

**HIRU HIZKUNTZATAN IDAZTEN:
HURBILPEN HOLISTIKO, ANALITIKO ETA
HIZKUNTZA ARTEKOA**

***WRITING IN THREE LANGUAGES:
HOLISTIC, ANALYTIC AND CROSS-LINGUISTIC
PERSPECTIVES***

Author: María Orcasitas Vicandi

Directors: Dr. Jasone Cenoz and Dr. Durk Gorter

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Abstract

The multilingual context of the Basque Country offers an inestimable opportunity to do research on languages and languages in contact. The challenges that the Basque education system is facing with the introduction of English as a language of instruction, or the increasing number of home languages in the classrooms demands new ways of looking at language instruction and research.

This PhD thesis explores the extent to which traditional tools are suitable for investigating multilingual speakers' practices in the context of the Basque Country, and comprises two empirical studies on two related issues in the study of multilingualism. Study 1, assessment measures in trilingual writing, explores the relationships between Basque, Spanish and English through different accuracy measures. Study 2, crosslinguistic influence in third language writing, investigates the influence of the first and second languages on the third, and the effect of a number of factors is analyzed. In this way, the entire linguistic repertoire of our participants is considered in both studies following the approach Focus on Multilingualism developed by Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter (2011, 2014).

The sample group consisted of a total of 133 students from the 4th grade of secondary education studying in two schools of the Basque Country. In order to answer the research questions as fully as possible, we combined quantitative and qualitative approaches. Participants completed a background questionnaire and wrote three compositions, one in each language (Basque, Spanish and English).

Among the most relevant conclusions, we could mention the following. First, the most frequent errors are shared in the three languages, and a number of error-types such as lexical, punctuation or spelling errors are

significantly related across the languages. This finding suggests that different subsystems are connected across the languages, and that they may support each other in their acquisition and development. Second, there is an influence on the part of the first and the second languages on the third, and there are a number of factors such as typology or proficiency in the target language that affect significantly the strength of this influence. These results confirm that all languages in multilinguals' mind are related to each other at different degrees, and that a multilingual approach -Focus on Multilingualism- provides new information when compared to traditional approaches.

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List of abbreviations

CA	Contrastive analysis
CAF	Complexity, Accuracy, Fluency
CEM	Cumulative-Enhancement Model
DMM	Dynamic Model of Multilingualism
EA	Error analysis
ESEP	Euskara Sustatzeko Ekintza Plana/Action Plan for the Promotion of the Basque Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
L1/1H	First language/ Lehen hizkuntza
L2/2H	Second language/Bigarren hizkuntza
L3/3H	Third language/Hirugarren hizkuntza
FL	Foreign language
SL	Source-language/Jatorri hizkuntza
TL	Target-language
TPM	Typological Primacy Model
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TA	Transfer analysis
TLA	Third Language Acquisition
UPV/EHU	Universidad del País Vasco/ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

(University of the Basque Country)

Sarrera

SARRERA

Tesi lan honek testu eleaniztunak aztertzea du xede nagusitzat. Testu hauek, eleaniztasunean ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko harreman eta hiztun eleaniztunen inguruko informazioa ematen digute. Horregatik, sarrera atal honetan, eleaniztasuna zeri deritzogun zehaztuko dugu lehenenik eta behin. Izan ere, definizio honek tesi lan honen diseinuan, datu-bilketan eta emaitzen ulermenean lagundu gaituzte. Bigarren eta hirugarren azpi-ataletan, aldiz, tesi lan honen xedeak eta antolamendua aurkeztuko dugu.

Eleaniztasuna

Eleaniztasuna bai gizarte zein indibiduoetan ematen den fenomeno da (ikus Fishman, 1980). Europar Komisioaren arabera, eleaniztasunaren definizio apropos bat ondorengoa litzateke: ‘the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives’ (European Commission, 2007, 6. orr.).

Gizarte mailako eleaniztasunean erreparatuz, globalizazioak, migrazioak edo ingelesa ‘lingua franca’ moduan egindako zabalketak, hizkuntza gehiago kontaktuan egotea izan du ondoriotzat. Honela, gizarte aunitz eleaniztunak direla azaldu da (Aronin eta Singleton, 2008) bai eta hizkuntza ikasle asko hirugarren edo laugarren hizkuntza ikasleak direla ez, ordea, bigarren hizkuntza ikasleak (De Angelis 2007). Era berean, komunitate eleaniztun asko, hizkuntza minorizatu bat duten herrialdeak dira eta, hauetan, hiztunek hizkuntza minorizatua eta dominantea jakin ohi dute gero eta ‘eleaniztunago’ bihurtuz (Cenoz eta Gorter, 2012, 184. orr.). Herrialde berdinean hizkuntza bat baino gehiago erabiltzeak hainbat ondorio ditu. Adibidez, hizkuntza mantentze edo hizkuntza bakoitzak komunitatean izango duen rola zehaztu behar izatea (Bathia, 2013).

Bestalde, gizarte mailako eta eleaniztasun indibiduala guztiz bananduta ez daudela dakigu (Cenoz, 2013b). Izan ere, pertsona eleaniztun gehiago aurkitzen ditugu lurralde eleaniztunetan. Adibidez, hizkuntza minorizatuak dauden lurraldeetan. Eleaniztasun indibiduala definitzeko garaian, hizkuntza-gaitasun mailari erreparatu zaio maiz. Definizio batzuek, pertsona bat eleaniztuna dela esateko hizlari natiboarekiko alderaketak proposatu dituzte (ikus Bloomfield, 1933). Beste batzuek, aldiz, eleaniztun kontsideratzeko hizkuntzarekiko gramatikaren inguruko nozio eta kontrol minimo bat izatea nahikoa dela (ikus Hall, 1952). Ikerketa honen helburuetarako, muturreko bi irizpide hauek egokiak ez liratekeela uste dugu. Izan ere, oso gutxi dira hizlari natiboen gaitasuna bi hizkuntza edo gehiagotan erakutsi dituzten hizlariak (Aronin eta Singleton, 2012) eta, ikerketa honetan aztertzen ditugun hizkuntzetan idazteko, ikasleek hizkuntza-gaitasun minimo bat beharrezkoa dute.

Cenozen (2013a) aburuz, eleaniztasun indibidualak ere berezko ezaugarriak lituzke hizkuntzen jabekuntza edo erabilerari dagokionez. Zehazki, ikaste esperientzia hauek antolamendu eleaniztunaren edo elebitasun-motan eragina dutela.

Lehendabizi, hortaz, elebitasun eta eleaniztasunaren arteko desberdintzea egitea daukagu. Desberdintze hau, kuantitatiboa edo kualitatiboa izan daitekeela azaldu da. Kuantitatiboa da, elebitasunak bi hizkuntza baino gehiago barne hartzen ez dituen heinean (Aronin eta Hufeisen, 2009). Aldiz, desberdintze hau kualitatiboa litzateke, eleaniztasunek hizkuntza ikaste estrategia, errepertorio linguistiko edota kontzientzia metalinguistiko zabalago bat dutela erakutsi dutenez (Aronin eta Singleton, 2012). Tesi lan honetan, elebitasuna bi hizkuntzei erreferentzia egiteko erabiliko dugu soilik. Eleaniztasuna, aldiz, hiru edo hizkuntza gehiagori erreferentzia egiteko. Hala

ere, ondorengo atalean azalduko ditugun eleaniztasunaren ezaugarri asko elebitasunari ere atxiki litzaizkioke ikusiko dugunez.

Eleaniztasun indibidualaren aspekturik garrantzitsu eta espezifikoenetariko bat hizkuntza anitzen arteko erlazio eta elkarreraginak dira. Hogeigarren mendearen hasieran, elkarreragin hauek utzikeriari atxiki zitzaion eta hala dirau zuen Uriel Weinreich (1953) eta Robert Lado (1957) ikerlarien lanak argitaratu arte. Izan ere, lan hauetan, hizkuntzen arteko harreman eta elkarreragina hizkuntzen jabekuntzan eta erabileran eragotzi ezinezko ezaugarri zirela azaldu zuten (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, 3. orr.). Bigarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren ikerketak hizkuntzen jabekuntzan ematen diren prozesu kognitiboen inguruko informazio baliagarria eskaini du. Eleaniztasuna salbuespen beharrean normaltzat hartuz joen den heinean, hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan ere hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina ikertu duten lanak azalduz joan dira.

Eleaniztasuna baliabide egokiez interpretatzeko ahaleginean, bide berriak zabaldu dira aniztasun linguistikoaren fenomenoaz aztertzeko. Aztergai dugun hizkuntzen arteko harreman eta elkarreraginaren alorrean, eztabaida teorikoak eta planteamendu berritzaileak egiteko premia nabarmendu da (ikus Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2014; De Angelis, 2007). Tesi lan honek, ikerketa lerro hau jarraituz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin eta erlazioak ikuspuntu eleaniztun batetik aztertzea izan du xede nagusitzat. Era honetan, ikasle euskaldunetan eta hizkuntza maila desberdinetan aurkitu ditugun erlazio eta elkarreragin patroia desberdinak azalduko ditugu. Gure iritziz, erlazio hauen berebiziko interesa daukate hizkuntzen irakaskuntzan. Izan ere, hizkuntzen jabekuntzan ematen diren prozesuen inguruko informazioa helarazten digute eta, modu honetan, hizkuntzen irakaskuntzarako gida izan daitezke.

Doktorego tesi honen xedea

Jarraian doazen lerroak doktorego tesi honen xede nagusiak eta hauen zergatiak azaltzeko erabili nahi izan ditugu.

Bigarren hezkuntzan hizkuntza irakasle ibili nintzen urteetan, ikasleek beren hizkuntza guztiak beste hizkuntzen ikasketarako errekurtsio bezala erabiltzen zituztela sarriki ikusi nuen. Euskara irakasten nengibilela, adibidez, Gasteizko ikasle erdaldun askok gaztelerara jotzen zuten bi hizkuntza hauen arteko loturak egin eta euskararen erabilera barneratzeko asmoz. Ingelesa irakasten nengoenean, aldiz, erdarara jotzen zuten maiz erreferentzi bila. Ikasleek modu naturalean bilatzen zituzten hizkuntzen arteko asoziazio hauek, hizkuntza hauen irakaskuntzarako erabiltzen hasi nituen aurki.

Egon nintzen institutu gehienetan hizkuntza bat baino gehiago irakasteko aukera izan nuen. Ikasle berdinak hizkuntza eskola desberdinetan izanik, ikasle hauek modu osatuago batean ulertzeko aukera izan nuen. Honela, ikasle eleaniztunek hizkuntzen artean partekatzen zituzten hainbat aspekturi erreparatu nion. Adibidez, ikasle batek hiztegi pobrea bazuen gazteleraz, euskaraz eta ingelesez seguruenik antzeko zailtasuna izango zuen. Eskola horietan atzeman nituen ikasle eleaniztunen hainbat bereizitasun. Adibidez, hizkuntzek askotariko moduetan erlazioa zutela eta erlazioa hauek modu desberdinetan antzeman eta erabili zitezkeela.

Denbora tarte horretan, Bilboko Hizkuntza Eskolan B2 euskara azterketa zuzentzaile moduan lan egiteko aukera izan nuen. Parada honetan, zuzentasunak idatzizko hizkuntzaren ebaluazioan zuen garrantziaz jabetu nintzen. Azterketen idazlanak zuzentzen nengibilela, ikasleek egindako errore askok zekizkiten beste hizkuntzen influentzia erakusten zutenaz jabetu nintzen. Errore horiek azaltzen zituzten gogoeta asko zuzenak ziren arren, ez

ziren idazten ziharduten hizkuntzaren arauetara egokitzen. Nolanahi ere, hizkuntzen jabekuntzan garrantzitsuak ziren hizkuntzen inguruko hausnarketak islatzen zituzten.

Fenomeno hauen inguruko galdera aunitz egin nizkion orduan neure buruari. Zergatik eta zertan oinarrituz erlazionatzen dira dakizkigun hizkuntzak? Ba al da erlazio horietan eragiten duen faktorerik? Ikasleek ekoiztutako erroreek zer digute esaten hizkuntzen jabekuntzen inguruan? Ba al da hizkuntzen artean partekatzen duten errore edo zailtasun gune nabarmenik?

Hizkuntzen arteko erlazio eta elkarreragina hizkuntza erabilera zein jabekuntza testuinguru desberdinetan gertatzen den arren, ez da atzematen erraza. Erlazio eta elkarreragin hauek emaitzak positiboak edo negatiboak izan daitezkeela jakinda, eta fenomeno hauen izaera konplexua egoki jasotzeko ahaleginetan, oso bestelako ikerketa diseinuak proposatuak izan zirela jakin nuen tesi lan honen hasierako etapan. Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren aintzindarietako bat izan zen Ringbom ikerlariaren aburuz, erroreak ziren hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin hauen emaitza tangibleenak (Ringbom, 1986, 60. orr.) eta horregatik aukeratu genituen tesi lan honetan aztergai.

Doktorego tesi honek, hortaz, hizkuntzen arteko erlazioak eta hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina errorean bitartez aztertzea izan du xede. Abiapuntutzat, euskal hezkuntza sisteman irakasten diren hiru hizkuntza nagusiak aztertzen ditu Euskal Autonomi Erkidego (EAE) zein Nafarroako Foru Aldundiko egoera soziolinguistikotik abiatuz. Hots, euskara gutxiagotutako hizkuntza, gaztelera gehiengoaren hizkuntza, eta ingelesa atzerriko hizkuntzak direla kontutan hartuz.

Helburu espezifikoa bezala, euskaraz, gaztelera eta ingelesez idatzitako idazlanetan ikasleek ekoizten dituzten erroren arteko erlazioak aztertu ditugu, bai eta korrelazio esanguratsuak aurkitu ere zuzentasunaren neurri analitiko eta holistikoen artean. Gainera, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean influentzia duten hainbat eragile aztertu ditugu hirugarren hizkuntzaren idazketan. Zehazki, lehen eta bigarren hizkuntzaren estatusa, tipologia eta hizkuntza-gaitasuna bai xede zein jatorri-hizkuntzetan. Erlazio eta hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina honela aztertuz, tesi lan honek ondorio esanguratsuak dakartza eleaniztasuna eta bigarren zein hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntza alorretan.

Tesi lan hau, honela, hainbat zentzutan bakarria dela esan dezakegu. Zuzentasuna aztergai izan duten ikerketa gehienek hizkuntza bakar bat aztertu duten artean, tesi lan honen abiapuntuak ikusmirak zabaldu eta zuzentasuna ikasleek dakizkiten hizkuntza guztietara zabaltzen baitu. Lehenengo ikerketan erabilitako kategorizazioak, ikasleek hizkuntza bakoitzean dituzten zailtasun-guneak zehazteko diseinatu dugu. Errore hauen arteko erlazioak korrelazio analisien bidez aztertuz, gainera, zailtasun-gune hauen arteko erlazioak zehaztu ahal izan ditugu. Bigarren ikerketak, ordea, errore kontrastiboak edo 'interlingual errors' direlakoak ditu aztergai. Errore hauek aurretiko hizkuntzen influentzia adierazten duten artean, aurretik aipatutako faktoreen influentzia aztertzeko erabili ditugu. Hain zuzen ere, lehen eta bigarren hizkuntzaren estatusa, tipologia eta hizkuntza-gaitasuna bai xede zein jatorri-hizkuntzetan.

Tesi lan honen lehenengo helburua, beraz, zuzentasuna hizkuntza ikasle eleaniztunen errepertorio linguistiko osoan aztertzearena da. Izan ere, hizkuntza bakoitzaren zailtasun-guneak identifikatuz jakin baitezakegu noruz bideratu irakaskuntza bera. Tesi lan honen bigarren helburua,

hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina atzerriko hizkuntzan aztertzearena izan da (ingelesean, hain zuzen ere). Izan ere, aurretik ikasitako hizkuntzak zein modutan eragiten dioten atzerriko hizkuntzaren jabekuntzari azaltzen laguntzen digu. Hurbilpen holistiko honek euskal hezkuntza sistema eta ikasleen hizkuntza guztiak barne hartzen dituen artean, hizkuntzen irakaskuntzetarako ekarpen garrantzitsua eskaintzen duela uste dugu.

Doktorego tesi honen antolamendua

Doktorego tesi hau sei kapituluk osatzen dute:

1. 2. eta 3. kapituluak alderdi teorikoa aurkezten dute. Lehenengo kapituluan, hizkuntza bi edo anitzen prozesamendurako proposaturiko eredu teoriko aipagarrienak aurkeztuko ditugu. Bigarren kapituluan, aldiz, zuzentasunaren ikerketan erabiliak izan diren neurri analitiko zein holistikoen aurkezpena egingo dugu, gure ikerketan garrantzizko diren neurrietan bereziki erreparatuz. Amaitzeko, hirugarren kapituluan, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina hizkuntza maila desberdinetan aurkeztuko dugu, eta honen inguruko ekarpen teoriko eta enpirikoen errebisioa egingo du hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan.

4. kapituluak tesi lan honen testuingurua eta metodologia azaltzea du xede. Lehendabizi, hortaz, ikerketen testuinguruari erreparatuko dio. Bigarrenik, ikerketen helburu, ikerketa galderak, lagina, neur-tresna eta erabilitako prozedura azalduz.

5. kapituluak tesi lan honen emaitzak aurkeztea du xede. Lehenengo atalak, hiru hizkuntzetan eta zuzentasun neurrien bitartez jasotako emaitzak azalduko ditu. Bigarren atalak, aldiz, hirugarren hizkuntzaren idazlanetan jasotako errore-contrastiboen ingurukoak.

6. kapituluak tesi lan honen ondorio nagusienak azalduko ditu. Bide batez, ikerketa honen inplikazioak, mugak eta ikerbide berriak planteatuz.

Alderdi teorikoa

1. KAPITULUA: ELEANIZTASUNAREN EREDU TEORIKOAK

Lehenengo kapitulu honek bi helburu nagusi ditu. Alde batetik, elebitasun eta bigarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzaren esparruan proposaturiko eredu teoriko aipagarrienen aurkezpena egitea (Cook, 2003; Grosjean, 1992). Bestetik, eleaniztasuna eta hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzen esparruetatik proposatu diren eredu teorikoen aurkezpena egitea (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2014; Herdina & Jessner, 2002). Izan ere, eredu hauek bigarren zein idazketa eleaniztunaren ikerketan marko teoriko bezala erabili dira (ikus Polio eta Ji-Hyun, 2016).

1.1. Eredu elebidun eta eleaniztunak

Ikerketa esparru desberdinetan gauzatutako proposamenek, prozesatze eleaniztunaren azalpen osatu bat eskaintzen digute. Neurolinguistikan egindako ikerketek, adibidez, pertsona eleaniztunek ondo dakiten hizkuntza bat edo gehiago hitz egiten dutenean, garunean antzeko aktibazio patroiak nola funtzionatzen duten azaltzen dute. Alegia, nahiz eta hizkuntza desberdinak izan, jardunean parte hartzen duen sistema neuronala berdintsua dela (Abutalebi, Cappa, eta Perani, 2005). Ildo berdinetik baina psikolinguistikaren ikerketa-esparruan, hizkuntzak ‘piztu’ eta ‘itzaltzea’ ia ezinezkoa gertatzen dela azaldu duten ikerketak aurkitu ditzakegu (Dijkstra, 2005; Kroll, Bobb eta Wodniecka, 2006). Horregatik, hizkuntza-erabilera modu holistikoa batean azaldu duten ikerketak gerturatu nahi izan ditugu. Zehazki, hizkuntzen erabilerak hizkuntza jakituria zehazten duela argudiatu duten ikerlarien proposamenak. Ekin diezaiozun bada, elebitasun zein eleaniztasunean ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko harremanak aztertu dituzten ikerketa eta proposamenen azalpenari.

1.1.1. Eredu elebidunak

Bilingual Speech Modes (Grosjean, 1989, 1992, 1997)

Ikerlari honen lana 1989. urtean kokatzen da; izan ere, pertsona elebidunak bi pertsona elebakarren batuera ez zirela azaldu zuen. Honela, pertsona elebidunon bi hizkuntzak eta pertsona elebakarren ama-hizkuntzaren jardunbidea desberdindu zituen lehendabizikoz, eta elebidunen jarduna azaltzeko eredu holistikoa proposatu zuen.

Ikerle honek proposatutako Bilingual Speech Modes (Grosjean, 1992) ereduak elebidunon jardunan continuum batean kokatu zuen. Ikerlariaren aburuz, pertsona elebidunen hizkuntzen aktibazio maila erlatiboa zen, eta aktibazio erlatibo honi hizkuntza modua edo ‘language mode’ deitu zion. Hala, bi hizkuntza modu zehaztu zituen: modu elebakar eta elebiduna. Hizkuntza modu elebakarra, pertsona elebidunak haien hizkuntza bakar bat dakiten hizlariekin komunikazioan daudenean ematen zen. Modu elebiduna, aldiz, hizlariak hizkuntza bat baino gehiago partekatzen dutenean eta hizkuntza aldaketak gertatzen zirenean.

Hizkuntza modu elebidunean, hiztun elebidunek hizkuntza oinarri bat (‘matrix language’) erabakitzen zutela argudiatu zuen ikerlariak eta, hortik aurrera beste hizkuntza(k) (‘guest languages’) erabiltzeko posibilitatea irekitzen zela haien behar edo nahietara egokituak. ‘Guest languages’ hauek erabiltzeko garaian, bi modu zeudela argudiatu zuen Grosjeanek (1997). Lehena, ‘code-switch’ edo kode-aldaketak ziren. Bigarrena, ‘borrowing’ edo hizkuntza maileguak. Lehenak, hizkuntza aldaketa total bat suposatzen zuen. Bigarrenak, aldiz, hizkuntza baten hitz edo esaldi bat hartzean zetzan, eta forma hori morfologikoki (eta askotan fonologikoki) eraldatzea ‘matrix language’ edo oinarri hizkuntza horri egokituz. Honela, bi interakzio mota

hauek ('code-switching' eta 'borrowing' direlakoak), aktibazio maila desberdinak azalarazten zituztela argudiatu zuen ikerlariak. Gainera, faktore desberdinek hartzen zuten parte hizkuntzen aktibazio erlatibo hauetan. Zehazki, hizlari eta entzulea, hizkuntza gaitasun maila edo testuinguru ez linguistikoa (Grosjean, 1997, 228. orr.). Grosjeanen aburuz, hortaz, pertsona elebidunon hizkuntza aktibazioa testuinguruari lotuta zegoen, bai eta behar komunikatiboetara (ez prozesu psikolinguistikoetara soilik). Hori dela eta, hiztun elebidunen hizkuntza prozesamendurako eredu psikolinguistikoek, pertsona elebidunen modu desberdinak hauek (hizkuntza modu elebakar eta elebiduna) azaldu beharko lituzketela defendatu zuen, bai eta pertsona elebakar eta elebidunen arteko desberdintasunak bi modu hauetan. Adibidez, pertsona elebidunak hizkuntza modu elebakarrean eta pertsona elebakarrak hizkuntza modu elebakarrean egotearen arteko desberdintasunak bai pertzepzio zein ekoizpenean (Grosjean, 1997, 225. orr.). Honela, Grosjeanen lanak (1992, 1997) elkarrizketa eleaniztun batean ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko harreman-motak (kode-aldaketak eta maileguak) ulertzen laguntzen digu, interakzio hauek testuinguruari (eta honen aldagaiei) lotuz.

Eredu honen baliagarritasunaren aldeko emaitzak azaldu dituzten lanen artean Dewaele (2001) edo Cenoz (2003a) aurkitzen ditugu. Cenozek (2003a), adibidez, euskal ikasle hirueledunek euskara interakzio estrategietarako hizkuntza-hornitzaile gisa erabiltzen zutela azaldu zuen, eta hizkuntza erabilera hau honela azaldu zuen:

'The use of Basque seems to be influenced by the characteristics of the context and could be influenced by the use of Basque as the school language, the knowledge of Basque by the interlocutor or the relatively informal context in which the conversation took place' (Cenoz, 2003a, 8. orr.)

Ikus daitekeenez, Grosjeanen (1992) ereduak momentu zehatz batean ematen diren hizkuntzen aktibazio, aukeraketa, eta moduei (kode-aldaketak/maileguak) buruzko zehaztapenak ematen dizkigu, bai eta hauek ulertzen lagundu.

The Integration Continuum (Cook, 1991, 2003, 2008)

Cookek (1991) ‘multi-competence’ terminoa proposatu zuen bi gramatika buru berdinean zituen pertsona baten hizkuntza-gaitasuna definitzeko. Honela, bigarren hizkuntzaren jabeak, pertsona elebidunen lehen-hizkuntza barne hartzen zuela azaldu zuen. Ikuspegi honek, oro har, pertsona elebidunak modu holistiko batean ikustea bermatzen zuen, eta hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginak prozesamendu eleaniztunaren parte bailira azaldu ahal izatea.

Cookek aburuz, bigarren hizkuntza ikaslea edo pertsona elebiduna modu batean edo bestean erabiltzen zuten hizkuntza ‘erabiltzaileak’ ziren, eta ez bigarren hizkuntzaren erabilera natibo bat bilatzen zuten ikasle burutugabeak. Kontzeptualizazio aldaketa honek, bestean artean, jatorrizko-hiztunaren eta 2. hizkuntza ikaslearen terminoen zama aritzen zituen.

‘Multi-competence’ kontzeptuaren definizioak, hainbat elementu barne hartzen zituen. Horien artean, syntaxiaz aparte, hizkuntzen lexikoa edo fonologia, 2. hizkuntzak ez ziren beste hizkuntzak (3. edo 4. hizkuntzak, adibidez), eta hiztun komunitateak; hots, aspektu psikolinguistikoaz aparte, soziolinguistikoak.

‘Multi-competence’-aren baitan ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko erlazio posibleen eredu, 2003. urtean garatu zuen Cookek eta The Integration Continuum deitu zion. Honela, continuum hau azaltzeko, 2. hizkuntzaren irakaste metodologietan erabiliak izandako bi muturreko eredu azaldu zituen

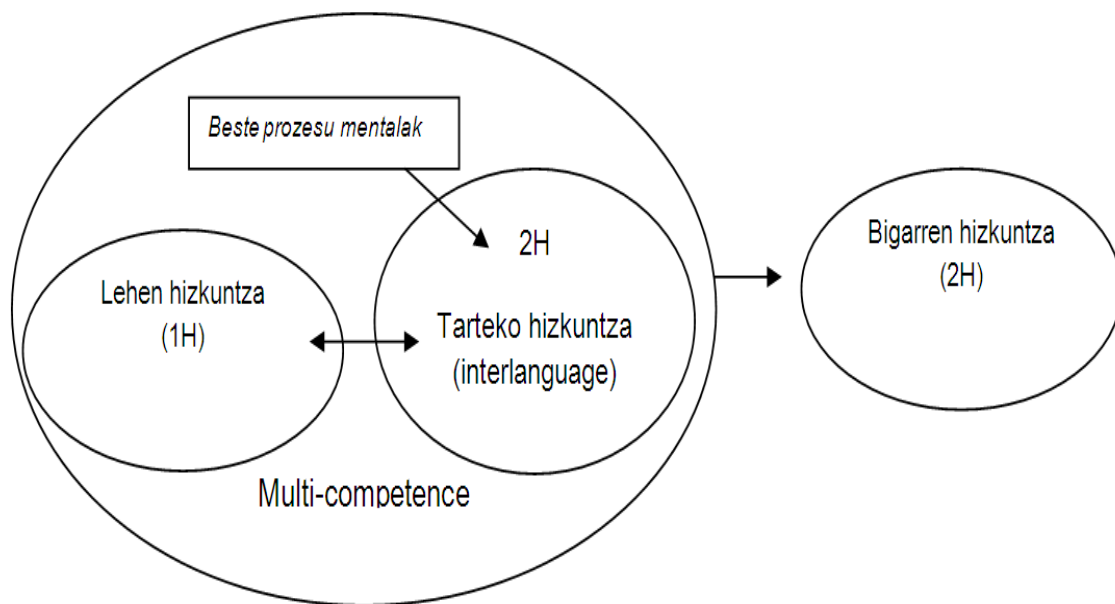
lehendabizi. Izan ere, muturreko bi ereduen artean ematen diren harreman-motak azaltzeko baliagarria izan zitekeela argudiatu zuen.

Mutur batean, 'hizkuntzen banaketa eredu' aurkeztu zuen. Honetan, bi hizkuntzen arteko harremanik existitzen ez zela azaldu zuen, hots, ikasleek 2. hizkuntza lehenengo hizkuntzarekiko loturarik gabe ikasten zutela. Beste muturrean, aldiz, 'hizkuntzen integrazio eredu' kokatu zuen. Integrazio eredu honetan, bi hizkuntzek sistema bateratu bat osatzen zutela azaldu zuen, nahiz eta ikasleek hizkuntza bat edo bestea erabiltzeko aukera egiten zuten.

Muturreko bi eredu hauek ezinezko zirela argudiatuz, Cookek (2003) bide erdian leudekeen bi interkonexio modu azaldu zituen: elkarri lotuta dauden hizkuntzena eta partzialki lotuta dauden hizkuntzena. Lehenak, funtsean banatuta dauden bi hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina azalduko luke, eta transferentziak bi norabideetan gertatzen direla. Bigarrenak, aldiz, hizkuntzen artean teilakatze partziala gertatzen dela, eta teilakatze hau lexikoan, syntaxian edo beste hizkuntza eremuetan ematen zela. Honela, Cookek (2003) bere *The Integration Continuum* eredu, norabide bikoia zela azaldu zuen, eta eredu honek hizkuntza sistema osoari eragin behar ez ziola argudiatu. Izan ere, pertsona baten lexikoa integratua egon zitekeen, fonologia banatua zegoen artean (Cook, 2003, 9. orr.). Gainera, aldagai indibidualek ere bere pisua zutela defendatu zuen, eta pertsonaren kokalekua continuumean alda zitekeela Grosjeanek (1992) proposatutako hizkuntza moduaren arabera.

2008. urtean ikerlariak honela irudikatu zuen pertsona elebidunen hizkuntza-gaitasuna edo 'multi-competence' delakoa:

Irudia 1.1: Multi-Competence (Cook, 2008, 18. orr.).



1.2.2. Eredu eleaniztunak

Eleaniztasunean ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko harremanak azaltzeko proposatu diren ereduak hainbat berezitasun dituzte. Izan ere, pertsona eleaniztunek dakizkiten hizkuntzak bi baino gehiago izanik, hizkuntzen arteko harremanen norabide posibleak ugaltu egiten dira (ikus De Angelis 2007). Gainera, hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan azaldutako hainbat ikerketek azaldu bezala, hirugarren hizkuntza ikasleek jabekuntza estrategia eta kontzientzia metalinguistiko zabalago bat dute (ikus Cenoz 2013a). Hori dela eta, atal honetan eleaniztasunean ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko harreman eta elkarreragina hobeto azaltzen laguntzen diguten ereduak aurkezpena. Bide batez, ikerketa honetan erabili dugun ereduak, Focus on Multilingualism (Cenoz eta Gorter 2011, 2014) azalduko dugularik.

Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (Herdina eta Jessner, 2002)

Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM) eredua Herdina eta Jessner (2002) ikerlariek diseinatu zuten. Eredu honetan, pertsona eleaniztunak konfigurazio linguistiko espezifiko bat zutenaren ideia defendatu, eta konfigurazio hau hizkuntzen arteko interakzio konstanteetan eta ko-existentzian oinarritzen zela argudiatu zuten (Herdina eta Jessner, 2002, 59. orr.)

DMM ereduak, sistema eleaniztunaren garapena denboran azalduko luke, eta garapen honen ezaugarrien artean linealtasun falta, itzulgarritasuna edo hizkuntzen arteko menpekotasuna azpimarratu zituzten. Gainera, sistema eleaniztunearan eragiten zuten faktoreen artean, hizkuntza galera eta hizkuntza mantentzea defendatu zituzten ezinbestekotzat.

DMM eredua sistema dinamikoen teorian oinarritu zutelako, faktore guztiek elkarri eragiten ziotela azaldu zuten, bai eta faktore hauen arteko erlazioak zehaztean zetzala eredua bera. Era honetan, interakzio hauek aztertzeke ezinbesteko ikuspuntua holistikoa behar zuela izan adierazi zuten. Zehatzago, hau zela eleaniztasunaren ikerketan hizkuntza sistemen arteko dinamikak azaldu zezakeen ikuspuntu bakarra (Herdina eta Jessner, 2002, 150. orr.)

Hizkuntza eta hiztunen inguruan, autoreek, ondorengo kontzeptualizazioa egin zuten. Alde batetik, hizkuntzak sistema-psikolinguistikoak zirela defendatu zuten: zehazki, sistema irekiak eta faktore sozial eta psikologikoenganako menpekotasuna erakusten zutenak zirela. Autoreen iritziz, beraz, hizkuntza sistemen garapena azaltzea litzateke DMM ereduaren xedea, ez hizkuntza berauen azalpena (Herdina eta Jessner, 2002,

89. orr.). Hiztun eleaniztunei dagokionez, Multilingual Proficiency (MP) edo gaitasun-eleaniztuna eta honen ezinbesteko osagaiak definitu zituzten. Gaitasun honek, hizkuntza-sistema psikolinguistiko anitzen interakzio dinamikoen (LS1, LS2, LS3, LSn), hizkuntzen arteko interakzioen (CLIN), eta pertsona eleaniztunak elebakarretatik desberdintzen dituen efektu guztien (M-factor) batuera zela argudiatu zuten (Herdina eta Jessner, 2002, 130 orr.). Beraz, gaitasun eleaniztun honen ondorengo formula hau planteatu zuten: $LS1, LS2, LS3, LSn + CLIN + M\text{-factor} = MP$.

Labur, hortaz, DMM ereduak hiru berezitasun nagusi dituela esan genezake. Lehen, ikuspuntu holistiko bat ezinbestekotzat jotzen zuela prozesamendu eleaniztunaren azterketarako. Bigarrena, hizkuntzen garapena pertsona eleaniztunen sistema psikolinguistikoaren osagaia zela azaldu zutela (eta ez hizkuntzak sistema estatikoak berez). Eta hirugarren, eleaniztunon hizkuntza-gaitasuna hizkuntzen arteko interakzio konstante eta ko-existentzian oinarritu zutela.

Focus on Multilingualism (Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011, 2014)

Focus on Multilingualism ereduak ikerketa honen diseinurako aukeratu dugun eredu da. Izan ere, eredu honek ezinbesteko jotzen ditugun hiru ardatzetan oinarritzen da: pertsona eleaniztuna, erreperitorio linguistikoa eta testuinguru soziala. Pertsona eleaniztunari dagokionez, eredu honek pertsona eleaniztuna modu holistikoan aztertzeko proposamena egiten du. Honela, hiztun eleaniztuna hizlari natiboekin alderatu ezin diren subjektuak direla azalduko du. Hots, egoera komunikatibo desberdinetan, berariazko errekurtsio linguistikoa dituzten subjektuak direla. Pertsona eleaniztunen ikuspegi honek, aurretik azalduko ditugun Grosjean (1989) eta Cook (1991) ikerlariek planteatutako pertsona elebidunen deskribapenekin bat egingo du aurrerago ikusiko dugun moduan.

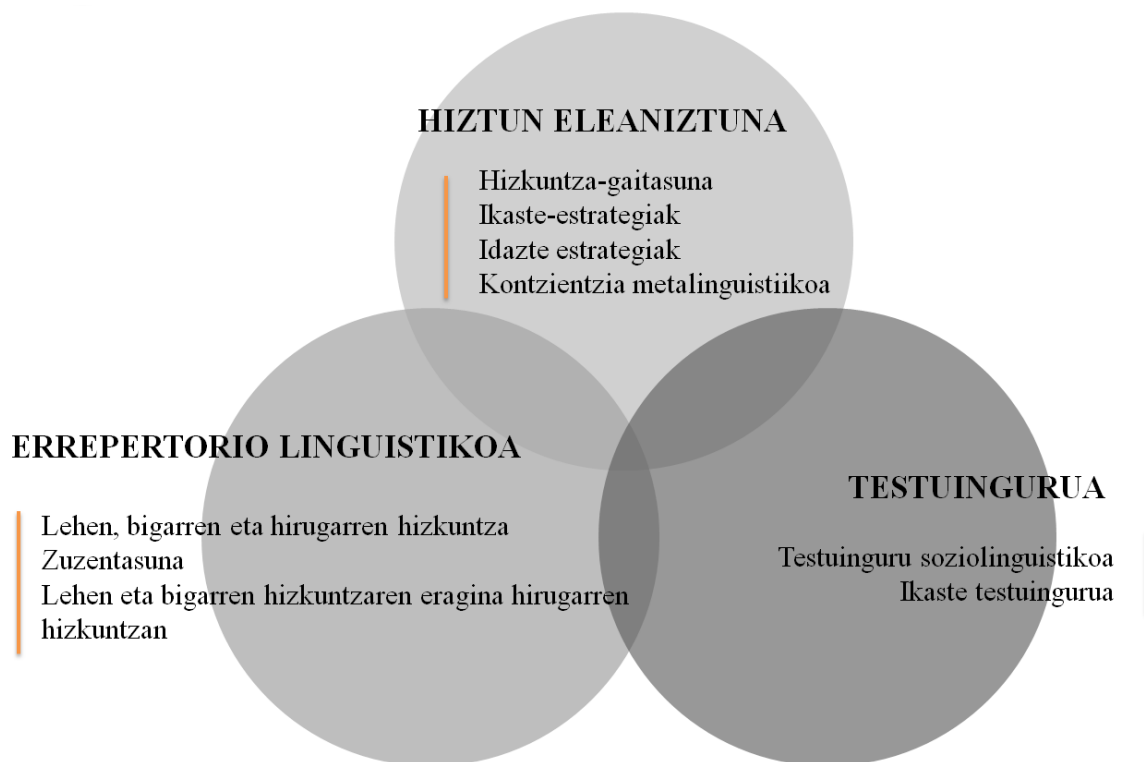
Errepertorio linguistikoari dagokionez, Focus on Multilingualism ereduak eleaniztunen hizkuntza guztiek sistema oso bat bailira azalduko du, elkarri lotuak baileude. Elkarrekintza honetan, hizkuntzek bata bestearen garapenean parte hartzen dutelarik. Honela, hizkuntzen arteko mugak malgutzen dituen eredu honek, hizkuntzen arteko ‘connected growers’ (De Bot, Lowie eta Verspoor, 2007; De Bot, 2008) edo lotetsitutako-hazlee dira. Hots, hizkuntza-garapenean eta beste hizkuntzen jabekuntza prozesuetan lagungarri diren azpi-sistemak. Horregatik, hizkuntza batean gaitasun bat garatzeak, hizkuntza horretan edo beste hizkuntza batean lagungarri gerta daitekeela azalduko du. Adibidez, hizkuntza batean hiztegi teknikoak ikasteak, beste hizkuntza batean idatzitako testu tekniko bat hobeto ulertzen lagungarri izan daitekeela. Beraz, eleaniztunen hizkuntzak nola eragiten dioten elkarri ezagutzeko, errepertorio linguistiko osoa kontutan hartzea proposatuko du eredu honek.

Focus on Multilingualism ereduaren hirugarren ardatza testuinguru soziala da. Honen inguruan, pertsona eleaniztunek beren hizkuntza-gaitasuna testuinguru sozialean emango diren interakzioetan garatuko dutela azalduko du. Interakzio hauetan, pertsona eleaniztunak behar komunikatiboei aurre egiteko beren hizkuntza guztien errekurtsoak erabiliko dituela azalduz. Beraz, testuinguru sozial zehatz hori izango da eleaniztunen hizkuntza praktika definituko duena.

Eredu honetan topatzen diren autore eta teoriak, pertsona eleaniztunen jardunaren argazki osatuago bat eskaintzen digutela uste dugu. Eta honek, hizkuntza idatzian ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko elkar-emanak hobeto ulertzen lagunduko digula. Hori medio, tesi lan honetarako Focus on Multilingualism ereduaren hiru dimentsioetan oinarritu gara eta dimentsio bakoitzean tesi lan honetan aztertu ditugun azpidimentsioak zehaztu ditugu.

Tesi lan honetan erabilitako ereduaren irudikapena, hortaz, ondorengo litzateke:

Irudia 1.2: Testu eleaniztunen ikerketa Focus on Multilingualism eredu



Tesi lan honetan ondorengo azpi-dimentsioak aztertu ditugu:

Errepertorio linguistikoa:

- Aurretiko hizkuntzak eta hauen ezaugarriak: hizkuntza tipologia, lehen (1H), bigarren (2H) edo hirugarren (3H) hizkuntza diren.
- Zuzentasun linguistikoa.
- Euskara, gaztelania eta ingelesaren arteko harreman eta elkarreragina.

Hiztun eleaniztuna:

- Hizkuntza-gaitasuna: lehen (1H), bigarren (2H) eta hirugarren (3H) hizkuntzan.

- Idazte estrategiak.
- Kontzientzia metalinguistikoa. Zehazki, kontzientzia morfologikoa.

Testuingurua:

- Testuinguru soziolinguistikoa: Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoa eta Nafarroako Foru Aldundia.
- Ikaste testuingurua: eskolaratze eredu, adibidez.

Oro har, testu eleaniztunen ikerketak eredu eleaniztun eta holistikoen balia frogatu dute. Horregatik, atal honekin amaitzeko honen adibide diren hiru ikerketa gerturatu nahi ditugu:

Lehenengo ikerketa, Cenoz eta Gorter (2011) ikerlariak bideratu zuten. Ikerlari hauek, euskara eta/edo gaztelania lehen hizkuntza zuten 165 ikasleen produkzio idatzia aztertu zuten hiru hizkuntzetan (euskara-gaztelania-ingelesa). Idazlanak Jacobs, Zingraf, Wormuth, Hartfiel eta Highey-k (1981) proposatutako eskala holistikoaren bitartez ebaluatu zituzten eduki, antolamendu, hizkuntza erabilera, hiztegi eta hizkuntza mekanikaren inguruko emaitzak lortuz. Koerlazio analisiek, geroago, gaitasun idatziaren bost dimentsio hauen arteko harremanak esanguratsuak zirela adierazi zuten hiru hizkuntzen artean. Gainera, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina, norabide posible guztietan ematen zela azaldu zuten. Hots, 1Htik>3Hra, 2Htik>3Hra, 1Htik>2Hra, 2Htik>1Hra, 3Htik>2Hra eta 3Htik>1Hra. Idazketa estrategien inguruan eta, analisi kualitatiboak azaldu bezala, ikasleek indibidualki pareko estrategia erabiltzen zituztela azaldu zuten hiru hizkuntzen ekoizpenean. Ondoriotzat, pertsona eleaniztunen hizkuntza errepertorio osoa aztertzearen abantailak nabarmendu zituzten ikerlari hauek, 'Focus on

Multilingualism' eredu eleaniztunaren baliagarritasuna azalduz idazketa eleaniztunaren ikerketan.

Bigarren ikerlana, De Angelis eta Jessnerrek (2012) bidertau zuten. Ikerlari hauek, 8. mailako ikasleen ekoizpen idatzia aztertu zuten hiru hizkuntzetan (italiera-alemana-ingelesa). Idazlanak aztertzerako garaian, jariotasun zein konplexutasun gramatikal eta lexikoko datuak kontutan hartu zituzten. Halere, hizkuntzen arteko harremanak azaltzeko, jariotasun neurriak soilik hautatu ziren, hots; T-unitate eta hitz kontaketa. Ikerketaren emaitzek, lehen, bigarren eta hirugarren hizkuntzaren arteko elkarreragin eta interakzio dinamikoak erakutsi zituen, perspektiba eleanitz baten aldeko ebidentziak emanaz eta bi hizkuntza aztertzetik, hiru hizkuntza aztertzearen proposamena eginez.

Hirugarren ikerketa, Kobayashi eta Rinnert (2013) ikerlariiek bideratutako ikerketa longitudinala litzateke. Ikerketaren diseinuak, idazle eleaniztun baten argazki ulerkorra marrazten zuen ikerlana bera hiru ataletan banatuz: (a) idazlanak, (b) konposizio prozesuak eta (d) faktore indibidual eta sozialak. Idazle eleaniztunaren hiru hizkuntzetan (japonesa-ingelesatxineraz) idatzitako argudio testuen analisi linguistikoek, pertsona eleaniztunen berezko hizkuntzen arteko 'muga malguak' (Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011, 357. orr.) azaldu zituzten testu ezaugarri eta konposizio prozesuetan. Gainera, maila lexiko-gramaikalean, ikerketaren emaitzek bi norabideekiko elkarreraginak azaldu zituzten (1H-japoniarra eta 3H-txineraren artean), bai eta ingelesetik japoniarerako eraginak konposizio prozesuetan. Emaitza hauek, 'multicompetence' edo gaitasun-anitz teoria (Cook 1991) eta 'Focus on Multilingualism' (Gorter eta Cenoz, 2011) ikerlariiek jasotako emaitzak baieztatutako zituzten.

Hizkuntza idatzi desberdinak aztertuz eta fokapena hizkuntza gutxituan izanda (Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011; De Angelis eta Jessner, 2012), aipatutako hiru ikerketa hauek, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginak dinamikoak direla eta norabide desberdinetan ematen direnaren ideian bat egiten dute, bai eta hurbilpen eleaniztun baten berebiziko garrantzia azpimarratu.

Laburpena

Atal honetan aurkeztutako erduei esker, ondorengo esan dezakegu:

Hizkuntzen arteko harremanak ikertu dituzten autoreek, ikuspuntu holistiko bat ezinbestekotzat ikusten dutela eleaniztasunaren ikerketan (Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011, 2014; Cook, 2003; Grosjean, 1992; Herdina eta Jessner, 2002). Hizkuntzen arteko harremanetan faktore psikolinguistiko (Herdina eta Jessner, 2002) zein soziolinguistikoek (Grosjean, 1992) hartzen dutela parte. Eleaniztunon hizkuntza erabileran, hizkuntzen arteko harreman-mota desberdinak ematen direla (kode-aldaketak edo maileguak, adibidez) eta hauek hizkuntza baten edo bestearen aktibazio maila desberdinak azaltzen dituztela (Grosjean, 1992) ikusi dugu. Eta azkenik, eleaniztasunaren ikerketan hiru ardatz nagusi berezitu daitezkeela: eleaniztunen errepertorio linguistikoa, hiztun eleaniztunaren ezaugarriak eta testuingurua bera (Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011, 2014) azaldu dugu.

2. KAPITULUA: HIZKUNTZA IDATZIAREN EBALUAZIOA

Bigarren atal teoriko honen bitartez, idazketaren ebaluazioan erabiliak izan diren neurri-tresnen errebisia egingo dugu. Lehendabizi, idazketaren ebaluazioaren dimentsioak azalduko ditugu (2.1 atala). Ondoren, zuzentasuna neurtzeko proposatu diren neurri analitiko eta holistikoen aurkezpena egingo dugu, bai eta hauen abantaila eta desabantailen aurkezpena ere. Harira, gure analisietarako erabili ditugun neurri-tresnak ere azalduko ditugu. Alegia, funtzio/eduki eta type/token analisiak (2.2 eta 2.3 atalak). Amaitzeko, erroreen analisi, definizio eta kategorizazio desberdinak azalduko ditugu (2.4 atala).

2.1. Hizkuntza idatziaren ebaluazioa

Bigarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan eta 70eko hamarkadatik aurrera, hizkuntza-garapenaren aspektu desberdinak neurtzeko hiru kategoria erabili dira hizkuntza idatzian: jariotasuna, zuzentasuna, eta konplexutasuna. Hauek, hizkuntzaren ekoizpena, garapena eta jabekuntza zehaztu zezaketen hiru dimentsioak bailira ulertzen hasi ziren orduan (ikus Housen, Kuiken, Vedder, 2012).

Lehenik eta behin, zuzentasuna eta jariotasuna desberdindu ziren (Brumfit 1984) eta geroago, Skehanen (1989) ereduarekin, konplexutasuna gehitu eta ‘Konplexutasun, Zuzentasun, Jariotasun’ hirukoa zehaztu zen (CAF edo Complexity, Accuracy and Fluency delakoa, ingelesez).

90eko hamarkadatik aurrera, bigarren hizkuntzaren ekoizpenaren osagarriak zirela eta hainbat faktore neurtzeko aldagaiak bezala ikusten hasi ziren. Honen adibide, Foster eta Skehan (1996) ikerlariak ditugu. Ikerlari hauek,

CAF neurtu zuten atazaren diseinuarekiko eta hauen arteko erlazioak azaldu zituzten (adibidez, plangintza eta jariotasunaren arteko erlazioa).

Honela, azken hamarkada honetan hiru osagai hauek ikerketen foku bilakatu dira (ikus Housen, Kuiken, Vedder, 2012; Larsen-Freeman, 2006; Norris eta Ortega, 2009; Ortega, 2003, besteak beste), eta 2. hizkuntza jabekuntzaren estadio nabariak azaldu ditzaketela azaldu da. Honen inguruan, Housen, Kuiken eta Vedder ikerlarien ondorengoa azaldu zuten:

‘CAF emerge as the primary epiphenomena of the psycholinguistic processes and mechanisms underlying the acquisition, representation and processing of L2 systems. The status of CAF as principal and distinct dimensions of L2 performance and proficiency has now been justified both empirically and theoretically’ (2012, 3.orr).

Era honetan, konplexutasuna, zuzentasuna eta jariotasuna (CAF) maila linguistiko desberdinetara neurtu daitekeela ikusi da. Hala nola, fonologian, lexikoan, morfologian, sintaxian, semantikan, diskurtsoan eta pragmatikan. Honela, hizkuntzaren maila bakoitzak beren berezko neurriak diseinatu behar izan ditu.

2.2. Idazketaren ebaluaziorako neurri holistiko eta analitikoa

Hayes eta Flowerek (1980) azaldu bezala, idaztea idazleek informazio hutsune bat gainditu behar duten arazo-ebazpen prozesu bat da. Helburu hau buruan, testu bat ona edo txarra den esateko irizpideak hainbat puntu barne hartu behar ditu.

Produktio idatziaren ebaluazioak, zerk neurtzen duen testuen aspektu bakoitza hobeto ezagutzea du jomuga. Galdera honek, begiratzen duen ikerketa esparruaren arabera, erantzun asko izan ditzake eta honela ebaluaziorako eraikin uniforme bat zehaztea helburu zaila da. Ikusiko

dugunez, aukera eta ebaluazio tresna aunitz eta konbinazio desberdinak erabili izan dira, eta atal honetan hauetan sakonduko dugu.

Modu zabalean, bi izan dira ekoizpen idatzia neurtzeko erabilitako eskala motak: holistikoak eta analitikoak. Tradizionalki, eskala holistikoak puntuazio integratu eta bakar batean oinarritu dira, idatzizko produkzioa osotasun bat bailitzan irudikatuz. Honek, idatzizko produkzioa entitate bakar baten moduan ikusi eta hala puntuazio bakar batek hobeto neurtzen duenaren ideia islatzen du. Gerturatze honek, ondo eginda dagoena gabezien gainetik nabarmentzen duela adierazi duten ikerlariak aurki ditzakegu (White, 1985, adibidez).

Eskala mota honi kritika egin dioten ikerleen artean, Knoch (2009) aurkitzen dugu. Honela, lau ideia azpimarratu zituen ikerlari honek. Lehena, puntuazio bakar batek ezin duela diagnostiko informazio nahikoa eman. Bigarrena, ebaluatzaileek idatzizko burutzearen aspekturen bat ahanzi ditzaketela. Hirugarrena, ebaluatzaileek kategoria desberdinetan haztapen bat eman ahal izatea sortu zezakeen fidagarritasun eta, hots, balidazio falta suposa lezakeela. Eta azkenik, 2. hizkuntzaren idazketari erreferentzia zuzena eginez, eskala holistikoek 'idazteko gaitasuna' eta 'hizkuntza-gaitasuna' nahasteko aukera nahitaezkoa zutela puntuazio bateratuaren ondorioz.

Eskala analitikoak, ostera, puntuazio desberdinak baimentzen dituzte idazketaren aspektu desberdinetarako. Honela, estandarizazioa eta fidagarritasuna ahalbideratzen dutela azaldu da. Rinnert eta Kobayashi (2016) ikerlariak, idazketa eleaniztuna ikertzeko neurrien inguruan hausnartu zuten. Honela, hizkuntzen artean alderagarriak ziren neurri analitikoek beharra azpimarratu zuten. Testuen ezaugarriak ikertze aldera, neurri analitikoek testu maila desberdinak barne hartu behar zituztela azaldu zuten; ezaugarri ortografiko, lexiko eta esaldi ezaugarriak kontutan hartuz, besteak

beste. Neurri analitikoek jasotako kritika nabarienak, idazketaren edo hizkuntzaren atalak zenbatzea, osotasuna baino gutxiago denaren ingurukoak izan dira, eta neurri hauek osotasun horren neurketa bermatzen ez dutela (ikus White, 1985).

Ondorengo taulan, Knochek (2009, 40. orr.) zehaztutako eskala holistiko eta analitikoek eskaintzen dituzten abantaila eta desabantailen sintesia azaltzen dugu ebaluazio neurriek izan beharko lituzketen ezaugarrien arabera:

Taula 2.1: Eskala holistiko eta analitikoaren konparaketa

Kalitatea	Eskala holistikoak	Eskala analitikoak
Fidagarritasuna	Analitikoa baino baxuagoa baina onargarria	Holistikoa baino altuagoa
Eraikin balidazioa	Eskala holistikoak, idazmenaren aspekturik garrantzitsuenak puntuazio berdinean garatzen direla barne hartzen du: puntuazio holistikoek luzera eta grafologiarekin koerlatzen dute	Eskala analitikoak 2H idazleentzako dira egokiagoak, idazteko gaitasunaren aspektu desberdinak puntuazio desberdinetan azaltzen baitituzte
Praktikotasuna	Erlatiboki azkarra eta erraza	Denbora handia hartzen du; garestia
Inpaktua	Puntuazio bakar batek idazteko perfil gorabeheratsu bat ezkutatu dezake, eta kokalekua okertu	Eskala gehiagok, kokatze eta/edo instrukziorako diagnosikorako informazio erabilgarriago bat ematen dute; ebaluatzaileek instrukziorako informazio gehiago dute
Autentikotasuna	Whiten (1985) iritziz, holistikoki irakurtzea, analitikoki irakurtzea baino prozesu naturalago bat da	Ebaluatzaileek holistikoki irakurri eta puntuazio analitikoak egokitu ditzakete inpresio holistikoak berdinkidetzeko

2.2.1. Neurri holistikoak

Bigarren hizkuntzaren idatzizko ekoizpena neurtzeko erabili diren eskala holistikoen artean ondorengo lau eskalak dira aipagarrienak. Hauen artean, tesi lan honetarako erabili dugun eskala holistikoa aurkeztuko dugu. Hain zuzen ere, Poliok (2013) garatutako ESL Profilararen birmoldaketa.

American NAEP Studies

‘The American Nationwide Assessment of Educational Progress’ study (NAEP), idatzizko ikerketaren esparruan datu bilketa handienetarikoa bat egin zuen. Honela, 1998. urtean 60.000/61.000 ikasleek idatzitako testuak aztertu ziren eskala hau erabiliz eta, 2007. urtean, 167.800 ikasleek idatzitakoak.

Erabilitako kodeketan, maila eta irizpide desberdinak erabili ziren adin-talde eta testu-genero bakoitzarako. ‘The American Nationwide Assessment of Educational Progress’ (NAEP) diseinatutako hiru gaitasun mailak, honela deskribatu ziren:

‘*Basic* denotes partial mastery of prerequisite knowledge and skills that are fundamental for proficient work at a given grade. *Proficient* represents solid academic performance. Students reaching this level have demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter. *Advanced* represents superior performance’ (NAGB, 2007, 6. orr.)

Test of Written English (TWE)

Eskala holistiko ezagunetarikoa bat da ingelesa bigarren hizkuntza (ESL) testuinguruan. Sei puntuko eskala honek, puntu bakoitzeko, 3-6 deskriptore zehazten ditu. Puntu bakoitzaren definizio nagusia ondorengoa litzateke:

‘6 score: Demonstrates clear competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels, though it may have occasional errors.

5 score: Demonstrates competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels, though it will probably have occasional errors.

4 score: Demonstrates minimal competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels.

3 score: Demonstrates some developing competence in writing, but it remains flawed on either rhetorical or syntactic levels, or both.

2 score: Suggests incompetence in writing.

1 score: Demonstrates incompetence in writing' (TWE, 2004, 21. orr.)

ESL Profile (Jacobs eta beste, 1981)

Ikertzaile askok erabili duten errubrika honek bost dimentsio eta dimentsio bakoitzean 3-6 deskriptore azaltzen ditu. Eskala hau gure testuinguruan erabilitako ikertzaileen artean Cenoz (1991), Lasagabaster (1998) edota Arocena (2017) aurkitzen ditugu. Ebaluaziorako zehaztutako bost dimentsioak: edukia, antolamendua, hizkuntza erabilera eta hizkuntza mekanikaren inguruko puntuazioak eskaintzen dituzte. Dimentsio bakoitzak, puntuazio maximo bat izanda, aspektu desberdinei garrantzi bat o beste egokitzen zaiela zehazten du 'edukia' eta 'hizkuntza erabilera' beste bost dimentsioetatik gailenduz. Honela, puntuazio maximoak hauexek lirateke: edukia (=30 puntu), antolamendua (=20 puntu), hizkuntza erabilera (=25 puntu), hiztegia (=20 puntu) eta hizkuntza mekanika (=5 puntu). Eskala honek, bere erabilerarako eskuliburu bat aurkezten du eta argibideetan bi ebaluatzaileen puntuazioekin ezartzen dela batz besteko nota azaltzen da.

ESL Profile (birmoldatua) (Polio, 2013)

Poliok (2013) errebisatutako eskala hau, Jacobs eta beste (1981) ikerlarion *ESL Profilaren* birmoldaketa da. Birmoldaketa honek, jatorrizko eskalaren

dimentsioen puntuazioak berrezartzen ditu. Honela, dimentsio guztiei pisu berdina ematen die 20 puntuko maximoa ezarriz.

Neurtutako dimentsioak, *ESL Profile* (Jacobs eta beste., 1981) eskalaren berdinak dira, bai eta deskriptoreak ere. Azken ikerketei jaramon eginez (ikus Connor-Linton eta Polio, 2014), Poliok (2013) proposatutako birmoldaketa hau balidazio eta fidagarritasun esparruan eraginkorragoa zela erakutsi zuen heinean, tesi lan honetan erabilitako eskala holistikoa izan da (Appendix 6). Honela, bi eskalen arteko puntuazioen desberdintasunen zehaztapenak prozeduren kapituluan biltzen dugun 4.3 taulan ikus daitezke.

2.2.2. Neurri analitikoak

Modu zabalean, ikerketan erabilitako neurri analitikoak hiru produkzio unitate nagusietan oinarritu dira. Unitate hauek perpausa, T-unitatea eta esaldia izan dira.

Perpausak, aditz sintagma eta subjektu batez osaturik daude (Bardovi-Harling eta Bofman, 1989). Hala, bi perpaus mota aurki daitezke: perpaus jokatu eta jokatugabeak. Perpaus jokatuak aditz sintagma eta subjektu bat dute eta perpaus jokatu gabeak, aldiz, aditz sintagma eta partizipio, infinitibo edo gerundio batez osatzen dira. Badira perpaus jokatuak bakarrik neurtu dituzten ikertzaileak (Ishiwaka, 1995), bai eta biak neurtu dituztenak ere (Kobayashi eta Rinnert, 1994).

T-unitatea perpaus nagusi batek eta bere menpeko guztiek osatuko lukete (Hunt, 1965). Honela, perpaus koordinatuek bi T-unitate izango lituzkete, adibidez. Produkzio unitate hau, heldutasun sintaktikoa isla zezakeen unitate moduan pentsatu zuen Hunt (1965), xede hizkuntzan ematen diren 'embedding processes' edo prozesu integratuak barne hartzen dituen heinean (Sharma, 1980, 320. orr), eta oraindik ere zabalki erabilia den unitatea da

(Gyllstad eta beste, 2014; Kobayashi eta Rinnert, 1994, adibidez). Nahiz eta konplexutasun sintaktikoa neurtu dezakeen neurria den, komunikazio gaitasuna neurtzen ez duen neurria dela argudiatu duten lanak ere izan ditugu (Homburg, 1984, adibidez).

Esaldia maiuskulaz hasitako eta puntu batez amaitutako produkzio unitate moduan definitu da (Swain, 1975), eta badira unitate hau T-unitatea baino egokiagoa dela defendatu duten ikerleak (Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Bardovi-Harlig eta Bofman, 1989, adibidez).

Hiru produkzio unitate hauetan oinarritutako ebaluazio neurriek hizkuntza bera maila sintaktikoan neurtzeko erabili izan dira. Aldiz, hizkuntza maila lexikoan ebaluatzeko garaian, beste bi neurketa-mota aurkeztu behar ditugu. Zehazki, type/token eta eduki/funtzio hitzen kategorizazioa.

Type/Token analisia

Type/Token analisiak bi termino desberdintzen ditu lexikoaren aniztasunaren azterketarako. *Type* terminoak, idazlanean azaldutako hitz desberdin bakoitzari egingo dio erreferentzia. *Token* terminoak, berriz, erabilia izan den hitz bakoitzari (nahiz eta hitz hauek errepikatuak egon). Honela, Type/Token analisisian bi tendentzia desberdinu dira:

- *Type* moduan lexema berdinetik ateratako hitz guztiak ulertzen dituzten ikerleak (Harley eta King, 1989, adibidez)
- Desinentzia desberdin bakoitza nahiz eta lexeman berdina izan, *type* desberdin baten moduan neurtzen dituzten ikerleak (McClure, 1991, adibidez).

Gure bigarren ikerketaren helburuekin lotuta, gure analisia bigarren tendentzian oinarritu dugu. Zehazki, desinentzia desberdin bakoitza *type* desberdin bat bailira identifikatuz.

Eduki/Funtzio hitzen kategorizazioa

Eduki/funtzio hitzen kategorizazioari dagokionez, analisi honek hitzen pisu semantikoa eta kalitatea neurtzean datzala esatea dago. Honela, funtzio hitz bezala preposizioak, artikulua, konjuntzioak eta izenordeak neurtu dira. Eduki hitz bezala, aldiz, izenak, aditzak, adjektiboak eta adberbioak (Fagan eta Hayden, 1988). Hitzen kategorizazio honek, dentsitate lexikoaren kalkulurako erabilia izan da (Engber, 1995), eta ondorengo kapituluan honen xehetasunak emango ditugu.

2.3. Zuzentasunaren ebaluazioa

Orobat, zuzentasuna erroreetatik libre egoteko gaitasuna bezala kontsideratu da, definitzen erraza gerta litekeen eraikina. Wolfe-Quintero eta beste ikerleen hitzetan, ‘accuracy shows the conformity of second language knowledge to target language norms’ (1998, 4. orr.). Tradizionalki, forma linguistiko bat okerra edo zuzena zen zehazteko erreferentzia-puntua ‘hizlariaren mailakide natiboa’ izan da (Lennon, 1991, 182. orr.). Aldiz, ‘hizlari natiboa’ zuzentasunaren erreferentzia-puntu bezala ulertzeko joera, ‘hizlari natiboaren’ ideia bera, eta errorearen definizioak kontraesanak sortu dituzten hiru nozio dira (ikus James, 1998). Edonola ere, hezkuntzan berezik eta idatzizko testuen ebaluazioan, zuzentasunak berebiziko garrantzia duela antzeman da (ikus Neumann, 2014).

Zuzentasunaren dimentsioan eragina duten faktoreetan erreparatuz, Wolfe-Quintero eta beste ikerlariak (1998, 34.orr) hiru faktore nabarmendu zituzten. Lehena, hizkuntzaren ekoizpenean lehiatzen duten

errepresentazioen indarra da. Bigarrena, hizkuntzaren erabileraren automatizazioa. Eta hirugarrena, hizkuntza errepresentazio beraren zuzentasun maila.

Lehenengoak, bigarren hizkuntzaren jabeakuntza prozesuaren lehenengo estadioetan finkatuago leudekeen errepresentazio linguistikoaren sarreren maiztasunean eragin zezakeela azaldu zuten Wolfe-Quintero eta beste ikerlariek. Bigarrenak, aldiz, erroreen ekoizpen kopuruan eragin zezakeela. Honela, automatizazio maila altuago batek errore ekoizpen baxuago bat eragingo lukeela azaldu zuten ikerlariak aurkitzen ditugu (MacKay, 1982, adibidez).

Zuzentasuna neurtzeko neurri analitikoaren artean, bi mota desberdinak dira. Lehenak, perpausak, T-unitateak, esaldiak edo hitzak errorerik gabekoak diren edo ez azalduko luke eta errorerik gabeko unitateak unitateko aztertzea dute jomuga. Adibidez, errorerik gabeko T-unitateak T-unitateko (EFT/T). Zuzentasun lexikoaren ebaluazioan, errorerik gabeko hitzak hitz kopuruarekiko (E/W) ebaluazio-neurria erabilienetarikoa izan da, eta horrexegatik tesi lan honen lehenengo ikerketarako aukeratu dugu.

Zuzentasuna neurtzeko bigarren neurri mota, aldiz, errore kontaktuan oinarritutako neurriak lirateke eta zenbat errore leudeke produkzio unitate bakoitzeko zehaztea luke jomuga (Bardovi-Harlig eta Bofman, 1989). Ondorengo atalean ikusiko dugun bezala, bigarren neurri-mota honetan, errore sailkapen desberdinak erabili dira.

Orobat, neurri hauek bi kritika jaso dituzte. Alde batetik, errorerik gabeko unitate neurriari (edo, lehen motako neurriari) egindako kritika nagusien artean, erroreak unitatean nola banatzen diren erakusten ez dutela da. Hots, errore bakarra eta aunitz dituzten unitateak berdin kontsideratzen dituztela

(Bardovi-Harlig eta Bofman, 1989, 22.orr.). Errore kontaketei (edo, bigarren motako neurriei) egindako kritiken artean, errore hierarkia eta erroreak printzipio bateratuz kontsideratzeko beharra azaldu da (ikus Gaies, 1980).

Gainera, zuzentasunaren ebaluaziorako zehaztutako bi neurri mota hauek, frekuentzia, ratio eta indizeak erabiliz neurtu dira.

Wolfe-Quintero eta beste (1998) ikerlariak konplexutasun, zuzentasun eta jariotasuna aztertzen zituzten hainbat ikerketa lanen errebisioa egin zuten. Beren monografian, neurri analitiko eta holistikoen arteko harremanak aztertzen zituzten ikerketen errebisioa egin zuten hizkuntza garapena hobeto deskribatu zitzaizketen neurri-tresnen bila. Zuzentasun neurriei dagokionez, ratioek neurri holistikoekin korrelazio esanguratsuagoak ematen zituztela azaldu zuten indize eta frekuentziekin alderatuz. Ikerlari hauen aburuz, korrelazio esanguratsuenak ematen zituzten ratioak ondorengoak ziren (ikus Wolfe-Quintero eta beste, 1998, 43-62.orr)

- Erroreak/hitzeko (E/W) (Linnarud, 1986; Hyltenstam, 1992; Polio eta Shea, 2014, adibidez)
- Errorerik gabeko T-unitateen ratioa (EFT/T) (Hirano, 1991; Kawata, 1992; Polio eta Shea, 2014; Tomita, 1990, adibidez)
- Errorerik gabeko perpausak perpauseko (EFC/C) (Ishiwaka, 1995; Polio eta Shea, 2014 adibidez)

Hau dela eta, zuzentasun lexikoa neurtzeko asmoz, gure lehenengo ikerketan Erroreak/hitzeko (E/W) ratioa aukeratu dugu.

2.4. Erroreen analisia

Bigarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan eta erroreen analisiari dagokionez, hiru joera berezitu dira: ‘contrastive analysis’ (CA), ‘error analysis’ (EA), eta

‘transfer analysis’ (ikus James, 1998). Labur, joera bakoitzaren desberdintasunik aipagarriena aztertzen zituzten osagaietan aurkitzen ditugu:

Contrastive Analysis (CA) lehen hizkuntza eta xede-hizkuntzaren arteko aldeak aztertzen ditu. Konparaketa honetan oinarrituz, desberdintasun nabariak aurkitu eta erroreak aurrean ahal izatea bilatzen du.

Error Analysis (EA), aldiz, ikasleek ekoiztutako hizkuntza bera edo ‘interlanguage’ eta xede-hizkuntza alderatzen ditu. Helburua, ikasleek duten xede-hizkuntzaren bertsioa aztertzearena da. Joera honen berezitasuna, lehen hizkuntzak (1H) ekuazioan parte hartzen ez duenaren ideia dago.

Transfer analysis (TA) error analysis (EA) egin eta ondorengo etapa litzatekeela azaldu da (ikus James 1998). Joera honetan, ikasleek ekoiztutako hizkuntza bera lehen hizkuntzarekin (1H) alderatzen da.

Ikusten dugunez, joera bakoitzak osagai desberdinak aztertzen ditu konbinazio desberdinetan: (a) contrastive analysis (CA) lehen hizkuntza eta xede-hizkuntza; (b) error analysis (EA) ikasleek ekoiztutako hizkuntza bera eta xede-hizkuntza; eta, (c) transfer analysis (TA) ikasleek ekoiztutako hizkuntza bera eta lehen hizkuntza. Honela, gure tesi lan honen lehenengo ikerketan, erroreen analisisa (EA) egiten dugu. Bigarreanean ikerketan, aldiz, transfer analisisa (TA) bideratuz.

2.4.1. Erroreen definizio eta diagnosia

Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) ikerlariek azaldu bezala, erroreen definizio eta diagnosia bi ekintza desberdin dira. Ikerlari hauen hitzetan: ‘the accuracy description of errors is a separate activity from the task of inferring the sources of those errors’ (1982, 145. orr.). Honela, erroreen definizioak deskribapena eskatzen duen artean, erroreen diagnosiak azalpena eskatzen du.

Ikusiko dugunez, tesi lan honetan lehenengo ikerketan erroreen analisia bideratzen dugu erroreak sailkatuz. Izan ere, erroreen analisiak (EA) ikasleek xede-hizkuntzarekiko dituzten zailtasunak identifikatzen laguntzen digute. Bigarren ikerketan, aldiz, trasferentzien analisia (TA) egingo dugu erroreek zergatik duten duten forma azaltzeko asmoz.

Errore kontrastiboak edo hizkuntzen arteko erroreak

Errore kontrastiboek ikasleek aurretik dakizkiten hizkuntzen eragina azaltzen dute. James (1998) ikerlariaren aburuz, errore mota hauek garrantzi berezia dute. Izan ere, errore azpi-multzo nabarmen bat dira. Ikerlariaren hitzetan:

‘errors triggered by L1 interference are not the only errors, as we shall present here. But they are a significant subset of all errors, though estimates and counts vary between the 3 and the 25 per cent of all errors. The remaining 75 per cent of the errors are what Richards (1974a) aptly called ‘non-contrastive’ errors’ (James, 1998, 181. orr.)

Ondorengo kapituluan azalduko dugun bezala, hizkuntza jabekuntzak ikasleek dakizkiten hizkuntzetan oinarritzen da modu desberdinetan. Antzekotasun formalek hizkuntzen arteko identifikazioak errazten dituzten artean, ikasleek antzekotasun hauek jabekuntza eta ekoizpenerako estrategikoki erabiltzen dituzte. Lado (1957, 2. orr) ikerlariak, antzekotasun eta zailtasunaren arteko erlazio hau sinplistikoki deskribatu zuen. Ikerlariaren ustez, zailtasuna desberdintasunarekiko proportzionala zen: hots, zenbat eta desberdinago, orduan eta zailago. Alabaina, hizkuntzen arteko identifikazioak prozesu konplexu eta eragin faktore aunitzekin erlazionatu dira. Horregatik, ondorengo kapituluan erroretzat ebaluatu litezkeen instantzien inguruko azalpenean sakonduko dugu bai prozesu eta hauetan eragina duten faktoreetan.

Errore ez-kontrastiboak edo xede-hizkuntzaren erroreak

Aurretik ikasitako hizkuntzetan duten jakituriaz aparte, hizkuntza ikasleek beste bi errekurso erabili ditzakete xede-hizkuntzarekiko ezjakintasunaren aurrean. Errekurso hauek ikaste estrategiak eta komunikazio estrategiak dira. Bi errekurso hauek errore-iturri direla frogatu den artean errore hauen sailkapena eman nahi izan dugu James (1998, 185-188 orr.) ikerlariaren monografian oinarrituz.

Ikaste estrategietan oinarritutako erroreak

- *Analogia faltsuak*: Ikasleak gaizki erabiltzen du B terminoa, dakien A terminoa bezala jokatzen duela uste duelako. Estrategia honi ‘cross-association’ deitu zion Georgek (1972). Adibidez, ikasle batek ingelesez ‘child’ eta ‘girl’ hitzen plurala antzeko jokatzen duela uste duenean ematen diren erroreak lirateke, azkenik ikasleak ‘childs’ hitza ekoiztuko balu.
- *Analisi okerrak*: Ikasleek hipotesi oker bat eraikitzen duenean ematen dira ikasten ari diren item berri batekiko. Adibidez, ingelesez ‘its’ ‘it’ izenordainaren plurala dela pentsatzen dutenean.
- *Arau baten aplikazio partziala*: Edo, bestela esanda, gutxiezigko orokortzea. Adibidez, ‘nobody knew where was Jon’ esatea ‘nobody know where Jon was’ esan beharrean. Kasu honetan, ikasleak galdera formulazioaren hiru osagaietatik bi bakarrik hartu ditu: wh-osagaia aukeratu eta aurrera eramanean du (1 eta 2 osagaiak), eta ez du subjektu eta aditzaren arteko inbertsioa egin (3 osagaia).
- *Erredundantzia ustiatzea*: Errore hauek xede-hizkuntza gehiegi eraikitzerakoan azaltzen dira. Adibidez, markaketa bikoitz baten

bitartez. Errore honen adibide bat, ondorengoa litzateke: ‘I don’t know nothing’. Adibide honetan, esaldiaren interpretazio literala alderantzizkoa izan liteke. Hots, ‘I do know something’.

- *Aldibereko murrizketak kontutan ez izatea:* Adibidez, ‘People in America live more quickly than we do’. Kasu honetan, bi errore aurkitzen ditugu. Alde batetik, ‘quick’ eta ‘fast’ sinonimoak bailira kontsideratu direla. Bestalde, ‘quick’ (‘fast’-en moduan) adjektibo eta adberbiotzat jokatu dezakeela pentsatu duela eta, hori medio, ez diolako –ly atzizkia ezarri adberbioari.
- *Hiperzuzentasuna:* Errore hauek xede-hizkuntza gehiegi kontrolatzen denean azaltzen dira eta ikasleek, sistematiko izan nahiez, hizkuntza sinplifikatzen dutenean. Adibidez, ikasle batek euskarazko ‘hartu’ aditza ergatiboa behar duela ikasten duenean eta ‘joan’ aditzarekin erabiltzen duenean ondorengo esaldia ekoiztuz: ‘Amaiak lanera joan zen’.
- *Gehiegizko orokortzea edo sistemen sinplifikazioa:* Adibidez, ikasle batek ‘that’ erabiliko balu sistematikoki ‘who’ erabili ordez.

Komunikazio estrategietan oinarritutako erroreak

- *Estrategia holistikoak:* Kasu hauetan, ikasleek xede-hizkuntzan A esan badezakete B esan dezaketela suposatzen dute. Horretarako, gerturatze estrategiak erabiltzen dituzte. Hala nola, sinonimo, antonimo edo asmakizun lexikoak.
- *Estrategia analitikoak:* Kasu hauetan, ikasleek item bat azaltzeko garrantzi nabaria duten ezaugarriak azaltzen ditu erreferentzia zuzena

egin beharrean. Adibidez, ‘swimming pool’ adierazteko ‘the big ... water ... outside ... summer’ erabiltzen duenez.

2.4.2. Errore lexikoen taxonomia

Xede-hizkuntzan ekoiztu daitezkeen errore ez-kontrastibo moten artean, lexikoan ematen diren errorek aukeratu ditugu tesi lan honetan. Llach (2011) ikerlariak, gure ikerketan erabilitako errore lexikoen definizioa gerturatzeko digu:

‘A lexical error is a deviation in form and/or in meaning of a target-language lexical word. Form deviations include orthographic or phonological deviations within the limits of single words, and also ignorance of syntactical restrictions which result in false collocations, for example. Meaning deviations appear when lexical items are used in contexts where they are attributed another meaning or where they violate semantic restrictions’ (2011, 75. orr.)

Errore lexiko baten definizioak hitz baten jakituriaren inguruan ditugun ideiak islatzen baditu, errore taxonomia batek ikerketa horretan bilatzen den informazio mota adieraziko du. Källkvist (1998) ikerlariak adierazi bezala: ‘No two previous studies on lexical errors have adopted the same error typology, and categorizing lexical errors is far from a straightforward exercise’ (1998, 82. orr.).

Horregatik, errore lexikoak ikertu dituzten ikerketa askok beren taxonomia propioak eraiki dituzte zuten interesen arabera, informazioa modu koherente, sistematiko eta zehatz batean jasotzeko. Tesi lan honetarako bi taxonomia eraiki ditugu: a) hitz-klaseetan oinarritutako taxonomia bat (ikerketa 1) eta b) influentziaren jatorriaren hizkuntzan oinarritutako errore lexikoen taxonomia (ikerketa 2). Ekin diezaiogun bada hauen azalpeneri.

Hitz-klaseetan oinarritutako errore lexikoen taxonomia

Hitz-klaseetan oinarritutako taxonomiek errore lexikoak hitz-klaseen arabera sailkatzen dituzte. Adibidez, errorea duten hitzak eduki edo funtzio hitz diren edota izen, aditz edo adjektiboetan eman diren erroreak zehaztuko dute. Lennonen (1991) sailkapenak adibidez, izen, aditz, adjektibo, adberbio eta kolokazio erroreak sailkatzen zituen. Errore sailkapen honek, gainera, inplizituki item lexikoen omisioak, ordezkapenak, gehitzeak eta berrantolaketak barne hartzen zituen.

Hitz-klaseetan oinarritutako taxonomiek, kategoria eskusiboak eraikitzen dituzte. Hots, kategoria batean dauden erroreak ez daude beste kategoriak batean. Honek, erroreen sailkapenean anbiguotasunik ez egotea ahalbideratzen du. Ezaugarri bi hauek medio, taxonomia mota hau gure lehenengo ikerketan erabili dugu.

Influentziaren jatorriaren hizkuntzan oinarritutako errore lexikoen taxonomia

Tradizionalki, bi errore-kategoria sailkatu dira: a) lehen hizkuntzaren influentzia ('interlingual errors'), b) xede-hizkuntzaren sailtasunak ('intralingual errors').

Ringbom (1981, 1983), adibidez, lehen hizkuntzaren eragina zuten erroreetan fokatu zen. Ikerlari honentzat taxonomia ez zen berez helburua. Autoreak taxonomia hau hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina aztertzeko erabili zuen. Hala, kategorizazio bikoitz bat ezarri zuen 'mailegu' eta 'transferentzia lexikoetan' oinarrituz. Ondorengo kapituluan xehetasunez azalduko dugun bezala, maileguen kategoriak elkarreragin formal bat azaltzen zuen. Transferentzia lexikoen kategoriak, aldiz, elkarreragin semantiko bat. Bi

kategoria orokor hauen azpian hainbat azpi-kategoria aurkeztu zituen irizpide psikolinguistikoetan oinarrituak.

Ikusiko dugunez, tesi lan honetan errore taxonomia desberdin bat eraiki dugu ikerketa bakoitzerako. Lehenengo ikerketan, hizkuntza zailtasunak eta harremanak zeintzuk ziren aztertzean genuenez interesa, hitz-klaseetan oinarritutako errore taxonomia bat eraiki genuen aztergai genituen hiru hizkuntzetan oinarrituz. Izan ere, Rinnert eta Kobayashik (2016) azaldu bezala, ‘the study of multilingual writing involves comparison of writing by the same writers in more than one language’ (366. orr.). Bigarren ikerketarako, berriz, irizpide psikolinguistikoetan, influentziaren jatorri hizkuntzetan eta hitz-klaseetan oinarritutako errorearen taxonomia bat eraiki genuen.

Manchón (2016) ikerlariaren aburuz, testu idatzien ezaugarrietan oinarritutako ikerketa deskriptiboek, linguistikan eta psikolinguistikan ikerketa lerro garrantzitsua dira. Bere hitzetan, ‘descriptive studies on writers’ text features constitute important linguistically -and psycholinguistically- oriented lines of quantitative inquiry’ (525.orr.). Honela, neurri analitiko, holistiko eta hizkuntza artekoak erabiliz, idazketa eleaniztunean ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko harreman eta elkarreragina aztertu dugu tesi lan honetan.

3. KAPITULUA: HIZKUNTZEN ARTEKO ELKARRERAGINA

Alderdi teorikoaren hirugarren kapitulu honen bitartez, aztergai dugun hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina aurkeztuko dugu. Lehendabizi, fenomeno honen definizio orokorra eta honen xehetasunak hirugarren hizkuntzan aurkeztuko ditugu (3.1 eta 3.2 atalak). Ondoren, aurreko hizkuntzek hirugarren hizkuntzaren sintaxi eta lexikoaren jabekuntzan zein moduetan eragiten dioten zehaztuko dugu proposatu diren ereduetan oinarrituz (3.2.1 atala). Jarraian, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin linguistikoaren nolakotasunak hizkuntza maila desberdinetan azalduko ditugu. Bereziki, elkarreragin ortografiko, morfologiko, lexiko, sintaktiko, diskurtsibo, pragmatiko eta soziolinguistikoak ezagutzeko asmoz (3.3 atala). Amaitzeko, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean parte hartzen duten faktore nabarmenen errebisioan egingo dugu, bai eta ikerketen ekarpenak azaldu ere (3.4 atala). Zehazki, hizkuntz tipologiak, gaitasun-mailak eta 2. hizkuntzaren faktoreek duten eragina azalduz.

3.1. Definizioa

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina fenomeno negatibo bailitzan ikusteko joera, hogeigarren mendearen amaierara arte iraun du. Fenomenoaren ulermen eskasak, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina, utzikeria edo buru argitasun faltaren sinonimo zirela pentsarazi zuten (Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008). Sinesmen hauei erronka egin zieten lehenengo lanak, 50eko hamarkadan argitaratu ziren, eta hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren eztabaidari, maila akademiko bat eman zioten (Weinreich, 1953; Lado, 1957, adibidez).

Terminologiak ideologia azaleratzen duela pentsatuz eta, 80ko hamarkadara iritsita, ‘transfer’ terminoa desagoki ikusten hasi ziren ikerlariak agertuz joan

ziren. Beren ustetan, termino honek, gaitasun transferentzian eta tradizionalki, nozio konduktibistekin gorde zuen erlazioak azpimarratzen zituen (Odlin, 1989, 26. orr.). ‘Interference’ terminoak, era berean, antzeko interpretazio bat jaso zuen: konnotazio konduktibistak zituen artean, atentzioa emaitza negatiboetara zuzentzen zuela argudiatu baitzuten ikerlari batzuek (ikus Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008). Honela, Kellerman eta Sharwood Smith (1986) ikerlariak, gaur arte mantendu den ‘crosslinguistic influence’ terminoa proposatu zuten egokiagozat. Alabaina, badira termino hau desegoki ikusten duten ikerlariak. Cooken aburuz, adibidez, ‘crosslinguistic influence’ terminoak hizkuntza batek beste hizkuntza batean izan dezakeen elkarreagina adieraziko luke. Ez, ordea, integratua den hizkuntza-gaitasun baten existentzia, edo aurretik azaldu dugun ‘multi-competence’ (ikus Cook, 2002).

3.2. Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreagina hirugarren hizkuntzan

Hirugarren hizkuntzan ematen den hizkuntzen arteko elkarreagina hainbat berezko ezaugarri ditu. Cenozek (2013a, 75. orr.) azaldu bezala, hirugarren hizkuntza ikasleek hiru aspektu garatzen dituzte bereziki:

- Ikaste estrategiak. Alegia, hirugarren hizkuntza ikasleak esperientzia handiagoko ikasleak direla dakigu, bai eta bi hizkuntza-sistema ikastearen ondorioz, hizkuntza ikaste-estrategien jakituria zabalago bat dutela.
- Kontzientzia metalinguistiko zabalago bat. Hots, hirugarren hizkuntza ikasleek badutela bi hizkuntza ikastearen esperientzia eta bi sistema linguistikoen jakituria, eta honela hizkuntza modu abstraktuago batean (objektu gisa) pentsatzeko gaitasun garatuago bat dutela.

- Errepertorio linguistiko zabalago bat. Hain zuzen ere, hirugarren hizkuntza ikasleek hizkuntza gehiago dakizkiten heinean hauek errekurtsio gisa erabiltzeko aukera dutela.

Ikerlari asko dira hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina hirugarren hizkuntza bat (edo gehiago) ikastearen trebetasun hauekin harremandu dutenak.

Ikaste estratēgiei dagokionez, adibidez, Müller-Lancek (2003) ekoizpen eta ulermen estratēgia eleaniztunak berezi eta aztertu zituen. Ekoizpen-estratēgiek, hiztegian zein testuinguruan oinarritutako estratēgiak zirela azaldu zuen, eta hizkuntzen arteko transferentziak barne hartzen zituztela. Ulermen-estratēgiak, aldiz, hitzen esanahia inferitzeko estratēgiak zirela azaldu zuen. Ikerlari honen emaitzen artean estratēgietatik harporrenak aurretiko hizkuntzak erabiltzen zituzten estratēgiak zirela erakutsi zuten eta, hauetan, lehen-hizkuntzak paper berezirik ez zuela azaldu.

Era berean, aurretiko hizkuntzen jakituria, arazo-ebazpen eta ikaste-estratēgia moduan erabiltzen direla ikusi da (Jessner, 1999), bai eta hizkuntzen arteko identifikazioak lexikoaren (Hall eta Ecke, 2003) zein gramatikaren jabekuntzarako erabiltzen direla (Rothman 2010, 2011). Honek guztiak, 3. hizkuntza ikasleek kontzientzia metalinguistiko zabalago bat izatea dakarrela azaldu da. Hots, hizkuntzaren inguruan modu abstraktu batean pentsatu ahal izatearen abilitate zabalago bat (Jessner, 2006, 42. orr.). Gainera, kontzientzia metalinguistikoa ikasitako hizkuntza kopuru eta lortutako hizkuntza-gaitasunarekin hazten dela azaldu da, eta honek hurrengo hizkuntzen jabekuntza errazten duela (ikus Aronin eta Singleton, 2012; De Angelis, 2007; Jessner, 1999, 2006). De Angelisek (2007) elebidun eta elebakarren abilitate metalinguistikoak aztertzen zituzten ikerketen errebisio zabal bat egin zuen. Honela, ikasle elebidun eta eleaniztunek, pertsona elebakarrak baino jabekuntza-estratēgia abaniko zabalago bat zutela

adierazi zuen eta, hainbat modutan, kontzientzia metalinguistikoari atxiki zion. Honela, ikasle elebidun eta eleaniztunek dakizkiten hizkuntzen sintaxi, morfologia eta lexikoaren inguruko kontzientzia garatuago bat dutela azaltzen duten ikerketak aurkitzen ditugu maiz (Fouser, 2001, adibidez). Kontzientzia metalinguistikoak, hortaz, hizkuntzen arteko antzekotasunak modu kontziente batean bilatu eta erabiltzea ahalbideratzen du, bai eta antzekotasun hauek ikaste-estrategia moduan erabiltzea (Otwindowska, 2016). Honek guztiak, eleaniztasunean ematen den hizkuntzen arteko eragina ulertzeko marko zabalago bat eskaintzen digu.

Amaitzeko, bigarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren aurrerako norabidea ($1H \rightarrow 2H$) eta atzerako norabidea ($2H \rightarrow 1H$) identifikatu badaitezke, hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzak beste hiru berezko norabide ditu. Lehena, alboko norabidea, tarteko-hizkuntza batetik beste tarteko-hizkuntza batera ematen den elkarreraginari egingo dio erreferentzia ($2H \rightarrow 3H/3H \rightarrow 4H$). Bigarrena, norabide bi edo anitzekoa, hizkuntza bikote bat eraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza eta xede-hizkuntza direnean ematen da ($1H \leftrightarrow 2H/2H \leftrightarrow 3H$). Azkenik, elkarreragin konbinatuak, aurretiko hizkuntzen aldibereko eragina xede-hizkuntzan adieraziko luke ($1H+2H \rightarrow 3H$). Norabide posible guzti hauen inguruan, De Angelisek (2007) eta Jarvis eta Pavlenkok (2008) hausnarketa sakonak egin zituzten haien monografietan. Gure tesi lanean lehen eta bigarren hizkuntzen eragina hirugarren hizkuntzan aztertzen dugunez, aurrerako ($1H \rightarrow 3H$), alboko ($2H \rightarrow 3H$) eta elkarreragin konbinatua ($1H+2H \rightarrow 3H$) aztertuko ditugu, bai eta kontzientzia metalinguistikoaren eta ikaste estrategien inguruko hausnarketak egingo ere.

3.2.1. Hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntza ereduak

Ikusi dugunez, pertsona eleaniztunen hizkuntzak ko-existentzian eta interakzioan oinarritzen eta garatzen dira (ikus Cook, 2003, 2008; Herdina eta Jesser, 2002, adibidez). Horregatik, hizkuntza jabekuntza prozesuetan ematen diren harremanak aztertzea, eta jabekuntza prozesu hauetan eragiten duten faktoreen aurkezpena egitea ezinbestekoa zaigu.

3.2.1.1. Sintaxiaren jabekuntza

Bost dira hirugarren hizkuntzaren sintaxiaren jabekuntzarako egin diren proposamen teoriko aipagarrienak. Proposamen hauek, ‘L2 Status Factor Hypothesis’ (Bardel eta Falk, 2007; Falk eta Bardel, 2011), ‘Cumulative-Enhancement Model’ (CEM), ‘Typological Primacy Model’ (TPM), ‘Scalped Model’ eta ‘Linguistic Proximity Model’ (LPM) dira. Atal honetan, hauen aurkezpena egingo dugu, bai eta hauen arteko antzekotasun eta desberdintasunen aipamena ere.

L2 Status Factor Hypothesis (Bardel eta Falk 2007)

Bigarren hizkuntzaren estatusa (L2 status) lehen-hizkuntza saihesteko joera azaltzen du bigarren edo tarteko-hizkuntzen mesedetan (Hammarberg, 2001, 36-37 orr.) Bardel eta Falk (2007) ikerlariak, 2. hizkuntzaren estatusa 3. hizkuntzaren sintaxiaren jabekuntzara zabaldu zuten, eta 2. hizkuntzak transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza gisa paper pribilegiatu bat zuela azaldu. Autore hauek, 2. hizkuntzak lehena blokea zezakeela defendatu zuten, nahiz eta erlazio tipologiko estu bat egon zitekeen lehen eta hirugarren hizkuntzen artean. Ikerleen hitzetan:

‘our data support the hypothesis that the L2 status factor is stronger than the typology factor in L3 acquisition: the typological proximity between L1 and L3 is not enough for the EN group to resort to L1 transfer [...] The results

from the present study shed new light on the issue of typology: in L3 acquisition, the L2 acts like a filter, making the L1 inaccessible' (Bardel eta Falk, 2007, 480. orr.)

Bost urte geroago, Bardel eta Falk (2012) ikerlariak Paradišen (2004, 2008) lanera jo zuten beren '2. hizkuntza faktore eredu' neurolinguistikoki justifikatzeko. Autoreek, Paradišen (2008) argumentazio berdina hartuz, 2. hizkuntzaren influentzia zehazteko, memoria prozedural edo deklaratiboaren arteko desberdintasunean oinarritu ziren:

'all late-learned languages (L2, L3, Ln) are sustained to a large extent by declarative memory. As such, they are more likely to manifest dynamic interference from one another than from the native language(s)' (Paradis 2008, 344. orr.)

Ikerlari hauen ustez, memoria prozedural eta deklaratiboaren arteko desberdintasun neurolinguistiko honek, hirugarren hizkuntzan ematen diren transferentzia patroi desberdinak azaldu litzakete. Adibidez, lehen eta bigarren hizkuntza eduki-hitzen transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza izatea, eta 2. hizkuntza, aldiz, funtzio-hitzen transferentzietan jatorri-hizkuntza izatea (Bardel eta Falk 2012, 74 orr). Hau gertatzeko, funtzio-hitzek 2. zein 3. hizkuntzan 'hiztegi-estatusa' zutela azaldu zuen Paradišek (2009); ez, ostera, lehen-hizkuntzaren funtzio-hitzak. Honela, 2. hizkuntzatik lehen-hizkuntzatik baino sarriagotan transferitzen zirela 3. hizkuntzara azaldu zuten Bardel eta Falkek (2012, 74. orr.)

Beste ikerketa batzuen artean, 2. hizkuntzaren estatusaren faktore ereduaren aurkako ebidentziak, Rebecca Dahm (2015) ikerlariak aurkeztu zituen berriki. Ikerketa honetan, adibidez, pertzibatutako antzekotasun tipologikoa azaldu zen hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren faktorerik nabarientzat.

Emaitzek, hala, antzekotasun tipologikorik ez zegoen arren, lehen-hizkuntzak zuela paper garrantzitsuena elkarreragin-lexikoetan erakutsi zuten. Ez, ordea, eredu honek iradoki bezala, bigarren hizkuntzak.

Cumulative-Enhancement Model (Flynn, Foley eta Vinnitskaya, 2004)

Cumulative-Enhancement Model (CEM) eredu, hizkuntza jabekuntza naturalki metagarria denaren ideian oinarritzen. Zehazki, hiztunek aurretik dakizkiten hizkuntza guztiek eragin potentzial bat dutela ondorengo hizkuntzen jabekuntzan. Horregatik, lehen-hizkuntzaren pribilegioa zalantzan jarri, eta 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan hizkuntza sistema guztiek paper lagungarri bat izan zezaketela defendatu zuten ikerlari hauek (Flynn, Foley, eta Vinnitskaya, 2004, 5. orr.).

Flynn eta beste ikerlariak (2004) bideratutako ikerketaren abiapuntua pertsona eleaniztun baten lehen-hizkuntzak 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan pribilegiozko paper bat zeukan (edo ez) aztertzea izan zen. Hori dela eta, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren norabidean jarri zuten interesa. Flynn eta beste ikerlariak (2004), 3. hizkuntza ingelesaren hiru menpeko perpaus aztertu zituzten lehen-hizkuntza kazakhera eta bigarren hizkuntza errusiera zuten ume zein helduekin. Emaitzek, estruktura sintaktiko hauen jabekuntzan lehen-hizkuntzak pribilegiozko paperik ez zuela erakutsi zuten, eta autoreek beren ereduaren aldeko emaitzak zirela azaldu zuten.

Nahiz eta autoreen iritziz hizkuntza jakituria metagarria izan, jakituria hau ez zela errepikakorra defendatu zuten (Flynn eta beste 2004, 14. orr.). Ikerle hauen aburuz, hizkuntza jabekuntza prozesu kolektibo bat zen eta, buruak errepikapena saihesten zuen artean, jabekuntza prozesua nahitaez erredundantziarik gabekoa behar zuela izan defendatu zuten. Honela, eredu

honek, lagungarria (gehigarria) ez den edozein transferentzia neutralizatzen zela zehazten zuen.

Hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan, transferentziak hizkuntza bakar batera atxiki ezin direla erakusten duten lanak asko diren artean, modu horretan eredu hau balioesten dutela esan dezakegu. Aipatzekoa, Berkes eta Flynnen (2012) lana. Ikerle hauek, beren ikerketaren partaideak bi taldetan sailkatu zituzten. Lehen taldeko partaideek, lehen-hizkuntza alemana eta bigarren hizkuntza ingelesa zuten. Bigarren taldeko partaideek, aldiz, lehen-hizkuntza hungariera, bigarren hizkuntza alemana eta hirugarren hizkuntza ingelesa zutelarik. Emaitzek, bigarren taldeak lehen taldeak baino errore gutxiago egiten zituztela azaldu zuten; hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzak subjektu/objektu errorean kopurua murrizten zuela, alegia. Honela, ikasitako azken hizkuntzak eragin negatiborik ez zeukala eta, izatekotan, positiboak zirela azaldu zuten. Emaitza hauek, CEM ereduaren baliagarritasuna probatzen zutela azaldu zuten autoreek.

Eredu honek jasotako kritiken artean, Rothmanek (2015), lagungarria (edo gehigarria) ez ziren transferentziak neutralizatu beharrak, prozesu kognitiboenganako zama areagotuko lukeela adierazi zuen. Ikerlearen hitzetan:

‘having to avoid non-facilitative transfer *a priori* would place an unrealistic burden on limited cognitive resources during the course of forming the emerging L3/Ln system. At a minimum, it implies that the learner would have to have enough experience with the L3/Ln on a property-by property basis to determine what could, for each domain, be non-facilitative.’ (Rothman 2015, 183. orr.)

Typological Primacy Model (Rothman, 2010, 2011)

2010. urtean ezarri zituen Rothman ikerlariak Typological Primacy Model (TPM) ereduaren oinarriak eta, pixkanaka, eredu honen nondik-norakoak zehaztu zituen (ikus Rothman 2011, 2013, 2015).

Lehen ikerketan, Rothmanek (2010) 3. hizkuntza portugesez brasildarraren jabekuntza patroiak aztertu zituen bi talde alderatuz. Lehenak, lehen-hizkuntza ingelesa eta bigarren hizkuntza gaztelera zuten ikasleek osatzen zuten. Bigarrena, aldiz, lehen-hizkuntza gaztelera eta bigarren hizkuntza ingelesa zuten ikasleek osatzen zutelarik. Honela, hitzen ordena aztertu zuen aditz trantsitibo eta ez-trantsitiboetan. Emaitzek, gaztelera zela transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza erakutsi zuten. Zehazki, estrukturen antzekotasuna zela jatorri-hizkuntzaren aukeraketan faktorerik erabakigarriena. Hori medio, Rothmanek (2010, 2011) 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzaren hasierako etapetan ematen den transferentzia, hizkuntza konbinazio horretan ematen den konparaketa tipologiko baten bitartez ematen zela argudiatu zuen.

Hiru urte geroago, Rothmanek (2013) transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntzaren inguruko mugak azaldu zituen. Honela, 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzaren hasierako etapetan, ikasleek antzekotasun tipologikoetan oinarritutako ebaluazio bat gauzatzen zutela argudiatu zuen. Ebaluazio horretan, antzekotasun tipologikoak aztertzen ziren, eta horietan oinarrituz lehen edo bigarren hizkuntza aukeratzen zen transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza gisa. Autoreak, ebaluazio honetan aukeratutako hizkuntza sistema osoaren transferentzia egiten zela azaldu zuen (Rothman 2013, 239. orr.).

Transferentzia prozesu hau holistikoki gauzatzearen arrazoia (hizkuntza-sistema osoa transferitzearena), hizkuntza jabekuntzan estrategia efektiboena

zenaren ideari atxiki zion. Gainera, hizkuntzen antzekotasun tipologikoaren ebaluazioan eragina zuten ezaugarriak, hierarkikoki azaldu zituen. Nabarienetik eragin murriztuago bat zutenera: lexikoa, ezaugarri fonologiko/fonotaktikoak, morfologia funtzional eta estruktura sintaktikoak zeudelarik.

Scalped Model (Slabakova, 2016)

Rothmanen (2010) ereduari kritika egin dioten lanen artean, Slabakova (2016) ikerlariak oraintsu argitaratutako ‘Scalped Model’ ereduak daukagu. Eredu honetan, lehen edo bigarren hizkuntzaren transferentzia propietatez-propietate gauzatuko litzateke eta ez, Rothmanek (2013) adierazi bezala, holistikoki. Ikerlariaren hitzetan:

‘the scalpel metaphor reflects a proposal opposed to the TPM’s wholesale transfer idea. I argue that the grammars already acquired act with a scalpel-like precision to extract the L1 or L2 options relevant to the acquisition task at hand. Therefore, transfer is selective and works property-by-property’ (Slabakova 2016, 6-7 orr.)

Slabakovak (2016) proposaturiko ‘Scalped Model’ ereduak, honela, CEM eta TPM ereduetatik hainbat propietate jaso zituen, beste batzuk baztertu zituen artean. CEM eredutik, lehen hizkuntzak paper pribilegiaturik ez duenaren ideia jaso zuen 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan emango diren transferentzietan. Aldiz eta CEM eredutik desberdinduz, transferentzia horiek lagungarriak edo neutralak soilik izan daitezkeela proposatu beharrean, kaltegarriak (‘detrimental’) izan daitezkeela azalduko du Slabakoval (2016, 6. orr.). Hau argudiatzeko, transferentzia kaltegarriak atzeman zituzten ikerketa azaldu zituen autoreak (Slabakova eta Garcia Mayo, 2015, adibidez).

Bestalde, TPM eredutik desberdinduz, 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzaren hasierako etapan gertatutako transferentzia hizkuntza-sistema osoarena ez dela defendatu zuen Slabakovak. Esan bezala, Rothmanek transferentzia prozesu hau holistikoki gauzatzearen arrazoia (hizkuntza-sistema osoa transferitzearena), hizkuntza jabekuntzan estrategia efektiboena zenaren ideari atxiki zion. Slabakovak, aldiz, transferentzia hizkuntza-sistema osoarena ez dela erakutsiko zuten ikerketak azaldu zituen (Bruhn de Garavito and Perpiñán, 2014, adibidez), eta propietatez-propietateko transferentzia defendatu zuen.

Labur, hortaz, ‘Scalped Model’ ereduak 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan propietatez-propietate gertazten dela proposatuko du (CEM eta ondorengo atalean ikusiko dugun LPM ereduaren moduan), bai eta transferentzia guztiak lagungarriak izan behar ez dutela defendatuko (TPM eta LPM ereduekin bat eginez).

The Linguistic Proximity Model (Westergaard, Mitrofanova, Mykhaylyk eta Rodina, 2016)

Westergaard, Mitrofanova, Mykhaylyk eta Rodina (2016) ikerlariak CEM eta TPM ereduaren iradokizunak enpirikoki aztertu eta alderatu zituzten 110 ikasleetan. Parte-hartzaileak, 22 noruegiar-errusiar elebidun, 46 noruegiar elebakar eta 31 errusiar elebakar izan ziren. Horretarako, parte-hartzaile hauen judizio gramatikalak bi kondizioetan alderatu zituzten: adberbioak zituzten deklaratioetan eta auxiliarrak zituzten galderetan. Izan ere, CEM, TPM eta LPM ereduak kondizio hauekiko iradokizun desberdinak proposatuko lituzke transferentzia lagungarri/kaltegarrien inguruan (ikus Westergaard eta beste, 2016, 8.orr.).

Emaitzek, errusiarrak paper lagungarri bat bete zuela erakutsi zuten ingelesaren (3H) ekoizpenean. Errusiarrak ingelesa eta noruegierarekiko harreman tipologikorik ez duen artean, ikerle hauek hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina ez soilik tipologikoki baina antzekotasun estruktural abstraktueta oinarritzen zela defendatu zuten hau bera izanik LPM ereduaren desberdintasun nagusia eta honen proposamena. Ikerleon hitzetan: ‘our findings indicate that not just typological proximity but also structural similarity at an abstract level should be considered an important factor in L3A’ (13.orr.).

LPM ereduak, hortaz, aurretiko hizkuntza guztiek (1H/2H) 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan parte hartzen zutela proposatzen zuen (CEM, TPM eta Scalped Model ereduak bezala), hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina bai langungarria zein kaltegarria izan zitekeela (TPM eta Scalped Model ereduak bezala), propietatez-propietate gertatzen zela (Scalped Model ereduak bezala) eta tipologian ez ezik estrukturen antzekotasun abstraktuagoetan oinarritzen zela. Gainera, elkarreragin lagungarriak antzekotasun estrukturetan oinarritzen zirela zehaztu zuten. Elkarreragin kaltegarriak, aldiz, 3. hizkuntza ikasleak 3. hizkuntza oker aztertu eta propietate hori aurretiko hizkuntzen propietate batekin nahasten zutenean gertatzen zela (Westergaard eta beste, 2016, 6.orr.).

3.2.1.2. Lexikoaren jabekuntza

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina maila lexikoan azaltzen lagungarri den eredurik aipagarriena Hall eta Ecke (2003) ikerlariak garatutako ‘The Parasitic Model’ ereduak litzateke. Horregatik, ondorengo atalean honen aurkezpena egin nahi izan dugu.

The Parasitic Model (Hall eta Ecke, 2003)

Hall eta Ecke (2003) ikerlarien proposamena, aurretiko jakitua lexikoaren arteko antzekotasunen esplotazioan oinarritzen zen. Honela, ikerle hauek hirugarren hizkuntzan ikasitako hitzak aurretiko hizkuntzen formekin antzekotasun gehiago zuten hitzekin lotzen zituztela azaldu zuten. Era honetan, harreman hauek Weinreichen (1953) 'subordinate structure' edo menpeko estrukturaren ideia islatuko lukeelarik (ikus Singleton, 2003, 175. orr.) Ikerle hauek, azpi-atalez osatutako hiru etapatan banatu zuten prozesua, eta etapa hauek ondorengoak dira:

Hasteko, hirugarren hizkuntzaren hitzek errepresentazio formal bat bilatuko dute. Bilaketa honetan 3H, 2H edo 1Hren errepresentazioak aktibatuko lirateke eta, antzekotasunik egotekotan, ordezeko errepresentazio hauetara egokituko lirateke ('host representations' deitu zituztenak). Etapa honetan, hirugarren hizkuntzaren hitzen eta errepresentazio horien arteko desberdintasunak antzemango lirateke eta, egokitzapen formalik gertatu ezean, hirugarren hizkuntzaren hitza gertuen duen baliokide kontzeptualaren markora egokituko litzateke.

Bigarren etapan, formalki erlazioa duen ordezeko hitzaren markoa 3Hren hitzaren formaren hedapenerako erabiliko litzateke. Izan ere, ordezeko errepresentazioa berreskuratua egongo litzateke hitz honen testuinguruaren xehetasunak konfirmatzen diren bitartean. Testuinguruak marko honen balia konfirmatuko ez balu, beste baliokide kontzeptual bat bilatuko luke 1H edo 2Han. Edo, baliokide kontzeptualik aurkitu ezean, marko probisional bat eraikiko litzateke (gako morfologikoetan oinarrituta), eta errepresentazio kontzeptualera konektatuko litzateke zuzenean.

Hirugarren etapan, hasieran egokitutako 1H, 2H eta 3Hren konexioak errebisatuko lirateke hiru mailetan (forma-marko-kontzeptu) hauen arteko konexio autonomoak bilatuz. Etapa honetan, konexio hauek indartuko lirateke, eta esposizio frekuentziaren arabera berriz definituko. Azkenik, 3Hren hiru mailetako konexio hauen arteko eskuragarritasun bideak automatizatuko lirateke 3H hitzaren jabekuntza gauzatuz.

Gure bigarren ikerketan hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina maila lexikoan aztertu dugunez, eredu hau gure testuingurura ekarri nahi izan dugu 3H-ikasleek ingelesaren lexikoaren jabekuntzan izan dituzten aukera desberdinak azaltzeko Hall eta Ecke (2003) ikerlarien ereduaren arabera. Horretarako, ondorengo bi eszena posibleak proposatu nahi izan ditugu Hall eta Ecke (2003) ikerlarien ereduaren gure testuingurura gerturatzeko asmoz:

Euskara eta gaztelera dakien ikasle batek ingelesezko (3H) ‘constipate’ hitza ikasterako orduan, bi etapa gauzatuko litzake. Lehen etapan, ikasleak erdarazko ‘constipado’ hitzarekin erlazionatu lezake. Bigarren etapan, erdarazko ‘constipado’ hitzaren testuinguruari erreparatu eta balio ez lukeela ikusiko luke (ingelesezko ‘constipate’ hitzak erdaraz ‘estreñido’ eta ez ‘constipado’ esan nahi duen artean). Hala, beste baliokide kontzeptual bat bilatuko luke euskaraz, adibidez. Aurkitu ezean, marko probisional hori mantendu lezake (gako morfologikoetan eraikita dagoen heinean). Halaber, forma-marko-kontzeptuen arteko konexio baliagarririk gertatu ez denez (konexioa formala soilik denez), beste ikaste modu bat bilatu beharko luke ikasleak ‘constipate’ hitzaz jabetzeko.

Bestalde, ikasle berdinak ingelesezko ‘anthropology’ hitza ikasi nahiko balu, 1H euskara eta 2H erdarazko ‘antropologia’ hitzarekin erlazionatuko luke. Bigarren etapan, erdaraz eta euskarazko ‘antropologia’ hitzaren marko kontzeptualarekin erlazionatuko. Eta azkenik, hirugarren etapan,

antzekotasun formal eta kontzeptual horiek konparatuko lituzke eta, baliagarriak zaizkion heinean, ‘anthropology’ hitzaren forma eta esanahiaz jabetuko litzateke, erabilerarekin forma-marko-kontzeptuen erlazioak indartuz eta automatizatuz.

Cenozek (2003a) azaldu bezala, mekanismo honek jabekuntzaren hasierako etapetan transferitutako item kantitate altuak azaldu litzake, eta konpatiblea litzateke Clyne (1997) eta Dewaele (1998) aurkitutako ikasleen errepertorio linguistiko osoaren erabilerarekin.

Laburpena

Atal honetan azaldutakoa laburbilduz, hortaz, ondorengo esan dezakegu. Hasteko, 3. hizkuntzaren jabekuntzan aurretiko hizkuntzek duten papera luze aztertu dela. Honela, lehen hizkuntzak (1H) elkarreragin lagungarria zein kaltegarria izan daitekeela azaltzen duten ikerketak aurkitzen ditugu (Hermas, 2014; Jin, 2009, adibidez) bai eta bigarren hizkuntzak paper pribilegiatu bat duela azaltzen dutenak (ikus Bardel eta Falk, 2007, 2011) eta ukatzen dutenak (Dahm, 2015, adibidez).

Hirugarren hizkuntzaren (3H) jabekuntzan eleaniztunek dakizkiten hizkuntza guztiek parte hartu zezaketela iradokitzen duten bost proposamen teoriko aipagarrienak azaldu ditugu, bai eta hauen arteko desberdintasunak elkarreragin lagungarri/kaltegarrien inguruan, bai eta hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina propietatez-propietate edo holistikoki gertatzen denaren inguruan.

TPM ereduan (Rothman 2010, 2011) hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina faktore psikotipologikoek zehaztuko zuten. CEM ereduan (Flynn eta beste, 2004), aldiz, hizkuntzen jabekuntza metagarria litzateke eta transferentziak erredundateak izan ezin direla azaldu zuten autoreek. Honela ‘facilitative

transfer' edo transferentzia lagungarriak soilik iradoki zituen CEM ereduak. Aldiz, TPM, Scalped Model, LPM eta Parasitic Model ereduak transferentzia ez-lagungarriak ere posibletzat planteatu zituzten. Gainera, Slabakovak (2016) eta Westergaard eta beste (2016) ikerlariak 3. hizkuntzaren jabeakunza propietatez-propietate gauzaten zela defendatu zuten, eta ez TPM ereduak iradoki bezala holistikoki.

3.3. Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren mailak

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina hizkuntzaren maila desberdinetan gertatzen da. Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin lexikoek, hizkuntzen unitate txikienetik (morfemetatik) zabalenera (hitz osoetara) ematen diren elkarreraginei egiten diote erreferentzia. Horien artean, ikerketa honi dagozkion eta, idazketan ematen diren, eragin ortografiko, morfologiko eta lexikoak deitu zaienak aurkitzen ditugu. Halaber, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina beste maila eta modu oso diferentetan ematen dela azaldu da (ikus Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Horregatik, atal honetan ere elkarreragin sintaktikoak, diskurtsiboak, pragmatikoak eta soziolinguistikoak azaldu nahi izan ditugu labur. Izan ere, idatzizko hizkuntzan maiz ematen diren elkarreraginak dira eta, nahiz eta gure ikerketan zuzenean aztertu ez, honen ebidentziak ere aurkitu ditugu. Adibidez, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin sintaktikoarena.

3.3.1. Elkarreragin ortografikoak

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin ortografikoak diogunean, hizkuntza idazketa sistemen artean gertatzen diren elkarreraginari egiten diogu erreferentzia. Idazketa sistemak zer diren zehazteko, definizio hau argigarria dela uste dugu:

‘Writing systems represent the flow of spoken language as a sequence of distinct linguistic units with clear boundaries. For instance, while phonemes

overlap in speech (Lively eta beste, 1994), they are represented as discrete units (letters) in alphabetic writing systems' (Bassetti, 2005, 226. orr).

Jarvis eta Pavlenkok (2008) idazketa sistemen elkarreraginean erreparatuz, bi elkarreragin-mota desberdindu zituzten:

- Fonologiak duen eragina ortografian.
- Ortografiak duen eragina fonologian.

Ortografiari dagokionez, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina esparru honetan oso zabala dela azaldu da. Aurkikuntzarik garrantzitsuena, agian, 1H-testuinguru ezberdinetako hiztunek errore ortografiko ezberdinak ekoizten dituztenarena izan liteke (ikus Harding, 2000).

Xede-hizkuntzan egin daitezkeen errore motak asko dira, noski, eta potentzialki guztiek izan ditzakete zergaiti aunitz. Xede-hizkuntzan (2. edo 3. hizkuntzan, adibidez) ematen diren errore mota desberdinen hainbat zergaiti identifikatu dituzte ikerketa desberdinek. Adibidez, abiadura edo axolagabekeriak eragindako erroreak (Kung, 2004), 2. hizkuntza arauen gehiegizko orokortzeak eragindakoak (Van Berkel, 2004) edo homofonoen nahasteak eragindakoak (Harding, 2000), besteak beste.

Gauzak horrela, badira errore batzuk lehen (edo beste aurretiko) hizkuntzen influentziari atxiki dakizkiokeenak. Hardingek (2000), adibidez, gaztelera lehen hizkuntza moduan zuten ingeles ikasleek /b/ eta /v/ soinuek parte hartzen zuten errore kantitate nabari bat ekoizten zutela antzeman zuen. Gaztelerak /b/ eta /v/ soinuen arteko desberdintzerik egiten ez duen artean, ikasle hauek {b} eta {v} letren arteko desberdintzerik egiten ez zutela 1Hri atziki zion. Era berean, finera hiztunek {w} eta {v} trukean erabiltzen zituztela antzeman zuen. Izan ere, fineraz /w/ eta /v/ soinuak ohikotasunez ordezkatzen dira. Bukatzeko, txinera hiztunek /v/ fonema {f}, {l}, {th}, {s}

eta {w} letren bitartez adierazten zutela antzeman zuen. Izan ere, txineraz /v/ fonema ez da existitzen. Beraz, 1H-testuinguru desberdinek errore ortografiko desberdinak errazten dituztela adierazi zuen.

Elkarreragin ortografikoen funtzio lagungarri bat ere izan dezaketela frogatu da. Van Berkelek (2004), adibidez, hiztun alemanek alemanaren soinu-sinboloen korrespondentzia errespetatzen zuten ingeles hitzak ekoizteko arazo gutxiagoa zituztela antzeman zuen. Honela, alemanaren (1Hren) soinu-sinboloen korrespondentzia ingelesaren ekoizpenerako lagungarria zela frogatu zuen. Korrespondentzia honen adibide bat, ondorengoia izan liteke. Adibidez, 'pit' hitz aleman bat izango balitz, ingelesezko 'pit' hitza bezala idatziko zen ahozkatzen den modua kontutan hartuz.

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina aztertu duten ikerketa gehienek lehen hizkuntzaren (1H) eragina 2. hizkuntzaren ortografian aztertu dute (ikus Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008, 72.orr.). Beraz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina aurretiko norabidean aztertu dutela esan dezakegu. Honela, alboko zein atzerako norabidea aztertzen duten ikerketak aurrera eramatea beharrezkotzat jotzen duten autoreak aurkitzen ditugu. Cook eta Bassettik (2005), adibidez, hizkuntzen arteko atzerako elkarreraginen inguruan luze hausnartu zuten. Aurretik azaldutako Multi-Competence (Cook, 1991) nozioan oinarrituz, pertsona eleaniztunen idazketa sistemak ko-existentzian oinarritutako sistema bateratu bat osatzen dutela defendatu zuten. Autore hauek erabilitako terminologia erabiliz, 2. hizkuntzaren idazketa sistemen erabiltzaile batek, modu kontzientean edo inkontzienteki aurretik ikasitako prozesu eta estrategiak erabiltzen zituen beste hizkuntza baten idazketan (Cook eta Bassetti, 2005, 46.orr.). Honela, 2.hizkuntzaren idazketa sistemak lehen hizkuntzaren (1H) idazketa sisteman eragina zuela azaldu zuten edo atzerako elkarreragina. Gainera, prozesu eta estrategia hauek erabiltzaile

elebakerren estrategietatik desberdindu zituzten hau bera frogatzen zuten ikerketen analisia eginez (Chiriti eta Willows, 1997, bestean artean).

3.3.2. Elkarreragin morfologikoak

Frost eta Grainger (2000) azaldu bezala, hizkuntza bakoitzak bere berezko ezaugarri morfologikoak ditu. Hala, hizkuntza batzuk monomorfemikoak dira (txinera, adibidez), eta beste batzuk morfema-anitzekoak direla dakigu (ingeleza, euskara edo gaztelera, adibidez). Horregatik, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina aztertzerako orduan, aztertutako hizkuntzen morfologietan eta hauetan ematen den elkarreraginari erreparatuko diogu soilik. Jasotako emaitzak, bestelako morfologia duten hizkuntzetara modu erraz batean transferi ezin direla jakinda.

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina maila morfologikoan aztertzeak, ikerketa honen bi elkarreragin-motetako bat hobeto ulertzen lagunduko digu. Zehatzago, moldatutako maileguen kategoriaren azaldutako hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina ulertzeko izango zaigu lagungarri. Moldatutako maileguak, aurretiko hizkuntza baten erroa (1H/2H) eta erro horri erantsitako eta xede-hizkuntzaren (3H) arau gramatikaletara moldatutako morfema azalduko ditu gehienetan. Adibidez, ‘alquiled’ hitza elkarreragin morfologiko bat erakusten duela diogunean, gaztelararen ‘alquilar’ aditzaren erroa hartu, eta ingelesaren (3H) arau gramatikaletara moldatu duelako da. Zehazki, ingelesez ‘-ar’ atxizkia existitzen ez den morfema den artean, kendu egin diolako ikasleak eta ingelesez behar duen ‘-ed’ atxizkia gehitu diolako, hain zuzen ere. Honela, moldatutako maileguak, hizkuntza batean zein bestean existitzen ez diren hitzak dira eta asmakizun hauek, aldi berean, morfemen moldaketan bitartez eraikiak direla dakigu.

Ondorengo paragrafoetan, prozesamendu morfologiko-motak eta eleaniztasunean ematen den hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin morfologikoan eragina duen kontzientziari erreparatuko diogu, bai eta egindako ikerketen ekarpena aurkeztuko ere.

Prozesamendu morfologiko-motak

Prozesamendu morfologikoa aztertu duten ikerketek, bi prozesamendu-mota desberdindu dituzte. Alde batetik, prozesamendu morfo-ortografikoa. Bestetik, prozesamendu morfo-semantikoa (Frost, Grainger eta Carreiras, 2008, 935. orr.). Bestera esanda, morfemen formen bidezko prozesamendu hutsa, eta morfema horien esanahia kontutan hartuz egindako prozesamendua.

Longtin, Segui, and Halle (2003) eta Rastle, Davis and New (2004) ikerlariek, adibidez, geroago deituko zitzaion ‘corner-corn’ efektua hauteman zuten. Efektu hau, maila morfo-ortografikoari legokio. Izan ere, efektu honek hiztun ingelesek morfologikoki azpi-konplexua zen ‘corner’ terminoa ‘corn-‘ eta ‘-er’ atxizkian deskonposatzen zutela azaldu zuten. Deskonposatze honek oinarri semantikorik ez zuen artean, prozesatze morfo-ortografikoari atxiki zioten.

Esanahi eta morfemen arteko erlazioa aztertu duten lanen artean, badira erlazio hau ezinbesteko ikusten duten ikerketak (Plaut eta Gonnerman, 2000; Rueckl eta Raveh, 1999). Ikerle hauen ustetan, ‘-er’ atxizikia unitate azpi-linguitiko moduan eraikiko lukeena, honen korrespondentzia litzateke errepresentatzen duen esanahiarekiko. Honela, morfemen esanahiak hitzen errekonozimendua errazten duela azalduko zuten. Alegia, ‘darker-dark’ hitz bikotean errazago gertatzen dela errekonozimendua ‘corner-corn’ hitz bikotean baino, ‘darker-dark’ hitz bikotearen ‘-er’ atxizkiak duen esanahia

dela medio. Honela, Rastle eta beste (2004) ikerlariek, prozesamendu morfo-ortografiko eta morfo-semantikoaren arteko desberdinketaren garrantzia azpimarratu zuten.

Hizkuntzen artean ematen den elkarreragin morfoloikoa aztertu duten lanek, bi prozesamendu mota hauek desberdindu dituzte. Honela, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin morfoloikoa formala eta semantikoa dela adierazi ohi da (ikus Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008, 75-82 orr.)

Kontzientzia morfoloikoa

Weinreichen (1953) aburuz, bi hizkuntzen artean ematen den identifikazio eta transferentzia morfoloikoa honela defini zitekeen:

‘If the bilingual identifies a morpheme or grammatical category of language A with one in language B, he may apply to B form in grammatical functions which he derives from the system A. What leads the bilingual to establish the interlingual equivalence of the morphemes or categories is either their formal similarity or a similarity in preexisting functions’ (1953, 39. orr.)

Modu honetan, Weinreich (1953) hizkuntzen arteko transferigarritasuna maila morfoloikoan eman ahal izateko, kategoria hauen kontzientzia (identifikatu ahal izatea) beharrezkotzat jotzen zuen.

Kontzientzia metalinguistikoak hizkuntza-sistema osoei egiten bazion erreferentzia, kontzientzia morfoloikoak (MA), maila morfoloikoarekiko kontzientzia azalduko du. Oz (2014) ikerlariak, kontzientzia morfoloikoa honela definitu zuen:

‘(MA) means the explicit knowledge of the smallest meaningful units of language, including derivational (e.g., *-er/-or*, *-tion*, *un-*, *re-*) morphemes (i.e., suffixes and prefixes) and inflectional (e.g., *-ed*, *-s*, *-ing*, *-est*) markers

(i.e., suffixes) [...] students with MA are able to identify the smallest meaningful units of language such as free and bound morphemes as well as inflectional and derivational markers' (Oz, 2014, 99-100 orr.)

Weinreich (1953) kontzientzia hau esplizitua edo inplizitua izan behar zuten zehaztu ez arren, kontzientzia morfologikoa ikertu duten lanek, kontzientzia morfologikoaren garapenak hiztegiaren jabekuntzarekin (Kieffer eta Lesaux, 2012), bai eta jaroitasunarekin (Kieffer eta DiFelice, 2013) erlazio positibo estu bat dutela azaltzen dute, bai eta hizkuntza-jabekuntza prozesuak modu orokor batean errazten dituela (Ringbom, 2007, 70. orr.). Bestalde, kontzientzia morfologikoa hizkuntza batetik bestera transferitzen dela azaldu da (Deacon, Wade-Woolley, eta Kirby, 2007; Kieffer eta Lesaux, 2008; Ramirez, Chen, eta Pasquarella, 2013), bai eta hizkuntzen arteko transferentziak morfologia aske zein lotuetan ematen direla (Jarvis eta Odlin, 2000, adibidez).

Ezaugarri morfologikoak hizkuntza batetik bestera transferi daitezkeenaren inguruan, Jarvis eta Odlinek (2000) bideratutako ikerketa aipatzekoa da. Izan ere, transferitzen zaila zela sarri argudiatu den morfologia-mota ere transferitzen zela azaldu zuten. Zehazki, morfologia lotua hizkuntza batetik bestera transferi zitekeela hauteman zuten. Horretarako, 140 fines eta 70 suediar ingeles ikasleen ekoizpena aztertu zuten. Emaitzek, lehen-hizkuntza fineraren morfologia lotu eta aglutinatiboa eta lehen-hizkuntza suedierren morfologia askea, 2. hizkuntza ingelesaren erreferentzia espazialak egiteko transferitzen zela erakutsi zuten. Gainera, finera eta suedieraren arteko desberdintasun semantiko eta estrukturalak, transferigarritasunean patroi desberdinak azaltzen zituztela adierazi zuten.

Labur, orduan, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin morfologikoei dagokionez, ondorengo esan dezakegu:

- Hizkuntzen arteko identifikazio morfologikoek, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin morfologiko formala eta funtzionala ahalbideratzen dute (Weinreich, 1953).
- Kontzientzia morfologikoak, hizkuntzen arteko identifikazio morfologikoak ahalbideratzen ditu (Oz, 2014).
- Kontzientzia morfologikoaren garapenak, hiztegiaren jabekuntza errazten du (Kieffer eta Lesaux, 2012)
- Kontzientzia morfologikoa, hizkuntza batetik bestera transferitzen da (Deacon, Wade-Woolley eta Kirby, 2007; Ramirez, Chen eta Pasquarella, 2013)
- Aurretiko hizkuntzen morfologia lotu zein askea transferigarriak dira (Jarvis eta Odlin, 2000)

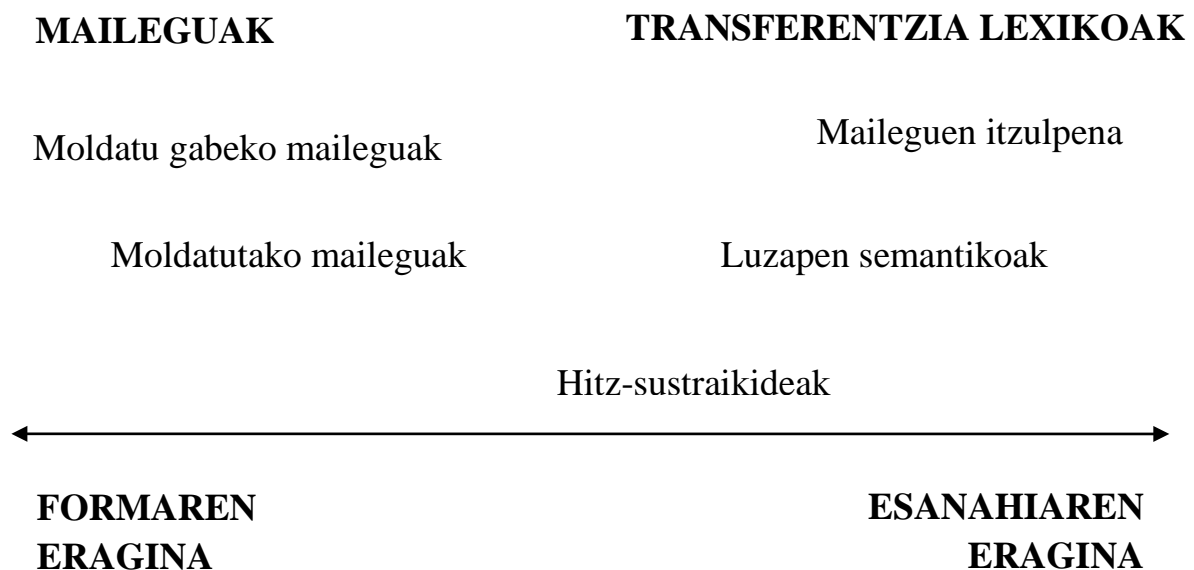
3.3.3. Elkarreragin lexikoak

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin lexikoa diogunean, hizkuntza batean dugun hitzen jakituriak beste hizkuntza baten hitzen jakiturian edo erabileran duen eraginari egiten diogu erreferentzia (Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008, 72. orr.) Baina, zer diogu hitz bat dakigula diogunean?

Ringbomen (1987) iritziz, hitz baten jakituria zehazten duten sei dimentsio zueden. Hauek, eskuragarritasuna, morfologia, sintaxia, semantika, kolokazioa (hitza agertu ohi diren konbinaketak), eta asoziazioa (hitzak beste hitzekiko izan ohi dituen asoziazioak) ziren. Hala, ikerle honek hitz bat jakiteak sei dimentsio hauetako bat baino gehiagotan nolabaiteko jakituria izatea inplikaten zuela azaldu zuen (1987, 37. orr.). Honen argitan, ekoizpenean ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin lexikoek forma

anitzak hartzen dituztela imagina dezakegu. Izan ere, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren adibide den hitz bakoitzak dimentsio bat edo bestearekiko eragina adierazi lezake. Elkarreragin lexikoak eta konbinazio posible hauek sailkatzeko asmoz, Ringbomek (1987) forma eta esanahiaren arteko continuuma diseinatu zituen. Mugako bi eragin-faktore hauen artean (forma eta esanahia), erdibideko konbinazio posibleak aurkeztuko ditugu atal honetan bere lanean oinarrituz. Sailkapen honetan, ‘transferentzia lexikoen’ kategoriak esanahiaren eragin nabarmenago bat islatzen duela azalduko dugu, eta ‘maileguen’ kategoriak, aldiz, formaren eragin nabariago bat. Tesi lan honetan elkarreragin formalak aztergai ditugun artean, ‘maileguen’ kategorian aurkitzen ditugun moldatutako edo moldatu gabeko maileguak azalduko ditugu. Atala amaitzeko, tesi lan honetan aztertutako bi eragin-motei zuzeneko erreferentzia egingo diogu. Hain zuzen ere, moldatutako zein moldatu gabeko maileguei.

Irudia 3.3: Elkarreragin lexikoen continuuma (Ringbomen, 1987, sailkapenean oinarrituta)



TRANSFERENTZIA LEXIKOAK

- *Maileguen itzulpena*: Item bat (edo gehiagoren) propietate semantikoen itzulpena item lexiko bat (edo gehiagoren) konbinaketaren bidez. Adibidez, ‘cazatalentos’ esateko ‘talenthunter’ esango bagenu (‘headhunter’ beharrean). Kasu honetan, ‘cazatalentos’ hitzaren konponenteen itzulpena banan-banan egiten geundeke, nahiz eta ‘cazatalentos’ hitzaren itzulpen figuratiboa ingelesez ‘headhunter’ den (edo, literalki, ‘cazacabezas’).
- *Luzapen semantikoak*: Item baten propietate semantikoak, beste hizkuntza baten itemera transferitzen direnean. Adibidez, ingelesez ‘I bought a book in the bookstore’ esan ordez, ‘I bought a book in the library’ esango bagenu. Kasu honetan, gaztelaniaren ‘libreria’ hitzaren propietate semantikoak, xede-hizkuntza ingelesaren itemera (librería=library) transferitzen egongo ginateke.
- *Hitz-sustraikideak (sasi-adiskide moduan agertzen direnean)*: Itemen arteko antzekotasun formalek esanahietan eragina islatzen dituztenean hiru erlazio sortu ditzakete. Erlazio hauek, antzeko forma baina esanahi desberdinak dituzten hitz bikote hauen artean ondorengo moduetan gertatzen dira:
 - Esanahi guztiz desberdina duten hitzen artean: Adibidez, ‘I put my notes in the carpet’ diogunean, ‘I put my notes in the folder’ esan beharrean. Kasu honek, carpet (in.) = carpeta (gaz.) identifikazio okerra islatzen du; carpet (in.) = alfombra (gaz.) identifikazio zuzenaren ordez.
 - Antzeko esanahia dutenean, baina testuinguru berdinetan erabiltzen diren hitzen artean: Adibidez, ‘Actually, many cases of corruption

have been reported’ diogunean, ‘Recently, many cases of corruption have been reported’ esan beharrean. Kasu honetan, actually (in.) = actualmente (gaz.) hitzen arteko identifikazio okerra egiten geudeke, actually (in.) = en realidad (gaz.) hitzen arteko identifikazio zuzena egin beharrean.

- Batzuetan (baina ez beti) testuinguru berdinean (edo ia berdinetan) erabiltzen diren hitzen artean. Adibidez, ‘I make a compromise to go’ esaten dugunean, ‘I make a commitment to go’ esan beharrean. Nahiz eta baliokideak izan daitezkeen testuinuru batzuetan, esaldi honetan ‘commitment’ soilik izango litzateke egokia.

MAILEGUAK

- *Moldatutako maileguak*: Xede-hizkuntzaren arau morfologikoetara (zein fonologikoetara) moldatutako itemak. Adibidez, ‘apostation’ esaten dugunean ingelesez ‘bet’ (= *apostua*) esan orde. Kasu honetan, ‘apostu’ (eusk.) hitza ingelesaren arau morfologikoetara moldatu dugu; zehatzago, ‘-tation’ atxizkia gehitu diogu euskal ‘apost-’ erroari.
- *Moldatu gabeko maileguak*: Xede-hizkuntzaren arauetara moldatu gabeko itemak. Bestela esanda, ingelez idazten gaudela euskara edo gaztelerazko hitz baten erabilera egiten dugunean. Adibidez, ‘I was looking at the lámpara when she arrived’.

Hitzen kategorizazioa

Behin elkarreragin lexikoaren kategoriak ikusi ditugula, elkarreragin lexikoek zein hitz-klasetan oinarritu daitezkeenaren inguruko hausnarketa egingo dugu. Laurogeigarren hamarkadan, hitzen pisu semantikoak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean influentzia zuela antzeman zen (Garrett,

1975). Hitzen pisu semantiko desberdindu honek, bi kategoria nagusitan banatu zituen hitzak. Ikerketa gehienek, ondorengo sailkapena egin ohi dute:

EDUKI HITZAK: Izenak, aditzak, adjektiboak eta adberbioak.

FUNTZIO HITZAK: Konjuntzioak, preposizioak, artikulua eta izenordeak.

Eduki eta funtzio hitzen kategorizazioari dagokionez, Paradisen (2004, 2008, 2009) lana aipatu beharrekoa da. Izan ere, ikerlari honek bigarren eta hirugarren hizkuntzaren artean antzekotasun kognitibo nabariagoa zegoela antzeman zuen (lehen eta hirugarren hizkuntzen arteko antzekotasunarekin alderatuz). Hurbilpen neurolinguistiko batetik, antzekotasun kognitibo hau honela definitu zuen:

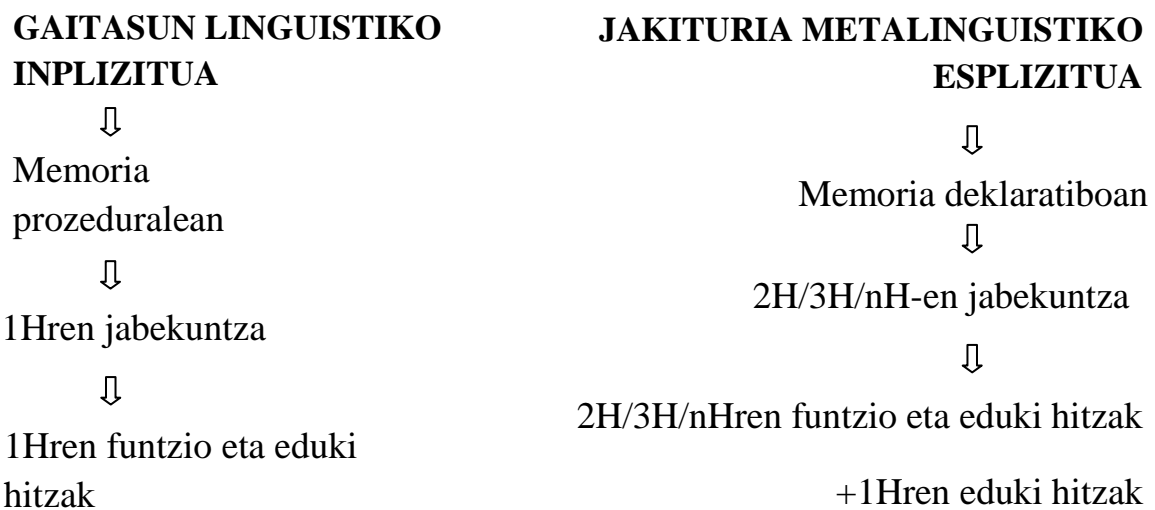
‘all late-learned languages (L2, L3, Ln) are sustained to a large extent by declarative memory. As such they are more likely to manifest dynamic interference from one another than from the native language(s)’ (Paradis, 2008, 344. orr.).

Gainera, Paradisek (2004, 2009) gaitasun-linguistiko inplizitua eta jakituria metalinguistiko esplizitua neurolinguistikoki desberdindu zituen. Izan ere, bi jakituria-mota hauek buruan desberdin antolatzen zirela argudiatu zuen. Alde batetik, memoria prozeduralean antolatzen zen gaitasun-linguistiko inplizitua. Bestetik, memoria deklaratihoan antolatzen zen jakituria metalinguistiko esplizitua (Paradis, 2009, 139. orr.).

Honela, Paradisek hizkuntza natibo eta ez-natiboen arteko jabekuntza prozesuak desberdindu zituen. Alde batetik, lehen-hizkuntzaren jabekuntza, inplizituki eta memoria prozeduralaren bitartez prozesatzen zela ardugiatu zuen (lehen hizkuntzaren morfologia, lexiko edo sintaxia, adibidez). Bestetik, bigarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntza, esplizituki eta memoria deklaratihoaren bitartez prozesatzen zela.

Funtzio eta eduki hitzen inguruan, Paradisek (2009) desberdintasun interesgarri bat planteatu zuen. Izan ere, lehen-hizkuntzaren funtzio hitzak inplizituki eta memoria prozeduralean antolatzen zirela azaldu zuen. Lehen-hizkuntzaren eduki-hitzak, aldiz, memoria deklaratihoan antolatzen zirela (2009, 18. orr.). Honela, Paradisek (2008, 2009) hausnarketak honela irudikatu genitzazke:

Irudia 3.4: Gaitasun-linguistiko inplizitu eta jakituria metalinguistiko esplizituaren arteko desberdinketa hurbipen neurolinguistikotik (Paradis 2008, 2009 oinarritua)



Baina, zer suposatzen zuen deberdintasun honek eduki eta funtzio hitzen kategorietan ematen den hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginari dagokionez?

Bardel eta Falk (2012) ikerlarien ustez, Paradisek lehen eta bigarren hizkuntzen prozesatze desberdintzeak, 3. hizkuntzaren sintaxi eta hiztegiaren azterketan sarri azalduko emaitzak bi moduetan azaldu zitzaizketen. Alde batetik, hirugarren hizkuntzaren hiztegiaren lehen zein bigarren hizkuntzaren elkarreraginak azalduko lituzke, hiru hizkuntzen lexikoa memoria deklaratihoan prozesatzen diren heinean (Bardel eta Falk, 2012, 73. orr.). Bestetik, bigarren zein hirugarren hizkuntzen funtzio-hitzen ‘hiztegi

estatusak' hirugarren hizkuntzaren ekoizpenean funtzio-hitzak ohikotasun gehiagoz bigarren hizkuntzatik transferitzea lehen-hizkuntzatik transferitu beharrean (Ringbom, 1987; Vildomec, 1963; Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998). Honela, lehen eta bigarren hizkuntzen prozesamenduen desberdinketak, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean bi patroik hauek partzialki azaltzen dituztela azaldu zuten Bardel eta Falk (2012) ikerlariak. Alde batetik, eduki-hitzetan gertatzen diren elkarreraginen jatorri-hizkuntza lehen eta bigarren hizkuntza izatea gehienetan, eta funtzio-hitzetan, aldiz, bigarren (edo hirugarren) hizkuntza izatea transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza.

Hurbilpen neurolinguistiko interesgarri hau alde batera utziz, aipatzeko da hitz-kategoria berdinean ere prozesamendu desberdinak antzeman direla. Adibidez, eduki-hitzen kategorian, izenak arinago ikasten direla aditz eta adjetiboekin alderatuz (Sandhofer eta Smith, 2007). Ildo honetan, izenak kontextuarekiko aditz edo adjetiboak baino independenteagoak direla azaldu duten ikerketak aurkitzen ditugu (Wierzbicka, 1988). Independentzia hau, izenek entitateak izendatzen dituztela eta markazio gutxiago dutenaren ideari lotu zaio. Betiere, noski, aditz, adjektibo edota adberbioekin alderatuz. Honen adibide, Schmitt eta Zimmermanek (2002) bideratutako ikerketa aipa dezakagu. Ikerketa honetan, hitz-familia baten forma desberdinen ekoizpena aztertu zen (adibidez, 'select', aditza; 'selection', izena; 'selective'; adjetiboa; 'selectively', adberbioa). Ikasleek, hutsunea hitz egokiarekin bete behar zuten. Emaitzek, izen eta aditzak, adjektiboak eta adberbioak baino hobeto zekizkitela azaldu zuten. Izenek jabekuntzan azaltzen zuten abantaila hau azaltzeko, pertzeptualki errazagoak direla argudiatu zuten ikerlari hauek, bai eta esanahiarekiko gainjartze gehiago dutela beste hitz-kategoriekin alderatuz. Gainera, esanahiarekiko izenek azaltzen duten gainjartze honek, izenen transferabilitatean eragiten duela azaltzen duten ikerlariak aurkitzen ditugu (ikus Otwinowska, 2016).

Amaitzeko, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina eduki eta funtzio hitz-kategorietan ikertu dituzten lanen artean, ondorengo lauak aukeratu ditugure tesi lanaren helburuekin duten lotura medio:

Poullisse eta Bongaertsek (1994), aurretik azaldutako hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginen bi azpi-kategoria ahozko ekoizpenean aztertu zituzten. Zehazki, moldatutako eta moldatu gabeko kode-aldaketak. Horretarako, 45 ikasle alemanen bigarren hizkuntza ingelesaren ekoizpena aztertu zuten. Emaitzek, moldatu gabeko 749 kode-aldaketa eta morfofonologikoki moldatutako 22 kode-aldaketa azaldu zituzten. Moldatu gabeko kode-aldaketei dagokionez, funtzio hitzak gehiago zirela antzeman zuten. Emaitza hauek, ahozko ekoizpenean parte hartzen duten kontrol-mekanismoekin lotu zituzten. Izan ere, eduki-hitzen 131 instantzietatik 70 instantzia erreparatu egiten zirela antzeman zuten; funtzio-hitzetan, aldiz, 316 instantzietatik 97 instantzia soilik erreparatzen zirela. Honek, eduki-hitzetan kontrol mekanismoak garrantzi gehiago zutela pentsarazi zien (1994, 45. orr.). Morfofonologikoki moldatutako kode-aldaketei dagokionez, aldiz, eduki-hitzak gehiago zirela antzeman zuten. Hala, funtzio-hitzetan moldaketa hain eskasak ematearen arrazoia, ingelesaren funtzio hitzak markatu gabeak izateari atxiki zioten (persona, zenbaki edo kasuko markaketarik ez izatearekin, alegia). Ikerketa honen emaitzek, hala, bi ideia garrantzitsu azaltzen dituzte. Alde batetik, moldatutako kode-aldaketak eduki-hitzetan gertatzen direla maizago. Bestetik, kontrol-mekanismoei dagokionez, eduki-hitzetan nabariagoak direla funtzio-hitzetan baino. Ikusiko dugunez, bi ideia hauek idatzizko ekoizpenean ematen diren moldatu eta moldatu gabeko instantziak hobeto ulertzen lagunduko digu.

Cenozek (2001) bideratutako ikerketak, Poullisse eta Bongaertsen (1994) emaitzak kontraesaten zituen. Izan ere, ikerlari honek hizkuntzen arteko

elkarreragina eduki-hitzetan funtzio-hitzetan baino sarriago ematen zela aurkitu zuen. Ikerketa honetan, euskara eta gaztelera lehen-hizkuntza zuten 90 ikasleen 3. hizkuntza ingelesaren ahozko ekoizpena aztertu zuen. Emaitzek, euskara jatorri-hizkuntza zuten funtzio hitzak eduki hitzak baino askoz gutxiago zirela azaldu zuten. Gaztelera jatorri-hizkuntza zuten funtzio zein eduki hitzen kopurua, aldiz, antzekoa zela eta gehiengoa zirela. Ondorioztat, hizkuntzen arteko distantzia tipologikoa elkarreraginen faktorerik nabarmenena zela azaldu zuen, bai eta distantzia tipologiko honek transferitutako hitz kategorietan eragina zuela. Emaitzen interpretazioan, ikerlari honek ikasle elebidunak euskaraz erabiltzen zuten komunikazio estrategia bat transferitzen egon zitezkeela azaldu zuen. Honela, euskaraz hitzegiterakoan transferitutako hitz erdaldunak eduki hitzak izatea, ingelesaren kasuan transferitutako hitzak eduki hitzak izatea ahalbideratu zezakeela azaldu zuen. Ikerlariaren hitzetan:

‘our results indicate that the type of word transferred is affected by linguistic distance. When two non-Germanic languages are used as the possible source languages, students may perceive function words in the target language to be more distant than when the source and the target language are Germanic. The fact that cross-linguistic influence from Basque is very weak in the case of function words confirms the importance of language distance. It seems that learners perceive the great difficulty of transferring from a highly inflected language (...) One possible explanation of these findings is that, when speaking Basque, Basque-Spanish bilinguals tend to borrow more content words than function words from Spanish. Learners in this study could be transferring this communication strategy to third language production. Therefore, the different structure of Basque as compared to Spanish and English would explain the limited transfer of function words, but the influence of linguistic distance could be direct when learners are

aware of linguistic distance or indirect when learners are applying a communicative strategy used when speaking Basque to a third language' (Cenoz, 2001, 17.orr.).

De Angelisek (2005) tarteko-hizkuntzen eragina aztertu zuen funtzio hitzetan. Horretarako, italiarra 3. edo 4. hizkuntza bezala zuten unibertsitate ikasleak hautatu zituen eta, zuten hizkuntza erreperitorioan oinarriturik, lau talde osatu zituen. Datu bilketarako, ikasle guztiek testu berdina irakurri zuten, eta honen laburpena idatzi zuten italieraz. Beren erreperitorio linguistikoa oinarritutako lau talde hauen emaitzak ondorengoak izan ziren:

- Gaztelera lehen-hizkuntza eta ingelesa tarteko-hizkuntza zuten ikasleen transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza gaztelera izan zen argi bi hitz kategorietan (eduki eta funtzio-hitzetan).
- Ingelesa lehen-hizkuntza eta gaztelera tarteko-hizkuntza zuten ikasleen transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza ingelesa izan zen eduki-hitzetan. Funtzio-hitzetan, aldiz, gaztelera aukera ohikoena zela azaldu zuten.
- Ingelesa lehen-hizkuntza eta frantsesa tarteko-hizkuntza zuten ikasleen transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza ingelesa izan zen eduki hitzetan. Funtzio hitzetan, aldiz, frantsesa nahiago zutela erakutsi zuten.
- Gaztelera lehen-hizkuntza eta ingelesa eta frantsesa tarteko-hizkuntzak zituzten ikasleen transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntzak gaztelera edo frantsesa izan ziren eduki-hitzetan (ia inoiz ingelesa), eta funtzio-hitzetan erabilera berdintsua erakutsi zuten nahiz eta ingelesaren erabilera ahul bat azaldu.

Nahiz eta De Angelisen (2005) interesa funtzio-hitzetan soilik egon, emaitza hauek bi hitz-kategorien inguruko zehaztapenak ematen dizkigute. Beraz, emaitza hauen ondorengo irakurketa egin dezakegu.

Hasteko, lehen-hizkuntza ingelesa zuten bi taldeek bakarrik erakusten dute eduki eta funtzio hitzetan jatorri-hizkuntza desberdinak. Talde hauetan, eduki-hitzen jatorri-hizkuntza lehen hizkuntza da (ingelesa). Aldiz, funtzio-hitzetan, tarteko-hizkuntzak direla ikusi dezakegu (gaztelera eta frantsesa, alegia). Emaitza hauek, Paradisekin (2004, 2008, 2009) bat egingo lukete. Izan ere, ikerlari honek eduki-hitzen elkarreraginen jatorri-hizkuntza lehen eta bigarren hizkuntza zela iradoki zitekeela eta, funtzio-hitzetan, aldiz, bigarren (edo hirugarren) hizkuntza izango zela transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza.

Ondoren, lehen-hizkuntza gaztelera zuten beste bi taldeek, aldiz, bai eduki zein funtzio-hitzen jatorri-hizkuntza beren lehen-hizkuntza zela azaldu zuten. Emaitza hauek, Paradisek iradokitako patroien kontra joango lirateke lehen hizkuntza (1H) elkarreraginen jatorri-hizkuntza den heinean funtzio-hitzetan. Beraz, emaitza hauei jaramon eginez, jatorri eta xede hizkuntzen arteko distantzia tipologikoak eragina duela pentsa dezakegu.

Ondorioz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina aztertutako konbinazio linguistikoekin erlazio garrantzitsu bat duela esan dezakegu. Honela, hizkuntza konbinazio zehatz batean aurkitutako patroiak orokortzea edo beste konbinazio linguistiko batean iradokitzea ez dirudi egokia.

Amaitzeko, Navés, Miralpeix eta Celeyaren (2005) artikuluan argitaratutako bigarren ikerketak, eduki eta funtzio hitz kopuruen transferentziak adina eta instrukzio orduetako neurtu zituzten. Horretarako, katalan-gaztelaniar ikasle elebidunen 3. hizkuntza ingelesaren idatzizko ekoizpena aztertu zuten. Hala,

bi kategoriek transferentzia kopuru berdina azaltzen zutela ikusi zuten (%50a bakoitzak). Ikerketa honek, Poulisse eta Bongaerts (1994) eta Cenozen (2001) emaitzak kontraesaten ditu. Hau gertatzeko arrazoietakoa bat, zenbakiak funtzio-hitz moduan kodifikatu izanari atxiki zioten ikerlariak. Eta ez, Poulisse eta Bongaerts (1994) eta Cenezek (2001) kodifikatu bezala, eduki-hitz bailira (Navés eta beste., 2005, 128-129 orr.).

Ikerketa desberdinei jaramon eginez, emaitzak aztertutako modalitatearekin zerikusirik badutela uste dugu. Hortaz, hitz-kategoria hauek aztertu dituzten ikerketen ondorio nagusienak bi modalitate hauetan sailkatu nahi izan ditugu:

IDATZIZKO EKOIZPENEAN

Hirugarren hizkuntzaren idatzizko ekoizpenean, hizkuntzen arteko eragina eduki-hitzetan funtzio-hitzetan baino nabariagoa da, eta hizkuntzen arteko gertutasun tipologikoak eragina du elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntzan (Pinto eta Carvalhosa, 2012, adibidez)

Hirugarren hizkuntzaren idatzizko ekoizpenean, lehen hizkuntza (edo tipologikoki gertu dagoen 2. hizkuntza) da eduki-hitzen transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntza; funtzio-hitzen jatorri-hizkuntza, aldiz, 2. edo tarteko hizkuntzak dira. Xede-hizkuntzatik tipologikoki gertu dauden lehen-hizkuntzen kasuetan, eduki zein funtzio-hitzen jatorri-hizkuntza lehen hizkuntza da (De Angelis, 2005).

Hirugarren hizkuntzaren idatzizko ekoizpenean, ikasleek funtzio eta eduki-hitzak pareko transferitzen dituzte eta hitzen sailkapenak emaitzetan eragin dezake. Adibidez, zenbakiak funtzio-hitz moduan kodifikatzea (Navés, Miralpeix eta Celaya, 2005).

AHOZKO EKOIZPENEAN

Bigarren hizkuntzaren ahozko ekoizpenean, lehen hizkuntzaren eragina azaltzen duten funtzio-hitzak eduki-hitzak baino gehiago dira. Moldatutako kode-aldaketetan, aldiz, eduki-hitzak dira funtzio-hitzak baino gehiago (Poullisse eta Bongaerts, 1994).

Hirugarren hizkuntzaren ahozko ekoizpenean, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina eduki-hitzetan funtzio-hitzetan baino nabariagoa da. Gainera, hizkuntzen arteko distantzia tipologikoak eragina dauka elkarreraginen jatorri-hizkuntzaren aukeraketan bai eta 2. hizkuntzaren estatusak (Cenoz, 2001).

Hizkuntzak bi baino gehiago direnean, funtzio-hitzak hizkuntza ez natiboetatik transferitzen dira (Ringbom, 1987; Vildomec, 1963; Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998)

Funtzio-hitzekin, kontrol-prozedurak lasaitu egiten dira, komunikaziorako esanguratsuagoak diren eduki hitzetan kontrol prozedura hauek fokatuz (Poullisse eta Bongaertsek, 1994)

3.3.4. Elkarreragin sintaktikoak

Sintaxia hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginetik at zegoen hizkuntza maila zela luze pentsatu da. Alabaina, asuntzio hau zuzena ez dela erakutsi duten ikerketek elkarreragin sintaktikoak bai harreran zein ekoizpenean atzeman dituzte.

Odlinek (1989) hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren inguruan idatzitako monografian elkarreragin sintaktikoa aztertzen zuten ikerketen errebisioa egin zuen hiru aspektu sintaktikoren inguruan: (a) hitz-ordena, (b) menpeko esaldiak eta (c) ezezko esaldiak. Ondorioen artean, hizkuntzen arteko

elkarreragina maila sintaktikoan hiru aspektu hauetan ez ezik beste esparru batzuetan hautemango zela iradoki zuen ikerketek aurrera egin ahala. Odlinen hitzetan:

‘some tendencies evident in those three areas suggest that similar tendencies will also emerge when other areas of syntax are investigated in greater detail in the future. In the acquisition of word order, relative clauses, and negation, transfer figures as an important factor, but it often occurs in conjunction with other acquisition processes, some of which show hints of typological and universal influences at work’ (110. orr.)

Harreraren domeinuan, Zoblek (1992) aurretiko hizkuntzen jakituriak gramatika kontserbadoreago edo flexibleago bat ahalbideratzen zuela aztertu zuen, bi motatako elkarreragin hautemanez. Alde batetik, lehen hizkuntza testuinguru desberdinetako bigarren hizkuntza ikasleek judizio gramatikaletan onargarritasun patroi desberdinak erakusten zituztela. Bestetik, ikasle eleaniztunek esaldi okerrak gutxiagotan baztertzen zituztela. Alegia, lehen hizkuntzak onargarritasun patroi desberdinak ahalbideratzen zituztela, eta hizkuntza bat baino gehiago jakiteak judizio gramatikaletan ‘flexiboago’ izatea ahalbideratzen zuela. Judizio gramatikaletan, gainera, elkarreragin sintaktikoa atzerako norabidean ere atzeman da. Hots, bigarren hizkuntza bat ikasteak lehen hizkuntzaren gramatikaltasunarekiko tolerantzia handiago eragiten duela (Köpke, 2002, adibidez).

Jarvis eta Pavlekok (2008) azaldu bezala, Cook, Iarossi, Stellakis eta Tokumaru (2003) edota Su (2001) ikerlarion lanek ikusmira zabaldu eta norabide-biko zein atzerako norabidean aztertu zuten hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin sintaktikoa. Atzerako norabidean interesaturik, Cook eta beste (2003) ikerlariak lehen hizkuntza grekoa, japoniera eta gaztelania zuten parte-hartzaile elebakar eta elebidunen emaitzak alderatu zituzten. Parte-

hartzaile elebidunak, 2. hizkuntza ingelesa atzerriko hizkuntzat ikasten zuten ikasle helduak ziren. Honela, ikasle talde bi hauen arteko emaitza patroia desberdinduen bitartez, 2. hizkuntzak lehen hizkuntzan zuten eragina frogatuz eman zuten. Gainera, 2. hizkuntzaren eragina lehen hizkuntzan (1H) aurreko atalean azaldutako ‘multi-competence’ edo gaitasun-anitzarekin zuela zerikusia defendatuko zuten. Ez, ordea, bigarren hizkuntza bat ikastearen efektu espezifikoekin. Autoreen hitzetan:

‘Certainly this genre of research into L2 effects on the L1 must be prepared to find differences between monolinguals and bilinguals that are due to the overall changed state of the L2 user (i.e., their multi-competence) rather than to the specific effects of learning a particular second language’ (212. orr.).

Su (2001) ikerlariaren lanak ere 2. hizkuntzaren eragina lehen hizkuntzaren (1H) erantzun patroietan erakutsi zuen. Ikerketa honen parte-hartzaileak, ingelesa (2H) ikasten zuten hiru maila desberdinetako txinera (1H) hiztunak eta txinera (2H) ikasten zuten hiru maila desberdinetako ingeles (1H) hiztunak izan ziren. Parte-hartzaile guztiak bai txineraz zein ingelesez aztertuak izan ziren. Emaitzen artean, bi dira nabarmenenak:

(1) bigarren hizkuntzaren (2H) esaldi interpretazioan, ikasleek lehen hizkuntzan (1H) oinarritutako preferentzia erakusten zutela eta preferentzi hori murrizten zela 2. hizkuntzan zuten gaitasuna hazten zihoala,

(2) parte-hartzaileak lehen hizkuntzan (1H) bigarren hizkuntzan oinarritutako konfiantza handiagoa erakusten zutela 2. hizkuntza-gaitasuna hazten zihoala.

Suk (2001) aurkitutako lau patroia nabarmenenak ondorengoak izan ziren:

“ 1. Learners use their L1 strategies in processing the L2 (forward transfer).

2. Learners apply their new L2 strategies in processing the L1 (backward transfer).
3. Learners merge the two sets of cue hierarchies used by monolinguals and use the combined strategies in processing L1 and L2 (amalgamation).
4. Learners use separate strategies for each language: that is, they perform like monolinguals in their L1 and L2 (differentiation)” (Su, 2001, 108. orr.)

Ekoizpenaren domeinuan atzeman den elkarreragin sintaktiko zuzenena, adberbioen lokalizazioan antzeman da. Alonso (2002) ikerlariak, ingelesa (2H) ikasten zuten gaztelaniar nerabe zein helduekin bideratu zituen ikerketak. Emaitzek, kasu askotan lokalizazio adberbial okerren iturri nagusia hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina zela frogatu zuten. Honela, adberbioen kokaleku okerra ariketa gutxi estrukturatuetan (elkarrizketetan) maizago gertatzen zela atzeman zuen estrukturatuago zeuden egoerekin alderatuz (galdeketa gidatuak). Eta, bigarren hizkuntzan (2H) gaitasun baxuago bat zuten ikasleetan ematen zela elkarreragin hau maizago hizkuntza-gaitasun altuago bat zuten ikasleekin alderatuz.

Ekoizpenean atentzio berezia jaso duen beste elkarreragina subjektu eta objektu omisioak izan dira. Fenomeno hauek ikertu dituzten ikerketa gehienak subjektuen omisioa onartzen zituzten eta onartzen ez zituzten lehen hizkuntza (1H) desberdinetako hiztunak aztertu dituzte (Yuan, 1997, adibidez). Beste ikerketa askok, aldiz, subjektuen omisiorik onartzen ez duten lehen hizkuntza testuinguru desberdinetako ikasleek 2. hizkuntzan subjektu eta izenorde kopuru altuegi bat erabiltzen dutela atzeman dute (Jin, 1994; Xie, 1992, adibidez).

Jarvis eta Pavlenkok (2008) beren monografian azaldu bezala, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin sintaktikoak ahalbideratutako unitate linguistikoen

gehegizko ('overproduction') edo ekoizpen murriztua ('underproduction') eremu gramatikal gehiagotan atzeman da. Adibidez, menpeko perpausetan (Schachter, 1974, adibidez), artikuluetan (Jarvis, 2002, adibidez), edo preposizioetan (Jarvis & Odlin, 2000, adibidez).

Gheiegizko edo murriztutako ekoizpen honek batzuetan bakarrik emango ditu erroreak, eta hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin sintaktikoak sortarazitako errore hauek aurreko (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2006, 2007, adibidez), atzeko (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002, adibidez) zein alboko (Odlin & Jarvis, 2004, adibidez) norabidetan aurkitu daitezke. Nahiz eta kasu askotan hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin hau elkarreragin lexiko moduan sailkatu daitezkeen, askotan errore hauek sintaktikoak dira. Adibidez, 'talk with' idaztea 'talk to' beharrean. Errore hauek tesi lan honen bigarren analisi kuantitatiboan aurkitu genituenez emaitzen atalean azalduko ditugu.

3.3.5. Elkarreragin diskurtsiboak

Jarraian azalduko ditugun hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin diskurtsibo, pragmatiko eta soziolinguistikoa hitz edo esaldietatik haratago, zabalagoak diren erretorika, diskurtso edo interakzio komunikatiboetan atzeman daitezkeen elkarreraginak dira. Elkarreragin linguistikoak diren heinean, hauen azalpena eman nahi izan dugu labur.

Jarvis eta Pavlenko (2008) ikerlarien iritziz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin diskurtsiboa honela defini zitezkeen:

'Discursive transfer concerns the ways thoughts are introduced, organized, and contextualized within an oral or written discourse, and also related to the conversation, as well as the concepts and notions that are conventionally expressed in a particular discursive context' (102.orr.).

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin diskurtsiboa aztertu duten ikerketa gehienak erretorika kontrastiboaren eremuan egin dira, eta honela interes berezia dauka idatzizko hizkuntzaren ikerketan. Izan ere, hizkuntza bakoitzak beren konbentzio erretorikoak ditu eta konbentzio hauek lehen hizkuntzatik 2. hizkuntzara transferitu daitezkeela maiz azaldu da (ikus Connor, 1996; Kubota, 1998). Kaplanek (1966), hizkuntza eta kultura bakoitzak bere berezko konbentzio erretorikoak zituela azaldu, eta 2. hizkuntzaren idazketan ondorio negatiboak zituela adierazi zuen (Kubota, 1998, 69.orr.). Ildo berdintsutik, Connorrek (1996) idatzitako monografian, Kaplanen (1966) lehen lanetik liburua argitaratu zen urtera arte erretorika kontrastiboaren ikerketa esparruan egindako aurrera pausoak azaltzen ditu, bai eta disziplina honek beste disziplinekiko dituen harremanak zehaztu. Autorearen hitzetan:

‘Text linguistic contrastive rhetoric research shows that different cultures have different expectations of writing and that these different expectations are internalized as different patterns of discourse. Writers of second languages transfer their L1 writing strategies to the new situation of the second language. Hence, before they learn the expectations of their second language audience, ESL writers may use textual and rhetorical strategies that are considered off at the very least’ (167. orr.)

Jarvis eta Pavlenkok (2008) patroir erretoriko hauen preferentzien inguruan egindako hainbat ikerketa azaldu zituzten. Horietariko batzuk, adibidez, idazle japoniarrek patroir erretoriko inductiboak nahiago zituztela atzeman zuten. Alegia, ideia nagusia honen argumentuen aurretik ezartzea bai japonieraz idatzitako testuetan zein ingelesez idatzitako testuetan (Kobayashi, 1984; Kubota, 1998, adibidez). Gaztelanar hiztunek, aldiz, idazteko estilo elaboratibo bat dutela azaldu da bai gaztelaraz zein ingelesez. Honela, detaile kontestual gehiago ematen dituztela azaldu da main, nahiz

eta detaile kontestual hauek ingelesez konbentzionalak ez diren (Montaño-Harmon, 1991; Reppen & Grabe, 1993; Thatcher, 2000, adibidez).

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin diskurtsiboa aurrerako norabidean ez ezik, atzerako norabidean ere azaldu da (Shi, 2002; Kecskes & Papp, 2000, adibidez), baita atzerako norabideko elkarreragin hau positiboa izan daitekeela. Kecskes eta Papp (2000) ikerlariak, adibidez, 2. hizkuntza ingelesaren idazteko konbentzioetan ikasleak trebatzea hungariar hiztunen lehen hizkuntzaren (1H) idazketan lagungarria zela hauteman zuten. Era berean, aurrerako norabidean Kubotak (1992) japoniera eta ingelesean informazioaren antolamenduak antzekotasunak zituztela atzeman eta ingelesa ikasten zuten japoniera hiztunek antzekotasun hauetaz balia zitezkeela erakutsi zuen. Ildo berdinetik, Kubota (1998) eta Sasaki & Hirose (1996) ikerlariak, 2. hizkuntzaren (2H) idazketan lehen hizkuntzaren (1H) idazketarekin positiboki koerlazionatzen zela erakutsi zuten. Honek, idazleek lehen hizkuntzatik 2. hizkuntzara idazteko abilitadeak transferitzen zituztela azaltzen zuelarik.

3.3.6. Elkarreragin pragmatikoak

Jarvis eta Pavlenkok (2008) azaldu bezala, Bachmanen (1990) gaitasun-komunikatiboaren eredutik abiatuz, gaitasun-pragmatikoa beste bi gaitasunek osatzen dute: gaitasun-illokutorioak eta soziolinguistikoak. Gaitasun-illokutorioa, hizkuntzaren oinarriko funtzioak ezagutu eta burutzeko gaitasuna da. Adibidez, informazioa edo laguntza eskatzea. Gaitasun-soziolinguistikoa, aldiz, konbentzio sozialetara hizkuntza moldatzeko gaitasuna adierazten du.

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin pragmatikoa ikertu duten lanek, gaitasun-illokutorioan ematen den hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren kontu eman

dute sarriago. Honetan, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin pragmatikoak bi izaera ditu: (a) izaera soziopragmatikoa eta (b) izaera pragmalinguistikoa.

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin soziopragmatikoa (a) ikertu duten lanek, egoera sozialak exekuzioan duen eragina aztertu dute. Aldiz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin pragmalinguistikoa (b) ikertu dutenek, exekuzio batean parte hartzen duten elementu linguistikoak aztertu dituzte.

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin soziopragmatikoa (a) atzeman duten ikerketen artean Olshtain (1983) bideratutako lana daukagu. Ikerle honek, ingeles hiztun eta errusiar hiztunak ziren hebrear ikasleek beren lehen hizkuntzaren eragina azaltzen zuen joera erakusten zutela azaldu zuen barkamena eskatzeko orduan. Izan ere, hiztun hauek hebrear hiztunek baino gehiagotan eskatuko zuten barkamena testuinguru berdinetan. Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin pragmalinguistikoa (b) adibide, Eisenstein eta Bodman (1993) ikerlarion lana dugu. Ikerlari hauek, hiztun japoniarrek formula apologetikoak erabiltzen zituztela antzeman zuten Ekialde Ertaineko ikasleek eraikin proberbialak erabiltzen zituzten artean erakutsi zuten ingelesez eskerrak emateko garaian.

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin pragmatikoa atzeko edo aldeko norabidean aztertu duten ikerketak gutxiago diren arren badira hauek ikertu dituzten autoreak. Horien artean, Fouser (2001) ikerlariak 2. hizkuntza japonetik 3. hizkuntza koreanorako elkarreraginaren kontu eman zuen. Hots, hizkuntzen arteko aldeko elkarreraginaren kontu ($2H > 3H$). Fouserren emaitzek, gainera, maila diskurtsiboan elkarreragin soziolinguistikoa lehen hizkuntzatik (ingelesetik) ematen ez zela azaldu zuten. Aitzeko norabidean, aldiz, Cenozek (2003b) 2. hizkuntza ingelesetik lehen hizkuntza gaztelararako elkarreragina atzeman zuen. Ikerketa honetan, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko 69 lagunek hartu zuten parte. Guztiek zuten gaztelera lehen hizkuntza, euskara bigarren

hizkuntza, eta ingelesa hirugarren hizkuntza moduan ikasten zuten. Partaideak bi taldeetan banatu zituen ikerlariak ingelesean zuten hizkuntza-gaitasunaren arabera. Alde batetik, ingeles filologia ikasten zuten eta ‘jariotasun altu’ bat zuten 49 lagun. Bestetik, psikologia ikasten zuten eta ingelesean ‘jariotasun baxu’ bat zuten 20 lagun. Jariotasun altu bat zuten ikasleek ‘discourse completion test’ (DCT) testa ingelesez eta gazteleraz bete zuten, eta jariotasun baxua zutenek gazteleraz soilik. Ikerketa honetan, bost elementuren kontu eman zuen ikerlariak: ‘alerters’, ‘request strategies’, ‘syntactic downgraders’, ‘lexical and phrasal downgraders’ eta ‘mitigating supportives’ deritzonak (67.orr.). Emaitzek, ingelez jariotasun altua zuten ikasleen eta jariotasun baxua zuten ikasleen arteko desberdintasun esanguratsu batzuk azaldu zituzten. Ikerle honen hitzetan:

‘Speakers who are fluent in English use their interlocutor’s first name more often, use more indirect strategies and have a wider range of syntactic downgrader, lexical downgraders and mitigating supportives’ (77.orr.)

Hala, jariotasun altua zuten ikasleek patroikultural bat garatu zutenaren aldeko ebidentziak azaldu zituen. Izan ere, ikasle hauek gaztelaniaz eta ingelesez ekoiztutako eskaeretan antzekotasunak aurkitu zituzten baina baita desberdintasunak ere hiztun hauen eskaera eta hiztun natiboek egingo lituzketen eskaeren artean.

Amaitzeko, Safont ikerlariak modu zabalean ikertu ditu kontzientzia (Safont, 2003, 2005), ekoizpen (Safont, 2005) eta garapen pragmatikoa (Safont, 2011, 2013) hirugarren hizkuntzan. 2003. urtean argitaratutako artikuluan, ikerlari honek kontzientzia metapragmatikoa aztertu zuen ikasle elebidun eta elebakarrak alderatuz. Honela, ikerketaren emaitzek, ikasle elebidunen abantaila erakutsi zuten elebakarren aldean egite pragmatikoan. Ildo berdinetik, 2005. urtean argitaratutako liburuan, Safontek instrukzio eta

kontzientzia pragmatikoa aztertu zituen hirugarren hizkuntzan. Ikerketa honen datuak, Balentziako erkidegoko unibertsitate publiko batean jaso zituen, eta parte-hartzaileak elebakar/elebidun ziren eta xede-hizkuntzan zuten gaitasun-mailaren arabera sailkatu zituen. Ikerketa hauen galderen artean, instrukzio pragmatikoaren eragina aztertzea aurkitzen zen. Emaitzek, instrukzio pragmatikoaren eragin positiboak baieztatu zituen. Azkenik, 2011 eta 2013. urtean argitaratutako artikuluek, gaitasun-pragmatikoaren garapena aztertzen zuten bi ikerketen emaitzak azaltzen zituzten. Safontek (2011) aurkeztutako emaitza aipagarrienen artean, ingelesaren (3H) eragina gaztelania (1H) eta katalanaren (2H) sistema pragmatikoan azaltzen zuten, bai eta hirugarren hizkuntzaren (3H) jabekuntzak lehen eta bigarren hizkuntzan zuela eragina eskaera jarreretan. Honela, Safonten (2011) aburuz, pragmatika eleaniztunaren ikerketak hirugarren hizkuntza ikasleetan ematen den aldaketa kualitatiboaren kontu eman lezake. Ikerlariaren hitzetan, ‘multilingual pragmatics or pragmatic development in various languages may best account for the actual qualitative change that takes place in these learners’ mind’ (Safont, 2011, 274.orr).

3.3.7. Elkarreragin soziolinguistikoak

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin soziolinguistikoa bi modutan ikertu da: (a) aldagai sozialak aintzat hartuz eta hizkuntzen erabileraren aldaerak aztertuz, eta (b) hiztun komunitate berri batean sozializatzen hasten diren hiztunen hizkuntza erabileran erreparatuz.

Lehenengoaren adibide (a), Lee (2000) eta Yu (2004) ikerlarion lana dugu. Ikerketa hauetan, ingelesa ikasten zuten txinatar eta korear hiztunek beren barkamena, kexak edota konplimendu-erantzun estrategiak lehen hizkuntzan

(1H) sozio-kulturalki definituak zeuden ezaugarrietan oinarritzen zituztela atzeman zuten, distantzia soziala eta estatus hierarkia zirela medio. Ildo berdinetik, Yu (2004) eta Itakurak (2002) ingelesa ikasten zuten txinatar eta japoniera hiztunek beren konplimendu-patroiak eraldatzen zituztela atzeman zuten beren lehen hizkuntzaren genero patroiak zirela medio.

Aipatutako bigarren hurbilpenaren eredugarri (b), aldiz, Mori (1997) ikerlariaren lana daukagu. Ikerlari honek hizkuntzen arteko elkarregin soziolinguistikoa atzerako norabidean aztertu zuen, eta 2. hizkuntzan identitate sendo bat eraikitako elebidunek beren jakituria soziokulturala 2. hizkuntzatik lehen hizkuntzetara (1H) transferitzen zutela atzeman zuen.

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin soziolinguistikoa ikertzeko orduan, hainbat eragile nabarmen daudela atzeman da. Adibidez, generoa eta norbanakoen identitateak berak eragin berezia dutela. Pavlenkok (2001) bideratutako ikerketan, adibidez, identitate eta generoarekiko aproposak ziren hizkuntza jarrerak lehen hizkuntzatik bigarrenera transferitzen zirela atzeman zuen. Ikerlari honek 30 istorio aztertu zituen: (1) 2. hizkuntzaren jabeakuntza eta erabileran fokatutako 25 autobiografia kros-kultural, eta (2) 5 ahozko narratiba. Lehenengo 25 istorio idatziak 12 liburuk osatzen zuten eta bibliografia osoa artikuluen 137. orrialdeak aurkitu daiteke. Narratiba hauen analisiak generoaren gauzatze diskurtsiboaren etapa desberdinak azaltzeko aukera eman zion 2. hizkuntzan, bai gauzatze hori posible egiten zuten ezaugarri linguistikoen deskribapena emateko aukera ere (adibidez, intonazioa).

Laburpena

Atal honetan, eleaniztunen hizkuntzek modu oso konplexuan eragiten diotela elkarri azaldu dugu. Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina fenomeno negatibo

bailitzan ikustetik, ezinbesteko fenomeno delarik ulertzera eramaten gaituzten hainbat ikerlan aztertu ditugu, bai eta eleaniztasunean ematen diren hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina hirugarren hizkuntza bat (edo gehiago) ikastearen bereziko trebetasunekin zerikusia duela. Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean influentzia duten faktore hauek, alegia, ikaste estrategia, errepertorio linguistiko eta kontzientzia metalinguistiko garatuago bat direla ikusi dugu (Cenoz, 2013a). Honela, hirugarren hizkuntza ikasteko prozesuan, ikasleek beren aurretiko hizkuntzak modu sistematikoki erabiltzen dituztela dakigu (Hall eta Ecke, 2003; Rothman 2010, 2011, adibidez). Errepertorio linguistiko zabalago batek, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginen norabideak ugaltzen dituela (De Angelis 2007; Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008). Edota, bi hizkuntzetan hizkuntza-gaitasuna izateak hizkuntzekiko kontzientzia metalinguistikoa areagotzen duela (Jessner, 1999, 2008; Mieszkowka eta Otwinowska, 2015).

Elkarreragin-motei dagokionez, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina maila desberdinetan ematen dela azaldu dugu. Idatzizko ekoizpenari dagozkion elkarreragin-motetan erreparatuz, elkarreragin ortografikoak, morfologikoak, lexikoak, sintaktikoak, pragmatikoak eta diskurtsiboak desberdindu daitezkeela ikusi dugu, bai eta ahozotasunean gertatu ohi den elkarreragin soziolinguistikoa.

Elkarreragin ortografikoei dagokionez, aurretiko hizkuntzen fonologiak eta ortografiak xede-hizkuntzaren ortografian influentzia nabaria dutela erakusten dituzten ikerketak azaldu ditugu, (Okada, 2005; Seeff-Gabriel, 2003; van Berkel, 2005), bai eta transferentzia ortografikoak, batzuetan, xede-hizkuntzaren ortografiaren jabeakuntzan lagungarriak direla (van Berkel, 2004).

Elkarreragin morfologikoei dagokionez, prozesamendu morfologiko ortografiko eta semantikoek, elkarreragin desberdinak eragiten dituztela ikusi dugu (Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008). Era berean, hizkuntzen arteko identifikazio morfologikoak, kontzientzia morfologiko (inplizitu edo esplizitu) bat eskatzen dutela (Weinreich, 1953). Kontzientzia morfologiko hau, hiztegiaren jabekuntzan (Kieffer eta Lesaux, 2012) eta jariotasunean (Kieffer eta DiFelice, 2013) lagungarria dela ikusi dugu, bai eta kontzientzia morfologiko hau hizkuntza batetik bestera transferi daitekeela (Deacon, Wade-Woolley eta Kirby, 2007; Kieffer eta Lesaux, 2008; Ramirez, Chen eta Pasquarella, 2013). Horregatik, gure ustea da ikasleek kontzientzia morfologiko hau erabiltzen dutela hirugarren hizkuntzaren ekoizpenean.

Elkarreragin lexikoei dagokionez, forma eta esanahiaren eragin nabariago bat azaleratzen dituzten elkarreragin-motak continuum batean ezartzeak hauek hobeto ulertzen laguntzen digula azaltzen dituzten lanen ekarpenak ikusi ditugu (De Angelis, 2007; Ringbom, 1987). Gainera, hitzen pisu semantikoak hitzak bi kategoriatan banantzea ahalbideratzen digula. Hurbilpen neurolingüistikoei esker, bi kategoria hauek memoria desberdinetan gorde eta prozesatzen direla ikusi dugu, eta antolamendu honek, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin patroiak nolabait azaldu ditzakeela (Barkel eta Falk, 2012).

Elkarreragin sintaktikoak, harreran zein ekoizpenean ematen direla ikusi dugu, eta aurreko norabidean ez ezik (Zobl, 1992), norabide-biko eta atzeko norabidean ikertu duten lanak azaldu ditugu (Cook eta beste, 2003; Su, 2001). Elkarreragin sintaktiko ohikoenen artean adberbioen lokalizazio okerra edota gehiegizko zein gutxiegi hainbat unitate linguistikoen ekoizpena azaldu ditugu (Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis & Odlin, 2002, adibidez).

Elkarreragin diskurtsiboei dagokionez, erretorika kontrastiboaren esparruan maizago ikertu dela azaldu dugu, eta hizkuntza eta kultura bakoitzak bere berezko konbentzio erretorikoak izatea hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin diskurtsiboa patroia erretorikoen preferentzietan eragiten duela (Kubota, 1998, adibidez). Gainera, elkarreragin diskurtsiboa norabide desberdinetan erakutsi duten ikerketak azaldu ditugu, baita atzerako elkarreragin hau positiboa izan daitekeela azaldu dutenak (Kecskes & Papp, 2000).

Elkarreragin pragmatikoek, izaera desberdinak dituztela ikusi dugu. Elkarreragin soziopragmatikoetan erreparatu duten ikerketek egoera sozialak exekuzioan duen eragina azaldu dute (Olshtain, 1983, adibidez). Elkarreragin pragmalinguistikoetan erreparatu duten ikerketek, aldiz, exekuzio horretan parte hartzen duten elementu linguistikoak aztertu dituztela (Eisentein eta Bodman, 1993). Gainera, elkarreragin pragmalinguistikoa atzeko (Cenoz, 2003b; Safont, 2011) zein aldeko (Fouser, 2001) norabideetan aurkitu duten ikerketak azaldu ditugu.

Amaitzeko, elkarreragin soziolinguistikoa aztertzeko bi hurbilpen azaldu ditugu: (a) aldagai sozialak aintzat hartuz hizkuntzen erabileran aldaerak aztertzea, eta (b) hiztun komunitate berri batean sozializatzen hasten diren hiztunen hizkuntza erabileran erreparatuz bideratu diren ikerketak. Lehenengoari dagokionez, lehen hizkuntzaren patroia soziokulturalek bigarren hizkuntzan aldaerak eragiten dituztela ikusi dugu (Yu, 2004, adibidez). Bigarren hurbilpenetik, aldiz, elkarreragin soziolinguistikoa atzeko norabidean azaldu dugu eta 2. hizkuntzaren jakituria soziokulturala lehen hizkuntzara transferi daitekeela ikusi (Mori, 1997). Gainera, elkarreragin soziolinguistikoan generoa eta identitatea bezalako eragileek garrantzi berezia dutela ere azaldu dugu (Pavlenko, 2001, adibidez).

3.4. Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren faktoreak

Hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabeakuntzan egindako ikerketetan oinarrituz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean indarra duten faktore esanguratsuenak honela laburbildu dira:

‘Research has indicated that all of the following factors interact with cross-linguistic influence in the acquisition of languages beyond the second: language distance, source language proficiency, target language proficiency, order of acquisition of the languages, activation of source languages, formality of context, and constraints on verbal memory’ (Odlin eta Jarvis 2004, 124. orr.)

Ondorengo ataletan, gure landa lanean aztergai ditugun faktore hauen aurkezpena egingo dugu. Betiere, faktore hauen eraginaren azalpen eta hausnarketa zabaldu duten ikerketen errebisioa eginez. Honela, aldagai indibidualetatik hizkuntza aldagaietara joko dugu: hizkuntza-gaitasunetik, hizkuntza tipologia eta 2. hizkuntzaren estatusaren faktoreen inguruan hausnartuz.

3.4.1. Hizkuntza gaitasun-maila

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren ikerketan, hizkuntza gaitasun-maila bi norabideetan aztertu da. Alde batetik, xede-hizkuntzarekiko gaitasun-maila. Bestetik, jatorri-hizkuntzekiko gaitasun-maila. Atal hau, beraz, bi norabide hauetan oinarrituz antolatu dugu.

Gaitasun-maila xede-hizkuntzan

Xede-hizkuntzan hiztunok duten gaitasun-maila eta honek hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean duen indarra aztertu duten lanek, barietate handia azaltzen

dute beren emaitzetan. Gure ustez, hau gertatzeko arrazoien artean, lau azpimarratu daitezke:

Lehena, gaitasun-maila neurtzeko ebaluazio tresna desberdinak erabili dituztela ikerketek. Izan ere, gaitasun-maila kurtso akademikoen (Navés eta beste, 2005), norbanako-ebaluazioen (Costa eta beste, 2006) edota gaitasun-maila neurtzeko azterketa desberdinen bitartez (Angelovska eta Hahn, 2012; Wrembel, 2010) neurtu dela ikus dezakegu. Eta, egite honek, jasotako emaitzetan eragina duela ustearazten digu.

Bigarrena, jasotako emaitzek neurtutako hizkuntza jabekuntza-eremuarekin zerikusia dutela. Izan ere, transferentzia morfologiko eta lexikoetan xede-hizkuntzan hitzunek duten gaitasun-mailaren eragina lerromakurra dela hauteman dute ikerketak aurkitzen ditugu. Fonologian eta hitz-ordenan, aldiz, joera egonkorrago bat antzeman duten lanak (ikus Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008).

Hirugarrena, jasotako emaitzek idazketaren estadio deberdinekin dutela harremana. Izan ere, xede-hizkuntzaren gaitasun-mailaren eragina nabarmenagoa dela formulazioan errebisio-jardueretan baino azaldu da (ikus Roca de Larios, Nicolás-Conesa, eta Coyle, 2016).

Laugarrena, emaitzen bariazioak neurtutako elkarreragin-motarekin zerikusia duela. Izan ere, xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila desberdinen ondorioz azaldutako hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina, positiboa edo negatiboa izan daitekeela argudiatu duten ikerleak aurkitzen ditugu. Ildo honetan, hasierako jabekuntza etapetan gertatu ohi den elkarreragin negatiboa, kopiatze estrategia bat izatearekin lotu duten ikerleak aurkitzen ditugu (Hammarberg eta Hammarberg, 2005; Odlin, 1989; Wrembel, 2010), eta elkarreragin negatibo hau xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila hazten doala murrizten dela

iradokitzen dute. Bestalde, xede-hizkuntzaren jabeakuntza etapa aurreratuagoetan ematen den elkarreragin positiboa, ikasleek beren aurretiko hizkuntzen jabeakuntzaz baliatzen direnean ematen da (Flynn eta besteak, 2004) eta, transferentzia positibo hau, xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila hazten doala ugaltu egiten dela azaldu duten lanak aurkitzen ditugu. Adibidez, Odlinek (1989) bi elkarreragin mota hauen arteko desberdintzea egin zuen, eta jabeakuntzaren etapa bakoitzean elkarreraginak ikasleen behar eta jakiturietara lotu zituen.

Nahiz eta emaitzen bariazioa handia izan ikerketa batetik bestera, eta emaitza hauek batzuetan kontraesanen direla dirudien, ikerketa gehienek mantentzen dute hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila baxua denean dela nabariagoa. Zehazki, hiztunek xede-hizkuntzan dituzten gabeziak asetzeko errekurtsio gehiago behar dituztenean (Navés eta beste, 2005; Odlin, 1989; Ringbom, 1986; Sikogukira, 1993; Singleton, 1987; Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998). Navés eta beste (2005) ikerlariak, adibidez, kurtso altuetan zeuden ikasleek esanguratsuki mailegu eta asmakizun lexiko gutxiago egiten zituazela azaldu zuten. Ondorioz, autoreek xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila altuago bat izateak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginak murrizten zituela probatutzat eman zuten.

Halaber eta esan bezala, emaitzak kontraesanen direla dirudi. Honela, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina nabariagoa izatea xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila baxuagoa denean, ez du esan nahi xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila altua denean gertatzen ez denik. Cenozek (2003a) adibidez, lehen eta bigarren hezkuntza ikasleen ekoizpena aztertu zuen, eta ikasle helduenek hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin kopuru handiagoa azaltzen zutela erakutsi. Alegia, xede-hizkuntzarekiko gaitasun-maila altuago batek ez duela zertan hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina murriztu behar. Elkarreragin sintaktikoak

aztertuz, Angelovska eta Hahnek (2012) xede-hizkuntzan hiru gaitasun-maila desberdin zituzten ikasleen ekoizpena aztertu zuten. Emaitez, 2. hizkuntzaren propietate linguistikoak 3. hizkuntzaren ekoizpenera transferitzen zirela erakutsi zuten, baita gaitasun-maila altuenetan ere.

Labur, hortaz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina ikasleek xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila altua zein baxua dutenean gertatzen dela esan dezakegu. Eta elkarreragin hauek, ikasleen behar eta jakiturietara lotuak daudela (Odlin, 1989).

Gaitasun-maila jatorri-hizkuntzetan

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren ikerketa-esparruan, gutxiago izan dira jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-maila aldagai zentralizat izan duten ikerketak (ikus De Angelis, 2007, 34. orr.). Egin direnak, bi ideia nagusi azaltzen dituzte.

Alde batetik, jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-mailak hizkuntzen aktibazio mailan eta, hortaz, elkarreragin-kopuruan duela eragina. Bestetik, gaitasun-maila honek forma edo esanahiaren bitartez gauzatutako elkarreragina izatean eragiten duela. Ondorengo paragrafoetan bi ideia hauek jantzi dituzten ikerlanen errebisioa egingo dugu:

Lehengoan erreparatuz eta dakigunez, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina gertatzeko, hizkuntzak aktibo egon behar dute garun eleaniztunetan (ikus Green 1986; Green eta Wei 2014). Pertsona eleaniztunek lehen-hizkuntza gaitasun-maila altu bat izan ohi dutenaren ideian oinarrituta, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-maila ikertu duten ikerlariak, bigarren hizkuntzaren gaitasun-mailan erreparatu dute maiz.

Van Hell eta Tannerrek (2012), adibidez, 2. hizkuntza gaitasun-mailak hizkuntzen arteko aktibazioan zuen indarra aztertzen zuten ikerketen

errebisioa egin zuten. Honetarako, informazio-iturri desberdinak zituzten ikerketetan oinarritu ziren. Hain zuzen ere, hitz-sustraikideak, ikusi-errekonozimendu bidezko ikerketak, hizkuntzen arteko erreakzio denborak, kode-aldaketak, hitz-itzulpenak eta prozesamendu morfosintaktikoa aztertzen zuten ikerketetak errebisatu zituzten. Ikerketa hauen emaitza partekatuen artean, xede-hizkuntza ez den edozein hizkuntzaren aktibazioak, hiztunak honetan duen gaitasun-mailarekin duela erlazioa azaldu zuten. Zehazki, gaitasun-maila altuago batek hizkuntza honetan aktibazio maila altuago bat eragiten duela eta honek, era berean, eragin nabariago bat azalderatzen duela xede-hizkuntzan (2012, 163. orr.).

Ondorio berdintsuak azalduz, Van Hell eta Tokowiczek (2010) aktibazio eleaniztuna prozesamendu morfosintaktikoan aztertzen zuten ikerketen errebisioa egin zuten, eta antzeko emaitzetara iritsi. Alegia, 2. hizkuntza gaitasun-mailak pertsona eleaniztunen hizkuntzen aktibazio mailan eragin-faktore nagusienetako bat zela (2010, 71. orr.)

Tremblayk (2006) bigarren hizkuntzaren (2H) eragina hirugarren hizkuntzan (3H) nabarmena izateko, 2. hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila minimo bat beharrezkoa zela azaldu zuen. Autore honek hirugarren hizkuntzaren hiztegiaren ekoizpena aztertu zituen. Emaitzen artean, 2.hizkuntzaren gaitasun-mailak aktibazioan eragiten zuela antzeman zuen eta, aurkikuntza honetan oinarrituz, hizkuntza gaitasun-maila minimo bat gabe eragin nabarmenik azaldu ezin zitekeela 3. hizkuntzan ondorioztatu zuen. Ikerlariaren hitzetan:

‘The influence L2 has on L3 when the learner has achieved a very low level of L2 proficiency appears to be very marginal (...) Unless learners have reached a threshold level of L2 proficiency, that language is very unlikely to influence the acquisition of an L3’ (2006, 117.orr.)

Hipotesi honen aldeko ikerketen artean, Van Hell eta Dijkstrak (2002) ditugu. Ikerlari hauek, ingeles (2H) eta frantses (3H) gaitasun-maila desberdinen eragina aztertu zuten. Emaitzek, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina antzeman ahal izateko, hizkuntzen aktibaziorako maila-minimo hori beharrezkoa zela azaldu zuten (2002, 787. orr.). Gaitasun-maila minimo hau zehazki zein izan beharko lukeen jakiteko asmoz, De Angelisek (2005) jatorri-hizkuntzan gehienez urte eta erdiko instrukzioa zuten ikasleak aztertu zituen. Ikerketa honen emaitzek, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginak azaldu zituzten artean, ikerle honek gaitasun-maila minimo hau baxua izan zitekeela defendatu zuten; urte eta erdikoa, hain zuzen ere.

Beraz, jatorri-hizkuntzaren gaitasun-mailaren inguruan eta berriz ere, emaitzak nahasiak direla esan dezakegu. Alde batetik, jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-mailak garrantzi gutxi duela defendatzen duten ikerleak aurkitzen baititugu (De Angelis 1999, 2005; Rivers, 1987). Bestetik, gaitasun-maila minimo bat beharrezkoa dela defendatzen dutenak (Gut, 2010; Ringbom, 1987; Van Hell eta Dijkstra, 2002).

Gauzak honela, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina hiztunek ondo dakizkiten hizkuntzetatik (Ringbom, 1987; Singleton, 1987; Williams eta Hammerberg, 1998, adibidez) zein ondo ez dakizkiten hizkuntzetatik gertatzen dela erakusten duten ikerketak aurkitzen ditugu (De Angelis 1999, 2005; Rivers, 1979, adibidez).

Atal honen hasieran azaldu bezala, bada jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-mailari dagokionez ikerketek azaldutako bigarren ideia aipagarri bat. Hain zuzen ere, jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-mailak elkarreragina forma edo esanahiaren bitartez izatean eragiten duela dioten ikerketak. Ringbomek (1987), adibidez, jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-maila elkarreragin-motarekin lotu zuen lehen ikerlaria izan zen. Egindako sailkapenean, formaren transferentzia azaleko

transferentzia zela argudiatu zuen. Esanahiaren transferentzia, aldiz, hizkuntzaren jakituria zabalago bat exijitzen zuen elkarreragina. Ondorioz, Ringbomek (1987) formaren transferentzia hiztunek gaitasun-maila baxu bat zuten hizkuntzetatik gerta zitekeela argudiatu zuen. Esanahiaren transferentzia, aldiz, gaitasun-maila altu bat zuten hizkuntzetatik gerta litekeela soilik.

Ildo berdinetik, Kroll eta Stewarten (1994) eredu hierarkikoak, hizkuntzen arteko erlazioetan antzeko logika bat adierazten zuen. Izan ere, ikerlari hauek aurreko ataletan azaldutako hizkuntzen arteko bi erlazio desberdin zituzten. Hain zuzen ere, hizkuntzen gaitasun-maila baxuago (edo ikaste prozesuko hasierako etapetara lotutako) formaren-bitarteko elkarreragina, eta hizkuntzen gaitasun-maila altuago bati (edo ikaste prozesuko etapa aurrerakoei) lotutako esanahiaren bitarteko elkarreragina. Ikerketa hauek, honela, formaren bitarteko elkarreragina iradokitzen zuten jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-maila baxu bat azaltzen zutenean hiztunek. Jatorri-hizkuntzetan gaitasun-maila altu bat izateak, aldiz, elkarreragin hauek esanahiaren bitartekoak izatea ahalbideratuko lukeen artean.

Singleton (2003) eta Van Hell eta Tanner (2012) ikerlariak, jatorri-hizkuntzen gaitasun-mailak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean zuen indarra azaltzen zuten ikerketetan oinarrituz, interes berezi bat sortarazten zien kezka azaldu zuten. Hain zuzen ere, bigarren hizkuntzaren (2H) gaitasun-maila desberdinak kontutan hartzen zituen lexiko eleaniztun eredurik ez egotea. Zentzu honetan, Kroll eta Stewarten (1994) eredu hierarkikoa litzateke hizkuntzen gaitasun-maila desberdinetan oinarrituz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginen eredu teorikoa bat proposatzen zuen eredu teoriko bakarra.

Labur, hortaz, jatorri zein xede-hizkuntza gaitasun-mailak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean duten indarrean erreparatuz, hainbat ideia ondorioztatu ditzakegu:

- Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina xede-hizkuntza maila desberdinetan gertatzen dela; zehazki, gaitasun-maila baxu (Navés eta beste, 2005; Nicoladis eta Gravilla, 2015; Sikogukira, 1993; Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998) zein altuagoetan gertatzen dela (Angelovska eta Hahn, 2012; Cenoz, 2003a).
- Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina jatorri-hizkuntza maila desberdinetan gertatzen dela; zehazki, gaitasun-maila baxu (De Angelis, 1999, 2005) zein altuagoetan gertatzen dela (Gut, 2010; Singleton, 1987; Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998).
- Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina jatorri-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila minimo bat izateari lotua egon daitekeela (Tremblay, 2006) baina maila-minimo hori, era berean, baxua izan daitekeela (De Angelis 1999, 2005; Rivers, 1987)
- Ikasleek jatorri-hizkuntzan duten gaitasun-mailak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin-motetan duela eragina (Kroll eta Stewart, 1994; Ringbom, 1987).

3.4.2. Hizkuntzen arteko distantzia tipologikoa

Hizkuntzen arteko distantzia tipologikoari hainbat modutan deitu zaio. Modu hauek, ‘gertutasun tipologiko’ (Kellerman, 1983), ‘antzekotasun distantzia’ (Odlin, 1989), ‘jatorri-ahaidetasun distantzia’ (Jarvis, 2000) edo ‘hizkuntza distantzia’ (Ringbom, 1987) dira, eta eragin-faktore honen aldaera

desberdinak islatzen dituzte. Oro har, distantzia tipologikoaren eraginera hurbiltzeko bi modu desberdinu dira: modu objektibo eta subjektiboa.

Distantzia tipologiko objektiboak, hizkuntzalari batek objektibo eta formalki hizkuntza batetik edo hizkuntza familia batetik bestera dagoen distantziari egingo dio erreferentzia (De Angelis, 2007, 22. orr.). Honela, aztertutako hizkuntzen arteko gertutasun (antzekotasun) edo urruntasun (desberdintasunak) objektibo eta formalak izango dira. Distantzia tipologiko objektiboei erreferentzia eginez, De Angelisek (2007) distantzia tipologiko generikoa eta distantzia tipologiko formalak desberdinu zituen. Lehenak, hizkuntza familiei egingo lioke erreferentzia (hizkuntza erromantzeen arteko distantziari, adibidez). Bigarrenak, hizkuntza ezaugarriei. Hala nola, lexikoen estruktura gramatikalei edo ezaugarri fonetikoei (De Angelis 2007, 26. orr.).

Nahiz eta ikerketa gehienek distantzia tipologiko generikoa aztertu duten, badira distantzia tipologiko formalaren inguruan hausnartu dutenik ere (Ringbom, 2003, adibidez). Distantzia tipologiko formal honek, euskaraz dakien pertsona batek alemana ikasteko gazteleraz bakarrik dakien pertsona batek baino erraztasun gehiago izatea azalduko luke. Zergatik? Alemanak eta euskarak hizkuntza familiak partekatzen ez dituzten arren, bi hizkuntza eranskari edo aglutinatibo diren heinean, morfologikoki (formalki) antzekotasunak dituztela esan dezakegulako eta, alemanaren morfologiaren jabekuntzan, euskararen aurretiko jakituria morfologikoak efektu lagungarri bat izan dezakeela argudiatu daitekeelako.

Distantzia tipologiko objektibo eta generikoa aztertu duten lanen artean, hizkuntza ez indoeuroparrak lehen-hizkuntza bezala eta hizkuntza indoeuroparrak 2. hizkuntza bezala dituzten hiztunekin bideratutako ikerketak aurkitzen ditugu (Ringbon 1987, 2001, adibidez). Ikerketa hauetan,

tipologikoki gertuago dauden hizkuntzek xede-hizkuntzan eragin nabariagoa zutela antzeman zen. Betiere, tipologikoki urrunago zeuden lehen-hizkuntzekin alderatuz.

Distantzia tipologiko subjektiboa, ordea, hiztunen pertzepzioetan oinarritzen da (Kellerman, 1983). Eta, hizkuntzen arteko gertutasun (antzekotasun) edo urruntasunaren (desberdintasunen) pertzepzioak, ez du ezaugarri tipologiko objektiboetan oinarriturik egon behar. Hain zuzen ere, hiztunek existitzen direla uste duten antzekotasunei egingo die erreferentzia. Nahiz eta hauek, agian, existitzen ez diren. Distantzia tipologiko subjektiboaren eragina edo 'psikotipologiaren' eragina aztertu duten ikerketen artean, Kellerman (1977, 1978, 1983) lanak edo Singletonen (1987) lana daukagu.

Aldagai honetara hurbiltzeko moduak ikusi ditugula, ondorengo paragrafoetan hizkuntzen distantzia tipologikoaren azalpen eta hausnarketa zabaldu duten ikerketen errebisioa egingo dugu. Eragin-faktore honi dagokionez eta jarraian azalduko ditugun ikerketei jaramon eginez, lau ondorio nagusi azpimarratu daitezke:

- Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina gertatzea errazagoa da hizkuntzak tipologikoki gertuago daudenean (Cenoz, 2001, 2003; De Angelis, 2005; Ecke, 2001; Fouser, 2001).
- Xede-hizkuntzarekiko tipologikoki gertuen dauden hizkuntzek dute elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza izateko aukera gehiago (De Angelis, 2005; Fouser, 2001; Ó Laoire eta Singleton, 2009; Rothman, 2010, 2011, 2013).
- Bigarren (2H) eta hirugarren (3H) hizkuntzak, jatorri-hizkuntza dira sarritan hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean tipologia dela medio (De Angelis, 2005; Dewaele, 1998; Ecke, 2001)

- Hizkuntzen arteko gertutasun tipologikoak, 2. hizkuntzen jabekuntzan ondorio positiboak ditu eta zenbat eta korrespondentzia gehiago egon eta egin ikasleek orduan eta lagungarriagoa gertatzen da (Kresić eta Gulan, 2012; Negadi, 2015).

Jarraian, aurkikuntza hauek plazaratu dituzten ikerketak xehetasun gehiagoz aztertuko ditugu:

Eckek (2001) hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina gertatzea errazagoa dela distantzia tipologikoa txikiagoa denean azaldu zuen. Ikerlari honek bideratutako ikerketan, lehen-hizkuntza gaztelania (1H) eta bigarren hizkuntza ingelesa (2H) zuten 24 lagunaren ekoizpena aztertu zuen. Partaide hauek, alemana (3H) 50 orduz ikasi zuten eta Eckek hauen akatsak aztertu zituen. Emaitzek, ingelesaren eragina (2H) gaztelaniaren (1H) eragina baino nabariagoa zela antzeman zuten. Hain zuzen ere, gertutasun tipologikoak errazten zuela hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina eta eragin-faktore honek jatorri-hizkuntza zein izango zenean eragiten zuela.

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntzei dagokionez, hizkuntzen tipologiak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza lehen (1H), bigarren (2H) edo hirugarren (3H) hizkuntza izatean duela eragina azaldu da. Aurreko atalean azaldu bezala, De Angelisek (2005) tarteko-hizkuntzen eragina aztertu zuen (2H/3H). Horretarako, errepertorio linguistiko desberdinak zituzten partaideak aztertu zituen eta talde desberdinetan banatu. Talde hauen bitartez jasotako emaitzek, hizkuntza tipologiak elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntzaren aukeraketan aldagai nagusia zela azaldu zuten. Hau, hizkuntza hirukote desberdinetan hala zela frogatuz.

Hizkuntzen tipologiak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntzan duela eragina azaldu duten beste lanen artean, Rothman (2010, 2011, 2013)

ikerlariaren lana aipatzekoa da. Izan ere, ikerlari honek hizkuntzen tipologiak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina definitzen zuen aldagai esanguratsuen zela defendatu zuen. Autorearen aburuz, hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabekuntzaren hasierako etapetan, ikasle eleaniztunek beren hizkuntzen antzekotasun tipologikoetan oinarritutako ebaluazio holistiko bat egiten zuten. Ebaluazio horretan, antzekotasun tipologikoak aztertu eta, horietan oinarrituz, 3. hizkuntza ikasleek beren lehen edo bigarren hizkuntza aukeratzeko zuten transferentzien oinarritzko jatorri-hizkuntza gisa. Rothmanek (2010) bideratutako ikerketaren emaitzek hipotesi (eta jabekuntza eredu) hau sostengatzen zuten. Izan ere, portugesearen (3H) ekoizpenean, gaztelania zela (1H/2H) hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginen jatorri-hizkuntza erakutsi zuten emaitzek. Ez, ordea, ingelesa (1H/2H). Honela, jatorri-hizkuntzaren aukeraketan, hizkuntza tipologia zela faktorerik erabakigarriena frogatutzat eman zuen.

Azkenik, hizkuntzen arteko gertutasun tipologikoak hizkuntzen arteko korrespondentziak ahalbideratzen dituela eta jabekuntzarako onuragarria dela azaltzen duten lanak aurkitzen ditugu. Negadik (2015), adibidez, lehen-hizkuntza arabiera eta 2. hizkuntza frantsesa zuten 25 ikasleekin bideratu zuten beren ikerketa. Ikerketa honetan, 25 lagunek ingelesez testu bat idatzi ostean honen inguruko 20 minutuko ahozko hausnarketa egin zuten. Emaitzek, 2. hizkuntzak (frantsesak) zuten paper lagungarria azaldu zuten ingelesaren idatzizko ekoizpen eta jabekuntzan. Emaitza hauek frantsesa eta ingelesaren arteko gertutasun tipologikoari atxiki zion ikerlariak. Betiere, arabiera eta ingelesaren arteko distantzia tipologikoarekin alderatuz. Ikerlariaren hitzetan:

‘French helps learners to develop proficiency in English through the transfer of their French-based background, in particular the typological (syntactical and lexical) similarities between French and English’ (2015, 496. orr.)

3.5.3. Bigarren hizkuntzaren estatusa

Bigarren hizkuntzaren estatusaren faktoreak 2. hizkuntzarekiko preferentzia bat azaltzen du hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginean. Ahozko ekoizpenari erreferentzia eginez, De Angelis eta Selinkerrek (2001) lehen-hizkuntza erabili ordez tarteko-hizkuntza bat erabiltzea ‘atzerritarragoa’ zenaren ideiapean, faktore honen erakusgarri zela argudiatu zuten. Egite honek, era berean, transferentzien jatorri-hizkuntzaren hautaketan eragiten zuela azaldu zuten. Autoreen hitzetan:

‘The possible association in the multilingual mind of the ‘foreign-ness’ of words, and the impact of such association in interlanguage production, may be a plausible explanation for some sorts of interlanguage transfer [...] Thus, we believe that there is a potential cognitive mode called ‘talk foreign’ or ‘foreign language mode’ (Selinker eta Baumgartner-Cohen, 1995; De Angelis eta Selinker, 1998) that eases the path of interlanguage transfer’ (De Angelis eta Selinker, 2001, 56. orr.)

De Angelis eta Selinkerrek (2001) bideratutako ikerketan, bi pertsona eleaniztunek hartu zuten parte. Lehenak, italiara zuen 4. hizkuntza. Bigarrenak, aldiz, italiarra 3. hizkuntza gisa zuen. Tarteko-hizkuntzen transferentziak, era berean, transferentzia lexiko eta morfologikoetan klasifikatu zituzten. Transferentzia lexikoek, italiarraren ekoizpenean tarteko-hizkuntza baten hitz oso baten transferentziari egiten zioten erreferentzia. Transferentzia morfologikoek, aldiz, tarteko-hizkuntzen morfema aske zein loturen erabilpen edo moldaketari. Emaitzek,

transferentzia lexiko nahiz morfologikoetan beren lehen-hizkuntza ez zenak pisu nabariena zuela azaldu zuten. Hots, tarteko-hizkuntzak erabiltzearen joera edo aurretik aipatutako ‘talk foreign’ edo ‘foreign language mode’ delakoa. Gainera, tarteko-hizkuntzen transferentziak formalak zirela azaldu zuten (ez semantikoak), eta morfema lotuen aukeraketak aktibazio mailarekin erlazioa zuela.

Ikasleek beren tarteko-hizkuntzen gaitasunaren pertzepzioak hizkuntzen arteko eragina baldintzatzen duela erakutsi duen beste ikerketa esanguratsu bat, Dewaelek (2001) bideratutakoa litzateke. Ikerketa honetan, lehen-hizkuntza nederlandera zuten 25 ikasle hirueledunek hartu zuten parte. Galdetegi sozio-biografiko baten bitartez, 19 ikaslek beren 2. hizkuntza frantsesa zela eta beren 3. hizkuntza ingelesa zela adierazi zuten. Beste 6 lagunek, aldiz, beren 2. hizkuntza ingelesa zela eta 3. hizkuntza frantsesa zela adierazi zuten artean. Emaitzek, tarteko-hizkuntzen gaitasunaren pertzepzioak hizkuntzen arteko eragina baldintzatzen zuela erakutsi zuten. Ikerlariaren hitzetan:

‘The base language is always French, but the degree of activation (or deactivation/inhibition) of the native Dutch or the English IL lemmas varies according to the speaker’s judgement of his/her capacity to translate his/her communicative intention in the base language’ (Dewaele, 2001, 84. orr.)

Bigarren hizkuntzaren estatusa edo ‘L2 status’ terminoa bera, aldiz, Williams eta Hammarberg (1998) zehaztu zuten lehendabizikoz. Ildo berdinetik, termino honek 3. hizkuntza ikasleek beren lehen-hizkuntza saihestsi eta 2. hizkuntza hobesteko joerari egiten zion erreferentzia (Hammarberg, 2001, 23. orr.).

Bigarren hizkuntzaren estatusaren ebidentziak, hirugarren hizkuntzaren maila desberdinetan antzeman dira: maila fonologikoan (Hall eta beste, 2009; Wrembel, 2010), lexikoan (De Angelis, 2005; Filatova, 2010) edo sintaktikoan (Bardel eta Falk, 2007; Falk eta Bardel, 2011), adibidez.

Halaber, eragin-faktore hau beste batzuekin erlazioa duela azaltzen duten hainbat ikerketa aurkitzen ditugu. Terminoa bera zehaztu zuten ikerlariak, Williams eta Hammarbergek (1998) alegia, 2. hizkuntzaren estatusa beste hiru eragin-faktoreekin erlazionatu zuten. Zehazki, distantzia tipologiko, gaitasun-maila eta erabileraren gertutasunarekin. Izan ere, ikerlari hauek hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza lau faktore hauen arteko balantzerik altuena zuen hizkuntza zela uste baitzuten. Ildo beretik, Wrembelek (2010), 2. hizkuntzaren estatusa eta gaitasun-maila erlazionatu zituen. Ikerlari honen hitzetan:

‘The findings confirm the results of some previous studies on the phenomenon of ‘L2 status’ and demonstrate a tendency for the L2 phonological transfer in L3 production at the initial stages of acquisition that decreases with growing third language proficiency’ (Wrembel, 2010, 75. orr.)

Gure testuinguruan, Cenoz (2001) ikerlariak 2. hizkuntzaren estatusaren faktoreak distantzia tipologikoaren faktorea baino eragin ahulago bat zuela frogatu zuen. Izan ere, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza nabarmenena gaztelania zela azaldu zuen hirugarren hizkuntza ingelesean. Hots, xede-hizkuntzatik eta tipologikoki gertuen zegoek hizkuntza hain zuzen ere.

Labur, hortaz, 2. hizkuntzaren estatusak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginetan duen influentzien inguruan hiru emaitza garrantzitsu azpimarratu daiteke:

- Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza 2. hizkuntza izatearen aukerak areagotzen dituela (Bardel eta Falk, 2007; Falk eta Bardel, 2011; Hammarberg, 2001; Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998).
- Hizkuntza-maila desberdinetan (sintaxian, lexikoan etab.) eragiten duen faktorea dela (Bardel eta Falk, 2007; De Angelis, 2005; Falk eta Bardel, 2011; Filatova, 2010; Hall eta beste, 2009).
- Xede-hizkuntzarekiko gaitasun-maila hazten doan heinean, faktore honen eragina murriztu daitekeela (Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998; Wrembel, 2010).

Laburpena

Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragin-faktoreei dagokionez, hainbat dira atera ditzakegun ondorioak:

Aldagai-indibidualetan erreparatuz, hizkuntza-gaitasuna aldagai esanguratsuenetariko bat dela ikusi dugu. Gainera, hizkuntza-gaitasuna aztertu duten ikerketei jaramon eginez, aldagai honen indarra bi norabideetatik aztertu daitekeela dakigu. Zehazki, xede eta jatorri-hizkuntza gaitasun-mailak abiapuntu izanik. Gaitasun-maila xede hizkuntzan aztertu duten ikerketek emaitzetan bariazio handia azaltzearen arrazoiak hiru egiteekin harremandu ditugu. Hain zuzen ere, gaitasun-maila neurtzeko ebaluazio tresna desberdinen erabiltzearekin, aztertutako jabekuntza-eremuarekin, eta elkarreragin positibo edo negatiboa aztertzearekin. Hau honela, ikerketa gehienek hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina nabariagoa dela defendatzen dutela xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila baxuagoa denean dirudi (Navés eta beste, 2005, adibidez). Nahiz eta emaitza hauek kontraesanen dituzten ikerketak aurkitzen ditugun (Cenoz, 2003a, adibidez). Kontraesanen diren emaitza hauek azaldu lezakeen arrazoietakoa bat, elkarreragin-moten

arteko desberdintasuna izan liteke. Izan ere, ikerketa gehienek akatsak aztertzen dituzten artean, elkarreragin negatiboetara zuzentzen dutela beren interesa esan daiteke. Honela, logikoa dirudi elkarreragin negatiboa xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila baxuagoa denean nabariagoa dela azaldu izana; bai eta, elkarreragin positiboa xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun maila altuagoa denean azaltzen dela argudiatzea (Odlin, 1989). Honela, ikerlari batzuek elkarreragin positiboa hizkuntza-errekurtsoen erabilera kontzienteago batera lotu dute (Flynn eta beste, 2004, adibidez); elkarreragin negatiboa, aldiz, kopiatze estrategia soiletara (Wrembel, 2010, adibidez). Gaitasun-maila jatorri-hizkuntzetan aztertu duten ikerketei jaramon eginez, bi ideia azpimarratu ditzakegu. Alde batetik, gaitasun-mailak hizkuntzen aktibazio mailan eta, hortaz, elkarreragin-kopuruan duela eragina (Van Hell eta Tanner, 2012). Bestetik, gaitasun-maila honek forma edo esanahiaren bitartez gauzatutako elkarreragina izatean eragiten duela (Kroll eta Stewart, 1994). Hala, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina antzemateko, gaitasun-maila minimo bat beharrezkoa dela defendatu duten lanak (Tremblay, 2006), eta gaitasun-maila minimo hori beharrezkoa ez dela defendatu dutenak aurkitzen ditugu (De Angelis, 2005). Elkarreragin-motei dagokionez, formaren-bitarteko elkarreragina gaitasun-maila baxu bat duten hizkuntzetatik, eta esanahiaren-bitarteko elkarreragina gaitasun maila altu bat duten hizkuntzetatik gertatzen dela argudiatu duten ikerleen lana aurkeztu dugu (Kroll eta Stewart 1994, adibidez).

Hizkuntza-aldagaiei dagokionez, hizkuntzen arteko distantzia tipologikoa eta 2. hizkuntzaren estatusaren aldagai esanguratsuenak direla erakutsi duten ikerketak azaldu ditugu. Hizkuntzen arteko distantzia tipologikoan erreparatuz, hurbilpen objektibo eta subjektiboak ezagutu ditugu. Honela, hizkuntzen arteko distantzia objektiboa, generikoa edo formala izan daitekeela dakigu. Hizkuntzen arteko distantzia subjektiboa, ordea, hiztunen

pertzepzio subjektiboak islatzen dituela. Distantzia objetiboaren eragina aztertu duten ikerketei jaramon eginez, xede-hizkuntzarekiko tipologikoki gertuen dagoen hizkuntzak duela elkarraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza izateko aukera gehiago ikusi dugu (Ó Laire eta Singleton, 2009, adibidez). Bai eta gertutasun tipologiko honek, tarteko-hizkuntzak jatorri-hizkuntza izateko aukerak areagotzen dituela (De Angelis, 2005; Ecke, 2001). Bai eta ikuspegi pedagogiko batetik, hizkuntzen arteko antzekotasun eta desberdintasunen irakaste esplizitu batek, hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabeakuntzan ondorio positiboak dituela (Ringbom, 2007, adibidez).

Bigarren hizkuntzaren estatusa, eleaniztunek hirugarren hizkuntzaren ekoizpenean bere lehen-hizkuntza sahietsi eta bigarren hizkuntza erabiltzeko joerari egiten diola erreferentzia dakigu. Aldagai honen eragina, hizkuntza-maila desberdinetan azaltzen dela azaldu duten ikerketak ikusi ditugu (Bardel eta Falk, 2007; De Angelis eta Selinker, 2001). Bai eta aldagai hau gaitasun-mailarekin harremana izan dezakeela azaldu dutenak; zehazki, xede-hizkuntzan gaitasun-maila hazten doan heinean, faktore honen eragina murriztu daitekeela erakutsi duten ikerketak (Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998; Wrembel, 2010).

Alderdi enpirikoa

4.KAPITULUA: ALDERDI ENPIRIKOA

4.1. Sarrera

Aurkeztutako kapitulu teorikoaren bitartez, gure ikerketaren marko egokia eraiki nahi izan dugu. Horregatik eta lehendabizi, eleaniztasunaren zenbait eredu teoriko aurkeztu nahi izan ditugu. Gero, hizkuntza idatzian zuzentasuna aztertzeko erabili diren neurri-motak deskribatuz. Azkenik, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina hizpide izan dugu eta honetan parte-hartzen duten eragin-faktoreak azaldu ditugu.

Atal honetan, gure landa lanaren xehetasunetan murgilduko gara. Horretarako, lan honen ondorioak jasoko dituen errealitatea begiratuko dugu lehendabizikoz (4.2 atala). Jarraian, ikerketa honetan planteatutako galderak zeintzuk izan diren aurkeztuko dugu (4.3.1 atala). Ondoren, lagina eta datuak biltzeko erabilitako neurri-tresnak deskribatuko ditugu (4.3.2 eta 4.3.3 atalak). Amaitzeko, datu horiek aztertzeko prozeduren berri emango dugu, betiere bi ikerketa galderak eta hauen azpi-galderak erantzuteko erabilitako pausuak zehaztuz (4.3.4 atala).

Esan bezala, errore ez kontrastibo eta kontrastiboek oso bestelako informazioa helarazte digute. Bakoitzak bere modura, aldiz, hizkuntza jabekuntzaren inguruko zehaztapenak eskaintzen dituzte. Gure ustez, hizkuntzen irakaskuntzan erroreen arteko desberdintze hau egitea ezinbestekoa da. Horregatik, arean ere, bi errore-mota hauen inguruko xehetasunak azalduko ditugu tesi lan honetan.

Dakigunez, Focus on Multilingualism (Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011, 2014) eredu holistikoa erabiliz jaso ditugu datuak. Beraz, hurbilpen holistiko baten egokitasuna berez adierazten dute. Lehenengo ikerketa galdera erantzun aldera, bigarren hezkuntzako laugarren mailako 133 ikasleek idatzizko

testuak aztertu ditugu hiru hizkuntzetan. Totalean, 399 idazlan. Bigarren ikerketa galdera erantzun aldera, metodologia konbinatu bat erabili dugu 133 ikasle berdinek ingelesez idatzitako testuak azatertuz. Metodologia honek analisi kuantitatibo eta kualitatiboak uztartu ditu. Datuen azterketa desberdindu honek ondorio osatuago bat izatera eraman gaituztela uste dugu. Ekin diezaiozun, bada, ikerketaren testuinguruaren aurkezpenari.

4.2. Ikerketaren testuingurua

Tesi lan honetan, bi testuinguru desberdinetatik jaso ditugu datuak. Honela, ahalik eta lagin heterogeneoena eraikitzea espero genuen. Datuak bildu genituen ikastetxeak Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan eta Nafarroako Foru Aldundian daudenez, bi eskualde hauen egoera soziolinguistikoa eta hezkuntza sistemaren inguruko azalpen bat ematea nahitaezkoa ikusi dugu. Azalpen honetan, hainbat momentu historiko kontsideratu behar ditugu, bai eta eskualde hauetan bideratutako hizkuntza eta hezkuntza politikak errebisatu ere.

EAEko eta Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoko egoera soziolinguistikoa

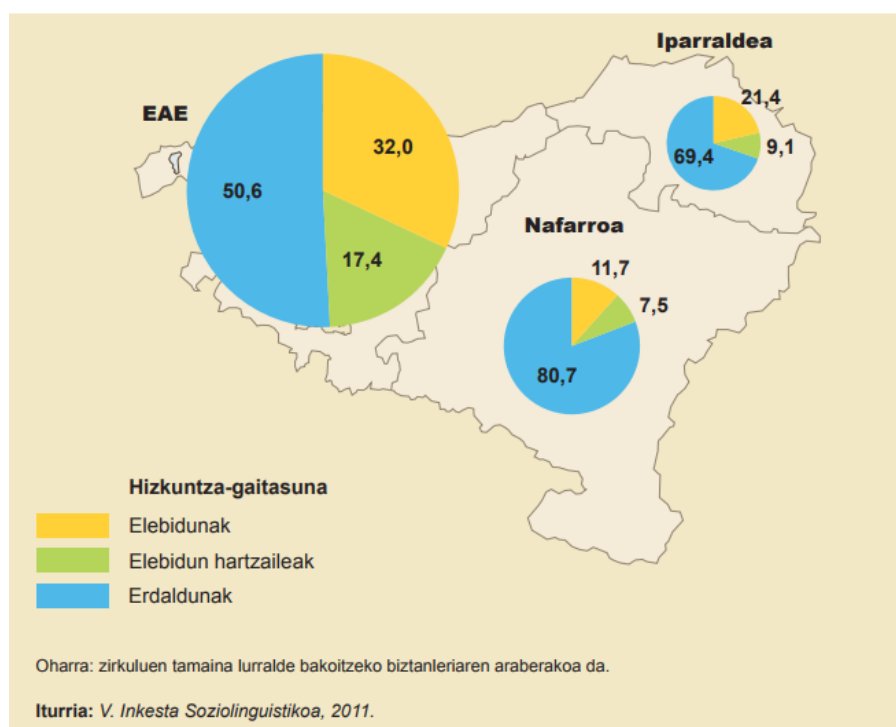
Dakigunez, Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoak 642.000 biztanle ditu; Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoak (EAE), aldiz, hiru herrialde (Araba, Bizkia eta Gipuzkoa) eta 2.1 miloi biztanle ditu. Bi eskualde hauen garapen soziolinguistikoa ulertzeko, euskararen garapenean funtsezko izan diren hainbat gertaera azpimarratu nahi izan ditugu.

Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoko Estatutuak (1978) Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan euskara eta gaztelera bi hizkuntza ofizialak bezala aldarrikatu zituen. Legedi honek, gutxiagotutako hizkuntzari errekonozimendu legala eskaintzen zion. Haatik, erkidego bakoitzaren hizkuntza-politika

desberdinek, eskualdeko garapen soziolinguistiko eta hiztunen eboluzio berezitu bat eragin dute.

1991. urtetik aurrera, Eusko Jaularitzak ikerketa soziolinguistiko bat argitaratzen du bost urtero eta garapen soziolinguistiko honen berri ematen digu. Azkeneko ikerketa 2016. urtean izan den arren, oraindik ere datu probisionalak bakarrik argitaratu dira. Horregatik, Euskal Herriko hizkuntza-gaitasunen arteko desberdintasunen ondorengo irudikapena 2011. urtean egindako ikerketan oinarritu dugu.

Irudia 4.1: Hizkuntza-gaitasuna eskualdeko (Eusko Jaularitza, 2011)



Ikus dezakegunez, Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan (EAE), biztanleriaren %32a da elebiduna da, %17ak ulertu dezake euskara eta %50,6ak ez daki euskaraz hitz egiten. Hala ere, datu hauek ez dute 16 urtetik beherako adin-tartea irudikatzen. Hezkuntza sistemak hizkuntza-sustapenean jokaturako paper positiboari esker, adin-tarte honetan elebidunen presentzia nabariagoa dela dakigu.

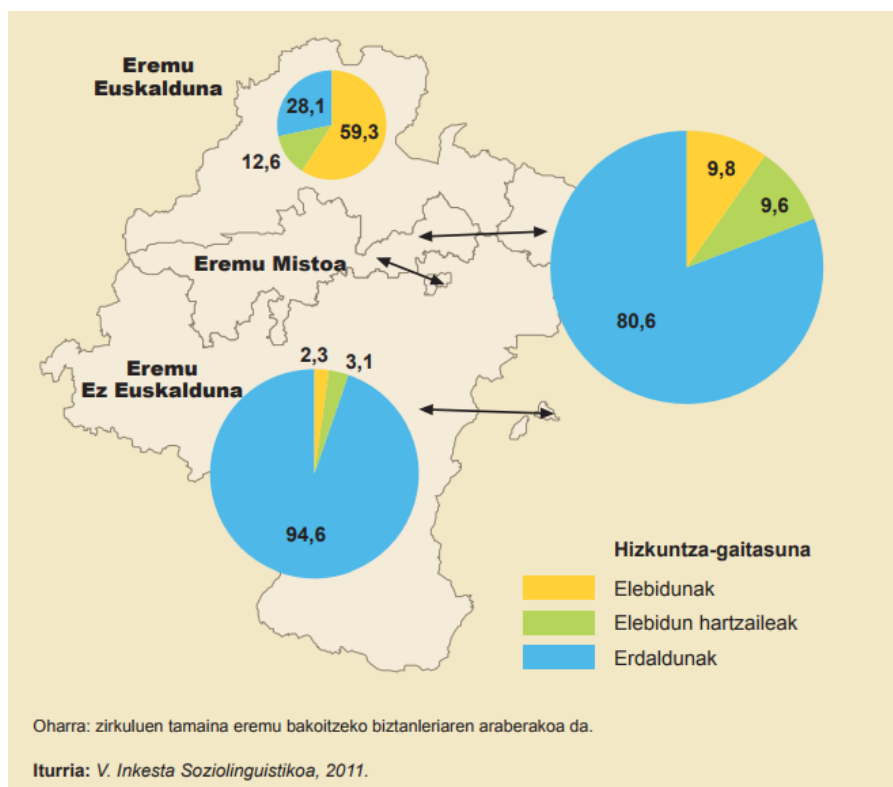
Bestalde, Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan, biztanleriaren %11,7a da elebiduna eta %7,5ak soilik ulertzen ditu bi hizkuntzak. Honela, biztanleriaren gehiengoak ez daki euskaraz (%80,7a).

Amaitzeko, Iparralden, biztanleriaren %21.4a da euskal-frantsez elebiduna eta %9,1ak bakarrik ulertzen du euskara. Honela, biztanleriaren %69,4a frantses elebakarra da.

Argi ikus dezakegunez, Iparralde zein Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan, euskal hiztunen kopurua askoz ere txikiagoa da. Bi eskualde hauetan euskararen sustapenerako hizkuntza-politikak ahulagoak izan diren artean, politika hauen gabeziak arintzen saiatu diren inizatiba pribatuak eraman dira aurrera (bereziki, Iparralden). Honela, datu hauek Euskal Herriko hiru eskualdeetan bideratutako hizkuntza-politika desberdinen eragina islatzen dute. Nahiz eta, IV. Inkesta Soziolinguistikoan argitaratutako datuei jaramon eginez, Nafarroako Autonomi Erkidegoan euskararen erabilerak gora egin duen 1991 eta 2016 urteren bitartean (ikus Nafarroako Gobernuak, Eusko Jaurlaritza eta Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa, 2016). Honela diogu legediaren desberdintasun hauek berebiziko garrantzia dutela euskararen sustapenerako: bai bideratutako errekurtsioei dagokionez, bai eta hizkuntza mantentze eta sustapenari dagokionez (Cenoz, 2008).

Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan, gainera, Euskararen Foru Legeak (1986) hiru hizkuntza eremutan banatu zuen erkidegoa. Honela, hizkuntza-eremu bakoitzak, hizkuntza-eskubide desberdinak opa zizkion zonalde bateko zein besteko biztanleei. Eusko Jaurlaritzak (2011) argitaratutako datuen arabera, Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoaren hizkuntza-gaitasunen hiru zonaldeetako irudikapena ondorengoa da:

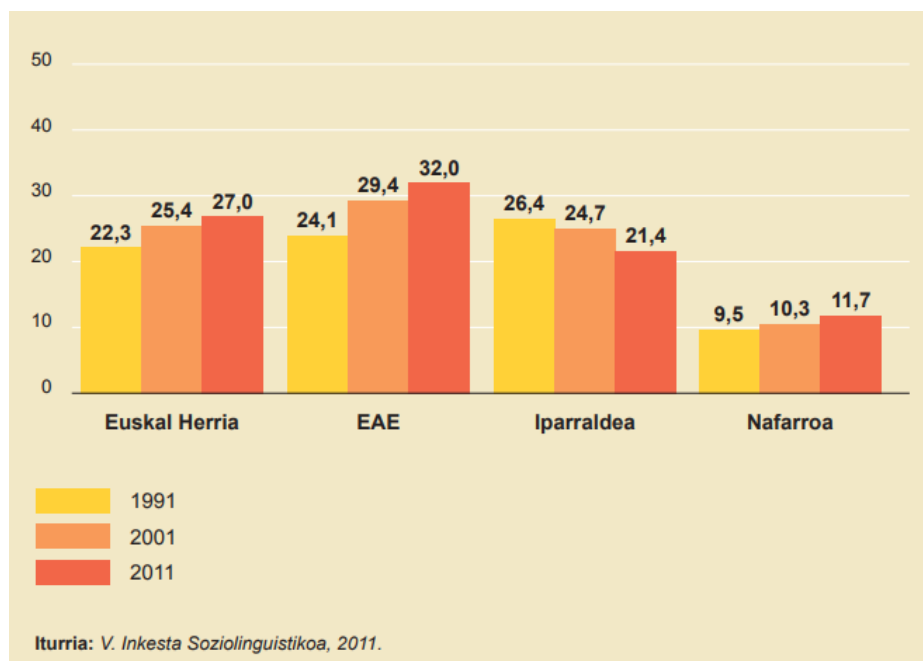
Irudia 4.2: Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoko hizkuntza-gaitasuna hizkuntza-eremuko (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2011).



Irudian azaldu bezala, Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoko hiru eremuetan desberdintasun esanguratsuak aurkitzen ditugu. Honela, eremu euskaldunean %59.3a da elebiduna, eremu mistoan %9.8a eta eremu erdaldunean %2.3a. Euskararen erabilerari dagokionez, Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan hainbat oztopo aurkitzen direla azaldu da. Bereziki, Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoko eremu erdaldun eta mistoan (Oroz eta Sotés 2008, 23-24. orr.).

Ildo honetan, egoera soziolinguistikoko oso desberdinak aurkitzen ditugun eskualdez eskualde. Ondorengo taulan ikus daitekeen bezala, Euskal Herriko hiru eskualdeetan hiztun elebidunen portzentajeak oso desberdin garatzen dira hizkuntza-politikak medio direla.

Irudia 4.3: Hiztun elebidunen eboluzioa eskualdez eskualde (Eusko Jaurlaritzak, 2011).



Eusko Jaurlaritzak bideratutako lehenengo ikerketatik aurrera (1991. urtetik aurrera) Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan 8 puntu igo da elebidunen portzentajek, Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan 2.2 puntu eta Iparralden, aldiz, 5 puntu behera egin du.

2013. urtean Eusko Jaurlaritzak Euskal Autonomi Erkidegorako Euskararen Agenda Estrategikoa gainditu zuen. Abiapuntutzat, euskara eta gaztelaren arteko desberdintasun soziala azaltzen zen, bai eta ofizialtasunaren eta errealitatearen arteko banatzea. Helburu nagusia, hortaz, hizkuntza bien arteko berdintasuna eta euskararen sustapena gizartearen eremu desberdinetan bilatzearena zen (ikus ESEP, 2013).

Nahiz eta aurrera pauso garrantzitsuak eman diren euskararen normalizaziorako bidean, euskararen jakituria eta erabileraren arteko aldea

handia da oraindik. Aurkeztutako datuek azaltzen duten bezala, hizkuntza-politika desberdinek egoera soziolinguistiko oso bestelakoak eragiten dituzte. Honela, euskaren egoera, Euskal Herriko eskualde bakoitzari lotu behar zaio eta honela aurkeztu dugu. Ondorengo atalean ikusiko dugunez, hizkuntza-politika desberdinu hauek oihartzundu egiten dira hezkuntza-sistema aztertzerako orduan.

EAEko eta Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoko hezkuntza-sistema

Berrogei urte iraun zuen diktaduraren ostean (1936-1975), hezkuntza-sistemak aldaketa sakonak jasan ditu egungo egoerara iritsi arte. Honela, aurrera eramandako hizkuntza-sustapenerako politikek zein bertan parte hartu zuten pertsonak, gaur egun euskara izatea lehenetsitutako irakaste-hizkuntza posible egin zuten.

Espainiako hezkuntza lege zentralak estatuko erkidegoetako legediaren gainetik dagoenez, euskal hezkuntza-sistema, lege, erregulazio eta dekretu konplexuetan oinarritzen da. Ondorioz, hizkuntza-irakaste eta curriculumaren inguruko legedi desberdintasunak aurkitzen ditugu erkidegoz erkidego.

Oro har, Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoko (EAE) zein Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan hezkuntza sistema derrigorrezko da 6-16 urte bitarteko adin tartean. Honela, bi eskualdeetan hezkuntza-sistema lehen eta bigarren hezkuntza etapatan fundaturik daude. Lehen hezkuntza, hiru ziklotan oinarritzen da eta sei maila ditu. Honek, 6-12 urteko adin-tartea hartzen du. Bigarren hezkuntzak, aldiz, lau derrigorrezko maila eta bi aukerako maila ditu. Beraz, 12 urtetik 16-18ko adin-tartea hartzen du.

Honez gain, EAEko zein Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoko euskal hezkuntza sistemek sare publiko eta pribatuak dituzte. EAEko eskola publikoa, Eusko

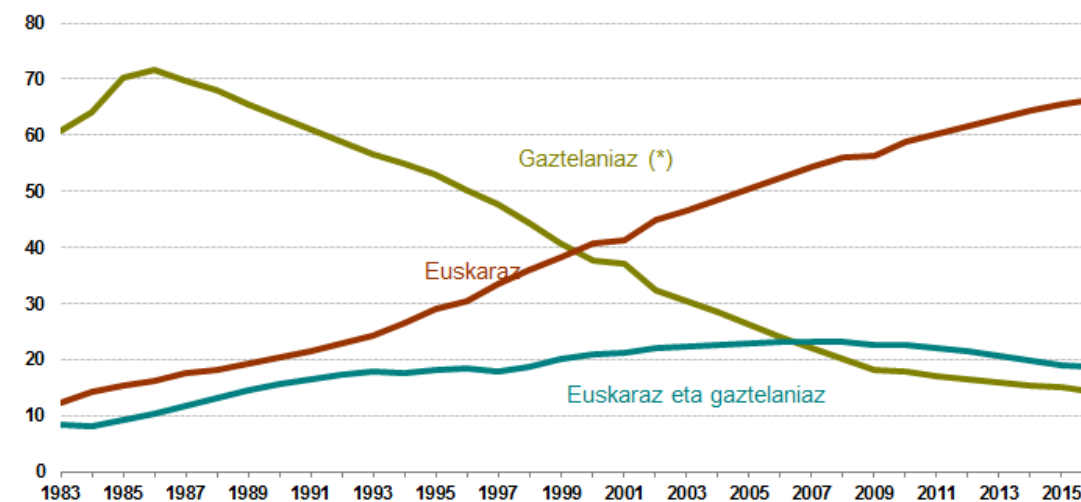
Jaurlaritzaren bitartez gestionatzen da. Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoko sare publikoak, Nafarroako gobernuak gestionatzen duelarik. Bi autonomien sare pribatuak, aldiz, diru-publiko eta gurasoen diruari esker gestionatzen dira. Sare pribatuaren baitan, bi motatako eskolak aurkitzen ditugu. Alde batetik, itunpeko eskolak, erlijiosoak izan daitezkeenak. Bestetik, *Ikastolen Elkarteko* eskolak (nahiz eta *Ikastolen Elkarteko* eskola batzuk ere publikoan diren).

Eskolatze-ereduei dagokionez, euskara ofizial egin zen urtean (1982) Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan hiru hezkuntza-eredu sortu ziren (Etxeberria eta Etxeberria, 2015):

- **A eredia:** Non irakaste-hizkuntza gaztelania den eta euskara bigarren hizkuntzatzat irakasten den.
- **B eredia:** Non irakaste-hizkuntzak euskara eta gaztelania diren, eta euskara ere bigarren hizkuntzatzat irakasten den.
- **D eredia:** Non irakaste-hizkuntza euskara den eta gaztelania eskola irakasgaia den. Eredu honetan, nahiz eta gaztelania izan ikasle askoren bigarren hizkuntza, hau ez da bigarren hizkuntza moduan irakasten.

A zein B ereduak, jatorriz hiztun erdaldunentzat pentsatu ziren. D eredia, aldiz, hizkuntza-mantentze programa moduan pentsatu zen lehen-hizkuntza euskara zuten ikasleontzat. Euskal Estatistika Erakundeak (EUSTAT) argitaratutako 2015-2016 estatistiketan azaldu bezala, hiru ereduak bilakaera esanguratsu bat jasan dute azken 30 urteotan matrikulazioari dagokionez. 1983tik 2015ra A ereduaren matrikulazioak behera egin du D ereduaren mesedetan. Honela, Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoko ikasle gehienek euskaraz ikasten dutela esan dezakegu eta D ereduak hartu duela A ereduak zuekan hasierako lekua.

Irudia 4.4: Hiru eredu etako matrikulazioaren eboluzioa (EUSTAT, 2016)



(*) Euskara ikasgai moduan ikasten dute (A eredua)
Iturria EUSTAT eta Eusko Jaurlaritzako Hezkuntza Saila. Eskola-jardueraren estatistika

Nahiz eta Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoko A, B eta D eredu berdinak existitu Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan, B eredurik duen eskola gutxi daude. Badago, halaber, EAEn existitzen ez den G eredua. Eredu honetan, gaztelera hutsean irakasten dute, eta Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan eredurik nabarmenena da. Izan ere, matrikulazioaren %56,52a hartzen du. D ereduak, aldiz, matrikulazioen %25,91a batzen duen artean (Nafarroako Gobernua, 2012).

Ingelesaren irakaskuntzari dagokionez, Espainiar estatuak emaitza kaskarrak erdietsi ditu tradizioz (ikus Aguilar eta Rodriguez, 2012). Europar Batasuneko estatuaren inguruko egungo datuak kontutan hartuz, Holanda, Dinamarka, Suedia eta Finlandia dira ingeles maila altuena dutela erakutsi duten estatuak. Frantzia, Italia eta Espainiar estatuak, aldiz, ingeles maila baxuagoa erakutsi dutenak (Education First, 2015). Honela, desberdintasun esanguratsuak daudela azpimarratu da Europar Batasuneko ipar eta hegoaren artean. Alabaina, hegoaldeko Europan egoera homogenea ez dela ikusiko dugu. Izan ere, hezkuntza eleaniztunari dagokionez, Euskal Autonomi Erkidego eta Espainiar Estatuaren arteko desberdintasunak nabarmenak direla dakigu.

1996. urtean Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Hezkuntza Sailak ingelesa irakaste-hizkuntza bezala inplementatzeko proiektua diseinatu zuen eta egun zabal funtzionatzen dute edukiak ingelesez eskaintzen dituzten programak (Cenoz, 2009). Sare-publikoan, adibidez, eskola bakoitzak erabakitzen du zein eduki eman ingelesez Eusko Jaurlaritzak (2016) argitaratutako dekretuaren 24. artikuluan azaldu bezala. Bestalde, *Ikastolen Elkarteak* 'Eleanitz Proiektua' dauka 4-16 urte bitarteko ikasleentzat. Proiektu honek, bigarren hezkuntzaren lehenengo zikloan, natura, geografia, musika, teknologia, historia, literatura eta IKT ikasgaiak hartzen ditu barne. Bigarren hezkuntzaren bigarren zikloan, geografia eta historia barne hartzen duelarik (Ikastolen Elkarte, 2013). Era honetan esan dezakegu hiru hizkuntzetan irakasten direla edukiak euskal hezkuntza sisteman.

Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Hezkuntza Sailak 2020. urtean inplementatzeko proposatu duen 'Heziberri 2020' programak ordu kopurua aldatu egiten du ingelesari dagokionez. Honela, lehen hezkuntzaren azkeneko zikloan instrukzio ordu minimoak 2.5 ordu izatetik 3 ordu izatera pasatzen dira. Bigarren hezkuntzaren 4. mailan, aldiz, 3 ordu minimo izatetik astero 4 orduko instrukzio minimoa izatera haziz (ikus Eusko Jaurlaritzak, 2016, 53-54.orr.).

Esandakoaren argitan diogu euskal hezkuntza sistema eleaniztuna dela: ikasleek beren hezkuntza gutxienez hiru hizkuntza hauetan bideratzen dutelako. Gauzak honela, badira euskal hezkuntza sisteman ereduaren arteko mugak gero eta malguagoak direla azaldu duten autoreak (ikus Cenoz, 2009, adibidez). Autore hauek, D ereduaren dauden hiztun-erdaldunen gorakada, ingelesa irakaste-hizkuntza izaten hastearren garrantzia edota beste hizkuntza askoren hiztun diren ikasle immigranteen etorrera bezalako egiteak azpimarratzen dituzte (ikus Cenoz eta Gorter, 2013).

4.3. Landa-lana

Tesi lan honetan bideratutako ikerketa esploratorioa da izatez, eta hizkuntzen arteko harreman eta elkarreragina aztertzea dute xede nagusizat. Azterlanaren alderdi berritzaile bat da aztergaiak partaideen errepertorio linguistiko osoa aintzat hartuz aztertzen dituela. Esan bezala, idazketa eleaniztuna ikertzeko garaian hainbat gabezi aurkitu ditugu. Horien artean, alderdi teorikoan luze azaldutako hiru nabarmen hauek:

Lehenik eta behin, hurbilpen holistiko bat duten ikerketa gutxi egin direla eleaniztunen idazketa ikertzerako orduan eta, hurbilpen elebakar honek, ez duela eleaniztunen berariazko ezaugarriak aztertzen uzten. Bigarrena, eleaniztunon hizkuntzak interakzioan eta elkarremanean garatzen direla ikusi dugula, eta horregatik hizkuntzen arteko harremanak eta elkarreragina ikertzea ezinbesteko dirudiagula. Amaitzeko, zuzentasun idatzia ikertu duten autore askok ingelesa bigarren hizkuntza moduan (ESL) aztertu dutela. Kasu askotan, ingelesa parte-hartzaileen bigarren o beste hizkuntza bat zen azaldu gabe. Gure ustez, eleaniztasunaren ikerketaren funtsean, eleaniztunon aurretiko hizkuntzek duten influentzia potentziala aztertzea dago. Hori dela eta, segurtasunez jakitea gure parte-hartzaileon hizkuntzak zeintzuk diren, eta hau kontutan izanik ikerketak diseinatzea beharrezkotzat jotzen dugu.

Esandakoaren argitan, tesi lan honetan parte-hartzaileen errepertorio linguistiko osoa aztertzen dugu bi moduetan. Lehendabizi, parte-hartzaileen hiru hizkuntzak eta hauen arteko harremanak aztertuz (1. ikerketa). Bigarrenik, aurretiko bi hizkuntzen eragina hirugarren hizkuntzan esploratuz (2. Ikerketa). Horrenbestez, euskal eskoletan irakasten diren eta gure parte-hartzaileek dakizkiten hiru hizkuntzetan identifikatu ditugu errore-mota desberdinak, bai eta hizkuntzen arteko harreman eta elkarreraginean sakondu. Labur, hortaz, gure lanaren ekarpen nagusia aztergaien lanketa

bera da, hots, zuzentasuna eta hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren ebaluazioan hurbilpen holistiko baten erabilera bera. Zehazki, Focus on Multilingualism (Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011, 2014) fokapena eleaniztunarena.

4.3.1. Helburuak eta ikerketa galderak

Doktorego tesi honen helburu nagusia da *‘hizkuntzen arteko harreman eta elkarreragina hizkuntza idatzian aztertzea’* da. Horretarako, erroretan eragin dezaketen hainbat aldagai aztertu ditugu, jarraian doazen ikerketa-galderei erantzunez:

Ikerketa galdera 1. Zer-nolakoak dira, oro har, zuzentasunaren bitartez aztertu ditzakegun hiru hizkuntzen arteko harremanak?

1.1. Nolakoa da erroreen banaketa euskaraz, gazteleraz eta ingelesez?

1.2. Zein erlazio dago errore-mota (edo neurri analitikoen) artean euskaraz, gazteleraz eta ingelesez?

1.3. Zein erlazio dago neurri holistikoen artean euskaraz, gazteleraz eta ingelesez?

1.4. Zein erlazio dago errore-moten eta neurri holistikoen artean euskaraz, gazteleraz eta ingelesez?

1.5. Zein erlazio dago zuzentasunaren ebaluaziorako erabilitako ratioen (Err/W) artean euskaraz, gazteleraz eta ingelesez?

1.6. Zein erlazio dago zuzentasunaren ebaluaziorako erabilitako ratio (Err/W) eta neurri holistikoen artean euskaraz, gazteleraz eta ingelesez?

Ikerketa galdera 2. Zer-nolakoa da, oro har, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina hirugarren hizkuntzaren idazketan?

2.1. Lehen hizkuntzaren arabera alderik ba al da hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza?

2.2. Nolakoa da hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina jatorri zein xede-hizkuntza lortutako gaitasun-mailarekiko?

2.3. Zein estrategia erabiltzen dituzte idazle eleaniztunek beren aurretiko hizkuntzen lexikoa moldatu (ala ez moldatzerako) orduan?

4.3.2. Lagina

Ikerketa honen lagina derrigorrezko bigarren hezkuntzako 4. mailako 133 ikasleek osatu dute. D ereduko ikasteak izanda, euskara dute instrukzio hizkuntza; gaztelania, euskara edo biak dira haien lehen hizkuntza; eta ingelesa 3. hizkuntza moduan ikasten dute.

Ikasle hauen adinaren batez bestekoa 15,31 urte izan dira eta, sexuari erreparatzen badiogu, parte-hartzaileen %51,1a emakumezkoak izan dira (N= 68) eta %48,9a gizonezkoak (N=65).

Esan bezala, lagin hau Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoko (EAE) eta Nafarroako Foru Aldundiko (NFA) bi ikastetxetatik atera da. EAEko institututik, 101 ikaslek hartu zuten parte (%76). Nafarroako Foru Aldundiko institututik, 32 ikaslek (%24).

4.3.3. Neur-tresnak

Ikerketa aztertze aldera, lau bide taxutu ditugu. Alde batetik, ikasleei betearazitako galde-sorta. Bestetik, euskaraz, gaztelaniaz eta ingelesez ikasle bakoitzak idatzitako idazlan bana.

Lehenik eta behin, taulan bildu ditugu neur-tresna bakoitzaren ezaugarriak aurkeztuko ditugu. Bide batez, zein helbururekin erabili ditugun zehazteko asmoz. Ondoren, neur-tresna bakoitzaren deskribapen zehatzagoa egingo dugu.

Taula 4.1: Neur-tresna bakoitzaren ezaugarriak

Neur-tresna	Helburua	Lagina (N= 133)
Galde-sorta (1 Eranskina)	Parte-hartzaileen informazio sozio-biografikoa eta linguistikoa ezagutzea	133 galde-sorta
Idazlanak (2, 3 eta 4. Eranskinak)	Parte-hartzailearen idazteko gaitasuna euskaraz, gaztelaniaz eta ingelesez ezagutzea	133 euskaraz
		133 erdararaz
		133 ingelesez

Hemen, neur-tresna bakoitzaren aurkezpen zehatzagoa egingo dugu.

Galde-sorta

Orobat, galde-sortak ikasleen profil soziolinguistikoa ezagutzeko erabili genuen. Honela, galde-sortaren bitartez parte-hartzaileen izen-abizenak, sexua, adina, jatorrizko herria, ikastetxea eta lehen hizkuntza zeintzuk ziren jakin genuen. Gainera, ikasleen testuinguru pertsonalaren inguruko datuak bildu genituen (7 item): gurasoen ikasketak, gertuagoko pertsonekin (ama, aita, anai-arrebekin, lagun eta eskolan) erabiltzen zituzten hizkuntzak etab. Azkenik, galde-sortaren nondik norakoek, parte-hartzaile hauek euskaraz, gazteleraz eta ingelesez zuten gaitasun-mailaren mailaketa barne hartzen zuten; entzuteko, hitz egiteko, irakurtzeko eta idazteko gaitasuna. Galde-sorta hau euskaraz erantzuteko diseinatua zegoen eta I eranskinean aurkitu

daiteke. Ikerlan honen asmoetara egokitzeko, galde-sortaren zenbait atal hautatu ziren eta beste batzuk baztertu genituen.

Idazlanak (euskaraz-gazteleraz-ingeleseaz)

Ikasleek euskaraz, gazteleraz eta ingelesez zituzten zailtasuna ezagutzeko asmoz, ikasle bakoitzak hiru idazlan idatzi zituen, bat hizkuntza bakoitzeko. Idazlanen ataza eraikitzerako orduan, Jacobs eta beste (1981) ikerlariek zehaztutako irizpideak aintzat hartu genituen. Hain zuzen ere, idazlanen gaia errealista, egokia, ulergarria, pertsonala, sinesgarria eta egingarria izan behar zuela (Jacobs eta beste, 1981, 12-15 orr.).

Idazlanak biltzeko hiru marrazki erabili genituen eta, marrazki bakoitzean, pertsona eta animalia desberdinak agertzen ziren testuinguru bakoitzarekin erlazioa zuten ekintzak gauzatu. Honela, marrazki desberdin bat erabili genuen hizkuntza bakoitzerako.

Parte-hartzaile guztiek marrazki berdinak izan zituzten hiru hizkuntzetarako. Marrazki hauen bitartez, hizkuntza garapena komunikazio egoera erreal batean neurtzea espero genuen (Ishiwaka, 1995).

Euskaraz idatzitako idazlanerako, laku batean gertatzen zen piknik bateko irudikapena erabili genuen. Gaztelaniaz idatzitako idazlanerako, baserri batean gertatzen zen eguna. Azkenik, ingelesez idatzitako idazlanerako, eraikin batean ekintza desberdinetan ari ziren pertsonen marrazkia erabili genuen.

Idazlanak, egun desberdinetan bildu genituen (egun bakoitzean hizkuntza batean idatzitako idazlana), eta parte-hartzaileek ikusten zutenaren inguruko istorio edo deskribapen bat egitea eskatu genien. Idazlan hauen ereduak 1,2 eta 3 eranskinetan aurkitu daitezke.

4.3.4. Prozedura

Lehenengo ikerketa galdera eta honen azpi-galderak erantzun aldera, bi ebaluazio bideratu genituen.

Ebaluazio holistikoa

Ikerlan honen lehen fasean, idazlan guztiak literalki transkribatu genituen Microsoft Word programaren bitartez, eta transkripzioekin hizkuntza bakoitzerako liburu bana egin genuen. Hiru ebaluatzailek hartu zuten parte ebaluazio holistikoa honetan, eta emaitzak hiru ebaluatzaile hauen batz besteko puntuazioak izan ziren. Honela, ebaluazio holistikoa are eta objektiboena izatea bilatu genuen.

Ebaluaziorako erabilitako eskala holistikoa, Poliok (2013) egindako Jacobs eta beste (1981) ESL Profilaren birmoldaketa izan zen, eta Connor-Linton and Polioen (2014, 4. orr) artikuluan aurkitu daiteke. Eskala hau erabiltzearen erabakia, eskala originalak (Jacobs eta beste, 1981) baino emaitza fidagarriagoak eman zituela izan da (ikus Connor-Linton and Polio, 2014). Nahiz eta Jacobs eta beste (1981) ikerlariak diseinatutako ESL Profilak, berez, fidagarritasun koefiziente altu bat azaltzen duela erakutsi den (ikus Jacobs eta beste, 1981).

Poliok (2013) egindako birmoldaketa eta Jacobs eta beste (1981) ikerlariak egindako jatorrizko eskalaren arteko desberdintasun bakarra dimentsio bakoitzari eskainitako puntuazioen ingurukoa da. Honela, eskala bakoitzak dimentsio bakoitzari eskaintzen dizkien puntuazioak ondorengo taulan aurkezten ditugu.

Taula 4.2: Jacobs eta beste (1981) eta Polioen (2013) eskalen puntuazioen arteko desberdintasunak

	Edukia	Antolamendua	Hiztegia	Hizkuntza Erabilera	Hizkuntza Mekanika
Jacobs eta beste (1981)	30	20	20	25	5
Polio (2013)					
Connor-Linton eta Polion (2014) agertu bezala	20	20	20	20	20

Ikus dezakegunez, bi eskalek bost dimentsioen puntuazioak jasotzea ahalbideratzen dute. Honela, eduki, antolamendu, hiztegi, hizkuntza erabilera eta hizkuntza mekanika dimentsioen inguruko puntuazioak jaso genituen. Puntuazio hauek, deskriptore desberdinetan oinarritu ziren eta deskriptore zehatzik ez zen zehazten puntuazio bakoitzerako.

Lehen ikerketa galdera erantzun aldera, eduki, antolamendu, hiztegi, hizkuntza erabilera eta mekanikaren dimentsioetan jasotako puntuazioak erabili genituen jasotako errore-motekin zuten erlazioa aztertzeko asmoz. Honetarako, Polio eta Shea (2014) erabilitako metodologia izan genuen abiapuntu. Izan ere, ikerlari hauek zuzentasuna aztergai zuten ikerketen errebisio zabala egin ostean, Polioen (2013) eskala holistikoaren bitartez jasotako hizkuntza erabilera eta hiztegi emaitzak errore analitikoekin koerlazonatuz aztertu zituzten (ikus Polio & Shea, 2014, 21. orr.). Tesi lan honetan, Polio eta Shea (2014) ikerlarion azterketa zabalduta eta zuzentasunaren bost neurri holistikoak erabiliz aztertu ditugu zuzentasun neurrien arteko erlazioak. Eduki, antolamendu, hiztegi, hizkuntza

erabileraren eta mekanika dimentsioen deskriptoreen sintesia, ondorengo taulan bildu dugu. Deskriptore hauek puntuazio maximoa adierazten dute, hots, 20-16 puntuen bitartekoa.

Taula 4.3: Eduki, antolamendu, hiztegi, hizkuntza erabilera eta mekanikaren dimentsioan deskriptoreen sintesia (Polio, 2013).

Dimentsioa	Deskriptoreak
Edukia	Tesiaren garapen osatu eta logikoa Zehatza eta sakona Informazio irrelebanterik ez Interesgarria Hitz kopuru egokia emandako denborarekiko
Antolamendua	Antolamendu orokor bikaina Tesiaren adierazpen argia Sarrera eta amaiera egokiak Transizio hitzen erabilera bikaina Paragrafoen arteko lotura bikaina Paragrafo bakoitzean batasuna
Hiztegia	Hiztegi sofistikatua Hitz erabilera bikaina Hiztegi aukera bikaina Idiomatikoa, ia natiboa den hiztegia Erregistro akademikoa
Hizkuntza erabilera	Hitz ordenan eta estruktura konplexuetan errore nabarmenik ez Ulermena oztopatzen duten errorerik ez Errore bakan batzuk morfologian Estruktura konplexuen ohiko erabilera Esaldi moten erabilera aberatsa
Mekanika	Aurkezpen egokia paragrafo egokietan Errore ortografikorik ez Puntuazio errorerik ez

Jacobs eta beste (1981) ikerlariok adierazi bezala, ebaluazio holistiko honek lau pauso zituen eta guk hauek jarraitu genituen. Lehenik eta behin, idazlan osoa irakurri genuen inpresio orokor bat jasotzeko asmoz. Irakurketa honetan, idazlanak zuen mezua jasotzen genuen ala ez baloratzen genuen. Bigarren irakurketan, eduki eta antolamenduaren deskriptore egokiak bilatu genituen. Hirugarren irakurketa batean, lehenengo inpresioa egiaztatu eta hizkuntzaren erabilera, hiztegi eta mekanika dimentsioen inguruko deskriptore egokiak bilatu genituen. Laugarren pausuan, bost dimentsioetan jasotako puntuazio batu eta puntuazio totala egokia zen ala ez hausnartu genuen (ikus Jacobs eta beste, 1981, 105.orr).

Oro har, ebaluazio holistiko hau beharrezkotzat jo genuen parte-hartzaileen idatzizko gaitasuna osoki neurtu ahal izateko, hots, komunikazio egoera zehatz batean ikasleok duten sekuentziazio, antolamendu eta elementu diskurtsiboak modu eraginean sinkronizatzeko gaitasunaren inguruko zehaztapenak biltzeko (Jacobs eta beste, 1981).

Jarraian ikusiko dugun bezala, ikerketa honetan erabilitako neurri analitikoek, idazteko gaitasun orokorraren inguruko hausnarketak ahalbideratzen ez dituzten heinean, ebaluazio teknika batek bestea osatzen duela ulertzen dugu.

Analisi kuantitatiboa I

Bigarren fasean, erroreen analisi kuantitatiboa bideratu genuen. Erroreen taxonomia egoki bat eraikitzeke asmoz, lehenik eta behin miaketa-ikerketa bat bideratu genuen. Horretarako, hizkuntza bakoitzean idatzitako 20 idazlan zoriz aukeratu genituen eta hauetan aurkitu genituen erroreak sailkatuz joan ginen. Hasierako azterketa honen bitartez, erroreak kodifikatzeko taxonomia erailki genuen. Taxonomia hau, jarraian aurkezten dugu:

1. Aditz erroreak

Gaizki, faltan edo txarto osatutako aditz formak. Aditz denboren, aspektuen, erregimenaren, forma erreflexibo, aditz-elkarkari eta menpeko esalditako marken erroreak kontutan hartuz.

2. Puntuazio erroreak

Faltan, soberan edo erabilera okerra puntu, bi puntu, koma, puntu eta koma, parentesi eta elipsiak (jarraitutako esaldiak edo 'run-on sentences' kontutan hartu gabe).

3. Preposizio erroreak (Polio eta Shea, 2014)

Faltan, soberan edo preposizio okerrak.

4. Artikulu erroreak (Polio eta Shea, 2014)

Faltan, soberan edo artikulu okerrak.

5. Errore lexikoak (Polio eta Shea, 2014)

Item lexiko okerra (konjuntzioak eta 'phrasal verbs' delakoak kontutan hartuz).

6. Elipsi erroreak

Faltan dauden hitzak (preposizioak eta artikuluak izan ezik).

7. Deklinabide erroreak

Deklinazio okerra izen, izenorde, artikulu eta adjektiboen zenbaki, genero eta kasuetan.

8. Errore ortografikoak

Errore ortografikoak, maiuskulak eta azentuak kontutan hartuz.

9. Erroreak hitz ordenan

Erroreak hitz ordenan.

10. Sobernan dauden hitzen erroreak

Hitz bat edo gehiago idaztea horiek behar ez direnean.

11. Jarraitutako esaldien erroreak

Gaizki edo faltan dagoen esaldi baten amaiera.

Hiru hizkuntzetan, irizpide linguistiko berdinak aplikatu ziren eta, euskararen kasuan, euskararen forma estandarra ('euskara batua') zuzentasunaren irizpide izatea erabaki genuen. Erabaki honen arrazoia, hezkuntza sisteman erabili eta irakasten duen hizkuntza bariazioa denarena izan zen.

Bigarren ikerketa galdera eta honen azpi-galderak erantzun aldera, analisi kuantitatibo eta kualitatibo bat bideratu genituen. Era berean, atal honen lehenengo azpi-atalean azaldutako ebaluazio holistikoaren emaitzak 2.2. azpi-ikerketa galdera erantzuteko erabili genituen.

Analisi kuantitatiboa II

Hirugarren pausu honetan hiru informazio mota jaso nahi izan genituen errepikatzen ziren bi instantzia-mota aztertuz. Instantziak, (1) moldatutako eta (2) moldatu gabeko maileguak ziren. Informazio mota, aldiz, (a) hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntza, (b) hitz-klasea eta (d) instantzia desberdinen kopurua izan ziren.

Hizkuntzen tipologiak hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri-hizkuntzan duen influentzia aztertzeko asmoz, hiru eragin-iturri posible sailkatu genituen: euskara, gaztelera eta anbigua deitu genuena. Anbigua deritzogun kategoria honetan, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren jatorri hizkuntza zehazki sailkatu ezin genuen kasuetarako erabili genuen (ikus De Angelis, 2007).

Bi instantzia-motek azaltzen duten esanahiaren pisua zehaztu nahiez, jasotako adibideak eduki edo funtzio hitz ziren zehaztu genuen. Honela, funtzio hitz bezala preposizioak, artikulak, konjuntzioak eta izenordeak klasifikatu genituen. Eduki hitz bezala, berriz, izenak, aditzak, adjektiboak

eta adberbioak (Fagan eta Hayden, 1988). Hitzen kategorizazio honek, dentsitate lexikoaren kalkulurako erabilia izan den heinean (Engber, 1995), informazio interesgarria ahalbideratu zigun hitzen transferigarritasunaren inguruan.

Azkenik, instantzia desberdinen kopurua jakiteko asmoz, type/token analisia gauzatu genuen. Type kategorian, idazlanetan azaldutako hitz desberdin bakoitza zenbatu genuen. Token kategorian, aldiz, erabilia izan zen eta hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginen adibide zen hitz bakoitza zenbatuz (nahiz eta hitz hauek errepikatuak egon). Era berean, desinentzia desberdin bakoitza Type bat bailitzan ulertu dugu, nahiz eta lexeman errepikatu zitekeen (ikus McClure, 1991).

Ondorioz, hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren analisirako, ondorengo sailkapena erabili genuen:

1. Instantzia-mota:

- 1.1. Moldatu gabeko mailegua
- 1.2. Moldatutako mailegua

2. Jatorri-hizkuntza:

- 2.1. Gaztelania
- 2.2. Euskara
- 2.3. Anbigua

3. Hitz-kategoria

- 3.1. Eduki hitza
- 3.2. Funtzio hitza

4. Hitz-klasea

- 4.1. Izena
- 4.2. Aditza
- 4.3. Adjektiboak

- 4.4. Adberbioak
- 4.5. Preposizioak
- 4.6. Artikuluak
- 4.7. Konjuntzioak
- 4.8. Izenordeak

5. Type/Token

- 5.1. Type
- 5.2. Token

Ondorengo taula honetan, bideratutako azterketan jasotako hainbat adibide zehazten ditugu:

Taula 4.4: Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreraginaren analisi kuantitatiboaren sailkapena

Adibidea	Instantzia mota	Jatorri-hizkuntza	Hitz-kategoria	Hitz-klasea
fotographs (37 ikaslea)	Birmoldatutako mailegua	Gaztelania	Eduki hitza	Izena
gambar (137 ikaslea)	Birmoldatutako mailegua	Euskara	Eduki hitza	Izena
komuna (139 ikaslea)	Birmoldatu gabeko mailegua	Euskara	Eduki hitza	Izena
al (80 ikaslea)	Birmoldatu gabeko mailegua	Gaztelania	Funtzio hitza	Preposizioa

Analisi kualitatiboa

Tesi lan honen 2.4 azpi-ikerketaren xedea idazteko estrategien inguruko informazioa biltzea zen artean, sakontasuna lehenetsi eta hirugarren analisi honetan ingelesez idatzitako 133 idazlanak kualitatiboki aztertu genituen. Ebaluazio honek bi helburu nagusi zituen. Alde batetik, parte-hartzaileek beren aurretiko hizkuntzen jakituria zein neurritan erabiltzen zuten jakitea. Zehazki, zein hizkuntza maila edo elkarreragin mota aurkitzen genituen aztertzea. Bestetik, parte-hartzaileen estrategia eleaniztunen azterketa egitea. Hain zuzen ere, parte-hartzaileek erabiltzen zituzten strategiak identifikatu eta sailkatzea.

Horretarako, idazlanak berriro ebaluatu genituen eta aurkitutako instantziak elkarreragin ortografiko edo lexiko bat erakusten zuten erabaki genuen. Alderdi teorikoan ikusi dugunez, hirugarren hizkuntzan ematen diren elkarreragin ortografikoez ikasleen aurretiko hizkuntzen fonologia zein ortografien eragina azaltzen dute (Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008). Hizkuntza idatzian, aurretiko hizkuntzen fonologiak duen eragina hirugarren hizkuntzaren ortografian azaltzea ez da helburu erraza. Aurkitutako instantzien inguruko hipotesiak soilik egin genitzakeen heinean, emaitzetan aurretiko hizkuntzen ortografiak hirugarren hizkuntzaren ortografian azaltzen zuen eragina azaltzea erabaki genuen.

Elkarreragin lexikoei dagokionez, ebaluazio kuantitatiboan azaldutako instantzien arteko antzekotasunak aztertu genituen. Bide batez, beste hizkuntzen hitzak ingelesera moldatzerako orduan ikasleek erabiltzen eta partekatzen zituzten strategiak. Analisi kualitatiboaren bitartez, hortaz, hiru estrategia orokor eta estrategia horien baitan klasifika zitezkeen hainbat azpi-estrategia klasifikatu genituen. Jarraian dugun taulan, estrategia hauen sailkapena batu dugu:

Taula 4.5: Hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina eta estrategia eleaniztunak

Estrategia orokorra	Azpi-estrategiak
Birmoldatu gabeko eduki hitzen erabilera	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aurretiko hizkuntzen izenak erabiltzea xede-hizkuntzaren hiztegia adierazteko
Birmoldatu gabeko funtzio hitzen erabilera	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aurretiko hizkuntzen esapideak erabiltzea esanahi zehatz baten adierazpenerako
Morfologia lexikoaren birmoldaketa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Izenetan: Aurretiko hizkuntzen izenen erroa erabiltzea • Aditz ez-jokatueta: Aurretiko hizkuntzen edo anbiguoak diren aditzen erroa erabiltzea • Aditz jokatueta: Aurretiko hizkuntzen edo anbiguoak diren aditz erroak erabiltzea eta hauei hirugarren hizkuntzaren morfologia flexiboa eranstea • Adjektiboetan: Aurretiko hizkuntzen edo anbiguoak diren aditz erroak erabiltzea eta hauei hirugarren hizkuntzaren morfologia deribatiboa eranstea
Morfologia deribatiboaren birmoldaketa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aurretiko hizkuntzen erroa erabiltzea eta hirugarren hizkuntzaren morfologia deribatiboa eranstea • Erro anbiguo bat erabiltzea eta hirugarren hizkuntzaren morfologia deribatiboa eranstea
Morfologia flexiboaren birmoldaketa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Izenetan: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Genero markaren ezabatzea 2. Genero markaren neutralizazioa 3. Pluralaren inflexioa • Adjetiboetan: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Alderatze formula

CHAPTER 5: THE RESULTS

In this chapter, we will present the findings of the two studies that make up this research project. First, we will present the results on the assessment measures in trilingual writing (Study 1). Then, we will present the results on crosslinguistic influence in third language writing (Study 2). We will report our findings related to the research questions.

5.1. STUDY 1: Assessments measures in trilingual writing

This first study was designed to investigate two related but different issues. On the one hand, we identified the most frequent errors in the three languages known by our participants that are taught in the Basque education system: Basque, Spanish and English. On the other hand, we expected to determine the relationships between the analytic and holistic writing assessment measures in the same three languages. In this manner, we sought to portray the dynamic interactions among the three languages through different assessment measures.

Thus, we first looked into the distribution of errors in the three languages. Then, we explored whether the error-types had any relationships across the languages. Later, we established whether the dimensions of writing defined by the holistic scale in this study (language use, vocabulary etc.) were related in Spanish, Basque and English. In a fourth step, we determined the relationship between the scores obtained for each error-type (or analytic measures) and the holistic measures in the three languages. Taking into account the results obtained, we further looked at the ratios of errors accounted for each of the languages and their relationships with the error ratios in the other two languages. Additionally, we explored whether these ratios were related to the holistic scores. Ultimately, the answer to these

questions provided a detailed picture of the most appropriate manners to assess each language and the relationships between the languages.

Most studies on writing in English as a second language (ESL) have analysed accuracy not considering as relevant the language (or languages) known by the participants (e.g. Arslanyilmaz and Pedersen, 2010; Bitchener and Knoch, 2008; Bulté and Housen, 2014; Evans et al. 2010; Polio and Shea, 2014). This does not provide the possibility to explore the potential influence of the languages known by the writer, and does not question whether the language analysed was the second, the third or even the fourth. So far in this thesis we consider essential acknowledging and, if necessary, analysing all the languages in the repertoire of our participants. Taking into consideration the specific linguistic repertoire of our participants may let us see whether the languages known by the students influenced the outcomes in accuracy and in writing in the other languages.

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, multilingual acquisition is a more complex process than SLA and it assumes properties such as nonlinearity, reversibility in development and interdependence of language systems (see Herdina and Jessner, 2002; Jessner, 2008). The Focus on Multilingualism (Cenoz and Gorter, 2011, 2014) perspective aims to observe the complex dynamic interplay of all languages within multilinguals' repertoire and the way in which these languages support or compete with each other in acquisition processes.

The contribution of this study is exploring accuracy in writing in the three languages of the Basque education system and our multilingual students' pointing at the problematic areas in each language. Additionally, we specify the relationships between holistic and analytic accuracy measures in each of the languages.

As mentioned, this study included 133 students of the fourth grade of secondary education enrolled in D model programs, with Basque as the language of instruction and Spanish and English as school subjects.

In this section we will look at the results found when trying to answer the following research questions:

Research question 1. Which are the relationships between the three languages that we can analyse in the accuracy dimension?

- 1.1. What is the distribution of the errors in Spanish, Basque and English?
- 1.2. Are the analytic accuracy measures related to each other in Spanish, Basque and English?
- 1.3. Are the holistic accuracy measures related to each other in Spanish, Basque and English?
- 1.4. Are the analytic accuracy measures related to the holistic accuracy measures in Spanish, Basque and English?
- 1.5. Are the ratios of error per word related to each other in Spanish, Basque and English?
- 1.6. Are the ratios of error per word related to holistic scores in Spanish, Basque and English?

In order to answer these research questions, the section will be divided in six further sub-sections. Pearson correlation coefficients are provided, and significant correlations are marked by one ($p \leq 0.05$) or two asterisks ($p \leq 0.01$).

5.1.1. Distribution of the errors in Spanish, Basque and English

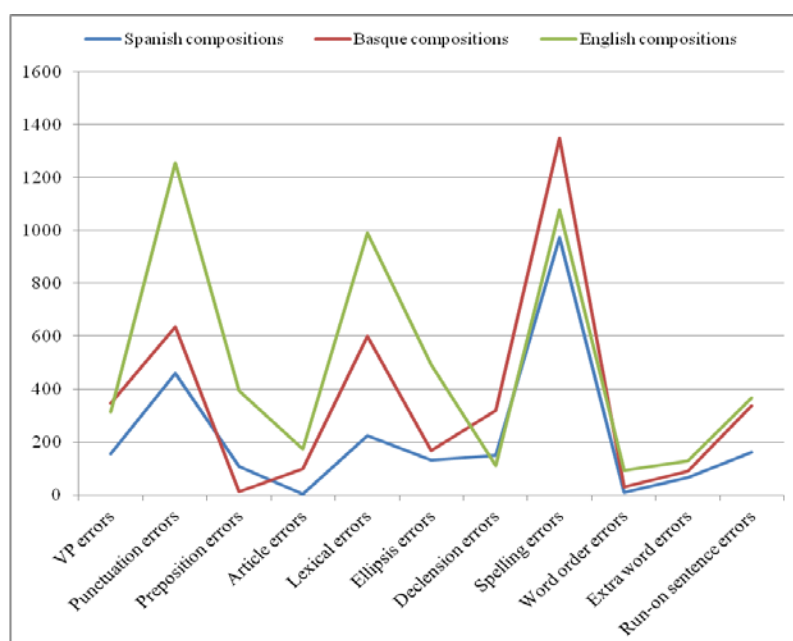
In order to answer research question 1, the first objective of this study was to examine the distribution of the errors in Spanish, Basque and English according to the 11 accuracy measures defined in the methodological chapter of this thesis (section 4.3.4). In this section, we focus on answering our research question 1.1:

Research question 1.1: What is the distribution of the errors in Spanish, Basque and English?

In order to answer this question, we first looked at the total mean scores students achieved in each of the languages for the 11 error-type measures. In the following three sections, we will take a more detailed account on the error-type scores obtained by the students for each of the languages.

As Figure 5.1 illustrates, students showed the largest number of errors in English compositions, followed by Basque and Spanish.

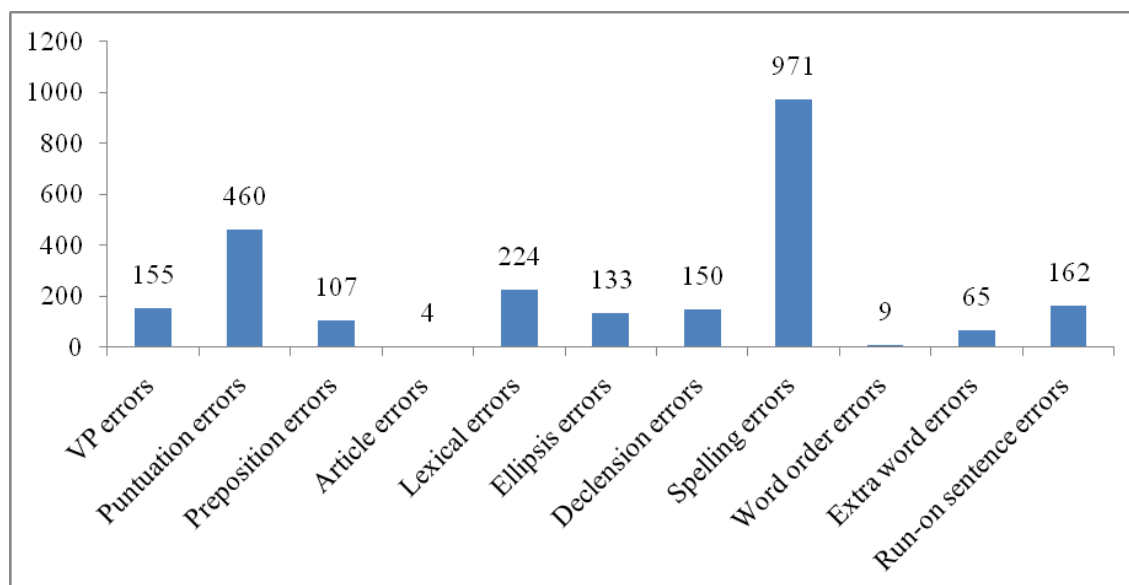
Figure 5.1. Error-type scores in Spanish, Basque and English



5.1.1.1. Spanish error-analysis

As shown in Figure 5.2, the 2.440 errors found in Spanish compositions were distributed differently depending on the error type.

Figure 5.2. Distribution of errors in Spanish compositions according to the error-type measures



In Spanish compositions, students showed to have difficulties in spelling (n=971), followed by punctuation (n=460) and the use of the lexical items (n=224). During the analysis of the compositions we found Spanish accents to be especially problematic, and we consider that this increased the quantity of spelling errors. Additionally, we observed that students enumerated the people, animals and objects of the given picture quite often. To do so, students used commas, colons and semi-colons quite frequently and, in most cases, they showed to use them correctly. However, this enumeration could have also influenced the number of punctuation errors.

Figure 5.3. Percentages of Spanish error-types

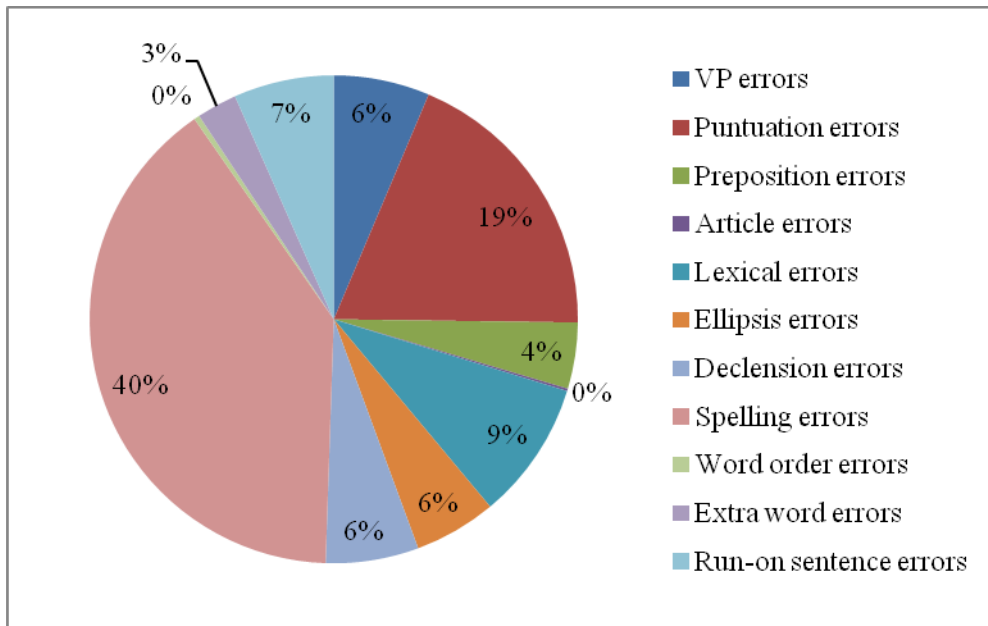
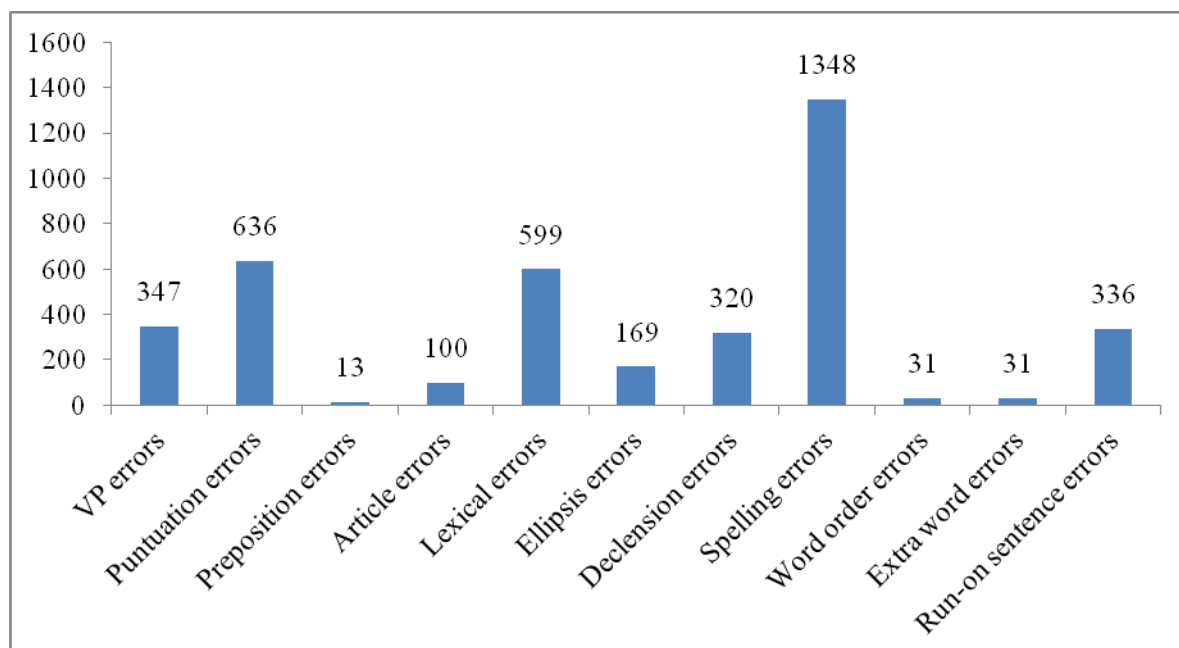


Figure 5.3 shows the results of the error analysis in Spanish compositions in percentages. This representation leads us to see the distribution of the Spanish errors regarded as a whole of 100 points. As we can observe, spelling errors accounted the 40% of the errors in Spanish. Additionally, punctuations errors accounted for 19% of the total number of errors, and lexical errors for 9%.

5.1.1.2. Basque error-analysis

Second, we examined the distribution of errors in the compositions written in Basque. In Figure 5.4 below we show the results.

Figure 5.4. Distribution of errors in Basque compositions according to the error-type measures



As illustrated in Figure 5.4, the 3989 errors found in the Basque compositions were distributed differently depending on the error type. As it happened in Spanish compositions, students showed to have difficulties in spelling ($n=1348$), followed by punctuation ($n=636$) and the use of the lexical items ($n=599$). However, our results indicated that verbal errors ($n=347$), article errors ($n=100$), declension errors ($n=320$) and run-on sentence errors ($n=336$) were also quite frequent. In the understanding of these results, we consider some specific characteristics of Basque to be relevant.

As mentioned in the methodological chapter (see also the guideline for error coding in section 4.3.4), VP errors in Basque included not only the correct tensing of the verb, but also the correct usage of periphrastic and synthetic verbs, verb regime and the marking in the verb of the subordinate clauses. During the analysis of the compositions, we realized that many students showed to have special difficulties in some of these verbal forms.

In this sense, we found the correct usage of verb regime and the marking in the verb of the subordinate clauses to be especially problematic. Thus, sentences such as *lurra ikutzen direlako* (*≈because the land touches they*) instead of *lurra ikutzen dutelako* (*=because they touch the land*) from the composition of student nr 49 showed to be quite common.

Regarding article errors, students showed to have some difficulties with the Basque indefinite or 'mugagabe'. For instance, in sentences such as *etzanda eguzkik hartzen* instead of *etzanda eguzkia hartzen* (from the composition of student nr 31). However, we found that the majority of the article errors were related to students adding a final -a (an article in Basque) when it was not necessary, neither correct. For instance, examples such as *atsedena hartu* instead of *atseden hartu* (from the composition of student nr 50) or *hemakume beltzarana bat* instead of *emakume beltzaran bat* (from the composition of student nr 110) or *emakumea bat* instead of *emakume bat* (from the composition of student nr 118) showed to be quite common. We think that the fact that Basque has some words that must have a final -a (or '-a' itsatsia in Basque) could have influenced this phenomenon of adding a final -a to words that did not require it.

Regarding declension errors, we think that the complex and varied declension in Basque language could have increased the number of declension errors in Basque. However, we consider that students showed to acknowledge Basque declension fairly well when we compare these results to the results obtained in Spanish and English. Interestingly, declension in English only concerns number marking, and declension in Spanish number and gender marking. In contrast, declension in Basque concerns 5 grammatical cases, declension in 11 verbal complements, and declension in 11 postpositional phrases (Euskaltzaindia, 2002). Therefore, looking at the

results obtained in the three languages, we can think that the amount of declension errors in Basque (n=320) is not remarkable when compared to the amount of declension errors found for English (n=110) or Spanish (n=150). In this sense we can say that, even if declension seems to be quite complex in Basque, by fourth grade of secondary school students seem to master Basque declension fairly well.

Finally, our results indicated that run-on sentence errors were frequent in Basque. During the analysis of the compositions, we realized that the nature of run-on sentence errors could reflect two different things depending on the languages analysed. In the case of Basque compositions, many students appeared to be 'drawn' by the language. In this manner, they showed to lengthen the sentences adding an unbalanced number of clauses. Contrastively, in English compositions, students showed in most cases to start a new sentence without ending the previous one.

We think that this difference may be related to the proficiency level students showed in each of the languages according to the holistic evaluation (see Table 5.2). In the case of Basque, students' intermediate proficiency provided the possibility of adding several clauses to the sentence. Contrastively, this showed to be different in English compositions. We think that students' low proficiency in English language did not allow them to use the language (or add clauses) with the same easiness. The following excerpts are illustrative of this:

Excerpt 1. From the Basque composition of student nr 89

Nork daki baina izan liteke krater horretatik ateratako meteoritoak oraindik lakuaren hondoan ondoratuta jarraitzea, ura garbi nahiz tenperatura giro

onean mantenduz hilabetetan zehar, neguan laku hartan bainatzeko aukera emanaz.

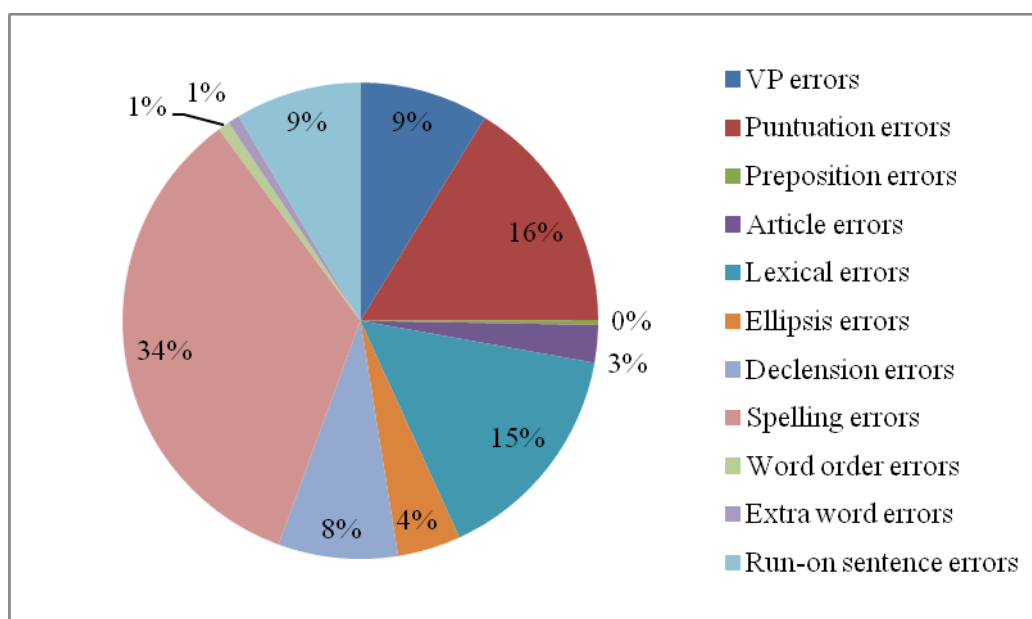
Literal translation: ‘Who knows but it could be that the meteorite extracted from the crater could still be next to the lake, keeping the temperature and the water warm and clean during several months, offering the possibility of bathing in that lake’

Excerpt 2. From the English composition of student nr 143

In the left, there is a girls, with a blond long hair, she’s playing with the scarlextry or something like that, she has a lot of things next to her. Is we go downstair, there are three rooms, but only in one of then is someone, there are four childs.

Even if we accounted for run-on sentence errors in the two excerpts, we consider that the nature of these errors was different in Basque and English and we think that this difference may be influenced by the proficiency level students showed in each language.

Figure 5.5. Percentages of Basque error-types

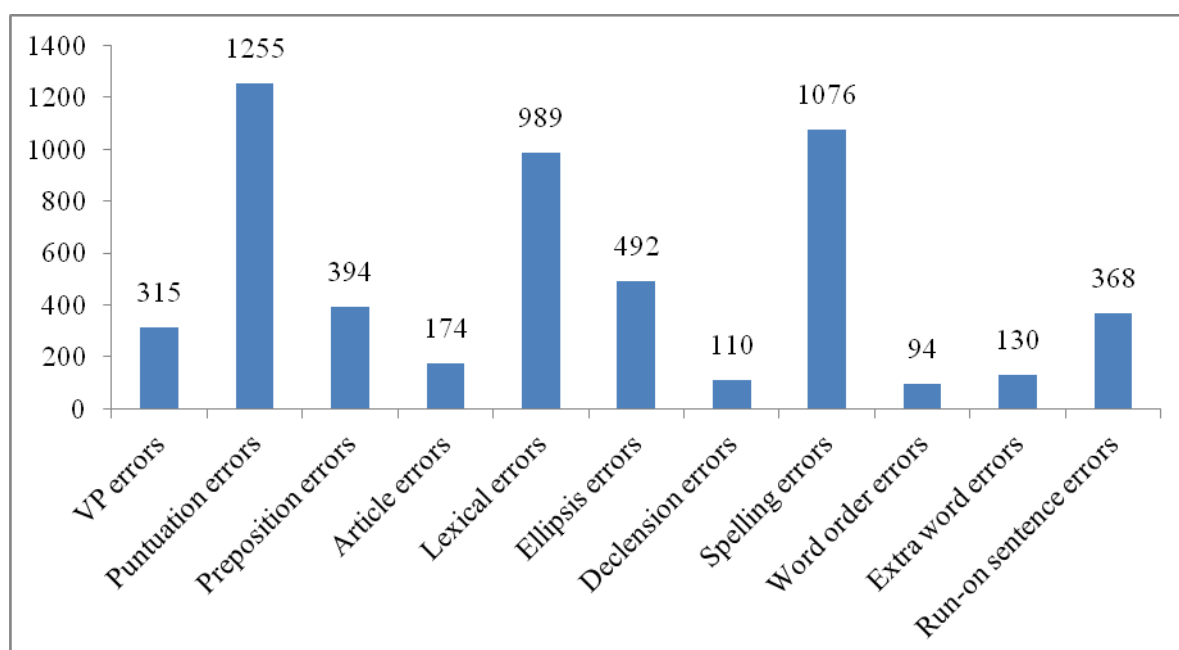


As shown in Figure 5.5, the distribution of Basque errors is quite similar to the distribution of Spanish errors (Figure 5.3). As we have seen in the previous section, the most predominant errors in Spanish were spelling, punctuation and lexical errors. Interestingly enough, the most predominant errors in Basque composition showed to be the same: spelling (34%), punctuation (16%) and lexical errors (15%) namely.

5.1.1.3. English error-analysis

Finally, we examined the distribution of the errors in the compositions written in English. In Figure 5.6 below we show how the errors were distributed according to the 11 analytic accuracy measures or error-types.

Figure 5.6. Distribution of errors in English compositions according to the error-type measures

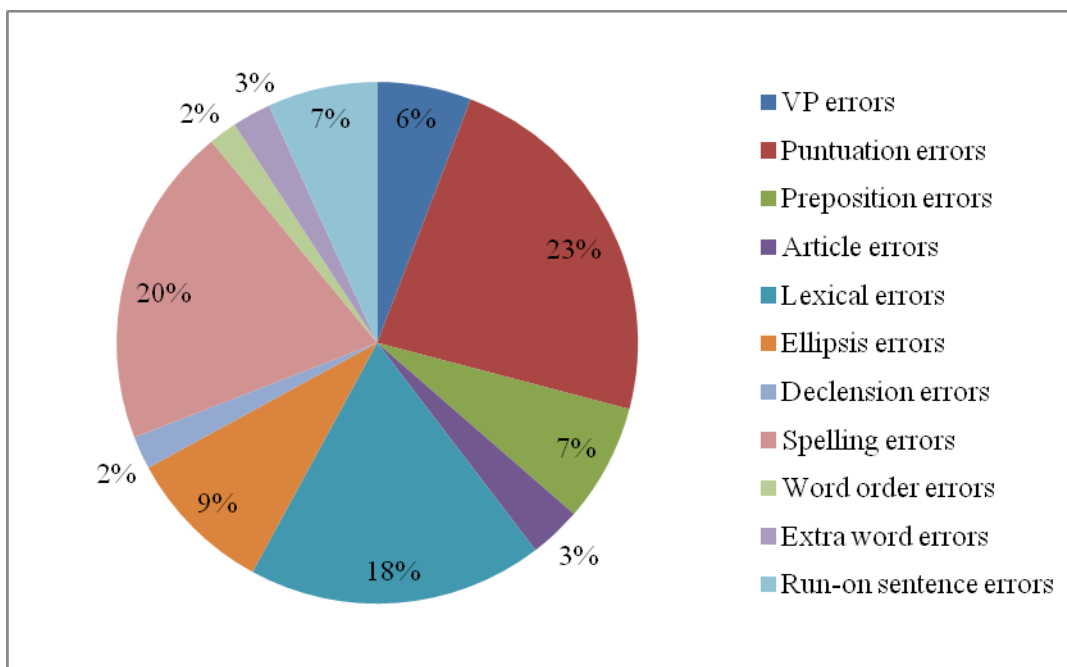


As shown in Figure 5.6, students produced 5.397 errors in English. Interestingly enough, we found that once again punctuation (n=1.255),

spelling (n=1.076) and lexical errors (n=989) scored the highest. These results indicate that students share the same difficulties across the three languages as far as students scored the largest number of errors in the same three categories.

As shown in Figure 5.7 we observed that there were three error types that showed more relative frequency in English (L3) than in Basque and Spanish: preposition (7%), ellipsis (9%) and word-order errors (2%).

Figure 5.7. Percentages of English error-types



During the analysis of the compositions, we realized that ellipsis and word-order errors responded to an influence on the languages students already knew (Basque and Spanish). Yet, preposition errors were reflecting a learning difficulty in English. The multilingual approach used in this study allowed us contrasting the outcomes obtained for the three languages and to try to account for the differences (see Figure 5.3, Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.7).

In regard to word-order error, we found that students used systematically Basque or Spanish word-order in the English writing. For instance, *In the sala there are my grandfather* instead of *My grandfather is in the living room* (from the composition of student nr 144) were very common. This word-order resembles very much Basque *Egongelan nire aitona dago* and Spanish *En la sala está mi abuelo*. As far as these errors showed to be systematic, we think that they manifested crosslinguistic influence that appeared as word-order errors.

Secondly, we discovered students did not include the subject of the sentence in their English writings, and that they did so systematically. We found that this happened even more frequently in the cases where the subject was artificial (e.g. ‘there’ or ‘it’). While the ellipsis of the subject may be correct in Basque and Spanish, it is not in English. As we know, the subject in English must be present in a sentence whenever it is not an imperative. Thus, in this study crosslinguistic influence was also reflected in ellipsis errors. Excerpt 3 is illustrative of this:

Excerpt 3: From the English composition of student nr 10

‘In the left side, () is the sitting room where () is a lot of people [...] In the right side () are two boys with a baby [...] In the sitting room () is also a dog with a bone [...] In the centre, () are stairs’

As shown in Excerpt 3, student nr 10 systematically forgets the artificial subjects ‘it’ or ‘there’. We found up to 13 ellipsis errors in his writing and he was not the only student showing this type of ellipsis errors. In fact, we found 44 students that produced 5 or more ellipsis errors in their English composition. Accordingly, we consider that crosslinguistic influence may have triggered scores in ellipsis errors.

Finally, our results indicated that many students did not master the correct use of English prepositions by the fourth grade of secondary education. As Takahaski (1969) stated, the correct usage of prepositions is the greatest problem for learners of English. Thus, English prepositions seem arbitrary in many cases, and their mastery requires specific language knowledge.

We found that out of the 133 participants 115 failed at least once in the use of English prepositions. This means that 86% of the students produced at least one prepositional error in their English composition, which we consider a high percentage. In contrast, our results indicated that, by the fourth grade of secondary education, students already know how to use prepositions well in Basque and Spanish. These results mean that, even if students use correctly prepositions in their first and second languages (Basque and Spanish), they may not master them in English.

All in all, this first section gives a detailed analysis on the problematic areas in Basque, Spanish and English. The detailed analysis of the compositions and the possibility of contrasting the outcomes in each of the languages (i.e., a multilingual approach) provided us with a better understanding of the nature of the errors. In many cases, we discovered that these errors were based on a specific lack of knowledge in an area of that language (e.g. English prepositions, Basque articles). In others, we observed that they were rooted in an influence on the part of the languages students already knew or crosslinguistic influence (e.g. English ellipsis or word-order). The examples we found of crosslinguistic influence helped us design the second study of this thesis. As we will see, in study 2 we focused in one of the three most common error-types (lexical errors) and we investigated the circumstances under which crosslinguistic influence occurred.

5.1.2. Relationship between Spanish, Basque and English analytic accuracy measures

As we have explained in chapter 1, the approach of Focus on Multilingualism suggests that all the languages in the linguistic repertoire of multilingual speakers (and writers) are connected, and that they support each other in their development. These interconnected developmental processes in language learning have been found in many occasions. For instance, in vocabulary learning (e.g. Robinson and Mervis, 1998), and thus ‘multilingual proficiency’ has been defined as based on the dynamic interactions between the languages known by multilingual speakers (Herdina and Jessner, 2002).

In the section above, we measured errors in absolute terms when counting the number of errors, and in relative terms when offering the percentages in the three languages. In this manner, we observed that some of the most common error types coincided in the three languages, but we also discerned some of the error types that were more specific to each of the three languages.

In this section, we explored the relationships between the error-types or analytic measures carrying out a correlation analysis for each of the error types between the three pairs of languages. In this manner, we answer research question 1.2 of this study:

Research question 1.2. Are the analytic accuracy measures related to each other in Spanish, Basque and English?

In Table 5.1 we show the results of the correlation analysis between Spanish, Basque and English analytic accuracy measures or error-types. As we can

see, each error-type showed a different relationship to the others among the three pairs of languages.

Table 5.1. Correlations between Spanish, Basque and English accuracy measures

	English / Basque	English / Spanish	Basque / Spanish
VP errors	.034	.103	.120
Punctuation errors	.024	.261**	.196*
Preposition errors	.016	.025	.252**
Article errors	.042	.019	-.047
Lexical errors	.410**	.349**	.435**
Ellipsis errors	.096	.120	.113
Declension errors	-.011	-.020	.050
Spelling errors	.361**	.242**	.146
Word order errors	-.052	-.065	-.098
Extra word errors	.116	.140	.092
Run-on sentence errors	.426**	.394**	.475**

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

The results of the correlation analysis showed some significant relationships among the three pairs of languages in lexical and run-on sentence errors. The correlation between English and Spanish (.242) and English and Basque (.361) spelling errors showed to be significant as well as the correlation between Spanish and English (.261) and Spanish and Basque (.196)

punctuation errors. Additionally, we found a significant relationship between Spanish and Basque preposition errors (.252).

These results indicate that there are different degrees of relatedness among the analytic measures or error-types across the languages. The relationship between the lexical and run-on sentence errors reached the statistical significance, which suggests that the growth in one of the skills related to these errors in one language may support the growth in that same skill in the other two languages. For example, the student that improves her or his punctuation in one language is likely to improve her or his punctuation in the other two languages. Similarly, these results also indicate that the acquisition of the spelling skills in one language may also help to improve the spelling in any of the two other languages. In this way, it seems that language knowledge is interconnected and that mastering some linguistic components in one language may help mastering the same linguistic components in the other languages.

5.1.3. Relationship between Spanish, Basque and English holistic measures

The third research question of this study aimed at exploring whether holistic measures were related to each other in Spanish, Basque and English. In order to answer this question, we considered the scores obtained using the revised rubric proposed by Polio (2013). As we know, this rubric accounted for five dimensions of writing and an overall quality score, which is the sum of the five dimensions. This section focuses on answering the third research question of this study:

Research question 1.3. Are the holistic measures related to each other in Spanish, Basque and English?

First, we looked at the holistic scores obtained by the students in each of the languages. The average scores are shown in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: Spanish, Basque and English holistic evaluation (N=399)

	Spanish		Basque		English	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Content	15.14	2.09	13.49	2.20	11.38	2.19
Organization	14.06	2.17	12.29	2.19	10.46	2.35
Language Use	13.73	2.30	10.05	2.62	8.67	2.90
Vocabulary	13.65	1.77	11.10	1.83	9.09	2.53
Mechanics	12.65	2.41	9.09	2.55	8.26	2.66
Overall Writing Quality score	69.23	9.67	56.02	10.33	47.86	11.82

As we can observe, students achieved the highest scores in Spanish for the five dimensions of writing followed by Basque and English. Even if Basque is the main language of instruction in D model programs and the sample of this study was composed by 51 L1-Spanish speakers, 41 L1-Basque speakers and 41 early bilinguals these results show the influence of Spanish as the majority language, as students showed to master Spanish better than Basque, the minority language. In addition, these results are in agreement with the results obtained in the analytic evaluation of the errors in each language as students produced the largest number of errors in English, followed by Basque and Spanish (see Figure 5.1).

As a second step, we took a closer look into the holistic scores obtained by the students on each of the writing dimensions. We found that students achieved the highest scores for the dimensions of Content and Organization in the three languages (between 10.46 and 15.14); and the lowest scores for Language Use, Vocabulary and Mechanics (between 8.26 and 13.73) in the three languages. Moreover, the difference between the scores in the three languages appeared to be smaller in the dimensions of Organization (a difference of 3.6) and Content (a difference of 3.76); and a greater difference appeared for the dimensions of Language Use (a difference of 5.06), Vocabulary (a difference of 4.56), and Mechanics (a difference of 4.39).

These results may be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, we think that the smaller difference found for the dimensions of Organization and Content is related to the transversal nature of these dimensions. That is to say, the knowledge on Content and Organization is more likely to be transferred or common to all languages while the knowledge on Language Use, Vocabulary or Mechanics is more language-specific. Polio's (2013) rubric depicted Content dimensions as 'thorough and logical development of thesis' and 'no irrelevant information', and 'excellent overall organization' and 'substantive introduction and conclusion' for Organization (see Appendix 6). As we can see, these skills can be more easily transferred from one language to another, as a student that knows how to develop logically her/his ideas in one language will presumably know how to develop logically her or his ideas in another language.

On the other hand, the larger differences we found for the Language Use, Vocabulary and Mechanics scores can also be related to the nature of these three dimensions. In this sense, Language Use, Vocabulary and Mechanics have been considered more language-specific in nature as they, in fact,

measure the accurate use of each specific language (see also Arocena, 2017). In this way, the descriptors used to depict these dimensions in the rubric developed by Polio (2013) included skills such as ‘frequent use of complex sentences’ and ‘good sentence variety’ for Language Use, ‘somewhat sophisticated vocabulary’ and ‘good choice of words’ for Vocabulary, or ‘no spelling errors’ or ‘no punctuation errors’ for Mechanics.

As interesting as these results are, in this study we were ultimately concerned with determining whether these holistic scores had any relationship between each other across languages. In order to answer this question, we carried out a correlation analysis for each of the five dimensions of writing and the overall writing quality score depicted in Polio’s (2013) rubric. As shown in Table 5.3, we got some interesting results from these analyses.

Table 5.3: Correlations between English, Basque and Spanish holistic ratings

	English / Basque	English / Spanish	Basque / Spanish
Content	.282**	.304**	.474**
Organization	.284**	.306**	.516**
Language Use	.391**	.432**	.468**
Vocabulary	.320**	.456**	.496**
Mechanics	.415**	.539**	.478**
Overall Writing Quality	.389**	.462**	.572**

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

The results shown in Table 5.3 indicate that the scores of each of the different dimensions in each of the languages are more or less strongly related to each other. The correlations between the languages are particularly significant for the Basque and Spanish pair of languages which means that the relationship between the first and the second languages of the participants is stronger than the relationship between the first or second (Basque and/or Spanish) and the third (English).

Overall these results indicate that a multilingual writer who scores high or poor in one dimension in one language is likely to score similar in the same dimension in the other two languages, as all the relations found in this study reached statistical significance. Very similar results were found in Sagasta (2001, p. 252) and Arocena (2017, p. 163) when measuring the same three languages. In these PhD projects, the ESL Profile developed by Jacobs et al. (1981) was used.

5.1.4. Relationship between analytic and holistic accuracy measures in Spanish, Basque and English

The fourth research question of this study aimed at analysing the relationship between accuracy and holistic measures in the three languages of our study. As explained in the theoretical framework (chapter 2), both assessment techniques have been widely used as descriptors of language proficiency and development. Analysing the relationships between both assessment techniques provide a more detailed account of accuracy. Thus, this section is further divided according to each of the languages. In this section, we answer research question 1.4 of the present study:

Research question 1.4. Are the accuracy measures related to holistic measures in Spanish, Basque and English?

Following Polio and Shea (2014), we used Vocabulary and Language Use scores as the dimensions closest to linguistic accuracy. Additionally, we included the scores obtained in the Mechanics dimension for the correlation analyses as, in contrast with Polio and Shea (2014), in this study we also analysed punctuation and spelling errors.

Relationship between accuracy and holistic measures in Spanish

First, we looked at the relationships between holistic and analytic accuracy measures in Spanish compositions. As shown in Table 5.4, we found no significant relationships overall, except one.

Table 5.4. Correlations between holistic and accuracy measures in Spanish

	Vocabulary	Language Use	Mechanics
VP errors	-.051	-.083	-.127
Punctuation errors	.140	.169	.109
Preposition errors	.031	.033	.025
Articles errors	.019	-.024	-.072
Lexical errors	.088	.005	.047
Ellipsis errors	-.057	-.058	-.071
Declension errors	-.013	-.091	-.021
Spelling errors	-.083	-.118	-.202*
Word order errors	.099	.075	.106
Extra word errors	-.002	-.048	-.088
Run-on sentence errors	-.115	-.132	-.103

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

The results in Table 5.4 show, with one exception, no correlations between the analytic and the holistic accuracy measures. Interestingly enough, spelling errors did show a significant relationship with the Mechanics dimension (-.202*). This could be due to the fact that spelling is an important part of Mechanics and thus holistic scores are not independent to the number of spelling errors (see Appendix 6).

Relationship between accuracy and holistic measures in Basque

As a second step, we looked at the relationship between holistic and analytic accuracy measures in Basque compositions. In Table 5.5 we show the results.

Table 5.5. Correlations between holistic and accuracy measures in Basque

	Vocabulary	Language Use	Mechanics
VP errors	.093	-.055	.012
Punctuation errors	-.218*	-.151	-.104
Preposition errors	-.063	-.025	-.078
Articles errors	-.168	-.113	-.099
Lexical errors	-.148	-.092	-.046
Ellipsis errors	-.029	.029	-.002
Declension errors	-.044	-.044	-.011
Spelling errors	.037	-.119	-.104
Word order errors	.029	.054	.061
Extra word errors	-.070	-.099	-.082
Run-on sentence errors	-.066	-.109	-.205*

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

Similarly as it happened in Spanish compositions, no significant relationships were found overall between the error-types and holistic measures in Basque compositions. The only significant relationships we encountered showed to be between the two most frequent error-types (run-on sentence and punctuation errors) and two of the holistic measures. To be precise, we found these two relationships between punctuation and Vocabulary dimension (-.218*), and run-on sentence errors and the dimension of Mechanics (-.205*). Even if the relationship between run-on sentence errors and Mechanics could be expected, the relationship between punctuation errors and Vocabulary shows to be not that straightforward, as the holistic scale makes no direct mention of the errors in punctuation in the Vocabulary component (see Appendix 6).

Relationship between accuracy and holistic measures in English

Finally, we looked at the relationships between holistic and analytic accuracy measures in English compositions. As shown in Table 5.6, we found several significant relationships characterizing the relationships between English analytic and holistic measures.

Table 5.6. Correlations between holistic and accuracy measures in English

	Vocabulary	Language Use	Mechanics
VP errors	-.259**	-.315**	-.292**
Punctuation errors	.118	.124	.062
Preposition errors	-.096	-.137	-.155
Articles errors	-.177*	-.221*	-.236**
Lexical errors	-.097	-.192*	-.143
Ellipsis errors	-.228**	-.235**	-.264**
Declension errors	-.196*	-.205*	-.160
Spelling errors	-.070	-.147	-.158
Word order errors	-.091	-.079	-.007
Extra word errors	-.005	.010	.076
Run-on sentence errors	-.291**	-.330**	-.287**

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

As shown in Table 5.6, there are several strongly significant correlations that characterize the relationship between analytic and holistic accuracy measures. The correlations between Language Use and VP (-.315**), article (-.221*), lexical (-.192*), ellipsis (-.235**), declension (-.205*) and run-on sentence errors (-.330**) showed to be significant. These correlations were followed by the correlations between Vocabulary and verbal (-.259**), article (-.177*), ellipsis (-.228**), and run-on sentence errors (-.291*). Finally, we also found significant correlations between Mechanics and verbal (-.292**), article (-.236**), ellipsis (-.264**), and run-on sentence errors (-.287**). The fact that we only found negative significant

correlations illustrates how the lower the numbers of error, the higher the holistic ratings.

In general, these results show that the analytic and holistic accuracy measures in English are significantly related. These findings are similar to the findings reported by Polio and Shea (2014). In both studies, similar patterns of relationship between Language Use and verbal and lexical errors and also between Vocabulary and verbal, prepositional, article and lexical errors were found. In this study, we extend their findings on significant relationships between Language Use and Vocabulary scores to ellipsis, declension and run-on sentence errors.

5.1.5. Relationship between Spanish, Basque and English errors per word ratios (Err/W)

Taking into account the results obtained in the previous sections, we decided to explore whether the ratios of error per unit were more appropriate to explore the relationships between holistic and analytic accuracy measures in the three languages.

As explained in chapter 2, there are several studies that used the errors per word ratio (Err/W) to analyse the relationship between accuracy and holistic scores (e.g. Linnarud, 1986). Some of them use these measures to assess performance at one point in time (e.g. Truscott, J., & Hsu, A. Y., 2008). Some other studies used this measure to assess development of accuracy over time (e.g. Storch, 2005, 2009). Up to our knowledge, there is no study that has investigated the relationship between Err/W and holistic measures in all the languages known by the participants of the study. Thus, our contribution investigates how this accuracy measure works with different languages.

In this section, we focus of the fifth research question of our study:

Research question 1.5. Are the ratios of error per word related to each other in Spanish, Basque and English?

Spanish, Basque and English compositions

In order to answer this question, we first calculated the average number of words and the average number of errors in the 399 compositions. With these scores, we calculated the errors per word ratio in each of the languages. Table 5.7 shows the average scores:

Table 5.7. Average number of words and errors in Spanish, Basque and English compositions

	Average number of words		Average number of errors		Errors per word ratio	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Spanish compositions	218.14	48.03	18.35	9.00	.084	.046
Basque compositions	175.76	42.58	29.99	12.51	.171	.139
English compositions	204.66	50.65	40.58	16.60	.198	.097

Interestingly enough, Basque compositions were the shortest when counted in number of words, followed by the English and the Spanish compositions. Additionally, the variation between the length of the compositions among the students showed also to be the lowest in Basque language (SD=42.58), and the highest in English (SD=50.65).

In regard of the errors counted for each language our results indicated that, on average, students produced the highest number of errors in English (M=40.58), followed by Basque (M=29.99) and Spanish (M=18.35). In addition, the variation between number of errors students produced showed to be the highest in English (SD=16.60).

In line with the average number of errors and words found for the compositions written in each language, our results showed the lowest error ratio in Spanish (M=.084), followed by Basque (M=.170) and English (M=.097). We found the highest variation in Basque (SD=.139) and the lowest in Spanish (SD=.046).

Relationship between Spanish, Basque and English errors per word ratios (Err/W)

As a next step, we carried out correlation analyses between these three error-ratios. We wanted to see whether the average error per word ratio in any of the languages was related to the average error per word ratio in the others. Table 5.8 shows the results of the correlation analysis between the errors per word ratios in the three languages.

Table 5.8. Correlation between errors per word (Err/W) ratios

	Errors per word in Spanish	Errors per word in Basque
Errors per word in Basque	.252**	-
Errors per word in English	.460**	.239**

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

As shown in Table 5.8, the outcomes demonstrate that the three errors per word measures are strongly and significantly related to each other. Specifically, we found the strongest relationship between Spanish and English (.460**), followed by Spanish and Basque (.252**) and Basque and English (.239**).

Similar results were found by Sagasta (2001). This researcher measured accuracy including semantic, morphosyntactic, alphabetic, orthographic and lexical errors. Her error index was based on the sum of these errors divided by the total number of T-units found in the compositions (i.e., Err/T-unit measure). The outcomes of her study showed Basque, Spanish and English indexes of error correlating significantly in the three pairs of languages at different degrees depending on the school year (from first to the fourth year of secondary education). Therefore, these results confirm the findings of Sagasta (2003) in this case for the error per word measure as related to Basque, Spanish and English.

5.1.6. Relationship between the errors per word (Err/W) ratios and holistic scores in Spanish, Basque and English

The sixth research question of this study aimed at analysing whether the ratios of error per word influenced the scores obtained in the holistic evaluation for each of the languages. In this section, we answer the last research question of this study:

Research question 1.6. Are the ratios of error per word related to holistic scores in Spanish, Basque and English?

Table 5.9. Correlations between error per word (Err/W) and holistic measures in Spanish, Basque and English compositions

	Errors per word in Spanish	Errors per word in Basque	Errors per word in English
Content	-.304**	-.495**	-.573**
Organization	-.300**	-.457**	-.568**
Vocabulary	-.267**	-.509**	-.380**
Language Use	-.224**	-.333*	-.452**
Mechanics	-.263**	-.278**	-.331**
Overall Writing Quality score	-.302**	-.459**	-.422**

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

As we can see in Table 5.9, we found significant relationships between the six holistic and the Err/W accuracy measure in the three languages. These results mean that in the three languages the average number of errors per word is related to the holistic scores in the six dimensions of writing. These results extend the findings of previous research (e.g. Polio and Shea, 2014) to Basque and Spanish languages.

In general, the outcomes of this study confirm the relationships among the three languages. In regard of the holistic measures, we found that they are significantly related. These results are in agreement with the results obtained by previous research that analyzed writing in Basque, Spanish and English (see Arocena, 2017; Cenoz and Gorter, 2011; Sagasta, 2001). In regard to

analytic measures, we found error ratios more closely related than analytic error-types across the languages and to the holistic measures.

By looking at the three languages interestingly enough, we found that students largely share the most commonly produced error-types across the three languages. Thus, the largest number of errors were found for punctuation, spelling and lexical errors in the three languages. This finding was not expected, and suggests that measuring errors in absolute terms (i.e., counting the errors) is appropriate to investigate whether the problematic areas of language learning are shared across the languages at a given point in time and also longitudinally.

In short, the results of the present study indicate that overall being more (or less) accurate in one language is strongly related to being more (or less) accurate in the other two languages, and vice versa. Thus, measuring accuracy from a multilingual approach illustrates appropriately the idea that the learner is a multilingual person with a common underlying language competence.

5.2. STUDY 2: Crosslinguistic influence in third language writing

This second study was designed to investigate crosslinguistic influence (CLI) in third language (L3) writing. As explained in chapter 3, multilingual acquisition comprises some unique features that emerge from the interaction among the languages learnt and the processes of learning them (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998). Third language learners (L3) make use of the languages acquired previously (e.g. Rothman 2011; Otwinoswka-Kasztelanic 2011) and factors such as language typology, L2 factor and proficiency in the target and the source-languages affect and blur the sources of the directionality of influence across the languages.

In this study, we carried out a quantitative and a qualitative analysis as they offered us different types of information. In total, 133 learners of English as a third language from 4th grade of secondary education participated in this study. Thanks to the quantitative analysis, we measured the influence of language typology, L2 factor and proficiency level in the target and the source-languages.

In order to explore the effect of language typology in CLI we categorized three possible sources of influence (Basque, Spanish and ambiguous), and we focused on two types of CLI instances (adapted and non-adapted loan words). We then divided the CLI instances into word categories (content and function words), and sub-divided each category into the word class they were based on. Specifically, we classified nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs as *content* words and prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions and articles as *function* words. Each instance was included in the total number of times (tokens) and the variety of distinct manners (types) which appeared in the composition.

In order to explore the effect of the L2 factor in CLI we considered the first language of our participants. In total, 41 Basque L1 speakers, 51 Spanish L1 speakers and 41 bilinguals were distinguished according to their first language(s).

In order to obtain proficiency scores and to measure the influence of proficiency on CLI, we analyzed 399 compositions -133 in each language- using the revised rubric proposed by Polio (2013) and get proficiency scores for the three languages (Basque, Spanish and English).

Thanks to the qualitative analysis, we found crosslinguistic influence at three levels of language: orthographic, morphologic and lexical levels. Briefly, we

give an overview some of the instances encountered for orthographic CLI at the beginning of this study. Yet, we aimed at analyzing the way in which multilingual writers relied on and used crosslinguistic similarities in order to produce words in their third language. Consequently, after a general overview, we focused on analyzing the processes and strategies used by students when using their previous linguistic knowledge in English writing at the lexical level.

Taking this into consideration, we posed the following research questions:

Research question 2. Under which circumstances does crosslinguistic influence occur in third language writing?

2.1. Does the mother tongue influence the choice of the source-language of CLI in the English writing?

2.2. How is Basque, Spanish and English proficiency related to CLI in English writing?

2.3. What strategies do multilingual writers use when they adapt (or not) their previous languages in English writing?

5.2.1. General overview of the study

In this first section we give an overview according to some of the points that define our topic:

1. The levels of language in which CLI occurred.
2. Individual differences on CLI.
3. The distribution and the source-language of CLI.

The levels of CLI

As we have explained in chapter 3, CLI occurs at different levels of language. In the case of this study, we found CLI at the orthographic, morphological and lexical level. After analysing qualitatively the compositions, we realized that the written texts were not enough as to prove CLI at the orthographic level with exact accuracy. In order to offer the necessary evidence, we realized that we required another type of approach. For instance, an introspective or retrospective method (see also Dörnyei, 2007). Therefore, we decided to give an overview on what we suggest is orthographic CLI, but focus on CLI at the lexical level. It is important to bear in mind that the examples below are not included in the quantitative analysis. Nonetheless, they are illustrative of CLI in third language (L3) writing.

Orthographic crosslinguistic influence

There are several studies that showed how the orthographic rules of the source-language influenced the spelling in the target-language (e.g. van Berkel, 2005). Even if the alphabets of the languages of this study appeared to be more or less similar, we found that there were many instances that reflected crosslinguistic influence from source-languages' spelling into the target-language spelling. Here, we present some of the examples:

Examples: 'cortains' instead of 'curtains' (from students nr 34 and 48)

Example: 'frequently' instead of 'frequently' (Eng.) (from student nr 89)

Example: 'atention' instead of 'attention' (from student nr 148)

Example: 'diferent' instead of 'different' (from students nr 44, nr 46, nr 66 and nr 106)

Example: ‘apreciate’ instead of ‘appreciate’ (from student nr 20)

Example: ‘necesary’ instead of ‘necessary’ (from student nr 30)

Example: ‘famili’ instead of ‘family’ (from student nr 151)

Example: ‘fotograp̄s’ instead of ‘photographs’ (from student nr 77)

Example: ‘fotograf̄s’ instead of ‘photographs’ (from students nr 46, 77, 110 and 118).

As we can observe, the orthographic rules of Basque and Spanish could have influenced the spelling in English. For instance, the simplification of the English double consonants could have been influenced by Basque or Spanish spelling as far as these languages do not have double consonants. Additionally, this simplification appeared to be quite common in the English compositions. Thus, we suggest that it reflects orthographic CLI.

CLI as a strategy

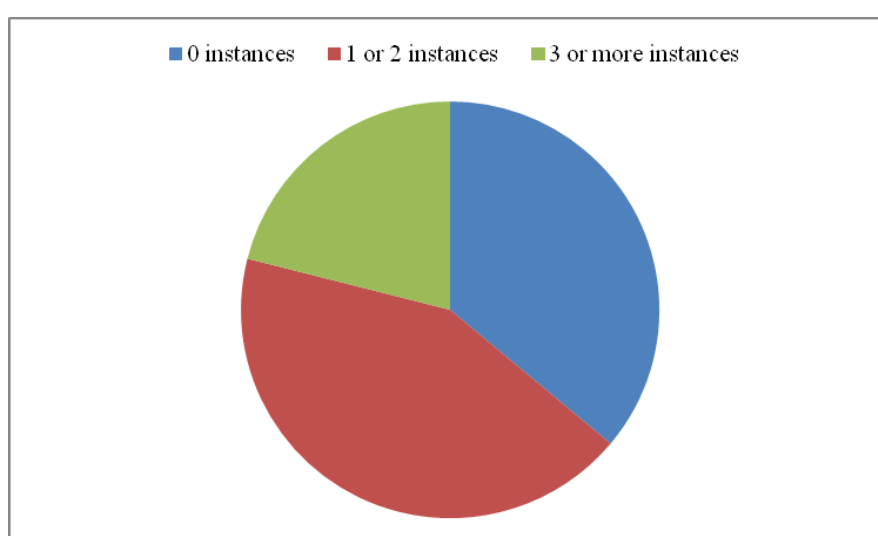
During the analysis of the compositions we realized that CLI was used differently depending on the student. In this sense, some participants used CLI recurrently while other avoided it. In order to explore the use of CLI, we analyzed the frequency with which student produced it and categorized different groups of use.

As we can observe in Table 5.10, three groups were identified. The first group accounted for the 36.1% of the students (n=48) and did not produce any CLI instance. The second group accounted for the 42.9% of the students (n=57) and produced 1 or 2 instances. And the third group accounted for the 21.1% of the students (n=28) and produced 3 or more CLI instances. Table 5.10 and Figure 5.8. illustrate the results.

Table 5.10. Differences in CLI

	0 instances	1-2 instances	3 or more instances
N. students	48	57	28
Percentage of the sample	36.1	42.9	21.1

Figure 5.8. Distribution of CLI instances according to frequency



These results indicated that the majority of the students (63.9%) used Basque and Spanish in their English (L3) writing at some point. The fact that the majority of the students that produced CLI produced few instances (between 1 and 2) shows that CLI was not a common strategy. Nonetheless, these results also indicate that the 21.1% of students (n=28) produced more than 3 instances in their writings and thus we say that CLI was used as a resource when writing in L3.

Distribution and source-language of CLI

In total, we found 110 types and 134 tokens of adapted loan words, and 60 types and 65 tokens of non-adapted loan words. Tables 5.11, 5.12 and 5.13

show these results according to the source language of the CLI instances. The source languages were Spanish and Basque, but we also identified a third category ‘ambiguous’ when it was not clear whether the source language was Spanish or Basque because the word was similar in both languages.

Table 5.11. Spanish as the source-language of CLI

N.students (n=74)	Non-adapted loan words		Adapted loan words	
	Type	Token	Type	Token
Nouns	41	43	38	54
Verbs	1	1	25	27
Adjectives	6	8	23	26
Adverbs	-	-	3	3
Prepositions	3	3	-	-
Pronouns	2	2	-	-
TOTAL	53	57	89	110

Table 5.12. Basque as the source-language of CLI

N.students (n=8)	Non-adapted loan words		Adapted loan words	
	Type	Token	Type	Token
Nouns	5	6	2	2
Adjectives	-	-	2	2
TOTAL	5	6	4	4

Table 5.13. Ambiguous source-language of CLI

N.students (n=16)	Non-adapted loan words		Adapted loan words	
	Type	Token	Type	Token
Nouns	2	2	8	9
Verbs	-	-	8	10
Adjectives	-	-	1	1
TOTAL	2	2	17	20

As we can observe, the CLI instances occur almost exclusively in content words, and three word-classes showed to be especially suitable: nouns, verbs and adjectives. In Tables 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16 we present the findings according to these three word-classes:

Table 5.14. CLI in nouns

	Non-adapted loan words		Adapted loan words	
	Type	Token	Type	Token
Basque CLI	5	6	2	2
Spanish CLI	41	43	38	54
Ambiguous CLI	2	2	8	9

As Table 5.14 shows, the findings of this study show that Spanish was the most common option for students to make crosslinguistic associations in nouns. As we will see in the section devoted to the findings of the qualitative

analysis, many of the instances we found were influenced by an overlap in meaning between the source and target languages.

Table 5.15: CLI in verbs

	Non-adapted loan words		Adapted loan words	
	Type	Token	Type	Token
Basque CLI	-	-	-	-
Spanish CLI	1	1	25	27
Ambiguous CLI	-	-	8	10

Table 5.15 shows that students almost exclusively adapted Spanish verbs when writing their compositions in English. This means that students perceived verbs as more flexible word forms than nouns for instance, as they adapted (mainly inflected) source-language roots to English verbal tenses.

Table 5.16: CLI in adjectives

	Non-adapted loan words		Adapted loan words	
	Type	Token	Type	Token
Basque CLI	-	-	-	-
Spanish CLI	6	8	23	26
Ambiguous CLI	-	-	1	1

Similarly, Table 5.16 shows that students mainly adapted Spanish adjectives when writing their compositions in English. Thus, it seems that our participants did also perceive adjective as flexible, and presumably adapted

them through derivative morphology from other Spanish word categories (e.g. from Spanish nouns or verbs).

In contrast, the only crosslinguistic instances we found for function words appeared to be Spanish non-adapted loan words produced by two Spanish L1 students. As mentioned in chapter 3, Paradis (2008) argued that L1-function words were processed by the procedural memory whereas L2-function words were processed in the declarative memory. Additionally, Bardel and Falk (2012) defended that this differentiation implied that CLI in function words was likely to occur from the L2. Our data shows that the few instances of crosslinguistic influence we found in function words were from students who had Spanish as their first language (L1). Yet, there are too few examples as to generalize.

In general, we discovered that Spanish instances were more frequent and varied. We found that Spanish CLI accounted for 6 word-class categories, whereas Basque CLI accounted for 2, and ambiguous CLI accounted for 3. Additionally, the 110 adapted loan words counted as tokens approximately doubled the amount of 57 non-adapted loan words in Spanish. In contrast, the instances with Basque as the source-language showed to be more often non-adapted (6 tokens) than adapted (2 tokens) and, in the case of ambiguous instances, we found 20 adapted loan words and 2 non-adapted loan words.

5.2.2. First language (L1) on CLI

Once we have given a first overview of the results, we can focus on answering the first research question of this study. As mentioned, we were interested in analyzing the influence of students' first language on the source-language of CLI. Therefore, we explored our participants' use of their

first (L1) and second languages (L2) in order to answer the first research sub-question which was:

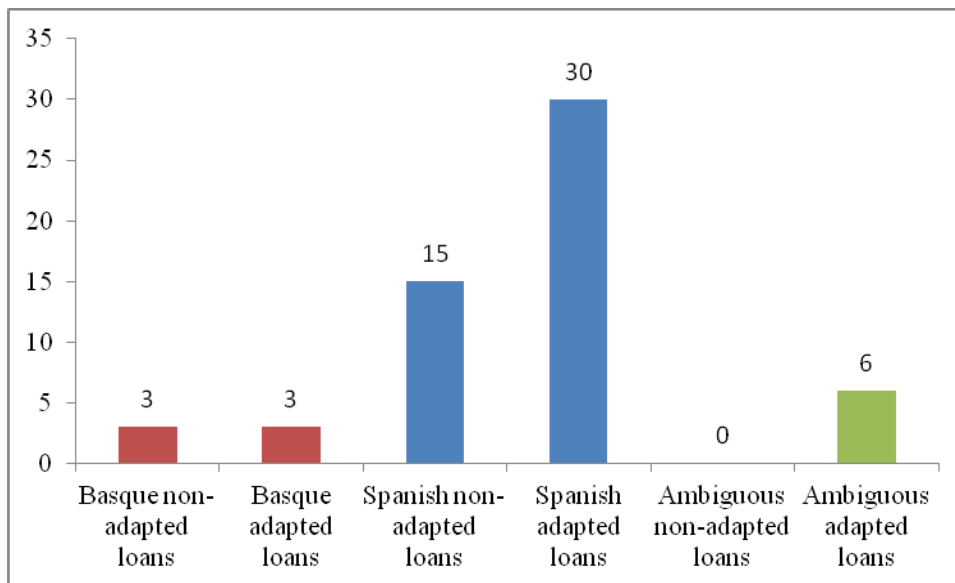
Research question 2.1. Does the mother tongue influence the choice of the source-language of CLI in the English writing?

In order to answer this question, we classified students according to their first language and created three L1 groups: Basque L1 speakers (n=41), Spanish L1 (n=51) speakers and early bilinguals (n=41). This section is further divided according to these three L1 groups.

Basque L1 students' crosslinguistic influence

Figure 5.9 shows the total number of times (or tokens) Basque L1 students produced CLI. Only the results for tokens are presented as the difference between the total number of types and tokens in the case of Basque L1 students was not significant. Specifically, the total number of types in which we found CLI was as follows: Basque non-adapted loans (3 instances), Basque adapted loans (3 instances), Spanish non-adapted loans (15 instances), Spanish adapted loans (29 instances), Ambiguous non-adapted loans (0 instances), and Ambiguous adapted loans (6 instances). Thus, we decided to show in figure 5.9 only the results for tokens.

Figure 5.9: Basque L1 students' CLI measured as tokens



As we can observe, Basque L1 speakers produced crosslinguistic instances far more often from their second language (Spanish) than from their first language (Basque) or from an ambiguous source. Additionally, the results indicated their trend to adapt their second language (L2) more frequently than what they used non-adapted words.

Spanish L1 students' crosslinguistic influence

In Figures 5.10 and 5.11 we show the total number of distinct manners (or types) and the total number of times (or tokens) in which Spanish L1 students produced CLI.

Figure 5.10: Spanish L1 students' CLI measured as types

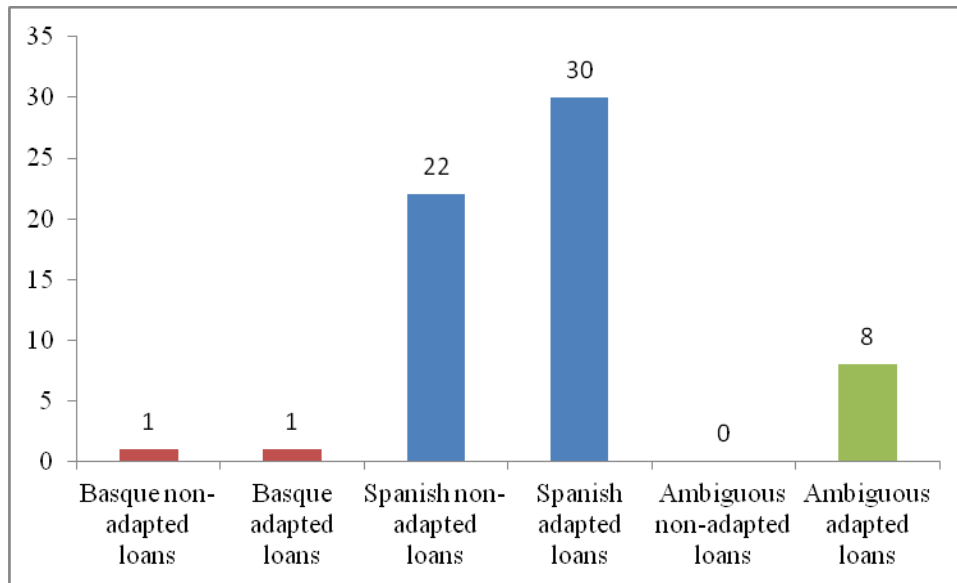
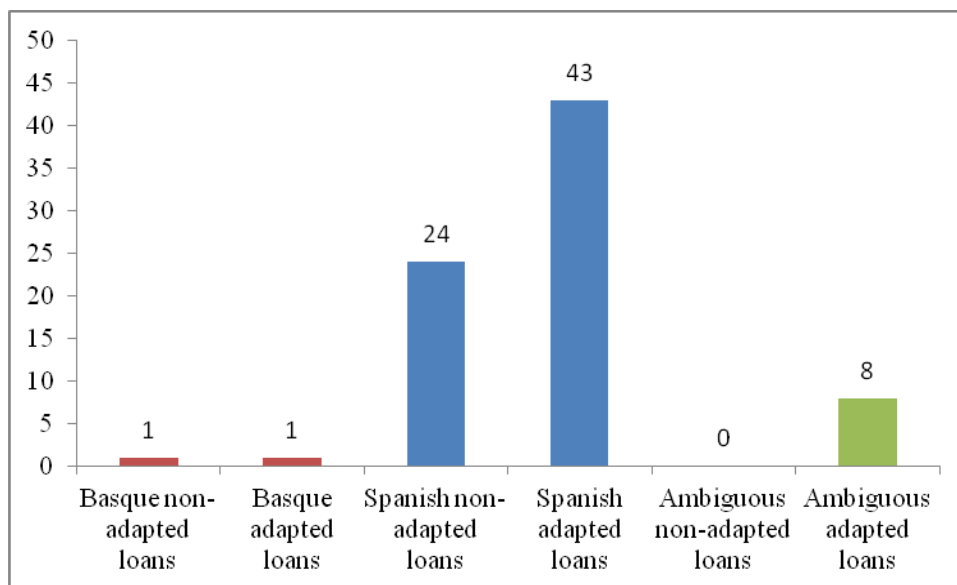


Figure 5.11: Spanish L1 students' CLI measured as tokens



As we can observe, Spanish L1 speakers used their first language predominantly, and crosslinguistic instances from Basque or an ambiguous source are very rare. In addition, Spanish L1 students showed to adapt their first language (L1) more often and in a more varied manner than what they used non-adapted words.

Early bilinguals' crosslinguistic influence

In Figures 5.12 and 5.13 we show the total number of distinct types and the total number tokens in which bilingual students produced CLI.

Figure 5.12: Bilinguals students' CLI measured as types

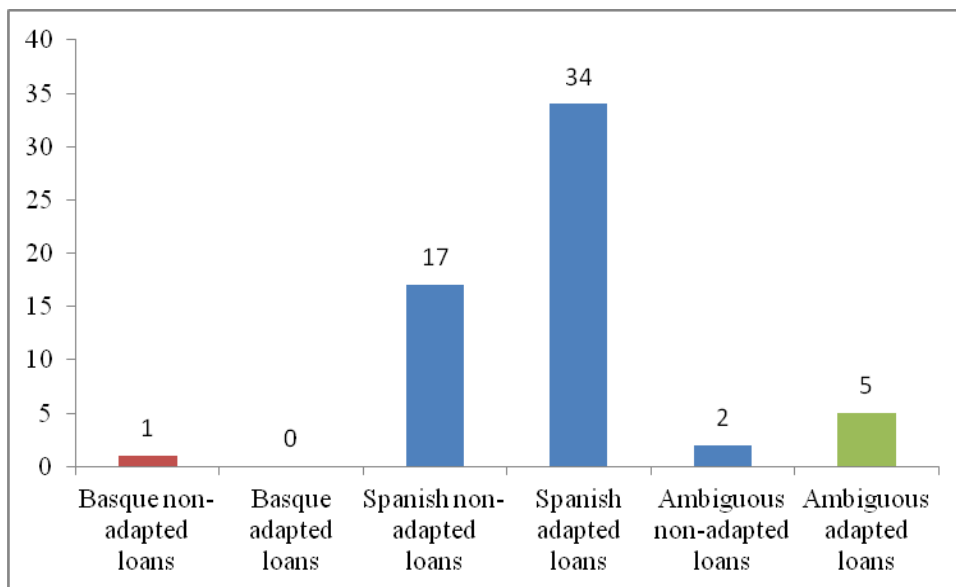
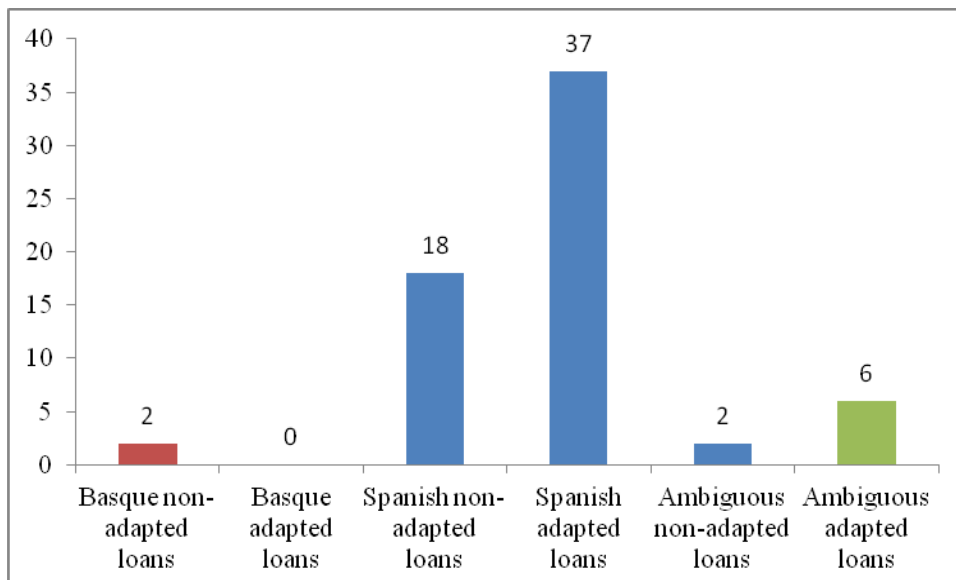


Figure 5.13: Bilinguals students' CLI measured as tokens



As we can observe, bilinguals used Spanish as the most recurrent source of language. Figures 5.12 and 5.13 show that they used more adapted loans than non-adapted words.

Comparison of CLI according to L1 groups

As we have previously seen, the first research question aimed at analyzing the differences between the three L1 groups. In order to make the analysis meaningful we labelled three CLI categories. The first category was named Basque CLI, and accounted for all the CLI instances that had Basque as its source-language. In the same manner, we labelled the second and the third categories: Spanish and Ambiguous CLI. Each category was further divided according to the type and token analysis.

We conducted a one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) to explore the impact of the L1 on levels of CLI, as measured by the three CLI categories (Basque, Spanish and Ambiguous). We conducted the ANOVA analysis twice. First with the CLI instances counted as types. Secondly, with the instances counted as tokens. Table 5.17 and 5.18 show the results.

Table 5.17: Differences between L1 groups in CLI types

	Basque L1 speakers (n=41)		Spanish L1 speakers (n=51)		Bilingual speakers (n=41)		F	Sig.
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>		
Basque CLI	.15	.35	.04	.28	.02	.15	2.411	.094
Spanish CLI	.95	1.17	1.02	1.39	1.24	1.28	.596	.553
Ambiguous CLI	.10	.15	.16	.418	.17	.49	.370	.692

The results of the analysis of variance (ANOVA) conducted to explore the relationship of the three L1 groups on the three source-languages of CLI counted as types indicates that there was no statistically significant difference between the three L1 speakers' groups. The differences between the three groups of L1 speakers on Basque CLI was not statistically significant $F(2,130)=2.411$, $p.<0.094$. The differences between the three groups of participants on Spanish CLI were not statistically significant either $F(2,130)=0.596$, $p.<0.553$. Finally, the differences between the three groups of participants on Ambiguous CLI were not statistically significant $F(2,130)=0.370$, $p.<0.692$. Therefore, the first language (L1) does not seem to be an important factor in the election of the source language of CLI in this study.

In addition, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to explore the relationship of the three L1 groups on the three source-languages of CLI counted as tokens.

Table 5.18: Differences between L1 groups in CLI tokens

	Basque L1 speakers (n=41)		Spanish L1 speakers (n=51)		Bilingual speakers (n=41)		F	Sig.
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>		
Basque CLI	.15	.35	.04	.28	.05	.31	1.517	.223
Spanish CLI	1.10	1.28	1.31	1.78	1.34	1.42	.319	.728
Ambiguous CLI	.15	.47	.16	.41	.20	.55	.118	.889

As shown in Table 5.18, there was no statistically significant difference between the three L1 speakers' groups. The differences between the three groups of participants on Basque CLI was not statistically significant $F(2.130)=1.517$, $p.<0.223$. The differences between the three groups of participants on Spanish CLI were not statistically significant $F(2.130)=0.319$, $p.<0.728$. Finally, the differences between the three groups of participants on Ambiguous CLI were not statistically significant either $F(2.130)=0.118$, $p.<0.889$.

5.2.3. Proficiency in target and source languages

As we have explained in chapter 3, in the literature about CLI the factor proficiency is investigated in two directions: proficiency in the target language and proficiency in the source-language(s).

Regarding proficiency in the target language, most of the researchers maintain that CLI is more frequent in low proficiency levels (Navés et al., 2005; Sikogukira, 1993; Williams and Hammarberg, 1998). Nonetheless, some researchers underline the difference between positive and negative CLI as related to proficiency level in the target language.

According to De Angelis (2007), at early stages of acquisition CLI is often negative, whereas positive CLI is found more often in advanced stages of learning where learners benefit from their knowledge of other languages. Negative transfer occurs when the influence of the source-language on the target language results in error. On the subject of research on positive versus negative transfer, Ringbom (1986) underlines the comparative ease of identifying negative CLI when compared to positive CLI. In his words, 'it is difficult to determine exactly the extent of positive influence, compared with

negative influence, since the only tangible signs of cross-linguistic influence are negative ones' (1986, pp.160). Thus we say that crosslinguistic influence is a wider topic of research than what we can analyze exploring only the negative influence evident in errors.

Proficiency in the source-language has been related to the type of CLI, meaning or form based (e.g., Kroll eta Stewart, 1994). According to Ringbom (1987), transfer of form is a relatively superficial type of transfer and thus language proficiency in the source-language does not need to be high. In contrast, he defended that transfer of meaning required a high proficiency level in the source language as it implied a deeper knowledge of the language. Considering this, we focus this section in answering the second research sub-question of this study:

Research question 2.2. How is crosslinguistic influence related to proficiency in the target and the source languages?

Proficiency in the target language

In order to answer this question, we evaluated the 133 compositions written by our participants for each of the languages (n=399) using the revised rubric proposed by Polio (2013). As mentioned in the methodological chapter, the 399 compositions were assessed by three evaluators. The scores presented above are the mean scores obtained by the sum of the three evaluations divided by the number of evaluators; therefore, divided by three.

The rubric accounted for a maximum of 100 points divided into five categories: content (20 points max), organization (20 points max), vocabulary (20 points max), language use (20 points max) and mechanics (20 points max). The scores presented below are the overall writing quality

scores obtained by the students, which are the sum of the scores obtained in each of the five categories.

Table 5.19 shows the average scores and the standard deviation obtained by all our participants (n=133) for their writings in each of the languages.

Table 5.19. Proficiency scores in Spanish, Basque and English compositions

Spanish compositions		Basque compositions		English compositions	
<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
69.23	9.67	56.02	10.33	47.86	11.82

As we can observe, students showed the highest proficiency level in Spanish, followed by Basque and English. Moreover, the standard deviation shows to be the highest in English, followed by Basque and Spanish.

In order to analyse whether proficiency in the target language (English) had an effect on CLI, we divided our sample using the 33th percentile in SPSS Statistics and obtained the following proficiency groups: low proficient (n=48), intermediate proficient (n=42) and highly proficient (n=43) English learners.

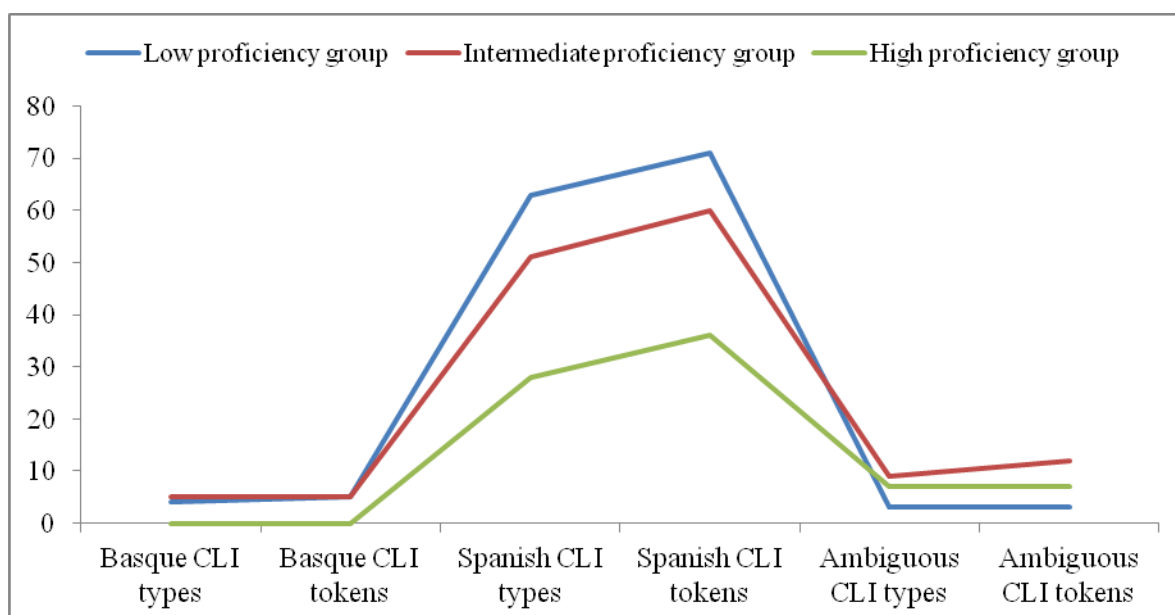
The group of low proficient learners scored from 18.33 to 42.3 points in the proficiency evaluation (M=34.76); the group of intermediate proficient learners scored from 42.3 to 52.3 points (M=46.89); and the group of high proficient learners scored from 52.3 to 78.48 points (M=58.87). In Table 5.20 we show the means and standard deviations for each group.

Table 5.20. English proficiency groups' scores

Low proficient (n=43)		Intermediate proficiency (n=45)		High proficiency (n=45)	
<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
34.76	5.67	46.89	3.15	58.87	5.26

Figure 5.14 shows the distribution of the CLI instances according to English proficiency groups:

Figure 5.14: Distribution of CLI instances according to English proficiency groups



As we can observe, low proficient learners of English produced overall more CLI instances than intermediate and high proficient learners of English. These results mean that CLI was a commoner option within the lowest proficiency group in the target language.

As mentioned, we aimed at analyzing the relationship between proficiency level in the target language and CLI. Consequently, we conducted a one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) to explore the impact of different English proficiency levels on CLI as measured by the three CLI categories (Basque, Spanish and Ambiguous) counted as types and tokens. In Table 5.21 we present the results.

Table 5.21. Differences between English proficiency groups for each of the CLI categories counted as types and tokens.

	Low proficiency (n=43)		Intermediate proficiency (n=45)		High proficiency (n=45)		F	Sig.
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>		
Basque CLI types	.09	.29	.11	.38	.00	.00	2.056	.132
Basque CLI tokens	.12	.39	.11	.38	.00	.00	1.946	.147
Spanish CLI types	1.47	1.57	1.13	1.21	.62	.80	5.212	.007**
Spanish CLI tokens	1.65	1.77	1.13	1.52	.80	1.14	3.650	.029*
Ambiguous CLI types	.07	.25	.20	.45	.16	.47	1.139	.323
Ambiguous CLI tokens	.07	.25	.27	.61	.16	.47	1.893	.155

As shown in Table 5.21 we found statistically significant difference at the $p < .05$ level in Spanish CLI categories for the three English proficiency groups. The differences between the three proficiency groups of English on Basque CLI counted as types $F(2.130)=2.056$, $p < 0.132$ and as tokens $F(2.130)=1.946$, $p < 0.147$ were not statistically significant. Additionally, the differences between the three proficiency groups of English on Ambiguous CLI counted types $F(2.130)=1.139$, $p < 0.323$ and as tokens $F(2.130)=1.893$, $p < 0.155$ were not statistically significant. Yet, the differences between the three proficiency groups of English on Spanish CLI counted as types were statistically significant $F(2.130)=5.212$, $p < 0.007$. The differences between the three proficiency groups of English on Spanish CLI counted as tokens $F(2.130)=3.650$, $p < 0.029$ were significant as well. Therefore, proficiency in the target language was a significant factor both in the case of types and tokens when looking at the use of Spanish as the source-language of CLI.

Proficiency in the source languages

The second research question of this study also aimed at analyzing whether the proficiency in the source languages had an effect on CLI. For that purpose, we formed three proficiency groups based on the scores obtained in the evaluation of the compositions written in Spanish and Basque.

As shown in Table 5.19, students obtained higher scores in their first and second languages. To be precise, they achieve the highest scores in Spanish ($M=69.23$) followed by Basque ($M=56.02$), and the Standard Deviation in Spanish ($SD=9.67$) and Basque ($SD=10.33$) showed to be lower than the Standard Deviation in English ($SD=11.82$).

Proficiency in Basque

In order to analyse whether proficiency in Basque had an effect on CLI, we divided our sample using the 33th percentile in SPSS Statistics and obtained the following groups: low proficient (n=44), intermediate proficient (n=46) and highly proficient (n=43) group of Basque learners.

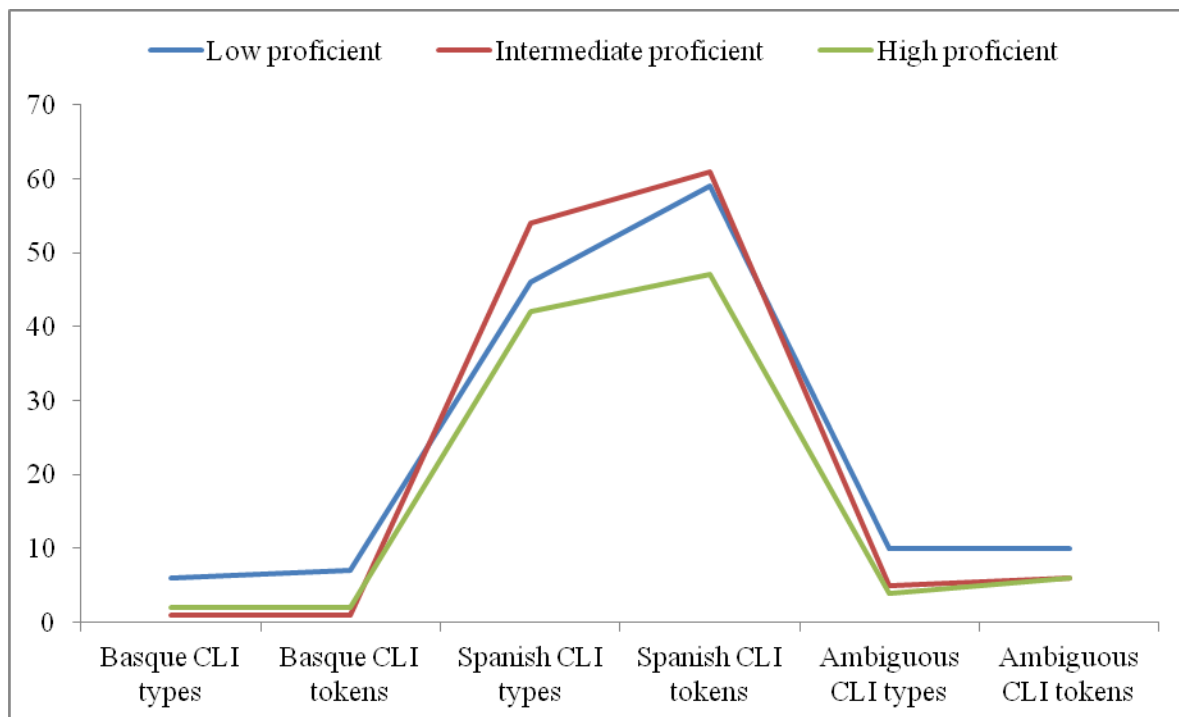
The group of low proficient learners scored from 12 to 52 points (M=45.63); the group of intermediate proficient learners scored from 52 to 60 points (M=56.87); and the group of high proficient learners scored from 60 to 88 points (M=67.45). In Table 5.22 we present these results.

Table 5.22. Basque proficiency groups' scores

Low proficient (n=44)		Intermediate proficiency (n=46)		High proficiency (n=43)	
<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
45.63	7.78	56.87	2.30	67.45	6.67

Figure 5.15 shows that the distribution of the CLI instances according to Basque proficiency groups appeared to be as follows:

Figure 5.15: Distribution of CLI instances according to Basque proficiency groups



As we can observe, low proficient learners of Basque produced overall more CLI instances than intermediate and high proficiency learners of Basque. These results mean that CLI was a more common option within lower proficiency groups also in the case of one of the source-languages (Basque).

The second research question of this study aimed partly at analyzing the relationship between proficiency level in Basque and CLI. Consequently, we conducted a one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) to explore the impact of different proficiency levels of Basque in CLI, as measured by the three CLI categories (Basque, Spanish and Ambiguous) counted as types and tokens. Table 5.23 shows these results.

Table 5.23. Differences between Basque proficiency groups for each of the CLI categories counted as types and tokens.

	Low proficiency (n=44)		Intermediate proficiency (n=46)		High proficiency (n=43)		F	Sig.
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>		
Basque CLI types	.14	.40	.02	.14	.05	.21	2.091	.128
Basque CLI tokens	.16	.47	.02	.14	.05	.21	2.425	.092
Spanish CLI types	1.05	1.25	1.17	1.35	.98	1.25	.273	.762
Spanish CLI tokens	1.34	1.65	1.33	1.50	1.09	1.42	.358	.699
Ambiguous CLI types	.23	.56	.11	.31	.09	.29	1.413	.247
Ambiguous CLI tokens	.23	.56	.13	.40	.14	.46	.547	.580

As shown in table 5.23, the differences between the groups were not statistically different at the $p < .05$ level. The differences between the three proficiency groups of Basque on Basque CLI regarding types $F(2,130)=2.091$, $p < 0.128$ and tokens $F(2,130)=2.425$, $p < 0.092$ were not statistically significant. Additionally, the differences between the three proficiency groups of Basque on Spanish CLI types $F(2,130)=.273$, $p < 0.762$ and tokens $F(2,130)=.358$, $p < 0.699$ were not statistically significant. Finally, the differences between the three proficiency groups of Basque on Ambiguous CLI types $F(2,130)=1.413$, $p < 0.247$ and tokens $F(2,130)=.547$,

$p < 0.580$ were not statistically significant either. Consequently, proficiency in Basque did not show to be a significant factor regarding the source language of tokens and types.

Proficiency in Spanish

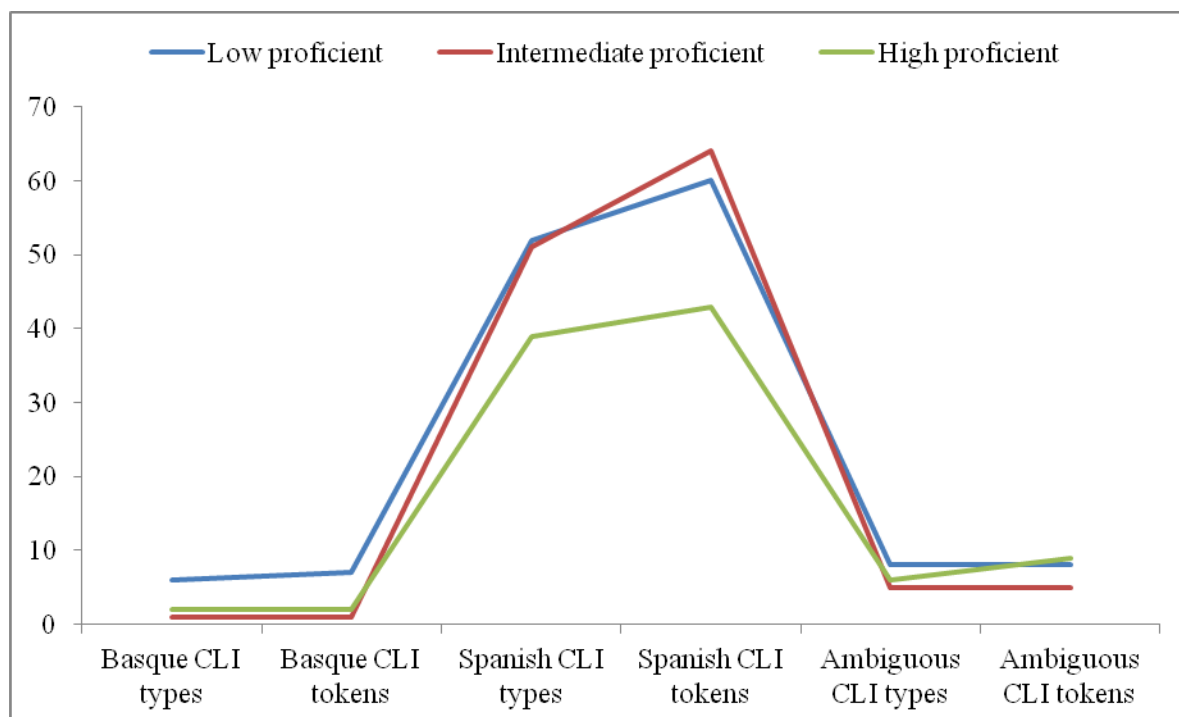
In order to analyse whether proficiency in Spanish had an effect on CLI, we divided our sample using the 33th percentile in SPSS Statistics and obtained the following groups: low proficient (n=44), intermediate proficient (n=44) and highly proficient (n=45) group of English learners. The group of low proficient learners scored from 34 to 66, and the average was 58.93. The group of intermediate proficient learners scored from 66 to 73 and the average was 69.73. The group of high proficient learners scored from 73 to 96, and the average was 79.51. In Table 5.24 we show the results.

Table 5.24. Spanish proficiency groups' scores

Low proficient (n=44)		Intermediate proficiency (n=44)		High proficiency (n=45)	
<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
58.93	7.35	69.73	2.11	79.51	4.99

Figure 5.16 shows the distribution of the CLI instances according to Spanish proficiency groups appeared to be as follows:

Figure 5.16: Distribution of CLI instances according to Spanish proficiency groups



As we can observe, low and intermediate proficient learners of Spanish produced overall more CLI instances than high proficiency learners of Spanish. These results mean that CLI was a more common option within lower and intermediate proficiency groups also in the case of Spanish as source-language.

As mentioned, the second research question aimed at analyzing the relationship between proficiency level in Spanish and CLI. Consequently, we conducted a one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) to explore the impact of different proficiency levels in Spanish on CLI, as measured by the three CLI categories (Basque, Spanish and Ambiguous) counted as types and tokens. Table 5.25 shows these results.

Table 5.25. Differences between Spanish proficiency groups for each of the CLI categories counted as types and tokens.

	Low proficiency (n=44)		Intermediate proficiency (n=44)		High proficiency (n=45)		F	Sig.
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>		
Basque CLI types	.14	.40	.02	.15	.04	.20	2.071	.130
Basque CLI tokens	.16	.47	.02	.15	.04	.20	2.409	.094
Spanish CLI types	1.18	1.40	1.16	1.2	.87	1.17	.847	.431
Spanish CLI tokens	1.36	1.61	1.45	1.62	.96	1.31	1.362	.260
Ambiguous CLI types	.18	.49	.11	.32	.13	.40	.318	.728
Ambiguous CLI tokens	.18	.49	.11	.32	.20	.58	.396	.674

As shown in Table 5.25, the differences between the groups were not statistically different at the $p < .05$ level. The differences between the three proficiency groups of Spanish on Basque CLI types $F(2,130)=2.071$, $p < 0.130$ and tokens $F(2,130)=2.409$, $p < 0.094$ showed to be statistically non significant. Additionally, the differences between the three proficiency groups of Spanish on Spanish CLI types $F(2,130)=.847$, $p < 0.431$ and tokens $F(2,130)=1.362$, $p < 0.260$ were not statistically significant. Finally, the differences between the three proficiency groups of Spanish on Ambiguous

CLI types $F(2.130)=.318$, $p.<0.728$ and tokens $F(2.130)=.396$, $p.<0.674$ were statistically significant either. Consequently, proficiency in Spanish is not a factor in the case of tokens or types.

In sum, the results obtained in this study show that while proficiency in the target language appears to be an influential factor for types and tokens in CLI, the proficiency level in the source-languages is not.

5.2.4. Crosslinguistic influence and multilingual writing strategies

In this section, we present the results on lexical CLI we found in the quantitative analysis in non-adapted and adapted loan words, and we describe their relationship with the multilingual writing strategies we discovered during the qualitative analysis. As we will see, while the quantitative analysis was useful to see the relationship between CLI, source languages and proficiency level, the qualitative analysis offered us the possibility to discover some features and writing strategies used by the multilingual participants of this study that were not evident in the quantitative analysis.

Thus, we focus this section on answering the third research question of this study:

Research question 2.3. What strategies do multilingual writers use when they adapt (or not) their previous languages in English writing?

Lexical crosslinguistic influence in non-adapted loan words

As we have explained in chapter 3, lexical crosslinguistic instances that occur in production take a wide range of different forms that show the influence of source languages' form and meanings differently. In this section, we present the findings and describe the strategies that lie beneath

the instances that show a formal crosslinguistic influence in non-adapted loan words.

Non-adapted loan words as a lexical multilingual strategy in L3 writing

Quantitatively, non-adapted loan words appeared to be less frequent and less varied than adapted loan words. As mentioned, the predominant source-language showed to be Spanish and crosslinguistic instances appeared to be especially frequent in one of the word classes, in nouns.

As we know, students were given the opportunity of writing either a description of a picture or a story based on that picture. Given that option, 18% (n=24) of the students wrote a narration and the other 82% (n=109) wrote a description. In the case of 3 compositions (students nr 74, nr 92, and nr 105), we found features of both genres. For instance, student nr 74 described the picture as if it would be her house and therefore mixed description with story-telling. In those cases, we decided to classify the compositions based on the type of writing that most stood out. Table 5.26 shows the distribution of the non-adapted nouns according to the text type.

Table 5.26: Distribution of non-adapted nouns according to the text type

	DESCRIPTION (N=109)			NARRATION (N=24)		
	N.	M	SD	N.	M	SD
	tokens			tokens		
Basque CLI	4	.04	.23	2	.083	.28
Spanish CLI	37	.34	.72	6	0.25	.44
Ambiguous CLI	2	.02	.13	0	.00	.00

Non-adapted Spanish nouns

We found two common features regarding non-adapted Spanish nouns. Quantitatively, we recognized that students produced a similar amount of instances when describing and telling a story. Qualitatively, we noticed that they appeared to be sensitive about using Spanish nouns in their English compositions as they enclosed them in double quotes.

During the qualitative analysis, we found that many of the compositions included long lists of the objects that appeared in the picture given for the writing task. In those cases, we identified that the students used non-adapted nouns when they needed to name the objects, persons and actions shown in the picture.

Excerpt 4 and 5 are illustrative of the first strategy we found where students used non-adapted nouns from their first or second language as a strategy for naming unknown vocabulary in third language writing.

Excerpt 4: Taken from the composition of student nr 50

“The left side have to be the children room because adults don’t sleep in “literas”, also due to the animal posters and the big amount of toys. In the top of the picture we have 2 parts. another children room because we see “Peluches” and hearts and a kind of “trastero” because lots of things are collected there”

Excerpt 5: Taken from the composition of student nr 14

“The third one is the room of babies, and it have one “litera”, a sofa, a table ... The five one is the bathroom and it have a washing machine, two “lavavos” and a “bañera”. The six one is the “trastero”

As we can observe, students nr 50 and nr 14 used non-adapted Spanish nouns when depicting the objects given by the writing task. We found that among the students who used non-adapted Spanish nouns in more than three occasions during their compositions (students nr 45, nr 50 and nr 14) enclosing them in double quotes was a shared strategy. We think that the marking of the CLI instances ultimately reflects that students were sensitive about using a language other than the target as these words would not need any marking otherwise.

Interestingly enough, we identified that most of those instances were repeated among the students as they predominantly referred to the same unknown vocabulary. For instance, we found that the word ‘salon’ (=living-room) (e.g. students nr 95, nr 109 and nr 113), ‘litera’ (=bunk) (e.g. students nr 14 and nr 50), ‘almacén’ (=storage-room) (e.g. students nr 04 and nr 10), or ‘sótano’ (=basement) (e.g. students nr 14, nr 21, nr 45, nr 50 and nr 59) were repeated in some compositions.

We also found that non-adapted Spanish nouns were used for proper nouns that referred to places (e.g. students nr 17, nr 103, nr 118). In some of the instances, students appeared not to be conscious of the English form of the places, as none of the instances appeared to be enclosed in double quotes. Excerpt 6 is an example of this:

Excerpt 6: From the composition of the student nr 103

“They come from the cool Antartida”

Non-adapted Basque nouns

We found only 6 instances in which students showed to use their Basque knowledge in English. However, we found one case in which the instance

showed to be illustrative of some of the ideas we came across in the theoretical framework.

Excerpt 7: From the composition of the student nr 142

“number 4 is the “komuna” and there is a shower”

Excerpt 7 shows how student nr 142 used a Basque (L2) non-adapted noun in his English composition (L3) and that he was sensitive enough as to enclose the instance in double quotes. Thanks to the background questionnaire, we know Basque is the students' second language. We think that the reason why he chose Basque as the source-language of CLI could be possibly explained as having been influenced by the socio-linguistic context where the instance occurred, and the L2-factor.

Non-adapted function words

Our quantitative data indicated that the only crosslinguistic instances found for function words were non-adapted prepositions and pronouns. Yet, the qualitative analysis showed that these instances appeared only when embedded in larger standing expressions. For instance, in the expressions ‘todo a cien’ (from student nr 80) or ‘Bacalao al pil pil’ (from student nr 80). Thus, the qualitative analysis showed that crosslinguistic influence in function words only occurred if other content words were being introduced with no adaptation, never isolated. In addition, the crosslinguistic instances found for function words showed to be from L1 Spanish speakers.

Briefly, we identified two multilingual writing strategies related to non-adapted loan words that were repeated by our participants in the case of Spanish non-adapted nouns. On the one hand, we found that students used non-adapted Spanish nouns in a similar way when describing or telling a story. Therefore, it seems that CLI is a strategy used in different types of

texts. We identified that students used non-adapted Spanish nouns as a strategy to describe unknown places and objects whenever those objects are given beforehand. On the other hand, we found that most of the students showed to use orthographical marking (e.g. brackets or double quotes) in non-adapted Spanish nouns to express they were aware of using a language other than the target language. Thanks to the qualitative analysis, we also detected individual instances where the L2-factor and the linguistic context appeared to influence the selection of the source-language of crosslinguistic influence, and that non-adapted function words appeared to be embedded into larger standing expressions that contained content words. Additionally, those instances appeared to be from students' first language and not, as we could have thought, from the L2.

Lexical crosslinguistic influence in adapted-loan words

During the qualitative analysis of the compositions we discovered that students were not only using their lexical knowledge, but also their morphological awareness when adapting loan words. According to Oz, morphological awareness (MA) means 'the explicit knowledge of the smallest meaningful units of language, including derivational (e.g., *-er/-or*, *-tion*, *un-*, *re-*) morphemes (i.e., suffixes and prefixes) and inflectional (e.g., *-ed*, *-s*, *-ing*, *est*) markers (i.e., suffixes)' (2014, pp. 99-100).

In this section, we will describe the multilingual writing strategies students showed to share based on their morphological awareness (MA). These strategies include the morpho-semantic processing of lexemes, derivational morphemes and inflectional markers as they showed to be based on meaning, not on their form (see also section 3.3.2).

Yet, three main ideas need to be underlined before starting this section. Firstly, we consider important to explain that some of the errors presented in this section may not be due only to crosslinguistic influence. As we will see, in some of the cases determining whether the errors were inter or intralingual was not a clear-cut. For instance, in examples such as ‘childrens’. As we can observe, this error could be an interlingual error as it could be reflecting the influence of the Spanish plural marking, but it could also be an intralingual error as it could be reflecting that the student overgeneralized the English plural marking which also consists in the adding of an –s to the word ‘children’ which is an exception.

Secondly, we consider important to mention that in this section we have explained the processes behind the adaptation of the instances. However, these processes do take milliseconds and they are probably not as conscious as they appear to be when describing them step by step. Therefore, taking this into consideration is important as we are aware of these limitations.

Thirdly, we consider important to explain that the instances presented in this section are only the tangible signs of CLI which appear as errors. Thus we think that crosslinguistic influence is a wider subject of research, and that measuring it only analysing the errors in writing is also a limitation.

Adapting loan words as a lexical multilingual strategy in L3 writing

Quantitatively, adapted loan words appeared to be more frequent and varied than non-adapted loan words. As mentioned, the predominant source-language showed to be Spanish and crosslinguistic instances appeared to be especially frequent in three word classes: nouns (n=54), verbs (n=27) and adjectives (n=26).

Overall, we discovered that students used a wide range of strategies based on their morphological awareness to come up with target-like vocabulary. We suspect that this morphological awareness helped them in many occasions in their success when creating actual English vocabulary. However, in this section we only present the instances in which students used their morphological awareness but failed, as only in those instances can we identify that they were actually using it.

We must say that we found no examples of morpho-orthographic processing, as the morphological strategies students shared were based on the meaning of the morphemes (see also section 3.3.2). In fact, we recognized that our participants were using what we could call a ‘multilingual morphological awareness’, as their instances included the awareness in the form, meaning and use of morphemes from more than one language.

Strategy 1: Adapting lexical morphology

Presumably, this first strategy includes the following steps. First, the writer selects the item that best accommodates her or his needs valuing its conceptual, functional and discursive aspects. Then, she or he applies the source-language lexeme to the target language derivation or grammatical marking.

The following excerpts and examples are illustrative of this strategy. In the case of lexical morphemes, these strategies appeared to be linked to the word-class. Thus, we decided to present them accordingly.

Morphological strategies adapting nouns

Regarding the multilingual writing strategies beneath the adapted loan nouns, we found that the lexical morphemes they implied were nominal lexemes from Spanish, Basque or both.

In Excerpt 8 we see how student nr 113 adapted the Spanish lexical morpheme ‘plant-’ in order to express ‘floor’ (Eng.). The fact that the Spanish word ‘planta’ is the equivalent of the English word ‘floor’ motivated the selection of this lexeme (*planta=floor*). Later, student nr 113 adapted this lexeme to the English grammatical marking. Specifically, we found that she deleted the Spanish gender mark in order to suit the requirements of English grammar. This same example was found in the compositions of students nr 27, nr 45 and nr 152.

Excerpt 8: From the composition of student nr 113

“On the second plant in the left it is a room”

Morphological strategies adapting verbs

Regarding the multilingual writing strategies beneath the adapted loan verbs, we found that the lexical morphemes they implied were verbal lexemes with an ambiguous or Spanish source. During the analysis of the compositions we recognized these strategies to be related to the verb form they were based on: non-finite forms and finite forms.

In the case of non-finite forms, we identified that quite frequently students used verbal forms which have an equivalent in Spanish or Basque. Additionally, the manner in which they used that verb showed many times an influence from the source-language. Here, we present an example of this:

Excerpt 9: From the composition of student nr 17.

‘They like the city of Washington to install their lives’

In Excerpt 9, we see how student nr 17 uses the English lexeme ‘install’ influenced by the Spanish use of the verb ‘instalar’ as in Spanish it would be correct to say ‘para instalarse’ meaning ‘to settle’. The formal relatedness of

both forms influenced clearly student's election. However, in the context of this sentence the English verb 'to install' (Eng.) is incorrect.

All the instances we found in non-finite forms showed this same influence: all of them used the English equivalent of Spanish and Basque verb and students used them in the same contexts as they would use them in their first (L1) or second (L2) languages. As far as these instances are not representative of formal CLI (see also Ringbom, 1987) we decided not to include them in the following section. Thus, this section is focused on the CLI instances we found in finite verb forms.

Adapting finite verbs

In this study, adapted finite verbs appeared to have a Spanish or an ambiguous source of influence. Yet, we found two typical cases. On the one hand, we encountered some instances where the lexical morphemes were directly borrowed from Spanish and had no formal similarity with the target intended verb. On the other, we found some cases where the original source-language of the instances appeared not to be clear due to its Latin origin and the formal similarities Spanish and English share.

As we will see, the sharing of vocabulary among the Indo-European languages (e.g. English and Spanish) and the sharing of some vocabulary between Spanish and Basque due to a situation of language contact made possible for students to make several identifications among the languages in adapted finite verb forms. In this section, we will present some illustrative examples of both cases:

Adding flexive morphology to Spanish lexemes

Excerpt 10: From the composition of the student nr 77

“this was a rural house that a lot of families alquiled”

Excerpt 10 showed student nr 77 adapting a Spanish lexeme to English flexive morphology. In this case, he selected the lexeme ‘alquil-(ar)’ (=to rent) and added the past tense flexive morpheme ‘-ed’. As we see, there are no formal similarities between the intended and the produced instance. However, they are equivalent. The following similar examples were found in the compositions of students nr 20, nr 31, nr 76 and nr 90:

Example: ‘situ-ar’ (Sp.) > ‘situa(t)-ed’ meaning ‘located’ (Eng.) (from the compositions of students nr 31, nr 76 and nr 90)

Example: ‘disfrut-ar (Sp.) > ‘disfruta(t)-ed’ meaning ‘enjoyed’ (Eng.) (from the compositions of student nr 20)

Adding flexive morphology to ambiguous lexemes

As mentioned, during the analysis of the compositions we identified that students used several times romance lexical morphemes in order to create finite forms. In those instances, students selected the romance lexeme from her or his knowledge of both languages (Spanish and English) and adapted it according to their first or second language (Spanish). As a consequence, the formal crosslinguistic influence appeared not to be evident. We found this to happen in instances such as ‘he is prepared to have lunch’ instead of ‘he is ready to have lunch’ (from the composition of student nr 42).

Interestingly enough, we found that some of the students used the main verb in English while translating its preposition from Basque or Spanish. For instance, ‘talking with’ from the Basque form ‘norbaitekin hitz egin’ (-ekin = with) or from the Spanish form ‘hablar con’ (con=with) instead of ‘talking to’ (Eng.) (from the composition of the student nr 20, nr 103, 109) or

‘talking between’ from the Basque ‘elkarren artean hitz egiten’ (*artean=between*) or from the Spanish form ‘hablar entre’ (*entre=between*) instead of ‘talking to’ (Eng.) (from the composition of the student nr 28). While these instances show an influence from the students’ L1 and L2, it is not formal CLI as they do not show any formal similarity with students L1 or L2 (see also Ringbom, 1987).

Morphological strategies adapting adjectives

Regarding the multilingual writing strategies behind the adapted loan adjectives, we found that the lexical morphemes they implied were lexemes with an ambiguous or Spanish source. In addition, we also found instances based on meaning. As mentioned in chapter 3, CLI based on meaning has been related to high proficiency levels in the source-language. The results of this study show that this could be the case. During the analysis of the compositions we recognized that students added English derivative morpheme to these ambiguous or Spanish lexemes. Here, we present some of the most illustrative examples:

Adding derivative morphology to Spanish lexemes

During the analysis of the compositions we also found that students adapted derivative morphology to Spanish lexemes. For instance, we found this to happen in the compositions written by student nr 18 when she wrote ‘constituted’ instead of ‘based’.

Another interesting thing we found about adapted adjectives was that students appeared to relate some of the target-language derivative morphemes with others from the source-languages. Here we can only show the instances that came up as errors. However, making such correspondences has been shown to be an effective learning strategy (see also chapter 3). For

instance, student nr 32 did the wrong correspondence between the English morpheme ‘-ed’ and the Spanish morpheme ‘-ante’ instead of with the Spanish morpheme ‘-ado’ as shown in the following example:

Excerpt 11: From the composition of the student nr 32

“those couples are having a relaxed time in the living room.”

In this case, we observe how student nr 32 wrote ‘a relaxed time’ instead of ‘a relaxing time’. Similarly, student nr 123 did a similar wrong correspondence between the English morpheme ‘-ing’ and the Spanish morpheme ‘-ante’ instead of with the Spanish morpheme ‘-ado’ as we can see following example:

Excerpt 12: From the composition of the student nr 123

“She’s very exciting and amussing”

In this case, we observe how student nr 123 did the same wrong correspondence but vice versa. In this case, he identified the English morpheme “-ing” with the Spanish morpheme “-ado” instead of with the Spanish morpheme “-ante”. This may explain why he wrote ‘exciting’ (= *excitante*) instead of ‘excited’ (= *excitado*).

Strategy 2: Adapting derivative morphology

As we have seen derivative morphemes add meaning to the base of the word. In this sense, they have a clear semantic content. The adding of derivative morphemes can change the grammatical categories of words by prefixing and suffixing, and thus this strategy showed to be very resourceful when students tried to come up with L3 vocabulary.

Presumably, this second strategy includes the following steps. First, the writer lacks the knowledge of expressing an intended meaning. She or he tries to find the closest lexical item (probably a word) in her or his lexicon. In the selection of that item, multilingual students evaluate the conceptual, functional and discursive aspects in order to choose the one that accommodates best to their communicative needs. If the writer finds a close L3 lexeme, she or he will theoretically try to adapt that one. If not, she or he will probably select the closest L1/L2 lexeme for the intended meaning. Once the selection of the base lexeme is concluded, the writer tries to find the meaning she or he needs to add to the base form. In that selection, the writer looks up all the available derivative morphemes she or he has in her or his multilingual lexicon, and checks the suitability of all the ‘active’ morphemes until she or he ‘selects’ the one that will serve in this instance.

The following excerpts are illustrative of students adapting grammatical derivative morphemes. As mentioned, in some cases the base form of the instances showed to be from one language and the derivative morphemes from another. In other cases, the base and the derivative morphemes showed to be from the target language (or ambiguous) even if they showed a source-language meaning or use.

In sum, we found two ways in which the students strategically adapted derivative morphology. In this section, we include the examples as related to these two ways, so as they ultimately reflect the interaction between the morphological awareness of more than one language.

Source-language base and target-language derivation

The first possible option recognized in our data was based on the instances that showed a source-language base and a target-language derivation. Here we present some of the most illustrative examples:

Excerpt 13: From the composition of student nr 78

“Near to the anuncment table it is a yellow door”

As shown in Excerpt 13, student nr 78 selected the Spanish lexeme ‘anunc’ probably from the word ‘anuncio’ (=commercial). Then, she added the suffix and derivative morpheme ‘-ment’ from English in order to add its meaning (=the result of).

Ambiguous base and ambiguous derivation

During the analysis of the compositions we observed that some of the instances showed to have an ambiguous origin in the base form and/or in the deviational morphemes. The sharing of both languages’ vocabulary and some derivational morphemes from Latin or Greek complicated the endeavour of differentiating the source language of each of the forms. In any case, we detected that this shared origin and similarities triggered the instances, as they showed to be prefixes and suffixes more often used by the students. Here we present some examples:

Excerpt 14: From the composition of student nr 97

“In this picture I can see a big house, it is an unifamiliar house a lot of people is living there”

As shown in Excerpt 14, student n 97 selected the base for ‘famil-’ either from Spanish, Basque or English. Then, she added the prefix and derivative morpheme ‘uni’- either from Spanish or from English. Finally, she added the suffix and derivative morpheme ‘-ar’ either from Spanish or from English again. As far as the word ‘unifamiliar’ does not exist in the English

language, we think that the student used the aforementioned multilingual strategy of adapting lexical and derivational morphemes based on her previous linguistic morphological knowledge. Additionally, the Spanish word ‘unifamiliar’ could have influenced her.

We also recognized similar instances of an ambiguous base and an ambiguous derivation where the crosslinguistic influence was mainly evident in the use that students made of these words. Excerpt 15 is illustrative of that:

Excerpt 15: From the composition of the student nr 54

“a boy cooking something with the dishwashing machine open and with the table prepared”

We found the same example (‘prepared’) in the compositions written by students nr 42, and nr 99.

Thus, we found that this second morphological and multilingual strategy of identifying and adapting grammatical derivational morphemes had two different variations. The first was based on using a source language base form and add target-language derivational morphemes. The second implied using base and derivational morphemes that had no a clear or a single origin.

Strategy 3: Adapting flexive morphology

As we know, flexive morphemes add grammatical marking to the roots of words. In the case of nouns, pronouns and adjectives flexive morphemes modify their gender, number or case. In the case of verbs, they modify the tense, aspect, mood, person or number.

During the analysis of the compositions, we found that students used multiple morphological strategies in order to adapt loan words regarding flexive morphemes. In the section devoted to the adaptation of the lexical

morphemes on verbs, we described the strategies in which participants adapted their previous knowledge using three of the four English verbal flexive morphemes. Thus, we will focus this section on the strategies students showed when adapting nouns and adjectives from Spanish to the English flexive morphology.

This third type of strategy includes the following steps. First, the writer selects the base root she or he is going to use for the instance. This root may be from any of the three languages known by our participants. Then, the writer adapts that selected base form to the grammatical English marking adding the correspondent flexive morphemes that suites her or his communicative needs. In that selection of the correct flexive morpheme, the writer considers the best manner in which the source-language base root will fit the English marking. Thus, this match showed to be based on the features of the source-language base and the grammatical marking in English.

The following excerpts and examples are illustrative of students adapting grammatical flexive morphemes. As mentioned, we found different strategies depending on the adapted type of word, so we grouped these strategies accordingly.

Adding flexive morphology in nouns

In English, nouns are inflected for plural, verbs are inflected for various tenses (or conjugated), and adjectives are inflected for the comparative/superlative. Accordingly, English has the following three flexive morphemes for nouns and adjectives:

Nouns: [-s] > plural

Adjectives:

[-er] comparative

[-est] superlative

In contrast, in Spanish all nouns have one of the two grammatical genders: masculine (-o) or feminine (-a) and nouns are also inflected for plural. During the analysis of the compositions we identified that students had some well established strategies to adapt the Spanish grammatical genders to the English language rules. We discovered two main strategies regarding the gender marking of Spanish nouns. First, the deletion of the Spanish grammatical genders. Second, the neutralization of the Spanish grammatical genders.

As far as the strategies presented below are based on the adaptation of the flexive morphology of the source-language loan words to the target language norms, we included them in this section. However, we need to consider that this strategy could be also reflecting the generalization of an English rule as in English the gender marking does not exist.

Deletion of the Spanish grammatical genders

An interesting pattern we recognized in Spanish adapted nouns was the systematic deleting of the Spanish grammatical genders. As we know, Spanish nouns ending with an ‘-o’ are masculine, and Spanish nouns ending with an ‘-a’ are feminine except in some exceptional cases such as ‘mano’ (fem.) and few other words which are reduced words forms of longer words (e.g. ‘foto’ or ‘moto’). Even if these endings do not always represent gender on themselves –as instances such as ‘la atica’ do not exist– they are the flexive Spanish morphemes for gender. Consequently, we included them in this section. The following examples are illustrative of this first strategy:

Example: ‘marionetAs’ (Sp.) > ‘marionets’ (from student nr 45)

Example: ‘anécdotAs’ (Sp.) > ‘anecdots’ (from student nr 70)

Example: ‘recetA’ (Sp.) > ‘recent’ (from student nr 70)

Example: ‘sotanO’ (Sp.) > ‘sotan’ (from student nr 106)

Example: ‘plantA’ (Sp.) > ‘plant’ (from student nr 113)

Example: ‘áticO’ (Sp.) > ‘atic’ (from student nr 123)

Examples: ‘electrodoméstiscOs’ (Sp.) > ‘electrodomestics’ (from students nr 14 and 94)

We discovered that this was a well established strategy, as most of the student showed to acknowledge this difference between the Spanish and English gender construction (and marking).

Neutralization of the Spanish grammatical genders

Another interesting strategy we recognized in Spanish adapted nouns was the translation of the Spanish grammatical gender from the Spanish feminine (Sp.) or the masculine (‘-o’) to a more neutral form (‘-e’) as follows:

Examples: ‘tip-O’ (Sp.) > ‘tip-E’ (from students nr 10 and 77)

Example: ‘canariO’ (Sp.) > ‘canariE’ (from student nr 157)

Example: ‘pisO’ (Sp.) > ‘pisE’ (from student nr 48)

Example: ‘facturA’ (Sp.) > ‘facturE’ (from student nr 69)

Finally, we discovered that students added the Spanish or English plural marking (–s) to some English plural nouns. In this sense, this strategy could reflect both: the Spanish crosslinguistic influence or the generalisation of the English rule for plural inflection.

Plural inflection

As we know, English has some irregular plural nouns that are inflected in Spanish but do not need to be inflected in English. For instance, ‘children’,

‘women’ or ‘men’. These words appeared to be problematic precisely because students added the Spanish or English plural marking (-s) by default in those cases. The following examples are illustrative of this default strategy:

Examples: ‘man-S’ instead of ‘men’ (Eng.) (from students nr 117)

Examples: ‘children-S’ instead of ‘children’ (Eng.) (from students nr 19, nr 22, nr 33, nr 66, nr 83, nr 105, nr 107, nr 109, nr 113, nr 118, nr 124, nr 145, nr 152)

Examples: ‘familiar-S’ instead of ‘family members’ (Eng.) (from students nr 25, nr 60 and nr 75)

Adapting flexive morphology in adjectives

Finally, we found some instances where crosslinguistic influence regarding the inflection in adjectives was evident. Again, this crosslinguistic influence did not show to be effective in some of the instances, however we think that in most of the cases the correspondence between the Spanish comparative formula ‘más ... que’ and the English comparative formula ‘more ... than’ was effective as these instances found showed to be very few.

The two predominant features of these instances appeared to be the double marking of the comparison such as the instances found in the composition of student nr 51 (e.g. ‘more higher’) or the incorrect use of the comparative formula in the case of short adjectives as the instances found in the composition of students nr 149 (e.g. ‘more hot’).

The results on CLI in writing indicate that in general, crosslinguistic influence reflects that multilinguals’ use their linguistic repertoire at various levels of language in third language writing. As third language learners, our

participants showed the use of a variety of strategies in order to adapt their linguistic knowledge to the target-language. Here we have tried to provide an analysis of the most important crosslinguistic influence types and a description of the multilingual writing strategies shared by our students.

Discussion and conclusion

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This concluding chapter provides a discussion of the main research findings resulting from the two empirical studies presented in this thesis. We reached these conclusions after analysing multilingual writing through different angles and reflecting upon the results obtained in light of existing literature. The limitations and implications of the studies will be also reviewed.

In section 6.1, the distribution of the errors and the relationships between the analytic and holistic accuracy measures in Basque, Spanish and English will be considered based on quantitative data. In section 6.2, crosslinguistic influence will be discussed as related to third language acquisition and holistic approaches to multilingualism. The influence of the first and second languages, typology and proficiency on the levels of crosslinguistic influence will be also considered on the basis of quantitative data, and multilingual writing strategies will be reviewed based on qualitative data. In section 6.3, we gather the two studies together and give a general conclusion. Finally, section 6.4 is dedicated to go over the limitations of this PhD project and to discuss a number of implications of our studies for further research.

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, the study of multilingualism has been influenced disproportionately by a monolingual view that establishes hard boundaries between languages. Studies in SLA (e.g., Cook, 2003), bilingualism (e.g., Grosjean, 1992) and multilingualism (e.g., Herdina and Jessner, 2002) show that languages are not separated, and so these studies challenge the monolingual view. In this PhD project, we have investigated the relationships among the languages known by multilinguals in writing by analysing the linguistic repertoire of our participants in two ways. In study 1, we looked at the correlations among the analytic and holistic accuracy

measures in Basque, Spanish and English. In study 2, we explored the influence of the first and second languages on the third language. In this way, we analyze whether the ‘Focus on Multilingualism’ (Cenoz and Gorter, 2011, 2014) perspective is a valid approach for the study of multilingualism, and whether it provides new insights when compared to traditional approaches.

6.1. Assessment measures in trilingual writing

The first study was designed to investigate two related but different issues. On the one hand, we identified the most frequent errors in the three languages known by our participants that are taught in the Basque education system: Basque, Spanish and English. On the other hand, we determined the relationships between the analytic and holistic accuracy measures in the same three languages. In this way, we sought to portray the interactions among the three languages.

For that purpose, we adopted a quantitative approach. We first analysed the 399 compositions using the revised rubric proposed by Polio (2013). From this evaluation, we obtained the holistic scores for overall writing quality and the five dimensions of writing defined first by Jacobs et al. (1981) and later by Polio (2013) (content, organization, language use, vocabulary and mechanics). Then, an exploratory analysis was conducted in order to design the error taxonomy used in this first study. The same 399 compositions were analysed using this taxonomy. The data was processed using the program SPSS Statistics to determine the distribution of the errors in the three languages, and to look into the correlations among the error-types, error ratios and the holistic scores.

6.1.1. The distribution of the errors in Spanish, Basque and English

The first objective of this study was to examine the distribution of the errors in Spanish, Basque and English. As explained in the theoretical framework (chapter 2), counting the number of errors was the best option in order to obtain the exact quantity of errors, as measures such as error ratios (e.g., errors per clause or T-unit) do not distinguish between 1 and more than 1 error per unit. A quantitative analysis was conducted using the error-taxonomy designed from a preliminary exploratory study and the 399 compositions were analyzed for the 11 error-types we investigated. We used a conventional approach and evaluated the languages separately measuring the number of errors in absolute terms.

The participants involved in this study produced the greatest number of errors in English, followed by Basque and Spanish. These results confirmed the results of the holistic evaluation we conducted on the 399 compositions using the revised rubric proposed by Polio (2013), so as participants obtained the lowest scores in English, followed by Basque and Spanish. These results were expected as holistic measures are not independent to analytic measures (see Appendix 6).

Interestingly enough, participants produced the largest number of errors in the same three categories in Spanish, Basque and English. Specifically, we found that the most frequent errors were spelling, punctuation and lexical errors. These results have some similarities and differences with the results reported in second language writing studies in other contexts. For instance, Polio (1997) analysed 38 one-hour essays written by 38 ESL students. She identified 37 error-types and spelling errors were not included in her taxonomy. Her results showed that punctuation and lexical errors were the most frequent error-types. These results are in agreement with the results

obtained in this study in the case of lexical and punctuation errors. Similarly, Kroll (1990) analyzed 100 essays written by 25 advanced ESL students at the freshman level and found a very similar distribution of errors as lexical and punctuation errors were found among the four most frequent error types, but spelling errors were not counted. Even if our results mirror the results of these studies, error taxonomies are designed specifically for each investigation and thus we can only compare some of the outcomes.

Moreover, we identified two possible sources of error which divided the errors into two main categories: the errors that were based on a specific lack of knowledge in the target language (i.e., non-contrastive errors), and the errors that showed the influence of the languages students knew (i.e., contrastive errors). In regard of the former, we observed that the characteristics of each language influenced the frequency of the errors in one or another category. For instance, we found verbal, article and declension errors to be more frequent in Basque than in English or Spanish, and we linked this finding to the fact that VP errors in Basque included not only using the correct tense of the verb, but also the correct use of the verb regime. We also found that some students have difficulties with the Basque indefinite or ‘mugagabe’ which we think increased the number of article errors. These findings suggest that by fourth grade of secondary education students still have some problems in mastering Basque declension, verb tensing or the use of ‘mugagabe’. The greater number of declension errors in Basque was linked to the fact that Basque declension includes the marking of the grammatical cases, declension in 11 verbal complement and declension in 11 postpositional phrases (see Euskaltzaindia, 2002). In the case of English, preposition errors were found to be particularly frequent. As Takahaski (1969) stated, the correct use of prepositions is the greatest problem for English learners. Thus, we found that by fourth grade of

secondary education, students still have problems in mastering English prepositions.

In regard of contrastive errors or errors produced by the influence of the languages known by the writer, we found two types of errors to be particularly frequent in English: word-order and ellipsis errors. We found many times Basque or Spanish word-order in English compositions and examples such as *'In the sala there are my grandfather'* from the Spanish *'En la sala está my abuelo'* were quite common. Similarly, we found that students often omitted the subject in English sentences, even more frequently in the cases where the subject was artificial (e.g., 'there' or 'it'). While the ellipsis of the subject may be correct in Basque and Spanish, it is not in English. These errors showed the impact on the part of students' first or second languages, and are examples of syntactic crosslinguistic influence. This finding goes in line with studies that showed that previously acquired languages influenced second and third languages at the syntactic level (e.g., Alonso, 2002; Jin, 1994). Additionally, these results are also in agreement with the conclusions of the studies on third language acquisition presented in the theoretical framework that showed that all languages a speaker is familiar with can potentially influence the acquisition and development of the target language (e.g., Bardel and Falk, 2007; Flynn et al., 2004; Rothman, 2010, 2011; Slabakova 2016; Westergaard et al., 2016).

6.1.2. Relationship between Spanish, Basque and English analytic accuracy measures

The second objective of this study was to examine the relationship between analytic accuracy measures or error-types in Spanish, Basque and English. For that purpose, correlation analyses were conducted between the scores obtained for the 11 analytic measures in the 399 compositions.

In general, we found no significant relationships between the analytic measures. However, three of the measures showed to be strong and significantly related across the languages: punctuation, lexical and spelling errors. One possible reason to understand these results could be that the number of errors influenced the results as punctuation, lexical and spelling errors showed to be the most frequent errors in the three languages. Another possible explanation could be the idea that there are some areas of language that are more closely related to each other across the languages.

As we have explained, studies on second language acquisition, bilingualism and multilingualism coincide in the idea that languages are related in various ways. Similarly, studies on CAF (complexity, accuracy and fluency) have shown that the relationships between different accuracy and complexity measures may be competitive or supportive. For instance, Spoelman and Verspoor (2010) found that while word complexity (i.e., the number of morphemes in each word) and sentence complexity (i.e., the number of simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex) and word complexity and NP complexity (i.e., the number of words per NP) develop simultaneously in a supportive relationship, NP complexity and sentence complexity alternate in developing and can be considered competitors. The measures embedded in supportive relationships have been called ‘connected growers’, and research shows that they support each other in their acquisition and development of the target language (De Bot, Lowie and Verspoor, 2007; De Bot, 2008).

In this study, the correlations analyses showed positive and statistically significant correlations between punctuation, spelling and lexical errors. This finding points at a supportive relationship between the acquisition of lexical, punctuation or spelling skills, and suggests that the acquisition of one of

these skills may support the acquisition of the same skill in the other languages.

In general, few authors have analysed whether different analytic measures are related to each other across the languages. Polio (1997) reviewed 16 studies that used written accuracy measures as variables and were published between 1984 and 1995 in seven applied linguistics journals. Later, Polio and Shea (2014) updated Polio (1997) by examining more recent studies published in nine journals covering the years 2000-2011. The studies they present on second language writing analyse one sole language, and thus the relationships between the first and the second languages are not considered.

This traditional and monolingual perspective does not allow investigating accuracy as a dimension of writing that may be common to the languages known by multilinguals. Analysing the entire linguistic repertoire of the participants involved in this study confirms that accuracy is a dimension common to the languages known by multilinguals. In this way, we demonstrate that investigating multilinguals from a multilingual perspective provides new information when compared to monolingual approaches.

6.1.3. Relationship between Spanish, Basque and English holistic accuracy measures

The third objective of this study was to examine the relationship between holistic accuracy measures in Spanish, Basque and English. We evaluated the 399 compositions using the rubric developed by Polio (2013) and obtained the scores for the six holistic accuracy measures. Correlation analyses were conducted between the scores obtained for the six dimensions of writing defined by the holistic scale in the three languages.

First, we found that the students involved in our study obtained the highest scores in Spanish, followed by Basque and English. As mentioned, these results are in line with the results obtained using the analytic measures, and point at a relationship between a lower numbers of errors with higher holistic scores. These results are in agreement with the results obtained in the studies that showed negative correspondences between the holistic measures and the error-types (e.g., Polio and Shea, 2014).

We also found that the differences between the scores obtained in the three languages were smaller in the dimensions of content and organization, and greater in the dimensions of language use, vocabulary and mechanics. One possible explanation for these results may be that content and organization are more transferable dimensions than language use, vocabulary and mechanics. In other words, the competence that students have in organizing a text is more common to all languages than the competence they may have in the use of that language or in the dimension of language use. In this sense, language use, vocabulary and mechanics are more language-specific as they measure the competence of the writer in using the target language (e.g., vocabulary knowledge in English).

These results are in agreement with the results obtained by Arocena (2017). This researcher measured Basque, Spanish and English writing using the original ESL Profile developed by Jacobs et al. (1981). As explained in the theoretical framework, the only difference between the ESL Profile (Jacobs et al. 1981) and the revised rubric developed by Polio (2013) was related to punctuation. Therefore, her results may be extrapolated to the punctuation defined by Polio (2013). Hence, our results mirror her results as she also found the smallest difference in the scores among the three languages in the

dimensions of content and organization and the largest differences in the dimensions of language use, vocabulary and mechanics.

In addition, the results of the correlation analysis showed strong and significant relationships between all measures across the three languages. These results indicate that, even if some measures are less strongly related (e.g., organization) than others (e.g., mechanics), linguistic accuracy in multilinguals is related to all languages known by the speakers and that, as such, it is appropriately investigated when using a multilingual approach. This finding indicates that the students that do well in one measure in one of the three languages do also well in the same measure in the other two languages and therefore content, organization, language use, vocabulary and mechanics can be considered 'connected growers' understood as subsystems that support each other (De Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007). These results confirm the results obtained by other researchers and show that languages within the linguistic repertoire of multilinguals are related (e.g., Cenoz and Gorter, 2011; Muñoz, 2000; Sagasta, 2003; De Angelis and Jessner, 2012).

In the context of our research study, the Basque Country, a possible explanation for our findings could be that by secondary education the opportunities to use the three languages are quite high. As we have explained, the Basque Government aims at the improvement of English teaching and learning, and thus English is studied by over 95% of school children being the predominant foreign language in the Basque education system (Cenoz, 2009). Some studies conducted in the Basque Country have demonstrated that the higher the school year, the stronger the relationships between the languages. For example, Sagasta (2001) analysed the writing competence of students from the first to the fourth year of secondary education using the ESL Profile (Jacobs et al., 1981) and found that the

strength of the relationship between the languages grew each school year. Therefore, it may be possible that the relationship between the languages increases as related to the number of hours of instruction.

Finally, we found that the correlations between Basque and Spanish are particularly significant. These results indicate that the relationship between Basque (L1/L2) and Spanish (L1/L2) is stronger than the relationship between Basque/Spanish (L1/L2) and English (L3/FL). One possible explanation for these results may be that language proficiency favours transferability of the skills from one language to the other (Cummins, 1983, 1991), as the participants of this study showed a higher proficiency in Spanish and Basque than in English. In this sense, these results may suggest that typological distance is not always as important as proficiency level in the transference of language skills.

6.1.4. Relationship between analytic and holistic accuracy measures in Spanish, Basque and English

The fourth objective of this study was to explore the relationship between analytic and holistic accuracy measures in Spanish, Basque and English. For that purpose, we used the scores of the 11 analytic measures and the three holistic measures we considered closer to linguistic accuracy: language use, vocabulary and mechanics. Correlation analyses were conducted between the scores obtained for the three holistic measures and the 11 analytic measures of accuracy.

The correlation analyses showed a general negative relationship between Basque, Spanish and English accuracy measures. This time, the link between larger numbers of error and lower holistic scores was statistically confirmed. Furthermore, we found a main difference between the results in the three

languages. In the case of Spanish and Basque, these relationships showed not to be significant. Conversely, we found 14 strong and significant relationships in English between the holistic and analytic accuracy measures.

The most obvious explanation for the difference between Basque, Spanish and English results may be that the absolute number of errors influences the holistic scores, so as we found that the number of errors in English (5.397 errors) was substantially higher than the number of errors in Basque (3.989 errors) or Spanish (2.440 errors).

Another possible explanation for the difference between Basque, Spanish and English results may be that the patterns of relationship between these error-types and the holistic measures are language-specific. The fact that we found almost the same relationships when analysing English (L3) as those found by Polio and Shea (2014) when analysing English (L2) suggest that the language involved in the analysis is relevant, so as we found not such a significant relationships in Spanish or Basque using the same analytic and holistic measures. In this sense, our results extend Polio and Shea's (2014) findings on significant relationships between language use and vocabulary scores to ellipsis, declension and run-on sentence errors.

As Reichelt (2016) explains, the majority of the studies that investigate second language writing have analysed English language. This idea is confirmed if we consider that Wolfe Quintero et al. (1998), Polio (1997) and Polio and Shea (2014) provided reviews on studies that investigated accuracy in second language and their work included mostly studies that have English as the targeted language. Additionally, the studies that analyzed Spanish (L2) - Chastain (1990), Kepner (1991) and Frantzen (1995) - do not include correlation analysis between the error numbers and holistic measures. Therefore, comparing the results of other studies with ours in

Basque and Spanish is not possible. In this sense, our results are a valuable contribution on the study of accuracy in other languages such as Basque and Spanish.

6.1.5. Relationship between Spanish, Basque and English errors per word (Err/W) ratios

Taking into account that the numbers of error were an absolute measure, we decided to test a relative measure -errors per word- in order to establish the relationship between the percentage of errors per word across the languages and with the holistic scores. As Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman (1989) pointed out, such measures do not distinguish between types of errors. However, relative measures do account for the distribution of errors in relation to the production unit (words in this study).

In this way, the fifth objective of this study focused on examining the relationship between the ratios of error per word in Spanish, Basque and English essays. For that purpose, errors were tallied into a relative measure, so that error density per language was calculated by dividing the total number of errors by the total number of words counted in the 399 compositions (133 compositions in each language). In a second step, correlation analyses were conducted between Spanish, Basque and English errors per word ratios.

Our results indicated that the highest error ratio was in the English language, followed by Basque and Spanish. These results confirmed the results obtained when measuring error numbers in absolute terms as we found that students produced the highest numbers of errors in English, followed by Basque and Spanish. These results also indicate that the higher the number of errors per word, the lower the holistic scores as students achieved the

highest holistic scores in Spanish, followed by Basque and English and the lowest error per word ratio in the same order (Spanish, Basque and English). This finding is in line with studies in second language acquisition (SLA) that related errors to proficiency. For instance, Olsen (1999, p. 195) stated that high numbers of errors contributed to the low scores in her essays. Meara et al. (2000, p. 346) claimed that compositions will tend to be rated poorly if there is a high proportion of errors. In a similar line, Grant and Ginther (2000) showed that errors contributed negatively to the scores obtained in writing. In this sense, our results mirror the observations of these studies.

Interestingly enough, we found that Basque compositions were the shortest in number of words, followed by English and Spanish compositions. One possible explanation for these results may be that, by fourth grade of secondary education, students have already acquired the language competence needed to be quite fluent in their third and foreign language, English. As we have mentioned, different initiatives have been carried out by the Basque Government to foster the acquisition of a foreign language, particularly English (Azpillaga, Arzamendi, Etxeberria, Garagorri, Lindsay, and Joaristi, 2001). Moreover, the age of the initiation in formal instruction of the foreign language was lowered from the 11 to 8 years in 1993 with the Educational Reform. Some of the studies conducted in the Basque Country have indicated that lowering the age of initiation of in the formal instruction of English have a positive effect on the communicative competence in English writing (e.g., Doiz and Lasagabaster, 2004). In this way, we considered this finding (i.e., students being quite fluent in English when compared to Basque) could be related to the aforementioned initiatives on the part of the Basque Government.

Another possible explanation for these results could be related to the typology of Basque. As an agglutinative language, Basque may require fewer words when compared to English to convey the same meaning. In this line, Sagasta (2001) measured fluency calculating the average number of words per T-unit in Basque, Spanish and English and found that, by fourth grade of secondary education, students produced longer T-units in English than in Basque. More specifically, she found that the length of the T-units was almost the same in Basque and English in 2nd and 3rd grades of secondary education and longer in English than in Basque in 1st and 4th grades. In this sense, these results suggest that language typology is important to consider when measuring or interpreting fluency scores in different languages.

We also found that the errors per word ratios were strong and significantly related to each other across the languages. Specifically, the correlation analyses showed the strongest relationship between Spanish and English, followed by Spanish and Basque, and Basque and English. These results are in agreement with the results of the studies that have analysed the relationship between errors ratios in multilinguals in our context and in others. For instance, Sagasta (2001) analysed semantic, morphosyntactic, alphabetic, orthographic and lexical errors. Her error index was based on the sum of the errors divided by the total number of T-units (i.e., Err/T-unit). The outcomes of her study showed that Basque, Spanish and English indexes of error correlated significantly in the three pair of languages in different degrees depending in the school year (from first to the fourth year of secondary education). More recently, Yang and Sun (2015) identified a significant relationship between the errors per T-unit measure in French (L3) and Chinese (L1) in five Chinese multilingual university students' production. The fact that these studies measured the error ratio based on the

number of T-units instead of the number of words may have influenced the results. Yet, these studies and ours confirm that the measures that account for the distribution of errors in relation to the production units (e.g., Err/W, Err/T-unit) correlate higher than error-types across the languages.

6.1.6. Relationship between errors per word (Err/W) ratios and holistic scores in Spanish, Basque and English

The sixth objective of this study was to examine the relationship between the errors per word ratios and the holistic measures in Spanish, Basque and English. For that purpose, we used the scores obtained for the three error ratios and the six holistic measures: content, organization, language use, vocabulary, mechanics and overall writing quality score. Correlation analyses were conducted between the six holistic measures and the error ratios in the three languages.

The results of the correlation analyses show strong and significant relationships between the holistic measures and the errors per word ratios in the three languages. The strongest relationships were found for English, followed by Basque and Spanish. These results suggest that the relationship between error per word ratio and the holistic measures is stronger when students produce more errors per word. Similarly, they indicate that the relationship between error per word ratio and the holistic measures becomes weaker as students display a more elaborated language and produce less errors, as was illustrated by the Spanish essays.

Our results confirm the results of previous studies that used similar measures of accuracy for assessing English as the second language. For instance, Llach (2011) identified a negative and a significant correspondence between the errors per word measure and the overall writing quality score from the

ESL Profile (Jacobs et al. 1981). Similarly, Polio and Shea (2014) found that the holistic language use measure correlated better with the error per word measure than with any other accuracy measure (error free T-unit/T-unit, error free clauses/clauses, weighted error-free T-units, VP errors, preposition errors, article errors and lexical errors) and also that the error per word ratio correlated strong and significantly with the holistic vocabulary measure.

In this sense, our results extend the findings of previous research studies on the correlation patterns between holistic and analytic accuracy measures, and confirm that error ratios correlate higher than error-types with holistic ratings. Furthermore, these results show that the relative analytic measure - errors per words- is a valid accuracy measure that may help to predict the outcomes on the holistic evaluation for the three languages, Spanish, Basque and English, or the other way around: the holistic evaluation could help to predict the outcomes on the errors per words ratio.

To conclude, this empirical study has examined different analytic and holistic measures of accuracy in the languages that are taught in the Basque education system. In this way, we demonstrate that written essays are appropriate instruments for measuring linguistic accuracy. Our results indicate that the holistic measures, error types and error per word ratios are well-defined descriptors of essay quality that can serve as assessment measures in Basque, Spanish and English. Error rates were found to decrease in higher proficiency levels, and we related proficiency to language exposure. We identified that the most problematic error-types are shared across the languages, and observed how different subsystems are connected at different degrees of strength not only within a specific language but also among the three languages. Based on the approach used in this study, Focus on Multilingualism, we examined the interactions between the languages and

argued that the learning of some skills in one language could potentially help to improve the same skills in the other two languages. This finding adds further support to studies that demonstrate that there is one integrated language competence, irrespective of the language in which the student is writing. Through investigating the relationships between holistic and analytic accuracy measures we can have a greater understanding of this ‘multicompetence’ (Cook, 2003), which ultimately may allow us define the most effective ways to teach these languages.

6.2. Crosslinguistic influence in third language writing

The second empirical study aimed at analyzing crosslinguistic influence (CLI) in third language writing. We focused our attention on the extent and the circumstances under which the languages known by multilinguals influenced third language writing at the lexical level, and described the multilingual strategies we found underlying the instances. Additionally, we explored the effect of a number of factors on crosslinguistic influence.

For that purpose, we adopted a quantitative and a qualitative approach as they offered us different types of information. Through the quantitative analysis, we examined the influence of language typology, L2 factor and proficiency level in the target and the source-languages on the levels of CLI. Through the qualitative analysis, we categorized and described the multilingual strategies used by the students involved in this study when producing the CLI instances.

This section is further divided into five subsections. In the first subsection, we discuss crosslinguistic influence as related to third language acquisition and the holistic approaches to multilingualism (section 6.2.1). The second subsection will review the findings regarding a number of features that

define crosslinguistic influence in third language writing (section 6.2.2). The third subsection focuses on the influence of the first language on the levels of CLI (section 6.2.3). The fourth subsection, on the influence of proficiency (section 6.2.4). Finally, the fifth subsection will discuss the findings in regard to the strategies underlying the CLI instances (section 6.2.5).

6.2.1. Multilingualism and crosslinguistic influence

Multilingual acquisition includes the interaction among the languages learnt and the processes of learning them (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998). CLI reflects the interactions among these languages and, in regard to its outcomes, research shows that it can either facilitate (positive crosslinguistic influence) or inhibit (negative crosslinguistic influence) additional language learning and production (see also O’Neil et al., 2010).

Little research has been done on the positive impact of crosslinguistic influence due to the difficulty to determine exactly the extent of this positive impact. According to Ringbom (1986), the only tangible signs of crosslinguistic influence are the negative ones. These signs appear in the shape of ‘interlingual errors’ (James, 1998) and through these errors can we analyse the form in which crosslinguistic influence takes place. The fact that we do not analyze the positive impact of crosslinguistic influence leaves aside the possibility of analysing CLI from a more complete point of view. Studies on SLA and TLA point at crosslinguistic influence as an important factor in language acquisition (e.g., Bardel & Falk, 2007; Hall & Ecke, 2003; Flynn et al., 2004; Rothman, 2010, 2011). Therefore, we know that crosslinguistic influence is a more complex subject of research than what we can illustrate with the analysis of these interlingual errors or CLI instances. The fact that we only analysed negative crosslinguistic influence can explain

how even if the majority of students showed CLI at some point in their writings, the instances that we found were still quite few.

Another possible explanation for the few CLI instances we found in this study may be related to the strict separation of languages in the schools based upon monolingual assumptions (Cummins, 2014). This separation does not favour the use of CLI as a resource when writing in the school context, and thus we suggest that some contexts can be more conducive to crosslinguistic influence than others despite the individual preferences.

Relationship between crosslinguistic influence and third language acquisition

Studies about third language acquisition show that crosslinguistic influence is a variable that affects language learning, and those studies also point at several factors that influence the degree in which the first and the second languages impact the acquisition of the third. In study 2, we explore the effect that the factors mother tongue, the L2 status, typology and proficiency in the target and in the source language have on crosslinguistic influence. We suggest that the outcomes of our study indicate how these factors affect our participants' English (L3) acquisition.

The effect of typological distance has been extensively demonstrated in the acquisition of L3 lexicon and syntax. In lexical acquisition, Hall and Ecker (2003) proposed a model based on the exploitation of the similarities across the languages. Similarly, in L3 syntactic acquisition, Rothman's (2010) model predicted typological distance as the main factor in the election of the 'bridge language' through which students would acquire L3 syntax. Therefore, typological distance can affect the acquisition of different areas of language, and thus we could expect it to affect the selection of the source-

language of CLI, even if the outcomes of CLI are ungrammatical instances or errors.

Our results show that indeed students tend to use Spanish (i.e., an Indo-European language) as the source-language of CLI instead of Basque (i.e., a non Indo-European language), and we suggested this tendency to be influenced by the relative typological closeness between Spanish and English. This finding goes in line with the results of the studies that showed that typological closeness had a main effect on the selection of the source language of CLI (e.g., Cenoz, 2001, 2003; De Angelis, 2005; Ecke, 2001; Fouser, 2001; Ó Laoire and Singleton, 2009; Rothman, 2010, 2011, 2013).

In contrast, we found that the L2 status was not a determinant factor in the selection of the source-language of CLI. Due to the multilingual approach of this study, we could compare the selection of the source-language of CLI in three L1 groups: Basque L1, Spanish L1 and early bilinguals' group. We found that Basque L1 speakers selected their second language (Spanish) as the source-language of CLI, while Spanish L1 speakers and early bilinguals also selected Spanish. As far as the three L1 groups selected Spanish as the source-language of CLI with no regard on whether this was their first or second language, we consider that this selection is primarily based on typological closeness. Therefore, our study confirms that typological closeness is a stronger predictor of crosslinguistic influence than L2 status.

Finally, the influence of the first language (L1) has been also extensively reported both in studies investigating TLA and in studies investigating crosslinguistic influence. In TLA, the model proposed by Flynn et al., (2004) suggests that all languages could potentially favour L3 acquisition, and that the L1 had no privileged position. Similar results have been reported in the studies that investigated crosslinguistic influence (see De Angelis, 2007).

Our results showed that in fact the first language (L1) had no privileged position in the selection of the source-language of crosslinguistic influence, as participants used both their L1 and L2. In this sense, our results are compatible with the predictions of the aforementioned studies (i.e., Flynn et al., 2004; De Angelis, 2007)

Leaving the influence factors aside, studies on third language acquisition show that due to multiple language learning, third language learners can develop a higher metalinguistic awareness, a wider range of learning strategies and a broader linguistic repertoire (see Cenoz, 2013a). The results of our quantitative and qualitative analysis confirmed that the participants involved in this study used their metalinguistic awareness in order to produce the CLI instances. As Otwinowska (2016, p. 118) stated, ‘metalinguistic awareness is a specific cognitive skill that accounts for an ability to reflect on language, to understand linguistic patterns and rules to use them’. In this way, the fact that students adapted all the instances (except of four) from Spanish instead of from Basque confirms students’ awareness of linguistic distance in crosslinguistic influence quantitatively. Furthermore, the fact that students adapted source-languages’ roots into target-language’s norms confirms that students used their metalinguistic awareness qualitatively in order to write in their third language. To the best of our knowledge, there is no L3 acquisition model that includes the use of metalinguistic awareness. Yet, the results of this study showed that in fact metalinguistic awareness plays a role in the production (and therefore learning) of the third language.

We can thus conclude that the present study informs about two related but different issues regarding third language acquisition and crosslinguistic influence. On the one hand, it shows that in TLA the influence of the first

and second languages, and the influence of typological distance may be analysed through CLI. On the other hand, it demonstrates that students used their metalinguistic awareness in order to produce the CLI instances strategically.

Relationship between the holistic approaches to multilingualism and CLI

The holistic approaches to multilingualism conceive that a multilingual speaker is an integrated whole that cannot be separated into two, three or more different parts. These approaches give insight into the possible relationships between multilinguals' languages and serve to explain the results obtained in this second study. In this section, we will present our findings in the light of the holistic approaches to multilingualism presented in the theoretical framework of this thesis, as these proposals allow us to discuss some of the features proper to multilinguals and the interactions among their languages.

In the holistic model developed by Grosjean (1992) bilinguals were not the sum of two monolinguals in one mind, and thus he proposed the 'bilingual speech mode' in order to explain in which ways 'guest languages' were included in the target language discourse (i.e., code-switches and borrowings). A few years later, Grosjean (1997) introduced the language mode hypothesis which referred to the state of activation of the bilingual's languages at a given point in time. According to Grosjean (1998b), bilinguals base their language choice on a number of external factors such as the type of person addressed, the topic of conversation, and the setting in which the interaction takes place. According to his proposal, these external factors could impact the selection of the source-language of CLI.

The results of the present study confirm that students were in different languages modes when writing the essays as we found that some students used more frequently CLI than others through the instances of non adapted and adapted loan words they introduced in their English (L3) writing. However, we did not find any influence on the part of the external factors presented by Grosjean in the selection of the source-language of CLI (e.g., setting). As we have explained, the predominant source-language of CLI in this study was Spanish. Yet, the languages of instruction in the classrooms in which we collected the data were Spanish in the Spanish lessons, English in the English lessons and Basque in Basque lessons. Therefore, this finding suggests that the external factors Grosjean outlined may not be as good predictors of the source-language of CLI in written language as they have been shown to be in oral language. Some studies conducted in the Basque Country demonstrated that the use of Basque as the school language influenced CLI. For instance, Cenoz (2003) found that students used Basque as the default supplier in the case of interactional strategies or intentional instances while they used Spanish in the case of transfer lapses or unintentional interactions. As she pointed out, ‘the use of Basque seems to be influenced by the characteristics of the context and could be influenced by the use of Basque as the school language, the knowledge of Basque by the interlocutor or the relatively informal context in which the conversation took place’ (Cenoz, 2003a, p. 8). Therefore, we think that the modality of the data may have influenced the results as Cenoz (2003a) found that the external factors affected the selection of the source-language of CLI when analysing oral data and we did not find any influence on the part of the same external factors when we analyzed written data.

Following this line of reasoning, we consider that there are fundamental differences between both modalities. As Neuser (2017, p. 242) pointed out,

‘while speech is limited to processing constraints (Strömquist et al., 2004) and uses the majority of the available resources, writing allows the learner to pause, correct, and search another lexical item if it is required (Christen and Näf, 2001)’. From our point of view, it is due to this fundamental difference between speech and writing that the characteristics of the context appeared not to be as determinant a factor in the choice of the source-language of CLI in written language.

In SLA, Cook’s (1991) notion of ‘multicompetence’ was the first proposal that conceived of language knowledge as an integrated whole, and this holistic approach permitted him to explain CLI not only in a forward direction (L1>L2), but also in the reverse direction (L2>L1). As De Angelis (2007, p.15) pointed out, even though the definition of multicompetence specifically mentioned the presence of two languages in the mind, ‘the concept is sufficiently neutral to be suitable to describe the integration of knowledge in the multilingual mind as well’. As explained in the theoretical framework, researchers working on multilingualism have illustrated how CLI may occur in a number of directions (e.g., from L1 to L2, from L2 to L3, from L3 to L2, and so forth). The results of this study are in line with Cook’s proposal as they demonstrate CLI in the only two possible directions of this study (i.e., from the L1 to the L3 in Spanish L1 speakers and from the L2 to the L3 in Basque L1 speakers). However, the design of the study did not allow us explore the predictions of Cook’s proposal from L3 to L1 or from L2 to L3. As far as our results show that the directionality of CLI may be different depending on the multilingual speaker and the languages involved, our results fit some of the predictions of Cook’s holistic approach.

Finally, the holistic approach Focus on Multilingualism developed by Cenoz and Gorter (2011, 2014) offers a different perspective from the traditional

and monolingual focus in research as it proposes to consider three specific dimensions in the study of multilingualism: the multilingual speaker, the whole linguistic repertoire, and the wider social context. Based on this approach, we have analysed the compositions written in the three languages of our participants in study 1 and found similar and different patterns in writing skills in the three languages. In study 2, we considered the whole linguistic repertoire of our participants in a different manner, and we analysed the influence of the first and the second languages on the third. As Cenoz and Gorter (2011) explained, their model looked at crosslinguistic influence phenomena (including transfer and code-switching), but also considered the influence among the languages that go beyond these phenomena (p.367). In this study, the results of the qualitative analysis showed that students shared writing strategies that were based on their metalinguistic awareness in order to create L3-like vocabulary. In this sense, these results fit the observations of Focus on Multilingualism as it suggest that some commonalities among the languages may be identified by using metalinguistic awareness.

In sum, holistic models of multilingualism capture CLI as a phenomenon which reflects the processes involved in language acquisition. In this way, the learning skills students gain when learning their first and second languages and the use they make of those languages influence the circumstances and the ways in which CLI is likely to occur.

6.2.2. Crosslinguistic influence in third language: a general overview

In the following section, we will briefly discuss the findings of this study regarding some of the features that define crosslinguistic influence in third language writing. These findings can be summarized as follows:

- Crosslinguistic influence occurs at various levels of language and the source-language of CLI may be influenced by these levels.
- Crosslinguistic influence appears to be more frequent in adapted loan words than in non-adapted loan words.
- Crosslinguistic influence appears to be more frequent in content words than in function words.
- Crosslinguistic influence appears only in L1-function words that are embedded in larger expressions.

The levels of CLI

First, we found that CLI occurred at different levels in written language. Specifically, we found CLI at the orthographic, morphological and lexical levels. Since we will discuss in depth CLI at a morphologic and lexical levels in the following sections, here we will just reflect on the findings concerning orthographic CLI.

Regarding orthographic CLI, we discovered that students were influenced by both Basque and Spanish spelling when writing in English. These results go in accordance with studies that showed previous languages' orthographies influencing the spelling of the target language (e.g., van Berkel, 2005).

Additionally, we found that the source-language of the crosslinguistic influence at the orthographic level could be any (or both) languages, and that making the distinction was often more complicated than making the same distinction at another level (e.g., lexical). For instance, we found that students simplified the double consonants in English, and we interpreted this simplification as related to the influence of Spanish and Basque because these two languages have only few double consonants (e.g., 'll' and 'rr').

Accordingly, we suggest that the source-language of CLI may be related to the level of crosslinguistic influence, and that the source-language of orthographic CLI is more difficult to identify as less information is implied in the instances showing orthographic CLI.

The extent to which students adapted their previous linguistic knowledge

Second, the quantitative analysis showed that students used Basque and Spanish adapted loan words more often than non-adapted loan words. To be precise, we identified that adapted loan words doubled the number of non-adapted loan words: 134 adapted instances versus 65 non-adapted instances both counted as tokens.

Adapted loan words are also referred to as hybrids, blends, words constructions or lexical inventions, and the processes that they reflect have been defined from different angles according to the languages implied. Soltero-González et al. (2012) referred to the adaptation of L2 (English) words based on L1 (Spanish) grammatical rules as ‘nativization’ (p.79) in order to define the adaptation done by Spanish L1 student in English (L2) writing in the context of the United States (e.g., ‘splánchate’/to splash yourself). However, in our context English is a foreign language (FL), and thus we consider the term ‘foreignising’ used by Neuser (2017) more appropriate as it describes the process of adapting the languages known previously by multilingual speakers or source-languages (SL) (e.g., L1, L2 or L3) into the the target-language (TL) or, in the case of this study, English as a foreign language (FL). According to Neuser (2017), then, ‘foreignising is thus a SL item that has undergone certain morphological, orthographic, and/or phonological changes in order to increase its acceptability in the TL’ (p.19). These adaptation processes have been defined as a common strategy

among multilingual students, and the results of this study show this to be true (see chapter 5).

As illustrated in the section where we present the results of the qualitative analysis, students used their morphological awareness in order to create words that do not actually exist in any of the languages. This strategy of adapting loan words into the morphology and orthography of the target language in which students wrote represented in itself awareness on the part of students to use their linguistic knowledge and fit the target language acceptabilities and grammatical rules.

Additionally, we think that the modality of the data analysed in our study triggered the use of adapted loan words over the use of non-adapted loan words. As mentioned, writing allows the learner to pause and correct while speech uses the most immediate resources. In this sense, we suggest that this type of crosslinguistic influence (i.e., adapted loan words) are more likely to happen in written language than in oral language due to the specific possibilities offered by the two modalities.

CLI in content and function words

In the present study, CLI occurred almost exclusively in content words. These results are in agreement with the results reported by Cenoz (2001) and Pinto and Carvalhosa (2012) who found CLI to be more frequent in content than in function words. However, these results contradict the findings of some other studies that found CLI to occur more frequently in function words (e.g., Poullisse and Bongaerts, 1994), or the findings of other studies that found CLI to occurred similarly in both word-categories (e.g., Navés et al., 2005).

There might be several reasons to obtain different results. Among others, the modality of the corpus analysed (written versus oral), the characteristics of the participants (e.g., their age), the language analysed (L2/L3), or the criteria used in the studies to classify content and function words may be mentioned.

One of the main differences we can contrast between the aforementioned studies and ours is the criteria used when classifying content and function words. In the present study and in Pinto and Carvalhosa (2012), for instance, numerals were counted as content words. In contrast, Navés et al., (2005) counted numerals as function words. Furthermore, Navés et al., (2005) analysed the written texts of primary students in which numerals were quite common (Navés et al., 2005, p. 129). Therefore, we consider that a difference in the criteria may have influenced the outcomes of each of the studies as in Pinto and Carvalhosa (2012) and in our study CLI was found more frequently in content words while in Navés et al., (2005) CLI occurred in both word-categories.

However, we also think that this difference in the criteria may not be the only reason for obtaining different results. This is shown by the fact that Cenoz (2001) and Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) counted numerals as content words and still found contradictory results: Cenoz (2001) found CLI to occur more frequently in content words and Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) found that CLI occurred more frequently in function words. Therefore, it seems that more than one factor may influence the outcomes of CLI occurring in content and function words.

According to Navés et al., (2005), it is difficult to determine in which word category CLI is more likely to happen as both categories have properties that make them potentially more and less likely to be transferred. In this sense,

we suggest that in the present study CLI occurred more frequently in content words because they are an open class (which means that they are not limited), and students transferred them at some point in their compositions in order to fill the communicative need required by the writing task. Additionally, we also suggest that CLI did not occur in function words because, as they do not contain much meaning weigh, students could convey their message without using them (i.e., they did not need to transfer them).

As we can see, the properties of both word-categories and some additional factors such as the modality or the criteria when classifying both word-categories may interfere in CLI occurring in content and function words. Nonetheless, what does seem clear is that the meaning weigh of words affects CLI. Therefore, we consider analysing CLI in content and function words within different contexts and participants and later contrasting the results obtained an interesting option for further research.

CLI in function words

Even if this study showed CLI occurring mainly in content words, we did also find CLI in few function words. The instances we encountered were always embedded in larger standing expressions, and not in one sole case did we find them isolated. CLI in function words solely accounted for the 2.5% of the instances, and appeared to be Spanish non-adapted loan words produced by two L1 Spanish students.

As explained in the theoretical framework (chapter 3), some authors made a distinction between CLI occurring in L1-function and L2-function words. Paradis (2008), for instance, defended that L1-function words were processed by the procedural memory whereas L2-function words were processed in the declarative memory. Based on this reasoning, Bardel and

Falk (2012) argued that this differentiation implied that CLI in function words was more likely to occur from the L2. According to Bardel and Falk, this fact could explain why CLI mainly appeared in L2-function words (e.g., Rinbom, 1987; Vildomec, 1963; Williams and Hammarberg, 1998). In our study, the few instances of crosslinguistic influence we found showed to be L1-function words which would contradict the prediction of Bardel and Falk (2012). Yet, the examples we found are too few as to be generalized.

All in all, this section has served to present some of the general findings concerning CLI in third language writing. In the following two sections, we will present and reflect upon the results obtained in study 2 according to the research questions we posed.

6.2.3. The influence of first language on CLI

The first research question investigated the role of the first language in CLI. In order to answer this question we divided our participants according to their L1 and we obtained three groups of speakers: Basque L1 speakers (n=41), Spanish L1 speakers (n=51) and bilingual speakers (n=41).

Basque L1 students' CLI

In the case of Basque L1 students' CLI, we mostly identified lateral crosslinguistic influence (i.e., L2>L3). Additionally, we also found some instances of forward (i.e., L1>L3) and 'combined' CLI (i.e., L1+L2>L3) (De Angelis, 2007, p. 49). This means that Basque L1 students produced crosslinguistic instances far more often from Spanish (L2) than from Basque (L1) or an ambiguous source. This finding shows that the mother tongue has no privileged position on CLI, and pointed at first sight at two possible influence factors: typological distance and L2 factor.

In regard of typological distance, Basque L1 speakers used the language that was closer to the target regardless for whether this was their second language (L2), Spanish. Apparently, the different linguistic distances between their two languages and the target influenced these results (i.e., Spanish-English and Basque-English). Therefore, typological distance appeared to be a main factor in the election of the source-language of crosslinguistic influence in the case of Basque L1 students.

These results are in agreement with the results obtained by the studies that showed how students used the L2 as the source-language of CLI in the cases in which this L2 was typologically closer to the target language and the L1 was typologically more distant (e.g., De Angelis, 2005; Ecke, 2001). In addition, these results are also compatible with the predictions of the Parasitic Model proposed by Hall and Ecke (2003), so as this model predicted that L3 learners would link new L3 vocabulary to the words from the previous languages that were closer to the target. According to Cenoz (2003a), the L3 vocabulary learning mechanism proposed by Hall and Ecke (2003) could explain the high number of items transferred in the first stages of acquisition, and thus it could also explain why Basque L1 students selected Spanish (L2) as the source-language of CLI in most of the cases when writing in their L3.

Likewise, these results could also be pointing at the L2 factor as a main factor influencing the source-language of CLI. Since it is generally accepted that all languages in the linguistic repertoire of multilingual speakers are active in language production (Bardel and Lindqvist, 2007), the fact that we found CLI from the L2 is not sufficient as to evidence the L2 factor effect. In this study, the L2 factor effect was only present in Basque L1 students' CLI. Conversely, we did not find the effect of the L2 factor in Spanish L1

students' or bilingual students' L3 writing. Accordingly, we consider that, in this study, the impact of the L2 factor was confounded with the impact of typology.

Williams and Hammarbeg (1998) made a similar reflection regarding the impact of the L2 factor. According to these researchers, the effect of the L2 factor was related to three other factors namely language typology, proficiency and recency of use. According to these researchers the selection of the source-language of CLI was related to a balance between these four factors. Also Wrembel (2010) related the L2 factor to the proficiency level in the target language and concluded that, while the proficiency level in the target language increased, the effect of the L2 factor decreased (Wrembel, 2010, p.75).

The effect of the L2 factor in CLI has been reported for different areas of language. However, its effect has been mostly demonstrated in syntax (e.g., Bardel and Falk, 2007; Falk and Bardel, 2011). Therefore, we consider that the impact of the L2 factor may be more closely related to the level of language investigated (e.g., syntax) than to the impact of other factors that have been reported extensively at all levels (e.g., the effect of typology).

These results show that Basque L1 speakers, as multilingual speakers, use their entire linguistic repertoire in third language writing, and point at typological distance as the strongest predictor of the source-language of crosslinguistic influence in our linguistic combination. These results are in agreement with the results reported by Cenoz (2001) in the same linguistic combination (Basque-Spanish-English). Still, we think that different results should be expected on the impact of the L2 factor when investigating other linguistic combinations or areas of language as the impact of the L2 has been

extensively reported. For instance, at the syntactic level (see Bardel and Falk, 2007).

Spanish L1 students' CLI

Regarding Spanish L1 speakers' CLI, we found that Spanish L1 students used mostly their first language as the source-language of CLI (i.e., forward CLI), and that CLI with Basque or an ambiguous source appeared to be exceptional.

This finding shows that, in the case of Spanish L1 speakers, the mother tongue (i.e., L1) has a privileged position in CLI, and we relate this finding to the typological closeness between Spanish and English languages when compared to the typological distance between Basque and Spanish. According to Cenoz (2003a), 'languages are relatively distant or relatively close, not distant or close in absolute terms' (p. 104). In this study, the relative distance between Basque and English is larger than the distance between Spanish and English. Given the results obtained with the group of Basque L1 speakers, it seems that the impact of the mother tongue in the selection of the source-language of CLI in the case of Spanish L1 students is closely related the variable of typology.

These outcomes are in agreement with the results obtained by the studies that showed typological distance as the strongest predictor of the source-language of CLI (e.g. Cenoz, 2001, 2003a; Fouser, 2001). Additionally, they also support the predictions of the Parasitic Model proposed by Hall and Ecke (2003) which predicted that L3 learners would link new L3 vocabulary to the words from the previous languages that were closer to the target.

Bilingual students' CLI

In regard of bilingual speakers' CLI, we found that bilinguals used Spanish as the most recurrent source-language. Once again, the results of this study showed that the source-language of CLI was selected based primarily on the linguistic distance between the languages belonging to the linguistic repertoire of the participants.

The results obtained with bilingual students are also compatible with the predictions of the Parasitic Model proposed by Hall and Ecke (2003), and are in agreement with the results of studies that showed typological distance to be the strongest predictor of the source-language of CLI (e.g. Cenoz, 2001, 2003a; Fouser, 2001).

Crosslinguistic influence according to the mother tongue (L1)

The outcomes of the analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated that multilingual speakers use their entire linguistic repertoire in their L3 writing with no privileged position on the part of the L1, so as the differences between the three L1 speakers' groups did not reach statistical difference.

Given the results obtained according to the three L1 groups, language typology appeared to be the most important factor to explain both native (i.e., L1>L3) and non-native language influence (i.e., L2>L3), and we found no conclusive evidences with regard to the impact of the L2 factor. According to Szubko-Siratek (2015), 'numerous experiments indicate that there may be closer links between user's foreign languages than between these languages and the mother tongue, which seems to be most probably in the case of typologically related languages learned after L1 (see e.g., De Angelis, 2007)' (p.23). In the case of Basque L1 students, this seemed to be

the case as they showed to use mostly their L2 as the source-language of CLI, even if Spanish is not a foreign language in the Basque Country.

At first sight, the fact that Basque L1 students used their second language (i.e., Spanish) as the main source of CLI could be suggestive of the impact of the L2 factor. Given the results obtained for the three L1 groups, we suggested that this was not the case. In this study, we argue that the effect of the L2 factor was confounded with the effect of typology, and thus we consider valuable the studies that try to isolate the effect of each of the variables (e.g., Neuser, 2017).

All in all, the outcomes of this study bring to the foreground a critical question with respect to crosslinguistic influence and multilingualism. As mentioned, we found crosslinguistic influence in all the possible directions that the present study allowed: forward (L1>L3), lateral (L2>L3) and combined (L1+L2>L3). The fact that we found no evidences of reverse crosslinguistic influence (L2>L1) is directly linked to the design of the study as we analysed the influence of the L1 and the L2 on the L3. However, evidence of reverse CLI has been reported extensively elsewhere. For instance, Arocena (2017) reported recently reverse CLI from Spanish (L2) and English (L3) in Basque (L1) writing (p. 166-170). Internationally, reverse CLI has been also shown to be common in trilingual writers (e.g. Tsang, 2016).

In this sense, this study demonstrates that crosslinguistic influence is not a one-way phenomenon nor a one-to-one type of association, but a multidirectional one. While the term ‘transfer’ was perceived as a one-way phenomenon (L1>L2) the term ‘crosslinguistic influence’ (CLI) began to be used to indicate that all available languages affected one another in different directions (e.g. forward, reverse, lateral and combined). Additionally, the

fact that we found combined CLI puts into question the viewing of transfer as a one-to-one type of phenomenon. In this sense, the lack of any relevant position on the part of the mother tongue illustrates a distinctive feature of multilingual crosslinguistic influence as it shows that the directionality of CLI in multilinguals varies depending on the linguistic combination and a number of other factors. Consequently, our results show that investigating multilinguals from a holistic point of view -considering all the possible sources of influence- is critical in order to properly investigate multilinguals and multilingual crosslinguistic influence.

6.2.4. Proficiency in the target and source-languages

The second aim of study 2 was to investigate the role of proficiency on CLI. The reason why we posed this question was related to the distinction made in CLI literature in regard to the influence that proficiency in the target and the source-languages.

With respect to proficiency in the target language, most research maintains that CLI is more likely to occur at lower levels of proficiency, when learners need to fill the gap of knowledge of the target language more pressingly (e.g. Navés et al., 2005; Ringbom, 1986; Williams and Hammarberg, 1998). However, this idea seems contradicted by the studies that had also found CLI at more advanced levels (e.g. Cenoz, 2003a; Angelovska and Hahn, 2012) (see also chapter 3).

With respect to proficiency in the source-languages, we realised that there was less understanding of how proficiency in the source-languages affected CLI, so as CLI was equally found to occur from the source-languages speakers knew well, and from the the source-languages speakers did not know well. According to De Angelis (2007), a main reason for this less

understanding was related to the fact that ‘there are virtually no experimental studies that analyse proficiency level in the source language as a central variable’ (De Angelis, 2007, p.34).

Taking this into consideration, we decided to investigate proficiency both in the target and the source-languages in the present study. For that purpose, we divided our participants according to their proficiency level in each of the languages, and thus we obtained three proficiency groups for each of the languages: low, intermediate and high proficient speakers’ groups. In order to obtain proficiency scores for each of the languages, three evaluators analysed the 399 compositions written in Basque, Spanish and English. In total, 133 compositions were analysed for each of the languages using the revised rubric proposed by Polio (2013) (Appendix 6). The scores obtained from these evaluations showed that overall students obtained the highest proficiency scores in Spanish, followed by Basque and English. The mean scores obtained for each of the languages were as follows: Spanish (M=69.23), Basque (M=56.02) and English (M=47.86).

In the following two sections, we will reflect upon the outcomes obtained according to the proficiency in the target (English) and the source-languages (Basque and Spanish) and its effect on CLI.

Proficiency in the target language

In order to investigate whether proficiency in the target language (English) had an effect on CLI, we divided our sample in three parts - using the 33th percentile - and obtained the following proficiency groups: low proficient (n=48), intermediate proficient (n=42) and high proficient (n=43) English learners. The group of low proficient writers scored between 18.33 and 42.3 points in the proficiency evaluation (M=34.76); the group of intermediate

proficient writers scored between 42.3 and 52.3 points (M=46.89); and the group of high proficient writers scored between 52.3 and 78.48 points (M=58.87).

Overall, the descriptive analysis showed similar scores in Basque and ambiguous CLI on the part of the three proficiency groups. However, with respect to CLI instances that had Spanish as the source language, the results of the analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that the differences between the three groups were statistically significant. Therefore, the outcomes of this study showed that proficiency in the target language is indeed a main factor in determining the amount of times (tokens) and distinct manners (types) in which CLI in the target language (L3) occurs.

These results are in agreement with the results of previous studies that showed low proficiency levels related to higher amounts of CLI (e.g. Navés et al., 2005; Odlin, 1989; Ringbom, 1986; Sikogukira, 1993; Singleton, 1987; Williams eta Hammarberg, 1998).

However, as mentioned at the beginning of section 6.2., the crosslinguistic influence analysed in this study only considers negative CLI illustrated through the instances that we categorized as ‘interlingual errors’. Thus, we need to make a distinction in the interpretation of the results and specify that indeed low proficiency levels in the target language are related to negative CLI or ‘interlingual errors’. For this reason, we consider that the investigation of the extent to which different proficiency levels in the target language influence positive CLI is a possible topic for further research.

Proficiency in the source-languages

In order to investigate whether proficiency in the source languages (Basque and Spanish) had an effect on CLI, we proceeded in a similar manner. We

divided our sample in three parts - using the 33th percentile - based on the scores obtained by the three evaluations of the compositions written in Basque and Spanish. In total, we analysed 266 writings -133 in each language- and the scores obtained from these evaluations were further summed and divided in order to obtain the mean proficiency scores.

In regard to proficiency in the Basque language, we obtained the following groups: low proficient (n=44), intermediate proficient (n=46) and high proficient (n=43) Basque writers' groups. The group of low proficient writers scored between 12 and 52 points (M=45.63); the group of intermediate proficient writers scored between 52 and 60 points (M=56.87); and the group of high proficient writers scored between 60 and 88 points (M=67.45).

Overall, the descriptive analysis showed similar mean scores in Basque, Spanish and ambiguous CLI on the part of the three proficiency groups. Moreover, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that the differences between the three groups did not reach to be statistically significant. Therefore, the outcomes of this study showed that proficiency in Basque (L1/L2) was not a main factor influencing CLI.

In regard to proficiency in the Spanish language, we proceeded in a similar fashion and used the 33th percentile to obtain the following groups: low proficient (n=44), intermediate proficient (n=44) and high proficient (n=45) Spanish writers' groups. The group of low proficient writers scored between 34 and 66 points (M=58.93). The group of intermediate proficient writers scored between 66 and 73 points (M=67.73). The group of high proficient writers scored between 73 and 96 points (M=79.51).

Overall, the descriptive analysis showed similar mean scores in Basque, Spanish and ambiguous CLI on the part of the three proficiency groups. Moreover, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that the differences between the three groups did not reach the statistical significance. Therefore, the outcomes of this study indicated that proficiency in Spanish (L1/L2) was neither a main factor influencing CLI.

As explained in chapter 3, the studies that investigated the effect of proficiency in the source-languages have extended discussions in two directions. On the one hand, proficiency in the source-languages has been related to the activation of the languages in question, and thus it has been argued that it influences the amount of CLI. On the other hand, proficiency in the source-languages has been related to the type of crosslinguistic influence likely to occur (i.e., conceptual versus formal).

Van Hell and Tanner (2012) and Van Hell and Tokowicz (2010) explained how in order that CLI can occur a minimal activation of the source-languages was required, and how that activation was related to the proficiency level in the source-languages. In a similar line, Tremblay (2006) defended that a minimal proficiency level was required in order to show evidences of the influence of previously acquired languages (i.e., L2) in the third. Enriching this debate, De Angelis (2005) demonstrated that such minimal proficiency level could be the proficiency level acquired with a year and a half of instruction, as she found CLI from the languages in which students had received instruction of that length. Previous studies also demonstrated that proficiency level in the source-languages could be relatively low in order to occur CLI (e.g., De Angelis, 1999; Rivers, 1987).

The outcomes of our study showed that even the low proficient groups of Basque and Spanish had that minimum proficiency level, so as students

showed to rely in their L1 and L2 when writing in their L3. However, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that the differences between the three Basque and the three Spanish proficiency groups did not reach statistical significance. One possible explanation for the lack of any significant difference between the three proficiency groups may be related to the fact that proficiency levels in Basque and Spanish may not vary much in the educative context of the class. According to Jarvis (2015), ‘in perhaps most cases of traditional classroom language learning, the effects of L1 proficiency on transfer do not vary from one learner to the next because all learners in the class are equally and fully proficient native speakers of their L1’ (p.76). In the present study, this could be the case, as all participants were native speakers of Basque and/or Spanish and had begun to learn Basque at the age of three in the education system. Taking this into consideration, we suggest that the comparative levels of proficiency in the SLs may be better investigated in the cases in which these proficiency levels are actually different. For instance, in the cases in which immigrant students are involved and proficiency in their L1 is measured according to the date of arrival (see Guion et al., 2000).

We thus conclude by saying that, in this study, the level of proficiency in the target language (English) showed to be a main factor in the amount of times and distinct manners in which CLI occurred. This finding points at crosslinguistic influence being used more frequently as a resource by low proficient English learners in L3 writing. As far as we analysed negative CLI, we consider it pertinent to make the distinction and say that different results could be expected when investigating positive CLI. In addition, we found that proficiency in the source-languages was not a main factor affecting the frequency of the CLI instances. The fact that no significant differences were found between the three proficiency groups of Basque or

Spanish (i.e., SLs) may suggest that comparative levels of proficiency require to be measured in contexts in which the proficiency levels are actually different.

6.2.5. Crosslinguistic influence and multilingual writing strategies

The third and last aim of study 2 was investigating crosslinguistic influence as related to multilingual writing strategies. The reason why we posed this aim was related to the idea that we have kept throughout the two studies of this thesis. Essentially, this idea implied that multilingual writers are not the sum of two or three monolingual writers but writers in their own right and that, as such, they have a wide range of available linguistic resources that are the fruit of their previous language learning experiences.

In this last section, we showed this point looking specifically at the multilingual strategies involved in CLI instances. Our aim was to describe the strategies involved in the adaptation of the languages previously acquired in the writing of the third language, and to discern the knowledge implied in these processes of adaptation (e.g., morphological awareness).

As mentioned in the chapter devoted to the presentation of the results, while the quantitative analysis helped us describe the circumstances under which crosslinguistic influence occurred, the qualitative analysis allowed us to understand the steps that lead to those instances and the processes underneath. In this section, we will discuss the results obtained according to the strategies we found in non-adapted and adapted loan words.

Multilingual strategies in non-adapted loan words

In regard of the circumstances under which students used non-adapted loan words, we first discovered that the text type had no main effect. Even if the vast majority of the students showed a preference on a particular type of text

(i.e., the 81% of the students decided to write a description instead of a story) similar amounts of crosslinguistic influence were found in both of types of text. Presumably, this preference could be related to proficiency in English, so as describing a picture might be at first sight easier than writing a story, and students showed overall an intermediate to low proficiency (M=47.86) in English. Subsequently, we found that using non-adapted loan words in the L3 was a multilingual writing strategy in both types of texts we analysed in this study.

Secondly, we discovered that students used mostly Spanish to enumerate the objects that appeared in the picture of the writing task, and that the lack of knowledge of English specific vocabulary triggered the repetition of some words such as ‘litera’ (=bunk), ‘almacén’ (=storage-room) or ‘salon’ (=living-room).

Spanish L1-function words were also introduced in English writing, but always embedded in larger expressions. We encountered, for instance, examples such as ‘todo a cien’ (from student nr 80) or ‘Bacalao al pil pil’ (from student nr 80) in our participants’ compositions. These results contradict the predictions of previous studies that defended that crosslinguistic influence in function words was more likely to occur in the L2-function words (e.g., Bardel and Falk, 2012) (see also chapter 3). However, the instances we encountered were too few as to generalize.

Thirdly, we encountered that the use of Basque was less common than the use of Spanish as the source-language. However, we found that the broader socio-linguistic context of the school could have favoured the use of Basque in some specific instances because Basque is the main language of instruction in D model programs. For example, in instances such as ‘komuna’ (=bathroom) (from student nr 19). The fact that ‘komuna’ is a

common word in the school that presumably all students have used at some point in this context could have favoured the inclusion of this word into students' writing.

Interestingly enough we found that, in the case of non adapted loan words, students were sensitive about using a language other than the target in their writings, and thus frequently enclosed these instances in double quotes and/or brackets. This strategy of marking non adapted loan words with punctuation marks was not encountered in the case of adapted loan words. Therefore, we think that students thought it to be appropriate to mark only entire non target words. In contrast, the fact that adapted loan words included an adaptation to the target language, presumably let students to consider this marking unnecessary.

Briefly then, we identified various multilingual writing strategies related to non-adapted loan words. First, the findings of this study showed that CLI is a common strategy for different types of text as students showed to use this strategy similarly when describing and telling a story in their L3. Second, we found that the strategy of using non-adapted loan words served student to name unknown vocabulary in the target language. Third, we found that students used orthographical marking (i.e., brackets or double quotes) in order to show that they were aware of using a language other than the target language in their L3 writing. Fourth, we detected some instances in which the socio-linguistic context (i.e., the context of the school) could have influenced the selection of the source-language in instances such as 'komuna'. Finally, we discovered that L1-function words were solely used when embedded in larger expressions that contained other content words, and never isolated.

Multilingual strategies in adapted loan words

Multilingual strategies in adapted loan words included, more than certain specific circumstances, various steps that showed to be strategic just as they were shared among students. These intermediate steps between the source and the final target-like word, were first based on a morphological analysis followed by the subsequent adaptation. Presumably, the strategies described throughout this section let students succeed in many occasions. Yet, in this study we only analyse the failures or interlingual errors.

According to Plag (2003) the knowing of the word often involved the understanding of its inner morphological structure (p. 9-10). This type of knowledge is referred to as morphological awareness (MA) in literature, and Oz (2014) gave a very appropriate definition for the context of our study:

‘(MA) means the explicit knowledge of the smallest meaningful units of language, including derivational (e.g., *-er/-or*, *-tion*, *un-*, *re-*) morphemes (i.e., suffixes and prefixes) and inflectional (e.g., *-ed*, *-s*, *-ing*, *-est*) markers (i.e., suffixes) [...] students with MA are able to identify the smallest meaningful units of language such as free and bound morphemes as well as inflectional and derivational markers’ (Oz, 2014, p. 99-100)

In this study, students showed to use their morphological awareness in more than one language, and the adaptation of this morphology appeared to be based on the meaning contained in each morpheme, not in their form (see Frost, Grainger and Carreiras, 2008) (see also chapter 3). To be able to properly describe strategy use, we need to take into account the underlying processes which Dahm (2015) described as a ‘series of actions or steps taken in order to achieve a particular end’ (p.45). In the light of the findings of previous research, in this section we will discuss these intermediate steps as

strategic. Specifically, we will discuss these strategies as related to lexical, derivative and flexive morphology.

Multilingual strategies in lexical morphology

Lexical morphology was mostly selected from the source-languages and further adapted to third language morphosyntactic rules. This strategy showed to be more suitable in three word-classes, and thus we will discuss this strategy accordingly.

The use of lexical morphology in nouns

In nouns, the strategy showed to be as follows. First, students selected (in most of the cases) nominal Spanish lexemes. Then, they adapted them to English grammatical rules. Examples such as ‘plant’ illustrate how students used the Spanish lexical morpheme ‘planta’ (=floor) and deleted the final ‘-a’ in order to adequate this Spanish word to English grammar. This example was found, for instance, in the compositions of students nr 27, nr 45, nr 113, and nr 152.

The use of lexical morphology in verbs

In verbs, we found this strategy to be different in finite and non-finite verb forms.

In regard to non-finite forms (i.e., infinitive, gerunds and participles) we noticed that students used verbs that had formally a similar equivalent in English and use them in the same linguistic context as they would use the Spanish verbs but in their English writing. For example, we found that they used verbs such ‘install’ in order to mean ‘settle’. In these cases, we think that the formal relatedness of the Spanish and English verbs ‘instalar’ (Sp.) and ‘install’ (Eng.) influenced the selection of the source-language verb. Yet,

the use that students made of these verbs showed many times a lack of knowledge on the correct English linguistic context or use.

In finite verbal forms, we found that students adapted Spanish or ambiguous lexemes to the English conjugation. In this manner, we found instances such as ‘alquiled’ (from the writing of student nr 77) or ‘disfrutated’ (from the writing of student nr 20). In these cases, the source-language of the verbal lexeme was the equivalent of the English verbs students intended to use. However, no formal similarity existed between the verbal form they choose and the English verb they required: ‘alquiled’/‘to rent’ and ‘disfrutated’/‘to enjoy’.

Interestingly enough, we also found that in some cases students used a main English verb while translating the preposition that this verb in question would have in Basque or Spanish languages. For instance, ‘talking with’ from the Basque form ‘norbaitekin hitz egin’ (*-ekin = with*) or from the Spanish form ‘hablar con’ (*con=with*) instead of ‘talking to’ (Eng.) (from the composition of the student nr 20, nr 103, 109). Or, ‘talking between’ from the Basque ‘elkarren artean hitz egin’ (*artean=between*) or from the Spanish form ‘hablar entre’ (*entre=between*) instead of ‘talking to’ (Eng.) (from the composition of the student nr 28). While these instances show an influence from students’ L1 and L2, this crosslinguistic influence cannot be considered formal (see also Ringbom, 1987), and thus it was not included in the quantitative analysis.

The use of lexical morphology in adjectives

Regarding the multilingual writing strategies behind adapted loan adjectives, we found that the lexical morphemes they mostly implied were lexemes with an ambiguous or a Spanish origin. In this manner, students added English

derivative morphemes to these ambiguous or Spanish lexemes. For instance, when writing the word ‘constituted’ instead of ‘based’ (from the composition of student nr 18).

In addition, we found that students appeared to relate some of the target-language derivative morphemes with others from the source-languages. For instance, when they did the wrong correspondence between the English morpheme ‘-ed’ with the Spanish morpheme ‘-ante’ in examples such as ‘relaxed’ (= *relajado*) instead of ‘relaxing’ (= *relajante*) (from the composition of the student nr 32). Or, when they made the wrong correspondence between the English morpheme ‘-ing’ with the Spanish morpheme ‘-ado’ in examples such as ‘exciting’ (= *excitante*) instead of ‘excited’ (= *excitado*) (from the composition of the student nr 123).

Multilingual strategies adapting derivative morphology

Derivative morphology was mostly used in two combinations that showed to be independent from the word-class they implied. Specifically, the instances we found showed: (a) a source-language base and target-language derivation, and (b) an ambiguous base and an ambiguous derivation.

Derivative morphemes have a clear semantic content as they add meaning to the base of the words. Furthermore, the grammatical categories of words can be altered by adding derivative morphemes (prefixing and suffixing) and therefore this second strategy showed to be very resourceful when creating L3-like vocabulary.

In the first combination we recognized, students showed to select a Spanish lexeme and add English derivational morphemes. For example, in the word ‘anuncment’ (from the composition of student nr 78). In this case, the Spanish lexeme ‘anunc’ was apparently selected from ‘anuncio’

(=*commercial*), to which the English suffix and derivative morpheme ‘-ment’ (=the result of) was added in order to convey both meanings.

In the second combination we recognized, students showed to use ambiguous base and derivation. We realized that the sharing of some derivational morphemes from Latin and Greek and some vocabulary between Spanish and English languages complicated the task of differentiating the source language of each of the forms (i.e., lexical and derivational morphemes). The prefixes and suffixes common to both languages showed to be the most frequent used by the students, and thus we suggest that formal similarities at a morphological level did also trigger crosslinguistic influence. Once again, the outcomes of this study showed that drawing the line between the influence of one language or another is not an easy (or even a possible) task even at a morphological level. Examples such as ‘unifamiliar’ (from the composition of student nr 97) or ‘solarium’ (from the composition of student nr 34) are illustrative of this, and in them we see that the source language of the instances and the Latin origin of the prefixes and suffixes make difficult to discern whether the instances have one sole source-language or the influence was combined.

These results confirm that there are qualitative differences between the one-way type of CLI investigated mostly in SLA (e.g. L1>L2) and the multidirectional type of CLI we described in this study. The examples presented in this section demonstrate that multilingual CLI is multidirectional and that it even conveys simultaneous interactions between the languages known by multilinguals in the third language (i.e., combined CLI). Investigating the circumstances and processes under which multilingual CLI occurs will allow us define the ways in which multilinguals use their prior language knowledge in the acquisition of the L3.

Multilingual strategies adapting flexive morphology

The adaptation of flexive morphology showed to be the strategy most closely related to the source-languages' characteristics. Thus, we found four language-specific contexts in which students used and adapted flexive morphemes: (a) to compare items in English, (b) to delete or (c) neutralize Spanish grammatical genders, and (d) to inflect the plural in nouns.

The comparative formula

Crosslinguistic influence in the English comparative formulas occurred in two specific ways. On the one hand, crosslinguistic influence was reflected by the double marking of the comparison. For instance, in 'more higher' (from the composition of student nr 51). On the other hand, CLI was reflected by the incorrect use of the comparative formula in the case of short adjectives with examples such as 'more hot' (from the composition of student nr 149). In this sense, we consider that the fact that neither Spanish nor Basque have a morphological comparative formula based on the number of the syllables of the word have influenced the amount of interlingual errors (or CLI instances).

Deletion of the Spanish grammatical genders

In regard of Spanish grammatical genders, we recognized two interesting patterns to accommodate Spanish language's characteristics to the characteristics of the English language: deletion and neutralization. The ending in some of these instances did not *per se* represent gender. For example, the final '-a' in 'la planta' (from student nr 113) does not represent the feminine gender if we consider that 'el planto' does not exist in Spanish. However, as they are the flexive Spanish morphemes for gender, we decided to name them accordingly.

Thus, we recognized that students systematically deleted Spanish grammatical genders ('-o' and '-a'). Illustrative examples of this strategy were instances such as 'marionets' (from the composition of student nr 45), 'anecdots' (from the composition of student nr 70), or 'electrodomestics' (from the compositions of students nr 14 and nr 94).

Neutralization of the Spanish grammatical genders

Secondly, we recognized that in the cases in which deletion did not occur, students used neutralization as an alternative strategy to deal with the differences between Spanish and English grammatical genders. In those cases, students showed to adapt the Spanish feminine ('-a') or masculine ('-o') to a more neutral form ('-e'). Illustrative examples of this strategy were words such as 'facture' (from the composition of student nr 69) or 'pise' (from the composition of student nr 48).

Plural inflection

Crosslinguistic influence in plural inflection was evident in the cases in which the plural inflection was added to nouns that were or had a plural noun in English. As mentioned, those instances could be related to crosslinguistic influence (i.e., interlingual errors) but also to a generalization of the target language rule (i.e., intralingual errors) because these errors could be also committed by native learners of English in the cases in which they did not know the exceptions of the general rule (see also chapter 2). Once again, drawing the line between the influence of one language (i.e., the target) or the other (i.e., the source) appeared to be complicated when investigating multilingual CLI. As far as they may illustrate crosslinguistic influence, we included them.

Some illustrative examples of this strategy are the following: ‘mans’ instead of ‘men’ (from the composition of student nr 117), ‘persons’ instead of ‘people’ (from the compositions of students nr 11, nr 25, nr 56 and nr 119) or ‘familiaris’ (from the compositions of the students nr 25, nr 60 and nr 75) instead of ‘family members’.

All in all, the outcomes of the qualitative analysis showed that multilinguals use their morphological awareness strategically when writing in their third language. Additionally, we have demonstrated that this strategic use of multilinguals’ morphological awareness may be investigated through the analysis of adapted loan words, as they ultimately reflect the intermediate steps carried out by students to the final L3-like words.

These results suggest that learners who are morphologically aware understand the relationship between the base form of a word and its suffixes and prefixes, and thus that presumably they will further understand the parallels to other words that contain the morphemes they already know (see also Jorlin, 2015). There are several studies that have investigated whether the teaching of the skills associated with morphological awareness is a worthwhile classroom endeavour. White et al., (1989), for instance, focused on root words as bases and used 782 words prefixed by *un-*, 401 words prefixed by *re-*, 313 words prefixed by *in-/-im-/ir-/il-* and 216 words prefixed by *dis-*. According to their results, the 80 percent of the target complex words could be understood using the three most common meanings of a given root. In contrast, the remaining 50 target forms had to be learned as monomorphemic words due to the fact that their meaning could not be deduced. Additionally, these researchers found that morphological awareness improved with age and experience, and based on their findings

supported the practice of direct morphological instruction in Grades 4 and above (White et al., 1989, p. 303).

Similarly, Freyd and Baron (1982) found that students who analyzed derived words as multiple morphemes rather than as monomorphemic words were indeed better learners of vocabulary. Therefore, morphological analysis (which is based on morphological awareness) appears to be overall an effective strategy in the understanding, acquisition and production of L3 vocabulary.

The strategies reported in this study cannot be extrapolated one by one to many languages, because every language has its proper morphosyntactic features. Yet, they allow us argue that multilingual writers do apply morphological associations and use them strategically in order to produce new vocabulary. According to Dahm (2015) mentioning Gick and Holyoak (1983) and the Holyoak and Koh (1987) ‘strategies can be transferred and it is possible for a person who has first induced a schema to solve novel problems that can be categorized as instances of that schema’ (p. 48). Subsequently, we suggest that multilinguals may apply strategies based on morphological awareness to all the languages belonging to their repertoire. In this sense we point out that the teaching of morphological skills may be appropriate for the acquisition of languages overall.

In the context explored here, we recognise that each linguistic combination favours its own set of morphological associations and thus strategies to be used when writing. Investigating specific linguistic combinations may allow us to design context-based materials for morphological instruction.

6.3. General conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to gain a greater understanding of the processes behind multilingual acquisition through the investigation of written accuracy in the three languages known by our participants, and crosslinguistic influence in the third language. In order to do so, we investigated intra and interlingual errors and tested various factors that previous research had found to influence the relationships among the languages in multilinguals. The quantitative and qualitative analyses reported some relevant findings that can perhaps contribute to the current state of knowledge in the field of multilingualism.

On the whole, the results of the two studies conducted in this thesis revealed that the languages belonging to the linguistic repertoire of multilinguals are interconnected. Moreover, they give insight in the extent to which a multilingual focus on writing assessment is appropriate for investigating multilingual practices. This general conclusion was drawn after reflecting upon the results obtained in both studies, but also after comparing these results to findings reported by previous research.

In study 1, we offered new empirical evidence of distribution patterns of fourth grade students' errors in the three languages of the Basque education system. The analysis of the errors illustrated the difficulties faced by students at one point in time in each of the languages. The findings of this study showed that some difficulties were more closely related to the features of the target language (e.g., declension errors to Basque language) while some others were shared across the languages (e.g., difficulties in spelling or punctuation). In addition, these results showed that some errors correlated across the languages.

Consequently, we showed that accuracy can successfully reflect the relationships across multilinguals' languages. On the one hand, these results support the idea of multilingual acquisition emerging from the interaction among the languages learnt (see also Herdina and Jessner, 2002). On the other hand, they mean that the acquisition of some skills in one language may support the acquisition of the same skills in another language.

These results fit holistic approaches to multilingualism and demonstrate that multilinguals are not the combination of two or more monolinguals in one mind, but speakers (and writers) on their own right (see also Cook, 1991; Herdina and Jessner, 2002). Ultimately, these findings mean that linguistic knowledge is integrated, and thus put into question the monolingual view in language teaching and research.

Concerning interlingual errors, or errors produced by the influence of previously acquired language on the target language (study 2), we found that they constituted 25% of the total amount of errors produced in the third language. From the 989 English lexical errors we found in study 1, 244 were produced by the influence of previously acquired languages (study 2). Additionally, we found that the 64% of the students used their Basque and Spanish knowledge at some point when writing in English (L3). These findings have implications for the understanding of multilingual acquisition, and thus we discussed factors such as typology or proficiency as related to acquisition processes.

In study 2, we evaluated a variety of factors that can affect crosslinguistic influence in the third language. In previous research, each factor was demonstrated to be a significant predictor of crosslinguistic influence. Yet, the fact that most of the studies investigated oral production could explain that the effect of some of these factors showed to be less relevant in writing (e.g.,

L2 factor). The importance of the linguistic factors and in particular typological distance found in this study suggests that the results on the interaction between two or more languages changes depending on the languages involved with no regard on whether this language is the first (L1) or the second (L2) language. In other words, that the directionality of CLI may vary depending on the typology of the languages involved. This could explain the predominance of Spanish language as the source-language of CLI in the cases when this language was the L1 and in the cases where it was the L2 invariably. Given the existence of an objective typological closeness between two of the three languages analysed in the study, the effect of psychotypology (i.e., the subjective or perceived typological distance) could not be determined (see also section 3.4.2.). Besides, the L1 was found not being a main factor in CLI within our linguistic triangle (Basque, Spanish and English). This finding goes in line with the results of studies that demonstrated that crosslinguistic influence in multilinguals includes all languages belonging to their linguistic repertoire (see also De Angelis, 2007).

As Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) argued, the fact that the linguistic factors influence the interaction differently depending on the languages involved suggests that ‘there are limitations on the degree to which generic models can represent actual interactions between two or more languages’ (p. 229). Accordingly, the specific relationships encountered within a particular linguistic configuration may not be simply extrapolated to other linguistic combinations.

Likewise, we looked at the relationship between proficiency in the source and the target languages and found proficiency in the target language being a main factor in crosslinguistic influence. Less proficient learners of English

appeared to use more often CLI in their L3 writing than intermediate or high proficient learners. These findings are in agreement with the results of studies that showed crosslinguistic influence to happen more frequently in the early stages of acquisition where filling a knowledge gap is more necessary (e.g. Navés et al., 2005; Nicoladis and Gravilla, 2015; Williams and Hammarberg, 1998). In contrast, language proficiency in the source-languages appeared not to be a main factor in crosslinguistic influence. We consider this finding related to the fact that all learners in the class were almost equally proficient speakers of Basque and Spanish.

As far as we found that psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors influenced CLI, we consider more interdisciplinary studies necessary in the investigation of multilingual writing. As shown by our results, the sociolinguistic context may trigger words that are linked to one language while inhibiting others. Additionally, the psycholinguistic processes may also interfere in the quantity and quality of CLI. More interdisciplinary studies would bring closer the fields of second (SLA) and third (TLA) language acquisition, psycholinguistics, multilingualism and multilingual education, and they could provide different information in the investigation of CLI.

The results of the qualitative analysis contributed to explain the intermediate steps that lead students to produce CLI instances. In this regard, we accounted for a variety of strategies based on students' morphological awareness that illustrated how students could eventually adapt lexical, derivational and flexive morphemes in order to create L3-like vocabulary.

These results let us argue that a direct morphological instruction could be an effective tool for improving writing. This specific type of knowledge of a word's inner structure has been shown to improve not only vocabulary

acquisition (e.g. Bowers and Kirby, 2010) but also reading comprehension (e.g. Carlisle, 2000; Kuo and Anderson, 2006). In this sense we suggest that it could be beneficial not only in L3 writing, but in order to write in any language.

Studies on translanguaging pedagogies explained the manners in which ‘pedagogical translanguaging aims at providing students with strategies to perceive cross-linguistic similarities’ (Leonet, Cenoz and Gorter, forthcoming, p.10). These pedagogies are based on the use of the whole linguistic repertoire. For this reason, we consider them excellent initiatives for the development of metalinguistic awareness as so they consider all available linguistic resources in language acquisition (see also Cenoz and Gorter, 2017).

Among the relevant aspects to consider when designing an intervention in our context, the necessity of reinforcing the minority language through translanguaging is regarded as essential. According to Cenoz and Gorter (2017), ‘in schools with a minority language as the language of instruction, there is an extra task to fulfill’ (p. 8). In regard of designing a sustainable translanguaging for regional minority languages, these researchers outlined five key principles. Among them, ‘using emergent multilinguals’ resources to reinforce all languages by developing metalinguistic awareness’ was defined as necessary (Cenoz and Gorter, 2017, p. 9). Therefore, we consider using translanguaging pedagogies as the next step to make conscious the unconscious. That is to say, to transform the less conscious processes embedded in crosslinguistic influence into direct instruction.

All in all, the results of these two studies call into question the suitability of monolingual language teaching and research methods as far as we demonstrated the influence of the previously acquired languages in L3

writing and the appropriateness of holistic approaches when conducting research on multilinguals. For this reason, we argue that both language teaching methodologies and research methods should consider including the resources that more than one available linguistic system offers when it comes to investigating and teaching multilingual students.

6.4. Limitations and future directions

This thesis has some limitations and also raises some valuable contributions for further research. Among the limitations, the number of schools in the studies needs to be mentioned. Although the number of compositions analysed was quite large (n=399), we only gathered data from two schools. We tried to compensate for the small number of schools by selecting two different sociolinguistic contexts (i.e., Autonomous Community of Navarre and Basque Autonomous Community). However, this limitation does not allow us to generalise our findings to other sociolinguistic contexts.

The second limitation is related to the variables analysed in this project. Taking into consideration our subject of research, the two studies were exclusively focused on written language. However, it could have been enriching to analyse complementary data gathered from oral production. In this manner, we could have investigated whether modality does interfere in accuracy and CLI, and contrast the results obtained for each of the modalities. Besides, this could have given us a better understanding of the linguistic competence of our participants.

The third limitation is related to data collection. The fact that we collected the data at a certain point in time inhibited the possibility of analysing the evolution of three variables (i.e., proficiency in Basque, Spanish and English). Our results show that the proficiency level in English had an effect

on CLI. However, we do not actually know the development of the relationship between proficiency in the target-language and CLI. Gathering the data at different points in time (i.e., a longitudinal study) would have offered the possibility of detailing these relationships and also their development over time. Additionally, a similar writing task was used to collect the essays for each of the languages. Even if this methodology made possible the comparison between the languages, it could be that it also provided the means to students to improve their performance.

Even with these limitations, the findings of this PhD project offered some valuable insights into multilingual acquisition as related to written accuracy and crosslinguistic influence. These findings also raised some questions that may hopefully be answered in future research.

In study 1, we suggested that if all languages in multilinguals' repertoire are connected, they can potentially support each other in their development. Thus we defended that languages assist in the learning of other languages and that acquiring a skill in one language could support the acquisition of (at least) the same skill in another language. Previous research points at supportive and competitive relationships governing the interaction among the languages, and the manners in which some 'connected growers' support each other's growth while others inhibit the use of the less advanced growers (Spoelman and Verspoor, 2010, p. 536).

The first study provided the opportunity of investigating the strength of the relationships among the languages in the accuracy dimension, and this has been an important first step. One interesting next step would thus be to investigate the relationship between the errors and the development of such supportive and competitive relationships over time. Ultimately, looking at the relationships across the three languages of our education system over

time through accuracy measures, could give us insight into the most appropriate areas for language-teaching. Given the typological distance between the languages of our context and the variety in proficiency levels acquired by students in each of the languages, the analysis of the different relationships across the languages and proficiency levels could give new insights into the importance of language typology and proficiency as predictors of the relationships that emerge.

In study 2, we offered a wide picture of the distribution patterns of lexical crosslinguistic influence in multilingual learners, and provided some additions to our understanding of how a variety of factors affect the quantity, the quality, and the source-language of CLI. In this sense, we contributed to the analysis of the impact of these factors, and offered new empirical evidence of distribution patterns across three languages. Yet, we suggested that the mode of production (written versus oral) also affected crosslinguistic influence. This effect has important implications for the classroom as written and oral productions are evaluated quite independently. A great deal of further research may be done in this direction, as there are many questions related specifically to crosslinguistic influence in written and oral language. We suggest that investigating the specific factors that can affect CLI in written language could be the starting point. For instance, the influence of different text types (e.g., informative, scientific, etc.) or the impact of the register used when writing (e.g., formal versus informal). Another interesting direction for further research would be that of contrasting the outcomes of oral and written productions considering the factors that have been shown to be significant predictors of crosslinguistic influence. This would allow us specifying which factors affect and to what extent both language modes.

Finally, the findings of this PhD project suggest that crosslinguistic influence may be also investigated as related to the three main dimensions of writing: complexity, accuracy and fluency (CAF). Exploring these relationships has the potential to provide valuable contributions on the research topic of multilingual writing. For instance, examining the relationship between lexical density or grammatical complexity and crosslinguistic influence. Looking at these interactions may be an excellent continuation of the study presented here.

All in all, the conclusions from the studies presented in this thesis fit well into language policy devised by the Basque Government (Eusko Jaurlaritza 2007, 2016) when considering that students in the Basque education system should develop their skills in more than two languages, so as the benefits of third language learning in additional language learning have been extensively reported. From our point of view, the main contribution of these two studies is demonstrating that languages are not acquired or processed in isolation, but dynamically interconnected. According to Otwinowska (2016), ‘when several languages are learned, the learner does not begin at the basic level in each case, but rather continually extends the existing language knowledge’ (p. 242). A goal in language-teaching could be then that of using all the linguistic resources available in each education system. Using methodologies that differ from monolingual assumptions would encourage students to make more conscious connections among their languages. As far as we showed language typology to be a main factor in the interconnections made by multilingual students in our context, typological closeness and distance could be used in language-teaching strategically. While typological closeness provides the possibility of pointing at crosslinguistic similarities, typological distance grants presenting and contrasting essential differences

between the languages. In our opinion, using both linguistic distance and closeness could be fruitfully used.

Overall, this research project has aimed at contributing to the field of multilingualism and, specifically, to the research of multilingual writing. Thus, we have contributed to the body of research studies that demonstrate holistic approaches to be essential in order to investigate multilingual practices such as writing. In addition, we have identified that multilingual writing demands its own methodologies of research, and that taking the entire linguistic repertoire of the participants into account is a main requirement. We are hopeful that additional research will move beyond monolingual assumptions and support more appropriate theories and research methods in multilingualism. The findings of this thesis contribute to the understanding of the processes embedded in multilingual writing and, in doing so, will be insightful for further research.

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Resumen

Resumen

En estas líneas se presenta el resumen en castellano de la tesis doctoral “Hiru hizkuntzatan idazten: hurbilpen holistiko, analitiko eta hizkuntza artekoa / Writing in three languages: holistic, analytic and cross-linguistic perspectives” (Escribiendo en tres lenguas: un acercamiento holístico, analítico y cross-lingüístico).

Introducción

El desarrollo de la competencia multilingüe en contextos escolares ha adquirido mayor importancia en los últimos años debido a la expansión del inglés como lengua de comunicación internacional. Este hecho resulta de mayor interés en contextos como el País Vasco, donde el curriculum incluye tres lenguas en Educación Primaria (castellano, euskara, inglés) y, además, el francés o alemán como materia optativa en Educación Secundaria. Las investigaciones realizadas sobre el multilingüismo en nuestro contexto han sido dirigidas mayoritariamente al aprendizaje temprano y a la integración de lengua y contenido, pero en menor medida a la integración de las distintas lenguas del curriculum escolar (Cenoz, 2009).

Los estudios que analizan el multilingüismo desde diferentes perspectivas tales como la psicolingüística o la adquisición de segundas y terceras lenguas señalan que la competencia multilingüe se desarrolla en la interacción de las lenguas que componen el repertorio lingüístico total de los aprendices, y que dicha interacción influye en el aprendizaje y uso de dichas lenguas (véase Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2014; Cook, 2003; Grosjean, 1992; Herdina & Jessner, 2002). Por ello, son muchos los estudios que coinciden en la idea de que una perspectiva monolingüe es inadecuada tanto para la enseñanza de las lenguas, como para la investigación de las prácticas y sujetos multilingües

(Aronin & Singleton, 2012; De Angelis, 2007). Sin embargo, son pocos los estudios realizados desde dicha perspectiva.

En esta tesis, consideramos la competencia multilingüe desde el enfoque "Focus on Multilingualism" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2014), el cual subraya la necesidad de adoptar un enfoque holístico tanto en la investigación como en la enseñanza de las lenguas en el contexto escolar. Esta visión holística del multilingüismo, está vinculada a conceptos como el "bilingüismo flexible" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010) y "translanguaging" (García, 2009) y, entre sus ventajas, cabe destacar que acoge tres dimensiones fundamentales: el hablante multilingüe, el repertorio lingüístico total y el contexto social.

Con esta tesis esperamos contribuir en la fundamentación teórica y empírica de dicho modelo a través de dos ejes temáticos complementarios: a) las relaciones entre las lenguas del repertorio lingüístico total de los participantes de 4º de Educación Secundaria (castellano, euskara, inglés), y b) la influencia de las lenguas adquiridas previamente (L1/L2) en la producción escrita en tercera lengua (L3) o influencia cross-lingüística de estos mismos participantes.

Marco teórico

Las conclusiones compartidas por los estudios que adoptan un enfoque holístico-multilingüe en el análisis de la producción escrita (véase Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; De Angelis & Jessner, 2012; Kobayashi & Rinner, 2013) subrayan interacciones dinámicas entre la primera (L1), segunda (L2) y tercera lengua (L3) en la producción escrita de los participantes, así como en los beneficios que un enfoque holístico-multilingüe aporta a la investigación. En este sentido, múltiples estudios señalan que las interacciones entre las lenguas ocurren a todos los niveles dentro del repertorio lingüístico total de

los hablantes multilingües y que dichas interacciones ocurren de diversas maneras a nivel ortográfico (Cook & Baseti, 2005), léxico (Ringbom, 1987), morfológico (De Angelis & Selinker, 2001), sintáctico (Alternberg, 1991), discursivo (Connor, 1984) y pragmático (Cenoz, 2003).

Uno de los niveles más estudiados es el nivel léxico. En efecto, los modelos teóricos de adquisición y procesamiento léxico multilingües subrayan la influencia del conocimiento lingüístico previo como factor de aprendizaje en las hablantes multilingües (véase De Bot, 1992; Hall & Ecke, 2003; Li Wei, 2003). Además, dichas investigaciones han demostrado que factores como la “distancia tipológica” entre las lenguas (Cenoz, 2001; Ringbom, 2001), la competencia lingüística en la segunda lengua (Sikogukira, 1993), en la lengua de origen (Ringbom, 1987), en la lengua de meta (Ahujanna, Lund & Gentil, 1983), o la formalidad del contexto (Dewaele, 2001) influyen de manera significativa en dicha interacción.

En relación a la enseñanza, son numerosos los autores que apuestan por pedagogías innovadoras que rompan con la estricta separación de las lenguas dentro de los contextos educativos (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García y Lie Wei, 2014). Numerosos investigadores apuestan por enseñar de manera explícita el conocimiento y los principios transferibles de una a otra lengua (De Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014), así como por la creación de materiales didácticos que faciliten dicho enfoque en la enseñanza y evaluación de las lenguas (Escamilla *et. al.*, 2013).

Objetivos y preguntas de investigación

El objetivo principal de esta tesis es el de profundizar en la fundamentación teórica y empírica del enfoque “Focus on Multilingualism” a través de dos ejes temáticos interrelacionados y complementarios. Para ello, se diseñaron

dos estudios empíricos que analizan el repertorio lingüístico total de los participantes de dos maneras:

Estudio 1. Las relaciones entre el castellano, el euskera y el inglés a nivel de corrección lingüística.

Estudio 2. La influencia de las lenguas adquiridas previamente (castellano/euskera) en la producción de la tercera lengua (inglés) a nivel léxico.

Para el primer estudio se utilizó un método cuantitativo y para el segundo estudio se utilizó un diseño de investigación mixto que combinó tanto métodos cuantitativos como cualitativos.

A continuación, especificamos los interrogantes de investigación planteados para cada estudio. Cada pregunta de investigación responde a un estudio:

Pregunta de Investigación 1. ¿Cómo son las relaciones entre el castellano, el euskera y el inglés en la dimensión de la corrección lingüística?

P.I. 1.1. ¿Cuál es la distribución de los errores en castellano, euskera e inglés?

P.I. 1.2. ¿Cuáles son las relaciones entre las medidas analíticas de corrección en castellano, euskera e inglés?

P.I. 1.3. ¿Cuáles son las relaciones entre las medidas holísticas de corrección en castellano, euskera e inglés?

P.I. 1.4. ¿Cuáles son las relaciones entre las medidas analíticas y holísticas de corrección en castellano, euskera e inglés?

P.I. 1.5. ¿Cuáles son las relaciones entre los ratios de error por palabra (Err/W) en castellano, euskera e inglés?

P.I. 1.6. ¿Cuáles son las relaciones entre entre los ratios de error por palabra (Err/W) y las medidas holísticas de corrección en castellano, euskera e inglés?

Pregunta de Investigación 2. ¿Cómo es la influencia cross-lingüística en la escritura de la tercera lengua?

P.I. 2.1. ¿Existen diferencias en relación a la primera lengua de los participantes en la elección de la lengua origen de la influencia cross-lingüística?

P.I. 2.2. ¿Cómo es la influencia cross-lingüística en relación a la competencia lingüística adquirida en las lenguas origen (L1/L2) y la lengua meta?

P.I. 2.3. ¿Qué estrategias utilizan las y los escritores multilingües a la hora de adaptar (o no) su conocimiento lingüístico previo?

Metodología

Muestra

La muestra de este proyecto de tesis consta de un total de 133 alumnos de modelo D de 4º de Educación Secundaria de dos centros escolares, de los cuales 68 son mujeres y 65 hombres, con una media de edad de 15.31. Todos los participantes tienen el castellano y/o el euskera como primera lengua, su lengua de instrucción es el euskera y estudian inglés como tercera lengua.

Instrumentos

Los instrumentos utilizados en la recogida de datos han sido los siguientes:

1. Cuestionario de datos personales y lingüísticos. Este cuestionario mide el género, nivel socioeconómico y sociocultural y las variables relacionadas con la exposición e instrucción en las distintas lenguas.
2. Redacciones en las tres lenguas. Todos los participantes escribieron textos argumentativos y descriptivos en euskara, castellano e inglés. Los textos tuvieron una extensión aproximada de 300 palabras y los temas fueron diferentes en las tres lenguas.

Procedimiento

Estudio 1

Para contestar a los primeros seis interrogantes de investigación (estudio 1) se realizaron dos evaluaciones: a) una evaluación holística (399 composiciones), y b) evaluación analítica (399 composiciones). Las puntuaciones obtenidas en cada evaluación fueron analizadas con el programa de análisis cuantitativo SPSS.

A continuación, la explicación de las evaluaciones realizadas para el primer estudio:

a) Evaluación holística

Primeramente, se realizó una evaluación holística de las 399 composiciones utilizando la versión revisada de la rúbrica "ESL Profile" de Jacobs et al., (1981) desarrollada por Polio (2013).

Esta versión se puede encontrar al final de Connor- Linton, J. & Polio, C. (2014) y consta de un total de cinco dimensiones (contenido, organización, uso de lenguaje, vocabulario y mecánica). Estas dimensiones están basadas en distintos descriptores y cuentan con una puntuación máxima de 20 puntos. Las puntuaciones no están sujetas a ningún descriptor específico.

Los resultados obtenidos en dicha evaluación se utilizaron en ambos estudios.

b) Evaluación analítica

Posteriormente, se realizó un segundo análisis de las 399 composiciones. Ampliando la categorización diseñada por Polio & Shea (2014), se evaluaron 20 composiciones a partir de las cuales se diseñó finalmente la categorización de errores lingüísticos que sería utilizada en este primer estudio.

Dicha categorización incluye 11 medidas analíticas o tipos de error (errores verbales, de puntuación, preposicionales, de artículo, errores por elipsis, en la declinación, errores ortográficos, de orden, errores de exceso de palabras y de frases sin acabar o *run-on sentence errors*).

Los análisis de correlación llevados a cabo a partir de los resultados obtenidos en ambas evaluaciones nos permitieron contestar la mayoría de los interrogantes de investigación de este proyecto doctoral.

Estudio 2

Para contestar a los siguientes tres interrogantes de investigación (estudio 2) se utilizaron los resultados obtenidos en la evaluación holística (a) y se realizaron dos evaluaciones adicionales. Una evaluación cuantitativa (c), y una evaluación cualitativa (d) de las 133 composiciones escritas en inglés.

Las puntuaciones obtenidas en estas dos evaluaciones (c y d) también fueron analizadas con el programa de análisis cuantitativo SPSS.

A continuación, la explicación de las evaluaciones realizadas para el segundo estudio:

c) Evaluación cuantitativa

Primeramente, se diseñó una categorización de la influencia cross-lingüística. Dicha categorización clasificó: 1) el tipo de influencia (préstamos adaptados/cambios de lenguaje), 2) la categoría gramatical (nombre, verbo, preposición etc.), 3) la función comunicativa (palabras de contenido/funcionales), y 4) lengua origen (euskara, castellano o ambigua).

A partir de esta categorización, se pudo explorar la influencia de la tipología. Asimismo, a partir de las puntuaciones obtenidas a través de la evaluación holística (a), se analizó la influencia de la competencia lingüística en euskara, castellano e inglés. Finalmente, a partir de las respuestas de los cuestionarios de datos personales y lingüísticos, se analizó la influencia de las primeras y segundas lenguas y su efecto.

Las puntuaciones obtenidas se analizaron con el programa de análisis cuantitativo SPSS.

d) Evaluación cualitativa

Finalmente, se realizó un segundo análisis cualitativo de las 133 composiciones escritas en inglés (L3) y se identificaron y clasificaron las estrategias utilizadas por los participantes a la hora de hacer uso de dicho conocimiento lingüístico previo.

Resultados y conclusiones

Los resultados de los dos estudios empíricos llevados a cabo en esta tesis doctoral revelan que la investigación multilingüe pone a prueba las creencias monolingües que persisten tanto en la investigación como en la enseñanza-aprendizaje de lenguas en contextos educativos.

A través de un enfoque holístico aplicado al estudio del multilingüismo – Focus on Multilingualism (Cenoz y Gorter 2011, 2014) – los resultados de esta tesis doctoral demuestran empíricamente que las lenguas impartidas en el sistema educativo y sabidas por los participantes se relacionan e influyen entre sí de diversas maneras y con distinta fuerza.

En concreto, los resultados del primer estudio demuestran que los puntos fuertes y débiles de la producción escrita son similares en las tres lenguas debido a la utilización de estrategias comunes. Estos resultados contradicen la idea de que la adquisición de las lenguas ocurra de manera aislada. Asimismo, los resultados del segundo estudio demuestran que los participantes multilingües hacen uso de las lenguas que componen la totalidad de su repertorio lingüístico como recurso en la escritura en tercera lengua, así como que existen factores que inciden significativamente en dicho uso (e.g, la competencia en la lengua meta).

Brevemente, las principales conclusiones del primer estudio pueden resumirse de la siguiente manera:

- Las áreas problemáticas son compartidos en las tres lenguas. Nuestros resultados revelan que los niveles más altos de error se encuentran en las categorías léxica, ortográfica y de puntuación. Esto puede deberse a la utilización de estrategias comunes, y a la

mayor o menor transferibilidad de algunos conocimientos lingüísticos.

- Algunos tipos de error reflejan el desconocimiento de la lengua meta ('intralingua') mientras que otros reflejan la influencia de las lenguas conocidas previamente por los participantes ('interlingua'). Por ejemplo, los mayores niveles de error de declinación en euskera ('intralingua') o los mayores niveles de error de orden o elipsis del sujeto en inglés ('interlingua').
- Existen diferentes grados de relación entre las medidas analíticas en los tres idiomas y algunas son significativas. Estos resultados demuestran que existen diferentes niveles de relación entre las lenguas y apuntan a que algunas relaciones pueden ser de apoyo (e.g., errores léxicos).
- Existen diferentes grados de relación entre las medidas holísticas en los tres idiomas y todas ellas son significativas. Nuestros resultados revelan que las lenguas que componen el repertorio lingüístico total de los participantes están relacionadas significativamente. Estos resultados apoyan empíricamente la idea de que la competencia multilingüe se basa en la interacción entre las lenguas (véase Cook, 2003; Herdina & Jessner, 2002).
- Tan sólo en inglés (L3) las relaciones entre las medidas analíticas y holísticas de corrección son mayoritariamente significativas. Estos resultados pueden deberse a que las medidas analíticas tan sólo alteran la evaluación holística (o viceversa) a partir de un número de errores. Esta idea queda posteriormente confirmada en el presente estudio con los resultados entre los ratios de error (Err/W) y las medidas holísticas

ya que demuestran estar relacionadas significativamente en los tres idiomas.

- Las relaciones entre los ratios de error por palabra en los tres idiomas son significativas. Estos resultados significan que cuanto más (o menos) correcto sea un aprendiz en una lengua más (o menos) correcto será el mismo aprendiz en otra lengua. De esta manera, indica de nuevo que la competencia lingüística multilingüe es, de alguna manera, integrada.

Asimismo, las principales conclusiones del segundo estudio pueden resumirse de la siguiente manera:

- La principal lengua origen de la influencia cross-lingüística ha sido el castellano. Estos resultados demuestran que la distancia tipológica relativa entre las tres lenguas analizadas ha sido el factor decisivo en la selección de la lengua origen de la influencia cross-lingüística. Asimismo, estos resultados demuestran que la primera lengua (L1) no es un factor decisivo en la selección de la lengua origen así como tampoco lo es el status de la segunda lengua (L2). Estos resultados revelan que la influencia de la distancia tipológica es mayor que la influencia de la L1 o la L2 (*L2-status factor*).
- La competencia en la lengua meta (L3-inglés) es un factor decisivo en los niveles de influencia cross-lingüística. Nuestros resultados revelan que los participantes con un bajo nivel en la lengua meta (L3-inglés) producen niveles más altos de instancias cross-lingüísticas que los participantes con un nivel intermedio y alto, así como que dichas relaciones resultan estadísticamente significativas. Esto se puede deber a que los participantes con niveles más bajos de

competencia utilizan, de manera más habitual, todo su repertorio lingüístico como recurso para la producción en lengua meta.

- La competencia en castellano o lengua origen no es un factor decisivo en la influencia cross-lingüística. Nuestros resultados revelan que los participantes con un nivel bajo e intermedio de castellano producen niveles semejantes de instancias cross-lingüísticas, así como que dichas relaciones no son estadísticamente significativas. Esto se puede deber a que los niveles de competencia lingüística en castellano no han estado lo suficientemente diferenciados en nuestra muestra, y señalan la necesidad de investigar la influencia de dicho factor en contextos donde estos niveles de competencia realmente difieran.
- La competencia lingüística en euskera o lengua origen no es un factor decisivo en la influencia cross-lingüística. De la misma manera, nuestros resultados revelan que las diferencias entre los tres grupos de nivel (bajo, intermedio y alto) no son estadísticamente significativas y señalan la necesidad investigar la influencia de dicho factor en contextos donde estos niveles de competencia realmente difieran dado que los participantes eran hablantes nativos de euskera o comenzaron a aprender el idioma en el sistema educativo a los tres años de edad.
- Los participantes utilizan un amplio abanico de estrategias basadas en su conciencia metalingüística a la hora de utilizar el castellano y el euskera (L1/L2) en la escritura en inglés (L3). Los resultados del análisis cualitativo demuestran que estas estrategias están basadas en la conciencia metalingüística de los participantes y esto puede

deberse a la experiencia que estos participantes multilingües han adquirido en el aprendizaje de sus tres lenguas.

En última instancia, esta tesis doctoral confirma que un enfoque holístico multilingüe –Focus on Multilingualism (Cenoz & Gorter 2011, 2014) – aporta información adicional sobre la adquisición y uso de las lenguas cuando se contrasta con la información que un enfoque tradicional monolingüe ofrece al considerar que la adquisición y uso de las lenguas ocurre de manera aislada.

Los resultados de ambos estudios apoyan empíricamente la existencia de relaciones dinámicas entre las lenguas e ilustran dichas relaciones a través de medidas holísticas, analíticas y cross-lingüísticas de evaluación. Los resultados de este estudio muestran que existen diferencias y similitudes en la distribución y en los niveles de error cuando se comparan primeras, segundas y terceras lenguas, lo que indica que estas lenguas mantienen relaciones dinámicas de apoyo (o competición). Asimismo, los resultados de esta tesis doctoral apoyan la relación entre los niveles de influencia cross-lingüística y algunos factores tales como la distancia tipológica y el nivel de competencia en la lengua meta, demostrando que el alumnado utiliza recursos de otras lenguas en mayor, menor o distinta medida en la realización de tareas escritas.