

Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning English

The differences between Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning English as a third language and Dutch adolescents learning English as a second language

**Student: Hanneke Klok – de Vries
Student number: 3015513
MA thesis English Language & Culture
MA programme: Language, Mind and Society**

**Supervisor: Dr. M.C.J. Keijzer
Second reader: Dr. S. Unsworth**

**Utrecht University
December 2010**

Acknowledgements

When I started writing this MA thesis, I prepared myself for going into the worst time of my life. As I look back I must say that, if this indeed was the worst time of my life, I am looking forward to quite a happy life.

My gratitude first and foremost goes towards my supervisor Merel Keijzer, who helped me get through this period, which actually turned out to be not too bad at all. Although I always dreaded our meetings because I expected to have to rewrite everything I had submitted, I always came back smiling and relieved because the criticism she had was always useful and delivered friendly and I never had to rewrite much. She gave me confidence that I was able to deliver an MA thesis that was actually not too bad. Moreover, she was always prepared to help me find useful literature, always did the things she promised me to do (usually the same day), and I never had to wait too long before getting an answer (even when she appeared to be admitted to hospital).

Secondly, I would like to thank Sharon Unsworth, who, after supervising my BA thesis some time ago, was prepared to be the second reader of my MA thesis as well. Moreover, the basic theory of this thesis I have learned in her classes during my BA English Language and Culture.

Furthermore, I would like to thank Sule Kurtcebe for sharing her knowledge of Turkish with me. Many thanks also to Mr. van Polen, who was willing to cooperate on my experiment and selected the students who participated in the experiment. Of course I would like to thank all students as well, for participating in the experiment, although it was a very frightful thing to do for most of them.

Moreover, I would like to thank all my friends and family who also encouraged me, showed interest, warned me when I worked too hard and delivered me from the library by taking me out for lunches, coffees, swimming, etcetera.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband Joost, who kept encouraging me and gave me confidence, had to put up with me and my complaining, had to come home from work hungry and

discover that I had not even started cooking dinner, because I was so busy working on my thesis. I especially want to thank him for his love, patience and understanding in what actually has been the worst time of my life, in the year before I started writing my thesis.

Without all these people mentioned above, this period might have been the worst time of my life, but thanks to them I got through it alright. However, last but not least I would like to thank God for giving me the brains to do this and for giving me a beautiful perspective on life.

Index

- 1. Introduction..... 2
- 2. Theoretical Framework 5
 - 2.1 Second Language Acquisition 5
 - 2.1.1 Chronological overview of the field of SLA 5
 - 2.1.2 A bilingual speaking model..... 10
 - 2.1.3 Areas of native language influence 15
 - 2.2 Third Language Acquisition 18
 - 2.2.1. A multilingual speaking model 18
 - 2.2.2. Factors in cross-linguistic influence..... 25
 - 2.3 Turkish-Dutch Adolescents Learning English..... 31
 - 2.3.1 Language development and academic achievement of Turkish-Dutch adolescents 32
 - 2.3.2 Factors influencing cross linguistic influence from Turkish to English 38
- 3. Method 44
 - 3.1 Subjects 44
 - 3.2 Materials..... 45
 - 3.3 Procedure and data analysis 46
- 4. Results and discussion 48
- 5. Conclusion 59
- 6. References 62
- Appendix A - Semi-structured interview 69
- Appendix B - Transcriptions 71

1. Introduction

The number of foreign adolescents living in the Netherlands is rapidly growing. Expectations are that the Netherlands will harbour almost 1 million foreigners under the age of 20 in 2010. More specifically, 383.957 of the foreigners living in the Netherlands are of Turkish origin, and 133.246 of this number are under the age of 20 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [CBS], 2010, 2 November).

First-generation Turks, i.e. foreigners born in Turkey who moved to the Netherlands at an older age, do not or hardly speak any Dutch. Because of the large Turkish communities and import of marriage partners they are still able to communicate mainly in Turkish and do not need to speak Dutch very well. As a consequence, most second-generation Turkish children, i.e. those who have at least one Turkish parent, learn to speak Turkish as a first language even though they have been living in the Netherlands their whole lives (Backus, 1996, p. 44-45).

When these children go to primary school, they learn to speak Dutch as a second language. This means that when they reach secondary school and are obliged to learn English, this is (at least) their third language¹. The question is whether these Turkish adolescents are facing other issues in learning English as a third language than their Dutch peers learning English as a second language.

Bilinguals possess a different type of competence as compared to that of monolinguals. According to Cook (1995), the mind of a monolingual is very different from the mind of a bilingual because the knowledge of multiple languages influences knowledge of both the L1 and L2, as well as metalinguistic awareness and cognitive processes (pp. 95-96). Similarly, de Bot (1992, p. 1) claims that the speaking model for those who have acquired two or more languages is different than the speaking model of monolinguals. According to him, the speaking model of Levelt (1989), which is aimed at the monolingual speaker, does not account for issues such as the ability to use two

¹ Although the term 'second language' is often used for all languages learned after the first language (i.e. also the third and fourth language etc. learned) during this thesis I will follow Hammarberg (2001: 22) in using the term 'second language' for any language acquired after the L1 and the term 'third language' for the nonnative language that a multilingual is acquiring currently.

language systems mixed or separately, cross-linguistic influence and differences in language competence (de Bot, 1992, p. 6). If this is true, and the speaking model for Turkish-Dutch adolescents is different from the speaking model of their Dutch peers, there is a chance that learning English will require different approaches for each of these groups in the English classes in secondary school, perhaps resulting in different outcomes.

In the past decades, second language acquisition (SLA) has been investigated extensively. Recently, several of these studies have examined the Dutch language development of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands (c.f. Backus, 1996; Extra & Yağmur, 2006; Nap-Kolhoff, 2010; Schaufeli, 2009). Most of these studies found that Turkish-Dutch children have a lower level of proficiency in Dutch than their Dutch peers. Furthermore, a growing interest in the field of third language acquisition (TLA) led to a number of studies in this field that focussed on different areas of TLA and on different languages (c.f. Cenoz, 2001; Williams & Hammarberg, 1998; De Angelis and Selinker, 2001). To date, however, no research has focussed on the language development of English as a third language for Turkish-Dutch adolescents. However, if Turkish-Dutch adolescents require different approaches to learning English than their Dutch peers because of different underlying speaking models, the differences in learning English for Turkish-Dutch adolescents should be investigated. In order to do this, the following research question will be answered in this thesis: *In what sense is learning English different for Dutch-Turkish adolescents learning it as a third language from Dutch adolescents learning it as a second language?*

First, a general account of second language acquisition will be given in section 2.1. Although third language acquisition is not merely an extension of second language acquisition, as De Angelis and Selinker (2001, p. 45) claim, the history of perspectives and the processes relevant to SLA are nonetheless of importance in research on third language acquisition. First, the development of the field of SLA will be discussed in section 2.1.1., in order to describe the basis and the context in which research on third language acquisition started to emerge. Secondly, a description of a bilingual speaking model will be given in section 2.1.2. This model is based on the speaking model of Levelt

(1989) and is adapted by de Bot (1992). Furthermore, section 2.1.3. will focus on the areas in which the native language can influence a second language. This is important to understand the much more complex situation in third language acquisition when transfer from several languages can occur.

Secondly, literature on third language acquisition will be discussed in section 2.2. Although research on TLA is less extensive than the research on SLA, the interest in the field of TLA has rapidly grown (De Angelis, 2007, p. 3; Cenoz, Hufeisen & Jessner, 2001, p. 1). Literature focussing on a description of a multilingual speaking model will be discussed in section 2.2.1. De Bot's model as described in section 2.1.2. was adapted by Williams and Hammarberg (1998) for application to multilinguals. After discussing this theoretical model, the factors that influence transfer from L1s and L2s on L3s and vice versa, or rather, cross-linguistic influence, will be examined in section 2.1.3. Questions such as which languages are selected when speaking another language and why these languages are selected will be discussed in this section.

Thirdly, the group of Turkish-Dutch adolescents and their languages will be examined in section 2.3. First, a description of the Turkish community in the Netherlands will be given in section 2.3.1. The Dutch language development and academic achievement of Dutch-Turkish adolescents will be discussed in this section as well. Secondly, the factors that influence cross-linguistic influence (CLI) will be applied to the situation of the Turkish-Dutch adolescents in order to formulate hypotheses related to the research question in section 2.3.2.

Subsequently, a small-scale experiment involving both Turkish-Dutch and monolingual Dutch adolescents that set out to test these hypotheses is reported in section 3. The results of this experiment will be presented and discussed in section 4. Finally, in section 5 the overall conclusion of this study will be presented.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Second Language Acquisition

2.1.1 Chronological overview of the field of SLA

In order to understand the context in which research on Third Language Acquisition (henceforth TLA) started to emerge, this section will start with a historical overview of the approaches to Second Language Acquisition (henceforth, SLA). Although Third Language Acquisition is a much more complex process than SLA, it is through this field in which the interest for TLA started to emerge (De Angelis & Selinker, 2001: 45).

Before turning to the chronological overview, a definition of Second Language Acquisition needs to be presented. Gass and Selinker (2009) define SLA as “the process of learning another language after the native language has been learned” (p. 7). The term can thus also apply to third or following languages that are learned. Indeed, according to Gass and Selinker (2009), “[t]he important aspect is that SLA refers to the learning of a non-native language *after* the learning of the native language” (p.7). Similarly, Saville-Troike (2006) defines the term as “learning a language subsequent to learning their first one as young children”(p. 193). Furthermore, both Gass and Selinker (2009) and Saville-Troike (2006) make the distinction between different forms of second language acquisition, such as second languages and foreign languages. Second languages usually refer to “nonnative languages that are learned in the environment in which that language is spoken” (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p. 7), whereas foreign languages usually refer to languages that are learned while the learners live in an environment in which their native language is spoken (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p. 7; Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 4). In this thesis, however, this distinction will not be used, because “a theory of learning a language beyond the first must be all-encompassing and must include instances of learning where the target language is spoken natively and where it is not” (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p.505). Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, the term ‘second language’ (L2) will be used for any

language acquired after the first and the term 'third language' (L3) will be used for the nonnative language that is currently being acquired (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 22). Furthermore, bilingual(ism) will refer to (a person) speaking two languages, while multilingual(ism) will refer to (a person) speaking three or more languages.

Second language research started to emerge during the 1940s. Early SLA research, in the 1940s and 1950s, was conducted from a behaviourist point of view. Behaviourists such as Skinner (1957) claimed that learning occurs mainly by associative learning. By making stimulus-response connections individuals are thought to learn certain types of behaviour. Habits are formed when a person imitates a particular kind of behaviour and when this behaviour is reinforced positively, a habit is established (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p. 92; Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 34). Resulting from this framework, Contrastive Analysis (CA) emerged to explain Second Language Acquisition. CA tried to explain why second language learners have certain problems acquiring specific features of the target language, and why they acquire some features with ease, based on a comparison of the first language (L1) and the second language. Supporters of CA such as Lado (1957) claimed that features of a second language that are similar to an L1 are acquired easily because they will be transferred to the L2 (i.e. positive transfer). Following the behaviourists, they argued that as a consequence of receiving positive reinforcement on this transfer, language learners establish these correct forms as a habit. For example, the word 'contact' is the same in both English and Dutch. Dutch learners of English thus only have to learn that the word is the same (with only a difference in pronunciation), which should be easier than learning an entirely new word. However, if a feature of an L1 is transferred incorrectly (negative transfer), the speaker will receive no positive reinforcement. For example, the English word 'long' can be translated in Dutch as 'lang', a very similar word. However, whereas Dutch uses the word 'lang' to refer to someone's length, English uses the word 'tall' in that case. A Dutch student of English then could say: "He is very long" instead of the correct: "He is very tall", transferring the meaning of the Dutch word to English. The lack of positive reinforcement should cause the learner to learn that the utterance is incorrect and that the utterance should be

changed in order to receive positive reinforcement (Gass & Selinker, 2009, pp. 96-97; Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 34; Saville-Troike, 2006, pp. 34-35).

When the Contrastive Analysis did not seem to be able to explain all learning problems and made incorrect predictions about learner language, in the early 1970s a shift was made towards so-called Error Analysis, influenced by an important publication of Corder (1967). This approach did not make a prediction of errors of the learner language, but used an analysis of actual L2 learner errors. Instead of focussing on the surface level of language, researchers focused on the underlying rules which cause language learners to make particular errors. They claimed that errors are to be viewed as reflections of a rule-governed system (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p. 102; Lightbown & Spada, 2006, pp. 78-79; Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 37).

The shift from surface forms towards underlying rules was a shift in perspective. Instead of behaviourism, mentalism became a dominant approach starting at the end of the 1950s and continuing until the 1970s. This approach placed more emphasis on the innate capacity of language learners and their active contribution to language learning, instead of external factors influencing language learning. Learning a language was seen as learning rules rather than learning surface structures (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p. 126; Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 38; Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 191). During the 1970s a series of studies, called Morpheme Order Studies, were a reaction of mentalism to the behavioural approaches. The mentalist studies such as the Morpheme Order Studies were based on the idea that SLA was not different from learning a first language. Viewing learners as creative language constructors, they argued that second language learners construct language with the help of their innate capacity for language learning, in the same way they do this in L1 learning. The Morpheme Order Studies tried to provide evidence that specific features of languages are learned in much the same order, regardless of the speaker's L1 in order to show that transfer of an L1 is not as important as the supporters of Contrastive Analysis claimed. Although researchers such as Dulay and Burt (1974) found evidence for a natural order with respect to certain morphological features, it was not strong enough to provide a full explanation of developmental order. The view of

a natural order in language acquisition remains influential these days, however (Gass & Selinker, 2009, pp. 43-44; Saviile-Troike, 2006, pp. 126-168).

During the 1980s a very influential approach to language learning was introduced in the world of SLA when Universal Grammar (UG) became the dominant approach. With the advent of UG the study of language was placed more in the domain of cognitive science (Bermúdez, 2010).

Universal Grammar, introduced by Chomsky (1957), maintained that all languages consist of a set of principles. Many of these principles only have a limited number of settings, called parameters. These principles and parameters were claimed to be innate to all language learners. Thus, learning a language consists mainly of finding the correct setting for the parameters, based on the input language learners receive (Saviile-Troike, 2006, p. 47).

It is a matter of debate if the parameters of the L1 need to be reset in second language learning, but the predominant view is that the parameters need to be reset based on positive evidence (experiencing the L2) or based on negative evidence (e.g. explicit correctness) in order to create an interlanguage with correct L2 parameters (Saviile-Troike, 2006, p. 51). The term ‘interlanguage’ was introduced by Selinker (1972) and refers to “the intermediate states [...] of a learner’s languages as it moves toward the target L2” (Saviile-Troike, 2006, pp. 40-41).

Interlanguages are developing language systems that are partially based on the L1 and are constantly revised on the basis of the input from the L2 (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 80; Saviile-Troike, 2006, p. 41). Ultimately this language system might evolve into a native-like language system.

In line with UG approaches, it has been suggested that there is a critical period after which language learners cannot access their UG anymore. According to the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH), the critical period will inhibit speakers from attaining native-like competence because they are not able to reset their L1 parameters. Some researchers claim that UG is not available at all for second language learning, while others support the view that UG is entirely or partially available in L2 language learning. For example, supporters of the Full Transfer/Full Access theory (e.g. Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996) claim that the starting point for L2 learners is their L1, and that they will restructure

their L2 grammars on the basis of L2 input with the help of their UG. However, the Full Access/No Transfer position (e.g. Epstein, Flynn & Martohardjono, 1996) maintains that the starting point is UG, and that no influence of L1 is expected (Gass & Selinker, 2009, pp. 166-168; Hawkins, 2001, p. 72). A debate on the CPH falls beyond the scope of this thesis, but for more information see for example Birdsong (1999).

For many linguists UG is still a dominant approach in SLA. However, the field is also being viewed from a more usage-based perspective. One of these perspectives is constructivism. Constructionists such as Tomasello (2003) hold that a language is learned with the help of general learning mechanisms instead of language-specific mechanisms. Through language use language structures are constructed with the help of cognitive and social-cognitive skills (Tomasello, 2003, p. 6). According to Tomasello (2003), “language acquisition comprises nothing other than a structured inventory of linguistic constructions” (p. 7). Also within this domain, from a psycholinguistic/neurologist approach is the Information Processing model that was constructed towards the end of the 1980s and is still developing (e.g. Ullman, 2004). This approach was based on the idea that (language) learning required learning in the sense of paying attention (i.e. controlled processing). Through experience and practice, this controlled processing becomes automatic processing. As a result, declarative knowledge (or: explicit knowledge) of the language becomes procedural knowledge (implicit knowledge), which means that “through experience and practice, information that was new becomes easier to process, and learners become able to access it quickly and even automatically” (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 39). Subsequently, a new aspect of the language can be learned, starting with controlled processing of that new aspect (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, pp. 39-40; Saville-Troike, 2006, pp. 73-74).

2.1.2 A bilingual speaking model

What all theoretical perspectives to language learning have in common is that they try to find models that best fit how language use is actually constructed and used in the learner's mind. This has resulted in several important models of speech production.

In 1989, Levelt proposed a speaking model (see Figure 1, taken from Levelt, 1989, p. 9) that had to account for the language production process of an individual. In formulating his ideas, Levelt proposed that a speaking model should consist of three components: the Conceptualiser, the Formulator, and the Articulator. In the first component, the Conceptualiser, the message that has to be put into words is generated. The next component, the Formulator, will receive this conceptual information and selects a set of lexical items called 'lemmas'. Lemmas are representations of a concept in the form of a word. Lemmas contain semantic information and syntactic information. After the lemmas have been activated, they have to be combined into a grammatically correct sentence. This process is called 'grammatical encoding'. Once such a sentence has been constructed, in order to formulate a sentence that can be articulated, the lexemes have to be activated (Levelt, 1989; de Bot, 1992). A lexeme is "the phonological form associated with the lemma" (de Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, 2005, p. 41). It contains the morphological and phonological properties of a word. When this process is finished, the speech plan is ready to be articulated. Thus, the next step is to actually produce the speech plan that has just been formulated. This is the task of the Articulator (Levelt, 1989, pp. 12-13).

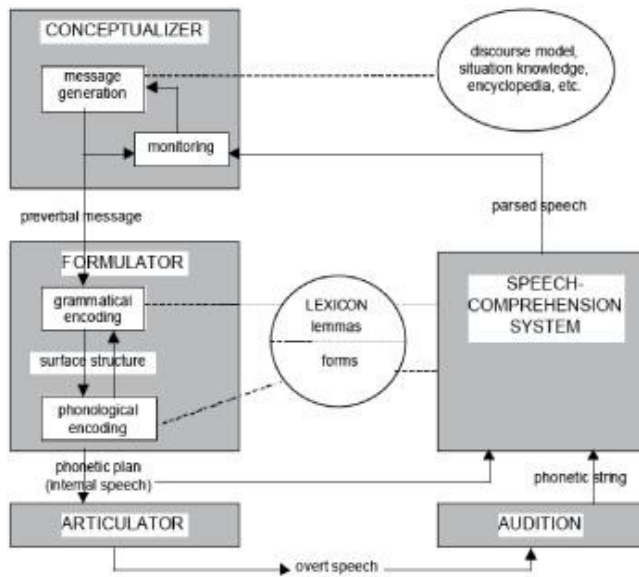


Figure 1: Levelt's speaking model (Levelt, 1989, p. 9).

The model has become very influential, but in his model Levelt aims at monolingual speakers. However, in many parts of the world, not the monolingual speaker, but the bilingual speaker is the norm (Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 8; Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 96). One could say that the L2 speaker can use the same model as proposed by Levelt. However, the fact that second language learners often use their first language to fill knowledge gaps (see section 2.1.3 for more on this) shows that being bilingual is more complex than two separate systems working independently of each other. Indeed, Grosjean (2001) argued that language systems are not independent, but can be viewed as systems operating on a continuum on which languages are more or less active. When speakers are in a bilingual language mode, their L1 is fully active, while their L2 is on a continuum on which languages are more or less active (Grosjean, 2001, pp. 3-4) (see section 2.2.1 for more on language modes).

Similarly, Cook (1995) claimed that the linguistic competence of a monolingual is different from that of a multilingual. According to him "[a] single mind with more than one language has a totality that is very different from a mind with a single language" (p. 94). He argued that bilinguals have more knowledge about their L1 than monolinguals. This can be unconscious knowledge, but they also have a better metalinguistic awareness than monolinguals. Finally, the cognitive processes

of L2 speakers differ from those of monolinguals. Not only with respect to language processing, but also in creative processes and cognitive flexibility L2 speakers appear to score higher than monolinguals (Cook, 1995, pp. 95-96).

Several issues arise when applying Levelt's model to bilinguals. Therefore, de Bot (1992) adapted Levelt's model to account for these issues:

- "The model must account for the fact that the two language systems can be used entirely separately or mixed, depending on the situation (...).
- Cross-linguistic influences have to be accounted for in the functioning of the model (...).
- The fact that a bilingual uses more than one language should not lead to a significant deceleration of the production system (...).
- (...) [T]he model should be able to deal with the fact that the speaker does not master both language systems to the same extent.
- The model should be able to cope with a potentially unlimited number of languages, and must be able to represent interactions between these languages" (p. 6).

In a subsequent adaptation of Levelt's model to a bilingual context, de Bot proposed that the Conceptualiser has two processes. Although Levelt argued that the Conceptualiser is language-specific, de Bot claimed that the first phase, macroplanning, is not language-specific, but only the second phase, microplanning, is language-specific (de Bot, 1992, p. 8). Thus, the choice which language should be used is made in the Conceptualiser, but before this choice is made, the concept of the message is already activated.

A further suggestion de Bot made is that a bilingual has only one lexicon, just as a monolingual. He argues that words of different languages are all stored into one lexicon, but that a lexicon contains 'subsets' of words of different languages. A monolingual speaker has subsets of words that are associated with each other through weak or strong connections. For example, the words 'father', 'grandfather', 'brother' and 'uncle' are all part of the subset 'relatives', but they are

part of the subset 'men' as well. When speakers are looking for a word, they will look for words that are activated according to a number of characteristics. When looking for the word 'brother', the characteristics they ask for could be: 'human being', 'child of my parents', and 'man' (de Bot, 1992, pp. 11-12).

In deciding which language should be used on the basis of this model, de Bot follows Green (1986) in maintaining that languages can have three levels of activation:

- *Selected*: the selected language controls the speech output.
- *Active*: the active language plays a role in ongoing processing, works parallel to the selected language and does the same things in fact, but has no access to the outgoing speech channel.
- *Dormant*: a dormant language is stored in long term memory, but does not play a role in ongoing processes" (de Bot, 1992, p. 13).

When bilinguals are speaking, they will mainly use their selected language, but if they cannot retrieve a word (on time) they will have to use the active language or maybe even the dormant language. In order to be able to do this, the speaker has to make speech plans for his selected and active language, but only the selected language will feed into the Articulator. Which language this is, is already decided in the Conceptualiser (de Bot, 1992, p. 13).

The final claim de Bot makes about his model in relation to phonology is that existing L1 sounds are extended by new L2 sounds. Speakers will maintain their L1 sounds as long as possible, but the L2 norm will be developed depending on "frequency of use of the language, the amount and quality of language contact, and the extent to which subtle differences between L1 and L2 sounds can be perceived" (de Bot, 1992, p. 16). Thus, as long as bilingual speakers have not had sufficient input, they will maintain their native accent.

Although this model largely explains the processes at work in bilingual speech, Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) did have some criticism. The main problem they mentioned is that it is not clear how it is possible that two speech plans can be formulated if the choice of language use has already been made in the Conceptualiser. Another objection is the uneconomical explanation of using and keeping apart two language systems (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, pp. 40-41). In order to give a more economical explanation to manage separate language systems, Poulisse and Bongaerts assumed that lemmas are labelled with another characteristic, being 'language'. Thus, the word 'brother', does not only have the labels 'human being', 'child of my parents', and 'man', but also the label 'English'. When a word needs to be selected, the language label is relevant in the selection procedure as well. An example of Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) can help to illustrate this (see Figure 2, taken from (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, p. 41). The Conceptualiser gives information relating to an L2 word that has to be selected: an English word for a male human who is not an adult. L2 words with a similar meaning are activated, such as man, or girl. Besides this, an L1 word with the same conceptual information is activated. In the end, the lemma that receives most activation, *boy*, is selected.

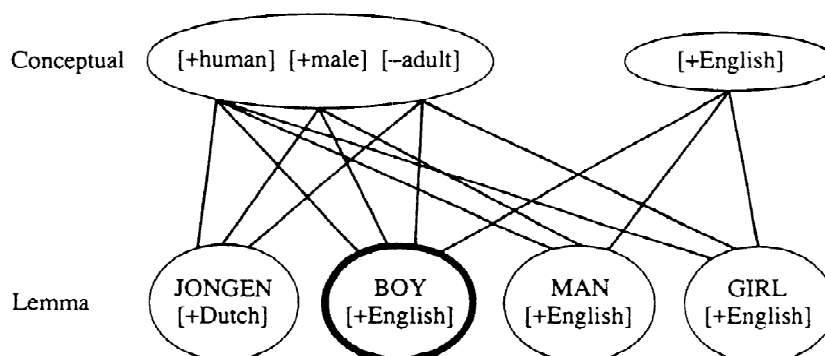


Figure 2: The selection of an L2 Lemma through spreading activation (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, p. 41)

Another claim Poulisse and Bongaerts made is that high-frequency words (such as function words) and words that have been used recently require less activation than low-frequency words and words that have not been used recently (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, p. 42). This ties in with the

Activation Threshold Hypotheses of Paradis (2004), formulated as part of his neurolinguistic theory of bilingualism in which he proposed that an item is activated when “a sufficient amount of positive neural impulses have reached its neural substrate. [...] Every time an item is activated its threshold is lowered and fewer impulses are required to activate it” (Paradis, 2004, p. 28). The item has to remain activated regularly in order to maintain its low threshold.

In order to test their claims, Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) tested a group of Dutch learners of English. Indeed, they found that the learners regularly used Dutch words instead of English during their L2 production. Moreover, function words were indeed more often involved in language switches than content words (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, p. 44). This occurred especially in the group of beginning learners, which can be explained by the fact that they had not yet had sufficient practice and thus had not used the items frequently enough in order to lower their thresholds (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, p. 46).

In sum, despite their differences, de Bot (1992) as well as Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) agree on the idea that bilingual speakers have only one lexicon.

2.1.3 Areas of native language influence

As illustrated above, different theories exist on how the native language can influence the second language. This section will focus on specific areas in which this influence surfaces.

It is regularly observed that people who speak more than one language use different languages in one sentence or conversation. Switching between two (or more) languages is called code-switching or language switching. The use of code-switching can have social motives. For example, it can be used as an identity marker for a particular group as speakers or an individual (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 101). However, the use of another language can have strategic motives as well. When language learners do not know a word, morpheme or other element of the language of their

L2, they may use an element from their L1 to compensate for this (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, p. 36). Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994, p. 37) distinguished in this category 'intentional behaviour' and 'incidental language switches', the latter being accidental slips of the tongue. Williams and Hammarberg (1998) adopted this distinction but prefer to call the latter utterances 'Without Identified Pragmatic Purpose' (WIPP's), because it can be difficult to determine whether or not a switch is intentional (p. 306).

The first and probably most important area that will be discussed in which influence of an L1 can occur is the area of the lexicon. As described above, second language learners may use words from their L1 to compensate for the lack of knowledge of a particular word of the L2 (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, p. 36). Already mentioned above is the study that Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) conducted with Dutch learners of English in order to investigate the processes at work in bilingual speech production. They found that L2 learners frequently use their L1 unintentionally because they access the wrong lemma, the lemma of their first language instead of the target language. These language switches often involve function words (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994).

Another area in which transfer of an L1 can occur is syntax. White (1991) showed that French students learning English and English students learning French had difficulties in learning correct word order due to incorrect transfer from their L1s. Although they were able to learn structures that did not exist in their L1s, they had difficulties learning that certain structures that were allowed in their L1, were not allowed in their L2. In other words, they transferred certain word order structures from their L1 to their L2.

Furthermore, another area in which transfer from a native language to a second language is found is the area of morphology. In the Morpheme Order Studies reported above, Dulay and Burt (1974) found that although the order of acquisition was the same for Chinese ESL speakers and for Spanish ESL speakers, the Spanish speakers had a higher accuracy score overall. Apparently, the L1 of the speakers of Spanish was positively transferred, making it easier to acquire certain English morphological features. More recently, a study by McDonald (2000) showed that Vietnamese

acquirers of English had relatively more difficulties in correctly using several morphological features of English, such as plurals, articles and 3rd-person subject-verb agreement than Spanish acquirers of English. The Spanish speakers, having a L1 more similar to English in the area of morphology, scored better on a grammaticality judgement task than the Vietnamese speakers, whose L1 does not contain inflectional markers in the form of suffixes or affixes (McDonald, 2000, p. 407). Again, the speakers with an L1 similar to the target language seem to have an advantage because they can correctly transfer morphological structures, whereas the speakers with an L1 with a dissimilar morphology seem to be disadvantaged by their L1.

With respect to the area of phonology, Gass and Selinker (2009) claimed that “[t]here is a general consensus that most older individuals cannot reasonably hope to ever achieve a native accent in a second language” (p. 407). Learners who start learning a second language at an early age may be able to speak without an accent, but this is still a point of discussion. Whether this is true or not, the influence of the L1 on the phonology of the L2 seems to be persistent. Within this scope, the Markedness Differential Hypothesis (Eckman, 1977) explains difficulties that arise in the phonology of L2 learners. Unmarked forms are forms that are common to all languages. Marked forms are forms that are very specific to certain languages. Suggested is that learners from languages that have many marked structures, i.e. specific features, have less difficulties in learning a language with many unmarked structures, i.e. general features. On the other hand, learners with an L1 with many unmarked forms, are said to have difficulties in learning languages with many marked forms (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p. 180). For example, Dutch has no voicing contrast at the end of a syllable (which is an unmarked form), whereas English does have this contrast (which is marked). It should be easier for speakers of English to learn this (unmarked) phonological aspect of Dutch, because English contains a marked form in this case. However, for speakers of Dutch it is more difficult to learn this (marked) contrast, because Dutch has an unmarked form. Gass and Selinker (2009, p. 181) reported of several studies confirming the Markedness Differential Hypothesis with respect to phonology. Not only individual sounds seem to be difficult to acquire, the influence of an L1 is especially seen in

syllable structures, i.e. the combination of sounds. If a certain combination of phonemes is not allowed in speakers' native language, they will often alter the structures by deleting or inserting features so that it will correspond to their native language. For example, Spanish speakers, who are not used to words starting with an /s/ combined with another consonant, usually add an epenthesis, a small /e/, before English word with such consonant clusters: I /espeak/ /espanish/ (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p. 181; Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 106).

2.2 Third Language Acquisition

In section 2.1 the main perspectives from which research on Third Language Acquisition started to emerge were discussed. After having discussed the general perspectives of SLA such as Contrastive Analysis, Error Analysis and Universal Grammar (section 2.1.1), a bilingual speaking model based on Levelt's model (1989) was presented (de Bot, 1992) (section 2.1.2.). Emerging from the field of SLA the interest in Third Language Acquisition seemed to grow towards the end of the 1980s. Especially from the end of the 1990s onwards important developments took place, such as the recognition of minority languages, resulting in the awareness that multilingualism is no exception. Moreover, the idea emerged that linguistic competence of third language learners is different from mono- or bilinguals because third language learners are more experienced language learners as they already have experience in learning multiple languages. (Cenoz, Hufeisen, & Jessner, 2001, p. 1; De Angelis, 2007, p. 1). The results of these developments in research on TLA will be discussed in this section.

2.2.1. A multilingual speaking model

As described above, de Bot (de Bot, 1992) and Poulisse and Bongaerts (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994) adapted Levelt's (1989) speaking model to a bilingual context, but as "language transfer theory

cannot be comprehensive if its principles are based on two languages only” (De Angelis and Selinker, 2001, p. 44) the model needed to be revised again for multilingualism.

In order to construct such a polyglot speaking model Williams and Hammarberg (1998) examined the role of L1 and L2 in L3 acquisition. They follow Poulisse and Bongaert’s (1994) criticism on de Bot’s model that it is difficult to explain how multiple languages are activated in the Formulator while the language decision had been made in the Conceptualizer and that it is very uneconomical, especially in the case of a multilingual, to have multiple languages activated. However, Poulisse and Bongaerts’ solution of language labels do not suffice according to Williams and Hammarberg (1998). In their study, Williams and Hammarberg found that only one L2 was responsible for most language switches. According to them, Poulisse and Bongaerts do not succeed in explaining why mainly one language is used for language switches. In fact, Williams and Hammarberg found that both L1 and L2 influence L3 production, but that the languages have different roles. The L1 was mainly used instrumentally, i.e. it was used for metalinguistic comments and asides, such as “how do you say ‘enjoy yourself?’”. Conversely, the L2 was used mainly for the ‘supplier role’, which can be described as the “function of a language supplying material for word construction attempts” (Williams & Hammarberg, 1998, p. 304). In other words, features of an L2 are used in order to construct an L3 word. As mentioned above, Williams and Hammarberg also found that only one L2 was used for this function, which they called the ‘default supplier role’ (1998, p. 304).

With respect to a multilingual speaking model Williams and Hammarberg proposed that the language that has been assigned the default supplier role has a higher level of activation than other background languages, making it the best candidate for language switches in L3 production (Williams & Hammarberg, 1998, p. 325). The language that is most likely to fulfil the supplier role is the one with the highest overall value on the conditioning factors typology, proficiency, recency and language status. For more information about the role of these factors, see section 2.3.2. Furthermore, Hammarberg claimed that “it seems that [an] L1 is most likely to be activated for a language switch in

those cases where the switch occurs for some pragmatic purpose, whereas an L2 tends to be activated in the formulation process in L3” (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 27). He suggested that “[t]he fact that WIPP [Without Identified Pragmatic Purpose] switches mostly involve function words suggests that the L2 is continuously co-activated in the process during these utterances” (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 38). For de Bot’s (1992) model this would imply that the L3 is the selected language, whereas the L2 is the co-activated language (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 38). Apart from lexical influence, Hammarberg also argued that phonological influence occurs in the Formulator and Articulator (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 38).

In addition, another important model of cross-linguistic influence that is similar to Williams and Hammarberg’s model, is the model of language modes proposed by Grosjean (2001). According to Grosjean (2001), “[l]anguage mode is the state of activation of the bilingual’s language and language processing mechanisms at a given point of time” (p. 3). As mentioned briefly above (section 2.1.2.), Grosjean proposed that language systems can be in different modes, ranging from fully active to fully inactive. One language is usually fully active, which is the language that governs language processing, while other languages can be activated to a greater or lesser degree, depending on several factors (see section 2.3.2 for more information on these factors). Furthermore, Grosjean argued that a bilingual can be in a monolingual language mode, a bilingual language mode or at any position on the language mode continuum in between (see Figure 3, taken from Grosjean, 2001, p. 4).

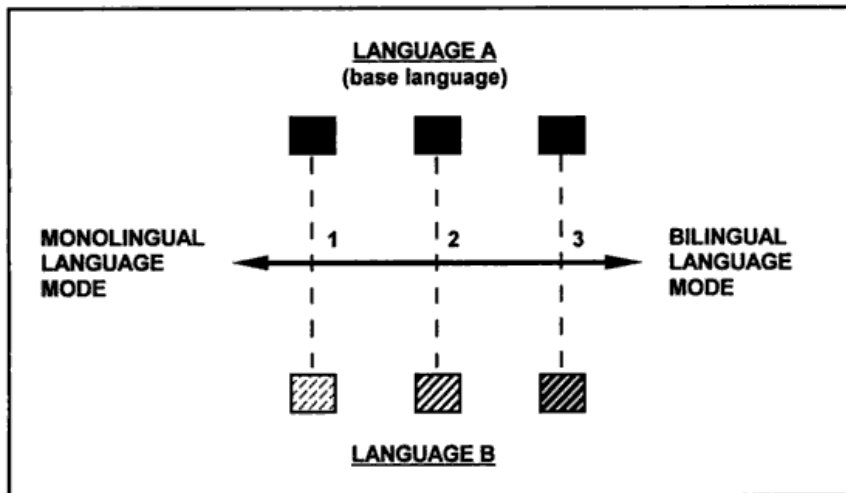


Figure 3: language mode continuum (Grosjean, 2001, p. 4).

When bilinguals are in monolingual language mode, language B has a very low level of activation, which means that usually no or very few influences are found in speaking language A. However, when bilinguals are in bilingual language mode language B has a high level of activation, which means that language switches occur frequently. Although Grosjean (2001) discussed his model mainly in the light of bilingualism, he argued that the model also can account for trilingualism (p. 17). In this case, language A still is the base language, but languages B and C can have different levels of activation (see Figure 4, taken from Grosjean, 2001, p. 18).

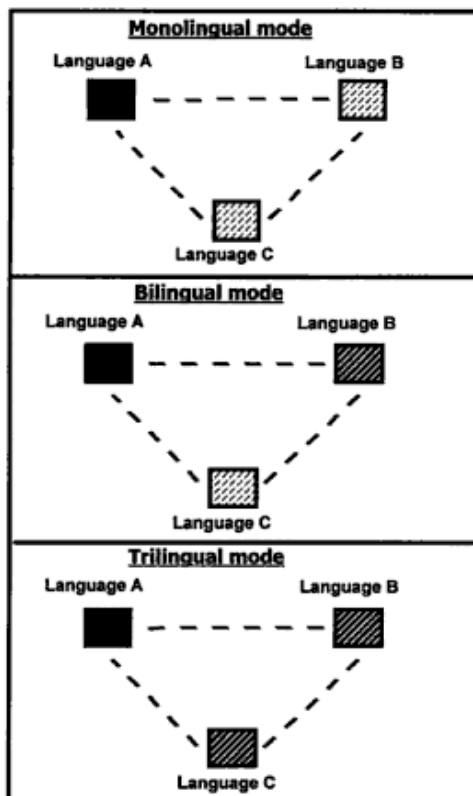


Figure 4: Visual representation of a trilingual in a monolingual mode (Grosjean, 2001, p. 18).

In an investigation of Dutch L2 and L3 learners of French, Dewaele (1998, 2001) found evidence for both Levelt's speaking model and Grosjean's model. In order to investigate Levelt's (1989) speaking model in a multilingual context, Dewaele (1998) examined Dutch L2 and L3 learners of French. He showed that the cross-linguistic influence on the L3 does not necessarily come from the L1, but more frequently from the L2. Thus, the L2 has a higher level of activation than the L1. Moreover, in a subsequent study, Dewaele (2001) investigated multilingual students and found that speakers could be in different positions on the language mode continuum, depending on the situation. In formal situations, students would be nearer the monolingual end of the continuum, while in informal situations they would move more towards the bilingual end of the continuum. As an explanation for his finding, Dewaele (2001) argued that "the smaller quantity of cognitive resources needed to control the output" (p. 84) can account for the students frequent language switches in informal situations. In other words, multilinguals can occupy different positions on the language mode continuum as described by Grosjean (2001) depending on the situation, leading to

different levels of activation of the languages known to the speaker and thus more or less cross-linguistic influence.

Finally, de Bot (1992) and Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) follow Paradis and Libben (1987) who argued in their Subset Theory that bilinguals have only one lexicon with subsets of words from different languages. They claimed that bilinguals can access their languages systems separately, but that there are links between different language systems as well (see section 2.1.2). The multilingual mental lexicon is investigated by Harwig (2001), focussing on network organisation of the mental lexicon. She also follows Paradis' Subset Theory but integrates the concept of spreading activation into this view. Spreading activation refers to "the forward and backward flow of stimulation across the system" (Harwig, 2001, p. 120), which means that if an item is requested in a lexical search process, items that are linked to that particular item in the lexical network or that are in the environment of the item are co-activated. This lexical network of a bilingual is represented in Figure 5 (taken from Harwig, 2001, p 117).

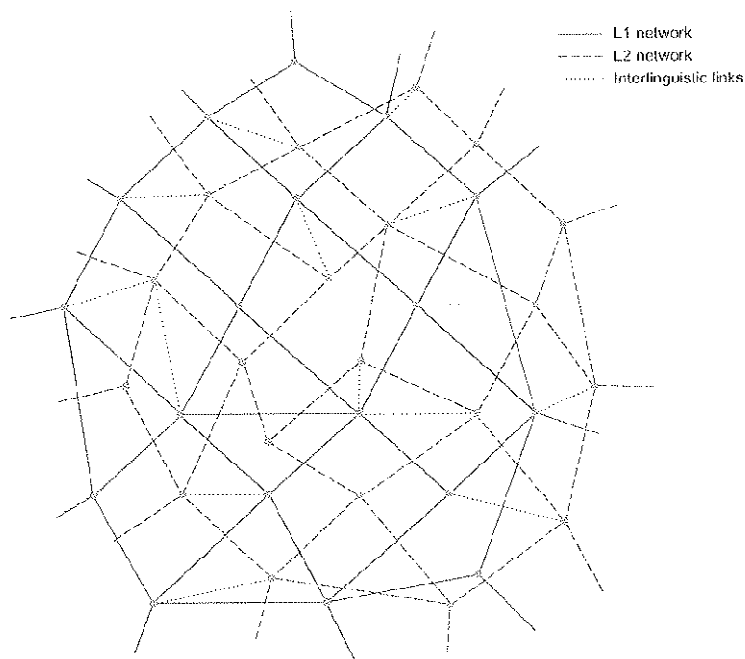


Figure 5. Network model of the bilingual mental lexicon (Harwig, 2001, p. 117).

Harwig (2001) further argued that words are linked on different dimensions, such as semantic quality, phonology and orthography. In order to investigate this model, she examined four multilingual university students during a translation task. The students were asked to compose a story on the basis of a cartoon in their native language, after which they were asked to translate the story in their other languages. During the task, the students were asked to think aloud if they had difficulties accessing a particular word in the target language, because the process of lexical retrieval was expected to reflect the cognitive processes at work. Indeed, her results show that “the languages in the multilingual brain are multifariously linked but can also, to a certain extent, be activated independently” (Harwig, 2001, p. 135). Figure 6 (taken from Harwig, 2001, p. 133) shows how the lexical network of several lexical items can be represented at a semantic and formal (orthographic) level. According to her, the model shows the complicated relationship of lexical items “each intertwined in their respective environment, as well as connected with each other, with antagonistic links across languages” (Harwig, 2001, p. 132). Thus, lexical items are linked to each other on various dimensions, resulting in activation of other lexical items that are related in one or more dimensions to the particular item that the speaker wants to access.

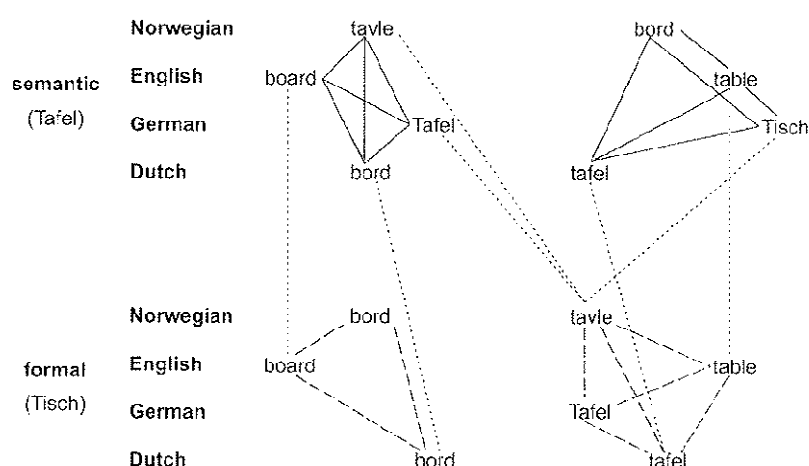


Figure 6. Lexical networks as representations at two cognitive levels (Harwig, 2001, p. 133).

Finally, Ringbom (2001, p. 65) in his research on lexical transfer in L3 production argued that the organisation of the mental lexicon develops as the learner becomes more proficient. More associative links lead the learner to create more independent language systems instead of a language system that relies on the L1. Thus, the links between language systems remain, but they are more independent of each other.

2.2.2. Factors in cross-linguistic influence

As discussed, languages can be activated to a greater or lesser degree. However, the question remains what factors influence the activation level which leads to cross-linguistic influence.

According to Williams and Hammarberg (1998, p. 322) the raising of the activation level of languages, ultimately leading to the selection of a default supplier language, is the result of a competition between conditioning factors. In addition, Grosjean (2001) claimed that a number of factors “can help position a bilingual speaker or listener at a particular point on the language mode continuum” (p. 5). This section will focus on the factors that influence the activation level of languages. In other words, it discusses the process of cross-linguistic influence.

The factor that seems to be most influential in cross-linguistic influence is the linguistic distance between the languages a multilingual knows. Language learners are said to transfer linguistic items more often if the languages are typologically related. This view is also expressed in the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH), which claims that items that are similar in two languages are easily acquired because they are transferred (see section 2.1.1.). Although the CAH did not seem able to predict all language errors correctly, language typology “appears to be the most important variable in determining the likelihood of language transfer” (Murphy, 2005, p. 14). For example, native Dutch speakers learning German would rather transfer features of their native language to the L2 than Dutch learners of Chinese would. Indeed, Cenoz (2001) found evidence for this when she tested native Basque-speaking and native Spanish-speaking students who were learning English. Both

groups spoke Basque and Spanish before they started learning English. She found that both students with Spanish as their native language and students with Basque as their native language show more influence of Spanish, the language more similar to English. Several other studies confirm that an L3 is usually influenced by a typologically close other language (e.g. De Angelis & Selinker, 2001; Ecke, 2001; Williams & Hammarberg, 1998).

However, it might not be the actual language distance that influences cross-linguistic transfer. The perceived distance seems to be another influential factor, although in practice hard to distinguish from actual language distance. In the 1970s Kellerman proposed the idea of psychotypology: language learners are more likely to transfer an item from their native language to an L2 if they perceive the language as typologically close, regardless of whether their perception is correct or not (Kellerman, 1979). According to Kellerman, the language learner places linguistic information on a continuum ranging from 'language-neutral' to 'language specific'. When a linguistic item is language-neutral, the language learner "believes [that it is] common across all languages" (Gass & Selinker, 2008, p. 147). Language-specific items are items the language learners believe are unique to their language. This belief does not necessarily have to be true, because the learner's perception of the language distance is more important than the actual language distance (Gass & Selinker, 2008, p. 147). Language-neutral items are more transferable than language-specific items (Murphy, 2005, p. 5). Indeed, in her study mentioned above, Cenoz (2001) claimed to find evidence for psychotypology as an influencing factor. In her results, older students show more transfer from Spanish to English than younger students. According to her, "[t]he higher metalinguistic awareness developed by older students could make them more aware of the linguistic distance between Basque and English, and explain the fact that they transfer fewer terms from Basque than students from other groups" (Cenoz, 2001, p. 16). In other words, because of their higher metalinguistic knowledge the older students perceive Spanish as a language more closely related to English, which results in more cross-linguistic influence from Spanish to their L3, English.

Related to (perceived) typological language distance is the factor of phonological similarity. Selinker and Baumgartner-Cohen (Selinker & Baumgartner-Cohen, 1995, p. 116) claimed that phonetic physical resemblance is one of the multiple factors that influence language switches. Indeed, in his study on Dutch L2 and L3 speakers of French, Dewaele confirmed that “cross-linguistic influences are frequent when there are formal similarities between lemmas belonging to different languages” (Dewaele, 1998, p. 466). De Angelis and Selinker (2001) explained this transfer of phonologically similar items by spreading activation. Semantic networks consist of links between words that are related to each other phonologically or semantically. When a word is activated, (phonologically or semantically) similar words are activated as well through spreading activation in the network (see section 2.1.2.). This can occur within a language but also across languages (De Angelis and Selinker, 2001, p. 51). Thus, if speakers look for a particular word in their L3, words that are similar in their L2 or L1 will be activated as well. In some cases this will be helpful, for example when the words are cognates. However, at other times words can be deceptive cognates, which means that they are similar in form, but not in meaning. This is, for example, the case in the Dutch word ‘mening’ and the English word ‘meaning’. They look similar, but the correct translation of the Dutch word is ‘opinion’. In addition, in lexical transfer, Ringbom (2001) made the distinction between transfer of form and transfer of meaning. Transfer of form occurs when the linguistic form of a word is transferred to another language. Transfer of meaning occurs when meaning is transferred, for example by translating an expression or phrasal verb literally or when a speaker assumes that a homonym, one word with different meanings, can be used for the same words in an L2. Sometimes this is the case, but it can also be an incorrect assumption, which is the case in the Dutch word ‘kraan’ which is used to refer to a tap, but also to a tower crane. Ringbom claimed that in L3 production, incorrect transfer of form occurs from both the L1 and the L2, while transfer of meaning occurs mainly from an L1 but hardly ever from an L2 (Ringbom, 2001).

Another influencing factor is the level of proficiency. In second language research it has been reported that less proficient L2 speakers show more L1 influence in their L2 (Cenoz, 2001, p. 9). For

example, the earlier mentioned study of Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) showed that beginning second language learners produce more unintentional language switches than more experienced language learners. Similarly, the general consensus in third language research is that low L3 proficiency leads to more L2 transfer, although the complex nature of L3 learning makes it different from cross-linguistic influence in bilinguals (Murphy, 2005, p. 7). However, according to Cenoz (2001) “[i]n the case of third language acquisition it is important to consider proficiency not only in the target language, but also in the other two languages known by the speaker” (p. 9). Furthermore, Ringbom (2001) argued that proficient L3 speakers show less transfer of form from their L1 or L2 to their L3 than less-proficient speakers because “[t]he more learners progress in their learning of another language, the better able [they are] to organise their mental lexicon on the basis of semantic network associations” (p. 65). He found that transfer of meaning from an L2 occurs only if the “L2-proficiency closely [approaches] that of the L1” (p. 67). Moreover, using translation tasks in studying several multilingual university students, Harwig (2001) found that better L2 proficiency leads to less interference in the L2 from the L3. She explained her finding by means of Paradis and Libben’s (1987) claim that beginning language learners initially rely heavily on their first language, because second language items are linked strongly to the corresponding L1 items. However, as the speaker becomes more proficient, the second language network will become more and more independent. Harwig argued that this can also apply to the multilingual situation (Harwig, 2001, p. 118). However, in her study, Harwig (2001) did not make any claims about interference from the L2 on the L3. By contrast, Hammarberg (2001) studied the role of first and second languages in L3 production and acquisition and reports that “the reliance on L2 settings is used as a strategy to which the learner resorts at an initial stage in order to cope with the still too unfamiliar phonetic form of L3, and abandons when her proficiency in L3 increases” (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 35). Tremblay (2006), although she argues in her study of cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition that L2 influence on L3 seems to be very marginal, found that the L1 is the major source of influence on the L3 and that L2 influence only appears in highly proficient L2 speakers. However, she gave several explanations that can account for

her findings of marginal L2 influence. She suggests that the L2 proficiency might not have been high enough. Moreover, as L1 influence tends to persist twice as long as L2 influence (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 28) it could be possible that the learners had been learning the L3 for such a long time already that L2 influence had already faded away (Tremblay, 2006, p. 116). In short, proficiency of the L2s and the L3 both seem an important influencing factor in cross-linguistic influence in L3 production.

Two other, related factors are recency of use and frequency of use (De Angelis, 2007, p. 35; Williams & Hammarberg, 1998, p. 322). According to Cenoz (2001) language learners “are more likely to borrow from a language they actively use than from other languages they may know but not use” (p. 10). In their case study of a multilingual Williams and Hammarberg indeed found recency as one of the factors contributing to languages switches (Williams & Hammarberg, 1998; Hammarberg, 2001). Furthermore, on a word level, Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) explained the high number of function words involved in cross-linguistic influence by pointing at the frequency of use of such words. As mentioned in section 2.1.2., Paradis (2004) has formulated the Activation Threshold Hypothesis in which he stated that the activation threshold of an item is lowered every time it is used. An item with a low threshold is accessed more easily. Thus, Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994) claimed, because (L1) function words are used frequently, these words have low activation levels. Consequently, they are used in L2 production more frequently than non-function words. Additionally, Dewaele (2001) studied a group of multilingual university students, and found that one of the two factors that seemed to influence the position on the language mode continuum of the students was influenced by recency of use of the target languages. In other words, not only frequency of use of the L2 influences the amount of L2 influence on L3, but frequency of L3 use influences the amount of L2 influence as well. However, a number of studies have also found influence of languages that had not been used for a long time (e.g. De Angelis and Selinker, 2001). In sum, although frequency of use seems to play a role in cross-linguistic influence, languages that are not used frequently are not exempted from CLI.

A further influencing factor in CLI is the context of communication (Cenoz, 2001, p. 9). According to Cenoz this influences whether the speaker is in bilingual mode or in monolingual mode. As discussed above, when a speaker is in bilingual mode, there are likely to be frequent language switches. For instance, in a study already mentioned above Dewaele (2001) examined a group of multilingual university students in both formal and informal settings. He found that while speaking their L3 the students made considerably less use of other languages in formal settings than in informal settings. According to him, “[a]ll the speakers seem [...] capable of mobilising more cognitive control and hence move closer to the monolingual end of the continuum” (p. 82). Apparently, multilingual speakers are able to monitor their language use consciously. Hammarberg (2001, p. 25) also mentioned that in his case study the multilingual subject was able to switch between three languages because the interlocutor could speak the three languages as well. Thus, context determines whether or not language switches are used.

Related to the context in which the language is spoken is the language status. Language status refers to the status in the sense of being an L1 or a non-native language (Williams & Hammarberg, 1998, p. 303). Selinker and Baumgartner-Cohen (1995) introduced the concept of the cognitive mode called ‘talk foreign’. They claimed that multilinguals speaking a language other than their native language will usually borrow items from another foreign language because they are in their ‘foreign language mode’. Indeed, Williams and Hammarberg (1998) studied a multilingual whose L2 and L3 were similar in typology, proficiency and recency, but the L2 status “crucially determine[d] the default supplier role for German [(the L2)]” (1998, p. 323), while the L1 is used less frequently in this role. Their subject said to have a “desire to suppress L1 in the belief that this is inherently ‘non-foreign’ and thus that using a “non-L1 and hence ‘foreign’ language would be a better strategy in acquiring another ‘foreign’ language” (Williams & Hammarberg, 1998, p. 323). Similarly, De Angelis and Selinker (2001, p. 56) claimed that one subject may have used L2 words in L3 production because the L2 word is perceived as a foreign word, thus being closer to the L3.

Moreover, Dewaele (2001) found that status is one of the two determining factors influencing the position on the language mode continuum.

In sum, factors influencing cross-linguistic influence discussed above are (psycho)linguistic typology of the languages involved, phonological similarity, proficiency, recency or frequency of use, context of communication and language status. This is only a selection of the most frequently mentioned factors in CLI and most relevant to this thesis. Exhausting all factors of influence falls beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it should be said that not all factors have an equal and independent influence. In relation to this, Selinker and Lakshmanan (1992) introduced the Multiple Effects Principle (MEP). The MEP holds that, “when two or more SLA factors work in tandem, there is a greater chance of stabilization of interlanguage forms leading to possible fossilization” (Selinker & Lakshmanan, 1992, p. 198). Moreover, they suggested that language transfer is a central SLA factor that can be of influence in setting multiple effects (Selinker & Lakshmanan, 1992, p. 198). In other words, the more factors influencing cross-linguistic influence, the higher the chance that this influence will remain over time. Indeed, in his review on language transfer during TLA Murphy argued that the MEP is confirmed, “since it is clear from the studies that the different variables interact in complex ways, sometimes overriding each other, sometimes converging to cause the incorporation of a non-target item during L3 production” (Murphy, 2005, pp. 17-18).

2.3 Turkish-Dutch Adolescents Learning English

Whereas the previous sections focussed on second and third language acquisition in general, including the phenomenon of cross-linguistic influence, this section will focus more explicitly on cross-linguistic influence of one specific group, namely Turkish-Dutch learners of English. First, a description of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands will be given, focussing on the development of the Turkish immigrant community and on the language development and the academic achievement of Turkish-Dutch adolescents in the Netherlands. Subsequently, the factors of CLI mentioned in

section 2.2.2 will be applied to the situation of the Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning English, eventually resulting in a set of hypotheses about cross-linguistic influence in the English language production of these adolescents.

2.3.1 Language development and academic achievement of Turkish-Dutch adolescents

2.3.1.1. The Turkish immigrant community

Due to economic developments during the late 1960s a need for unskilled employees emerged in the Netherlands. In order to fulfil this need, companies recruited workers from abroad, resulting in labourers migrating to the Netherlands, mainly from Turkey and Morocco. At first, the Turkish group consisted mainly of men, as expectations were that their stay was temporary and that these ‘guestworkers’ would return to their home country and their families after several years. However, many Turks remained in the Netherlands and during the 1970s many of their families migrated to the Netherlands as well to be reunited. Furthermore, the children of these families often married spouses from Turkey, which also led, and still leads, to new immigrants (Backus, 1996, pp. 44-45; Crul & Doornik, 2003, p. 1041; van der Kooij-Jamjam, Yilmaz, de Bot, & Schmid, 2009, p. 184; Schaufeli, 1991, p. 21; van der Veen, 2001, p. 11).

In the meantime, new children from Turkish families were born, leading to the present situation where a whole generation of Turks is living in the Netherlands that has been living there their whole lives. Currently, the number of first-generation Turks living in the Netherlands, i.e. those who were born in Turkey but moved to the Netherlands at an older age, is 196.385 (CBS, 2010, 14 October). Only a slightly smaller number of Turks living in the Netherlands are said to be second-generation immigrants, i.e. “those who were born in the Netherlands from at least one parent who came as an immigrant and [...] those who arrived as an immigrant in the Netherlands at a very young age” (Ours & Veenman, 2003, p. 743). The number of second-generation Turks is 187.572, leading to

a total of 383.957 migrants of Turkish origin (on a total population of 16.574.989 people living in the Netherlands) (CBS, 2010, 14 October).

Although the Turkish men that migrated to the Netherlands came to the Netherlands for economic reasons, eventually they did not fare well economically. They usually had had no or hardly any education and thus were able to fulfil low-paid jobs only. Moreover, after the economic crisis in the 1980s many of these men became unemployed, considerably more often than the Dutch indigenous population. Traditionally, Turkish women do not work and many families had to sustain themselves on minimal incomes. In other words, their socio-economic status (SES) was very low (van der Veen, 2001, p. 11; Crul & Doornik, 2003, p. 1041; Ours & Veenman, 2003, p. 740; Schaufeli, 1991, p. 21). Moreover, the attitude towards the Turkish immigrants was usually not very positive. Turks were viewed stereotypically as poor and underdeveloped and many of them faced discrimination at work ((Schaufeli, 1991, p. 22; van der Kooij-Jamjam et al., 2009, p. 185). Furthermore, most Turks did not speak Dutch at all and had no knowledge of Dutch society (Ours & Veenman, 2003, p. 740), making the situation increasingly more difficult.

At present the Turkish community is a community that still lives quite isolated and many Turks rarely participate in Dutch society. The Turkish community values its own tradition and culture highly and tries to preserve this in the Dutch society (van der Kooij-Jamjam et al., 2009, p. 186). They usually live close together in one neighbourhood and have much contact with other Turks. In these areas many “Turkish food shops (mostly butchers, because of the Muslim food laws), teahouses, cultural clubs, mosques and also Turkish political organizations can be found” (Schaufeli, 1991, p. 23), just as community centres with special activities for the Turkish neighbourhood.

2.3.1.2. Language development

Because of the close contacts between Turks living in the Netherlands, many of them speak Turkish on a daily basis. Especially first-generation immigrants hardly use any Dutch. Men with low-skilled

jobs do not need to obtain a high proficiency in Dutch for their work, and neither do women, as they can visit Turkish shops and many other institutions that are available in Turkish (Schaufeli, 1991, p. 26). Because of the close-knit Turkish community “an imperative need for assimilation does not seem to be present” (Schaufeli, 1991, p. 26) and thus their Dutch proficiency is usually very low and their first language maintenance is very high (van der Kooij – Jamjam et al., 2009, p. 185; Driessen, 2001: 524). Consequently, the ethno-linguistic vitality² of Turkish in the Dutch community is remarkably high. This is remarkable because, contrary to many other language groups in the Netherlands, many speakers of Turkish are born in the Netherlands and first-generation Turkish immigrants have lived in the Netherlands for a long time already (Extra & Yağmur, 2006, p. 53; Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009, p. 84).

Apparently, the Turkish language community views its language as a very important aspect of their culture which has to be maintained. Indeed, most Turks view speaking Turkish as an important part of their identity (van der Kooij-Jamjam et al., 2009, p. 186; Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009, p. 84; Schaufeli, 1991, p. 23). An indicator of the importance of the Turkish language is that many Turkish parents send their children to Turkey temporarily so their children can learn to speak Turkish properly (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009, p. 84). However, in the Netherlands, Turkish children have many opportunities of exposure to Turkish as well. Doğruöz and Backus (2007), basing their findings on Backus (1996), summarize the factors that explain the high language maintenance of Turkish in the Netherlands as follows:

“few exogamous marriages, high commitment to maintenance of Turkish since there may always be a possibility of returning to Turkey, frequent summer-long holidays in Turkey, easy access to and much use of Turkish media through internet, TV and radio programs, many opportunities for intragroup contact through Turkish organizations and social networks (e.g., the mosque), relatively widespread exposure to standard Turkish in schools and some marginalization and physical segregation in the urban areas where most Turks live ” (p. 188).

² Ethnolinguistic vitality is generally thought to reflect distinguished group behaviour, i.e. that which sets a particular ethnic group apart from other population groups. (Yağmur, 1997)

Consequently, according to Driessen (2001), “[i]n the Turkish [...] families, very little Dutch is spoken and learning to speak Dutch is not considered very important” (p. 524). As a consequence, “[c]hildren often enter primary education with the minority language as their native language (L1) and with hardly any knowledge of or experience with the majority language” (Verhallen & Schoonen, 1998, p. 452-453). Moreover, research has indicated that these Turkish-Dutch children present a lower language proficiency in Dutch than Dutch children (e.g. Driessen, 2001; Scheele, 2010). Scheele (2010, p. 167) explained her results by arguing that bilingual children receive less input in each of the languages they speak than monolinguals, because the language input has to be distributed between two languages. The result is that these children do not receive sufficient input in both languages they speak, resulting in lower proficiency in both languages. Nap-Kolhoff (2010) subsequently found that Turkish-Dutch bilingual children have a slower language development than their Dutch peers and argued as well that this is probably the result of the smaller amount of language input of Dutch (Nap-Kolhoff, 2010, p. 198). Moreover, Verhallen and Schoonen (1998) found that bilingual Dutch-Turkish 9- and 11 years old children performed better in their L2 (Dutch) than in their L1 (Turkish). Nonetheless, the knowledge of their L2 was still unsatisfactory in comparison to Dutch monolingual children.

However, although young Turkish children living in the Netherlands have a better knowledge of their L1, Turkish, than of Dutch (L2) and although Turks of the first generation show a preference for speaking Turkish, Dutch-Turkish adolescents of the second generation seem to show a preference for speaking Dutch (Backus, 1996, p. 420). Turkish-Dutch children seem to recover quickly from their language deficiency during childhood. According to Dođruöz (2007) “[m]ost surveys report that after age eight, Turks in Holland speak Dutch better than Turkish” (p. 188). However, others report that many Turkish-Dutch adolescents feel most at home in a combination of the two languages in a Turkish-Dutch mix, usually with Dutch as the dominant language (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009, p. 89;

Backus, 1996, p. 45). In other words, these adolescents prefer to be in the bilingual language mode of Grosjean (2001), having high activation levels for both Dutch and Turkish.

2.3.1.3. Academic achievement

In her dissertation on the influence of home language of bilingual children on their academic language, Scheele claims that “acquiring the majority language is crucial for school success” (Scheele, 2010, p.2). Indeed, Verhallen and Schoonen (1998) claim that “many types of (national) survey carried out in the Netherlands show that minority children reach lower levels of educational achievement” (p. 452). According to them, children from ethnic minorities do not only show lower language proficiency, but also lower achievement in other school subjects (Verhallen, 1998, p. 452). In line with this, Driessen (2001) found that 7-8 year-old Turkish-Dutch children perform worse on language and math tests than Dutch children.

It is not only young Turkish-Dutch children who obtain a lower academic achievement than their Dutch peers. In secondary education, Turkish-Dutch adolescents are found relatively more often in the lower levels of education (Crul & Doomernik, 2003, p. 1046; Van der Veen, 2001, p. 27; Verhallen and Schoonen, 1998: 452). Furthermore, in studying the effect of an educational policy aimed at working class adolescents and immigrant adolescents, Driessen (1995) found that immigrant children performed much worse on both language tests and educational position. He argues that “top priority should be given to the Turks and Moroccans” (p. 275) in educational priority policy. Moreover, Ours and Veenman (2003) investigated whether second-generation immigrants have a better educational attainment than first-generation immigrants and found that Turkish-Dutch (second-generation) adolescents performed worse than native Dutch adolescents. Similarly, Turkish-Dutch adolescents drop out more often than Dutch adolescents: 17% of the Turkish-Dutch male adolescents and 25% of the Turkish-Dutch females end their educational careers without a diploma, which is two to four times more often than their Dutch peers (Crul & Doomernik, 2003, p. 1047).

According to Ours and Veenman (2003), the main predictor of educational attainment of second-generation immigrants is the educational attainment of their parents, which is similar to the prediction of educational attainment of Dutch natives. The main reason for the low educational achievement of the second generation can be ascribed to the low educational achievement of the first generation. Similarly, van der Veen (2001) found that socio-economic status, more specifically parents' education and the intellectual climate at home, was an important factor in determining the success of Turkish and Moroccan adolescents. However, Driessen (1995) found that parents' education does not play a role in explaining the educational position of Turkish immigrant adolescents. According to him, age and length of stay are the most important predictors. Furthermore, Driessen (1995, p. 266-267) mentions three main perspectives that explain the lower academic achievement of immigrant children. The first is the 'disadvantaged perspective' in which it is argued that the socio-economic background explains the achievement of children. According to this perspective, "[f]or both immigrant children and Dutch children from the lower social classes the same unfavourable social, pedagogical and material factors are responsible for the lower educational position of these children" (p. 267). The second perspective that attempts to explain the differences in educational achievement, is the 'migration perspective', which claims that "the fact that individuals in the transition from one society to another have to overcome cultural and social differences" (p. 267) is what explains why immigrant have an unfavourable position in education. The final perspective is the 'ethnicity perspective', which maintains that three different factors influence the educational achievement of immigrants: "ethnic relations with racial undertones; the school's ethnic bias or unpreparedness to educate immigrant children; disproportionate discontinuities between the socialising principles in home and school environment" (p. 267).

Other factors that influence the academic achievement of Turkish-Dutch adolescent can be mentioned as well. Mastering the majority language is of influence (Scheele, 2010p, 2; Ours & Veenman, 2003, p. 741), just as "age, gender, whether or not [the students] have their own room (to do homework)" (Ours & Veenman, 2003, p. 741). Similarly, Ours and Veenman (2003) argue that

social and cultural factors such as “social contacts, cultural factors in the family, such as schooling ambitions, career planning and orientation on return migration” (p. 741) are of importance.

Finally, it is important to mention that, although Turkish adolescent have a lower academic achievement, several studies have found that nonverbal intelligence of these adolescent is not or not much lower than that of their Dutch peers. Van der Veen (2001) found that “the mean intelligence scores show that the differences are much larger for verbal than for nonverbal intelligence” (p. 28). Similarly, Scheele (2010) found that “the bilingual immigrant children equalled the Dutch monolingual children in nonverbal intelligence” (p. 118). Thus, she argues, “no deficits existed in immigrant children’s domain general ability to learn” (p. 118). The factors that influence their academic achievement thus seem to be external, such as parents’ education and cultural environment, rather than internal.

2.3.2 Factors influencing cross linguistic influence from Turkish to English

Section 2.2.2 described several factors that can influence cross-linguistic influence. These factors were (psycho)linguistic typology of the languages involved, phonological similarity, proficiency, recency or frequency of use, context of communication and language status. In order to formulate hypotheses about cross-linguistic influence in Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning English, these factors will be discussed with respect to the language situation of these adolescents, combined with insights about their socio-economic position mentioned in section 2.3.1. In this discussion a contrastive approach will be adopted in discussing Dutch, Turkish and English.

2.3.2.1. (Psycho)linguistic typology

Typologically, Turkish is part of the Altaic languages, a language group spoken from eastern Europe to central Asia (the mountain Altai) (The Uralic and Altaic Languages, 2010). Turkish has a rich inflection on verbs, which means that suffixes are added to verbs in order to mark “person, number, tense, aspect, modality, voice, negation and interrogation” (Sağın Şimşek, 2006, p. 28). Noun and pronouns are also marked for number, case and possession. However, gender and definite articles are not used in Turkish (Sağın Şimşek, 2006, p. 28). On the other hand, Dutch and English are part of the West-Germanic language family, a subgroup of the Indo-European languages (Sağın Şimşek, 2006, p. 31). Verbs are inflected as well, but only for person, number and tense. Nouns are inflected for number only and both languages use definite articles. Although a gender distinction is not used often in either English or Dutch, albeit relatively more in Dutch, the gender distinction does exist (cf. Booij, 2002). Thus, Turkish has a different origin than English and, as Dutch and English share more grammatical features than English and Turkish, Dutch is typologically closer to English than Turkish. Based on these typological facts, it may be expected that Turkish-Dutch correctly perceive Turkish as typologically more distant from English than Dutch, as the distance between English and Dutch is significantly smaller than the distance between English and Turkish. Following from this, it can be expected that Turkish-Dutch adolescent show more influence of Dutch when they speak English than from Turkish, the typologically more distant language.

Word order is part of linguistic typology as well. Turkish has an SOV word order, but the order can be flexible for pragmatic use (Sağın Şimşek, 2006, p. 28). Moreover, English has an SVO order, whereas Dutch has an SVO order only in main clauses while subordinate clauses have an SOV order (Nieuwenhuijsen, 2005, pp. 260-262). Expectations are that both Turkish-Dutch and Dutch adolescents will produce the SVO order in main clauses correctly. However, if the Turkish-Dutch

adolescents show more SOV order in the production of English main clauses, this can be an indicator of Turkish influence.

2.3.2.2. Phonological similarity

In a study on English-Turkish cognates and false cognates, Uzun and Salihoglu (2009) found that 1,6% of the words are cognates and 1.2% of the words are false cognates. According to them “[t]he rate stated above can be evaluated as not high enough to cause huge conflicts or to serve important facilitation” (Uzun and Salihoglu, 2009, p. 581) with respect to translation tasks. However, in a study on Dutch-English cognates “a high correlation was found between ratings of cross-linguistic overlap for Dutch-English translation equivalents in terms of orthography (O-rating) and phonology (P-rating)” (Dijkstra, Miwa, Brummelhuis, Sappelli, & Baayen (2010, p. 298). In other words, they found a high number of cognates between Dutch and English. Furthermore, they argue that a highly similar orthography usually has a highly similar phonology as well (Dijkstra et al, 2010, p. 298). It thus seems that Dutch is phonologically more similar to English than Turkish is to English. This was to be expected, Dutch and English being related typologically. Expectations are thus that Turkish-Dutch adolescents will use cognates (whether false or not) more often from Dutch than from Turkish when they speak English.

2.3.2.3. Proficiency in all language involved

As mentioned in section 2.3.1., Verhallen and Schoonen (1998) showed that Turkish-Dutch children performed worse on language task in Dutch than Dutch monolingual children (age 9-11). However, although their Dutch was unsatisfactory, their Dutch was still better than their Turkish. Thus, their proficiency in both Turkish and Dutch can be said to be unsatisfactory. However, as other studies

report that Turkish-Dutch adolescents show a clear preference for speaking Dutch (Backus, 2001, p. 420; Dođruöz, 2007, p. 188) or for using a Dutch-Turkish mix with Dutch as their dominant language (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009, p. 89; Backus, 1996, p. 45) it can be assumed that Turkish-Dutch adolescents are highly proficient in Dutch, although less proficient than monolingual speakers of Dutch. As some studies claim that L2 can influence an L3 only when the language learner is highly proficient in the L2 (Tremblay, 2006; Ringbom, 2001), there is a possibility that there is influence from both Dutch and Turkish in the English production of Turkish-Dutch adolescents.

2.3.2.4. Recency and frequency of use

Language learners show more CLI from languages they use actively, than from languages they do not use regularly (Cenoz, 2001, p. 10). In section 2.3.1. the (ethno-linguistic) vitality of the Turkish language was already discussed. Most Turkish-Dutch adolescents learn to speak Turkish first, and learn to speak Dutch when they enter primary school (Driessen, 2001, p. 524; Verhallen & Schoonen, 1998, pp. 452-453). Usually, during adolescence both languages are used actively. At school the adolescents speak mainly Dutch, while at home they usually speak Turkish (Extra & Yađmur, 2006, p. 50; Schaufeli, 1991, pp. 27-28). Sometimes Turkish-Dutch siblings speak Dutch with each other as well (Backus, 1996, p. 45) and, as mentioned above, sometimes they communicate using a Turkish-Dutch mix, which is used especially in communication with their Turkish peers (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009, p. 89). Moreover, Turkish-Dutch adolescents are exposed to both Turkish and Dutch media, as both Turkish and Dutch newspapers and TV programmes are available in the Netherlands (Backus, 1996, p. 45). In other words, both the L1 and the L2 are used frequently for speaking, listening and reading by most Turkish-Dutch adolescents. Thus, influence from both Turkish and Dutch can be expected in the English output of Turkish-Dutch adolescents.

2.3.2.5. Context of communication

Dewaele (2001) claimed that the subjects in his study showed less CLI when they were in a formal setting than in an informal setting. With respect to the Turkish-Dutch adolescents, this also seems to apply. These adolescents are reported to speak Turkish with their parents, Dutch at school and a Turkish-Dutch mix with their peers (Backus, 1996, p. 45; Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009, p. 89). Apparently, they are at different positions on the bilingual continuum as explained by Grosjean (2001) in each of these contexts. Moreover, if these adolescents speak English, they will be in the trilingual mode, as represented in Figure 4 in section 2.2.1. The context in which these adolescents speak English will usually be the formal school context. In sum, it is expected that - if these adolescents speak English - English will be the most active language (language A), and Dutch (Language B) will have a higher level of activation than Turkish (Language C).

2.3.2.6. Language status

Language learners more often use features of other second languages because second languages have the status of 'being foreign' (cf. Williams & Hammarberg, 1998; Selinker & Baumgartner-Cohen, 1995; Dewaele, 2001; De Angelis & Selinker, 2001). This factor is difficult to apply to the situation of the Turkish-Dutch adolescents. Although their L1 is formally Turkish, their L2, Dutch, may feel more native to them as they tend to become more proficient in Dutch than in Turkish during childhood (Verhallen & Schoonen, 1998; Backus, 1996, p. 45). Neither Dutch nor Turkish are expected to have a 'foreign talk' label, and language status will therefore not be of relevance in their situation.

2.3.2.7. Conclusion and hypotheses

In sum, looking at the proficiency of the Turkish-Dutch adolescents in all languages involved and at the frequency of use of these languages, both Turkish and Dutch are expected to influence L3 production of English. However, looking at the typological similarity and the phonological similarity of the languages and at the context of communication, only Dutch seems likely to have a larger influence than Turkish in their English production. Language status does not seem to be of relevance in this discussion.

More specifically, the following hypotheses can be formulated with respect to Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning English:

- Both Turkish-Dutch and Dutch adolescents will correctly produce the SVO order in main clauses.
- Turkish-Dutch adolescents will use cognates (whether false or not) more often from Dutch than from Turkish.
- During English production, Turkish-Dutch adolescents will be in a trilingual mode with English as the most active language, followed by Dutch and then Turkish, which has the lowest level of activation. This will result in more language switches from English to Dutch than from English to Turkish.

Thus, expectations are that the main conclusion of this thesis will be that there is no difference between Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning English and Dutch adolescents learning English.

3. Method

In order to test these hypotheses a small experiment was conducted. In this experiment Turkish-Dutch and Dutch adolescents were interviewed in English, in order to collect material that could be analysed to see whether Turkish-Dutch adolescents experience influence from their L1, Turkish, as well or, as hypothesised, mainly from Dutch when speaking English.

3.1 Subjects

Participants were four Turkish-Dutch and four Dutch secondary school students. All participants attended the Globe College in Utrecht and were in their second year. They were aged between 13 and 14, with a mean age of 13.5. They all attended the Dutch school level of VMBO (lower secondary professional education), the educational level most Turkish students attend. Due to availability, seven of the students were selected from a group of students who received 'leerwegondersteuning' (lwoo) [assistance in the course of study], which means that they receive additional support because they have learning problems or social-emotional problems. One of the subjects, a Dutch boy, attended the regular VMBO level without lwoo.

In order to select only Turkish-Dutch subjects who had a native-like proficiency in Turkish, only subjects were selected who spoke Turkish on a daily basis. Two Turkish subjects reported Turkish as their strongest language, while one subject reported Dutch as her strongest language. Data concerning language dominance of one subject is missing. All Dutch subjects were monolinguals, in order to avoid influence from other languages. The subjects had been learning English for one year, and some might have had English lessons at their primary school as well, although no exact figures can be given in relation to the latter. None of the students were learning another language.

The Dutch groups consisted of two female and two male subjects. The Turkish group consisted of three females and one male. Both groups were comparable in terms of age, educational level and socio-economic background. The subjects were asked to participate voluntarily by their English teacher. They were allowed to miss a part of their lesson in order to participate. They were rewarded with chocolate, although they did not know they would be rewarded in advance.

3.2 Materials

The participants were welcomed and introduced to the interview in Dutch, in order to comfort the participants who appeared to be fairly nervous when they entered the room. The communication following the interview was in Dutch as well. The interview took place in English and participants were instructed to answer in English as well.

The subjects were interviewed by means of a semi-structured interview that was composed on the basis of the description of semi-structured interviews of Seliger and Shohamy (2001). Because the aim of the interview was to elicit speech production, rather than collecting specific background information for each subject, a semi-structured interview was used. In such an interview, questions are formulated in advance, but other questions can be asked as well, providing that the conversation continues in an informal manner so that subjects have the opportunity to speak with a “maximum freedom of expression” (Seliger & Shohamy, 2001, p. 167). Moreover, because the interviewer is not limited to the predefined questions but is allowed to elaborate whenever it is deemed useful, the interviewer can elaborate on topics the subjects are willing to talk about (Seliger & Shohamy, 2001, p. 167). Furthermore, the interviewer was able to ask about language use of the Turkish-Dutch subjects, providing additional information about the subjects and their languages.

The interview focussed on topics the students were expected to talk about easily in order to create an informal conversation so that the subjects could be in a bi- or trilingual mode (see section

2.2.2.). These topics were family, holidays, television/reading and school. Furthermore, questions were asked about the participants' language use in both Dutch, English and (in case of Turkish-Dutch subjects) Turkish in order to collect additional information. The order of the questions was chosen deliberately, starting with questions that were fairly easy to answer, such as asking for name and age of the subjects, to give the subjects time to get used to the situation of being interviewed in English. The following questions were ordered on the basis of an (expected) increasing level of difficulty. The questions about language use were asked at the end of the interview, as these were expected to be most difficult. Moreover, the questions about language use were considered important for the experiment because they might give information about language use and thus were important because of their content, while the other questions were important because of their form only. The questions that formed the basis of the semi-structured interview are included in Appendix A.

3.3 Procedure and data analysis

The experiment took place at school during regular school hours. The subjects were allowed to miss a part of their lessons in order to participate in the interview. Each subject was interviewed for approximately 10 minutes. The interviews were tape-recorded with a minidisc recorder (type Sony Walkman MZ-NF810) connected to a microphone (type Sony ECM-DS70P).

Afterwards, the interviews were transcribed orthographically, including pauses and dysfluencies. The transcriptions were then analysed quantitatively and qualitatively in order to look for cross-linguistic influence. Because of the small-scale nature of this study, no statistical analyses were conducted except for calculating the standard deviation. In order to demonstrate whether Dutch indeed influenced the English language production more than Turkish, the syntactic word order of the subjects' language production was examined. Both correct SVO word order and deviant word order were tagged and the number of sentences with correct and deviant word order were

counted. Dutch utterances were not taken into account. Only utterances that were entirely in English or mainly in English with an incidental language switch were taken into account. These sentences did not have to be grammatically correct.

Moreover, possible (false) cognates were examined in order to see whether Turkish-Dutch subjects show cross-linguistic influence from Dutch only, or from Turkish as well. Both false and correct cognates in Dutch and Turkish were tagged and counted. A native speaker of Turkish who was highly proficient in English helped to identify the Turkish cognates. Furthermore, language switches were tagged and labelled according to the category they belonged to: meta-linguistic comment, function word, noun, or sentence/chunk. Furthermore, dysfluencies were labelled and measured. However, it was difficult to distinguish between dysfluencies caused by subjects having problems finding a word or by the subjects just needing some time to think of the content of their message. Therefore, all sorts of dysfluencies were taken into account. Finally, the number of words per sentences were calculated as well. The transcription of the interviews are included in Appendix B.

4. Results and discussion

This section will answer the research question formulated in the introduction: *'In what sense is learning English different for Dutch-Turkish adolescents learning it as a third language from Dutch adolescents learning it as a second language?'*. In order to answer this questions, in section 2.3.2 the following hypotheses were formulated:

- Both Turkish-Dutch and Dutch adolescents will correctly produce the SVO order in main clauses.
- Turkish-Dutch adolescents will use cognates (whether false or not) more often from Dutch than from Turkish.
- During English production, Turkish-Dutch adolescents will be in a trilingual mode with English as the most active language, followed by Dutch and then Turkish, which has the lowest level of activation. This will result in more language switches from English to Dutch than from English to Turkish.

These predictions are discussed in turn in the following sections.

Hypothesis 1: Both Turkish-Dutch and Dutch adolescents will correctly produce the SVO order in main clauses.

Table 1 presents the results with regard to word order in main clauses. As can be seen, no incorrect word order was used by any of the speakers. However, most subjects produced a small number of sentences overall, and as a consequence both the Turkish-Dutch and Dutch adolescents produced a low number of sentences with a correct word order as well. On average, Dutch subjects produced a higher number of sentences with correct word order than Turkish-Dutch subjects: 7 versus 3.5 correct word orders respectively.

Table 1: Word order

	Average Dutch	Average Turkish
Correct SVO word order	7.0	3.5
SD	8.98	1.00
(incorrect) SOV word order	0.0	0.0
SD	0.00	0.00

As mentioned in the method, sentences with correct word order did not necessarily have to be entirely in English and did not need to be grammatically correct. Thus, utterances such as 1 below, which was produced by speaker T1³, were also taken into account, even though she used the Dutch word *dit* <this> and said *two years* instead of the intended *the second year*.

1) *Dit year was two years* (Turkish-Dutch subject 1)

<This year was the second year>

Before turning to the interpretation of the results, it must be said that these results might be somewhat distorted because of the participation of subject D4, who did not attend the lwoo educational level (more information about the subjects' educational background can be found in section 3.1). This subject performed better on nearly all items than any of the other subjects. The high standard deviation on correct word order sentences can be attributed to this subject's high score on this item. The only items on which he did not perform better were the number of hesitations and meta-linguistic comments. As subject D4 was more proficient in English than the other subjects, the content of his utterances was more complicated and thus it is not surprising that he had to think about his utterances more often. The same applies to the higher number of meta-linguistic comments. As he used words that were fairly difficult, he sometimes asked for help in

³ D1 – T4 refers to the subjects. D stands for 'Dutch', whereas T stands for 'Turkish'. Thus, D1 is the 1st Dutch subjects, T2 refers to the second Turkish subjects, etc.

Dutch when he had difficulties finding the right word. The possible distortion of the results should be taken into account when reading the next section as it is true for all hypotheses.

As the results above show, none of the subjects produced sentences with (incorrect) SOV order. However, the Turkish-Dutch adolescents did produce a smaller number of correct SVO sentences than the Dutch adolescents. As described in section 2.3.2.1., if Turkish had influenced the production of English of Turkish-Dutch adolescents, these subjects might have produced main clauses with SOV order, based on their L1. However, the fact that they did not produce sentences with SOV order indicates that Turkish-Dutch adolescents are unlikely to experience influence of Turkish in their L3 English production with respect to word order. This can be explained by the fact that Dutch and English are more closely related to each other than Turkish and English (see section 2.3.2.1.). Apparently, Turkish-Dutch subjects correctly transfer the correct word order from Dutch to English, instead of transferring the SOV order from their native language Turkish to English. Thus, this finding supports the hypothesis that both Turkish-Dutch adolescents and Dutch adolescents will produce SVO order in main clauses.

However, the lower number of correct SVO sentences produced by the Turkish-Dutch as compared to the Dutch adolescents can be explained in part by the performance of subject D4, who produced 20 sentences with correct SVO order. As this subject did not attend the Iwo school level, his proficiency was much higher than the proficiency of the other subjects. Without the results of subject D4, the average number of correct SVO sentences produced by Dutch subjects would be 2.7. This number is considerably lower than the average of all Dutch subjects (7.0) and is in fact lower than the average of the Turkish-Dutch subjects (3.5). Moreover, another possible explanation for the smaller number of SVO sentences in Turkish-Dutch adolescents can be found in the length of the sentences that were produced. Because of the low proficiency of the speakers, most subjects answered in one word or in holophrases. As can be seen in Table 4, the mean number of words in a sentence was 3.6 for Dutch subjects and 2.4 for Turkish-Dutch subject, which is hardly enough for an entire sentence. Understandably, if Turkish-Dutch subject produced many sentences that were

shorter than three words, these sentences would not contain a subject, verb and object and thus the number of correct SVO sentences is lower than of the Dutch subjects who, on average, produced more sentences containing three words.

Hypothesis 2: Turkish-Dutch adolescents will use cognates (whether false or not) more often from Dutch than from Turkish.

Table 2 shows the findings of the number of cognates that were produced by the subjects. On average, Turkish subjects used a higher number of Dutch-English cognates (19.5 words) correctly than Dutch subjects (16.0 words). Only one instance of a false Dutch cognate was found (see 2 below).

2) *Ehm, I wanna speak Dutch but yeah, [...].* (Dutch subject 4)

<Ehm, I wanna speak German, but yeah>

This Dutch subject answered the question whether he could speak any other languages than Dutch and English. The speaker meant that he wanted to learn German, which is *Duits* in Dutch. The words *Duits* <german> and *Dutch* are false cognates because they have the same origin, but they are different in meaning.

Table 2: cognates

	Average Dutch	Average Turkish
Correct Dutch cognates	16.0	19.5
SD	9.41	4.21
Correct Turkish cognates	-	4.8
SD	-	3.20
False Dutch cognates	0.7	0.0
SD	0.50	0.00
False Turkish cognates	-	0.0
SD	-	0.00
Incorrect use of homonyms	0.5	0.0
SD	0.57	0.00

No false Turkish cognates were used by the Turkish-Dutch adolescents. However, several instances of correct Turkish cognates were used by the speakers of Turkish. The majority of these words were Dutch cognates as well, such as the word *police*, which is *politie* in Dutch and *polis* in Turkish. However, only once a cognate was used that was a cognate in Turkish and English only, and not in Dutch. Subject T2 used the word *cousin*, which in Turkish is *kuzen*, while in Dutch this can only be translated as *neef* or *nicht*.

In addition, several instances of incorrect translation of homonyms were found. Speaker D1, when answering the question why she liked a particular series, used the word *look*, instead of the word *watch* that should have been used in this case (see 3) below).

3) *I don't know. My mother, die **look** it and then I look it too.* (Dutch subject 1)

<I don't know. My mother, she watched it, and then I watched it as well>

In Dutch, both words are translated using the same word: *kijken*. Subject D1 thus incorrectly assumed that in English the word is a homonym as well (one word with two different meanings). Although the meanings of *to look* and *to watch* are very similar, they cannot be used interchangeably, while in Dutch the word *kijken* is a homonym that can be used in both cases. Similarly, speaker D4 used an incorrect homonym (see 4) below).

4) *Eh, yes, if it's all Dutch... Almost no one can **talk** Dutch over there, so you need to **talk** English.* (Dutch subject 4)

Here, the word *talk* is used instead of *speak*. Both words are translated by one single word in Dutch: *spreken*. While the English words cannot be used interchangeably, Dutch has a homonym for these cases.

With respect to the second hypothesis, this study shows that Turkish-Dutch subjects use proportionally more correct Dutch cognates in their English production than Turkish cognates. Moreover, the majority of the Turkish-English cognates that were used by the Turkish-Dutch subjects were cognates in Dutch as well. Furthermore, no false cognates (either Dutch or Turkish) were found in the English production of Turkish-Dutch subjects. This finding is in accordance with the second hypothesis that Turkish-Dutch adolescents would use Dutch cognates (whether false or not) more often than Turkish cognates. However, Dutch subjects show a few instances of interference of Dutch. One false cognate was produced by a Dutch subject and two Dutch subjects showed two instances of incorrectly used Dutch homonyms. Mistakes like these were not produced by Turkish-Dutch subjects. The fact that Turkish-Dutch subjects use correct Dutch cognates more often than Dutch subjects and that Dutch subjects seem to transfer words from Dutch to English incorrectly more often than English might be an indicator of a larger influence of Dutch for the Dutch subjects than for Turkish-Dutch subjects. One explanation for this finding can be found in Cook's (1995) claim that multilinguals have a higher meta-linguistic awareness because they know multiple languages. As a consequence, the Turkish-Dutch subjects might be able to make better judgements about which features of a language

can be transferred from Dutch to English, and which cannot be transferred. Moreover, with respect to the multilingual speaking model as discussed in section 2.2.1. it is possible that Turkish-Dutch subjects are more able to monitor the activation level of their languages, because they have already had years of experience in monitoring multiple languages, namely Turkish and Dutch. However, this would not concord with the finding that Turkish-Dutch subject show more language switches from English to Dutch than Dutch subjects (this finding will be discussed below). A final explanation for the seemingly larger influence of Dutch for Dutch subjects than for Turkish-Dutch subjects might be that the level of proficiency of Dutch of the Turkish-Dutch subjects was not high enough. As some studies (Tremblay, 2006; Ringbom, 2001) claimed, L2 influences L3 only when the speaker is highly proficient in the L2. Perhaps the level of proficiency of Dutch is not high enough for Turkish-Dutch subject to influence the L3 production. Indeed, most Turkish subjects said that Turkish was still their strongest language, which implies that they have a lower level of proficiency in Dutch. However, as all Turkish subjects are near native in Dutch, they are supposedly proficient enough to be denoted as 'highly proficient'.

On the basis of the small number of these interferences no strong conclusions can be drawn. Therefore, more research needs to be done in order to establish whether Dutch subjects indeed experience more interference from Dutch in their English production than Turkish-Dutch subjects do. If this is confirmed, further research should try to explain why Dutch subjects are more susceptible to influence from Dutch than Turkish-Dutch subjects are.

Hypothesis 3: During English production, Turkish-Dutch adolescents will be in a trilingual mode with English as the most active language, followed by Dutch and then Turkish, which has the lowest level of activation. This will result in more language switches from English to Dutch than from English to Turkish.

The number of language switches are presented in Table 3. All language switches were switches to Dutch. The total number of language switches was higher for Turkish-Dutch subjects (20.8 words) than for Dutch subjects (15.8). As can be seen from Table 3, in both groups language switches occurred most often in the case of function words. This is in line with Poulisse and Bongaert's claim that function words occur more often in language switches than content words (see section 2.1.2.). A higher number of language switches in function words were produced by the Turkish-Dutch subjects (11.5 words) than by Dutch subjects (7.8 words). Moreover, the Turkish-Dutch subjects produced more language switches in all categories, with the exception of the category of nouns (2.8 words for Turkish-Dutch subjects vs. 3.5 words for Dutch subjects).

Table 3: Language switches

	Average Dutch	Average Turkish
Meta-linguistic comment	1.8	3.0
SD	2.06	4.76
Function words	7.8	11.5
SD	3.68	7.32
Nouns	3.5	2.8
SD	1.91	2.75
Sentence or chunk	3.0	3.5
SD	5.35	3.31
Total number of language switches	15.8	20.8
SD	6.29	11.70

There were many individual differences in the number of meta-linguistic comments produced in Dutch by the Turkish-Dutch subjects, as can be seen from the high standard deviation.

This can be attributed to one Turkish-Dutch subject who used the same Dutch phrase very often when she did not know how to say something (see 5 below).

5) *Ehm, even kijken...*

<Ehm, let's see...>

Finally, the results showed that no language switches from English to Turkish were produced, which confirms the third hypothesis. Moreover, the findings also indicated that Turkish-Dutch subjects used Dutch words or phrases more often than Dutch subjects. Although these findings were not tested statistically, the number of language switches was relatively high, in the light of the finding that the Turkish-Dutch subjects produced a considerably lower number of words than the Dutch subjects (see Table 4 below). The larger number of language switches to Turkish than to Dutch can be explained by the language mode model of Grosjean (2001). As argued in section 2.2.1., all languages of a multilingual can be activated to a greater or lesser degree. The base language in the experiment was English, as that was the language that was used for the conversation. The other languages, Turkish and Dutch, were activated to a certain degree, depending on several factors. One factor that has proved to influence the language mode of a bilingual is the context of communication. Although the interviewer did not say this explicitly, it can be assumed that all subjects knew that the interviewer was a native speaker of Dutch because she introduced herself in Dutch and did not look Turkish. Consequently, the subjects might have lowered their activation level of Turkish and raised the activation level of Dutch, leading to more language switches from English to Dutch than to Turkish. Moreover, the Turkish-Dutch subjects might perceive Dutch as more similar to English than Turkish to English. This could also be a factor that influenced the language mode of Turkish-Dutch subjects.

General interest

On top of answering the hypotheses, an analysis of the number of dysfluencies and the mean number of words was performed. As can be seen in Table 4, no differences were found between the two groups with respect to the number of dysfluencies. However, the table shows that Dutch subjects produced more words per sentence (3.6 words) than the Turkish subjects (2.4).

Table 4: Dysfluencies and mean number of words

	Average Dutch	Average Turkish
Dysfluencies	23.5	23.5
SD	13.02	10.53
Mean number of words per sentence	3.6	2.4
SD	1.99	0.84
Total number of words	249.5	169.3
SD	1.69	54.87

The equal number of dysfluencies might be due to the difficulty in defining dysfluencies. Dysfluencies might be caused by a difficulty in finding the correct word, indicating a lack of knowledge. However, dysfluencies might appear as well when speakers need to think about the content, rather than the form of the utterance. In that case it does not say anything about the proficiency of the speaker. In fact, speaker D4, who was the most proficient speaker of English, produced a number of dysfluencies that was above average. As mentioned above, this could be due to the more difficult content of his utterances.

Furthermore, the low number of words per sentences and the low number of words in total produced by the Turkish-Dutch subjects indicate that they are less proficient in English than their Dutch peers. A possible explanation for this, might be found in the amount of exposure to English that Turkish-Dutch adolescents receive. Most Turkish-Dutch students admitted that they usually watch Turkish television and listen to Turkish music, which might a reason that they lag behind Dutch students, who in general watch English television and listen to English music more often.

Summary of the results

In sum, the data presented above indicate that the Dutch subjects performed better on most items that were analysed than the Turkish subjects. Dutch subjects produced more correct SVO sentences, a lower number of language switches and they produced more words per sentence (and in total) than Turkish subjects did. Furthermore, both groups performed similarly on the number of dysfluencies and Turkish subjects correctly used a slightly higher number of Dutch cognates.

All the predictions discussed in this section amount to the research question in what sense learning English is different for Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning it as a third language from Dutch adolescents learning it as a second language. Turkish-Dutch adolescents did not produce sentences with (incorrect) SOV order more often than Dutch adolescents. Moreover, Turkish-Dutch adolescents used Dutch-English cognates more often than Turkish-English cognates. Finally, more language switches from English to Dutch were found than from English to Turkish. Thus, all hypotheses were confirmed. No influence from Turkish was found in the production of English of Turkish-Dutch adolescents. In sum, this seems to indicate that learning English is not different for Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning it as a third language from Dutch adolescents learning English as a second languages.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to determine in what sense learning English is different for Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning it as a third language than for Dutch adolescents learning it as a second language. Cross-linguistic influence from an L1 or L2 can be found in L3 as a result of the activation levels of the languages involved: the higher the activation level of an L1 or L2, the more influence in the L3 can be expected (de Bot, 1992; Grosjean, 2001). Factors that influence the activation level of languages are (perceived) language distance (Kellerman, 1979; Cenoz, 2001), phonological similarity (Dewaele, 1998), level of proficiency in all languages involved (Hammarberg, 2001), frequency of use (Williams & Hammarberg, 1998), context of communication (Dewaele, 2001) and language status (Selinker and Baumgartner-Cohen, 1995). Due to these factors, Turkish-Dutch learning English might experience influence from both their L1 and L2, as opposed to Dutch monolingual adolescents learning English, who experience influence only from their L1.

The study examined a group of four Turkish-Dutch adolescents and four Dutch adolescents who were learning English as their third, or respectively second language. The results showed that Dutch subjects produced more correct SVO sentences, a lower number of language switches and a higher number of words per sentence than Turkish-Dutch subjects. Turkish-Dutch subjects used more correct Dutch cognates than Dutch subjects and both groups produced an equal number of dysfluencies.

The results confirmed the hypotheses that Turkish-Dutch students would not experience influence from Turkish with respect to word order, cognates or language switches. Thus, it seems that no influence of Turkish can be found and that learning English is not different for Turkish-Dutch students learning it as a third language than for Dutch students learning it as a second language. However, the lower number of SVO sentences, the high number of language switches and the low number of words per sentence produced by Turkish-Dutch subjects indicate that Turkish-Dutch adolescents are less proficient than their Dutch peers. This might be partly due to the fact that

Turkish-Dutch adolescents watch Turkish television and listen to Turkish music often, whereas Dutch adolescents often watch English series and films and listen to English music more often. The Dutch adolescents are therefore more exposed to English than their Turkish-Dutch peers. Therefore, it might be advisable for Turkish-Dutch adolescents to expose themselves more often to English speech. Moreover, teachers of English may take this into account and design their courses and curriculum in such a way that Turkish-Dutch students are provided with more English input either in class or by means of assignments outside of classes.

In the interpretation of this study's findings, several important limitations should be mentioned. The first limitation is the small number of participants. As a consequence, these findings might not be representative for all Turkish-Dutch adolescents learning English. Furthermore, no statistical analyses could be conducted on the basis of the low number of participants. Moreover, the low level of proficiency of the subjects, leading to a low number of full sentences, inhibited the subjects from producing many SVO- or SOV- sentences and thus no strong conclusions could be drawn with respect to the production of correct word order sentences. Furthermore, not all participants had the same level of proficiency, which might have distorted the results of the experiment. One Dutch subject had a considerably higher level of proficiency, leading to large differences within the Dutch group. Finally, because the interviewer did not speak Turkish, Turkish-Dutch subjects might have lowered their activation levels of Turkish, leading to less influence from Turkish than when the interviewer would have been proficient in Turkish (see the discussion on language modes in section 2.2.1).

In order to establish whether Turkish influences the production of English of Turkish-Dutch subjects, further research is needed involving more subjects who have a higher level of proficiency in order to determine whether the results of this finding are representative for a larger group. Furthermore, all subjects will have to have a similar level of proficiency in order to be able compare the groups more accurately. Moreover, to avoid the subjects activating one language over the other, the interviewer should be fluent in both languages the subject knows. Finally, as the results seemed

to indicate that Dutch participants experienced more interference from Dutch leading to a number of incorrect cognates and homonyms than Turkish-Dutch participants, it would be interesting to investigate whether Dutch speakers of English experience more influence from Dutch than Turkish-Dutch adolescents.

As this study showed, no influence of Turkish is found in the English production of Turkish-Dutch adolescents and thus, learning English does not seem to be different for Turkish-Dutch adolescents than for Dutch adolescents learning English as a third language. Moreover, according to a Turkish saying, learning three languages is actually very promising:

*“Bir dil bilen bir insan,
iki dil bilen iki insan,
üç dil bilen üç insand”*

“A man who speaks a language is man,
A man who speaks a language is worth two men,
A man who speaks three is worth all mankind” (Cucumis, 2010).

6. References

- Backus, A. (1996). *Two in one: bilingual speech of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands*. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.
- Bermúdez, J. L. (2010). *Cognitive science: An introduction to the science of the mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Birdsong, D. (1999). *Second language acquisition and the critical period hypothesis*. Londen: Erlbaum.
- Booij, G.E. (2002). *The morphology of Dutch*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cenoz, J. (2001). The effect of linguistic distance, L2 status and age on cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner. (Eds), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp. 8-20). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cenoz, J., Hufeisen, B., & Jessner, U. (2001). *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (2010, 2 November). Retrieved from <http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=37325&D1=a&D2=0&D3=0-6,121-122&D4=0&D5=0-2,137,152,215,232&D6=0,4,9,13-14&HDR=G1,G3,T&STB=G4,G5,G2&VW=T>
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (2010, 14 October). Retrieved from [http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=37325&D1=a&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0-4,137,152,215,232&D6=0,4,9,\(I-1\)-I&HDR=G2,G1,G3,T&STB=G4,G5&VW=T](http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=37325&D1=a&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0-4,137,152,215,232&D6=0,4,9,(I-1)-I&HDR=G2,G1,G3,T&STB=G4,G5&VW=T)
- Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic structures*. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton.
- Cook, V. (1995). Multi-competence and the learning of many languages. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 8(2), 93-98.
- Corder, S. P. (1967). The significance of learner's errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 5, 161-170.

- Crul, M., & Doornik, J. (2003). The Turkish and Moroccan second generation in the Netherlands: Divergent trends between and polarization within the two groups. *International Migration Review*, 37, 1039-1064.
- Cucumis. (2010). *Vertaling - Turks-Engels - "Bir dil bilen bir insan, iki dil bilen iki..."* Retrieved 8 december 2010 from http://www.cucumis.org/vertaling_10_t/bekijk-vertaling_v_238604.html.
- De Angelis, G. (2007). *Third or additional language acquisition*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- De Angelis, G., & Selinker, L. (2001). Interlanguage transfer and competing linguistic systems. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner. (Eds), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp.42-58). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- de Bot, K. (1992). A bilingual production model: Levelt's 'speaking' model adapted. *Applied Linguistics*, 13, 1-24.
- de Bot, K., Lowie, W. M., & Verspoor, M. H. (2005). *Second language acquisition: An advanced resource book*. London: Routledge.
- Dewaele, J. M. (1998). Lexical inventions: French interlanguage as L2 versus L3. *Applied Linguistics*, 19, 471-490.
- Dewaele, J. M. (2001). Activation or inhibition? The interaction of L1, L2 and L3 on the language mode continuum. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner. (Eds), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp.69-89). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Dijkstra, T., Miwa, K., Brummelhuis, B., Sappelli, M., & Baayen, H. (2010). How cross-language similarity and task demands affect cognate recognition. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 62, 284-301.
- Doğruöz, A. S. & Backus, A. (2007). Postverbal elements in immigrant Turkish: Evidence of change? *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 11(2), 185-220.
- Dorleijn, M., & Notier, J. (2009). Van de hand en de handschoen: Code en stijl als tweetalige opties voor jongeren met een Turkse en Marokkaanse achtergrond. In A. Backus, M. Keijzer, I. Vedder, & B. Weltens (Eds.), *Artikelen van de Zesde Anéla-conferentie* (pp. 183-191). Delft: Eburon.

- Driessen, G. W. J. M. (1995). The educational progress of immigrant children in the Netherlands. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 8*, 265-280.
- Driessen, G. W. J. M. (2001). Ethnicity, forms of capital, and educational achievement. *International Review of Education, 47*(6), 513-538.
- Dulay, H. C., & Burt, M. K. (1974). Natural sequences in child second language acquisition. *Language Learning, 24*, 37-53.
- Ecke, P. (2001). Lexical retrieval in a third language: Evidence from errors and tip-of-the-tongue states. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner. (Eds), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp. 90-114). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Eckman, F. (1977). Markedness and the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis. *Language Learning, 27*, 315-330.
- Epstein, S. D., Flynn, S., & Martohardjono, G. (1996). Second language acquisition: Theoretical and experimental issues in contemporary research. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 19*, 677-714.
- Extra, G., & Yağmur, K. (2006). Immigrant minority languages at home and at school. A case study of the Netherlands. *European Education, 38*(2), 50-63.
- Gass, S. M., & Selinker, L. (2008). *Second language acquisition: an introductory course* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Green, D. W. (1986). Control, activation, and resource: A framework and a model for the control of speech in bilinguals. *Brain and Language, 27*, 210-223.
- Grosjean, F. (2001). The bilingual's language modes. In J. Nicol (Ed.), *One mind, two languages: Bilingual language processing* (pp. 1-22). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hammarberg, B. (2001). Roles of L1 and L2 in L3 production and acquisition. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner. (Eds), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp. 21-41). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Harwig, A. (2001). Plurilingual lexical organisation: Evidence from lexical processing in L1-L2-L3-L4 translation. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner. (Eds), *Cross-linguistic influence in third*

- language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp. 115-137). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hawkins, R. (2001). *Second language syntax: A generative introduction*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kellerman, E. (1979). Transfer and non-transfer: Where we are now? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 2, 37-57.
- Lado, R. (1957). *Linguistics across culture: Applied linguistics for language teachers*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Levelt, W. J. M. (1989). *Speaking: from intention to articulation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lightbown, P. M., & Spada, N. (2006). *How languages are learned* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McDonald, J. L. (2000). Grammaticality judgments in a second language: Influences of age of acquisition and native language. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 21, 395-423.
- Murphy, S. (2005). Second language transfer during third language acquisition. *Teachers College, Columbia University Working Papers in TESOL & Applied Linguistics*, 3(2), 1-21.
- Nap - Kolhoff, E. M. (2010). *Second language acquisition in early childhood: a longitudinal multiple case study of Turkish-Dutch children*. Utrecht: LOT Publications.
- Nieuwenhuijsen, P.M. (2005). *Het verschijnsel taal. Een kennismaking*. Bussum: Coutinho.
- Ours, J. C., & Veenman, J. (2003). The educational attainment of second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands. *Journal of Population Economics*, 16, 739-753.
- Paradis, M. (2004). *A neurolinguistic theory of bilingualism*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Paradis, M., & Libben, G. (1987). *The assessment of bilingual aphasia*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Poullisse, N., & Bongaerts, T. (1994). First language use in second language production. *Applied Linguistics*, 15, 36-57.

- Ringbom, H. (2001). Lexical transfer and competing linguistic systems. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner. (Eds.), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp. 59-68). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Sağın Şimşek, S. Ç. (2006). *Third language acquisition: Turkish-German bilingual students' acquisition of English word order in a German educational setting*. München: Waxmann.
- Saville-Troike, M. (2006). *Introducing second language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schaufeli, A. J. (1991). *Turkish in an immigrant setting: a comparative study of the first language of monolingual and bilingual Turkish children*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Scheele, A. F. (2010). Home language and mono- and bilingual children's emergent academic language: A longitudinal study of Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch, and Turkish-Dutch 3- to 6-year-olds.
- Schwartz, B. D., & Sprouse, R. A. (1996). L2 cognitive states and the Full Transfer/Full Access model. *Second Language Research*, 12, 40-72.
- Seliger, H. W., & Shohamy, E. (2007). *Second Language Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 10, 209-232.
- Selinker, L., & Baumgartner-Cohen, B. (1995). Multiple language acquisition: 'Damn it, why can't I keep these two languages apart?'. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 8, 115-121.
- Selinker, L., & Lakshamanan, U. (1992). Language transfer and fossilisation: the Multiple Effects Principle. In S. M. Gass & L. Selinker. (Eds.), *Language Transfer in Language Learning* (pp. 197-216). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Shooshtari, Z. G. (2009). Generative syntactic transfer in L2 and L3 acquisition via the channel of translation. *English Language Teaching*, 2, 129-149.
- Skinner, B. F. (1957). *Verbal behavior*. Englewood Cliffs: New Jersey Prentice-Hall.

- The Uralic and Altaic Languages. (2010). In *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy.library.uu.nl/ehost/detail?vid=3&hid=105&sid=07ad8c35-c44f-4550-9c4b-320f8f83b292%40sessionmgr112&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=afh&AN=39037927>
- Tomasello, M. (2003). *Constructing a language: A usage-based theory of language acquisition*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Tremblay, M. C. (2006). Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: The role of L2 proficiency and L2 exposure. *CLO/OPL Ottawa, 34*, 109–119.
- Ullman, M. T. (2004). Contributions of memory circuits to language: The declarative/procedural model. *Cognition, 92*, 231-270.
- Uzun, L., & Salihoglu, U. M. (2009). English-Turkish cognates and false cognates: compiling a corpus and testing how they are translated by computer programs. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics, 45*, 569-593.
- van der Kooij - Jamjam, F., Yilmaz, G., de Bot, K., & Schmids, M. S. (2009). Multilingualism and attrition: Moroccan and Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. In: A. Backus, M. Keijzer, I. Vedder, & B. Weltens (Eds.), *Artikelen van de Zesde Anéla-conferentie* (pp. 183-191). Delft: Eburon.
- Van der Veen, H. (2001). *Successful Turkish and Moroccan students in the Netherlands*. Apeldoorn: Garant.
- Verhallen, M. & Schoonen, R. (1998). Lexical knowledge in L1 and L2 of third and fifth graders. *Applied Linguistics, 19*, 452-470.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2006). *An introduction to Sociolinguistics* (5th ed.). Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- White, L. (1991). Adverb placement in second language acquisition: Some effects of positive and negative evidence in the classroom. *Second Language Research, 7*(2), 133-161.

Williams, S., & Hammarberg, B. (1998). Language switches in L3 production: Implications for a polyglot speaking model. *Applied Linguistics*, 19, 295-333.

Yağmur, K. (1997). *First language attrition among Turkish speakers in Sydney*. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.

Appendix A - Semi-structured interview

(Questions in bold are prioritised questions)

Background variables:

1. **What is your name?** (*I will not mention it in my study, the results will be anonymous*)
2. **How old are you?**
3. **Where do you live? Is it near this school?**
4. **In what grade are you? Is it the first time you do this?**

Family

1. Can you tell me something about your family?
 - **How many brothers and sisters do you have and what are their names?**
 - How do you get along with them?
 - How do you get along with your parents?
 - **What was your last fight about (with parents and/or siblings)?**

Holidays

2. Can you tell me something about your holidays?
 - **Do you ever visit Turkey during your summer holidays?**
 - If so: what did you do in Turkey?
 - If not: What did you do during the holidays?
 - Where would you like to go to if you had all the money in the world and why?

Television

3. How about watching television, can you tell me what kind of things you like to watch?
 - How often do you watch television?
 - Can you tell me something about your favourite tv-program?

- What is your favourite movie? Can you tell me what happens in this movie?
- **In which language are the programs you usually watch?**

(The same questions can be asked about reading if the subject does not watch television but prefers to read)

School

4. What are your favourite subjects in school?
 - Do you know what you want to do after secondary school already? What?
 - Which teacher do you like most and why?
 - Do you like this school and why (not)?

Languages

5. **What languages do you speak?**
 - **In what order and at what age did you learn to speak these languages?**
 - **Do you speak different languages in different situations? What languages do you speak at home (parents vs siblings), at school, with friends...?**
 - Which language do you like to speak most and why?
 - **What do you consider to be your first language? Can you rank them? Why in that order?**
 - **Would you say that language is an important part of your identity? Why?**
 - Do you sometimes mix the languages you know? (and when?)
 - Do you like speaking English? What parts of English are difficult for you?

Appendix B - Transcriptions

<abc> = translation of the entire sentence in English

... = silence/hesitation

abc- = unfinished word or sentence.

[abc] = utterance that is not understood by the transcriber

I = interviewer

D1: Dutch girl, 14 years old.

I: Hello.

D1: Hallo.

I: My name is Hanneke. And what is your name?

D1: My name is Sabine⁴.

I: Ok, and how old are you?

D1: I'm veertien yours old.

<I'm fourteen years old>

I: Ok, and where do you live?

D1: Ehm, in Holland.

I: In this city?

D1: Yes, Overvecht.

I: Ah, yes, I know that. So you... how do you go to school?

D1: With the bus.

<By bus>

I: Yeah, ok. And in what grade are you? Which year of this school are you?

D1: The ... two years.

⁴ The names in the interviews were changed so that the results would be anonymous.

I: Ok, the second year. And is it the first time you do this year or did you...?

D1: Yes, the first time.

I: Ok, good. And can you tell me something about your family. How many brothers and sisters have you got?

D1: Yes, I have one sister, and no brothers, no sisses. And my feather-, father and mom die lives with me. And ... yes.

<Yes, I have one sister, and no brothers, no little sisters. And my father and mother, they live with me. And ...yes>

I: Ok. Yes ok. And do you get along with them well? Is it nice, or do you have often fights?

D1: Yeah, fights with my zus, but ...

<yeah, fights with my sister, but...>

I: And what about usually?

D1: Hm?

I: About what kind of things do you usually have fights?

D1: Ehm, ... over everybody.

<Ehm,... about everybody>

I: Yes, everything and everybody.

D1: Yes, everything.

I: And your parents? Do you often have fights with them or is it...?

D1: No.

I: They are nice?

D1: Yes.

I: Ok, good. And can you tell me something about your holidays? Where did you go last year for example?

D1: Ehm, I going to Drenthe and go to family.

I: Ok. With your parents and your sisters?

D1: Yes.

I: And how long did you go there?

D1: Two weeks.

I: Nice. And if you would have all the money in the world, where would you like to go and why?

D1: Ehm, I like Africa because my father his family is Afrikaans.

<Ehm, I like Africa, because my father's family is African>

I: Oh, really?

D1: Yes, and then I going to vakantie and dan I going back. And a nice car and a nice home.

<Yes, and then I will go on vacation and then I will go back. And a nice car and a nice home>

I: Yes, of course. And would you like to live in Utrecht?

D1: No.

I: Then where would you like to live and why not?

D1: It's not in natuur. I live IJsselstein.

I: There is more nature there.

D1: Yes .

I: And do you watch television often?

D1: Yes.

I: What kind of things do you watch?

D1: Ehm, everything.

I: What is your favourite program?

D1: Goede Tijden, Slechte Tijden.

<Good Times, Bad Times [A Dutch soap opera]>

I: Ok. And can you tell me what happened yesterday? Did you watch yesterday?

D1: No.

I: When was the last time you watched?

D1: I don't know. But I know what going on.

I: Ok, can you tell me something about it?

D1: Yes, two boys go to fight because one die is gay. And toen he ask [...] to a brother van een boy that he is too, because has love with him. And toen he go in fight.

<Yes, two boys got into a fight, because one is gay. And then he asked another boy's brother whether he is gay as well, because he is in love with him. And then he got into a fight>

I: Yes...

D1: And ...

I: Ok, that's a lot. And why do you like it, the series?

D1: I don't know. My mother, die look it and then I look it too.

<I don't know. My mother, she watched it, and then I watched it as well>

I: Yes, ok. Do you usually watch Dutch programmes, or sometimes English things with subtitles?

D1: Yes, ehm, films. Then I look it English. And programmes on Dutch.

I: And what is your favourite movie?

D1: Ehm... Dirty Dancing.

I: Ah, yes, very nice. And can you tell me what happens in the movie?

D1: It's dance. And ehm, a girl and a boys she loves. Together. And then she going to dance. Ehm...

I: Ok. And do you dance yourself?

D1: No. sometimes.

I: And any other sports?

D1: No.

I: You never go sporting? Only at school?

D1: Yes.

I: And what is your favourite subject in school?

D1: Ehm...

I: That's a difficult one, I think.

D1: Yes, biologie/verzorging.

<Yes, biology/care>

I: Yeah, biology and... ehm health care I think? Something like that?

D1: Yeah.

I: Yes, ok, so you just said that you already know what you want to do after school. Can you tell me again? In English?

D1: Ehm, I going to my hair and ehm ... nagels.

<I'm going to study hair- and nail care>

I: Nails.

D1: Yeah, enzovoort.

<Yeah, etcetera>

I: Ok. Can you do it at this school? Because I think there is also an mbo [intermediate vocational education] at this school, or not?

D1: I don't know.

I: Ok.

D1: I go to this school and further then I going to that.

I: So you don't know it yet. Ok. Are there any other languages you speak? I know you speak Dutch and English. But do you learn other languages in this school?

D1: No.

I: And do you have also friends from Turkey of Morocco?

D1: Yes.

I: And do you know a little bit of their languages? Or do you speak only Dutch with them?

D1: Yes.

I: Ok. And do you like to read?

D1: To...?

I: Do you like reading, like books or magazines, or on the internet.

D1: Yes, on the internet.

I: Do you use Hyves and MSN?

D1: Yes

I: How often?

D1: ... (laughs)

I: Very often?

D1: Yes. Every day.

I: And do you read books or magazines also?

D1: No.

I: And do you sometimes use internet to read something too, or only for your social contacts?

D1: No, only for social.

I: And which language do you use on the internet?

D1: [Ne]?

I: Which language do you use on the internet when you speak with your friends?

D1: ... (Sighs).

I: Is it always in Dutch?

D1: Yes.

I: Ok. The music you listen, in which language is that?

D1: English.

I: Ok, and what is your favourite artist. Or don't you have one?

D1: I don't.

I: And what is your favourite song? Do you have one?

D1: I don't have.

I: Which is number one at this moment, do you know that?

D1: I don't know.

I: Me neither, so that is not a problem. Do you like this school?

D1: Yes.

I: And why?

D1: Because here is my friends. And my sister.

I: Ok, very important. And your teachers? Do you like them?

D1: Yes.

I: Which is your favourite? You don't have to say mr. Van Polen.

D1: Nee, no, [Mion]

I: Ok, and why do you like her?

D1: I can talk to her and ...

I: Ok, that's good. Ok. I want to thank you very much.

D2: Dutch boy, 13 years old

I: Hello, my name is Hanneke. What is your name?

D2: My name is Wesley.

I: Ok, hello Wesley. And how old are you?

D2: ...

I: Are you eleven or twelve years old? Or thirteen?

D2: Thirteen.

I: If there is something you don't understand, you can always ask me. Do you understand...? Als je iets niet snapt kan je het altijd even vragen.

D2: Hm.

I: Where do you live? In which city?

D2: ...

I: Where is your home? Is it here, in Utrecht?

D2: Yeah.

I: And in which neighbourhood? Is it kanaleneiland?

D2: Hoograven.

I: And how do you go to school? Are you walking or..?

D2: Bus.

I: By bus, ok. And in what grade are you? Which class, which year of this school?

D2: ...

I: The first, or the second or third year...? How many years... do you know... Are you in the first class?

D2: Nee, two.

<No, second>

I: Ok, two. And can you tell me something about your family? Do you have brothers and sisters?

D2: Ik heb geen...niks.

<I have no... nothing>

I: Nothing, ok. And do you live with your parents? Both are still together?

D2: ... (nods)

I: Ok, and can you tell me something about your holidays, your vacation? Did you stay in Holland or did you go somewhere else?

D2: In Holland.

I: At home or somewhere else in Holland?

D2: Ergens anders.

<Somewhere else>

I: And where did you go? In a city or... do you know what I mean? When you were on holidays, did you go to, for example, Amsterdam, or to an other city?

D2: Brabant.

I: Was it in a .. a..., like a park, with a lot of...?

D2: Camping.

I: With your parents?

D2: Yeah.

I: Did you like it?

D2: Yes.

I: Why?

D2: ...

I: You don't know? Were there many friends, people of your age, many teenagers?

D2: Yeah.

I: ok. And if you had all the money in the world, like 10 million euros, which country would you like to visit?

D2: ik weet niet.

<I don't know>

I: You don't know?

D2: No.

I: What would you do with the money?

D2: Kleren kopen.

<Buy clothes>

I: Kleren ko... Buy clothes. And what kind of clothes? Which brands do you like?

D2: Trui.

<sweater>

I: A sweater. Ok. Ehm, and do you watch television often?

D2: Yes [...].

I: What kind of programs?

D2: Sport, voetbal.

<Sport, football>

I: Do you play soccer yourself?

D2: Ja

<yes>

I: Which position do you play?

D2: Rechts middenveld

<right midfield>

I: Ok. On the right. And if you were very good, which club would you want to play?

D2: DVSU.

I: DVSU? That's where you play now?

D2: Yes.

I: OK. But if you were very very good, like Wesley Sneijders, which club would you like to play? Or would you stay at DVSU? Do you know what I mean?

D2: Yeah.

I: So if you were the best player in the world...

D2: Real Madrid.

I: Ok, cool. And what is your favourite football player?

D2: Messi.

I: Ok, yeah, I think he is the best in the world. So do you always watch Eurosport then?

D2: ...

I: Ok, what is your favourite movie?

D2: ik weet niet

<I don't know>

I: You don't know? You never watch movies?

D2: Nee.

<no>

I: And series? Like *Goede Tijden, Slechte Tijden*?

D2: Ja.

<yes>

I: Ok. And other series?

D2: Nee.

<no>

I: no? Ok. Did you watch yesterday, Goede Tijden slechte Tijden?

D2: Yes.

I: Can you tell me what happened?

D2: Over Nina.

<about Nina>

I: Sorry, what?

D2: Over die Nina.

<About that Nina>

I: Over Nina, and what happened to Nina?

D2: Die wou eerst naar Praag gaan.

<She wanted to go to Prague First>

I: Can you tell me in English a little bit?

D2: Ik weet niet.

<I don't know>

I: You don't know? Just if you try a little bit?

D2: No.

I: Ok. Than just tell me what happened.

D2: I don't know.

I: So if you watch television, is it usually in Dutch or also English programs?

D2: Dutch.

I: Ok. And do you like to play games on the computer?

D2: Yeah.

I: What games do you like?

D2: Ehm, football.

I: Football, ofcourse. And then you play FIFA I think?

D2: Yes.

I: And is it also in Dutch or is it usually in English?

D2: Dutch.

I: What is your favourite subject in school?

D2: ...

I: You don't understand the question or you don't know the answer?

D2: Ik weet niet.

<I don't know>

I: Ok, so ehm, do you like English?

D2:...

I: Do you like .. eh, what is it .. gymnastics?

D2: Yes.

I: Is that you favourite subject?

D2: Yes.

I: And which teacher do you like most?

D2: ...

I: You don't understand it, or you don't know which teacher?

D2: Nee

<no>

I: Do you like school?

D2: Yeah.

I: Why?

D2: Weet ik niet.

<I don't know>

I: Don't know, ok. Which languages do you speak? You speak Dutch...

D2: Yes.

I: And any other languages, like German, or French?

D2: No, Dutch.

I: And English a little bit. Yes, ok. and what do you find difficult in English? Is it the words, or grammar or something else?

D2: Grammar.

I: Grammar, ok. And do you sometimes read, like books or magazines?

D2: Books.

I: And what kind of books?

D2: mmm...

I: Is it ... adventures, ore more information about geography or...?

D2: Soms informatie, ja.

<sometimes information, yes>

I: Ok, and are they always in Dutch or sometimes in English as well?

D2: Dutch.

I: Always in Dutch. Ok. I think that's enough. Thank you very much.

D3: Dutch girl, 14 years old

I: Hello, my name is Hanneke, and what is your name?

D3: Hello, my name is Brigitte

I: And how old are you?

D3: Eh, I am v... eh, hoe heet dat ook alweer ...veertien years old.

I: Ok. Where do you live?

D3: I don't know.

I: In which country do you live? Or in which city do you live? Where?

D3: ...

I: Do you live in Amsterdam or in...?

D3: In Utrecht.

I: And is it near this school or far away?

D3: ...

I: Ehm...do you... can you walk to school? Or how do you go...?

D3: ...

I: Ehm, let me ask... in what area is it? Is it in Kanaleneiland or Hoograven ...?

D3: Ja, Hoograven, ja.

<yes, Hoograven, yes>

I: Ok. And you usually walk to school? Or by bicycle or by bus?

D3: Met de bike.

<by bike>

I: In what class are you? Which year?

D3: ...

I: Is it the first year or the second...?

D3: Ehm... ik weet niet wat je zegt eigenlijk. I don't know.

<Ehm, I actually don't know what you are saying. I don't know>

I: In which class, so it the first class, class one, or class two?

D3: Class two.

I: Class two, ok. And can you tell me something about your family? Do you have brothers and sisters?

D3: Eh, I have twee bothe ... twee bro-, brothers, één sister and één little sister.

I: Alright, that's quite a big family. Many brothers and sisters.

D3: Yes.

I: And do you like them? Or do you have fights often?

D3: Ehm...

I: Irritations, or is it always good?

D3: Ehm, I don't know.

I: Ok, than we just go on. Ehm, Can you tell me something about your holidays, your vacation?

D3: Ehm...

I: Last year, did you stay in Holland or did you go somewhere else?

D3: Ehm... I don't know.

I: Ok. Did you... Did you go away on vacation. Like, somewhere... away?

D3: No.

I: No? Just at home.

D3: Yeah.

I: Ok. And if you had a lot of money, like one million euros, where would you like to go? Do you understand?

D3: ...

I: If you had a lot of money, like one million euros and you would go on holidays...Which country, welk land, would you like to go to?

D3: Ehm... Spanje.

I: Ok, Spain. Why?

D3: I don't know.

I: Because of the sun and the beach?

D3: Ehm... the beach.

I: Do you like swimming?

D3: Yes.

I: Ok. Ehm, and do you watch television often?

D3: Ehm... yes.

I: What kind of thing do you watch?

D3: Ehm, I don't know.

I: Series, or talkshows or movies?

D3: Series and movies.

I: Ok. And what is your favourite movie?

D3: Ehm.. Titanic.

I: Ok, very nice. Can you tell me a bit what happens in the movie? What is the story of the movie?

D3: Ehm ..., I don't know.

I: Can you try a bit? I don't know the movie, so tell me what happens.

D3: ...

I: What happens to the boat?

D3: Ehm... ja, hij zinkt, ik weet niet hoe je dat in het Engels zegt.

<yes, it sinks, I don't know how to say it in English>

I: It sinks, yes. That's ok. So you watch English and Dutch things. Like, Titanic is in English, and Dutch...

do you also watch Dutch series, like *Goede Tijden, Slechte Tijden*?

D3: Yes.

I: Do you like to read? Books or magazines?

D3: Yes.

I: What kind of things?

D3: Meidenmagazine...girls.

<girls magazine... girls>

I: Ok. And what kind of stories do you like. Like, interviews with artists, or story about eh.. real life stories. Do you know what I mean?

D3: No.

I: If you read the Tina, what is the first thing you want to read, always?

D3: ...

I: Is it ... the letters from girls, or interviews?

D3: Interview and pictures.

I: Ok. Do you have a favourite artist?

D3: Eh, Beyoncé.

I: Ok, cool. Why do you like her?

D3: ... I don't know.

I: Ok. And which song do you like best?

D3: Eh.. Hello.

I: You like singing yourself?

D3: No.

I: You only listen to songs.

D3: Yes.

I: And do you like dancing?

D3: No.

I: And do you do any sports?

D3: Yes.

I: What?

D3: Ehm, Thaiboxen. And voetbal.

I: Ok, that's very cool. Not girly-girly things.

D3: Yes.

I: And how many years do you do that?

D3: Ehm... two years.

I: Two years, ok. And how often in a week do you do it.

D3: Ehm... één. Één keer in de week.

<Ehm, ... one. One time a week>

I: One time a week, ok. And what do you like best in this school? Which subject?

D3: Ehm... biologie... ehm...

<Ehm..., biology,... ehm...>

I: Ok, biology. And do you know already what you want to do if you are finished with school. So after this school? What do you want to do?

D3: ...

I: What do you want to do?

D3: I don't know.

I: You don't know because you don't know the English word or because you haven't thought about that?

D3: ...

I: Ehm. Ok. Anyway. Which teacher do you like best?

D3: Ehm. Mi.. eeh, mevrouw Zomer.

I: Ok. And why do you like her?

D3: Ehm.. I don't know.

I: She is just nice?

D3: Ja.

I: Ok. Let me see. What languages do you speak. I know you speak English. And more languages?

D3: Ehm. Holland.

I: Yes, Dutch. And no German or French or...

D3: No.

I: Ok. Do you like this school?

D3: ...

I: Just being here and... do you like to be at school?

D3: ... I don't know.

I: Do you use the internet often?

D3: Yes.

I: And what kind of things do you use?

D3: Ehm. Hyves, Facebook, Youtube.

I: Ok. Good. And how often do you use it? Often is 'vaak'. Is it every day, or just one time in the week?

D3: Every day.

I: Are all your friends on Hyves and Facebook?

D3: Yes.

I: And why do you like it?

D3: ... I don't know.

I: It's just fun?

D3: Yes.

I: And MSN. Do you use that as well?

D3: Yes.

I: And I think you only speak Dutch on the Internet, no English?

D3: Yes.

I: So, you read only in Dutch, but sometimes you listen English music and you watch English movies.

D3: Yes.

I: Ok, good. Then this is it. Thank you very much.

D4: Dutch boy, 13 yrs old.

I: Hello, my name is Hanneke. What is your name?

D4: Eh, my name is Wesley.

I: Ok. And how old are you?

D4: Ehm, I am thirteen years old.

I: Ok. And eh, I what grade are you, which class?

D4: Ehm, mathematics.

I: Ok.

D4: Just, yeah, I like it, dus, so...

<Just, yeah, I like it, so, so...>

I: Yeah, you like it? Why do you like it?

D4: It's easy. I always did it and ehm... yes.

I: And you like numbers?

D4: Yes.

I: Where do you live?

D4: Ehm, in Holland, Utrecht.

I: Ok. In the neighbourhood of this school?

D4: No, I go to school with the bike and sometimes with the bus.

I: And can you tell me something about your family?

D4: Eh, one brother, no sisters, eh, my parents are still together. I have eh one grandfather, no grandmother and from my mother's side one grandfather and one grandmother.

I: Ok.

D4: And yeah, no uncle. So far, no, nothing.

I: Ok. And do you get along well with your brother or do you often fight?

D4: No, when I was like eight year we always fight but not anymore.

I: OK, now you're a bit older.

D4: Yes, a bit older.

I: So, you've grown up. Ok. And can you tell me something about your holiday?

D4: Eh, yes, we go al.. always on eh, to... Oostenrijk, hoe zeg je dat? Hoe zeg je Oostenrijk?

<Eh, yes, we go al.. always on eh, to... Austria, how do you say that? How do you say Austria?>

I: Austria

D4: Austria. Ehm, always in the snow, my father like that. When I was a kid we always go to yeah Aust, eh Austria. So ...

I: Ok, so you can ski very well.

D4: Yes.

I: Or do you do snowboarding?

D4: No. Snowboarding, no, not for me.

I: No?

D4: No.

I: I went skiing for the first time in my life this year, but I was very afraid, because it was so high and fast.

D4: Yeah, I know.

I: But you are not afraid?

D4: No, I don't. When I was like six year I start.

I: Ok. And do you watch television often?

D4: Eh, yes, I do, but not much. I'm playing outside, I just... yeah.

I: Yes, ok. And if you watch television, what kind of programs do you watch?

D4: Eh, like discovery, like eh survival channels, ehm, animal planet.

I: Ok. So that's usually in English I think.

D4: Eh, yes, I think so.

I: With Dutch subtitles?

D4: No, all English.

I: Ok, so you can understand it.

D4: Yes.

I: Wow, that's very good.

D4: Yes, I know, so.

I: Yes, ok. So you said you play games on the internet a lot. Then you also hear it in English?

D4: Eh, yes, if it's all Dutch.. Almost no one can talk Dutch over there, so you need to talk English.

I: Yeah.

D4: If you don't know something you need to talk English.

I: Yeah, ok. So do you like English in school also?

D4: Eh, yes, I do. I learn much, so. It's always useful, dus, ehm, so.

<Eh, yes, I do. I learn much, so. It's always useful, so ehm, so.>

I: Ok. And what subject do you like best?

D4: Hmm, yeah, don't know. English.

I: Yes?

D4: Yes.

I: And do you know already what you want to do after this school?

D4: Ehm, no I don't know yet.

I: Ok.

D4: Maybe... I have to think.

I: Something with English maybe?

D4: Yeah, with computers.

I: Yeah, if you like mathematics, that's also a bit eh computer...

D4: Yes, you can do much, so ... much options, so....

I: Ok. And what is your favourite movie?

D4: Ehm, much. Just funny. Yeah, I don't know.

I: There is not one favourite movie?

D4: No, I just watch if I like to watch.

I: Yeah, ok. And do you like reading?

D4: Yes, I like, but I never do it.

I: You don't have the time for it, or...?

D4: Yes, I have, but I just never do. [...]

I: Ok. And do you speak other languages than Dutch and English?

D4: Ehm, I wanna speak Dutch but yeah, [...]

<Ehm, I wanna speak German, but yeah>

I: Ok, and did you already learn English a bit before you were on this school?

D4: Yes, on the ... hoe zeg je de basisschool ook alweer?

<Yes, on the... how do you say primary school again?>

I: Primary school.

D4: Primary school I have, eh, English too but we don't do.. we don't did it much. But the most I learn from the games, so.

I: Yes. And do you like to play sports?

D4: Eh, yes, football, eh, hockey and rugby, so.

I: Ok. Are you on clubs for these sports or...?

D4: Ehm, I'm gonna play rugby but football, nothing more.

I: Rugby is very tough.

D4: Yes, but I play it when I was, like, ten, so I'm going again. I will see how it goes.

I: And you never broke any bones?

D4: Yeah, mijn ehm... scheen.. wat is 'scheenbeen'?

<Yeah, my ehm, ...shin...what is 'shinbone'?>

I: Ehm, I don't know either, haha. Your front leg? Something like that.

D4: Yes, something with my leg.

I: But you're not afraid that it will happen again?

D4: Nee.

I: Ok. Ehm, let's see.. what teacher do you like best in this school?

D4: Ehm, I don't have a favourite actually.

I: Ok.

D4: I like them all, so, yeah, all.

I: What do you think is important for a teacher?

D4: Ehm, yeah, ehm, much. Be nice to the kids, don't be too eh, hoe zeg je 'gemakkelijk'?

<Ehm, yeah, ehm, much. Be nice to the kids, don't be too eh, how do you say 'easy-going'?>

I: Ehm, easy.

D4: Easy, don't be too easy to the kids, so you need to....

I: Be strict.

D4: Yes, if you don't do that, it's gonna be cha... chaos [dutch pronunciation].

I: Yeah, chaos. And do you like this school?

D4: Ehm, yes I do. But I was on a other building, in the first year, half of first year and that was actually better, but, yeah.

I: What was better?

D4: Eh, before, the first year.

I: Why?

D4: It was little, this is big, so.

I: Ok, now you don't know everybody.

D4: Yes, but I like a smaller school, then you know everyone. It's better.

I: Yes, ok. Well, I think I have enough information. Thank you very much.

T1: Turkish-Dutch girl, 14 yrs old.

I: Hello, my name is Hanneke, and what is your name?

T1: My name is Fatma.

I: And how old are you?

T1: I'm veertien years old.

<I am fourteen years old>

I: Fourteen years old, ok. And where do you live?

T1: Ehm, I'm living in Utrecht.

I: Ok, In this neighbourhood or far away?

T1: ...

I: In Kanaleneiland?

T1: Yes, Kanaleneiland.

I: That is difficult to say in English.

T1: Haha, yes.

I: Ehm, and in what grade are you?

T1: ...

I: First or second?

T1: ...

I: In which class are you at school? First or second? In which year are you at school?

T1: ...

I: Do you understand the question?

T1: Yeah...

I: It doesn't matter, we'll just move on to the next question. Ehm, do you have any brothers or sisters?

T1: I have one brother.

I: Ok. What's his name?

T1: Ismael.

I: Do you like him or do you have fights often?

T1: Ehm, ja, I like him.

<Ehm, yes, I like him>

I: Yeah? You never fight?

T1: Ja, ... really, sometimes, yeah.

<Yes, ... really, sometimes, yeah>

I: Yes, ok. And ehm, do you have nice parents, are they alright, or do you have fights with your parents often?

T1: ... (laughs a bit)

I: Is it difficult?

T1: ...

I: Do you sometimes fight, or never? With your parents?

T1: Ja, sometimes.

<Yes, sometimes>

I: Yeah, I think everybody does.

T1: Yes.

I: And ehm, can you tell me something about your holidays? Did you go away or did you stay at home?

T1: ... Ehm ..., the holidays....

I: Yes, do you know what it is?

T1: Ehm, yeah, maar,...

<Ehm, yeah, but...>

I: How do you say it?

T1: Yeah...

I: Did you stay in Holland?

T1: Yes.

I: Ok. And you just went with friends, or was everybody away?

T1: Yeahyeah, friends.

I: You did not go to Turkey?

T1: Yes and, ehm, at, ehm... even kijken, hoe zeg je dat... the vacancies.

<Yes and, ehm, at, ehm,.. let's see, how do you say it... the holidays>

I: The holidays, yes.

T1: On the holidays, yes.

I: And how long did you go to Turkey?

T1: Ehm, ... even kijken, four of five week, weeks?

<Ehm, ... let's see, four or five weeks?>

I: Four or five weeks, yes, that's very good. That's quite a long time.

T1: Yes.

I: And then you visited your family?

T1: Yes, my family, yes.

I: Ok. Do you have a lot of family in Turkey?

T1: Yes.

I: So do you like it to go to Turkey?

T1: Ja.

<Yes>

I: Do you go every year?

T1: Yes, every year.

I: Ok. Ehm, and how about watching television, do you do it often?

T1: Ehm, ja, really, ... Hoe zeg je dat ook alweer?.... Ehm...

<Ehm, yes, really, ... Hoe do you say that again?>

I: How much... how many times in the week, for example?

T1: Ehm, (sighs, laughs a bit)...

I: Every day, or only one day in the week?

T1: Ehm, ja, nothing every day.

I: Sometimes.

T1: Yeah, sometimes.

I: Ok. And what do you watch usually. Is it Dutch television or English television or Turkish?

T1: Yeah, Dutch and Turkish.

I: Ok, and do you like series or what kind of programs?

T1: Series and ehm, ... even kijken ..., talkshows.

<Series and ehm, ... let's see..., talkshows>

I: Ok, which talkshow?

T1: Ehm, even kijken, ja , in het Turkish, maar in the Dutch...

<Ehm, let's see, yes, in Turkish, but in Dutch>.

I: Ok. And what are the talkshows about usually...?

T1: ...

I: Is it for teenagers?

T1: Ja, for teenagers.

<Yes, for teenagers>

I: And about what kind of things? The last time you watched it, what was it about?

T1: ... (Sighs)

I: Do you remember what it was about?

T1: Ehm, even kijken... (laughs).

<Ehm, let's see...>

I: Do you know what it was about or do you... is it difficult to say what it was about? Do you understand what I mean?

T1: Understand, ehm, yes. Really, nothing English, niet zo... really good.

<Understand, ehm, yes. Really, nothing English, not really... really good>

I: It is difficult. Ok. So which languages do you speak?

T1: Two years old ofzo?

<Two years old or something like that?>

I: Two years?

T1: Yes.

I: So you've learned English for two years.

T1: Yes, one of two years. Dit year was two years.

<Yes, one or two years. This year was the second year>

I: Ok, and which languages do you also know?

T1: ...

I: So you know Dutch, I think. You speak Dutch.

T1: Yes, Dutch.

I: And more languages?

T1: Ehm, Dutch and,... ja,... and Turkish.

<Ehm, Dutch and, ...yes,... and Turkish>

I: Yes, ok.

T1: Even kijken. En,... yeah, that's him.

<Let's see. And, ... yeah, that's it>

I: Ok. That's alright. And how old were you when you started learning Turkish? Was it from when you were a baby?

T1: Ehm, yes, toen ik-, ehm... baby

<Ehm, yes, when I, ehm, ... baby>

I: And Dutch, was it also when you were a baby?

T1: Dutch, yes, that ook. And eh, op the school.

<Dutch, yes, that too. And eh, at the school>

I: At your first school, primary school.

T1: Yes.

I: And before that, you did not really speak Dutch?

T1: Well, yeah,..., sometimes.

I: But especially when you went to school. So if you have to rank them, like what is your best language and which is your worst language, like which language is language number one and which is language number two. Can you name them? Do you understand what I mean? It's a difficult question.

T1: Ehm.... Ja, ik begrijp het wel, maar om het terug te zeggen, dan... (sighs)

<Ehm, yes, I understand it, but to answer it, then...>

I: Ja... So which is your best language?

T1: Ehm,...

I: Or is there no difference between Turkish and Dutch?

T1: Yeah, Dutch.

I: Dutch. Ok. So with your brother, which language do you speak then?

T1: Ja, die ehm, Dutch, Turkish.

<Yes, he/that ehm, Dutch, Turkish>

I: Ok. Both a bit.

T1: Yeah.

I: And do you have many Turkish friends?

T1: Yeah.

I: And which language do you speak with them?

T1: Ehm, yeah, the mix, Turkish and Dutch.

I: Yeah, that's most, than you can choose which fits best.

T1: Yeah.

I: Ehm, let me see... Would you say that language is a part of your identity, so who you are?

T1: Ehm,...

I: It's a very difficult question, I know. If you don't know it, you can just say "I don't know".

T1:

I: Would you be the same if you would not speak Turkish? Or would you be someone else?

T1: Yeah, the Turkish real good, yes. Ehm... (Sighs)... Het komt er gewoon niet uit... I don't know.

<Yeah, the Turkish real good, yes. Ehm... It just doesn't come out... I don't know>

I: That's ok, that's ok. And about English, what is it that you find difficult? Is it the words, or the grammar. You know what grammar is?

T1: Yes.

I: What part do you think is most difficult?

T1: The words.

I: Yes, you have to remember them all. And do you think it's more difficult for you than for your Dutch classmates?

T1: Yeah, for class and me.

I: For the whole class. Why?

T1: Ehm, ja, ...

I: If you don't know it, just say "I don't know".

T1: I don't know.

I: Ok, that's ok. And which... do you sometimes read? Like books or magazines.

T1: Yes, books of magazine and...

I: In which language usually?

T1: Ehm, ja, best vaak, maar, ehm... in het engels...

<Ehm, yes, quite often, but, ehm ... in English...>

I: Are they usually Dutch magazines or Turkish?

T1: Yeah, Dutch magazines. Turkish magazines nothing.

I: And Turkish books or internet?

T1: Yeah, Turkish books, that wel.

<Yeah, Turkish book, that I do>

I: Ok. Well, I think I have enough information, so I will stop this. Thank you very much.

T2: Turkish-Dutch girl, 14 years.

I: Hello, my name is Hanneke. What is your name?

T2: My name is Miriam.

I: How old are you?

T2: I am in ehm... (laughs) nee, I don't know.

<I am in ehm...no, I don't know>

I: You don't know? Are you eleven years old, or twelve or...?

T2: Eh, I am eh four-, fourteen year.

I: Ok, very good. And in which year of school are you, this school?

T2: Eh, this school. Name?

I: Which year are you in? Are you in the first year, or...?

T2: Ehm, the ...tweede.

<Ehm, the... second>

I: Do you know what it is in English?

T2: Nee.

<no>

I: Second. Ok. And where do you live?

T2: I am living, eh, Utrecht

I: Ok. And do you live near this school or is it far away?

T2: Nee, in de buurt.

<No, in the neighbourhood>

I: Ok, in the neighbourhood. Do you always go to school walking? How do you go to school usually?

T2: Ehm, yes.

I: Walking?

T2: Yeah.

I: Ok, so that's very close. Do you live in Kanaleneiland?

T2: Yeah.

I: Can you tell me something about your family?

T2: Ehm... I am one zusje.

<Ehm, I have one sister>

I: Ok, one sister.

T2: One brother.

I: Yes. Ok.

T2: Ehm, my mother, my father and ik.

<Ehm, my mother, my father and me>

I: Ok, so five people all together.

T2: Yeah.

I: And do you like them or do you fight often?

T2: Ehm...

I: Do you understand?

T2: Nee.

<No>

I: Do you ehm..., with your brother and sister, is it always nice or sometimes a bit...?

T2: Nee, ehm..., we gaan wel-, we zijn wel goed met elkaar.

<No, ehm... we are-, we get along quite well>

I: Ok, you get along well.

T2: Ja.

<Yes>

I: Ok. And can you tell me something about your holidays?

T2: Ehm...

I: Did you stay in Holland, in the Netherlands, or did you go away?

T2: Ehm, Holland

I: Ok, you did not go to Turkey?

T2: Nee.

<No>

I: Never, or other years you did?

T2: Nee.

<No>

I: Do you still have family in Turkey?

T2: Yes.

I: But you never visited them?

T2: No.

I: And do you have a lot family here?

T2: Yes.

I: Which family?

T2: Yeah.

I: Is it your grandfather or ...

T2: Here is my grandfather and grandma, me uncle [pronounced dutch: unkle]. Eeh, yeah.

I: And cousins?

T2: Yeah, cousins ook.

<Yeah, cousins too>

I: And do you see them often?

T2: No.

I: And if you had a lot of money, like 10 million euros, which country would you like to go to and why?

T2: Ehm, naar arme mensen sturen.

<Ehm, send it to poor people>

I: Oh, yes? That is very nice of you! And would you want to go there yourself too? Or would you only send the money or would you like...

T2: Shoppen (laughs).

I: Ok. (laughs too) that's very nice. And how about watching television, do you do that often?

T2: No.

I: Sometimes, or never?

T2: No.

I: And do you like to read? books, or magazines?

T2: Yes.

I: And what kind of things?

T2: Magazine, Tina.

I: Oh, yes, so that's a Dutch magazine.

T2: Yeah.

I: And do you sometimes read Turkish magazines as well?

T2: No.

I: No, never. and Turkish books?

T2: No.

I: Do you speak Turkish?

T2: Yeah.

I: So which languages do you know. You know Turkish?

T2: Turkish.

I: And more languages?

T2: No.

I: Dutch and English, obviously... And how old were you when you started speaking Turkish?

T2: Turkish.

I: When you were a baby?

T2: Yes.

I: And Dutch, how old were you when you learned that?

T2: Two year.

I: Ok, so a bit later.

T2: Yeah.

I: If you had to give a number to each language which you speak best...

T2: Turkish.

I: Yes? So you speak Turkish better than Dutch.

T2: Yes.

I: Ok. So you also think in Turkish?

T2: Yes.

I: Ok. And with whom do you speak Turkish?

T2: Ehm, I don't know.

I: Do you only speak Turkish with your parents or also...

T2: Oh, ja, me parents and brother, sister...Bijna iedereen in mn familie.

<Oh, yes, my parents and brother, sister... Almost everyone in my family>

I: Ok, and Turkish friends, do you speak Turkish with them?

T2: Yes.

I: And do you usually speak only Turkish or also a bit Dutch in between?

T2: Turkish.

I: Ok. And what do you think of speaking English, is it difficult for you?

T2: Ehm, moeilijk.

<Ehm, difficult>

I: And what is it that you find especially difficult? The word, or the grammar, or just everything?

T2: Ehm, grammar.

I: Yes, grammar, ok. And what is your favourite subject in school?

T2: Ehm, English.

I: English, that is nice to hear. And do you know already what you want to do when you finished this school?

T2: Yes.

I: What do you want to do?

T2: ...Ehm...

I: Is it difficult to say?

T2: I don't know.

I: Is it something with English, or is it eh...?

T2: Nee, [with English].

<No, [with English]>

I: Sorry, what did you say?

T2: I don't know.

I: Ok. And what teacher do you like most?

T2: Eva van Geemert.

I: Ok, and why do you like her?

T2: Zij is mijn mentor.

<She is my tutor>

I: Ok. Yeah, that is a difficult word, mentor. I think it is mentor in English as well. And what do you think... why is she nice, why is she a nice mentor. Does she listen good?

T2: Yeah, good.

I: Ok, so you like to talk to her. And do you like the school?

T2: Yes

I: Why?

T2: Ja, is hele goede school.

<Yes, is a real good school>

I: Yes? You learn a lot?

T2: Yes.

I: Ok, good. Even kijken hoor. So, if you read the Tina, what kind of things do you like best to read? Is there one part?

<Ok, good. Let's see. So if you read the Tina, what kind of things do you like best to read? Is there one part?>

T2: Ehm, alles.

<Ehm, everything>

I: Everything, that's a lot. And the last Tina you read, what was in it, do you remember that?

T2: Yeah, number one?

I: What was written about that?

T2: I don't know.

I: So, when did you read the Tina the last time?

T2: Ehm, 's avonds.

<Ehm, in the evening>

I: Yesterday evening?

T2: Yeah.

I: And what did you read then? What was it about?

T2: I don't know.

I: Was it about an artist?

T2: It's an artist.

I: Which artist was it, do you remember?

T2: Ehm, vergeten.

<Ehm, forgot>

I: And do you usually like to read about artists and music?

T2: Ehm..., soms.

<Ehm..., sometimes>

I: What kind of music do you like?

T2: Turkish music.

I: And Dutch music, or English music, do you sometimes listen to that?

T2: Nee.

<No>

I: And what are the Turkish song usually about, you listen?

T2: Ehm, heel veel.

<Ehm, a lot>

I: Yes? Can you tell some things? Like, the favourite song, what is it about?

T2: Ehm...Murat Boz.

I: Sorry?

T2: The name from the zanger is Muratboz.

<The name of the singer is Muratboz>

I: Ok. And what happens in the song? What is it eh...

T2: Ehm..., het gaat over het leven.

<Ehm..., it's about life>

I: Ok, about life. And do you like it because it is also a bit about your own life?

T2: Yes.

I: You recognise it. Ok. Then I think I have enough information. Thank you very much.

T3: Turkish-Dutch boy, 13 years old

I: Hello.

T3: Hello.

I: My name is Hanneke. And what is your name?

T3: My name is Yilmaz.

I: Hello. And how old are you?

T3: I'm thirteen.

I: Ok, and where do you live?

T3: I'm live in Holland.

I: Ok, in which city?

T3: Utrecht.

I: Ok, and is it in the neighbourhood of this school, or is it far away?

T3: Yes, here.

I: Here, ok. In Kanaleneiland?

T3: Ja.

<Yes>

I: So how do you go to school usually, do you go walking, or...?

T3: Walking.

I: And in what grade are you, which class? The first or...?

T3: Two.

I: Ok, and can you tell me something about your family? Do you have brothers and sister, or ...?

T3: Two sisters.

I: And they all live at home, still? Or are some already married, or? They all live at home? Or are some .. some..already in another house?

T3: Nee, this house.

<No, this house>

I: Do you like them, or do you often fight?

T3: I Like it.

I: You like them, ok. And can you tell me something about your holidays? Did you stay in Holland or did you go somewhere else, to Turkey?

T3: Turkish.

I: Ok, to Turkey. And what did you do in Turkey?

T3: Turkey... I'm going to the beach.

I: And did you visit family as well? Your uncle, or your grandmother or... was there family? Did any family live in Turkey or do they all live in Holland?

T3: All in Holland.

I: Ok. And do you see them often?

T3: Yes.

I: Ok. And if you had all the money in the world, where would you go on holiday?

T3: Turkey.

I: To turkey? Yes, that's the best country?

T3: Yes.

I: Why do you like it?

T3: Istanbul.

I: Ok. Did you go there already?

T3: No, I will.

I: If you have a lot of money. Ok. And how about watching television, do you watch television often?

T3: Yes.

I: What kind of things do you watch?

T3: ...

I: Movies, or series or talkshows?

T3: Movies.

I: And what's your favourite movie?

T3: ... Turkish movie.

I: Ok. Do you usually watch Turkish movies? Is it usually in Turkish, the most movies you watch or do you sometime watch Dutch or English movies?

T3: No, most Turkish.

I: Ok. And what...ehm, your favourite movie, what was it about? Was it a love story or was it... what happened in the movie? Do you understand?

T3: Yes, ehm, action.

I: And what was the action?

T3: ... Ik snap het niet.

I: Ok, can you tell me the story. Was it ehm, like ehm, ... was there a terrorist who had to be captured or was it a thief who was being chased by the police? What was the story?

T3: Police.

I: Ok. And they had to go and take a thief?

T3: Yes.

I: And do you like to read? Books or magazines?

T3: Books.

I: What kind of books?

T3: Love.

I: And do you usually read in Dutch or in Turkish or in English.

T3: English, Dutch.

I: Ok, no Turkish books. And what languages do you speak. I know you speak Turkish, more languages?

T3: English, Dutch.

I: And no German, or French.

T3: No.

I: And in what order did you learn to speak the languages? Which language did you learn first. Do you understand?

T3: No.

I: Ehm, which was the first language you learned.

T3: Oh, Turkey.

I: Ok, and when did you start learning Dutch? Do you know that?

T3: Four jaar.

<Four years old>

I: Four years old?

T3: Ja.

<Yes>

I: And if you.. what language do you speak best.

T3: Turkey.

I: So do you speak different languages in different situations?

T3: Yes.

I: With whom do you speak Turkish?

T3: [Whom Turkish]?

I: With your uncle? What did you say?

T3: Mother.

I: Ok. And you father?

T3: Yes.

I: And how about your brother and sisters?

T3: Sisters

I: Oh, yes, you only had sisters. And friends, Turkish friends, which language do you speak with them?

T3: Yes, I speak.

I: And do you sometimes speak Turkish and Dutch at the same time?

T3: Yes.

I: Switching?

T3: Yes.

I: I hear that very often. And what do you think of speaking English. Do you find it difficult, or do you like it?

T3: Is eh, is difficult.

I: Yes, I understand. And what do you find difficult? Is it the words, or the grammar?

T3: The grammar.

I: And which subject in school do you like best?

T3: ...

I: Do you understand the question?

T3: No.

I: Which subject, that is like, English, or geography or Dutch, which do you like best in school?

T3: Eh, sport.

I: Ok. Do you play sports yourself?

T3: Yes.

I: Which?

T3: Kickbox and football.

I: Oh, really? So if I do something wrong than you will kick me?

T3: yes (laughs).

I: Do you play matches as well?

T3: Yes.

I: Ok. Do you know the movie a Million Dollar Baby?

T3: No.

I: I saw it yesterday, it was about a woman who went boxing, she was really good. It was yesterday, on television. Maybe you had seen it as well. So kickboxing and what did you say more?

T3: Football.

I: And do you do it with a club or only on the street?

T3: Club.

I: Which club?

T3: Zwaluwen.

I: Oh, I think it's next to this school, isn't it?

T3: Here, yes.

I: And which position do you play?

T3: Mid-mid.

I: Ok. And what is your favourite club?

T3: Club? Football.. Chelsea.

I: Ok, they just lost from Liverpool, I think... So if you were really good, you would like to play at Chelsea?

T3: Yes.

I: I used to have a shirt of Chelsea. What teacher do you like best in this school?

T3: Teacher... Zoomer.

I: And why do you like him? Is it a him?

T3: Woman.

I: Woman, why do you like her?

T3: Ehm...

I: You don't know? Is she nice, or does she listen very well or is she funny?

T3: She is nice.

I: And is she funny?

T3: Yes.

I: And do you like the school?

T3: Yes.

I: Do you know what you want to do after school already? Do you know what you want to become, what you want to for work if you have finished this school? Like, which study, or do you want to do a job. Do you understand? A busdriver or do you want to be a...

T3: Oh, wat ik wil worden.

<Oh, what I want to be>

I: Yes.

T3: Kickboxer.

I: Like, professional?

T3: Yes.

I: Do you think it is possible?

T3: Yes.

I: You're really good?

T3: Yes.

I: Well, I'll watch you then. Ok, thank you very much.

T4: Turkish-Dutch girl, 13 years old

I: Hello, my name is Hanneke. What is your name?

T4: My name is Dikra.

I: And how old are you?

T4: I am th-, thirteen year.

I: Thirteen years, ok. And where do you live?

T4: Ehm, I live in Holland.

I: Ok, and in which city do you live?

T4: Ehm, Utrecht.

I: Ok, and is it in the neighbourhood of this school, or is it far away from this school?

T4: Ehm...

I: Is it ehm, Can you walk to school or... in which area is it? Kanaleneiland?

T4: Yes.

I: So how do you go to school usually?

T4: Yes.

I: Do you go walking or by bus or..?

T4: Ehm, walk.

I: And in what grade are you, which year of the school are you?

T4 I don't know.

I: Is it the first year or the second year, or the third yeas? Which class?

T4: Eh, two.

I: Can you tell me something about your family?

T4: Ehm, I am two sisters, one brother. Ehm, mother, father.

I: Ok, and what are the names of your brothers and sisters?

T4: Ehm, my brother, ehm, name is Abdul. Ehm, my sister's name is Fadilla and Nadire.

I: Ok, good. Do you like them or do you often have fights?

T4: Ehm...

I: Do you often argue, like, that's not good or is it always very nice together?

T4: Yes, yes.

I: And can you tell me something about you holidays, your vacation?

T4: Ehm... t-,...ehm...

I: Where did you go last year?

T4: To Turkij.

<To Turkey>

I: To Turkey, ok. And what did you do there?

T4: Ehm, met me family.

(Presumably: <Ehm, with my family>)

I: Ok. You met your family. Good. You have much family in Turkey?

T4: Yes.

I: Who lives there?

T4: Ehm.. [net her]

I: Your aunt?

T4: Hm...

I: Ok... And did you also go to the beach with your family?

T4: Yes.

I: And if you had a lot of money, like, 10 million euro's, which country would you like to visit for your holidays?

T4: Ehm, swimming or so?

I: Swimming? Eh... ok. And what about watching television. Do you watch television sometimes?

T4: Yes.

I: What kind of things do you watch?

T4: Ehm, moves ofzo.

<Ehm, movies or something like that>

I: Movies, yes. And what is your favourite movie?

T4: Ehm, Topchef enzo.

<Ehm, Topchef etcetera>

I: Topchef?

T4: Yeah, eh, Hollandse ... eh, series.

<Yeah, eh, Dutch ... eh series>

I: Ok, good. So do you usually watch Dutch television or also Turkish television sometimes?

T4: Dutch and eh Turkish.

I: Both. And English? Do you watch English programmes sometimes?

T4: Some, yeah.

I: And do you like to read? Like books, or magazines.

T4: Yes.

I: And what kind of things do you like to read?

T4: Girls magazines.

I: Ok, like the Tina?

T4: Yes.

I: Ok. And what part of the Tina do you like best? The real stories, or artist interviews...?

T4: Yes, artists.

I: Ok, and what artists do you like best?

T4: She's lives enzo.

<Their lives etcetera>

I: She lives...?

T4: Hun leven enzo.

<Their lives etcetera>

I: Is it the name of an artist or, oh, the life of artists?

T4: Yes.

I: And do you listen to Dutch artists usually of English or...?

T4: English.

I: And which song do you like best at the moment? Which do you like to listen? Or don't you have a favourite song?

T4: Yeah.

I: Ok. And which languages do you speak? I know you speak English. And ... more languages?

T4: Ehm, op school?

<Ehm, at school?>

I: Well, which can you speak?

T4: Ehm, Hollands...

<Ehm, Dutch...>

I: And Turkish?

T4: Yes.

I: And how old were you when you started learning Turkish. Do you understand?

T4: ...

I: Which age, how many years were you when you started learning Turkish? Was it, when you were a baby?

T4: Ehm, yeah.

I: And Dutch?

T4: Ehm... [fif som]

I: When you were how old?

T4: I am?

I: When did you start learning Dutch?

T4: Two year.

I: Two years old, ok. And which language do you speak best?

T4: Holland.

I: Yes? But you still speak Turkish sometimes?

T4: Yes.

I: And to whom do you speak Turkish?

T4: Ehm, Turkish and Holland.

I: And do you speak Turkish with your parents?

T4: Yes.

I: And with other people?

T4: Eh, Hollands.

I: Also with your brothers and sisters?

T4: Yeah, Hollands.

I: Ok. And Turkish friends, also?

T4: Dutch, Holland.

I: And do you like speaking English?

T4: No (laughs).

I: Is it difficult?

T4: Yes.

I: What parts are difficult. Is it the words, or the grammar? Or everything?

T4: Yes.

I: And which subject in school do you like best?

T4: Ehm...

I: Do you know the question, what I mean?

T4: Yeah.

I: But you do not know how to say it in English.

T4: Yes.

I: Ok. Do you know what you want to do after school? Do you want to go study, or do you want to get a job, and work?

T4: Ehm, home... work...

I: Just be a mother, get married.

T4: Yes.

I: Do you have a boyfriend already?

T4: No.

I: Ok. Do you like going to school?

T4: Yes.

I: And this school, do you like it?

T4: Yes.

I: Why do you like it?

T4: Here. to before...

I: To be here...? You like it?

T4: (laughs)... Ehm...

I: Can you try to say it again what you just said? I didn't ...

T4: Ehm...

I: What do you like in this school? Do you like the people, what exactly do you like?

T4: Op de school?

<At school?>

I: Yes.

T4: Leer, ofzo.

<To learn, or something like that>

I: To learn?

T4: Yes. And with friends enzo.

<Yes, and with friends etcetera>

I: Ok. And what do you like to learn best. Is it languages like English or Dutch, or biology, or?

T4: Biologie ofzo.

<Biology or something like that>

I: Ok. Well, I think I've had all my questions. So thank you very much.