what the teachers say about the phenomenon than about their communicational behaviour in the interview situation, the transcription was rather loose and prosodic features were mostly left unmarked. The transcription conventions used are adapted from Alanen (2006: 222), with some additional markings added for clarification. The symbols used and their explanations are presented in Appendix 2. The interview excerpts that are used as examples in the text are numbered and an English translation is provided immediately below each excerpt. The aim has been to translate the contents of the excerpts into English as precisely as possible, but some unnecessary repetition, hesitation and empty expletives have been left out from the translation.

The interview data was analysed by using a content analysis, which means that the data was categorized into themes and further into sub-themes. According to Eskola (2001, as cited in Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2004: 97) there are three different approaches to content analysis: data-driven, theory-driven and theory directive (Fi. teoriaohjaava) approach. The last one is used in the present study. In a theory directive analysis both the data-driven analysis and the underlying theories are used in combination (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2004: 99). In the data-driven approach all the themes emerge from the data, whereas in a theory-driven analysis the data is categorized according to preset themes. In a theory directive analysis, the main themes are preset but the sub-themes are defined as they emerge from the data itself. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2004: 95-97).

As the analysis proceeded, I read through the transcribed interviews and created codes to the relevant teachers' answers or parts of their answers. Codes described the contents of the interview extracts. A code could be, for example, a positive link between Finnish and English in teaching or a negative foreign language influence in vocabulary use. The data

excerpts were primarily categorized based on whether they discussed the role of L1 or the role of foreign languages, as mapping out the role of different source languages is one of the main goals of the study. Furthermore, the study seeks to discuss the role of those languages in respect of both language teaching (i.e. teachers' actions) as well as language learning. Thus, the codes include information on whether the extract concerns teaching or learning. The quality of transfer could not be predicted and thus the sub-themes that describe the type of transfer (negative vs. positive, lexical vs. syntactical) emerged from the data. Factors interacting with transfer were also themes that emerged from the data and created further data-driven sub-themes.

In the analysis section below, the interview data will be presented under headings that reflect the main themes in the interviews. The themes will be discussed through illustrative extracts from the interviews. Before presenting the interview results, I will, however, introduce the other set of data used in this study, that is learner language samples, and present the methods of collection and analysis for this primary data.

#### **6.3** Learner language samples

The primary data of this study was written samples of learner language. The data consisted of written products of 6<sup>th</sup> grade pupils (n=40) from three different learner groups in three different schools. The groups are marked in the text by codes Fr+En, En+Fr, EnOnly according to the language combination studied and the order of acquisition. Group Fr+En consisted of twelve pupils (n=12) who studied English as L3 and French as L2. At the time of the data collection, they had studied English for 2.5 years and French for 4 years. The learners in Groups En+Fr and EnOnly all studied English as L2, that is, their first foreign language at school, and had studied it for 4 years by the time of the data collection. The Groups En+Fr and EnOnly differ in the way that the learners in Group En+Fr studied also French (L3) in addition to English, whereas for most of the pupils in Group EnOnly, English was the only foreign language they studied at school. At the time of the data collection, the pupils in Group En+Fr had learned French for 2 years.

The learners filled in a form that requested information about their language background, that is, about which languages they know and use, and how much. Pupils who reported having a mother tongue other than Finnish (or English or French), or reported using some other language on a daily basis at home with their family, were excluded from the data, since extensive knowledge of some other language than those concerned in this study might have influenced what the pupils transfer and from which language. For that reason, three of the original 43 participants had to be left out of the data analysis and thus the number of the pupils in the actual data used was 40. 12 of the pupils were in Group Fr+En, 10 in Group En+Fr and 19 in Group EnOnly. One pupil in Group En+Fr was originally in Group EnOnly, but as she or he reported having learned French for 2 years (outside school), she or he was considered as a member of Group En+Fr in the analysis. The ideal would have been to exclude all the pupils who had any knowledge of any other languages than Finnish, English and French, since that would have ensured that the only possible sources for transfer had been Finnish and French. However, as many if not even most, of the pupils had some knowledge of an additional foreign language, it would have been impossible to do so. That illustrates one of the challenges in transfer research. As the language backgrounds of individuals are varied and it is common even for children to have knowledge of multiple languages, it is very difficult to limit a study to focus only on one or two specific source languages.

The data was collected via two different written production tasks to collect clinically elicited as well as experimentally elicited data. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 23) define three different types of learner language samples: 1) naturally occurring samples, 2) clinically elicited samples and 3) experimentally elicited samples. Naturally occurring samples are "produced in a real-life situation in order to satisfy some communicative and or aesthetic need" (ibid) and they are considered ideal by many SLA researchers. However, such data is often difficult to acquire, which means that clinically elicited samples and experimentally elicited samples are often used for practical reasons (Ellis and Barkhuizen, 2005: 24). Clinically elicited samples differ from naturally occurring samples in the way that they are produced specifically for a research purpose, but the focus of the task is still on message conveyance (Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005:30-31). Experimentally elicited data, on the contrary, is primarily form-orientated and attempt to elicit a pre-determined linguistic

feature (ibid.) through exercises such as elicited imitation or sentence completion (see Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005: 37-40). In the next two sections, I will describe in detail the type of elicitation tasks that were used in the present study.

# **6.3.1** Free production task

In the present study, I used mostly clinically elicited samples. The first of the two tasks, henceforth referred to as Task 1, was a free production task. To elicit learner data I attempted to design a written production task that would resemble a naturalistic language use situation as much as possible and, consequently, the language samples would imitate naturally occurring samples. In addition to the authenticity of the language use, another concern in the task design was how to elicit rich data, that is, what kind of a task would be easy enough for the target group so that they would produce relatively long texts, and yet not too simplistic so that the task would seem relevant to the pupils and be in accordance with their proficiency level. When considering the proficiency level, it is worth taking into account the heterogeneity of any learner group, and one should, thus, aim at setting a writing task that is not too difficult for anyone in the groups, but allows also more talented writers to work on their level. For practical reasons, not too long a time could be used for writing the samples, which was another reason for choosing a topic that was familiar to all the pupils and did not require too much of planning. The topic I then chose and considered meeting the aforementioned requirements was writing a letter, which I assumed to be a familiar language use situation for the target group.

To support authenticity, i.e. to imitate real-life letter writing, the instructions were relatively broad and no exact instructions on the contents of the letter were included. The written instructions provided a context and a recipient for the letter, which I also regarded adding authenticity and making the task seem more meaningful to the pupils. Possible topics, which were the writers themselves, their family and hobbies as well as life in Finland, were suggested in the instructions in order to give a starting point for writing and to stimulate pupils' imagination. In oral instruction, the pupils were encouraged to write whatever they would write in that kind of a letter in a real-life situation. When it seemed that some pupils had problems to create enough contents for their writing, I instructed them that they may

use their imagination, so that not all they write about was required to be true. This may have decreased authenticity of the written products in the way that the contents of the letters are not similar to real life letters. I was aware of this disadvantage, but after all, I considered rich data and spontaneous free production more important to the present study than authenticity of the message.

Since conveying a message is the primary function of language use in everyday life, the writing task was formulated so that the emphasis was on the message rather than on accuracy. This is also what makes the task clinically elicited rather than experimentally elicited. In order to shift the emphasis away from accuracy, participants were told that the task is not a test and their individual language skills would not be rated. In case participants asked if the accuracy and spelling were important in the letter, they were told that it is of lesser importance and they should write as they would if writing a letter in real life. However, a writing task like this, when done in formal settings (i.e. classroom), resembles an exam situation and that may cause the students to focus on accuracy and thus alienate the samples from naturally occurring language. Even though I tried to encourage a more relaxed attitude towards the task, such an effect of the sample collection situation cannot be completely eliminated. The writing task was conducted for the first group (Fr+En) without a strict time limit. The timed allowed for writing the letter was determined by observing when most pupils had finished their letter. At that point, the others were instructed to finish theirs. This way the time used for the task ended up to be approximately 15 minutes. The subsequent participant groups were then provided with approximately the same time for their writing. As a loose rule about the length of the text, the pupils were told that at least half of the space provided should be covered. I avoided setting an exact minimum for the number of sentences, since I was concerned that it may have encouraged all the participants to aim only at that minimum and, yet again, increase the formality of the task and reduce the authenticity.

# 6.3.2 Producing words for a given category

The second learner task, henceforth referred to as Task 2, was a simple vocabulary production task to be completed within a stricter time limit. The original task sheet is

presented in Appendix 5. In this task, the pupils were provided with a word category in which they should produce as many words as possible in a limited time frame (5 minutes). The category chosen was food and dishes, drinks included. This particular category was chosen since it is broad enough so that even the most proficient learners would not run out of items and since it is, to some extent, certainly a familiar category also for beginner level language learners. Too limited a set of vocabulary would have caused problems because the groups were from different schools using a different textbook in the class and, consequently, the vocabulary they had learned might have differed significantly. Thus, I chose a category that is general enough and enables variation in vocabulary knowledge without limiting the amount of suitable words too much. In the work sheet, there were five pictures of exemplary food items to provide a starting point for the pupils. It was assumed that most pupils would include the names of the example pictures in their lists (even though it was not required). Furthermore, the example items presented words that are similar in English and French. My hypothesis being that transfer is more probable between formally similar items, I assumed that if there were lexical transfer from the pupils' L2/L3, it would occur in those words.

One of the example items, a pineapple, is particularly peculiar as it represents a different kind of similarity relationship between the three languages. It is exactly the same word in Finnish (*ananas*) and in French (*ananas*), but completely different in English (*pineapple*). Cases like this are rare, since French and English share much more common vocabulary than French and Finnish. By including such an item to the examples I wanted to investigate if the learners of French transfer the word *ananas* into English more easily than those pupils who learn only English, which could then be considered as an occurrence of **combined transfer**. De Angelis (2007: 20-21) refers to combined transfer also as many-to-one transfer and defines it as simultaneous influence from more than one SL. The aim of this task was to make the pupils to produce written words quickly so that they did not have much time to revise and make corrections, which would have possibly eliminated most of the errors. In both tasks the idea was to distract the participants' attention away from the accuracy by different means, in order to elicit more spontaneous language use.

Next, I will move on to presenting and analysing the data, starting with the discussion on the teacher interviews theme by theme. The learner language samples will be analysed in chapter 8.

### 7 TEACHERS' VIEWS ON TRANSFER

As mentioned above, the interview data was analysed by using content analysis. However, identifying the recurrent themes is only the first step of the analysis and does not tell much of teachers' personal views, since the themes were, to an extent, predetermined in the interview guide and directed by the interviewer. Thus, after the categorisation, the data extracts illustrating each theme were observed more carefully in order to see how the themes are presented. In this section, the themes will be discussed through data extracts, and interpretations of the role of L1 and other foreign languages in EFL classrooms will be made based on them. Sometimes the same short extract includes multiple themes and may thus be referred to more than once in the analysis. It is also worth bearing in mind that, as Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001: 36) point out, one of the disadvantages of a themed interview as a method is that it produces plenty of irrelevant data. Consequently, the relevant parts of the data had to be carefully identified and it appeared that many interesting insights by the teachers had to be excluded from the analysis as they clearly digressed from the actual interview themes and were irrelevant for the present research questions.

Below, I will discuss the two main themes, that is, teachers' actions (i.e. teaching aspect) and transfer in learners' language processing (i.e. learning aspect), in separate sections. As the interviewees were elementary school teachers, their answers and experiences concerned teaching English specifically in the elementary level. This is not always explicitly mentioned in the text, but if not stated otherwise, should be taken as given. The phenomena discussed may work very differently in more advanced levels of learning and within other age groups and, thus, it should be borne in mind that no conclusions concerning other proficiency levels and age groups cannot be made based on the current interview data.

The interview extracts are numbered and the speakers are marked by the following codes: T1 = Teacher 1, T2 = Teacher 2, T3 = Teacher 3 and I = Interviewer. Translations in English are provided right below each extract.

# 7.1 Cross-linguistic comparison in teaching

In this section, I will discuss teachers' reports on how they utilise L1 (Finnish) and other foreign languages in English classroom and how they think it contributes to language teaching. The issue was approached by asking teachers directly if they made comparisons between Finnish (learners' L1) and English (TL) in the classroom. All the teachers gave a positive answer. When concrete examples of such actions were requested, Teachers 1 and 2 both mentioned prepositions as a feature in teaching of which they exploit contrastive comparison between English and Finnish, by contrasting prepositions and case endings. This suggests that, in case there is a contrastive relationship (rather than a zero relationship) between features in two languages, teachers consider not only similarities but also differences being useful for language learning. Another feature that both the teachers mentioned in this context was the comparative form of adjectives. As Extract 1 shows, Teacher 2 regarded the English comparative and superlative endings as equivalent to the corresponding Finnish endings and assumed that such a connection facilitate learning.

(1) T2: esmes niinkun joku adjektiivien vertailu että *nopea nopeampi* että, että, *fast faster* et samalla tavalla kun englannissa on *-er* niin meil on *-mpi*. [for example something like comparison of adjectives that *nopea*, *nopeampi* ('fast, faster') so, that that *fast faster* that similarly as in English there is *-er*, we have *-mpi*.]

Teacher 2 further mentioned verb forms and tenses as grammatical features in teaching of which she considered Finnish useful or even necessary. Teacher 1 also said that it is necessary to use Finnish as a basis when teaching certain grammatical features since that way learners identify which grammatical concept is discussed. However, Teacher 2 emphasised that she uses comparison/contrasting in teaching only when it seems useful and she was aware that Finnish is not of use with all structural features. In Extract 2 below, she describes one of the issues where Finnish is not of use.

(2) T2: mut sithän esimerkiks niin kun SANAJÄRJESTYKSESSÄ siinä ei oo hirveesti apua koska, koska suomessa sanajärjestys voi olla melkein mikä VAAN ja suomalainen ymmärtää ja taas englannissa se on hirmu niinku tarkkaan säädetty missä järjestyksessä pitää tulla sanojen että se on niinkun oikein

[but then again for example like with WORD ORDER it is not much of use because, because in Finnish the word order can be almost ANYthing and a Finn understands and then again in English it is very strictly determined in which order the words must be placed so that it is like correct]

Teacher 3 did not give examples of what kind of comparisons she made and which features she found comparable between the two languages. It is noteworthy that the example provided by Teachers 1 and 2 all concerned grammatical structures and none of the teachers mentioned cases where they had used comparison between Finnish and English vocabulary in their teaching, which suggests that they considered the comparison and contrasting of these two languages useful mostly in grammar.

As far as the role of other foreign languages and their use in English classrooms are concerned, all the three teachers reported having a positive attitude towards it. They reported using some examples from other foreign languages in their teaching and drawing pupils' attention intentionally to some similarities and differences between foreign languages. The two extracts below illustrate how the teachers raise pupils' awareness of cross-linguistic similarities.

- (3) T1: no aina, aina tilanteen mukaan se voi tulla niin yllättävässä tilanteessa aina että miten tää tulee jossain toisessa kielessä ku on semmosia tehtäviä missä niinku on jotain muuta kieltä vilahtaa siellä ja näin ja sit se melkein niinkun kuulostaa englannille ja pitää jotain tunnistaa niin siellä yhteydessä sit jotain selitän siitä kielestä [well always, always according to the situation it may always come up in such a surprising situation that how it is in some other language when there are exercises where there is is like some other language flashing there and so on and then it almost sounds like English and something has to be identified so in that context I explain something about that language]
- (4) T2: no kyl mä välillä sanon- jos mä tiiän sen sanan ranskaks niin mä sanon että niinku et 'sehän on ranskaks tämä sama' [well I do sometimes say- if I know the word in French then I say that 'see? it is the same word in French']

Teacher 2 seemed to use comparison with French (or with other foreign languages) in vocabulary teaching, whereas when grammar/syntax is concerned she reported using comparison with Finnish. This might suggest that she regarded the closer resemblance between English and French vocabulary being especially advantageous for learning vocabulary. However, as she reported having very limited knowledge of French herself,

excluding structural comparisons with French may also be due to her lack of structural knowledge in that language. Extract 5 shows her description on how she uses cross-linguistic comparison when teaching grammatical structures.

(5) T2: että tota enemmänki se on sitte SUOMI (xx) kun aatellaan jotain of-genetiiviä, tai tämmöstä että miten se aina katotaan niinku miten se on suomessa, *puussa on omenoita*, ei ku siis tota, *omena*hetkinen, *Lontoon kartta*. niin *kartta Lontoon*. ja toisin päin et niinku SUOMEN kieltä ehkä rakenteissa käytän enemmän kun sitä toista vierast kieltä [well it's rather FINNISH then (xx) when you think about something like of-genitive, or something like that how we always look at how it is in Finnish *puussa on omenoita* (('there are apples in the tree')), no not that *omena*- (('apple')), no wait, *Lontoon kartta* so it's like *kartta Lontoon* (('the map of London')). and the other way round so like FINNISH is the language that I probably use more than that other foreign language as far as structures are concerned]

The above extract supports the interpretation that, when teaching grammar, Teacher 2 prefers to use Finnish as a reference, comparison to other foreign languages being used in vocabulary teaching.

Teacher 1 mentioned numbers and days of the week, as well as gender specific pronouns, as items in teaching of which she found cross-linguistic comparisons with other foreign languages (such as Italian and Swedish) useful. Teacher 3 did not specify with what kind of features she used comparison with other foreign languages.

The significance of cross-linguistic comparisons was further discussed in the interviews when the teachers were asked to estimate how helpful such comparisons are for pupils. Teacher 1 believed that the pupils perceive such comparisons relevant and interesting, as is illustrated in Extract 6 below.

(6) T1: kyllä ne ainakii niinku ihan selvästi aina kuuntelee mielenkiinnolla että 'mitä?' ja kyl ne sen TAJUAA [at least they clearly do listen with interest every time like 'what?' and they do GET it]

As for Teacher 2, she was not clearly aware of the reasons for why she makes cross-linguistic comparisons in the English classroom, but reported it being somehow automatic for her. This illustrates how natural a way of processing languages making cross-linguistic comparisons is. This is how Teacher 2 described her beliefs on the significance of cross-linguistic comparisons in teaching:

- (7) T2: no en (xx) en mä oo sitä aatellu että minkä takia mä sitä teen, mä vaan- se vaan tulee mutta tota kyllä mä nyt uskosin et jos ne tietää sen toisessakii kielessä että kun ne TAJUAIS j-ja kyllähän ne tajuaa ne tajus tosi nopeesti sen että et niis on hirveesti samaa niissä kielissä ((Englannissa ja Ranskassa))
  - [well I haven't (xx) I haven't thought about why I do it, I just- it just comes but I do believe that if they know it also in another language that if they REALISED and they do realise they realised very quickly that there is a lot in common between those languages ((English and French))]

Teacher 1 reported that in their school there are many immigrant pupils whose mother tongue is other than Finnish and thus she also brings up the issue of how those languages are present in the English classroom. This is how she described her attempts to support immigrant children's learning of English by making comparisons with those of their mother tongues of which she herself has some knowledge:

- (8) T1: meil on italialaisia lapsia niin sit me välillä puhutaan täällä- niinku (xx) italian kielestäkii hakee apua ja miten se on italiaks ja tällä tavalla että kyllä se niinkun melkein PÄIVITTÄIN näitä tulee näitä vertaamisia aina ja numeroissa, pä- viikonpäivät on yks semmonen kiitollinen oikeen [we have italian children so then we occasionally talk here- like (xx) try to get help from Italian language as well and how it is in Italian and so on so that it sure is like almost DAILY when these comparisons always emerge and with numbers, da- days of the week is one such thing that is really beneficial]
- (9) T1: muutama italialainen on tässä ja joku espanjalainen- espanjankielisiä perheitä, että... niissä konkreettisesti näkee että voi niinkun jonkun asian ymmärtää ja kattoo ja että no mietis nyt näin sitä että kun että mites espanjassa sanotaan ja miten italiassa sanotaan [there are a few Italians here and some Spanish-Spanish-speaking families, so...with them you concretely notice that some things can be understood and looked at and that well think about this like that and that how it is said in Spanish and how it is said in Italian]

The above examples suggest that other Germanic or Roman languages in particular can support EFL learning, at least in the case when they are the learner's L1.

As illustrated above, the teachers had a positive attitude towards using other foreign languages as a tool in EFL classroom. To do that, the teachers of course have to have acquired some knowledge of multiple languages themselves. In order to get more insights into how the teachers perceived the significance of other foreign languages in EFL teaching, the teachers were asked if they considered broad linguistic knowledge, that is, knowledge of different languages, advantageous for an English teacher. Teacher 1 was clearly of the opinion that having knowledge of different languages (that is, other languages than those that she or he teaches) is advantageous for a language teacher. This is how she described the significance of a teacher's knowledge of multiple languages in EFL teaching:

(10) T1: kyl mää oon ihan ihan sitä mieltä että kyllä. koska kyl siellä vaikkei sitä niinkun opettais täällä mut se on niinkun tieto ja miten nää sukulaisuudet menee niin kyl niitä vaan siellä tulee niinku semmosia polkuja että mistä johtuu jotain ja miten se menee. kyllä se niin kun- . sit on niinku jotenkii enempi POHJAA sanoo että se tulee näin siitä syystä kun ja näin muissakin kielissä [yes I am fully of the opinion that yes. because there is even though you didn't teach it here but it is like the knowledge and how these relationships go so yes those do come up there like a kind of paths that where something derives from and how it works, it does like- . then you have like somehow more BASIS to say that this works this way for this reason and this is how it is in other languages too]

She also thought it would be very useful if the teacher had some knowledge of all the mother tongues of their pupils but especially in a case of groups including immigrant pupils with a variety of L1s it is not possible. Other two teachers also supported the view that broad language knowledge of different languages is beneficiary for an English teacher. Teacher 2 was slightly hesitant and had no clear view on how the knowledge of other languages affects her teaching, but she said:

(11) T2: elikkä, mä MELKEIN kallistusin sille että sillä, luultavasti on hyötyä että opettaja, ymmärtää muitakii kieliä ja miten se rakentuu [...] EMMÄ aina- ainakaan emmä ainakaan uskaltais sanoo että ei sil oo merkitystä, että että kyllä mä niinkun voisin väittää et kyllä sillä on kuitenkii JONKUNnäkönen positiivinen vaikutus sillä et opettaja ymmärtää niinku että miten muutkin kielet rakentuu.

[so, I am ALMOST inclined to say that it it, probably is advantageous that the teacher, understands other languages and how they are constructed [...] At least I WOULDN'T- at least I wouldn't dare to say that it is insignificant, so that yes I could say that it has after all SOME kind of positive effect that the teacher understands like how also other languages are constructed.]

Aligning with the other two teachers' opinions, Teacher 3 also regarded the knowledge of other foreign languages to be useful for an English teacher, as she said:

(12)T3: no on sillä varmasti niinku myönteinen vaikutus asiaan että kun on enemmän tietoa ja taitoa eri kielistä niin sitten osaa niitä- välittääkin oppilaillekin sitä tietoa [well it must have like a positive influence on it that when you have more knowledge about and knowledge of other languages so then you can pass- pass that knowledge on to the pupils too]

As the teachers answers show, mother tongue and other foreign languages play a role in the foreign language classroom. Teachers use them as a resource and they use cross-linguistic comparison as a tool in their teaching. Next, I will move on to discuss how the teachers perceive the effects of CLI as they manifest themselves in the learners' language use and learning process.

### 7.2 The role of transfer in language learning

In this section, I will review how the teachers perceived the role of other languages in the learners' language processing. I will first discuss the significance of transfer in general and then look more in detail into the effects of Finnish and then into the effects of additional foreign languages, especially French. The original idea was to discuss only the effects of French and exclude other foreign languages, but as not all the teachers had experience on teaching English for learners of French, experiences on any foreign language transfer were discussed. In the end, that solution seemed successful since that enabled the comparisons of experiences of foreign language in general with experiences of French transfer in particular. Such comparison may help to shed light on what are the influential factors encouraging transfer, whether the cross-linguistic similarity is a significant factor causing transfer or whether all the foreign languages are as transferable and transfer is merely due to the foreign language status. The last issue discussed in this section will be how transfer relates to age and proficiency and how the order of acquisition influences transfer.

All the interviews were started with a question of how the teachers perceived the role of the mother tongue in foreign language learning in general. The question appeared to be rather ambiguous and perhaps too general, which is why the teachers struggled with giving an answer and why they all approached the question slightly differently. As the extract 13 shows, Teacher 1, considered the mother tongue as a basis for any learning, but cannot estimate its role in foreign language learning particularly.

(13) T1: niin, se(n)- tietenkin äidinkieli on aina se lähtökohta että minkä tahansa oppimiselle et sehän on semmonen automaatio joka jokaisella on, et mikä merkitys sillä sitten on siihen vieraan kielen oppimiseen niin, en oikeen osaa kyllä sanoo että...
[well, of course the mother tongue is always the starting point for learning of anything so it is kind of an automation that everyone has, what is its significance in foreign language learning then, that I can't really tell...]

Teacher 2 understood the question concerning how a good mastery of one's mother tongue relates to success in foreign language learning. This is how she described the role of mother tongue in general:

(14) T2: no tuota ihan, meillä aina kun tehhään ne kielivalinnat ja vanhemmille pietään se kielivalintailta nii me sielläkii sanotaan niinku et jos jos tota. öö...niinku hyvin menee äidinkielessä, niin sitten vois harkita niinkun aakakkoskielen ottamista. koska se korreloi ihan selvästi siihen että jos siellä on

ongelmia nii sitten siellä saattaa tulla ongelmia myös vieraassa kielessä VARSINKIN jos on niinkun paha lukiongelma tai joku muu

[well right, when they make the language choices in our school and we have the info evening for parents about language options there we also say like that if if. err. like if they do well in Finnish, then they could consider like opting for an A2 language. because it correlates quite clearly with that if you have problems there [in Finnish] then problems may emerge also in foreign languages ESPECIALLY if one is something like severely dyslexic or so]

The answer reflects her view on individual differences in language aptitude being a significant factor affecting language learning and transfer. That is a theme that emerged also in many of her other comments, as well as in the answers of the other two teachers. Such variety between individual learners and between learner groups may be one reason for why giving any general statements about the significance of the mother tongue and other languages in EFL appeared to be a difficult task. All the three teachers seemed to view pupils varying from those with a high language aptitude to those who are linguistically less talented, and they perceived L1 having a different role in foreign language learning for different individuals mostly based on their general language aptitude. Linguistically less talented pupils seem to have more difficulties in keeping their mother tongue and English apart from each other, which leads to confusion and negative transfer. This view is perceptible for example in the comment below:

(15)T3: ... no EN oikeen tiiä... ehkä se että tota, suomen kielessä on kuitenkin niin erilainen järjestelmä kokonaisuu- kokonaisuutena kielenä kun esimerkiks englannissa ni se hankaloittaa jonkin verran sitä kielen oppimista näillä heikoilla oppilailla [...well I DON'T know really... maybe that that, Finnish language has after all such a different system as a who- as a whole as a language than for example English so that makes the language learning somewhat difficult for the weak pupils]

In comparison, the pupils with high aptitude and strong language skills seem to be more capable of processing the two (or more) languages separately and they perceive and understand the differences between the languages better. Teacher 2 stated that those who have established a certain kind of linguistic awareness, are able to produce English without translating it word for word from Finnish, as is described in the extract 16.

(16) T2: mut NE JOILLA rupee yhtään lähtemään niinku se kielitaju tai se kielikorva sanomaan jotakii niin NE rupee sitten unohtamaan onneks sitä suomen kieltä jo sieltä ja sit ne rupee niinku miettimään että mites ne sanookaan englantilaiset

[ but THOSE WHO star to get it in a way like the language awareness or the ear for languages starts to tell them something THOSE fortunately start to already leave out Finnish and then they start to think that how is it that the English people say]

I: nii [yes]

T2: et ne ei lähe kääntään niinkun sanasta sanaan [so they don't start to translate like word for word]

The above suggests that, pupils with weaker language skills in general lean more on their mother tongue in foreign language learning and they make more assumptions on one-to-one similarities between TL and their mother tongue, whereas for linguistically more talented pupils it is easier to process a foreign language as a separate entity.

Prerequisite for estimating the role of transfer in EFL is identifying the phenomenon and, thus, I considered relevant to ask how easy or difficult the teachers considered identifying transfer and its source in learner errors. In her answer, Teacher 1 discussed mainly foreign languages as SL and stated that the source of errors is recognizable especially in the case of immigrant pupils whose L1 is other than Finnish. In immigrant pupils' products there are errors that the teacher recognises reflecting their L1. She further mentioned that in Finnish-speakers products influence from other foreign languages is not as clear, as in that case, according to her experience, the influence is minimal if not non-existent. In another context, she also brought up the general difficulty of identifying transfer:

(17) T1: vaikee sanoo että se nyt johtuu varmaan siitä koska siellä saattaa tulla muistakin syistä se sama virhe
[it is difficult to tell that now it must be caused by that since the same error might occur there for other reasons as well]

The above statement summarises well what is one of the main challenges also in the scholarly study of transfer. Teacher 2 stated that it is easy to identify the errors that are due to Finnish (L1), especially in the products of linguistically less apt pupils as it seems that they produce English by translating word for word from Finnish. Then again, identifying transfer from French is difficult for her, which, according to herself, is most probably due to the fact that her own knowledge of French is limited. Furthermore, while commenting on possible influence of French on L3 English, Teacher 2 mentioned how difficult it is for an outside observer to estimate the interactions of the two languages in a learners' mind:

(18) T2: vertaako ne ranskaan vai onko niillä vaan suoraan se semmonen tiiätkö kielellinen taju öö ne SAATTAA verrata siihen ranskaan , mä en tiedä kun mä en oo niitten pään sisällä ollu

[whether they compare it with French or whether they just directly have a kind of language awareness you know they MIGHT compare it with French, I don't know since I haven't been inside their heads]

That observation is also very central for transfer studies and causes methodological difficulties. (See chapter 6.1 above for discussion on the methodological problematics). Transfer processes in an individual's mind can be examined mostly indirectly through observing the results of transfer.

Teacher 3 had not paid attention to transfer in learner errors as much as the two other teachers. When asked how easy it is to identify transfer in learner errors, she mentioned that sometimes she notices that there are errors in the use of prepositions that are clearly due to Finnish, but mostly she does not register if the errors are due to influence from L1 or from other languages. Her somewhat less alert attention to transfer may be a result of the language background of her pupils being less varied than that of the pupils in the other two teachers' groups, where there are more immigrants and learners of different foreign languages.

One more interesting question when observing the role of L1 and other foreign languages in EFL classrooms in general is whether the interaction between languages happens only unintentionally in learners' mind or whether the learners use cross-linguistic comparisons intentionally as a tool for learning. It emerged from all the three interviews that pupils are prone to make explicit cross-linguistic comparisons in the classroom. According to Teacher 1, pupils compare English rather with another (related) foreign language than with Finnish.

(19) T1: mutta emmä SILLEEN oo huomannu että ne niinkun vertailis, vertailis niinkun, SUOMEEN mut sillon aikoinaan kun oli näitä, jotka oli pitkän saksan lukenu ja ruotsin niin siitten kun englanti tuli niille, niin, kyllähän SIEL oli semmosia ahaa-elämyksiä että 'tälleen SAKSASSA on', ja 'tälleen- ai niin ruotsissahan on kanssa jotain tälleen näin', et kyl ne niinku SIINÄ vaiheessa sitten hätkähtää- he- herää että kun on siellä se toinen kieli. mut ei niinkään SUOMEN kielestä sitä huomaa [but IN THAT SENSE I haven't noticed that they would compare it with Finnish but back in the day when there were those who had read A1 German and Swedish then when they started English there WAS that kind of Aha moments that 'in GERMAN it's like this' and 'this- oh yeah in Swedish it is also something like this', so yes at that point they are awakened when there is that other language. not so much from FINNISH you don't notice that]

However, she later mentioned that it actually happens very seldom that pupils would bring up that kind of insights explicitly in the classroom. Rather than them not making the

connections, this might be due to them being shy to present their insights in front of the group. This view was supported by Teacher 1 saying that when she works alone with an immigrant pupil they are more eager to point out the similarities between English and their mother tongue vocabulary.

According to Teacher 2, pupils very easily spot similarities between languages, whether it is between English and Finnish or English and another foreign language, as illustrated in Extract 20.

(20) T2: joo tulee tulee. et jos ite ei muista sanoo tai jotakii ne sanoo just et 'niinkun suomessakin' esimes adjektiivin vertailu on just semmonen mis ne usein ite hoksaa sen ämpeeii [yes it does come up, if you don't remember to say it yourself or so they say that 'just like in Finnish' for example the comparison of adjectives is one such thing where they often notice it themselves]

Contrary to the experiences of Teacher 1, according to Teacher 2 pupils are very active at pointing out similarities explicitly in the classroom, as it shows in the following two extracts.

- (21) T2: nii siinä ku vaihees kun ne alotti sen nii VÄLITTÖMÄSTI alko se et 'espanjassa sanotaan näin espanjassa tehdään näin'.

  [at that point when they started it [learning another foreign language] it INSTANTLY started that 'in Spanish it is said like this in Spanish it is done like this']
- (22) T2: et niinkun just tämmösiä niinkun että et kyllä se silt tulee sitten et lapset ite tarjoo kanssa 'täähän on ranskaks tämä' niinku et kyllä MÄÄKII välillä aina heitän [so things like that that it does come that also the kids themselves provide that 'In French it is this' so I do throw those in too every now and then]

Teacher 3 had the impression that pupils compare English more with Finnish than with other foreign languages. According to her, linguistically talented children contrast Finnish and English unprompted and bring it forth in the classroom, which comes up in the extract below:

(23) T3: he ((kielellisesti lahjakkaat oppilaat)) saattaa hoksata vaikka minä en ois puhunu asiasta mitään niin sit ne huomaa että 'hei eihän tää menee ihan erilailla kun[they ((linguistically talented pupils)) may notice even though I hadn't said anything about it they then notice that 'hey this isn't this works totally differently than-]

I: nii [yeah]

T3: mehän sanotaan erilailla ja mehän tehään tämä erilailla' et se on sitten taas että he huomaa sen

[we say this differently and we do this differently, right?' so that is again that they notice it]

Based on the teachers' observations, it indeed seems that it is a naturally occurring learning

strategy to link the different languages together where there are similarities and contrast them where there are differences. This illustrates how learning a foreign language is not separate from the knowledge of other languages but, to an extent, they are processed in

parallel.

In this sub-chapter, I presented and discussed the interviewees' views on the role of L1 and other foreign languages in EFL in general and how the pupils seem to make connections and draw from interlingual sources. Despite being aware of transfer and identifying it in learner errors, defining the role of CLI in EFL in general appeared to be difficult for teachers. Individual differences in language aptitude emerged as one central factor affecting how L1 and other foreign languages hinder or facilitate learning. It also turned out it is not just the teachers who make explicit cross-linguistic comparisons in the classroom but the pupils do that, too. In the next sub-chapter, I will move on to discuss more closely L1 influence in particular and how it manifests itself in different areas of learner language. Real-life examples provided by the interviewees will be presented to illustrate the nature of L1 transfer in beginner level EFL learning.

#### 7.3 L1 transfer in different areas of language

In the interviews, two sub-systems of language were mostly discussed and contrasted with each other: vocabulary (i.e. lexicon) and grammar (i.e. syntax). Even though the focus of the present study is on lexical transfer, I considered relevant to let teachers share their experiences on transfer in any area of language. This was done in order to gain understanding of how significant a phenomenon transfer is in vocabulary learning in comparison to other areas of language. According to Teacher 1, transfer from Finnish shows both in syntax and vocabulary. She further claimed that lexical transfer occurs when a pupil translates mechanically from Finnish to English, as illustrated in the following example:

(24) T1: sanoissa kun ne ettii sanoja kun ne ei muista niin tietenkii niin jos ei tajua suomen kielen sanaa jotain oikein niin hakee varmasti väärän, et jos pitäis niinkun joku voi uida jossakin järvessä vai voiko uida niin siellä melko varmasti *voi* on unohtunu ja se on *butter* sitten siellä et tämmösiä ettei TAJUAKKAAN sitä mitä se tarkottaa

[with words when they look for words when they don't remember so of course if they don't understand a Finnish word correctly then they look for a wrong word for sure, so that if it should be like someone can swim in a lake or can they then 'can' is mostly certainly forgotten there and it is 'butter' then so this kind of that they don't even GET IT what it means]

This suggests that at this stage of language learning learners process the language mainly on the level of form, which results in semantic errors. It seems that pupils choose any translation that is given to a certain form without further processing the meaning. The problem in the above example seems to be that the learner only processed the language in the lexemic level and did not automatically process the lemma. However, this may not be a common way of processing language in the beginner level, since Teacher 1 explains that this kind of processing is typical for those who have some learning difficulties in general, such as dyslexia.

The teachers seem to regard Finnish having more influence on interlanguage structures than on vocabulary as the unprompted examples they provided concerned syntactic transfer. They were then explicitly asked if they have noticed L1 influence in vocabulary learning. Teacher 3 answered that sometimes the influence shows also in vocabulary, but she did not give any concrete examples. She further mentioned that spelling errors due to phonetic transfer and different sound-symbol correspondence are common in learner English. Teacher 2 did not give any examples of actual lexical transfer either, but did mention that words that have no direct translation from Finnish to English seem strange to the pupils. However, it did not come up in the interview if such words actually result in transferinduced errors.

The only positive lexical influence from Finnish that was mentioned in the interviews was that of loan words that are originally borrowed from English into Finnish. According to Teacher 1, positive cross-linguistic influence shows in loan words such as *cool* and IT-vocabulary, as their use in Finnish discourse has made them familiar to pupils. On the other

Finnish voi = 1) can + 3rd PERS SING, 2) butter

hand, foreign loan words may be difficult for the pupils to understand in Finnish as well and, consequently, may not provide help in EFL learning:

(25) T1: mut sitten kun haetaan jotain ihan tämmösiä niinku, asiasanojakii tulee joku *in fact* niin, mitä se fakta sitten- kun puhutaan faktasta niin mitä se TARKOTTAA? ei ne niinkun tiedä sitte. että...huomaa että sama sana mutta välttämättä ei tiedä mist on kyse [but then when we look for something like kind of, there are key words like *in fact* so what does *fakta* then- when we talk about *fakta* well what does it MEAN? they don't like know then. so...they notice that the same word but don't necessarily know what it is about]

However, Teacher 1 did not think that negative transfer from Finnish to English is particularly abundant, but she believed that similar difficulties can occur in any foreign language learning regardless of the learner's L1. The following extract shows how she referred to the confusion caused by polysemy (voi = can/butter) presented above.

(26) T1: et joku tämmönen käytännön- käytännön sotku mutta varmaan ihan se on yleismaailmallista että näin voi käydä
[so some practical- practical confusion like that but I guess it is universal that this can happen]

Slightly contrary to that view is the one presented by Teacher 3, who seemed to be more of an opinion that the similarity of SL and TL is a central factor defining transfer. She considered the linguistic systems of Finnish and English being so different from each other that it makes learning English difficult for pupils who are linguistically less talented.

(27) T3: ... no EN oikeen tiiä... ehkä se että tota, suomen kielessä on kuitenkin niin erilainen järjestelmä kokonaisuu- kokonaisuutena kielenä kun esimerkiks englannissa ni se hankaloittaa jonkin verran sitä kielen oppimista näillä heikoilla oppilailla [well I don't know really... maybe it's that, afterall Finnish has such a different linguistic system as a whole language than for example English so that complicates the language learning of the less apt pupils to an extent]

As far as syntactic transfer is concerned, both Teachers 2 and 3 mentioned word order as a feature where negative transfer from Finnish to English occurs, as the Finnish word order is, unlike English, very loose. However, Teacher 2 stated that in the very beginning of language learning, when the sentences dealt with are very simple, Finnish is of help in learning the correct word order as the basic SVO (subject – verb – object) word order is the same in Finnish and in English. Furthermore, Teacher 3 emphasised that this structural difference causes difficulties mostly for less linguistically oriented pupils.

As for Teacher 1, she mentioned that as Finnish is a highly inflectional language, pupils may transfer case endings into English. The below extract provides an example of how such morphological transfer may occur in proper names.

(28) T1: et jotenki suomen...suomen kielessä niin on tämä sijamuotojen runsaus ja astevaihtelu niinku sanoissa et taivutukset joka tekee esimerkiks käytännössä semmosia tilanteita et jos pitäis sanoo vaikka että Virtasen- Virtasen auto Mr Virtanen's car niin sieltä tulee Virtasen's. melko poikkeuksetta. et joku TÄLLANE tällanen, ettei huomaa sitä että suomen- että kieli pitää (naurahdus) niinku pitää erillään vaan sinne lipsahtelee niitä suomen kielen muotoja [so somehow in Finnish it is the richness of inflections and consonant gradation in words so that the inflections that creates situations for example in practice situations like that that if you had to say that *Virtanen- Virtasen auto* ((translates into English as:)) *Mr Virtasen's car* then it becomes *Virtasen's* almost without exceptions, so some things LIKE THAT like that. that they don't notice that in Finnish- that the language (laughter) must be kept separate but Finnish forms slip into it]

Furthermore, Teacher 3 mentioned prepositions as one feature that is difficult for Finnish learners of English as it is a feature that does not exist in Finnish. It seems to be difficult for the learners to comprehend the functioning of prepositions as opposed to case-endings.

(29) T3: ei meinaa millään ymmärtää et se tuleekin ne prepositioiksi eikä (naurua) sinne jälkeen [they have trouble understanding that it comes as a preposition and not (laughter) there after it.]

Both the previous extracts suggest that the inflectional – analytical opposition between Finnish and English seems to be a main L1 induced difficulty for Finnish learners when learning English.

One more interesting insight to L1 transfer is that the source form does not have to be a written norm in the source language either, but also spoken language norms can influence the learner's interlanguage. In the extract below, Teacher 2 gives an example of a situation where Finnish spoken language norm causes negative transfer into English.

(30) T2: ja sit se että et niinkun, OLLA-verbi se että kun ne ei jotenkii niinkun hiffaa sitä 'olla'...olla-verbin eri muotoja. tai sitä esimerkiks niinku että ku on there is ja there are. SE on vielä helppo niitten ymmärtää mut sit kun niinkun 'kengät ovat' 'the shoes is'. tulee sinne kauheen helposti et ku suomessa voi sanoo et kengät on. ja, se tarkottaa että monikossakin et meil ei tarvii sanoo kenkä on tai kengät ovat vaan meil on kengät on ja se käy ihan hyvin. niin s- SE on niille vaikee niinku muistaa et ai niin täähä onki monikollinen tää pitäs olla tää olla-verbi [or then that that like, BE-verb that that they don't somehow like get that 'be'...different forms of the verb 'to be'. or like for example that when there is 'there is' and 'there are'. THAT is still easy for them to understand but then when like 'shoes are' 'the shoes is'. that comes there very easily because in Finnish you can say that 'shoes is' and, it means that in plural as well that we don't have

to say 'a shoe is' or 'shoes are' but we just have 'shoes is' and that works quite well. so th- THAT is difficult for them to remember that oh yeah this is actually plural this should be this be-verb]

As far as transfer from L1 Finnish was discussed in the interviews and the type of transfer was not specified in the question, the teachers mostly gave examples only on syntactic transfer. This suggests that lexical transfer from L1 Finnish is not as common as syntactic transfer. Also the teachers' experiences on transfer from Finnish seem rather negative in a way that Finnish seems to be a source for confusions and errors. The only positive effects from Finnish that could be of help in learning English vocabulary were mentioned by Teacher 1, who referred to the similarity between English and Finnish loan words from English.

# 7.4. Foreign language transfer in different areas of language

As the present study seeks to investigate not only the role of L1 but also the role of other foreign languages in EFL, that was yet another major theme in the teacher interviews and will be discussed in this chapter. In general, the teachers clearly perceived learning another foreign language in addition to English more of a help than a hindrance. When it was asked explicitly, both Teachers 1 and 2 stated their positive view without hesitation. Teacher 3 was a bit more careful with her estimate but she was also of the opinion that usually learning another foreign language has more positive than negative effects. However, she further pointed out that if the pupil has difficulties in learning languages in general then learning multiple foreign languages can result in confusion. Teacher 2 also mentioned learning difficulties as a factor that may cause an additional foreign language to be a hindrance rather than help. Otherwise her perception of learning multiple foreign languages was very positive and she stated that she could not think of any way how it could be of hindrance. These remarks again emphasise the role of individual differences between learners, which is a theme that was strongly present throughout the interviews.

Teacher 1 was of the opinion that starting to learn another foreign language before English would be beneficial, as the extract 31 shows. This suggests that she considered the order of acquisition playing a role in how the foreign languages are learned.

(31) T1: sitä aivotoimintaa kehittää hurjasti kun on joku toinen kieli kun englanti jossa läiskästään sanat peräkkäin niin se kolmannen persoonan ässä siellä preesensissä on ainut taivutusmuoto joka pitäis osata ja ne ei osaa sitä. se turhauttaa kyllä. se turhauttaa niitä itteesä kun niille sanoo ja vertaa suomen kielen taivutukseen istun istut istuu istumme et miks te ette opi sitä *he sits everyday in this classroom.* miks se äs ei tuu sinne kun se on yks ainut kohta missä se tulee sit kun ne lukee näitä muita kieliä ja verbit taipuu kaikki taipuu eri tavalla on sukuja ja muita niin, kyl se niinkun sitä, koko tätä maailmaa niinku panee lokeroimaan eri tavalla ku että 'kunhan vaan sinne päin' [it helps to developbrain activity when there is some other language than English where the words are put in a row so that the third person –*s* there in the present tense is the only conjugation that one should learn and they do not master it. that sure is frustrating. that is frustrating for themselves when you tell them and compare it with Finnish conjugaison *istun istuu istumme* ((Engl. *I sit, he sits, we sit*)) so why don't you learn that he sits every day in this classroom. Why is that –*s* not there when it's the only one point where it is added when they learn these other languages and the verbs are conjugated in different ways there are genders and stuff so that does make you process the whole world differently than just 'something like that']

H: niin et ne kiinnittää huomioo sit ehkä enempi? [so they pay more attention then maybe?]

T1: mm, kyllä. et se ois erittäin hyvä alottaa jollain muulla kielellä kun englannilla [mm, yes. so it would be very good to start with some other language than English]

When commenting on foreign language transfer, the teachers mostly talked about effects on vocabulary, which suggests that it is the area on which another foreign language influences the most in the early stages of learning. This was also explicitly stated by Teacher 3 as is presented in Extract 32.

(32) T3: kyllä se mun mielestä SANASTO on [I do think it is VOCABULARY]

I: joo [yeah]

T3: enemmänkin koska tota...nää, saksan lukijat heil on kuitenkin sen verran vähän sitä [more because well....they, the learners of German they have relatively little]

I: niin [yeah]

T3: ehtii olla tässä. että ei se ei se mun mielestä vaikuta rakenteisiin vaan sanastossa sitten jos on [have they had it. so that if there is any [influence] no I don't think it has influence on structures but on vocabulary]

As is implied in the above comment and the one below, the grammatical features are not transferred much in such early stages of learning as they are not very stable on the TL either. Similar view was supported by Teacher 1, who stated that syntactic transfer from L2/L3 is rare but can occur in the production of the fastest learners who are already starting to master the structures of that language (even though the learning is still at an early stage). This is what she said about syntactic transfer from L2/L3:

(33) T1: mm kyl ne siellä saattaa rueta sitte niillä välkyillä jotka jotain on jo oppinu siellä toisessa nii englannin adjektiivi esimerkiks saa monikon päätteen

[well yes they can then begin for those smart ones who have already learned something in the other language so the English adjectives start to get a plural ending]

H: niin [yeah]

T1: mutta, hyvin satunnaisesti et mä oon tulkinnu sen vaan et se johtuu nyt siitä, ja kyllähän ne on sitten niitä aakakslukijoita [...]

[but, very occasionally so I have just interpreted it so that now it results from that, and yes they are then the A2 pupils [...]]

The above extracts are the only ones in the interview data where syntactic transfer from another foreign language is mentioned. Otherwise teachers' remarks on foreign language transfer concern the role of L2/L3 in vocabulary acquisition. Based on the teachers' answers it seems that the lexical effects can be both positive and negative. Below, I will first discuss the negative effects that the teachers reported and then move on to discuss the positive ones.

Teacher 1 gave a very careful estimate also on the CLI on vocabulary. When asked, she said that there may be some confusion with the vocabulary between related languages but not so much. In that context, she also mentioned that it is difficult to identify such transfer occurrences as identifying the source of transfer is complicated. Teacher 2 gave couple of examples on how similar vocabulary causes confusion between languages. However, according to her report, it seems that pupils easily notice such slips themselves and are able correct them.

(34) T2: [...] ja sitten 'OI OPETTAJA minä öö meinasin vahingossa kirjottaa espanjan sanan tänne', ja silleen, ja sitten taas kun on RANSKALLA alottaneit jotka on sit aakakkosessa englannissa, niin NIILLÄ tulee sieltä ranskasta niinku, RANSKA ja englantihan siel on hirveesti samanlaisia sanoja, nii sitten ne niinku esimes sanoo niinku niinku öö...mikä on väri? onks se *couleur*? [and then 'OH TEACHER I was going to write a Spanish word here' and so, and then again when there are those who have started with FRENCH and have English as A2, THEY transfer from French like, FRENCH and English they have lots of similar words right? so then they say for example like like...what is *colour*? is it *couleur*?]

H: joo [yeah]

T2: nii nii niinku että...et *couleurs are*...sitten ne on sillleen että 'AI EI KAUHEETA se tuli ranskaks', ja silleen niinku että ranska ja englanti sotkee vähän mutta toisaalta hyvällä tavalla [so then like that...that *coleurs are*...then they are like 'OH DEAR it came out in French' and so on so that French and English get messed up a little but then again in a good way]

Teachers 1 and 3 did not clearly bring up positive effects that French (or another foreign language) would have on the learning of English, whereas Teacher 2 seems to have been of the opinion that French, as it has plenty of lexical similarities with English, has positive effect on learners' English lexicon. It should be borne in mind that the experiences of Teacher 2 were with learners who had French as L2 and English as L3, whereas the other two teachers only had experience on learners of L3 French. That could be a reason why Teacher 2 seems to have had more experience on positive lexical influence of French on learners' English than the other two teachers. This is how she described the positive lexical effects of French:

(35)T2: et ne pystyy niinku PÄÄTTELEMÄÄN jonkun sanan jos ne tietää ranskaks sen niin sit ne pystyy päättelee et mitähän se mahtais olla englanniks [so they can INFER the meaning of a word if they know it in French so then they are able to deduce what it might be in English]

She was further asked if she considered French in particular being of help when learning English or if she regards any other foreign language being equally useful. It turned out that she regarded the lexical influence of French as particularly positive as its vocabulary bears a wide resemblance with that of English. However, she did mention that for example Swedish as well is helpful in some word categories such as the days of the week. This is presented in the extract 36 below.

(36) T2: no mä luulen että ainakii tässä tapauksessa se ranska on koska se on kuitenkii se siis sanastollisestihan se on niin lähellä, siis silleen et siel on hirveesti niitä lainasanoja, ja hirveesti tulee sieltä sitä... mut kyl, nii...no (--) KYLLÄ RUOTSISSAKII on joskus siis silleen kun esimes jotain viikonpäiviä käydään ja sitte kun käy niinku et ne on tullu viikingeiltä ja sitte käyään niinku et mä näytän niille havainnollisesti että mitä se on ruotsissa ja mitä se on englannissa, että mondag and Monday ja dag on päivä ja day on päivä ja moon on kuu ja sieltä se tulee etymologiasta [well I think that at least in this case it is the French language because it is after all lexically so closely related, I mean like that there are plenty of loan words, and a lot of it comes from there...but yes, so...well (--) ALSO IN SWEDISH there is sometimes like that when we go through for example days of the week and then when you go like that they have come from the vikings and then we look at I mean I demonstrate them that what it is in Swedish and what it is in English, that *mondag* and *Monday* and *dag* is day and *day* is day and *moon* is moon and it comes from the etymology there]

She also stated that pupils themselves notice very soon that the two languages share a lot of common lexical features. This again supports the view suggested earlier that the comparison between languages comes naturally from the learners and they seek, consciously or sub-consciously, cross-linguistic similarities (Ringbom 2007:1).

It could be assumed that lexical transfer is more common in oral production than in written production as written production allows more time to plan and formulate the message. However, Teacher 2, who speculated lexical transfer between French and English rather extensively, had noticed similar lexical transfer in both oral and written production, as she described:

(37) T2: molemmissa, molemmissa, myös kirjallisessa et ne saattaa kirjottaa että niinku tai sit esimes niinku m-mä en muista mikä se oli just et vaikka ranskassakihan on *le weekend* [in both, also in written production they might write that or then for example like I don't remember what it was exactly but for example in French it is *le weekend* right?]

I: mm [mm]

T2: mut et sit se oli tosiaan sit se *le* siellä et se ei ollukaan tullu se *the weekend* [but then it was there really with *le* so that it wasn't *the weekend*]

The examples that Teacher 2 gave about negative lexical transfer all concern complete language shifts or substitutions. This might either suggest that that is the most common type of lexical transfer in the beginner level or it might reflect the teacher's conception on transfer. As far as the effects of French on the use of English vocabulary are concerned, substitutions are perhaps the most perceptible type of influence and, thus, the occasions that teachers pay most attention to. In order to elicit other types of examples it would have been a good idea to provide the teachers with some examples on different types of CLI so that they had had a broader idea about what CLI is.

It is noteworthy that L2/L3 influence was a major theme in the interview with Teacher 2, whereas it received less attention in the other two interviews. The reason for that is probably that Teacher 2 was the only one of them teaching A2 English at that time and had also pupils with an additional A2 language also in her A1 English groups. At the time of the interview, Teacher 1 had in her teaching groups only a few pupils who were learning an additional A2 language, which is probably the reason why she didn't have so much to say about foreign language influence on that respect. Instead, she brought up the influence of other native languages than Finnish, as she had experience on teaching immigrant pupils, but for the most parts that is excluded from the present analysis since it is not of relevance to the research questions of this study, however interesting a topic it is per se. As Teacher 1 had no learners of French in her groups, the topic of foreign language influence was discussed only on a general level (based on the teacher's experiences on teaching pupils

who are learning German as A2) and not in detail as regarding any specific languages. Whether it is the greater number of pupils learning French in general or the fact that the pupils had started to learn French earlier than English that caused the more visible role of French in Teacher 1's classroom is difficult to judge. In order to shed light on the possible effects of the order of acquisition, the teachers were asked also about their views on the issue. Whether the teachers believed the order of acquisition having an effect, and what kind of an effect, will be briefly discussed in the next chapter.

### 7.5 The order of acquisition

It seems to be difficult to estimate the actual effects of the order of acquisition by comparing different learner groups as there are also plenty of other factors that interact with transfer and are difficult to distinguish from each other. Both Teachers 1 and 2 brought up more than once during the interviews that the learners who opt for an additional foreign language are mostly pupils that are linguistically more talented, and thus their average proficiency level is higher than of those who only learn English. So the positive effects of learning another foreign language per se are difficult to estimate. In this case, the problem of identifying which is the cause and which is the result is difficult (if not impossible) to overcome. According to both teachers (Teachers 1 and 2) who had experience on teaching English as L3, learning English is clearly easier for those who have already learned another foreign language before that. They acquire for example new vocabulary very fast. This is how Teacher 1 described the learning pace/efficiency of the learners of L3 English:

(38) T1: sen huomas sillon kun oli nää saksan ja ruotsin pitkät lukijat ja ne lähti lukee enlantia nii sittehän se oli niinku ihan ihan huimaa millä vauhilla mentiin se englanti ja ne sai sen niin nopeesti kiinni et se- ohikii siitä mitä oli nää muut että ihan ihan niinkun väärin päin lähtee tää kielen opetus [you could notice it when there were those learners of advanced German and Swedish and they started to learn English so then it was like dizzying the pace at which we went throught stuff in English and they caught it ((the level of L2 English learners)) up so fast so that- even past that where the others were so that this language learning is started the wrong way round]

It is possible that the knowledge of the earlier learned foreign language is the beneficial factor and that the positive transfer from that language is of help when learning English as L3. However, there are many other possible factors affecting the learning outcomes of L3 learners, one of them being the already mentioned linguistic aptitude. Another possible

explanation was provided by Teacher 1 who believed that it is the language learning strategies that are acquired in L2 learning that makes L3 learning more effortless. Even if not definable as linguistic transfer, the knowledge of learning strategies may be regarded as a specific type of positive influence of prior knowledge.

Yet another possible reason for the ease with which the L3 learners seem to learn English could be the dominant role of English in the modern world. As English is somewhat present in the learners' environment even before they start to learn it at school, they acquire some initial knowledge of it implicitly.

(39)T1: jo viidesluokkalainen nii vaikka se ei ois lukenu koulussa yhtään niin se osaa englantia [a fifth graders already even if they had not learned it at all at school they know English]

H: joo [yeah]

T1: et se on, se on niin erilainen kun- ja sitten varsinkii jos ne on lukenu sen niinkun ovat lukeneet sen aayks jonkun muun kielen kaikki tämmöset, tavat miten kieliä opiskellaan on jo periaatteessa niinkun jollain tavalla hallussa ja sitten vaan tällanen helppo joka jo osataan niin se napsahtaa niinkun ittestään paikoilleen

[so it is, it is so different from- and then especially if they have learned and as they have learned that other language as A1 they already like master somehow all this kind of, ways how languages are learned and then just this kind of an easy one that they already know so that like clicks into place by itself]

It seems that it is the order of acquisition that affects more than the number of languages, as Teacher 2 said that she had not noticed that those who start L3 would benefit from it in their L2, even though some reverse transfer (L3  $\rightarrow$  L2) occurs in vocabulary. She also believed that, for example in the case of L3 Spanish in their school, the L2 English had more influence on L3 Spanish than the other way round. Bearing in mind that the teacher did not teach Spanish herself her statement on this is more of a guess that reflects teachers own believes rather than a fact based on observing Spanish learners.

It is well possible that learning multiple foreign languages helps pupils to develop more efficient language learning strategies and provide useful linguistic knowledge that generate positive transfer between languages. However, it is also very possible, that it is not the number of languages learned, but the individual aptitude for language learning, that causes the positive effects. However, Teacher 1 said that the learners of two foreign languages are not such a homogenous group of linguistically talented pupils as they used to be, but these

days there are also less apt pupils who opt for the second foreign language. Investigating the interaction of all these factors more closely is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

The insights by the teachers interviewed have provided a general idea of the role that other languages have in an elementary school EFL classroom. Cross-linguistic comparison and contrasting is a strategy used by both teachers and pupils, and teachers believed that learning multiple languages supports EFL learning. However, L1 and optionally learned foreign languages also cause some confusion and accidental slips into learners' English. What kind of slips and transfer induced confusions end up in learner products? Some anecdotal examples provided by the teachers were presented in this chapter, but the question will be discussed more closely in the next chapter where I will move on to discuss the learner language samples that were elicited for the purposes of this study.

### 8 TRANSFER IN WRITTEN PRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the written samples of learner language and discusses the possible occurrences of transfer in those samples. The two elicitation tasks will be reviewed separately and then the results of each task will be compared with each other. The quantity of transfer will be investigated through presentation of numbers of transfer occurrences in each task and in each learner group, whereas the quality of transfer will be discussed through plentiful examples from the data and discussion on transfer categories (see also chapter 3.2 for the definitions of transfer categories). Throughout the analysis comparison will be made between learner groups.

#### 8.1 Free production task

The occurrences of lexical transfer in Task 1, that is, the free production task (see chapter 6.3.1), were placed in three main categories based on Nation's (2001) view on vocabulary knowledge and sub-categories following the lines of Meriläinen (2010). In this section, I will first present the percentage of transfer-induced lexical errors out of all the lexical errors

in each learner group and how much each transfer type accounted for that percentage. I will also pay attention to the possible differences between the learner groups as far as the type, source and amount of transfer are concerned. After that, I will move on to discuss more closely the types of transfer that occurred in Task 1, by providing concrete examples from the texts, and discuss the source of transfer.

In the products of Group Fr+En, altogether 33 lexical errors were detected in Task 1. 14 out of them were identified as transfer-induced errors: seven (7) as transfer in word form, four (4) as transfer in word meaning and (3) as transfer in word use. In Group En+Fr, the total number of lexical errors in Task 1 was 41, including 21 transfer-induced errors. 18 of the transfer errors were identified as transfer in form, one (1) of them as transfer in word meaning and four (4) errors as transfer in word use. In Group EnOnly the total number of lexical errors was 97. 28 of them were identified as transfer-induced errors: 16 as transfer in word form, 6 in word meaning and 6 in word use. It is worth noting that the numbers illustrate the number of error occurrences. In case one word included more than one error, each of those errors was counted as a single occurrence. Furthermore, if the same mistake was made more than once by the same pupil, each of the occasions was counted as one error occurrence. The percentages of the transfer-induced errors out of all lexical errors are presented in Figure 3.

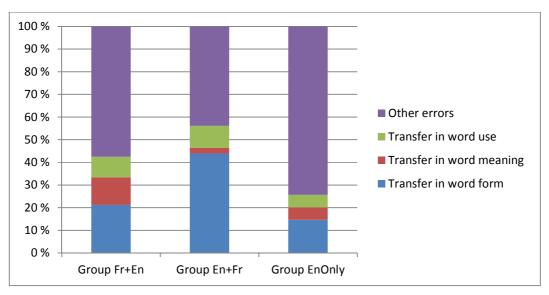


Figure 3: The percentages of transfer types in the lexical errors of each learner group

As Figure 3 shows, the total percentage of transfer was the highest in Group En+Fr, the second highest in Group Fr+En and the lowest in Group EnOnly. However, as the total number of lexical errors and the number of pupils varied from one group to another, the average number of transfer occurrences per pupil has to be counted before any conclusions on the relative frequency of transfer can be made. In Group Fr+En each pupil made 1.17 transfer-induced errors on average, in Group En+Fr the average number of transfer occurrences per pupil was 2.1 and in Group EnOnly the corresponding number was 1.47. Those numbers suggest that transfer is most common in the products of the learners of English as L2 (Groups En+Fr and EnOnly). This is contradictory to Dewaele's (1998) results, which suggest that L2 learners would rely more on intralingual sources, L3 learners drawing more from interlingual sources.

The source of the most transfer errors in Task 1 was Finnish. Only two (2) errors in Group Fr+En and seven (7) errors in Group En+Fr were identified as combined transfer from Finnish and French. Those errors were all orthographic errors related to the use of capital letters. The fact that no semantic transfer or transfer in word use originated from French aligns with Ringbom's (2007: 86) observation that semantic transfer is mostly L1 transfer. The source languages and their proportion in each learner group are discussed more closely in the context of Task 2, which prompted more transfer from French. Next, I will move on to discuss each of the transfer categories in detail and present how each transfer category showed in the learner products in Task 1.

### 8.1.1 Transfer in word form

Transfer in word form, or formal transfer, is divided into five sub-categories: substitution, relexification, orthographic transfer, phonological transfer and morphological transfer. (For definitions see Chapter 3 above.) The only substitution in the data occurred in the use of the word *India*, which was written by four different pupils as *Intia*. As Meriläinen (2010: 70) points out, substitutions are typical in Finnish words that are of a foreign origin or in proper names, since the learner may not be familiar with the English translation of the name. As some proper names do not have a Finnish translation but are the same in Finnish and in English, it is possible that the learners, especially young learners, do not even realise that

also the proper names should be translated into the target language. Consequently, India, as a name of a country, is a very typical item for substitution. Even though I have labelled *Intia* as a substitution from L1, it is also possible that it results from phonetic transfer. The TL form *India* and SL form *Intia* differ only in regard of one sound, and more specifically only in regard of the voiced/voiceless aspect of that sound. Thus, a possible interpretation is that the learners would have produced the target language form erroneously due to the Finns' difficulty of distinguishing voiced sounds from their voiceless counterparts, as original Finnish sound system does not include voiced sounds. This kind of ambiguity in the cause of transfer is not rare and it illustrates how identifying transfer in learner products is always, to an extent, a matter of interpretation.

Also in the second category of formal transfer, relexification, only one occurrence was found in the free production samples. A pupil in Group EnOnly described her/his summer holiday and produced the sentence *I go to Midsummer Sweden*, *I have football turn*, the meaning of which was slightly unclear. Based on the context, I interpreted she or he was referring to a football tournament. It seems plausible that the pupil would have taken the Finnish word *turnaus* (Engl. *tournament*) and shortened it to a form that seems/sounds more TL-like. As *turn* is also an actual English word, the possibility of a semantic error or an error in word use has to be taken into account. However, in this context there is no motivation for such interpretation and, thus, it seems unlikely.

Most of the transfer-induced lexical errors in Task 1 fell into the third category of formal transfer, that of orthographic transfer, which is further divided into more specific types of orthographic errors: an erroneous letter or letters in the words, errors in compounding, errors in the use of upper case/lower case letters and errors in the use of characters (other than actual letters). Again, only one (1) occurrence, *limonade* (pro. *Lemonade*), in Task 1 could be placed into the first sub-category. The Finnish equivalent for *lemonade* is *limonaadi* and, thus, it seems self-evident that the Finnish form had affected how the pupil spelled the TL form. Errors in word compounding, more specifically compounding words that should be spelled separately, are assumedly typical for Finnish learners of English as Finnish language is rich in compounds, whereas in English it is more common that multiword items are conventionally written as separate words. As presupposed, the learners'

tendency to write multi-word items as single items was relatively strong in the present data. Altogether 15 transfer-induced errors in compounding were found in Task 1 data. The data included ten (10) cases where a multi-word item was erroneously written as one word. Such items were for example *icehockey* (pro. *ice hockey*, Fin. *jääkiekko*), *littlesister* (pro. *little sister*, Fin. *pikkusisko*) and *summerholiday* (pro. *summer holiday*, Fin. *kesäloma*).

Three (3) errors out of the 15 compounding errors concerned the use of a hyphen. According to the Finnish writing convention, compound words are hyphenated if the second part starts with the same vowel as the first part ends. Such words are for example linja-auto, ulko-ovi, tiistai-ilta and vapaa-aika. Two (2) pupils transferred this convention into their English products, as one (1) of them wrote free-time (cf. Fin. vapaa-aika) and another one (1) produced a word *competition-aerobic* (cf. Fin kilpa-aerobic), which is an erroneous word in other ways too, but that will be discussed in the section of semantic transfer. Both pupils transferred the hyphen directly from the Finnish equivalents vapaaaika and kilpa-aerobic, regardless of the fact that, even according to the Finnish writing convention, the English words free and time would not require a hyphen in between. The third error concerning the use of hyphen in the data was in the noun phrase favourite colour and –animal. In this case the learner has correctly written the words separately rather than as one word like the Finnish equivalent *lempiväri*. However, the learner has applied the hyphen as it would be in the equivalent Finnish phrase lempiväri ja –eläin, where the hyphen is used to mark the ellipsis of the first part of the compound *lempieläin*. This illustrates how, even when writing favourite animal separately as it conventionally should be written, in some level the learner still perceived it as a similar compound as its Finnish equivalent and thus deemed appropriate to mark the ellipsis as it is done in the case of Finnish compounds.

Two (2) more erroneous compound forms were found in the data. A pupil in group En+Fr described the colours of her cats as *black-white* and *white-black*. In this case, the pupil has formed compounds to describe combinations of colours as it is done in Finnish, as opposed to the conventional English spelling *black-and-white* and *white-and-black*.

The incidents in the next sub-category, transfer-induced confusions in the use of upper case letters, were eight (8) in total and occurred in the names of languages, the names of the months and the pronoun *I*. For example, one (1) pupil in group En+Fr wrote *I can speak finnish, english and french* (pro. *I can speak Finnish, English and French.*). Reason for the erroneous spelling in the names of the languages is highly understandable when pointed out that in Finnish, as well as in French, the names of languages are spelled with a lower case initial. The same applies to the names of the months, which explains the erroneous spelling by another student in Group En+Fr who wrote *june and july* (pro. *June and July*). Two (2) pupils in Groups Fr+En and En+Fr wrote the pronoun *I* in the lower case, which I also interpreted as combined transfer from Finnish and French, where the equivalent pronouns *minä/je* are written with a lower case initial. However, in case of *I* the source of error is not completely clear. The erroneous spelling of *I* as *i* might also be due to overgeneralisation of the English rule to write other personal pronouns with a lower case initial. In order to draw firm conclusions about CLI in this case, the products of Finnish learners should be compared with those of learners with a different L1.

Transfer in the use of characters other than letters, the last sub-category labelled under orthographic transfer, is a data-driven category added to this study on top of the categories applied from Meriläinen (2010). Two (2) occasions occurred in the data where the pupil left out the apostrophe in the combined form I'm and spelled it as Im. When taking into consideration that apostrophe rarely occurs in Finnish spelling, such an error could be regarded as transfer from Finnish.

The next category, phonetic transfer, included five (5) errors detected from the data. As there are no voiced sounds in original Finnish words, the Finns generally have difficulties distinguishing voiced sounds from their voiceless counterparts. The following occurrences where voiced and voiceless sounds were confused were found in the data: *thing* (pro *think*), *think* (pro. *thing*), *guestion* (*question*), *exagly* (pro *exactly*) and *ice gream* (pro. *ice cream*). In case of *guestion*, the cause of error is not as clear as in the other occasions. As both letters *g* and *q* are not found in the original Finnish vocabulary, they are relatively unfamiliar letters for elementary school pupils and, as the two letters resemble each other in appearance especially in hand writing, it is possible that the learner confused the letters

because of their visual similarity and not because of phonological confusion. However, it seems probable that the phonological confusion plays at least a partial role here and, thus, I have included the error in the category of phonological transfer.

The last sub-category of formal transfer is morphological transfer. Plenty of morphological transfer occurred in the current data, but most of it was more related to syntax than vocabulary and is therefore excluded from the present analysis. In the current data, three (3) occurrences of lexical morphological transfer were identified, two (2) of which were erroneous conjugation of the word who and one (1) of the word what. One pupil in Group Fr+En produced a sentence Who's are your family? and another pupil in group En+Fr used the same erroneous form of who in a sentence Who's belong to your family?. Regarding the sentence context and the plural conjugation of the verb, it seems obvious that both the pupils tried to form a plural form of the word who by adding an s, which is the plural marker in English. In reality, there is no distinct plural form for who in English, but the same form is used in both singular and plural meaning, whereas in Finnish who+SING is kuka and who+PL is ketkä. The case with what is very similar. The pupil wrote a question What's do you like? and listed her or his own favourite things after that, which suggests that she or he tried to find out not only one but multiple things that the recipient liked. In Finnish, there are distinctive singular and plural forms for word what: mikä (sing.) and mitkä (pl.), which probably caused the learner to try to produce a plural form for what, which does not exist in English.

The morphological errors described above are very illustrative cases of morphological transfer that is clearly lexical and not syntactic. It is not the sentence where the word occurs, but rather the properties of the word itself that make the attempted plural form erroneous. To illustrate the difference of lexical morphological transfer and syntactic morphological transfer, I will present another example of erroneous use of plural/singular. It was a common error in the learners' texts that after a numeral modifier the head noun was in singular, which is the correct conjugation in Finnish. One pupil, for example, wrote *I have two little sister* (pro. *I have two little sisters*). In this case, the word *sister* in itself does not require a plural from but it is the matter of how the word is combined with other words that make the plural form necessary and, thus, the error is considered syntactic. Therefore,

all the similar errors were excluded from the current analysis, which concerns only lexical transfer.

The data in Task 1 included several occasions of what can be interpreted as transfer in word form, but most of the formal transfer recognised in the data is found in Task 2. As Task 2 was very different in nature than Task 1, I considered justified to analyse the data from the two tasks separately. Thus, the transfer in Task 2 will be discussed in Chapter 8.2. Next, I will move on to discuss what kind of semantic transfer, that is, transfer in word meaning, occurred in Task 1.

### 8.1.2 Transfer in word meaning

In the present study, transfer in word meaning is divided into two sub-categories, semantic extension and loan translation, which are both rather unambiguous in comparison to the transfer categories in the previous section. In order to identify a semantic error, the whole sentence, or even a wider context, must be examined. The occurrences of formal transfer in Task 1 were rather similar in the products of different pupils, whereas the semantic transfer in the data was more varied. For this reason, I will analyse each individual occurrence separately.

In all the three learner groups, altogether seven (7) transfer-based semantic extensions were detected. They are all presented in the list below, where the semantically erroneous words are marked in bold.

- (40) Our winter is end of this year because summer is coming to Finland? (pro Our winter is over this year because summer is coming to Finland?)
- (41) How much is your school trip? (pro How long is your way to school? Spoken Finnish Miten paljon sun koulumatka on?)
- (42) There is asks to you. (pro There are questions for you? Fin. kysy $\ddot{a} = v$ . ask, kysymys = n. question)
- (43) a. Intia is a beautiful **land**. (pro India is a beautiful country. Fin. maa = country, land)

- b. Is in your **land** snakes and is there elephants? (pro Are there snakes in your country and are there elephants?)
- (44) a. In **Finland** icehockey means jääkiekko. (pro In Finnish icehockey is jääkiekko. Fi. Suomi = Finland, suomi = Finnish)
  - b. I want to tell you about my life in **Finish**. (pro I want to tell you about my life in Finland.)

Example 40 illustrates how transfer is not necessarily based on a written language norm, but can derive from a spoken language convention. The pupil erroneously used the word *end* when trying to convey the meaning that the winter is over. *Over* and *end* share semantic features and thus the confusion is understandable. It is even more so when the Finnish equivalents of to *end* is considered. The Finnish noun *loppu* translates as *end*, but in spoken language, the adverb *loppunut*, meaning *over* or *run out*, is also often shortened as *loppu*. Thus, semantic extension based on Finnish is the most plausible explanation to this particular error. In Example 41, the pupil has extended the meaning of the word *trip*. In Finnish both *way*, in the meaning of a route from point a to point b, and *trip* are referred to with the same word *matka*. In case of Example 41, the pupil has extended the meaning of *trip* to correspond to the meaning of the Finnish word *matka*. The transfer process in Examples 43 a and b is similar to that of the semantic extension of the word *trip* in example 41. In Finnish the word *maa* refers to both a country and a land. Thus the learner has not recognise the need to distinguish the meanings of the two English words and has extended the meaning of *land* to refer to the same referents as the Finnish *maa*.

In Example 42 the transfer process is slightly different. It is not a classic example of semantic transfer in a way that an actual English noun would have been used instead of the correct noun. In this case, an English verb has been erroneously used as a noun, that is, the grammatical category of the word has been changed. It is possible that when a learner does not know the word *question*, she or he applies a word that is familiar to her or him and is semantically related to the intended meaning. Considering that in Finnish the verb *kysyä* (Engl. to ask) and the noun *kysymys* (Engl. question) derive from the same root, it seems justified to suggest that this derivative link in Finnish made the pupil to assume a similar link between the English equivalents and thus the error is deemed as transfer from Finnish.

In Examples 44 a and b, the pupils have confused the words *Finland* and *Finnish*. For an English speaker this kind of an error might appear very strange as the meanings of the two words are very different, one of them referring to a country and another one referring to a language. However, looking at the Finnish equivalents for the words sheds light on the production of such an error. In Finnish, most often the name of a country and the name of the country's native language are the same, with only a minor difference in spelling, names of the countries being spelled with a capital letter whereas the languages being not. For this reason, it is understandable that elementary level learners easily confuse the two words. They perceive either *Finland* or *Finnish* as translations for both *Suomi and suomi* and, thus, use it in the wrong meaning.

The second sub-category of semantic transfer, loan translations, consists of four (4) occurrences, which also derived from all the three learner groups. All the loan translations in the current data were translations from Finnish compounds where both parts were translated literally into English. Below, there is a list of the loan translations found in the data.

- (45) competition-aerobic (pro. sport aerobics, Fin. kilpa-aerobic, kilpa = competition + aerobic = aerobics)
- (46) letter friend and "letterfriend" (pro. penfriend, Fin. kirjeystävä, kirje = letter + ystävä = friend)
- (47)  $class\ tripp\ (pro.\ field\ trip,\ Fin.\ luokkaretki,\ luokka=class+retki=trip)$

The above examples are rather self-explanatory and loan translations are relatively easy to recognise in learner products. In other words, the transfer process is rather transparent. Next, I will move on to discuss the third and last category of lexical transfer in Task 1, that is, transfer in word use.

#### 8.1.3 Transfer in word use

This transfer category resembles partly syntactic transfer and partly semantic transfer. Thus, defining errors in this category must be done carefully and different definitions are possible for this transfer type. The approach to this category that is used in the present study is rather moderate, and consequently very few transfer occurrences in the present data were labelled as transfer in word use. I will, however, present and discuss also some borderline cases to illustrate how I defined the distinction between transfer in word use and syntactic transfer.

The first one of the two sub-categories of transfer in word use is that of collocations. When identifying collocational errors, a major challenge is how to define what deviant use of collocation is. One pupil, for example, wrote *Finland is little and cold country*. This may sound slightly foreign, as country is more frequently combined with the adjective *small* than *little*. It is probable that this slightly foreign expression is due to transfer from Finnish since there is only one adjective *pieni* to refer to both small and little and, thus, the learner does not perceive or pay attention to the difference between the two adjectives.

Five (5) more occurrences were labelled as transfer in collocation. Those were less subtle cases and more clearly definable as errors. Those errors are listed below, followed by the assumed sources in Finnish.

- (48) How much is your school trip? (pro. Long, spoken Finnish Paljonko sun koulumatka on?)
- (49) we had a class tripp (pro made, Fin. Meillä oli luokkaretki.)
- (50) a. There is **much** forest (pro a lot of/lots of)
  - b. I write quite much (pro a lot)
- (51) *Ok, no I stop the letter* (pro *finish*, Fin. *lopettaa = stop, finish*)

The first of the above examples is a good illustration of how the source of transfer is not always a written language norm but it can derive from spoken language as well. In written

language the length of one's way to school would be inquired with the expression how long/kuinka pitkä both in English as well as in Finnish. However, in spoken Finnish it is also possible to ask Miten paljon...? (Engl. How much...?) when referring to the length of one's way to school or to the time required to transport that way, whereas in English the use of how much in such a context seems rather odd and misleads the reader to interpret that the questions is about a cost. The second example is yet another intriguing one. In English, it is colloquial to say make a trip, whereas have a trip is a foreign construction. In Finnish the same applies to an extent. When talking about any trip in general, it is more common to say teimme retken (Engl. we made a trip). However, when talking about a field trip both the expressions teimme luokkaretken and meillä oli luokkaretki are used, which seems to be a plausible reason for the pupil's choice of the verb to have in the English sentence.

Two similar errors in the use of the word *much* was detected in the texts of two different pupils. The expressions *a lot* (*of*) / *lots of* / *much* all translate into Finnish as *paljon* and thus it is understandable that the learners easily choose an incorrect translation as they do not internalise the difference in the usages of those English expressions. This kind of an error is somewhat similar to errors due to semantic extension as in both cases there are more than one translation for one Finnish word. However, there is a significant difference between these two error types. In case of semantic extensions the multiple English translations for the Finnish word differ in meaning, whereas in the case of *a lot* / *lots of* and *much* the meaning of the expressions is the same but they have different grammatical constraints, in other words, it depends on the structure of the clause which one of the expressions should be used. The last example on erroneous use of the verb *stop* also resembles semantic transfer in the way that the error is due to a single Finnish word having multiple translations into English. However, again the English equivalents do not differ in meaning but in how they are used in combination with other words.

The second of the two subcategories in word use errors is that of functional transfer. This subcategory is the one that is the most closely related to syntax. As functional transfer, I labelled those errors that were similar to semantic extensions but concerned the choice of function words (words that per so do not bear meaning, that is, pronouns, particles,

connectors etc.), following the categorisation of Meriläinen (2010). The six (6) cases of functional transfer presented below were identified in the texts.

- (52) a. I have a dog[...] it's four years old. (pro he's)
  - b. I have a dog, too. It's name is called Musti. (pro his)
- (53) and **if** you don't know, I live in Finland (pro in case)
- (54) What do you like it? (pro how)
- (55) a. Are you lots of friends in India? (pro Do you have lots of friends in India?)
  - b. Are you pets or favourite animals? (pro Do you have pets or favourite animals?)

In the first two examples, 52 a and b, the pupils used an incorrect personal pronoun to refer to a dog. In Finnish, pets are most commonly referred to as *se* (*it*), *hän* (*he/she*) being a pronoun almost exclusively used for human referents, whereas in English *he/she* is conventionally used to refer to pets as well.

Examples 52 a and b are clearly lexical errors, whereas Example 53 could be more easily confused with syntactic transfer. Thus, a careful consideration on the type of error is needed. The clause and if you don't know is a perfectly functional clause and the subsequent main clause has to be considered in order to spot the error. Still the whole extract is grammatically correct, but it does not convey the intended meaning correctly. The sentence, as it is written, suggests that the living environment of the speaker is dependable on whether the recipient knows about it or not. Such a condition seems clearly odd and it is rather obvious that the speaker has actually meant that she or he should state her or his country of residence in case the recipient is not aware of it yet. The conjunction if has slightly different functions in Finnish than in English. In English it has stronger conditional meaning. The Finnish jos has the same basic meaning as its English counterpart if, but in spoken language it is acceptable to say jos nyt et tiedä, niin minä asun Suomessa to convey the meaning in case you don't know where I live, I should inform you that I live in Finland. Of course, such a complicated sentence is unnecessary also in English, but the meaning cannot be summarised by using the conjunction if but rather by the expression in case.

Example 54 is simpler and more obvious. In Finnish one's opinion on something is not asked *Miten pidät siitä?* (lit. *How do you like it?*), but rather *Mitä pidät siitä?* (lit. *What do you like it?*), which explains the pupil's choice of interrogative *what* in the sentence. The last two examples, Examples 55 a and b, contains an error in the choice of auxiliary. In both sentences, the pupil has used the auxiliary *be* instead of *have*. Both these verbs translate into Finnish as *olla*, and thus confusing the two English auxiliaries is understandable.

As the above examples illustrate, transfer can manifest itself in various types of errors in the production of elementary level English learners. Not many differences occurred between the learner groups as far as the type, amount and source of transfer is concerned. The only transfer occurrences of combined transfer were errors in word form, whereas all the transfer-induced errors in word meaning or use reflected influence from Finnish. In the next section, I will move on to discuss lexical transfer in Task 2, which was a partially prestructured production task. Due to the nature of the task, the quality of transfer was different than in the learners' products in Task 1.

### 8.2 Producing words for a given category

In Task 2, most errors that occurred were formal errors, which is partially due to the nature of the task. As the words were not used in a context, errors in word use could not be existent. Some errors in meaning occurred, but since the items in the given category were mostly short single-word items, another one of the two types of semantic transfer, loan translations, did not occur in the data. Below, I will present the types of formal errors that occurred in the data giving first closer attention to the elicitation items that were predetermined by the pictures on the worksheet.

### 8.2.1 Predetermined elicitation items

In Task 2, five pictures of food items were presented on the worksheet in order to provide ideas for suitable vocabulary and also to elicit vocabulary that seems particularly favourable for transfer from French to English due to their relatedness/close resemblance in

the two languages. Consequently, observing foreign language transfer in particular was emphasised more in the design of Task 2 than that of Task 1. The example items were: *pineapple* (French: *ananas*), *tomato* (Fr: *tomate*), *onion* (Fr: *oignon*), *cucumber* (Fr: *concombre*), *French fries* (Fr: *frites*) and *sausage* (Fr: *saucisse*). These elicitation items will be analysed in more detail than other words produced by the pupils in Tasks 1 and 2, of which only some examples will be presented. In Task 1, most of the transfer detected was from Finnish, but in Task 2 also several manifestations of foreign language transfer from French were identified. Thus, the source of transfer is one of the main issues discussed in this chapter. Below, I will present the findings in each learner group separately, which allows inter-group comparison.

In order to investigate how common transfer-based errors were in the predetermined lexical items, it is necessary to count first how many students produced the words in the first place, whether in the correct or in an erroneous form. In Group Fr+En, the word *pineapple* was produced by 11 pupils, *tomato* and *onion* by all 12 pupils, *cucumber* by 10 pupils, *French fries* by five (5) pupils and *sausage* by 11 pupils. (These numbers include also the erroneous forms.) Erroneous forms that were identified as transfer from Finnish in the production of these words were *tomatto* (pro *tomato*, Finnish *tomaatti*) and *Frens fries*, which reflects orthographic influence from Finnish, and *cucumper* (pro *cucumber*), which shows phonetic transfer. Combined orthographic transfer from Finnish and French occurred in two cases where a pupil had written French fries with a lower case initial. Transfer from French was identified in one case of substitution, that is, *frenc frites* (pro *French fries*, French: *frites*).

The word that was produced erroneously the most often in group Fr+En was, as assumed, *pineapple*. Only four (4) out of 11 produced it correctly and four (4) of the erroneous forms were identified as substitutions, as those pupils had produced the form *ananas*, which can be transferred either from Finnish or French, or from both.

In the production of the predetermined items of Group Fr+En, there were altogether three (3) occurrences of transfer from Finnish, one (1) occurrence of transfer from French and six (6) occurrences of combined transfer. Figure 4 shows the number of non-transfer forms of

each elicitation item and the proportion between forms influenced by Finnish, forms influenced by French and forms influenced by combined transfer.

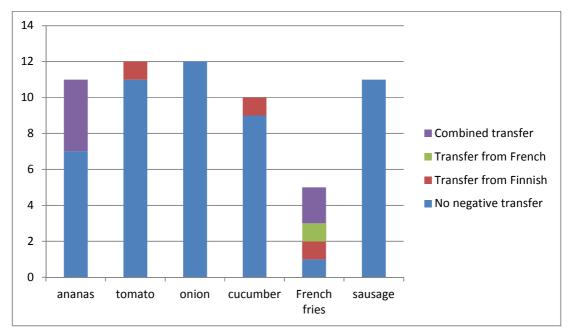


Figure 4: The number of produced elicitation items and the number of forms reflecting transfer in Group Fr+En

As far as Group Fr+En is concerned, the items that seem particularly favourable to transfer from French elicitated only one (1) clear occurrence of French transfer. Possible transfer from French was manifested in the production of the erroneous form *ananas* (pineapple). However, as it might as well be influence from Finnish, comparison with the other two learner groups is needed in order to draw any conclusions of the origins of transfer in this particular case. All in all, the near zero manifestation of L2 transfer in these given lexical items suggests that negative lexical transfer from L2 to L3 in the early stages of learning is minimal. However, as already mentioned several times, errors are not the only possible results of transfer but transfer may also have positive effects. It is possible that the closely related French words had facilitated the learning of these English words and reinforced their storing in the learners' minds. Again, comparison with the other learner groups is needed in order to support or to disprove such speculations. Thus, I will next move on to discuss the production of these particular lexical items in the two other learner groups.

Also in the Group En+Fr, that is, the L2 English learners who study French as L3, CLI showed in the production of the word *pineapple*, as one (1) pupil produced the form

ananas. In Group En+Fr, unlike in Group Fr+En, also the word tomato was a target of cross-linguistic influence. Two (2) pupils produced the form tomate (pro tomato, Fr. tomate) which is a substitution from French. As well as in Group Fr+En, in Group En+Fr the word *onion* did not cause difficulties, as all the six (6) pupils that produced it did it correctly. The word *cucumber* evoked French influence also in this group. Three (3) pupils produced a form that showed possible influence from French. Those erroneous forms were a concombre, which is a substitution, and cucumbre and cocomber (Fr. concombre) which show orthographic influence from French. The word French fries was spelled erroneously with a lower case initial twice in this group, which is interpreted as combined transfer. In one of these two cases, the complete form used was French potatoes, which also includes semantic transfer, being a partial loan translation from Finnish ranskalaiset perunat (lit. French potatoes). As well as in Group Fr+En, in this group the word sausage did not elicit any CLI. In the products of Group En+Fr, five (5) occurrences of CLI from French (L3 transfer), three (3) occurrences of combined transfer and no purely Finnish transfer were identified in the data. The number of forms that showed no CLI and the number of transferinduced erroneous forms in each given item in Group En+Fr are illustrated in Figure 5.

The absence of L1 transfer and the presence of L3 transfer in this group, suggests that L3 was more activated in the learners' mind than L1 during L2 production. This contradicts with Dewaele's (1998) claim that L2 learners would use their L1 more as a source than L3.

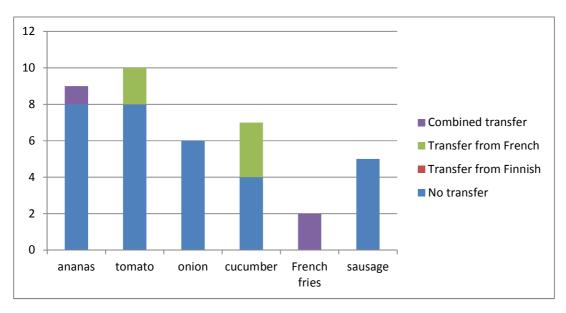


Figure 5: The number of produced elicitation items and the number of forms reflecting transfer in Group En+Fr

In order to support the role of French as a source language it is still necessary to compare the English products of the learners who learn French with those who do not learn French, that is, Group EnOnly. Also in Group EnOnly there were three (3) pupils who produced the form ananas (pro pineapple) and one (1) produced a relexification anana. As the pupils in Group EnOnly do not know any French, such transfer has to originate from Finnish. As this transfer error was common also among learners with no knowledge of French, it is likely that it reflects more influence from Finnish than from French also in the products of the other two learner groups. It is noteworthy that only two (2) other transfer errors in word form concerning the given elicitation items were found in the data of Group EnOnly. One pupil had produced an erroneous form ciukamper (pro cucumber), which includes an occurrence of orthographic transfer from Finnish, the replacement of c by c0, as well as an occurrence of phonetic transfer, the replacement of c1 by c2. Figure 6 below shows the total number of occurrences of each item in the products of Group EnOnly and the proportion of forms that contained transfer-induced errors.

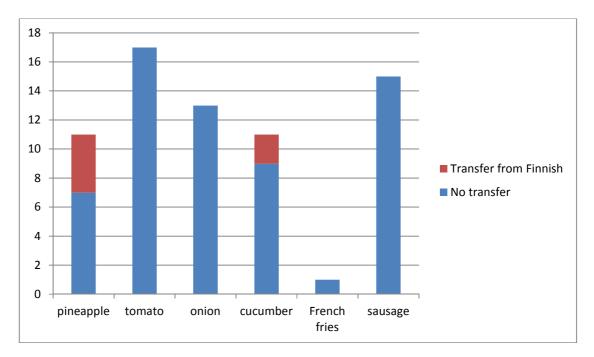


Figure 6: The number of produced elicitation items and the number of forms reflecting transfer in Group EnOnly

Considering the number of students, the proportion of L1 transfer in this last group was actually lower compared to the combined amount of L1 and combined L1+L2 in group

Fr+En, this suggests that the amount of foreign languages learned does not decrease the amount of L1 transfer.

#### 8.2.2 Transfer in all lexical items

Next, I will discuss the total number of transfer-induced errors in Task 2 in each learner group and categorize them into sub-categories used also in the analysis of Task 1. In addition, I will define the role of each source language (Finnish and French) in the production of each group and compare them with each other. Some discussion on the possible reasons why these items seem to be particularly transferable will be also included.

First sub-category is that of substitution. The only two (2) words that were substituted with the Finnish equivalent in Task 2 were ananas (pro pineapple) and tee (pro tea). As far as the word tea is concerned, the reason for substitution seems rather obvious as the words are formally almost identical in both languages. As presented above, altogether eight (8) pupils substituted the word pineapple with the form ananas. In case of Group Fr+En and En+Fr this was interpreted as combined transfer, whereas in case of the three (3) pupils in Group EnOnly who produced this form, it has to be interpreted as transfer from Finnish, since the pupils had no knowledge of French. Substitution of tea with the Finnish equivalent tee was done only by one (1) pupil. As far as the word tea is concerned, the reason for substitution seems rather obvious as the words are formally almost identical in both languages. The word *pineapple* is a peculiar case since it is identical in form in Finnish and in French (ananas) and yet completely different in English. That kind of vocabulary is rare, since, on one hand, most Finnish loan words are borrowed from Germanic languages (English being one of them) and, on the other hand, lots of English vocabulary is borrowed from English. Thus, it is more common that English and French words resemble each other and that foreign loans in Finnish are formally similar to English rather than to French words. The word ananas originates from a South-African Tupian language and has spread into many European languages through Portuguese (Häkkinen 2009:52). Being a very international word, ananas may sound like a foreign language item to the learners and, thus, it is easily transferrable to other foreign languages.

Substitutions from French were more numerous in the data and altogether eight (8) occurrences were identified, one being the above discussed *french frites*, where the second word seems to be directly transferred from French without modifications. Another French substitute was (a) citron (pro lemon), which was produced by two pupils. Speculations on the source of transfer in the case of citron can be raised as the Finnish equivalent sitruuna bears formal similarity to the French word and thus it could be suggested that the choice of the French form citron over the English lemon was encouraged by its resemblance to the Finnish equivalent. Thus, I have defined the occurrence as combined transfer from both Finnish and French. The other French substitutions all occurred in the products of Group En+Fr, including four (4) occurrences of banane (pro banana, Fr. banane) two (2) occurrences of tomate (pro tomato, Fr. tomate) and one (1) occurrence of concombre (pro cucumber, Fr. concombre).

The second type of lexical transfer found in Task 2 is relexification, which occurred in all three learner groups and, unlike substitution, was not restricted to certain items but the occurrences were more varied. The following Finnish-based relexifications were identified: lakrits (pro liquorice, Finnish lakritsi), an anjow (pro anchovy, Fi anjovis), parron, paron (pro pear, Fi päärynä), anana (pro pineapple, Fi ananas) and pekon (pro bacon, Fi pekoni). In addition, the following relexification based on combined influence from Finnish and French was found in the data of Group En+Fr: kakao (pro cocoa, Fi. kaakao, Fr. cacao) The pupils who produced the words lakrits and pekon clearly had some intuition about Finnish word formation as many foreign loans, when integrated into Finnish, have received the vowel i at the end, such as point  $\rightarrow$  pointti, paper  $\rightarrow$  paperi, canyon  $\rightarrow$  kanjoni, tractor  $\rightarrow$  traktori, motive  $\rightarrow$  motivi. The pupils had obviously used this knowledge when trying to trace back the original foreign word. However, in this case such strategy resulted in erroneous forms.

In case of Finland, the possible influence of Swedish in written lexicon should always be taken into account. Even when the subjects have not learned any Swedish explicitly, they have been exposed to Swedish vocabulary, for example, via ingredient lists in the food packaging and have most probably gained some intuitive passive knowledge of Swedish.

This kind of passive knowledge might have affected for example the production of the forms *parron* and *paron* (pro *pear*, Swedish *päron*) as well as *lakrits* (pro *liquorice*, Fi. *lakritsi*, Swe. *lakrits*). This illustrates well how even passive exposure to individual lexical items can play a role in the language processing of an individual and, thus, it is rushed to trace all occurrences of CLI automatically back to the languages that the subject has explicitly learned in formal settings. In cases like this, where there are two possible sources for transfer, it is very difficult to define the actual source. Even a careful comparison between speakers of different native languages might not be of help as, if an L1 Swedish speaker who has not been exposed to any Finnish produced the form *paron*, it would clearly be influence from Swedish, but it does not mean that the similar form produced by a Finn would necessarily be influence from Swedish but rather from Finnish. Comparison with a Finnish speaker who has never been exposed to any Swedish could shed light on the issue if such a form was produced purely from Finnish basis, but as Finnish-speakers with zero exposure to Swedish are hard to find, at least in Finland, the issue remains unsolved.

Most of the transfer-induced errors in Task 2 fall under the category orthographic transfer, which is further divided into following subtypes: wrong letter/letter missing, compounding, upper case/lower case letter and others. In the category 'wrong letter/letter missing' were included all the cases where a letter was replaced by another one that is more typical to Finnish or French spelling. The most cases like this concerned the use of the letter s or k instead of c, which is an obvious influence from Finnish as c is not an original letter in the Finnish alphabet but only present in some modern loan words. Even in loan words the letter c has been most often replaced by s or k when the word has been integrated into Finnish. Examples of this kind of orthographic transfer in the present data were such forms as juise (pro juice), carlik (pro garlic) and sider (pro cider). Other occurrences of wrong letters or missing letters due to orthographic transfer were varied in nature and included such forms as limonade (pro lemonade, Fi. limonaadi), yougurt (pro yogurt, Fi. jugurtti), pitza (pro pizza, Fi. pitsa) and panncakes (pro pancakes, Fi. pannukakku). The letters that are marked in bold are the erroneous letters and their counterparts in the equivalent Finnish word.

Altogether five (5) occurrences of orthographic transfer manifesting itself in a wrong choice of a letter/letters could be traced back to French. Two (2) of those occurrences

concerned the word *cucumber* and were found in the productions of the Group En+Fr. The erroneous forms were *cucumbre*, *cocomber* (pro *cucumber*, Fr. *concombre*), which both, in terms of orthography, appear as mixtures of the English spelling and the French spelling. Other three (3) cases of orthographic transfer from French concerned the word *chocolate*, which was spelled by two pupils in Group Fr+En as *chocolat*, omitting the final *e* as is the French spelling convention of the word.

Compounding errors were rather common in this task, as well as in Task 1. As mentioned above, due to Finnish language being rich in compounds, Finns tend to compound words that should be spelled as separate lexical items. Altogether 11 compounding errors resulting from Finnish transfer were detected, including such forms as *strawberrycake* (*strawberry cake*), *orangedrink* (pro orange drink) and *icecream* (pro *ice cream*). Transfer errors in the use of upper case/lower case initials occurred in the word French fries, which was spelled with a lower case initial by four (4) pupils from Groups Fr+En and En+Fr and can be interpreted as combined transfer from Finnish and French. The last orthographic transfer category, errors in the use ofcharacters, consisted of only one (1) identified occurrence, where a pupil in Group En+Fr had omitted the apostrophe in the expression Mc Donald's.

The rest of the transfer-induced errors in word form in Task 2 consisted of 14 occurrences of phonetic transfer and three (3) occurrences of morphological transfer. Phonetic transfer manifested itself in forms like *carlik* (pro *garlic*), *blueperry* (pro *blueberry*) and *hampurger* (pro *hamburger*), which illustrate the Finnish learners' difficulty of differentiating voiced and voiceless sounds. All the three occurrences of morphological transfer in Task 2 concerned the use of the word *sweets*. In Finnish the singular form *karkki* is used to refer to either one piece of candy or a "mass" of sweets, whereas in English the word *sweet* as referring to candy is most often applied in plural form. Thus the use of the singular form *sweet* by three Finnish pupils is somewhat foreign in this context and reflects the Finnish convention of using the word *karkki* more often in singular than in plural.

The data of Task 2 did not contain only formal transfer but also transfer in word meaning, which was not, however, nearly as common as formal transfer. The task design was partly the reason why errors in word meaning were scarce. Semantic transfer detected in this task

consisted of four (4) occurrences of loan translations and three (3) occurrences of semantic extensions. All the loan translations were based on Finnish and included the interlanguage form *cheesehamburger* (pro *cheeseburger*, Fi. *juustohampurilainen*) and three different forms of intended *French fries*, which were *france fries*, *french potatoes* and *france potatoes* (Fi. *ranskalaiset perunat* or *ranskanperunat*). All the semantic extensions concerned extending a name of an animal to refer to its meat as a food item. The erroneously applied words were *sheep* (pro *lamb*) and *pig* (pro *pork*). Such errors are easily detectable as transfer from Finnish, where the corresponding words *lammas* ja *sika* are used to refer to both the animal and its meat. In the case of *sheep* the same applies to French as to Finnish and thus the two occurrences of the word *sheep* in Task 2 were considered combined transfer from Finnish and French, as they were produced by learners in Group Fr+En.

Even though Task 2 included predetermined vocabulary items that bear heavy resemblance between English and French and were, thus, assumed to provoke transfer from French, transfer from Finnish was still far more frequent in the products of Group Fr+En in Task 2. On the contrary, in Group En+Fr transfer from French was more frequent than transfer from Finnish. It is worth noting, however, that transfer from French manifested itself mostly as substitutions only in certain vocabulary items, whereas transfer from Finnish was more varied in the products of both Groups Fr+En and En+Fr, as well as in Task 1. Figure 7 below illustrates the proportion of transfer from Finnish and transfer from French in Task 2 in Groups Fr+En and En+Fr. Group EnOnly is not presented in the figure, since all the transfer occurrences in that group originated from Finnish by default.

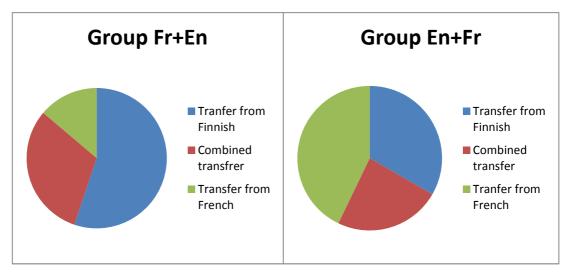


Figure 7: The proportion of source language of lexical transfer in Task 2

It is not only the number of transfer occurrences but the type of transfer that should be considered in order to know what kind of transfer processes take place between learners L1 and L2/L3 and between the learners L2 and L3. Thus, the numbers of occurrences in each transfer sub-category discussed above are presented in Figures 8, 9 and 10. Figure 8 illustrates the proportion of each sub-category of lexical transfer originating from Finnish, whereas Figure 9 shows the types of lexical transfer that show French influence. In Figure 10, the number of occurrences of combined transfer in each sub-category is presented.



Figure 8: Types of lexical transfer from Finnish in Task 2

As Figure 8 illustrates, orthographic transfer was the most common type of transfer from Finnish in Task 2, manifesting itself in 30 lexical errors detected in the learner products. Phonetic transfer also played a significant role, being the cause for altogether 13 errors, whereas other transfer types were relatively rare, each one being present in 1-7 learner errors. Even though the two transfer types, orthographic and phonetic transfer, dominated as the cause for Finnish-induced transfer errors, it is worth noting that each type of formal and semantic transfer was present in the data. That suggests that L1 transfer in the beginner level learners' products is manifold and influences the interlanguage production in various ways. For comparison, below is presented the proportion of each of the above discussed transfer types originating from French.

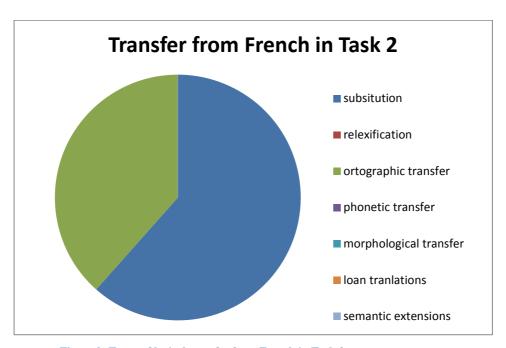


Figure 9: Types of lexical transfer from French in Task 2

Whereas the transfer from Finnish manifested itself in various types of errors, the influence from French was restricted to only two types of influence, substitutions and orthographic transfer, in the data of Task 2. It is also worth noting that the most common type of transfer from French was substitutions, which was a relatively rare transfer type as far as transfer from Finnish is concerned. The substitutions and orthographic transfer from French occurred in the production of items that are formally similar in French and English, which supports the hypothesis that foreign language transfer occurs mostly between formally similar items.

Combined transfer was almost exclusively transfer in form, including seven (7) occurrences of substitution, two (2) occurrences of relexification and four (4) occurrences of orthographic transfer. In addition, two (2) occurrences of semantic extensions were found. The proportions of the transfer types are illustrated in Figure 10 below.

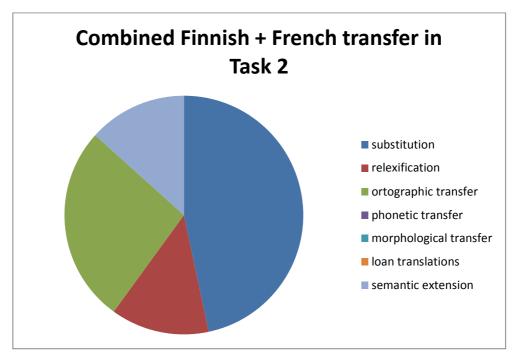


Figure 10: Types of combined lexical transfer from Finnish and French in Task 2  $\,$ 

Transfer from French and combined transfer found in the data was almost exclusively transfer in form, which supports Ringbom's (2001) claim that the SL proficiency has to be high for semantic transfer to occur. As there was no semantic transfer from French found in the present data but two occurrences of combined semantic transfer were identified, it is probable that in the case of combined semantic transfer L1 has a stronger role in triggering the transfer and L2 merely enforces it. This is also supported by the fact that also pupils who did not know any French produced the same semantic error (using the name of an animal to refer to its meat).

Both sets of data in the present study support the hypothesis that, even in the elementary levels of language learning, it is not only L1 but also L2/L3 that affects the learning and use of TL. However, based on the learner language samples it seems that L1 influence is clearly

stronger than foreign language influence and its effects are more varied. The results were surprising in the sense that more transfer was detected from L3 French in group En+Fr than transfer from L2 French in group Fr+En. This is contradictory to Hammarberg's (2001:37) view that lays emphasis on transfer from L2 to L3.

### 9 CONCLUSION

As the overview on the long and rich history of transfer studies suggest, CLI is a complex phenomenon and investigating it poses many methodological challenges. The present study sought to provide insights into CLI as it is perceived by language teachers and how it manifests itself in the elementary level of language learning. While Finland provides ideal settings for investigating the interaction between Finnish, Swedish and English, other language combinations have been much neglected in the Finnish transfer studies and this study sought to fill that gap. The emphasis was equally on L1 transfer as well as foreign language transfer.

The data of the present study consisted of two very different types of data, which both provided a slightly different approach to CLI. The teacher interviews concerned transfer in language learning in a broader sense, not only in the written production. Both positive and negative effects were discussed, the former one appearing as more dominant in the processes of language learning, as far as teachers' perceptions are concerned. The interview data also placed the emphasis on individual differences between learners, suggesting that it is highly dependable on the learner whether the outcome of CLI is negative (inhibitive) or positive (facilitative). The teachers' way of using comparisons between languages as a teaching strategy appeared to be more intuitive than calculated, which demonstrates how automatic a process making interlingual comparisons is. The teachers' reports suggested that both similarity relation and contrast relation between languages can provide useful insights into language teaching and learning.

The learner language samples provided more direct information on the learners' language use but, as their analysis focused on errors, the positive effects of transfer did not get much

attention in the analysis. This was one of the drawbacks of the study and methods for identifying positive effects of transfer should be developed and given more attention in the future studies. As far as transfer-induced errors are concerned, the learner data supported the hypothesis that foreign language transfer is mostly formal transfer and it occurs especially in items that bear cross-linguistic similarities. Foreign language transfer was mostly identified as formal transfer, whereas L1 transfer was more varied and showed influence in all three areas of lexical knowledge: word from, meaning and function. However, criticism could be expressed towards the design of Task 2, which by focusing on single words rather than words in context created settings where only a very limited amount of transfer in meaning and in use could occur and be plausibly identified. This put the emphasis on formal transfer.

The shortage of both data is that, they cannot provide direct and unambiguous information on the thought processes in the learners' mind. This problematic concerns almost any type of data on transfer and, consequently, I encourage introducing new methods, such as using self-reflection and self-narration combined with receptive or productive language tasks, into the field. However, using such methods requires advanced cognition and, thus, applying such methods for the target group of this study would have been challenging, as children's introspective skills might not meet the requirements of such self-reflection.

The present study did not aim to produce statistical data about the amount of transfer, but focused more on examining the quality of the transfer processes and outcomes. In addition to merely identifying and categorizing lexical transfer, the analysis section of the study succeeded in providing insights into what kind of transfer processes can be assumed in learners' minds based on the visible outcomes in written products. The analysis of the present data also aimed to point out the challenges that lie in the transfer identification process and to illustrate that straightforward assumptions on the source of transfer should be made carefully keeping in mind the various individual and environmental factors that may influence the individual learner's language production. In order to provide more plausible evidence for transfer, a control group of native speakers or other native languages could be used. However, considering the setting and the scope of the present study, such procedure would not have been possible to undertake. Also, as the present study aimed to

focus on the effects of order of acquisition and different foreign language combinations rather than the effects of different native languages, the choice of learner groups is justified.

The learner samples support De Angelis' (2007) claim that even in the elementary levels of language learning, the role of other foreign languages can be significant. However, whether the effects on learning are more positive or negative cannot be concluded from the present data. The teachers' reviews on CLI from L2/L3 in foreign language learning appeared more positive than negative, which suggests positive effects of transfer should be given more attention in the future studies. If more evidence for positive FL transfer could be obtained, it would bring attention to the advantages of learning multiple languages and, consequently, encourage multiple language learning, which has decreased in Finnish schools during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It could also encourage teachers to review their teaching methods and to consider how cross-linguistic comparisons could be utilized in teaching.

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## **Appendix 1: Teacher interview guide**

- 1. Taustatiedot:
  - a) Montako vuotta sinulla on opetuskokemusta yhteensä? Montako vuotta näistä on alakoulusta?
  - b) Onko sinulla kokemusta A2-englannin opettamisesta? Minkä verran (esim. moneltako vuodelta, paljonko ryhmiä?)?
  - c) Minkä verran (suunnilleen) A1-englannin opiskelijoista ryhmissäsi on A2-kielen lukijoita (tänä vuonna/yleensä)? (Onko A2-kieli kaikilla ranska vai onko muita kieliä?)
  - d) Mitä kieliä itse opetat/olet opettanut? Mitä muita kieliä osaat/tunnet jonkin verran (myös vähäiset tiedot tässä voi olla merkittäviä)?

Muistutan, ettei kysymyksiin ole olemassa oikeita vastauksia. Vastaukset täysin omien kokemusten/näkemysten pohjalta.

### Teema 1: Käsitykset äidinkielen roolista vieraan kielen oppimisessa

- 1. Millainen rooli sinun mielestäsi oppilaan äidinkielellä (suomi) on vieraan kielen (englanti) oppimisessa?
- 2. Onko suomen kieli (äidinkielenä) mielestäsi enemmän tukeva vai vaikeuttava tekijä englannin oppimisen kannalta? (Millaisia hyötyjä/haittoja siitä uskot oppilaille aiheutuvan?)
- 3. Minkä verran rinnastat opetuksessasi opittavaa kieltä (englanti) ja oppilaiden äidinkieltä (suomi)? Onko rinnastaminen mielestäsi tarpeellista/hyödyllistä? Entä voiko se sotkea oppilaita ja hankaloittaa oppimista?

# Teema 2: Äidinkielen rooli vieraan kielen (tässä: englanti) oppimisessa (konkreettiset/näkyvät vaikutukset)

- 4. Oletko huomannut suomen kielen vaikutusta alakoululaisten englannin kielen oppimisessa ja käytössä? Ovatko näkyvät vaikutukset positiivisia vai negatiivisia? Osaatko antaa ilmiöstä konkreettisia esimerkkejä?
- 5. Millä kielen osa-alueilla vaikutukset näkyvät?
  - Tuottaminen vs. ymmärtäminen
  - Kirjallinen vs. suullinen
  - Sanasto, rakenteet... Esimerkkejä?
- 6. Oletko huomannut oppilaiden tietoisesti vertaavan englantia äidinkieleensä (suomi)?

7. Jos vertaat englannin kielen vasta-alkajia (3.luokkalaiset) ja jo hieman kielitaitoa omaavia oppilaita (6.luokkalaiset), oletko havainnut näiden välillä eroa suomen kielen vaikutteiden määrässä ja laadussa?

# Teema 3: Käsitykset toisen vieraan kielen (ranska) roolista englannin oppimisessa Vastauksissa voi kommentoida myös muiden vieraiden kielten (kuin ranska) roolista.

- 8. Millainen rooli on mielestäsi oppilaiden toisella vieraalla kielellä (ranska) englannin oppimisessa?
- 9. Onko toinen vieras kieli (ranska) mielestäsi enemmän tukeva vai vaikeuttava tekijä englannin oppimisen kannalta? (Millaisia hyötyjä/haittoja siitä uskot oppilaille aiheutuvan?)
- 10. Rinnastat opetuksessasi opittavaa kieltä (englanti) ja toista vierasta kieltä (ranska)? Onko/olisiko rinnastaminen mielestäsi tarpeellista/hyödyllistä? Entä voiko se sotkea oppilaita?

# Teema 4: Toisen vieraan kielen (tässä: ranska) rooli englannin kielen oppimisessa (Oppilaat, joilla ranska ensimmäisenä tai toisena vieraana kielenä)

Vastauksissa voi kommentoida myös muiden vieraiden kielten (kuin ranska) vaikutuksia, jos niistä on kokemusta.

- 11. Oletko huomannut ranskan kielen vaikuttavan oppilaiden englannin kielen oppimiseen ja käyttöön? Jos olet, ovatko vaikutukset positiivisia vai negatiivisia, vai molempia? Esimerkkejä?
- 12. Millä kielen osa-alueilla vaikutukset näkyvät?
  - Tuottaminen vs. ymmärtäminen
  - Kirjallinen vs. suullinen
  - Sanasto, rakenteet... Esimerkkejä?
- 13. Jos vertaat ranskan ja englannin vasta-alkajia (4./5. luokka) ja oppilaita, joilla on jo hieman enemmän kielitaitoa kummassakin kielessä (6.luokka), oletko havainnut eroa näiden ryhmien välillä ranskan kielen vaikutteiden määrässä?
- 14. Oletko huomannut oppilaiden tietoisesti vertaavan englantia ja toista vierasta kieltään (ranska)?

### Teema 4: Oppilasryhmien vertailua

15. Kokemuksesi mukaan, ovatko ranskan (tai jonkin muun valinnaisen vieraan kielen) lukijoiden englannin taidon taso yleisesti ottaen parempi tai huonompi kuin pelkkää

- englantia kieltä lukevien? (Entä miten vertautuvat taitotasoltaan 6.luokkalaiset A1 ja A2 englannin opiskelijat?)
- 16. Onko suomen kielen vaikutteiden määrässä/laadussa mielestäsi eroja lisäkieltä (ranska) opiskelevien oppilaiden ja pelkkää englantia opiskelevien välillä? Tukeutuuko jompikumpi ryhmä enemmän äidinkieleensä?
- 17. Eroaako A1 ja A2 englannin opettaminen toisistaan? Miten? Pitäisikö A1 kieltä mielestäsi opettaa samalla lailla kuin A2 kieltä vai ei? Miksi/miksi ei?

## **Teema 5: Opettajan toiminta**

- 18. Onko opettajan omalla muiden kielten taidolla (englannin ja suomen lisäksi) mielestäsi merkitystä opettamisen kannalta?
- 19. Onko oppilaiden englannin kielen virheiden alkuperä (eli johtuuko virhe esim. äidinkielestä tai toisesta vieraasta kielestä) mielestäsi helppoa vai vaikeaa tunnistaa?

# **Appendix 2: Transcription symbols (Alanen 2006:222)**

```
italics = a linguistic example
UPPER CASE = loud speak
underlined = particularly stressed word
an interrupt- = an interrupted word or phrase
. = a pause with lowering intonation
, = a pause with continuing intonation
.... = a long pause/silence
((additional)) = an additional remark by the transcriber
(xx) = unheard speech
(something) = unclear speech
```

# **Appendix 3: Learner background information sheet**

Mikä on äidinkielesi?  ENGLANTI  Miten kauan olet opiskellut englantia koulussa?	
2. Miten kauan olet opiskellut <b>englantia</b> koulussa?	
<ol> <li>Käytätkö englantia muualla kuin koulussa ja läksyjä tehdessä (Laita rasti sopivalle viivalle.)</li> </ol>	si?
kyllä en	
<ul> <li>a) Jos vastasit kyllä, missä tilanteissa käytät englantia? (Lait kaikkiin sopiviin kohtiin.)</li> </ul>	ta rasti
luen englanninkielisiä kirjoja tai lehtiä	
pelaan pelejä englanniksi	
kuuntelen englanninkielistä musiikkia	
katson englanninkielisiä televisio-ohjelmia tai elokuvia	
puhun englantia sukulaisten tai kavereiden kanssa	
puhun englantia kotona perheenjäsenen/perheenjäsenter	1
kanssa	
matkustaessa ulkomailla	
muu, mikä?	

	b) Jos vastasit kyllä, miten usein yleensä käytät englantia muualla kuin koulussa ja läksyjä tehdessäsi?
	joka päivä
	joka viikko
	joka kuukausi
	harvemmin
R	ANSKA
4.	Miten kauan olet opiskellut <b>ranskaa</b> koulussa?
5.	Käytätkö <b>ranskaa</b> muualla kuin koulussa ja läksyjä tehdessäsi?
	kyllä en
	$\alpha$ ) <b>Jos vastasit kyllä</b> , missä muualla/miten käytät ranskaa?
	luen ranskankielisiä kirjoja tai lehtiä
	pelaan pelejä ranskaksi
	kuuntelen ranskankielistä musiikkia
	katson ranskankielisiä televisio-ohjelmia tai elokuvia
	puhun ranskaa sukulaisten tai kavereiden kanssa
	puhun ranskaa kotona perheenjäsenen/perheenjäsenten
ka	anssa
	matkustaessa ulkomailla
	muu, mikä?

β) Jos vastasit kyllä, miten usein yleensä käytät ranskaa muualla kuin koulussa ja läksyjä tehdessäsi?							
joka päivä							
joka viikko							
joka kuukausi							
harvemmin							
MUUT KIELET							
6. Osaatko tai oletko opiskellut jotain muuta kieltä kuin suomea, englantia ja ranskaa? Mitä? ( HUOM! Jos et osaa muita kieliä, sinun ei tarvitse vastata kohtaan 6. ja 7.)							
KIELI:							
a) Miten kauan olet osannut tai opiskellut tätä kieltä? (Montako vuotta tai kuukautta?)							
b) Missä ja miten käytät tätä kieltä?							
koulussa							
luen kirjoja tai lehtiä sillä kielellä							
pelaan pelejä sillä kielellä							
kuuntelen sen kielistä musiikkia							
katson televisio-ohjelmia tai elokuvia sillä kielellä							
puhun kieltä sukulaisten tai kavereiden kanssa							
puhun kieltä kotona perheenjäsenen/perheenjäsenten kanssa							
matkustaessa ulkomailla							

	muu, mikä?
	c) Miten usein käytät tätä kieltä?
	joka päivä
	joka viikko
	joka kuukausi
	harvemmin
7.	Osaatko tai oletko opiskellut vielä jotain muuta kieltä? Mitä?
ΚI	ELI:
	d) Miten kauan olet osannut tai opiskellut tätä kieliä? (Montako vuotta tai kuukautta?)
	e) Missä ja miten käytät tätä kieltä?
	koulussa
	luen kirjoja tai lehtiä sillä kielellä
	pelaan pelejä sillä kielellä
	kuuntelen sen kielistä musiikkia
	katson televisio-ohjelmia tai elokuvia sillä kielellä
	puhun kieltä sukulaisten tai kavereiden kanssa
	puhun kieltä kotona perheenjäsenen/perheenjäsenten kanssa
	matkustaessa ulkomailla

muu, mikä?	
f) Miten usein käytät tätä kieltä?	
joka päivä	
joka viikko	
joka kuukausi	
harvemmin	

## Appendix 4: Free production task sheet

# Tehtävä 1: Kirjoita kirje englanniksi

Olet saanut uuden kirjekaverin Intiasta. Hän on sinun ikäisesi poika Pradesh tai tyttö Shanti, ja kirjoitat hänelle ensimmäistä kertaa kirjeen. **Kirjoita englanniksi.** Kerro kirjeessä itsestäsi. Voit kirjoittaa esimerkiksi perheestäsi, harrastuksistasi ja elämästä Suomessa. Kysy sitten kirjekaveriltasi asioita, joita haluaisit tietää hänestä tai hänen kotimaastaan.

Huom! Laita kirjeeseen nimesi tilalle vain nimesi ensimmäinen kirjain.								

# Appendix 5: Producing words for a given category worksheet

# Tehtävä 2: Ruokia englanniksi

Kirjoita mahdollisimman monta ruoka-ainetta tai ruokaa **englanniksi**. (Kuvista saat vinkkejä.)

