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Negative Language Transfer:

A Study of Essays by Heritage and L2 students of Russian
at the Intermediate Mid Level of Proficiency

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Slavic Languages and Literatures

by

Larisa Alexey Karkafi

2014

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2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Negative Language Transfer:
A Study of Essays by Heritage and L2 students of Russian
at the Intermediate Mid Level of Proficiency

by Larisa Alexey Karkafi

Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Languages and Literatures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Olga Kagan, Co-Chair

Professor David W. MacFadyen, Co-Chair

This study was conducted to identify, quantify, and compare the types and number of negative transfer errors in the written essays of HL and L2 learners of Russian, particularly to categorize all instances of negative transfer. It was also focused on determining which linguistic subsystem is most influenced by negative transfer from English to Russian. This study added a new dimension to the current linguistic knowledge concerning negative transfer and the literature available in the area of Russian language pedagogy. Sixty HL and 60 L2 learners of Russian of the intermediate mid level of proficiency enrolled in Russian language classes at UCLA participated in the study. Written essays submitted for the ACTR National Post-Secondary Russian Essay Contest on four topics were used as the primary data source.

The most important finding from this research was that HL learners produced twice as many negative transfer errors as did L2 learners of Russian. Other important findings of the study reinforced the idea that writing in Russian showed the influence of English linguistic structures in four subsystems: lexical, semantic, syntactic, and orthographic. The research returned empirical evidence that, for both groups of learners, lexical and semantic subsystems were more vulnerable to the English-based linguistic structures than syntax and orthography.

Conclusions from this study hold pedagogical implications for Russian language instruction. For example, comprehensible meaning-focused input at the vocabulary level should be a part of the curriculum and material design. Guidelines were offered for creating comprehensive instructional intervention and productive activities that can strengthen vocabulary development and assist learners in minimizing and overcoming negative language transfer.

The dissertation of Larisa Alexey Karkafi is approved.

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2014

Dedication

To my sweet little Nikolai.

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Note on Transliteration and Translation

All in-text quotations in Russian are transliterated from Cyrillic according to the Library of Congress system without diacritics. All quotations in Russian Cyrillic are original texts from written essays; they contain transliteration as well as translation. All translations are my own.

List of Abbreviations

ACTFL – The American Council of the Teaching of Foreign Languages

ACTR – The American Council of Teachers of Russian

HL – Heritage Language

L1 – First, dominant, native or previously learned language

L2 – Second, foreign or additional language

SLA – Second Language Acquisition

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INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE TRANSFER

Language transfer or cross-linguistic influence in second language acquisition is viewed as effects of the first language or a previously learned language (L1) on the acquisition or use of a second or additional language (L2) (Odlin, 1989). Until the last two decades of the 20th century, language transfer had been treated by SLA scholars as an insignificant factor in language acquisition (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Kellerman, 1977, Krashen, 1982). Moreover, many SLA scholars viewed language transfer as an obstacle that made acquiring a second language difficult. In 1989, Odlin's landmark findings on the role of language transfer indicated that differences between the source and target languages provide language learners with opportunities to make linguistic associations between these two languages, thereby facilitating acquisition of the target language structures. His study prompted a new era in the language transfer research.

A large body of literature in the 21st century has demonstrated that language transfer is a contributing factor in second language acquisition and development. It has been argued that language transfer has variable effect on different linguistic subsystems (i.e., lexical, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic, etc.) across two major populations of language learners: L2 and HL (Aleeva, 2012; Montrul, 2010; Sorace, 2004; White, 2009). Some researchers—for example, Hulk and Müller (2000) and Sorace (2004)—have suggested that the language transfer is more evident in the syntax subsystem while others (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2007; Slabakova, 2008) have argued that cross-linguistic influence is more pronounced in semantic subsystems.

Understanding the effects of language transfer and the vulnerability of different linguistic subsystems (i.e., lexical, semantic, syntactic, orthographic, etc) in the target language acquisition

and development is one of the key issues in SLA instruction. This knowledge could lead to greater target language awareness so that language learners would pay particular attention to certain target language forms and structures. Instructors and curriculum developers could use this information to improve second language learning and maximize language learners' potential in achieving high levels of language proficiency.

SLA scholars distinguish two types of language transfer: positive and negative (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Positive transfer involves instances in which correct target language structures are produced because of source language influence. In contrast, negative language transfer results in incorrect target language structures under the influence of the source language. The effects of the negative language transfer from English to Russian in the production of Russian as L2 are currently receiving increasing attention in the literature on SLA. The present dissertation research continues that focus by investigating the negative transfer from English to Russian in the written production of intermediate L2 and HL learners of Russian. It examines through quantification, categorization, and comparison the areas of linguistic knowledge in which transfer manifests itself for each group of learners.

Although a number of studies on negative transfer from Russian to English have been previously undertaken (Aleeva, 2012; Andrews, 2001; Hayes, 2003; Isurin, 2007; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2007; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002), the focus of these earlier works was predominantly on oral production of adult L2 learners of Russian (apart from Aleeva's study). Moreover, these previous studies neglected to consider negative transfer in the production of heritage language learners or childhood bilinguals of Russian—learners who are usually introduced to Russian at an early age and speak Russian to some degree at home but may not receive any formal Russian language instruction prior to university. Particularly, the above-

mentioned works did not describe and compare the amount and types of negative language transfer from English to Russian in the writings of L2 and HL learners of Russian.

HL learners in the United States represent a unique population of language learners. They are considered bilinguals in English and their heritage language (Polinsky, 2000; Valdés, 2000). HL learners acquire their heritage language in early childhood. A widely accepted definition of the heritage language was suggested by Polinsky, who referred to HL as the “first [language] for an individual with respect to the order of acquisition . . . but not completely acquired because of the switch to another dominant language” (Polinsky, 2000, p. 149). Unlike monolingual native speakers who are exposed to the first/primary language at home and are schooled in it, HL learners typically do not have access to formal education in their heritage language with exception of “Sunday” or religious schools. Because of the pressure to assimilate into the dominant society and culture and lack of formal instruction in their heritage language, HL learners use their language in limited contexts. In time, use of English expands into new contexts and replaces the heritage language in most areas except family and household. Limited use of their heritage language leads to impoverished phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax (Chevalier, 2006; Friedman & Kagan, 2008; Montrul, 2010; Polinsky, 2000). Although many HL learners possess high degrees of aural and oral proficiency in their heritage languages, they usually display low levels of literacy (Benmamoun et al., 2010; Kagan & Dillon, 2001). Research has shown that, by the time HL learners enter a university language program, their HL “resembles an L2, in the sense that it has a grammatical basis but has not reached the full ultimate attainment of an L1 acquired in childhood” (Montrul, 2010, p. 294).

Russian is among the top 10 minority languages spoken in the United States. It spreads and strengthens through immigration to the country and transfer of cultural, historical, and

linguistic knowledge from generation to generation within immigrant communities. As ethno-linguistic situations in the United States change constantly because of the global economic and geopolitical situation, the need to use the nation's expanding linguistic resource increases. Creating specific university language courses and programs that address the needs of HL and L2 learners for higher levels of language proficiency are crucial in the current economic and political situation.

The primary purpose of this dissertation research was to measure and compare the amount and types of negative language transfers from English to Russian in the writings of HL and L2 learners of Russian at the intermediate mid level of proficiency. The study also was focused on determining which linguistic subsystems—lexical, semantic, syntactic, or orthographic—are most affected by the influence of English structures for each group of learners. The research data consisted of 120 written essays submitted for the ACTR National Post-Secondary Russian Essay Contest in 2009 to 2013 by HL and L2 learners of Russian at the department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of California Los Angeles. All instances of the negative language transfer were identified and coded in all the essays. Then, the transfer errors were classified into the categories that emerged from the data, calculated for each group of learners, and subsequently compared.

In the present study, a one-shot exploratory approach and an error analysis method were used in a comprehensive investigation of negative transfer from English to Russian for HL and L2 learners of Russian. This dissertation research contributes to the general understanding of the role played by negative language transfer in the fields of SLA and bilingualism through an investigation of how it manifests itself quantitatively and qualitatively in different linguistic subsystems of HL and L2 learners of Russian.

This dissertation consists of five chapters. This introduction provides relevant information about and context for language transfer. In addition, it provides basic linguistic characteristics of the HL learners of Russian. Chapter 1 includes a review of existing research literature that motivated the research questions addressed in this dissertation. It also includes an explanation of how this study contributes to the research of the linguistic structure of negative language transfer and a review of important findings from empirical research concerning negative transfer in L2 and HL using error analysis. The chapter addresses gaps in the literature and includes research questions to be answered by this study.

Chapter 2 addresses the methodological approach, research design, and the procedure used in the study. An exploratory approach and error analysis were adopted to provide the evidence necessary to identify the influence of English structures on the writings of HL and L2 learners of Russian and to allow a comprehensive quantitative analysis. Furthermore, the chapter provides the justification for this approach. Chapter 2 includes discussion of specific data collection methods and procedures followed for the collection and analysis of the data for this present study.

Key findings from an analysis of research data gathered from written essays of HL and L2 learners of Russian are presented in Chapter 3, and the research questions are reiterated and addressed. Quantitative results from the data collected from the written essays are examined. The results are based on the use of quantitative research techniques analyzing the data in a nonexperimental manner.

Chapter 4 includes detailed analysis and interpretation of the findings presented in Chapter 3, with reference to each of the research questions. The results of the study are also discussed in relation to the previous relevant research studies. Finally, Chapter 5 includes a

summary of the key findings of the research, followed by a consideration of pedagogical implications for teachers and institutions, as well as directions for future research. Furthermore, the last chapter contains the assessment of the limitations of the study and concludes with a brief summary of the preceding sections.

CHAPTER 1:

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literature associated with negative language transfer. The first section addresses negative language transfer as a linguistic variable. Negative language transfer is then considered from a historical perspective. The second section includes the taxonomy of negative language transfer and the major contributions to its development in different areas of language studies. Empirical studies are also considered in the second section. The third section addresses error analysis as one of the major research tools for negative language transfer. Finally, the last section includes discussion of gaps in the earlier research and provides justification for the research questions of the present study.

Language Transfer

Language transfer or cross-linguistic influence in second language acquisition is regarded as an effect of the first/source language (L1) on the acquisition or use of another/target language (L2; Odlin, 1989). The study of the role of language transfer in SLA has been a prominent research area. Until the 1950s, language transfer was considered simply a negative phenomenon that threatened to corrupt one's language. According to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), this unfavorable attitude stemmed from xenophobia during a time of increasing world migration because of economic factors. In addition, some linguists and psychologists promoted the idea that language transfer arises from "learners' laziness, sloppiness" and "lack of mental clarity" (Cahan, 1926; Jespersen, 1912).

The notions that language transfer hinders the acquisition of another language and that the differences between the source language and the target language result in difficulties with L2 development were successfully challenged by Ringbom (1978), who criticized the earlier

approach to language transfer and provided empirical evidence that it facilitates acquisition of the target language structures. Additionally, both similarities and differences between the source and target languages lead language learners to make semantic associations between the two languages (Ringbom, 1978). Ringbom's approach has influenced studies in language transfer by Cook (2001), Dewaele (1998), Odlin (1989), and Pavlenko (2000), whose studies confirmed that transfer can facilitate and accelerate acquisition of another language. In particular, some researchers discovered that language transfer can not only positively influence the pace and success of L2 acquisition but also change the phases and sequences of L2 acquisition (Pavlenko 2000; Heinz, 2003).

In the 1990s, the focal point of transfer studies was on L2 learners (Gass & Selinker, 1992; Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996). Pioneering research was produced by MacWhinney (1999), whose work on transfer contributed to a deeper understanding of the impact of L1 in adult L2 learners, although he believed that, once a speaker acquires a full linguistic competence in L1, it would not be influenced by another language. Andrews (1993) and Silva-Corvalán (1994) were among the first researchers to focus on HL learners. However, they studied language transfer exclusively from the sociolinguistic perspective, documenting language transfer in several generations of immigrant language communities. Berman (1999), Isurin (2005), and Marian and Kaushanskaya (2007) continued to investigate the influence of English on heritage languages in the United States, yet these studies were limited to analysis of oral production.

SLA researchers have recognized the influence of the source language can have a dual effect on target language acquisition: either facilitating or hindering. The facilitative effect is referred to as *positive language transfer*, whereas a hindering effect is called *negative language transfer*.

Types of Linguistic Transfer

Traditionally, linguistic transfer was examined in syntax and morphology (Rutherford, 1983; Zobl, 1986). The new approaches proposed during the late 1980s began expanding the areas of language transfer to all linguistic subsystems: lexicon, semantics, orthography, discourse, and pragmatics (Odlin, 1989). Lexical transfer is considered “the influence of lexical knowledge in one language on the use of the word in another language” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 72). Generally, lexical transfer reveals itself in the use of a false cognate (e.g., Russian *artist* means ‘actor,’ not ‘artist’; Russian *auditoria* means ‘audience,’ not ‘auditorium’).

Another instance of lexical transfer could result in the lexical borrowing of a phonologically and morphologically or orthographically adapted word from the source language into the target language in situations in which the target language can be seen as lacking a semantically comparable lexical unit (e.g., *la propustila svoi appointment* reflects influence from the English word *appointment*; in addition, the use of nouns such as *bebisiter* (‘babysitter’), *kesh* (‘cash’), and *boifrend* (‘boyfriend’) illustrate the same kind of transfer; Pavlenko, 2003, p. 40). Nouns are most vulnerable to language transfer, particularly, in HL learners’ production in which learners use them to refer to new concepts in a new cultural and linguistic environment of the target language (Latomaa, 1998; Otheguy & Garcia, 1993).

The second important category of lexical transfer involves loan translations or calques, which language learners of different language backgrounds use “to fill the gaps” in the target language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 156). Loan translations occur when compound words, idioms, and lexical collocations are translated word-by-word from the source language into the target language. In Pavlenko’s (2003) study of language transfer in oral narratives of HL and L2 learners of Russian, the differences in the internalization of the new lexical concepts were

extensively documented. In that study, monolingual speakers of English described the events in a short film as an invasion of privacy and personal space (a male stranger sitting down too close to a female). In contrast, monolingual speakers of Russian described the same episode simply as “a man was sitting too close” (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 35). When the same film was shown to Russian L2 learners of English, they interpreted the events in the same way as English monolinguals as an invasion of privacy and personal space. To describe the scene, they used loan translations: *On vtorgaetsia v ee odinochestvo*; ‘He invades her solitude’ (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 41).

Andrews (2001) documented loan words from English in the speech of Russian immigrants in the domains of daily life, employment, and education (e.g., *dishvashery* – ‘dishwashers’ and *taunhausy* – ‘townhouses’). His research was extended by Proshina and Etkin (2005), who found that, since the fall of the Soviet Union, there has been a 70% increase in loan translations from English into Russian because of cross-linguistic influence and language contact. New words appeared in many lexical domains, such as business, education, employment, and daily life (e.g., *tineidzher* – ‘teenager,’ *ofis* – ‘office,’ *brending* – ‘branding,’ and *chat* – ‘chat’). As Jarvis and Pavlenko stated, the introduction of new words was prompted by the conceptual need of the target language. Additionally, new internalized concepts are easily detectable even at the beginning levels of language proficiency with short-term exposure to the target language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). The third instance of lexical transfer refers to the coinage of new words by blending two or more words from different languages (e.g., “We have the same *clothers*” from a blend of the English word *clothes* and the Swedish word *kläder* – ‘clothes’ and, in Russian, *esemeska* ‘SMS message’; Ringbom, 1987, p. 153).

Semantic transfer manifests itself either in the use of a word from the source language that shows influences from the semantic range of a corresponding word in the target language

(e.g., in Russian, the word for a personal camera, *fotoapparat*, and the word for film used in photography, *plenka*, in the speech of Russian immigrants in the United States are replaced by *kamera* and *fil'm* (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002, p. 201). Furthermore, semantic transfer can result in the use of a calque in the target language as an equivalent of a compound word bound to a meaning in another language (e.g., *He remained a young man all his life* came from Swedish *ungkarl*, 'bachelor,' made up of *ung*—'young'—and *karl*—'man'; Ringbom, 2001, p. 64).

Semantic transfer can also occur in the form of semantic extension or loan shift (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002), an extension of words in the target language to incorporate the meaning of a source language equivalent. Pavlenko (2002) observed 20 cases of semantic extensions in the oral narratives of 13 Russian L2 speakers of English. Most semantic extensions consisted of applying a meaning of a polysemantic English word that has "some but not all of the meaning of its 'translation equivalent'" (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 40):

Pomeniat' kak by *stsenu*: 'to change *the scene* somehow,' where a corresponding lexical match should be 'to change *the surroundings*' (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 41). This is an example of a semantic extension of the polysemantic Russian word *stsena*, which has a primary meaning of a stage performance. In this case, the Russian phrase *pomeniat' obstanovku* would be the exact lexical match in this language situation (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 41).

Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) added an important dimension to the language transfer research: directionality. They examined transfer errors in English and Russian of 22 Russian-English oral narratives by L2 learners and discovered that the formal and semantic transfer can be simultaneously bidirectional. In addition, the authors found that semantic transfer is possible when a learner has achieved a comparable level of proficiency in the target language "in relation to the meaning of specific words" (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 81). Hence, within the semantic

transfer, words in the target language are not simply replaced but assume an additional meaning from the source language. The approach of Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) influenced a case study of language transfer in L1 attrition in L2 learners of Russian by Isurin (2007), who focused on lexical borrowings and semantic extensions in the analysis of participants' oral narratives. She reported a significant amount of lexical borrowing and semantic extensions and accounted for the factors that influenced the transfer, such as the length of exposure to the L2 and the time of residence in the L2 country.

Marian and Kaushanskaya's (2007) study of bidirectional negative language transfer in oral narratives by L2 learners of Russian compared the rates of linguistic borrowings and semantic extensions with regard to grammatical categories, specifically, verbs and nouns. The authors observed more lexical borrowings in nouns than verbs. However, the research revealed that semantic extensions occurred more frequently with verbs than with nouns, indicating that some grammatical categories are more prone to negative language transfer than others. In addition, the study found a higher frequency of lexical borrowings from Russian to English and a higher number of semantic extensions from English to Russian.

Conceptual shift is another important dimension within the category of semantic transfer. A relatively new focus of research, it involves the manner in which the learner's knowledge of one language can determine the choice of linguistic structures or grammatical categories in another language. Most of the studies in this area focus on L2 speakers of a particular L1 favoring certain types of words in language situations in which several options are possible. For example, Sjöholm (1995) examined speakers with L1s that lack phrasal verbs (e.g., Finnish, Swedish). He discovered that Swedish speakers prefer one-part verbs over phrasal verbs when speaking English, even though English has both options (e.g., *disappoint ~ let down; tolerate ~*

put up with). However, Sjöholm also pointed out that use of phrasal verbs increases as a learner's language proficiency expands.

A body of research on conceptual shift transfer examines the transfer of certain structural collocations or grammatical categories in different language situations, particularly in the expression of mental representations or states (Hasselgren, 1994; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002, Slobin, 2000). For example, Wierzbicka (1999) was the first to examine emotional narratives in Russian in comparison to English. She discovered that emotional experiences of joy, sadness, and anger in Russian are conceptualized as internal states that imply duration and are expressed by verbs (e.g., *serdit'sia* – 'to rage' and *radovat'sia* – 'to rejoice'). Although these constructions in Russian allow the use of a copula + adjective/adverb pattern, the syntactic and semantic relationships they represent are usually marked by passive voice (e.g., *Emu bylo/stalo grustno* – 'He was/became sad'). To compare, in English, emotions are triggered by external factors and expressed by copula + adjective construction (e.g., *He was sad/happy*).

Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) followed Wierzbicka's (1999) approach and examined how Russian L2 learners of English in the United States used the verb + noun construction to express emotions in oral narratives. They provided additional empirical evidence to support the claim that Russian L2 learners of English referred to emotions as processes, which is characteristic of standard Russian. In their study, Russian L2 learners of English preferred verbal construction while native speakers of English used a copula + adjective model (e.g., *She looked angry*). Additionally, Pavlenko's (2002) study of emotion narratives showed that English native speakers were inclined to use copula + adjective constructions. In contrast, Russian native speakers in the same linguistic situation favored verbal construction (e.g., *Ona rasstroilas'* – 'she got upset').

Pavlenko and Driagina (2007) documented the conceptual shift transfer from English into Russian in oral narratives of advanced American L2 learners of Russian. Their speech analysis of American learners of Russian confirmed that the choice of specific words within certain contexts in the target language is often determined by an underlying source language structures (e.g., the use of an adjective *angry* instead of the intransitive verb *to rage* when referring to emotions). Furthermore, the L2 learners of Russian in this study transferred English copula + adjective constructions into Russian when they used copula *byt'* ('to be') and *stanovit'sia* ('to become') to express emotions in language situations in which Russian speaking monolinguals would use action verbs:

ona stala serditoi – 'she became angry'

ona stala eshche bolee rasstroennaia – 'she became even more upset'

In the same language situation, monolingual Russian speakers would use

ona rasserdilas' – 'she got angry' and

ona eshche bol'she rasserdilas' – 'she got even more angry.'

Finally, Pavlenko established that, under the influence of English, both American L2 learners of Russian and HL speakers of Russian had the tendency to frame emotions as states rather than processes, thus violating semantic and syntactic constraints in Russian.

The next category of analysis involves transfer related to syntax. Similar to the lexicon and semantic subsystems, the syntactic subsystem had been long regarded as resistant to language transfer (Altenberg, 2005; Kellerman, 1995; Odlin, 1990). Syntactic transfer refers to the reordering of the words and phrases in the source language's syntactic structure to mirror the syntactic relationship of the target language. In addition, syntactic transfer implies a more marked grammar (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Zobl (1992) examined whether the knowledge of

another language leads to the creation of conservative grammar patterns in multilinguals. The results of the study revealed that multilingual language learners showed high degree of tolerance for ungrammatical sentences (e.g., “**A waitress brought the customer quickly a menu; *The girl was sending to her boyfriend a letter*”; Zobl, 1992, p. 183). Another implication of Zobl’s study was that the learners from different language backgrounds exhibited different patterns of tolerance for ungrammatical sentences.

A noticeable shift in syntactic language transfer research occurred when it was examined within the framework of the competition model proposed by Bates and MacWhinney (1989). This model indicates that language learners use various linguistic concepts—word order, phonology, morphology, and semantics—to account for roles of syntactic elements. Most research in this area concentrated on how language learners from different language backgrounds determined the subject-object relationship in a sentence and established priority in interpreting this relationship within a sentence. English L1 speakers tend to use word order to determine the subject and the direct/indirect object in a sentence. In contrast, German, Hungarian, Spanish, and Russian speakers depend on noun cases to identify the subject or the object of a sentence (MacWhinney, 1999). A common thread running through such research literature is that speakers with different L1 backgrounds rely on a set of preferred linguistic indicators in their L1s to interpret subject-object relationships in L2. Moreover, speakers with high levels of proficiency in an L2 depend less on the L1 structures while determining the roles of syntactic elements.

Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) described syntactic transfer from English to Russian that is manifested in subcategorization that involves a violation of syntactic constraints in Russian: *kakoi-to orkestr igral muzyku* – ‘some orchestra played music.’ This sentence is an example of the influence of English SVO construction on the Russian verb *igrat*, which is used in this

situation as a transitive verb. However, in combination with the noun *orchestr*, this verb can be subcategorized as an intransitive verb (*orkestr igrat*) or as a transitive verb with two noun complements in an SVO construction with reference to a specific type of music (*kakoi-to orkestr igrat muzyku Shostakovicha* – ‘Some orchestra played music by Shostakovich,’ in which the first noun is in accusative case and the second noun in genitive case (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002, p. 207).

Pavlenko (2003) found additional empirical evidence to support the claim that subcategorization transfer occurs from English to Russian:

ona chuvstvovala grustnaia – ‘she felt sad.’

In this case, the verb *chuvstvovat* (‘to feel’) should have been used either as an adverb or as a noun and adjective in the instrumental case. If used as a nonreflexive verb, it should be subcategorized for a noun in the accusative case. However, in this sentence, the required reflexive particle is missing, and the verb is subcategorized for an adjective in the nominative case.

Orthographic transfer refers to effects of the source language orthography or writing system in terms of phonology and spelling in the target language (Cook & Bassetti, 2005; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). According to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), while acquiring literacy skills in a native language that uses a phonetic alphabet, language learners develop phoneme to grapheme correspondences that later transfer when they learn another language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). The research on writing indicates that learners’ native language writing systems have a multifold effect on the written production in another language. One of the most influential discoveries concerning orthographic transfer was that orthographic errors reflect influences of phonological categories and grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences of the source language on the target

language orthography, especially at early stages of language proficiency (Cook & Basetti, 2005; Okada, 2005; Young-Scholten, 2000). Specifically, it has been suggested that source language influences contribute to formation of nontarget-like source language-based categories when the target and source language grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences are different (Erdener & Burnham, 2005; Young-Scholten, 2000). For example, Harding (2000) traced orthographic errors to the native language influence; he found that Spanish L2 learners of English, whose phonology does not distinguish between /b/ and /v/ phonemes, tend to substitute {b} for {v}—*bacume* for *vacuum* and *bery* for *very*—while Finnish L2 learners of English usually replace {w} with {v} because Finnish uses /w/ and /v/ interchangeably. Further, empirical studies on learners' processing of the Cyrillic (Serbian) and English alphabets, which have some common graphemes, indicate that, when learners encounter the target language alphabet with some correspondences with the source language, they make interlingual identifications necessary to develop basic encoding and decoding in a new language, based on the similarities of the two writing systems (Lukatela et al., 1978).

In the area of Russian studies, orthographic transfer has been investigated in the research of Pytlyk (2007), who established that orthographic knowledge of the native language aids in target language phoneme perception in the structures that have similar grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences and impedes the perception when grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence differs in reading and speaking tasks by Canadian L2 learners of Russian. The difficulties in mastering the Russian Cyrillic alphabet lie in the fact that English and Cyrillic alphabets of Russian have nine graphemes in common: two vowels, <u> and <y>, and seven consonants: , <c>, <g>, <h>, <m>, <p> and <r>. However, they all correspond to different phonemes in each language.

Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) attempted to establish the classificatory framework of Russian to English and English to Russian bidirectional transfer that accounts for all instances and factors that influence the direction and amount of transfer. In their research, Pavlenko and Jarvis identified nine categories of simultaneous bidirectional language transfer by examining oral narratives in both English and Russian by 22 adult Russian L2 speakers of English. The proposed classification of language transfer categories were described from the perspective of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic constraints. In this framework, L1 represents English for American L2 speakers of Russian and Russian for Russian L2 speakers of English; L2 represents English for L1 speakers of Russian and Russian for L1 speakers of English.

The paradigmatic categories adopted from Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) are as follows.

Framing transfer (bidirectional): choice of linguistic frames expressing a mental representation;

Semantic extension (bidirectional), also known as *loan shift*: use of L2 words and expressions to include the meaning of a perceived L1 translation equivalent.

Lexical borrowing (L2 > L1): use of a phonologically, a morphologically, and/or an orthographically adapted word from L1 in L2 in the absence of a semantic equivalent in the target language.

Tense/aspect transfer (L1 > L2): use of tense and aspect inflections in verbs.

Case marking transfer (L2 > L1): use of nominal case inflections in nouns and pronouns.

The syntagmatic categories of Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) are as follows.

Loan translation (bidirectional) or calques: use of literal translations of compound words, idioms, and lexical collocations from the source language.

Subcategorization transfer (bidirectional): composition of syntactic syntagms, the functional categories that verbs and adjectives subcategorize for.

Word order transfer (L1 > L2): reliance on the word order rules in a source language while using a target language.

Article use (L1 > L2): omission of articles.

This model was empirically tested in Pavlenko (2003), which provided additional evidence for Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) of the transfer from English to Russian in lexicon, semantics, and morphosyntax in oral narratives elicited from adult Russian L2 speakers of English (Pavlenko, 2003). In addition, Pavlenko extended Pavlenko and Jarvis' classifications and proposed the following analytical framework as theoretical background to account for instances of English effects on Russian as evidence of one of the following phenomena:

Borrowing transfer: addition of English elements to Russian

Convergence: creation of a unitary system, distinct from Russian and English.

Shift: a move from Russian structures/values to approximate English structures/values.

Restructuring transfer: incorporation of English elements into Russian resulting in changes, substitutions, or simplifications.

L1 attrition: loss of Russian elements because of the impact of English.

Pavlenko applied this theoretical framework to examine the effects of English in Russian oral narratives. Furthermore, her approach moved toward a multicompetence perspective, proposed by Cook (1991, 1992), which views multilinguals' linguistic profiles as a unified framework rather than a sum of isolated areas of language competence. Therefore, Pavlenko concluded, in the area of morphosyntax, English-to-Russian transfer manifested itself in the violation of tense, aspect, case-marking, subcategorization constraints, and prepositional choices. Moreover, she

found instances of lexical borrowing, loan translation, and semantic extension, as well as lexical retrieval difficulties. Finally, she found evidence of semantic and syntactic constraint violations by narrators.

Aleeva (2012) provided additional empirical support for the classificatory framework proposed by Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) by examining negative language transfer from English to Russian in the written production of L2 and HL learners of Russian at the advanced level of proficiency. Her study provided invaluable information that, at the advanced level of proficiency, L2 learners generated more negative transfer errors than HL learners. Research data yielded 13 categories of transfer, of which six were shared by both groups of learners: semantic extension, comma after an introductory phrase, lexical borrowings, reflexive possessive pronoun (*svoi*), capitalization, and preposition errors. Furthermore, conceptual shift and grammatical number errors were characteristic of the writing by HL learners only while null subjects, loans, conjunctions (*esli/li*), adjectives for nationality, and negation transfer were present in the written production of L2 learners of Russian.

Error Analysis

Historically, the main method for accounting for language transfer errors was contrastive analysis. This approach is based on the theory of language that claims typological differences between the native and target languages lead to transfer errors in target language production. Lado (1957) suggested that the learners would make more transfer errors when the native and target languages are typologically distant. The proponents of contrastive analysis maintained they could anticipate and predict transfer errors based on a comparison of the two languages (Gass & Selinker, 2002). However, contrastive analysis was challenged by new empirical research that indicated some transfer errors not predicted by contrastive analysis occurred. In

addition, compelling evidence indicated not all predicted errors had occurred. In particular, some studies found that certain language transfer errors are universal in target language production regardless of learners' language background (Dushkova, 1984; Kellerman, 1995; Selinker, Swain, & Dumas, 1975; Zobl, 1980).

The criticism and evident shortcoming of contrastive analysis caused researchers to renew their interest in error analysis. First, error analysis is not limited to investigation of the interlanguage alone; it emphasizes the importance of accounting for intralanguage errors. Second, unlike contrastive analysis, it focuses on actual errors produced by language learners, not on hypothetical errors, thus making it possible to provide corrective pedagogical feedback and develop methodological materials to address problems. Finally, compared to contrastive analysis, error analysis does not encounter theoretical difficulties specific to contrastive analysis: the problem of equivalence (Wardhaugh, 1970).

Error analysis in the 1950s and 1960s was focused on pedagogical issues: developing pedagogical strategies and designing classroom materials based on identifying areas of difficulty for language learners. However, a noticeable shift occurred with Corder (1967), which proposed examining learners' errors from an analytical perspective and treating them not only as an inevitable process but as a necessary part of language learning. Following Corder's study, many researchers stopped viewing errors as reflections of limitations of learners' language. Rather, they began to regard errors as attempts on the part of the learner to develop a new linguistic system—an interlanguage (Schachter, 1974; Selinker, 1969; Richards, 1971).

Although native speakers may occasionally produce errors in their native language, referred to as “slips of the tongue” or mistakes, second language learners produce errors systematic in nature, representing deviations from target language norms, characteristic of the

learner's proficiency level at a given point in time (Corder, 1967). Additionally, native speakers are able to recognize their mistakes, whereas second language learners produce errors repeatedly and are unable to recognize them as errors. Error analysis examines systematic errors in learners' language. Unlike contrastive analysis, which compares native language structures with the target language, error analysis focuses on target language production errors comparing them to the target language structures.

From the methodological viewpoint, error analysis includes the following important steps (Gass & Selinker, 2002): data collection, error identification, error classification, error quantification, error analysis, and error remediation. Scholars distinguish two types of errors within error analysis: intralingual and interlingual. Intralingual errors occur when learners incorporate particular incorrect forms into what they assume to be the corresponding target language structure. These errors are common to all language learners regardless of the native language. In contrast, interlingual errors are those that can be associated with the native language and require cross-linguistic comparison.

Despite the dominance of error analysis in language transfer research, this method has been criticized for providing only a partial account of learners' target language because it captures errors at a certain stage of language acquisition, thus failing to provide the complexity of language development over an extended period of time (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005; Gass & Selinker, 2002; Schachter, 1992). In addition, Schachter and Celce-Murcia (1977) suggested another difficulty with error analysis lies in the fact that it ignores the correct forms that the learner produces, which is a very important variable in the evaluation of target language development. Finally, error analysis does not take into account a learner's avoidance of using certain linguistic structures to prevent errors (Tarone & Swierzbin, 2009). For example, if the

data set has very few transfer errors in relative clauses, it might be because the learners are not producing many relative clauses at all, correct or incorrect. If the learners are aware that they have difficulty with constructing relative clauses, they might avoid using them (Schachter, 1992). While not without problems, error analysis remains one of the major methods in examining negative language transfer (Gass & Selinker, 2002; Ellis, 1985). Particularly, it is found appropriate for the present dissertation research because it examines errors at a given level of language proficiency, using a one-shot exploratory design.

Summary and Research Questions

The review of the literature on language transfer indicates that cross-linguistic influence between English and Russian affects all areas of language: lexicon, morphosyntax, semantics, syntax, pragmatics, and rhetoric. In this dissertation research, I investigate negative language transfer from English to Russian in the areas of lexicon, semantics, syntax, and orthography. In the last decade and a half, a growing body of research has explored negative language transfer from English to Russian in HL and L2 learners (Andrews, 2001; Isurin, 2007; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2007; Pavlenko, 2003; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002; Polunenko, 2004).

However, the present dissertation research differs from these earlier works in that it includes examination of written narratives of HL and L2 learners of Russian. In addition, the previous studies did not investigate whether the influence of English on Russian in HL learners' writing differed quantitatively and qualitatively from written production of L2 learners of Russian. Furthermore, those studies did not address the issue of which subsystems—lexical, semantic, syntactic, or orthographic—are more prone to negative transfer for each group of learners at the intermediate level of language proficiency. Even though previous research has indicated syntax is more prone to negative language transfer than semantics and lexicon for L2

learners of Spanish, Finnish, and Japanese (Odlin, 1990; Sorace & Serratrice, 2009; Zobl, 1986) while the semantic subsystem is more vulnerable to language transfer than other linguistic subsystems for HL learners of Spanish (Gabriele, 2009; Nossalik, 2009; Slabakova, 2008; Slabakova & Montrul, 2002), negative transfer in written Russian remains unexplored.

Thus, the following three research questions guided this investigation of the influence of English on Russian in the writings of HL and L2 learners of Russian:

1. Which group of learners, HL or L2, produces more instances of negative language transfer?

2. Which linguistic subsystems are most affected by negative language transfer for both types of learners, as well as for each group?

3. What categories of negative language transfer are revealed in the data set? What categories are specific to HL and L2 learners, respectively? How do these categories differ quantitatively in each group of learners?

CHAPTER 2:

METHODOLOGY

This chapter contains a discussion of the methodological approach and research design used to examine data to answer the research questions stated in Chapter 1. The first section addresses the choice of the error analysis approach and presents the research design. The second section includes discussion of important characteristics of the participants, followed by an outline of the language program and curriculum to provide the context in which the study was conducted. Later sections address the sources of the data, including an illustration of the process of data collection, and data analysis. In addition, the definition of *negative transfer error* and classification of transfer errors used in this research are discussed. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the preceding sections.

Methods

The goal of the present dissertation research was to determine and compare the amount and types of negative language transfer errors in written essays by HL and L2 learners of Russian. As noted, previous studies of language transfer were largely quantitative in nature and were useful in determining the amount of transfer as well as identifying types of transfer (Aleeva, 2012; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2005).

The research methods used in this study are considered descriptive and exploratory. They involve compiling a corpus of written language samples collected in 2009–2013 from HL and L2 learners of Russian. A one-shot design approach was chosen. This method has been commonly used in second language acquisition research when pretesting or post-testing are not used, but when one is interested in considering what a group of learners knows about a target language at a

particular point in time (Dörnyei, 2007; Gass, Mackey, & Ross-Feldman, 2005; Mackey & Gass, 2005; White, 1985).

The data were examined for quantitative evidence of the influence of English on Russian. Descriptive methods were used to summarize findings by characterizing general tendencies of language transfer in the data and to indicate the overall spread between the proposed categories. The data analysis also involved examination of the amount of occurrence of linguistic structures transferred from English to Russian. Error analysis was instrumental in identifying the types of transfer in each group and allowing for comparison.

Participants

The participants in the study included 60 HL learners of Russian and 60 L2 learners of Russian enrolled in Russian language classes at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) in 2009–2013. The HL learners had completed the second quarter of a Heritage Russian Literacy course designed to meet a 2-year foreign language requirement in one year. Because HL learners of Russian represent a heterogeneous group, several factors were considered to limit potential variability within this group. Only HL learners who were born in the United States or who immigrated to the United States before the age of 5 (early bilinguals) were considered for the present research. Previous studies confirmed that HL learners who immigrated at an early age and did not receive any formal education in their heritage language displayed the command of their heritage language somewhat comparable to L2 learners (Kondo-Brown, 2006; Montrul, 2008).

The group of L2 learners of Russian consisted of students enrolled in the second year of Russian at UCLA. Both courses, the Heritage Language Literacy course and second-year Russian, are for preparing students to enter third-year Russian language instruction at UCLA.

However, heritage learners may go to higher level courses as well, depending on their individual accomplishments.

Both groups of students acquired the same functional grammar and lexical categories during Russian language instruction and were classified by their language program as being at the intermediate mid level of proficiency based on the ACTFL proficiency guidelines. According to the ACTFL “Proficiency Guidelines” (“Writing,” 2012), learners at the intermediate mid level of proficiency

can write short, simple . . . compositions, requests for information in loosely connected texts about personal preferences, daily routines, common events and other personal matters. Their writing is usually framed in the present time, but may contain references to other time frames. The writing style closely resembles oral discourse. . . . They show evidence of control of basic sentence structure and verb forms. This writing is best defined as collection of discrete sentences . . . loosely strung together. There is a little evidence of deliberate organization.

Intermediate level writers can usually be understood by native speakers of Russian who are used to non-native writers.

Montrul asserted the importance of specifying the proficiency level in examining the differences between HL and L2 learners. She noted that advanced HL and L2 learners “have been found not to differ from each other” (Montrul, 2010, p. 304). However, low and intermediate proficiency levels can offer the researcher more variables (Au et al., 2002, 2008; Montrul, 2005).

Demographic information about the participants and their names have not been recorded in this study to maintain participants’ anonymity. However, the researcher had access to

students' levels of proficiency, their classifications as HL or L2 learners, and the courses in which they were enrolled.

Data

Sixty handwritten essays by HL learners of Russian and 60 essays by L2 learners of Russian were collected. These essays constituted the primary sources of data for the present research. As Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) asserted, from the perspective of quantitative research, an empirical researcher should strive for at least 30 participants because “critical values for groups of 30 are often very similar to critical values for groups whose size approaches infinity” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 57).

The essays were submitted for the ACTR National Post-Secondary Russian Essay Contest during 2009–2013, administered by the UCLA Slavic Department. The ACTR National Post-Secondary Russian Essay Contest has been conducted each winter since 1999. Students are allowed 50 minutes to write their essays in a classroom setting. The topic is the same for all students who write the essay. Thus, the data for the present dissertation research were obtained in the controlled environment of the classrooms for two courses: Russian for Heritage Learners and Second Year Russian for L2 Learners of Russian.

The written samples represent elicited narratives. The students were given written prompts consisting of the topics for the essays. Students were not allowed to take notes or use dictionaries or any other printed or electronic materials.

The topics of the essays were as follows (sample essays are presented in Appendix A):

1. *Mesto, kotoroe ia liubliu.* ‘My favorite place’
2. *Chelovek, kotorogo ia liubliu.* ‘A person I love’

3. *Ne imei sto rublei, a imei sto druzei.* ‘It’s better to have a hundred friends than a hundred roubles’
4. *Sravnite sebia, kakim vy byli chetyre goda nazad i kakim vy stali teper’.* ‘Compare yourself to how you were 4 years ago. What has changed? What has stayed the same?’

After the essays were collected, they were digitized. This step was necessary to organize the data into a manageable and analyzable database. The average size of one sample was 250–300 words. Boldface type was used for words written in English. After the data were converted to electronic format, the essays were compared to handwritten originals to ensure that all the spelling was preserved and no errors were added or eliminated during data entry. Although morphological errors were numerous in the data set, they were not analyzed because they were not the subject of the present dissertation research. The examples are cited within this dissertation with original transfer and morphological errors.

The written samples yielded rich and extensive linguistic data used to calculate and interpret instances and distribution of language transfer in each group. To find patterns of transfer, the data were coded in a principled manner. Ten categories of language transfer were identified and manually coded. Brackets were used to indicate negative language transfer. If a negative transfer error was encountered more than once in the same essay, it was counted as one instance of negative language transfer. For example, one essay contained three instances of orthographic transfer: The writer used *иниверситет* (*iniversitet* - ‘university’), substituting the Russian grapheme /и/ for the English /u/ more than once in the essay. It was counted as only one instance of orthographic transfer. Each category was coded in a separate electronic file to simplify calculations.

Interrater and Intrarater Reliability

To ensure the reliability of language transfer identification and categorization in the present research, three raters participated in the analysis: the main researcher and two independent analysts—a language instructor who is a native speaker of Russian and teaches Russian in the United States to both HL and L2 learners and a native speaker who teaches Russian in the Russian Federation and has no knowledge of English. The goals of the study were discussed by all raters, and the definition of the negative transfer phenomenon and the categories of transfer were defined.

Next, sample coded essays were reviewed. Once the coding scheme was agreed upon, 10 sample essays were coded to ensure consistency in evaluating the data. To reduce the possibility of inadvertent coder biases, the two additional raters were not made aware of what part of the data (HL or L2 learners' samples) they were coding.

To increase confidence in the conclusions of the study, interrater reliability was calculated through a simple percentage: the ratio of all coding agreements to the total number of coding decisions made by both raters. This process yielded an interrater reliability percentage of 95.4, indicating disagreement on only 4.6% of the data. Given the size of the data set, this particular measure was chosen because it is one of the easiest methods of calculation for empirical research. As Mackey and Gass (2008) reported, there are “no clear guidelines . . . as to what constitutes an acceptable level of interrater reliability” (p. 244). However, the following guidelines were established by Portney and Watkins (2000): “for simple percentages, scores above 75% are considered ‘good’, and scores over 90% are ideal” (p. 93).

Besides interrater reliability, the data set was checked for intrarater reliability. The main researcher recoded 100% of the data 4 months after the initial coding. This system was used

along with the check for interrater reliability and indicated the rater assigned the same category in 98.3% of instances of negative language transfer.

Data Analysis

Each negative language transfer error in the present research is considered a deviation from the conventional norms of the Russian language forms and structures, reflecting English-based influence in the areas of lexicon, semantics, syntax, or orthography. For example, the following sentence yields two instances of lexical transfer:

В социальной *атмосфере* я себя чувствовала *комфортабельно*.

V sotsial'noi *atmosfera* ia sebia chuvstvovala *komfortabel'no*.

In social *atmosphere* I felt *comfortable*.

It is obvious to a native speaker who is used to communicating with foreigners what the writer is trying to convey. However, in the first instance, a native speaker would use a noun *сфера* – *sfera*, and instead of the adverb, *комфортабельно* – *komfortabel'no*, one should use *комфортно* – *comfortno*. Both instances reflect the influence of English.

In contrast, structures deviating from Russian language norms but not reflecting the influence of English were not coded as transfer errors:

По середине года я решила поехать в школьное путешествие.

Po seredine goda ia reshila poekhat' v shkol'noe putishestvie.

In the middle of the year, I decided to go on a school trip.

Although in the above sentence the preposition *по* – *po* is used incorrectly, the error does not represent the effect of an English-based form; hence, it is not a negative transfer error.

Another example of a transfer error follows:

Я решила организовать *клуб* в школе.

Ja reshila organizovat' *klib* v shkole.

I have decided to organize a *club* at school.

The spelling of *клуб* – *klib* is clear evidence of orthographic transfer because the writer incorrectly associated the Russian grapheme /и/ with the English /u/, both of which are written the same way in both languages but correspond to different phonemes in each language: [i] in Russian and [ʌ] in English.

For comparison, the following example contains an orthographic error:

Школьное путешествие.

Shkol'noe putishestvie.

School trip.

The above error does not involve negative language transfer but simply represents a spelling error because the vowel is not stressed.

Although the data analysis yielded more than 10 types of negative language transfer, the categories that accounted for less than 1% of all transfer errors were not included in the present study. For example, such categories as capitalization and comma after the introductory phrase (Aleeva, 2012) represented only 0.7% and 0.4%, respectively, of the total amount of transfer errors detected in the data set. They were not considered because they constituted less than 1% of all transfer errors.

The following categories of negative language transfer were identified in the data set and grouped according to the linguistic subsystem they represent:

1. Lexical subsystem:

- a. Loan translation: use of literal translations of compound words, idioms, and lexical collocations from English.

- b. Lexical borrowing: use of phonologically, morphologically, and/or orthographically adapted word from English in Russian in the absence of a semantic equivalent in Russian.

2. Semantic subsystem:

- a. Semantic extension: use of words and expressions in Russian that include the meaning of a perceived English translation equivalent.
- b. Conceptual shift: use of English grammatical patterns to express emotions in Russian.
- c. Reflexive possessive pronoun *свой* (*svoi*): use of English possessive pronoun in place of Russian reflexive possessive pronoun.

3. Syntactic subsystem:

- a. Negation: reliance on English negation pattern, which does not allow negative concord, to express negation in Russian, which does allow for negative concord.
- b. Preposition: omission, insertation, or substitution of a preposition in Russian that reflects the English pattern.
- c. Impersonal sentences: insertion of a nonreferential *it* translated from English into Russian impersonal construction using *это*.
- d. Subordinating conjunctions: use of English syntactic pattern with subordination conjunctions in Russian.

4. Orthographic subsystem:

- a. Orthographic transfer: reliance on English grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence to produce Russian graphemes.

Finally, the categories of language transfer were analyzed and discussed in the following order:

1. Categories specific to HL learners of Russian.
2. Categories limited to L2 learners of Russian.
3. Categories shared by both groups: HL and L2 learners of Russian.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has addressed the research design and research procedures. A quantitative approach was adopted to fill the gap in the research concerning comparison of the amount of negative language transfer from English to Russian in written essays by HL and L2 learners of Russian at the intermediate mid level of proficiency. The quantitative analysis was based on the one-shot approach to data collection. Written essays were selected as the primary source of data for the current research. Reasonable efforts were made to ensure the reliability and validity of the research process. Finally, error analysis was identified as the most appropriate method for the present study. The chapter contains a working definition of *negative language transfer* as used in the research and identifies 10 categories of transfer, which are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: FINDINGS

This chapter addresses the analysis of data gathered from the written essays of HL and L2 learners and the research questions formulated in Chapter 1. It includes the taxonomy of the types of transfer errors found in the HL and L2 learners' written essays. The purpose of this research was to investigate how HL and L2 learners' written production of linguistic forms and structures of Russian is influenced by their knowledge of English.

Types of Negative Transfer by Subsystem

The analysis of the research data yielded 1751 cases of negative transfer from English to Russian in all the essays. The results were subdivided into four subsystems: lexical, semantic, syntactic, and orthographic. The findings are summarized in Table 1. I present the raw numbers, the number of errors in each area, along with the percentages based on the total number of occurrences of items in each subsystem. The order of subsystems is descending from the area with the highest number of transfer errors to the one with the lowest number of errors.

Table 1

Total Amount of Transfer per Each Linguistic Subsystem

Subsystem	<i>N</i> of transfer errors	% errors
Lexical	674	38.5
Semantic	553	31.6
Syntactic	361	20.6
Orthographic	163	9.3

Table 1 indicates that the largest number of transfer errors was found in the lexical subsystem, with 674 instances representing 38.5% of the total amount of transfer errors. Next

was semantic transfer errors, at 553, accounting for 31.6% of the total transfer errors. Syntactic transfer errors occurred 361 times, for 20.6% of the total transfer errors. A relatively small number of orthographic transfer errors occurred, 163, representing 9.3% of the total number of transfer errors. Figure 1 shows the transfer errors per subsystem in percentages.

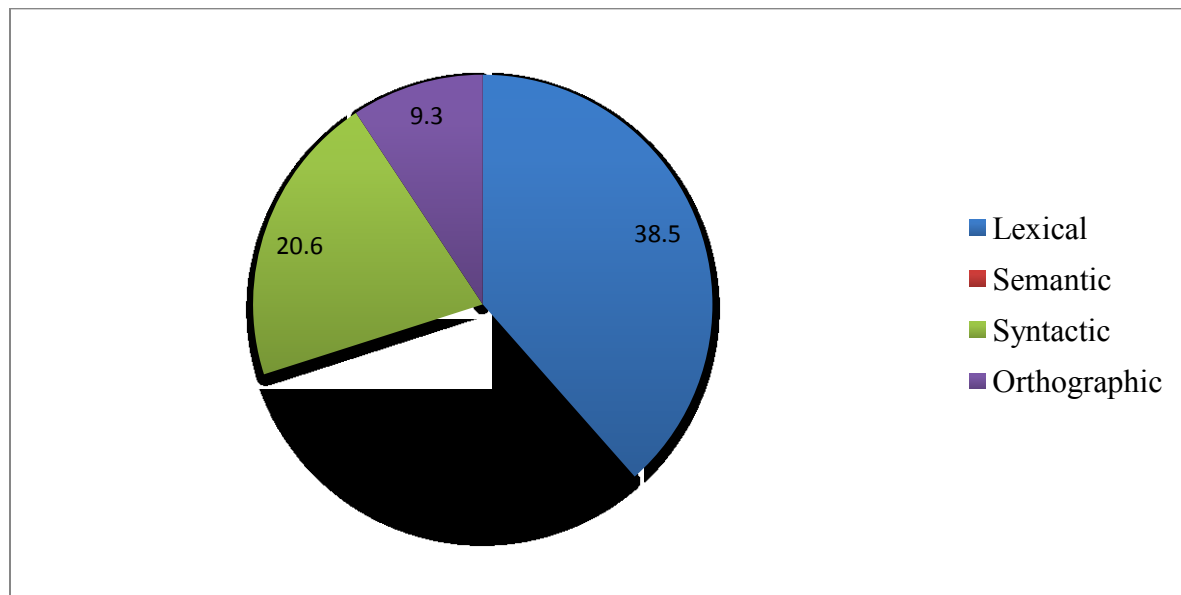


Figure 1. The percentage of transfer errors per subsystem of total number of transfer errors.

Types of Negative Transfer by Category

This chapter describes the transfer error categories found in the written essays of HL and L2 learners of Russian. The data set yielded 10 main categories of transfer errors. The transfer categories are discussed in descending order according to the raw numbers shown in Table 2; the actual number of errors in each category is followed by the percentage of all errors that number represents. Figure 2 shows percentages of the total number of transfer errors for both types of learners, HL and L2.

Table 2

Taxonomy of Negative Transfer Errors for HL and L2 Learners

Transfer category	<i>N</i>	% of total
Loan translations (lexical)	486	27.8
Semantic extension (semantic)	453	25.9
Lexical borrowing (lexical)	188	10.7
Orthographic	163	9.3
Negation (syntactic)	144	8.2
Preposition (syntactic)	143	8.2
Conceptual shift (semantic)	78	4.5
Impersonal sentences (syntactic)	52	3.0
Subordinating conjunction (syntactic)	22	1.3
Reflexive pronoun (semantic)	22	1.3

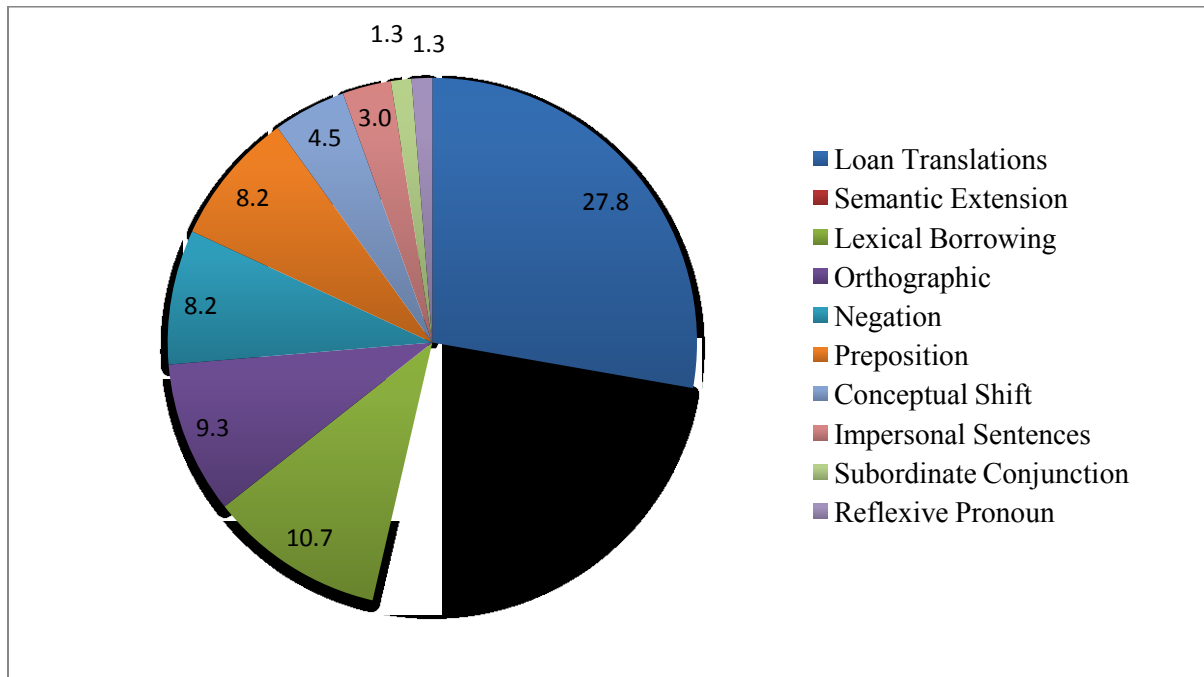


Figure 2. Taxonomy of negative transfer errors in percentages.

Lexical Transfer Errors

The data contained 674 instances of lexical transfer errors, 38.5% of all transfer errors identified. Lexical transfer errors occur because of similarities language learners perceive between Russian words and their equivalents in English. Learners tend to make lexical transfer errors by adapting from English words or phrases phonologically, orthographically, and sometimes morphologically.

Lexical borrowings. Lexical borrowings account for 188 cases (10.7%) of all the transfer errors. Most of the lexical borrowings are false cognates. This transfer error is typical of bilingual environments (Ringbom, 1987; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002) when learners of Russian incorporate or “russify” English words and phrases to refer to notions specific to a Russian cultural and linguistic environment. In some cases, lexical borrowings from English have correct Russian morphological case markings.

(1) Русский язык – . . . это не только язык любви и *романса* (L2).

Russkii iazyk - . . . eto ne tol’ko iazyk liubvi i *romansa*.

The Russian language - . . . is not only the language of love and *romance*.

In Example 1, the writer borrowed the English noun *romance*, which, in Russian, means a romantic song. The correct Russian word in this context would be *romantika*. However, the writer used the appropriate morphological marker for the genitive singular case, *-a*.

(2) Один мужчина павернулся ко мне в линий в ресторане . . . он забыл валеть
дома (HL)

Odin muzhchina pavernul’sia komne v *linii* v restorane . . . on zabyll *valet’* doma

A man turned to me in the *line* in the restaurant . . . he left his *valet* at home

In Example 2, the learner erroneously identified the English words *line* and *valet* with the Russian *liniia* (a calque of *line* or *queue*, where *ochered'* would be correct) and *valet* (calque of *wallet* where *bumazhnik* would be correct); hence, morphophonologically similar Russian words are activated in the context even if their meaning is quite different from the intended one.

Есть *сентимент* который много людей можно понимать (L2).

Est' *sentiment* kotoryi mnogo liudei mozhno ponimat'.

There is a *sentiment* that many people can understand.

In the above example, perceived cross-linguistic influence of the English *sentiment* is evident in the Russian *sentiment* (where *чувство* or *chuvstvo* would be correct).

Another form of lexical borrowing involves the use of a transliterated English word instead of a Russian word:

(3) Удобные *реставранты* (L2).

Udobnye *restauranty*.

Comfortable *restaurants*.

Example 4 illustrates how a Russian language learner adapts the English word *restaurant* phonologically to render the Russian *restaurant* (where *ресторан* or *restoran* would be correct).

(4) Людей у которых есть *туберсилосис* (L2).

Liudei u kotorykh est' *tubersilosis*.

People who have *tuberculosis*.

The morphophonological association with the English word *tuberculosis* in Example 5 determines the production of the “identical” Russian *tubersilosis* (where *tuberkulez* would be correct).

(5) Сломаётся машина по середине *фривея* . . . звониш в автомобильный *инишуранс* . . . пока ждать *тов трук* (HL).

Slomaet'sia mashina po seredine *friveia* . . . zvonish v avtomobil'nyi *inshurans* . . .
пока zdat' *tov truk*.

The car would break in the middle of the *freeway* . . . you call the auto *insurance* . . .
while [you have to] to wait for the *tow truck*.

In Example 6, the nouns *freeway*, *insurance*, and *tow truck* are borrowed from English and integrated into the Russian sentence (where the correct Russian forms would be *avtostrada*, *strakhovka*, and *evakuator*).

Another form of lexical borrowing from English into Russian occurs when a new word is coined, sometimes by blending two or more morphemes or words. This particular type of linguistic transfer involves interlingual grammatical associations formed between Russian and English words. As a consequence, the use of morphological forms in English triggers the use of corresponding morphological structures in Russian:

(6) Особенно те, кто живут в больших *метрополитических* городах (HL).

Osobenno te, kto zhivut v bol'shikh *metropoliticheskikh* gorodakh.

Especially those who live in large *metropolitan* cities.

Example 7 shows a blend of the English adjective *metropolitan* and the Russian adjective *politicheskii* (in English 'political').

(7) Я люблю слушать музыку более *инергическую* (HL).

Ja ljubliu slushat' muzyku bolee *inergicheskuiu*.

I love to listen to more *energetic* music.

In Example 8, the coined adjective *inergicheskii* combines the English adjective *energetic* and the Russian adjectival marking *-icheskii* (where *energichnyi* would be correct).

Most cases of coinage in the data set contain adjectives. However, a few instances of coined verbs and nouns were found.

(8) Я могу путешествовать по миру и *висит* иностранные страны (L2).

Ia mogu puteshestvovat' po miru i *visit*' innostrannye strany.

I can travel the world and *visit* foreign countries.

In this example, lexical transfer results from morphological blending of the English verb *to visit* with the Russian infinitive marker *-t* (where *byvat'* would be correct).

(10) В детстве, мне был интересно с *астрономикой* (L2).

V detsve, mne byl interesno s *astronomikoi*.

When I was a child, I was interested in *astronomy*.

In Example 10, the Russian feminine noun marker *-ka* is added to the English noun *astronomy* to produce *astronomika* (where *astronomiia* would be correct).

Loan translations. Loan translations account for 485 occurrences (27.8%) of the total number of transfer errors in the data. Both HL and L2 learners of Russian often resort to literal translations of lexical collocations, idioms, and compound words from English to fill what they perceive to be lexical gaps in the target language. Transfer errors in this category stem not from violating prescribed grammatical rules but from lacking the knowledge of how certain words and phrases should be rendered in Russian. Swan and Smith (2001) stated that “languages may have exact translation equivalents for words when they are used in their central sense, but not when they are used in more marginal or metaphorical ways” (p. 158).

Most of the instances of English-based loan translations include expressions that reflect English meanings and structures:

- (1) Некоторые из них больше *никогда не услышать от* своих старых друзей (HL).

Nekotorye iz nikh bol'she nikogda ne uslyshat' ot svoikh starykh druzei.

Some of them (people) *would never hear from* their old friends again.

The above sentence may not be easy for a monolingual speaker of Russian to understand. Among other mistakes, the Russian transitive verb *uslyshat'* requires a direct object. In addition, the appropriate Russian expression would be *poluchit' vestochku*.

- (2) У меня *небыло никакой идеи* что делать дальше (HL).

U menia ne bylo nikakoi idei chto delat' dal'she.

I had no idea what to do next.

Example 2 is grammatically correct, but *u menia ne bylo nikakoi idei* is a direct calque from English. Correct rendering of that phrase would be *ia poniatii ne imel(a)*.

- (3) *Невозможно считать все возможности* здесь в университете (L2).

Nevozmozhno schitat' vse vozmozhnosti zdes' v universitete.

It is impossible to count all the opportunities here at the university.

The sentence in Example 3 may not be understood by a monolingual Russian speaker. The writer used the verb *schitat'*, which may mean 'to consider' in some instances but not in this case. The correct Russian would be *trudno perechislit' vse vozmozhnosti*.

- (4) Я всегда *слушал своей родителей*, и некогда им не *хамил обратна* (HL)

Ia vsegda slushal svoii roditelei, i nekogda im ne khamil obratna.

I have always *listened to my parents* and never *talked back to them*.

In Example 4, the English verbal expression *to listen to one's parents* should be translated using the Russian reflexive verb *slushat'sia*. Additionally, the Russian verb *khamit'* would never be combined with the adverb *obratno* because it means 'to be rude'.

Other instances of loans from English into Russian include literal translations of set phrases:

(5) Моя бабушка *всегда там для меня* когда мне это надо (HL).

Moia babushka *vsegda tam dlia menia* kogda mne eto nado.

My grandma *is always there for me when* I need it.

The above collocation is not used in Russian and will not be understood in Russian. It would be appropriate to translate it in a less metaphoric sentence in Russian: *v trudnye minuty ia vsegda mogu raschityvat' na svoiu babushku*. 'I can always rely on my grandmother at a difficult time.'

(6) Люди так *держали надежду* (L2).

Liudi tak *derzhali nadezhdu*.

This is how people *kept hope*.

The English expression *to keep hope* corresponds to the Russian phrase *ne teriat' nadezhdu* 'not to lose hope.'

(7) Теперь я больше понимаю *как мир работает* (HL).

Teper' ia bol'she ponimaiu *kak mir rabotaet*.

I understand better now *how the world works*.

In Example 7, the English phrase *how the world works* has the Russian equivalent of *tak ustroen mir*, 'how the world is arranged.'

(8) А денги *один день есть и второй день уже в воздухе* (L2).

A dengi *odin den' est' i vtoroi den' uzhe v vozdikhe*.

As for money, *one day it is here, next day it is in the air*.

The English collocation in Example 8 can be translated into Russian as *segodnia est', a zavtra net*: 'you have it today, you don't have it tomorrow.'

(9) Люди, которые *борятся о деньгах* очень глупые (L2).

Liudi, kotorye *boriatsia o den'gakh* ochen' glupye.

People who *fight about money* are very stupid.

In the case of Example 9, the Russian *borot'sia* is not commonly used in this context. The Russian translation equivalent in this sentence should be *ssorit'sia iz-za deneg*: 'to fight over money.'

Finally, the data revealed a number of compound loan words borrowed from English:

(10) Сейчас я могу говорить с *русскими говорящими* (HL).

Seichas ia mogu govorit' s *russkimi govoriashchimi*.

Now I can talk with *Russian speaking* [people].

In addition to morphological transfer in Example 10, the transfer of a lexical procedure, segmentation, occurs. *Russkie govoriashchie* reflects the influence of the English adjectival phrase *Russian speaking*, whereas the correct Russian word should be *russko-govoriashchie*.

(11) Я всегда на ее смотрела как *супервуман* (HL).

Ia vsegda na ee smotrela kak *supervuman*.

I always regarded her as a *superwoman*.

In Example 11, the transfer from the English *superwoman* is manifested morphologically and orthographically in *supervuman* while the Russian equivalent is *supervomen*.

Semantic Transfer Errors

Semantic transfer is the second largest category of errors for both groups. It accounts for 553 cases of transfer, 31.6 % of the total number of transfer errors. As Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) noted, semantic knowledge “involves the mapping between words and concepts which determines how many concepts and which particular concept a word can express” (p. 75) in the given context. Hence, semantic transfer occurs when a Russian word is used with a meaning that demonstrates influence from the semantic range of the English translation equivalent.

Semantic extension. Semantic extension transfer errors occurred 453 times in the data, representing 25.9% of the total number of transfer errors by HL learners and L2 learners. The semantic extension transfer error occurs when a learner uses a target language word in a meaning that includes the semantic meaning of the English equivalent. The most frequent case of semantic extension for both groups was the use of *школа* (*shkola*, ‘school’) instead of *университет* (*universitet*, ‘university’) or *колледж* (*kolledzh*, ‘college’) to refer to a university or college. In Russian, *школа* can only be used when referring to K-12. In contrast, the English word *school* has a broader meaning: It includes K-12, as well as institutions of higher education.

Школа, это само собой, главное надо выбрать то что будет для тебя счастливым в будущем (HL).

Shkola, eto samo saboi, glavno nado vybrat' to chto budet dlia tebia schastlivym v budushem.

School, by itself is very important, but it is necessary to choose something that would make you happy in the future.

A number of transfer errors involve the use of the semantically narrow Russian noun *история* (*istoriia*, ‘history’), which refers exclusively to a chronological account of past events

and includes the meaning of *прошлое* (*proshloe*, ‘past’) through the process of semantic extension influenced by the English cognate *history*. This particular example was found in the writings of both HL and L2 learners:

(1) У всех нас разные интересы . . . но наши *история* единяет нас (L2).

U vsexh nas raznye interesy . . . no nashi *istoriia* ediniaet nas.

We all have different interests . . . but our *history* unites us.

With regard to adjectives, both HL and L2 learners produced instances of semantic extension. The Russian adjective *populiarnyi* is rendered in English as *well known*. However, in the next example, its semantic range is broadened, and it is used to mean ‘pleasant, liked’ while the appropriate Russian equivalent in this context should be *ее все любят* (*ee vse liubiat*, ‘everyone loves her’):

(2) Она [девушка] очень *популярная* , и девушки и мальчики ее любят (L2).

Ona [the girl] ochen’ *populiarnaia*, i devushki i mal’chiki ee liubiut.

She is very *popular*, both, girls and boys like her.

Many instances of transfer errors in the data include use of the Russian adjective *веселый* (*veselyi*, ‘cheerful’) to mean ‘happy.’ In Example 3, the correct translation of *happy* is *счастливый* (*schastlivyi*):

(3) Я знаю что он бы хотел, чтобы я еще пыталась быть *веселым* . . . человеком (L2).

Ia znaiu chto on by khotel, chtoby ia eshche pytalas’ byt’ *veselym* . . . chelovekom.

I know that he would want me to try to be a *happy* . . . person.

Another frequent case of semantic extension among adjectives involves *молодой* (*molodoi*), which includes the concept of ‘young’ in the meaning of ‘little.’ However, in Russian,

there are two different words: *malen'kii* meaning 'child' and *molodoi* meaning a 'young person,' typically older than a teenager:

(4) Когда был *молодой*, я врал родителям (HL).

Kogda ia byl *molodoi*, ia vral rolitelam.

When I was *young*, I lied to my parents.

Correct: Когда я был маленький, я врал родителям.

In example 5, semantic extension involved the Russian adjective *специальный* (*spetsyal'nyi*, 'specific'), which incorporates the meaning of the English cognate *special*. The Russian word is *osobyi*:

(5) Я часто отвечала, что это город очень *специальный* для меня (L2).

Ia chasto otvechala, chto eto gorod ochen' *spetsial'nyi* dlia menia.

I often answered that the city is very *special* for me.

Correct: Я часто отвечала, что это город имеет особое значение для меня.

The English adjective *foreign* has two Russian equivalents: *иностранный* (*inostrannyi*) and *зарубежный* (*zarubezhnyi*). When used to modify the nouns *страна* (*strana*, 'country') and *культура* (*kul'tura*, 'culture'), the corresponding Russian equivalent should be *зарубежный*.

However, both groups of writers extended the meaning of *зарубежный* to *иностранный* in this particular context (Examples 6 and 7):

(6) Кроме того, *иностранные* культуры нас привлекают (L2).

Krome togo, *inostrannye* kul'tury nas privlekaiut.

Besides, *foreign* cultures attract us.

(7) Когда люди рассказывают о Индии, они говорят что ее *иностранная* страна (L2).

Kogda liudi rasskazyvaiut o Indii, oni govoriat chto ee *inostrannaia* strana.

When people talk about India, they say that her [it] is a *strange/different* country.

The Russian word here could be *drugaia* or *osobaia*.

Two Russian verbs can be translated into English as ‘to try’: *пробовать* (*probovat’*) and *пытаться* (*pytat’sia*). *Probovat’* means ‘to experiment’ or ‘to make an attempt to do something,’ whereas *pytat’sia* has the meaning ‘to exert some effort in trying to do something.’

(8) Я всегда *пробовал* помогать как мог (HL).

Ia vsegda *proboval* pomagat’ kak mog.

I have always *tried to* help as much as I could.

Hence, in Example 8, the use of *пробовал* is unacceptable because the appropriate Russian equivalent is *пытался* (*pytalsia*). In this context, the learner extended the semantic properties of *пытался* (*pytalsia*) to *пробовал* (*proboval*). Another instance of extending the semantic subsystem (Example 9) involves using the Russian verb *практиковаться* (*praktikovat’sia*, ‘to engage in’) in the meaning of ‘to practice’:

(9) Я . . . заставляла себя *практиковаться* (HL).

Ia . . . zastovliala sebia *praktikovatsia*.

I . . . made myself *practice*.

The correct Russian translation in this context is *репетировать* (*repetirovat’*).

The adjectives *разный* (*raznyi*) and *другой* (*drugoi*) both correspond to the English *other* or *different*. *Разный* refers to a person or an object that is not the same as another, whereas *другой* refers to a person or thing that is different or distinct from one that is already mentioned or known. Examples 10 and 11 both require the use of *другой*:

(10) Я сейчас учусь в том же самом университете, в котором она училась, но на *разный* факультетю (L2).

Ia seichas uchus' v tom zhe samom universitete, v kotorom ona uchilas', no na *raznyi* fakul'tetiu.

Now I attend the same university which she attends, but a *different* department.

(11) Четыре года назад, я была *разной* женщиной чем теперь (L2).

Chetyre goda nazad, ia byla *raznoi* zhenshchinoi chem teper'.

Four years ago, I was a *different* woman than I am now.

(12) Кроме того мы с Даддадом . . . учились в *других* университетах (L2).

Krome togo my s Daddadom . . . uchilis' v *drugikh* universitetakh.

Besides, Daddad and I . . . studied at *different* universities.

(13) Эта идея не очень *другая* от коммунизма (L2).

Eta ideia ne ochen' *drugiaia* ot kommunizma.

This idea is not much *different* from communism.

In Examples 12 and 13, the use of *другой* is inappropriate. However, the learner does not make any semantic distinctions between the two adjectives in the given context, causing a case of negative transfer.

Conceptual shift. The data yielded 78 instances of conceptual shift transfer or 4.5% of the total number of transfer errors. This type of transfer involves differences in the grammatical patterns that underlie the encoding of emotions in English and in Russian. In English, emotions are generally framed as verb + adjective or copula + adjective:

She became/was happy.

However, in Russian, emotions are often expressed by reflexive intransitive verbs or verb + noun constructions:

Она *радовалась*.

Она *radovalas'*.

She *was rejoicing*.

Furthermore, in English, emotions are seen as “inner states” while, in Russian, emotions are referred as “processes in which one engages voluntarily” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2007, p. 126).

Pavlenko (2002) investigated oral narratives by native speakers of American English and native speakers of Russian and confirmed that American speakers showed preference for expressing emotions as states using adjectival constructions while Russian speakers tended to describe emotions as actions and processes using verbal patterns.

Errors in this category occur as a result of the differences in the conceptual properties between English and Russian when referring to emotions. Subsequently, a conceptual shift leads to the restructuring of the linguistic pattern:

(1) С ней мой папа *был веселый* (L2).

S nei moi papa *byl veselyi*.

My dad *was merry* with her.

In the above example, the influence of the English pattern triggered the transfer of copula *быть* (*byt'*, ‘to be’) + adjective *веселый* (*veselyi*, ‘joyful, merry’) into Russian. The appropriate Russian translation equivalent in this particular context should be expressed as a reflexive verb: *веселился* (*veselilsia*).

(2) Я помогаю ему *быть более веселый* (L2).

Ia pomogaiu emu *byt' bolee viselyi*.

I help him *to be merrier*.

In Example 2, the English concept of emotions as states and the linguistic framing of copula + adjective prompted the learner to internalize emotions in Russian, resulting in failing to make distinctions on a conceptual level required by the target language and leading to negative language transfer.

(3) Он *стал очень сердитым, и даже злым* (HL).

Он *stal ochen' serditym, i dazhe zlym*.

He *became very angry, and even enraged*.

In Example 3, the writer referred to emotions as states and produced a verb + adjective construction characteristic of the English model. However, this context calls for the use of intransitive reflexive verbs of emotion *он рассердился, и даже разозлился* (*on rasserdilsia i dazhe razozlilsia*).

(4) Деньги могут нам помочь приобрести вещи которые нас *сделают радыми* (HL).

Den'gi moguť nam pomoch' preobresti veshchi kotorye nas *sdelaiut radymi*.

Money can help us buy things that would *make us happy*.

Example 4 illustrates a conceptual shift from emotions as processes to emotions as states. It is based on the English adjectival pattern and is evident on the conceptual as well as linguistic level. Moreover, *radyi* cannot be used as it is in this example. The Russian word would be *schastlivyi*.

Reflexive possessive pronoun *свой* (*svoi*). The last category of semantic transfer is the use of the reflexive possessive pronoun *свой* (*svoi*). Twenty-two instances of such transfer were found in the data, representing 1.3% of the total number of transfer errors.

No exact equivalent for the reflexive possessive pronoun exists in English; hence, it is difficult for learners of Russian to acquire and internalize this particular concept. English personal pronouns—such as *mine*, *yours*, *hers*, *his*, *ours*, and *theirs*—refer to something owned by the speaker or can refer to a previously mentioned object:

This car is *mine*.

Reflexive personal pronouns such as *myself*, *himself*, *herself*, *itself*, *ourselves*, *yourselves*, and *themselves* are used to refer to the subject of the clause in which they occur:

I lost *myself* in the story.

In contrast, the Russian reflexive possessive pronoun *свой* (*svoi*) can replace possessive pronouns *мой* ('my'), *твой* ('your'), *наш* ('our'), and *ваш* ('your') to modify the object when the subject of a sentence and the possessor are the same person:

Я люблю *свою* семью.

Ia liubliu *svoiu* sem'iu.

I love *my (own)* family.

Furthermore, in Russian, the first and second person personal possessive pronouns and reflexive possessive pronouns can be used interchangeably. However, in the first and second person contexts, the use of the reflexive possessive pronoun places “greater emphasis on the connection between the subject and the possessed entity, while the use of personal possessive pronouns will stress the uniqueness and independence of the possessed entity” (Comrie et al., 1996, p. 95).

Furthermore, when there is only one possessor and the subject of the verb is in the third person, the use of a reflexive possessive pronoun is required to avoid ambiguity.

(1) Где он оставил *свою* машину?

Gde on ostavil *svoiu* mashinu?

Where did he leave *his (own)* car?

(2) Где он оставил *его* машину?

Gde on ostavil *ego* mashinu?

Where did he leave *his (someone else's)* car?

In Example 3, the writer used a possessive pronoun, although the context required the reflexive possessive *svoi* in the feminine singular to modify the noun *сестра* to define the familial relationship between the subject/possessor *она* and the object *сестра*:

(3) Она часто думает о *ее* сестре (L2).

Она chasto dumaet o *ее* sestre.

She often thinks of *her (someone else's)* sister.

This transfer error stems from the English model 'She often thinks of her sister,' in which the indirect object is marked with the personal possessive pronoun *her* to include the meaning of 'her own sister.'

In the following sentence, the established context of only one possessor requires the use of the reflexive possessive *svoi* to identify the relationship between the possessor and the object:

(4) Когда она познакомилась с *ее* первым парнем (L2).

Kogda ona poznamilas' s *ее* pervym parnem.

When she met *her (someone else's)* first boyfriend.

However, the writer probably means 'one's own' and not 'someone else's'. In Example 5, the context of only one possessor in the third person singular dictates the use of the reflexive possessive to modify the objects *друзья* to avoid misinterpretation:

(5) Друг . . . всегда готов слушать и помогать всем особенно *его* друзьям (L2).

Drug . . . vseгда gotov slushat' i pomagat' vsem osobenno *ego* druz'iam.

A friend . . . is always ready to listen and to help everybody, especially his (own) friends.

Correct: Друг . . . всегда готов слушать и помогать всем особенно *своим* друзьям.

In the above example, the learner constructed the sentence based on the English use of the possessive pronoun.

Syntactic Transfer

The analysis of the data yielded 420 cases of syntactic transfer, representing 23.2% of the number of all transfer errors. *Syntactic transfer* refers to the cross-linguistic influence of combinations of words and/or structures in English on Russian syntactic patterns.

Negation. In this category, 144 cases of transfer error, 8.2% of the total number of transfer errors, occurred. Russian is one of the languages having negative concord, a phenomenon that allows for multiple negative elements to co-occur in the same sentence “to express only one semantic instance of negation” (Brown, 2005, p. 73). In contrast, English would not allow for negative concord; moreover, the meaning reverts to positive semantic meaning after the first negative element (Brown, 2005):

I don't have any friends.

The following is an example of double negation in English:

“Ivan doesn't dance nowhere with no one.”

The above sentence is grammatical in English only if “Ivan indeed does dance somewhere with someone” (Brown, 2005, p. 73). Transfer errors in this category arise from the English-based negation pattern that prohibits the use of multiple negative elements:

(1) Я никогда *не* пробовало, хотела, и сторалося быть наркоманкой (HL).

Ia nikogda *ne* probovalo, khotela, i storalosia byt' narkomankoi.

I have *never* tried, wanted to, and made attempts to be a drug addict.

The correct Russian version of the above sentence should include a negative particle, не, in front of every verb in the sentence: Я никогда *не* пробовала, *не* хотела и *не* старалась быть наркоманкой.

(2) *Нечего* опять получилось этой ночью пока я *не* пошел . . . , и я увидел [ее] спашая на диване (HL).

Nechego opiat' poluchilos' etoi nochiu пока ia *ne* poshel . . . , i ia uvidel [ee] spashaia na divane.

Nothing happened that night *until* I went . . . and saw (her) sleeping on the couch.

The constraints of the Russian negative pattern require the use of the negative particle *ne* before every verb to produce a statement equivalent to the English version in Example 2: *Нечего* опять *не* получилось этой ночью пока я *не* пошел . . . , и я *не* увидел [ее] спашая на диване.

Many instances of negation transfer errors occurred because of overextension or overproduction of negative elements. Learners of Russian tend to attach negative elements to reflect English-based syntactic structures. The most characteristic example of transfer error in this area of syntax is overuse of the adverb *никогда* (*nikogda*, 'never'), which is emblematic of English:

(3) *Никогда* не жалею, что жизнь дала меня возможность быть здесь (HL).

Nikogda ne zheleiu, chto zhizn' dala menia vozmozhnost' byt' zdes'.

I *never* regret that life gave me the opportunity to be here.

(4) Я ушел и *не когда* не вернулся (HL).

Ia ushol i *ne kogda* ne vernulsia.

I left and *never* came back.

In Examples 3 and 4, the Russian negative adverb *никогда* cannot be used. The reliance on the English model results in the overextension error. Although both sentences are grammatically correct, the use of *никогда* is syntactically and semantically inappropriate.

Impersonal sentences. The data contained 52 instances of transfer related to impersonal sentences, representing 3% of the total number of transfer errors. One of the important differences between English and Russian syntax is that English requires the overt presence of nonreferential subjects *it* and *there* in impersonal sentences, whereas, in Russian, equivalent sentences do not require an overt subject.

It is cold.

Холодно ('kholodno')

The transfer errors in this category occur when learners translate sentences from English with nonreferential *it* word for word into Russian and insert *это* to represent *it* in impersonal constructions:

(1) *Это* не то что у меня необдуманные поступки (HL).

Eto ne to chto u menia neobdumannye postupki.

It is not that I act irrationally.

In Example 1, the writer replicated the English syntactic model with nonreferential *it*, placing *это* in the Russian impersonal sentence, where it should be omitted.

(2) После Москвы *это* было спокойно, весело и интересно (HL).

Posle Moskvyy *eto* bylo spokojno, veselo i interesno.

After Moscow, *it* was quiet, funny and interesting.

(3) Вначале, *это* было сложно и не комфортно (HL).

Vnachale, *eto* bylo slozhno i ne komfortno.

At the beginning, *it* was difficult and uncomfortable.

Similarly, in Examples 2 and 3, the learners transferred nonreferential subject *it* into the Russian impersonal structure with the past tense copula *быть* and retained *это*, making the above sentences ungrammatical.

In addition, some Russian impersonal constructions have implied subjects that are marked with the dative case:

Мне холодно.

Mne kholodno.

Literally: *To me* it is cold.

(4) *Для меня это было очень интересно (HL).*

Dlia menia eto bylo ochen' interesno.

For me it was very interesting.

In Example 4, the context required the learner to omit *это* and to use the personal pronoun in the dative case. The correct rendering of the above sentence in the given context should be as follows:

Мне было очень интересно.

Mne bylo ochen' interesno.

To me, it was very interesting.

Subordinating conjunctions *если* and *ли*. The analysis of the data revealed 22 transfer errors in this category, representing 1.3% of all transfer errors. The Russian subordinating interrogative conjunctions *если* (*esli*) and *ли* (*li*) are translated into English as *if* or *whether*, depending on the context. When it is possible to include *whether* in the English subordinate clause, one has no option but to use *ли* in the Russian equivalent. In all other instances when *if* is

used, it should be translated as *если*. *Если* occurs in the initial position of a subordinate object clause, and the clause follows direct word order SVO:

Мы будем рады, *если* ты придешь (SVO in subordinate clause).

My budem rady, *esli* ty pridesh'.

We'll be glad *if* you come to see us (SVO in subordinate clause).

In contrast, *ли* is an enclitic. It never occurs in the initial position of a subordinate clause.

Furthermore, the subordinate clause it introduces follows an inverted word order: the verb precedes *ли*, and the entire subordinate clause is an indirect question.

Я не знаю, придет *ли* он в гости (VSO in subordinate clause).

Ia ne znaiu, pridet *li* on v gosti.

I don't know, is coming Q he to visit.

I don't know *whether* he is coming to visit. (SVO in subordinate clause).

When any constituent other than the verb hosts *ли*, it becomes the focus of the question in the subordinate clause:

Я не знаю, скоро *ли* он придет в гости.

Ia ne znaiu, skoro *li* on pridet v gosti.

I don't know, soon Q he is coming to see us.

I don't know *whether* he is coming soon to see us.

The transfer errors in this category in the data stemmed from projecting the meaning of *ли* onto *если* in the Russian subordinate interrogative clauses and using direct word order under the influence of the English model:

(1) Выходя из дома я не был уверен *если* вернус домой вечером или нет (HL).

Vykhodia iz doma ia ne byl uveren *esli* vernus domoi vecherom ili net.

Upon leaving the house I was not sure *whether* or not I am coming back at night.
In Example 1, the writer used *если* instead of *ли* and kept the direct word order in the subordinate clause. The correct translation should include *ли* after the finite verb, followed by the inverted word order:

Выходя из дома я не был уверен вернус *ли* домой вечером или нет.

Vykhodia iz doma ia ne byl uveren vernus *li* domoi vecherom ili net.

Upon leaving the house I was not sure am coming back Q at home or not.

(2) Но я не знаю *если* у меня будет время (L2).

No ia ne znaiu *esli* u menia budet vremia.

But I don't know *if/whether* I will have any time.

Correct: Но я не знаю, будет *ли* у меня время.

No ia ne znaiu, budet *li* u menia vremia.

But I don't know, will have Q I time.

(3) Я не уверена *если* мой папа будет жить (L2).

Ia ne uverena *esli* moi papa budet zhit'.

I am not sure *if/whether* my dad is going to live.

Correct: Я не уверена, будет *ли* мой папа жить.

Ia ne uverena, budet *li* moi papa zhit'.

I am not sure, is going Q my dad to live.

In Examples 2 and 3, the learners conflate the meaning of *ли* with *если*, producing the subordinate clause with the incorrect conjunction.

Prepositions. The data contained 143 instances of language transfer from English to Russian in this category, accounting for 8.2% of all transfer errors. Syntactic transfer in this

category involves placement of or absence of a preposition in a Russian sentence as influenced by English:

(1) Он не будет играть в баскетбол *для* денег (L2).

On ne budet igrat' v basketbol *dlia* deneg.

He would not play basketball *for* money.

Correct: Он не будет играть в баскетбол *ради* денег.

On ne budet igrat' v basketbol *radi* deneg.

(2) Русский язык *в* моем мнении, очень богат и красив (HL).

Russkii iazyk *v* моем mnenie, ochen' bogat i krasiv.

The Russian language, *in* my opinion, is very rich and beautiful.

Correct: Русский язык, *по* моему мнению, очень богат и красив.

Russkii iazyk *po*-моему mnenniu, ochen' bogat i krasiv.

(3) Актриса «Парис Хилтон» нашла меня в сундуке и влюбилась *со* мной (HL).

Aktrisa "Paris Hilton" nashla menia v sunduke i vliubilas' *so* mnoe.

Actress "Paris Hilton" found me in a chest and fell in love *with* me.

Correct: Актриса «Парис Хилтон» нашла меня в сундуке и влюбилась *в* меня.

Aktrisa "Paris Hilton" nashla menia v sunduke i vliubilas' *v* menia.

Examples 1, 2, and 3 show transfer errors related to the use of prepositions and a violation of syntactic agreement in Russian based on the influence of underlying English structures learners perceived to be translation equivalents.

(4) Она была рада *с* этой ситуацией (L2).

Ona byla rada *s* etoi situatsiei.

She was happy *with* this situation.

Correct: Она была рада *этой ситуации* (Dative)

Ona byla rada *etoi situatsii*.

(5) Друг – *в* одном слове, друг (L2).

Drug – *v* odnom slove, drug.

A friend – *in* a word, is a friend.

Correct: Друг – *одним словом*, друг (Instrumental).

Drug – *odnim slovom*, drug.

In Examples 4 and 5, learners relied on English-based models and insert prepositions in the Russian sentences in which equivalent syntactic relationships should be expressed by case markings only, without prepositions:

(6) Когда мы с ним *играли футбол* (L2).

Kogda my s nim *igrali futbol*.

When I *played* football with him.

Correct: Когда мы с ним играли *в* футбол.

Kogda my s nim igrali *v* futbol.

(7) Я познакомилась *интересный человек* (HL).

Ia poznamilas' *interesnyi chelovek*.

I *met an interesting person*.

Correct: Я познакомилась *с* интересным человеком.

Ia poznamilas' *s* interesnym chelovekom.

(8) Я стал мужчиной *этот день* (HL).

Ia stal muzhchena *etot den'*.

That day I became a man.

Correct: Я стал мужчиной в этот день.

Ia stal muzhchena v etot den'.

Examples 6–8 show the most frequent syntactic transfer errors indicating the influence of English patterns and resulting in omission of prepositions in instances in which they are required in Russian.

Orthographic transfer

Orthographic transfer constitutes 9.3% of the total number of transfer errors, with 163 documented instances. Orthographic transfer in the data stemmed from inconsistencies between English and Russian grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences, when a shared grapheme corresponds to two different phonemes in English and Russian, leading to substitutions of English graphemes for Russian graphemes. For example, <y> corresponds to the /i/ phoneme in English but to the /ʊ/ phoneme in Russian. In the following example, the learner relied on the English grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence to produce the Russian grapheme, resulting in a transfer error:

(1) устребить (*'ustrebit'*)

Correct: истребить (*'istrebit'*, *'to exterminate'*).

Table 3 shows the entire shared grapheme inventory of English and Russian and their corresponding phonemes, as well as transfer error examples that occurred because of learners' reliance on English grapheme-to-phoneme association to produce Russian words.

Table 3

Orthographic Transfer Errors

Shared grapheme	English phoneme	Russian phoneme	Transfer error	Correct version	Translation
<u>	/ʊ/	/ɪ/	продикты (prodikty)	продукты (produkty)	goods
<y>	/ɪ/	/ʊ/	дунамика (dunamica)	динамика (dinamika)	dynamics
<в>	/b/	/v/	вудет (vudet)	будет (budet)	[it] will be
<с>	/k/	/s/	слассический (slassicheskii)	классический (klassicheskii)	classical
<g>	/g/	/d/	говорит (dovorit)	говорит (govorit)	[he] speaks
<н>	/h/	/n/	нороший (noroshii)	хороший (khoroshii)	good
<м>	/m/	/t/	только (mol'ko)	только (tol'ko)	only
<р>	/p/	/r/	рутешествует (ruteshestvuet)	путешествует (puteshestvuet)	[he] travels
<г>	/r/	/tʃ/	равно (chavno)	равно (ravno)	equally

In sum, Russian and English share nine graphemes: two vowels (<u> and <y>) and seven consonants (<в>, <с>, <г>, <н>, <м>, <п>, and <р>) that correspond to different phonemes in each language. The vowel grapheme <u> corresponds to the English phoneme /ʊ/ and the Russian phoneme /ɪ/, whereas the vowel grapheme <y> corresponds to the English /ɪ/ and the Russian /ʊ/, making it very difficult for HL and L2 Russian language learners to use the vowel grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences in Russian spelling. English and Russian contain seven shared consonant graphemes, which are frequently used in Russian: <в> corresponds to the English /b/ and the Russian /v/; <с> corresponds to the English /k/ when followed by a vowel

but to the Russian /s/ in any position. <g> corresponds to the English /g/ and the Russian /d/; <H> corresponds to the English /h/ and to the Russian /n/; <m> corresponds to the English /m/ and the Russian /t/; <p> corresponds to the English /p/ and the Russian /r/, and finally, <r> corresponds to the English /r/ and the Russian /tʃ/. As shown in Table 3, reliance on English grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences and English orthography influence writers' perceptions of Russian graphemes, thus contributing to a large number of orthographic transfer errors from English to Russian.

Chapter Summary

This chapter addressed the classification framework of the most common transfer errors identified in the collected data. It included explanation of the vulnerability of different subsystems (morphological, semantic, syntactic, and orthographic) to language transfer in the written production of HL and L2 learners at the intermediate mid level of proficiency.

The next chapter addresses the question of whether the amount of negative language transfer from English to Russian differs in the writing of HL and L2 learners of Russian. Furthermore, it includes discussion of linguistic subsystems in which negative language transfer occurs. Categorization and comparison of the types of transfer exhibited in the written essays are also discussed. The chapter also includes the findings and compares results in relation to types and number of transfer errors from English to Russian in the writing of HL and L2 learners of Russian.

CHAPTER 4:
DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter is focused on examination of the number of the negative language transfer errors identified in the written essays of HL and L2 learners of Russian. It answers the questions concerning which linguistic subsystem—lexical, semantic, syntactic, or orthographic—is most affected by language transfer from English to Russian by HL and L2 learners. It addresses the types and number of negative transfer errors produced by each group of learners at the intermediate mid level of proficiency through quantification, categorization, and comparison.

Number of Negative Transfer Errors by Subsystem for HL and L2 Learners

The quantitative analysis of written essays revealed 1751 instances of language transfer errors from English to Russian, with 1151 instances in the writing of HL learners and 600 instances in the essays by the L2 learners, 67.7% and 34.3%, respectively, of all transfer errors for both groups. The transfer errors were subdivided into four different subsystems: lexical, semantic, syntactic, and orthographic. The errors are shown in Table 4 and Figure 3 according to type of error and type of learner.

Table 4

Number of Negative Transfer Errors for HL and L2 Learners by Subsystem

Subsystem	HL	L2
Lexical	454	220
Semantic	309	244
Syntactic	259	102
Orthographic	129	34

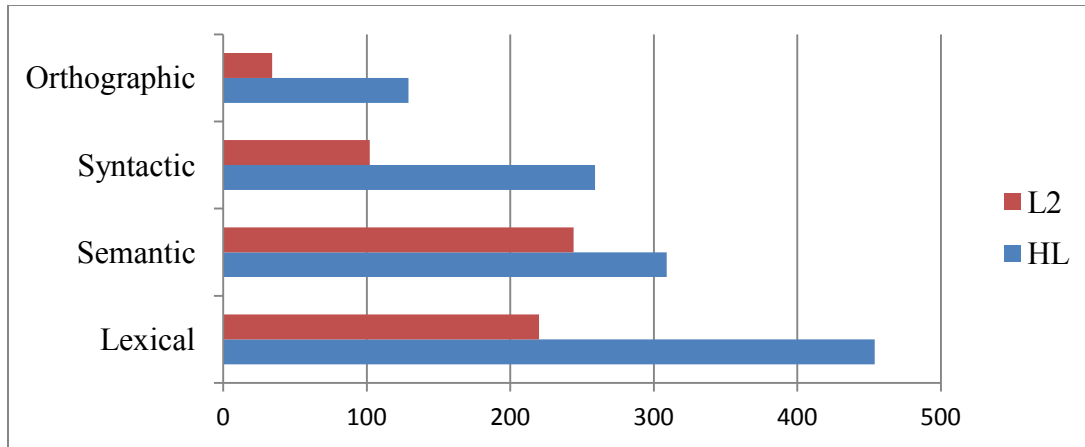


Figure 3. Number of negative transfer errors produced by HL and L2 learners of Russian by subsystem.

Table 4 shows that, compared to the L2 learners of Russian, the HL learners produced more transfer errors in each subsystem. The number of transfer errors by HL learners in the lexical subsystem produced is nearly twice that of the L2 learners. Furthermore, in the semantic subsystem, the HL learners produced 12% more transfer errors than did the L2 learners. There is a significant difference in the number of transfer errors in the syntactic subsystem, with the HL learners leading in this category by 60%. Finally, the HL learners produced 74% more transfer errors in the orthographic category than did the L2 learners. To sum up, the lexical subsystem is most affected by language transfer from English to Russian for the HL learners while the semantic subsystem is most vulnerable to language transfer for the L2 learners. The number of transfer errors in percentages for the HL and L2 learners, based on the total of instances of transfer errors in each subsystem, is shown in Table 5 and Figure 4.

Table 5

Percentage of Transfer Errors by HL and L2 Learners by Subsystem

Subsystem	HL	L2
Lexical	39.4	36.7
Semantic	26.8	40.7
Syntactic	22.5	17.0
Orthographic	11.2	5.7

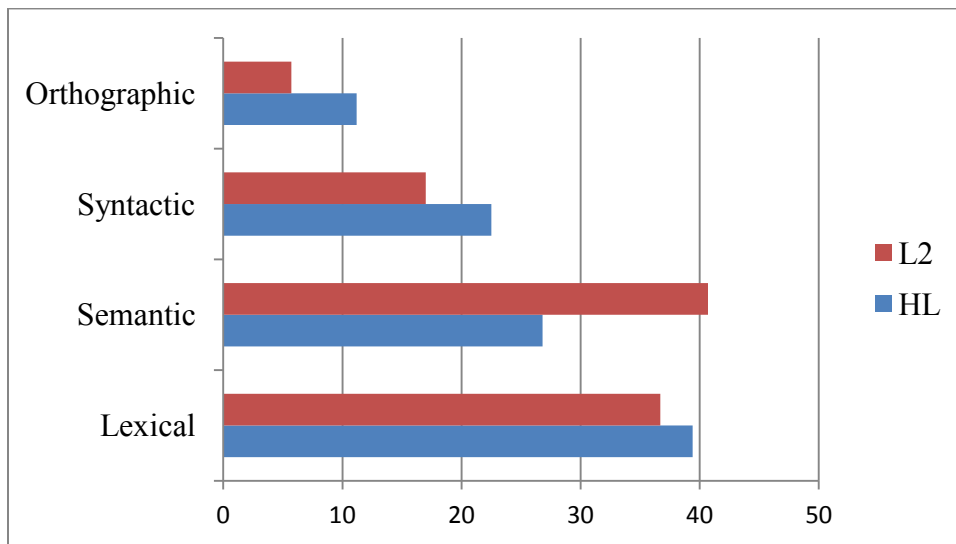


Figure 4. Percentage of transfer errors by HL and L2 learners by subsystem.

In regards to the percentages of the transfer errors for each group of learners by subsystem, the HL and L2 learners showed different patterns in transfer errors. For the HL learners, the lexical subsystem proved to be the most vulnerable to negative transfer from English, whereas the L2 learners produced the highest number of transfer errors in the semantic subsystem. Furthermore, the semantic subsystem ranked second in terms of the number of negative transfer errors by the HL learners while the lexical subsystem was second in terms of transfer errors by L2 learners. Both groups of learners displayed similar patterns in syntactic and

orthographic subsystems, which had the third and fourth highest number of negative transfer errors, respectively.

Number of Negative Transfer Errors by Category for HL and L2 Learners

The results of the quantitative comparison of the number of transfer errors in the written essays by HL and L2 learners of Russian are shown in Table 6 and Figure 5. The transfer errors identified in the written essays were classified and listed according to the categories described in the Chapter 2.

Table 6

Number of Negative Transfer Errors by HL and L2 Learners by Category

Transfer category	HL	L2
1. Loan translation (lexical)	339	147
2. Semantic extension (semantic)	270	183
3. Lexical borrowing (lexical)	115	73
4. Orthographic	129	34
5. Negation (syntactic)	104	40
6. Preposition (syntactic)	106	37
7. Conceptual shift (semantic)	39	39
8. Impersonal sentences (syntactic)	39	13
9. Reflexive pronoun (semantic)	0	22
10. Subordinating conjunction (syntactic)	10	12

As indicated in Table 6, the HL learners produced the highest number of negative transfer errors in the loan translation category, 339, whereas the L2 writers produced the second highest number of errors in the same category, 147. In the category of semantic extension, HL learners

had the second highest number of transfer errors, 270, and it was the category with the highest number of transfer errors by L2 learners. Orthographic transfer was the third highest category of errors by HL learners, but the seventh highest by the L2 learners.

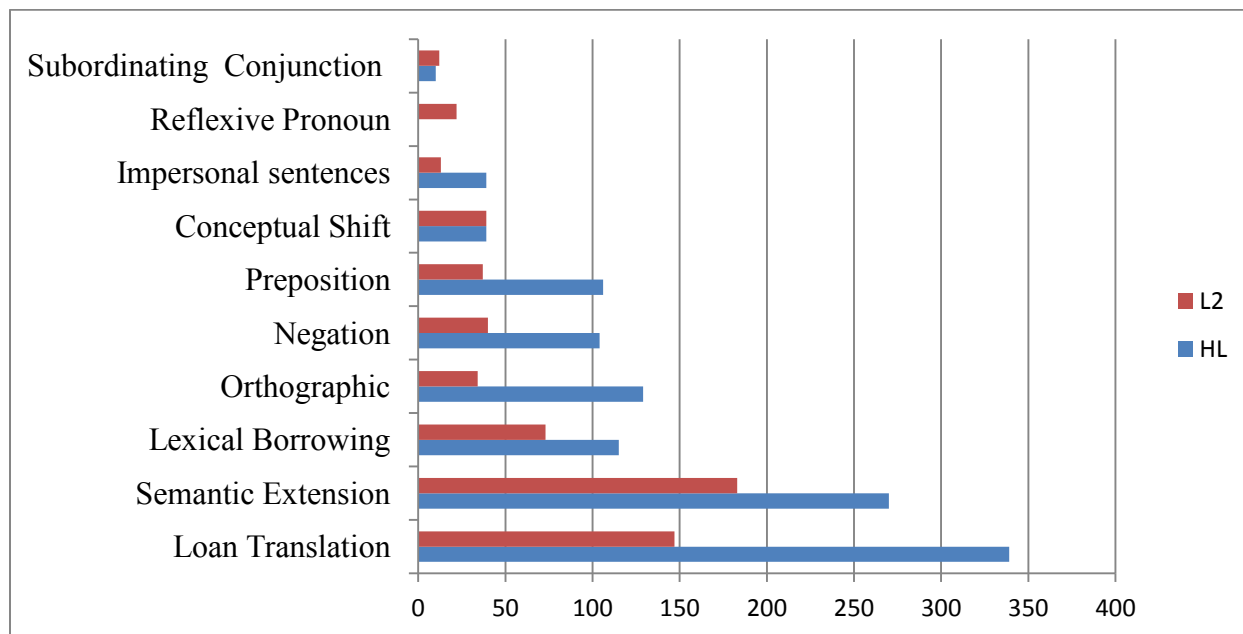


Figure 5. Number of negative transfer errors by HL and L2 learners by category.

In the category of lexical borrowings, the HL and L2 learners displayed similar patterns; instance of this error ranked fourth for all learners, with 115 transfer errors by HL learners and 73 errors by the L2 learners. The number of transfer errors in the category of prepositions was the fifth highest for HL learners—106—and the sixth highest for L2 learners—37, followed by negations—104 by HL learners and 40 by L2 learners, the sixth and fourth ranked categories for the two types of learners, respectively. The category of conceptual shift was the seventh highest category of transfer errors for HL learners, 39, compared to being the fifth highest for L2 learners, 40. Impersonal sentences emerged as the eighth highest category for HL learners, 39, and the ninth highest for L2 learners. Subordinate conjunction errors had the fewest occurrences in the writings of both HL and L2 learners, 10 and 12 transfer errors, respectively. Finally, L2 learners produced 22 transfer errors in the category of reflexive possessive pronouns, whereas

HL learners made no errors in that category. Table 7 and Figure 6 show the above information in percentages of the total number of transfer errors for each type of learner.

Table 7

Percentage of Negative Transfer Errors from All Transfer Errors by HL and L2 Learners

Transfer category	HL	L2
Loan translation (lexical)	29.5	24.5
Semantic extension (semantic)	23.5	30.5
Lexical borrowing (lexical)	10.0	12.2
Orthographic	11.2	5.7
Negation (syntactic)	9.0	6.7
Preposition (syntactic)	9.2	6.2
Conceptual shift (semantic)	3.4	6.5
Impersonal sentences (syntactic)	3.4	2.2
Reflexive pronoun (semantic)	0.0	3.7
Subordinating conjunction (syntactic)	0.9	2.0

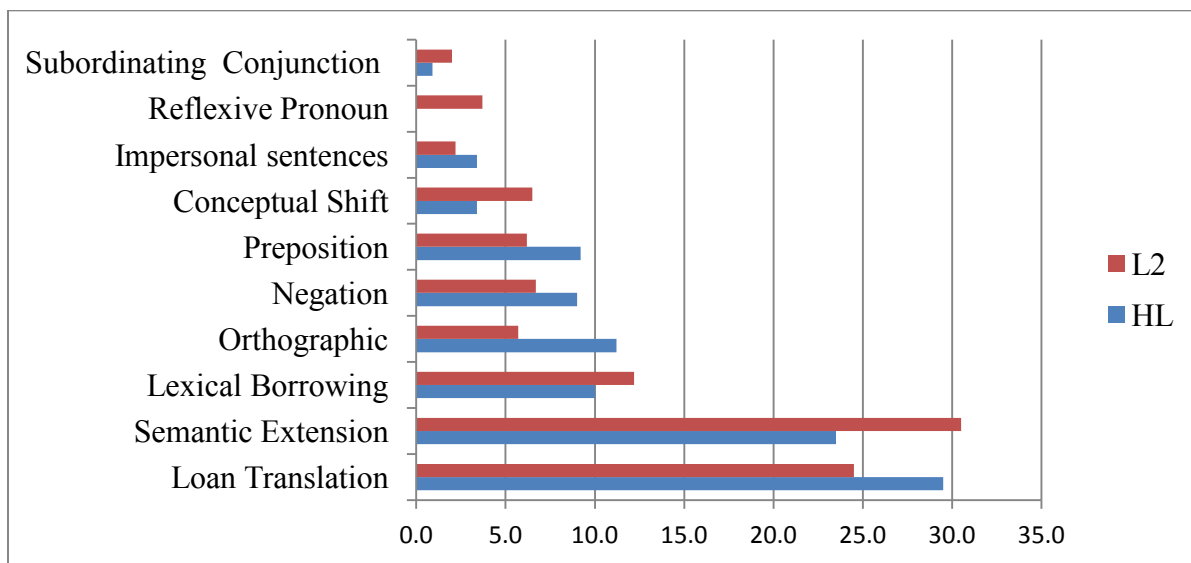


Figure 6. Percentage of negative transfer errors from all transfer errors by HL and L2 learners.

Lexical Transfer Errors Analysis for HL vs. L2 learners of Russian

As discussed, the quantitative analysis of the written essays revealed that more lexical transfer errors were detected in the written essays of the HL learners than those of the L2 learners: 454 and 220 instances, respectively. Nonetheless, the L2 learners made the second highest number of transfer errors in the semantic category: 24 instances. These findings are consistent with the results of Marian and Kaushanskaya (2007), who found a prevalence of lexical and semantic transfer errors from a “more proficient language into a less proficient language” (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2007, p. 383).

Loan translations. The loan translations category had the highest number of transfer errors by HL learners at 339 instances, 29.7% of all their transfer errors. As for L2 learners, 147 instances of transfer error were recorded for the same category, making it the second highest category in terms of errors for this group, with 24.5% of all transfer errors made by L2 learners. The dominance of this category over other categories of transfer errors indicates learners’ heavy reliance on translation. Furthermore, the two groups differed significantly in terms of distribution of types of transfer errors within this category. Qualitative and quantitative analyses indicated three important differences between the two groups of learners.

First, HL learners displayed proclivity for literal translation from English, with 247 instances in this subcategory accounting for 72.8% of the errors in this subcategory. L2 learners, on the other hand, produced only 52 transfer errors, using literal translations of words and phrases from English into Russian, accounting for 35.4% of the errors in this subcategory. However, both groups produced multiple verbal phrases within this subcategory:

- (1) говорить шутки/проблемы
govorit’ shutki/problemy

to tell jokes/problems.

The above example accounts for eight instances in the writing of HL learners and six instances in that of L2 learners.

(2) играть спорт/футбол/баскетбол

igrat' sport/futbol/basketbol

to play sport/football/basketball

Example 2 represents 10 instances by HL learners and seven instances by L2 learners.

(3) спрашивать вопросы

sprashivat' voprosy

to ask questions.

Example 3 occurred five times in HL learners' data and three times in L2 learners' data.

Second, literal translation of set phrases and idioms was the dominant transfer error within the loan category for L2 learners, with 95 occurrences, representing 64.6% of all transfer errors within this subcategory. In contrast, HL learners produced only 85 transfer errors across this subcategory, accounting for 25.2% of the transfer errors. Transfer errors involving the English set phrase *to be there for me* (*byt' tam dlia menia*), discussed in the previous chapter, occurred twice for HL learners and once for L2 learners.

Third, compound loan words were absent in the written essays of L2 learners while HL learners produced seven instances of transfer errors within this subcategory, accounting for 2% of all transfer errors. Figure 7 shows a summary and comparison of the previously discussed results in percentages of the total number of transfer errors in the loan translation category for both groups.

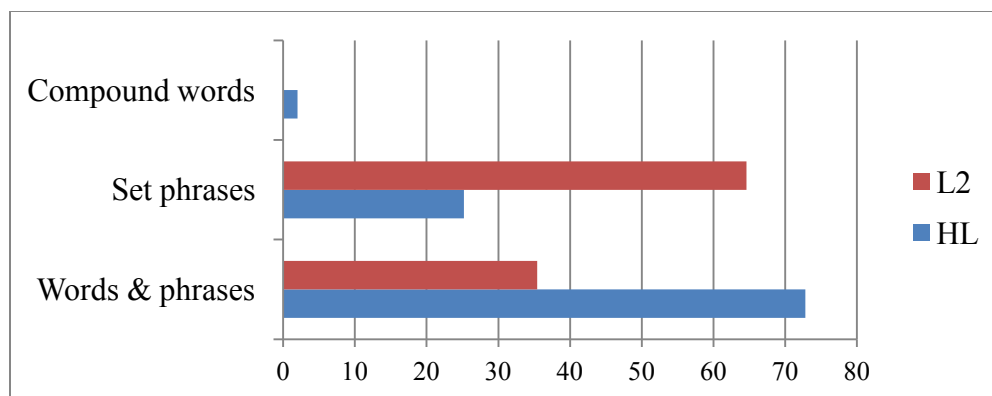


Figure 7. Comparison of percentages of loan translation transfer errors by HL and L2 learners.

Lexical borrowings. In the category of lexical borrowings, HL learners produced 115 transfer errors or 10% of all transfer errors for this group of learners compared to 73 instances in the writing of L2 learners (12% of all such transfer errors). Lexical borrowings comprised the category with the third highest number of transfer errors for both groups of learners. As Marian and Kaushankaya (2007) suggested, “The immediate linguistic environment” (English) may have triggered a “higher activation of English lexical items” that drove the “word-borrowing into Russian” (p. 382).

In this category, both groups displayed three similar patterns in transfer errors. Most errors occurred when morphologically similar words from English were transferred into Russian: HL learners produced 78 instances, accounting for 67.8% of all transfer errors in their essays, and L2 learners produced 55 instances, accounting for 75.4% of all transfer errors in their essays. Furthermore, HL writers produced 23 instances of transliterated words, 20% of all transfer errors for this group, whereas L2 learners produced 12 instances, 16.4% of all transfer errors within the subcategory of lexical borrowings. A limited number of coined words were produced by both groups: 14 by HL learners (12.1% of all transfer errors in this category) and six instances by L2 learners (8.2% of all transfer errors in this category). Figure 8 shows the comparison of transfer

errors by subcategory in percentages of the all transfer errors by HL and L2 learners within the lexical borrowings category.

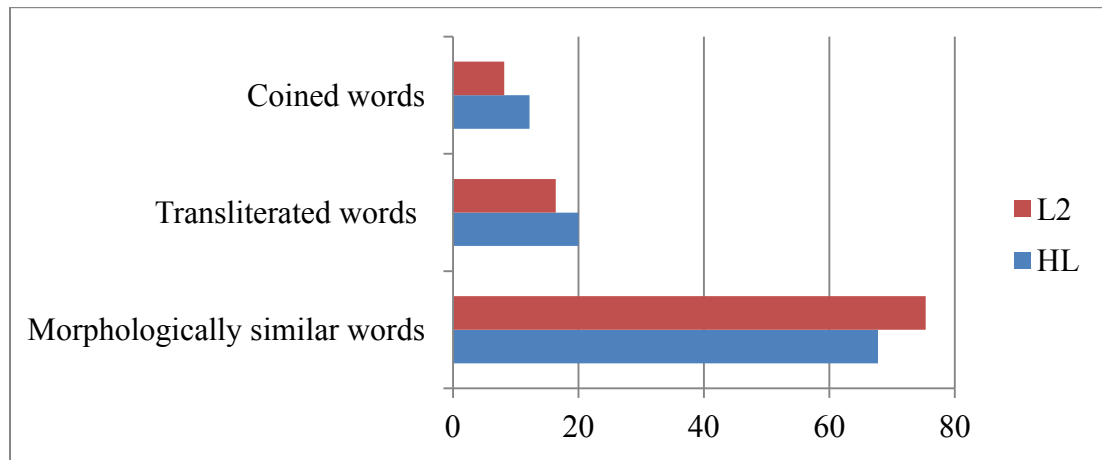


Figure 8. Comparison of transfer errors by subcategory within lexical borrowings by HL and L2 learners.

Moreover, the comparison of grammatical categories among the lexical borrowings revealed more transfer errors in the nouns than verbs and adjectives, confirming the earlier studies indicating language transfer at the lexical level affects nouns more than verbs (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2007; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Table 8 shows the comparison in raw numbers of transfer errors by grammatical category within lexical borrowings.

Table 8

Number of Lexical Borrowings by Grammatical Category by HL and L2 Learners

Grammatical class	HL	L2
Nouns	69	47
Verbs	37	18
Adjectives	9	8

Table 8 indicates both groups of learners produced comparable levels of errors according to grammatical classes. Sixty-nine instances of noun borrowings were identified in the written

essays by HL learners, and 47 instances occurred in the writing of L2 learners, accounting for 60% and 64.4%, respectively, of all transfer errors in this category. HL learners produced 37 instances of verb transfer errors (32.2% of all transfer errors in the category) compared to 18 instances by L2 learners (24.6% of all transfer errors in the category). A relatively small number of adjective transfer errors were detected for each group: nine instances for HL writers (7.8% of all errors in this category) and eight instances for L2 learners (11.0% of all such errors). Figure 9 shows the distribution and comparison in percentages of the grammatical categories across lexical borrowings for HL and L2 learners.

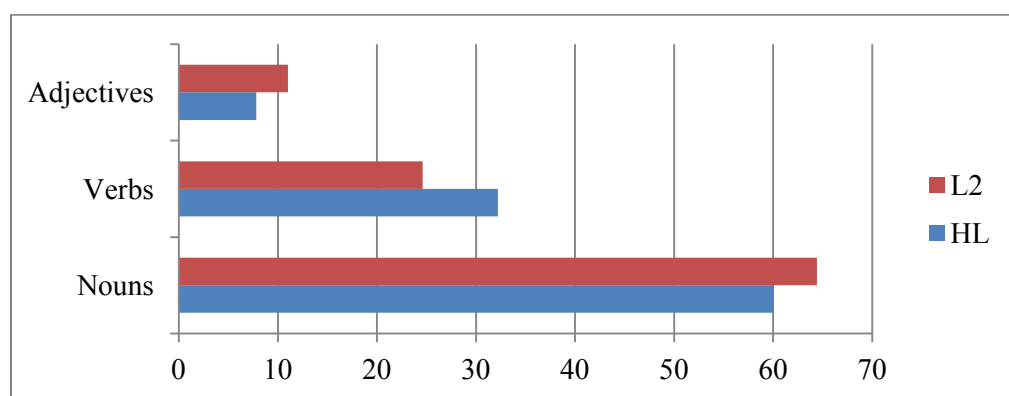


Figure 9. Comparison of percentage of grammatical categories within lexical borrowings by HL and L2 learners.

Semantic Transfer Errors Analysis for HL vs. L2 learners of Russian

Semantic transfer was the second highest category for HL learners, with 309 instances or 26.8% of all transfer errors in this category, and the highest category for L2 learners, with 244 instances or 40.7% of all transfer errors in this category. The high number of semantic transfer errors from English into Russian in the written essays by both groups of learners at the intermediate mid level is consistent with the findings of Ringbom (2001) and Odlin and Jarvis (2004), who showed that a high number of semantic transfer errors occurred because of the source and target languages being “typologically distant” (Ringbom, 2001, p. 59), as is the case

for English and Russian. Moreover, this type of transfer error persists because the source language “meanings tend to underlie” the recipient language “words until the learners have become highly proficient” in the recipient language (Ringbom, 2001, p. 61).

Semantic extension transfer errors by HL and L2 learners. For HL learners, 270 instances of semantic extension transfer errors were identified, representing 87% of all transfer errors within the semantic subsystem. For L2 learners, 183 instances of semantic extension transfer errors were identified, 75% of all transfer errors in the semantic subsystem. The results of the grammatical classes count led to several important insights concerning both groups of learners. First, HL learners produced 127 instances of transfer errors involving nouns, 47.1% of all semantic extension transfer errors. L2 learners produced a comparable number of noun transfer errors: 93 or 51% of all semantic extension transfer errors. Second, the number of verb transfer errors in this category in the written essays of HL learners was 62 or 23.1%, with 45 instances (24.6%) for the L2 learners. Third, 71 transfer errors produced by HL learners involved adjectives (26.1%), and 38 instances (20.6%) were produced by L2 learners. Finally, adverbs were subject to negative transfer in this subcategory less than nouns, verbs, and adjectives. HL learners produced 10 instances of negative transfer affecting adverbs (3.7% of all such errors by this group), and L2 learners made seven such transfer errors in this subcategory (3.8% of all such errors by this group).

Figure 10 shows these results as a comparison of transfer errors in percentages of grammatical categories in the category of semantic extension. Although HL learners produced more instances of semantic extension transfer errors—270 compared to 183 by L2 learners—, comparisons of the errors by grammatical category yielded similar patterns of transfer errors for

nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Moreover, the pattern of results for the grammatical categories of semantic extension transfer errors follows that of lexical borrowings.

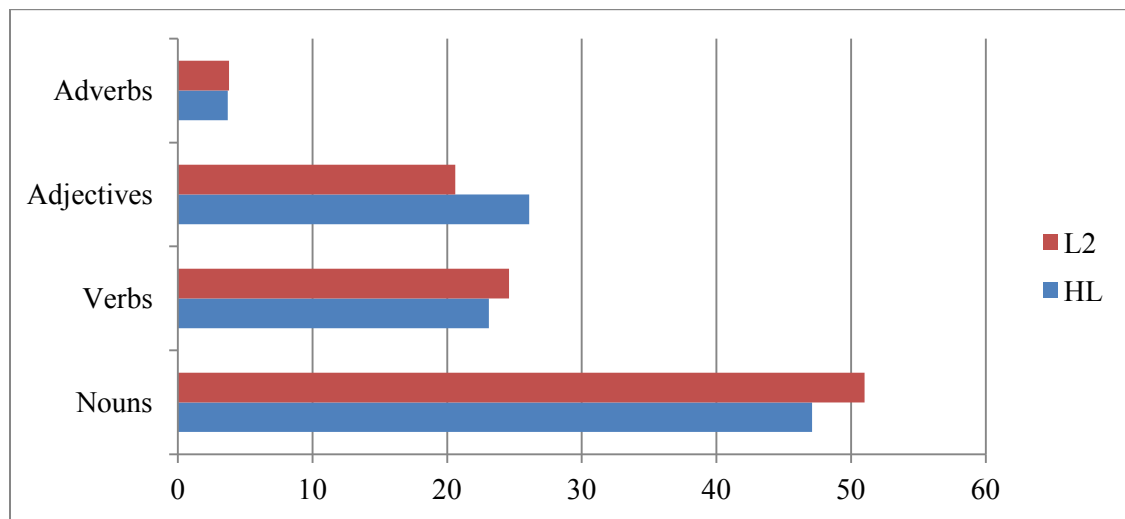


Figure 10. Comparison of transfer errors by grammatical category within semantic extensions by HL and L2 learners.

Conceptual shift transfer errors by HL and L2 learners. Each group of learners produced 39 transfer errors in the conceptual shift subcategory. However, the proportion of the total number of transfer errors in the semantic subsystem for conceptual shift errors was 16% for L2 learners and 12.6% for HL learners. The analysis of transfer errors in this subcategory reinforced the findings of previous studies on representing and encoding emotions in different language-specific conceptual and grammatical categories for English and Russian (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007; Wierzbicka, 2004). Similar numbers of negative transfer errors for HL and L2 learners indicate the strong cross-linguistic shift of English adjectival structures to Russian structural patterns and lexicon selections. Both groups of learners used adjectival patterns of verb + adjective or copula + adjective constructions to express emotions in Russian, thereby violating the Russian linguistic pattern rendered by either a process or an action verb.

Reflexive possessive pronoun *своѝ (svoi)*. The analysis of the subcategory of reflexive possessive pronoun *своѝ (svoi)* revealed it is subject to transfer only among L2 learners. This group produced all 22 instances of *своѝ (svoi)* transfer errors, accounting for 9% of all transfer errors across the semantic subsystem. L2 learners produced 42 instances of the reflexive possessive pronoun *своѝ (svoi)*. In contrast, HL learners produced 38 instances of the same reflexive possessive pronoun.

Syntactic Transfer Errors Analysis for HL and L2 Learners of Russian

The HL learners produced 259 syntactic errors, accounting for 22.5% of all such transfer errors for this group. In comparison, L2 learners produced 102 transfer errors in the same subsystem, 17% of all such errors for this group. The syntactic subsystem yielded the third highest number of transfer errors for both groups of learners.

Preposition transfer errors. In the category of prepositions, HL learners produced 106 errors (40.9% of all transfer errors in the syntactic subsystem) compared to 37 instances made by L2 learners (36.3%). The quantitative and qualitative comparisons of preposition transfer errors revealed the following patterns. First, transfer errors related to use of prepositions and violation of syntactic agreement in Russian based on the influence of underlying English structures yielded the largest number of transfer errors in the prepositions subcategory for both groups of learners. HL learners made 49 transfer errors (46.2% of all errors in this subsystem), whereas L2 learners made 18 transfer errors (48.6% of all such errors in this subsystem).

Second, HL learners produced 30 transfer errors (28.3% of all such transfer errors) in instances where they relied on English-based models and inserted prepositions into Russian sentences in which equivalent syntactic relationships should be expressed without a preposition. L2 learners produced only 11 transfer errors in this subcategory, accounting for 29.7% of all

transfer errors. Third, HL learners omitted prepositions in 27 instances in which a preposition is required in Russian, accounting for 25.5%, while L2 learners produced eight instances of the same transfer error, 21.7% of all such errors in this category. HL and L2 learners' transfer error patterns in this category, in percentages, are compared in Figure 11.

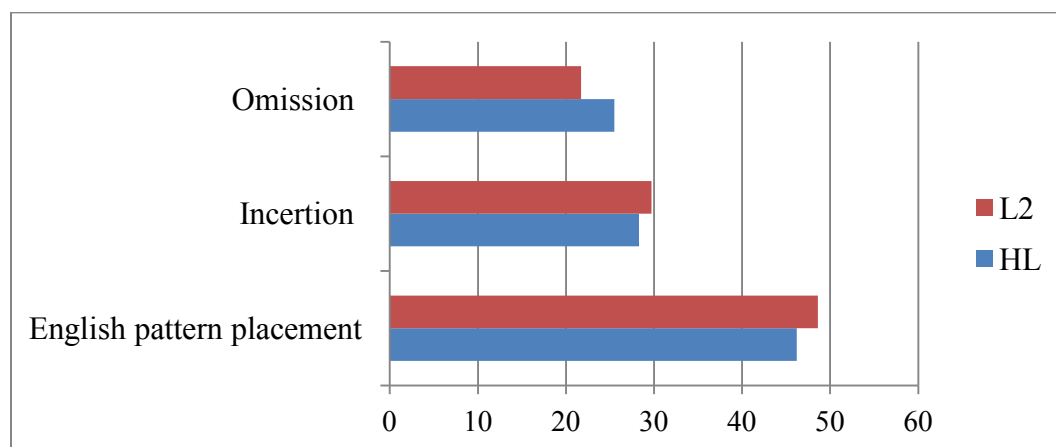


Figure 11. Percentage transfer errors within the preposition category by HL and L2 learners.

Figure 12 indicates, although HL learners produced more transfer errors in the prepositions category than did L2 learners in terms of percentage, both groups had similar patterns of transfer errors in this category. The only exception was the omission of prepositions in those cases when a corresponding English structure would not require a preposition. In terms of percentages, HL learners made more transfer errors in this subcategory than did L2 learners.

Negation transfer errors. The HL learners produced 104 negation transfer errors, accounting for 40.2% of all syntactic transfer errors for this group. In contrast, L2 writers produced only 40 negation transfer errors. However, the percentage of all transfer errors in this subcategory by L2 writers was almost equal to that produced by HL learners: 39.2%. The distribution of errors in this category was as follows. HL learners produced 88 negative transfer errors, which lack negative concord, accounting for 84.6% of all transfer errors in this

subcategory. In comparison, L2 learners made 21 transfer errors in the same subcategory, 52.5% of all transfer errors in this subcategory.

Overextension involving the use of the Russian negative adverb *никогда* accounted for 16 instances of negative transfer by HL learners (15.4% of all transfer errors in the category of negation). In contrast, L2 learners produced 19 instances of transfer errors in the same subcategory, for 47.5%. Figure 12 shows the comparison in percentages of the transfer errors in the category of negation as produced by HL and L2 learners.

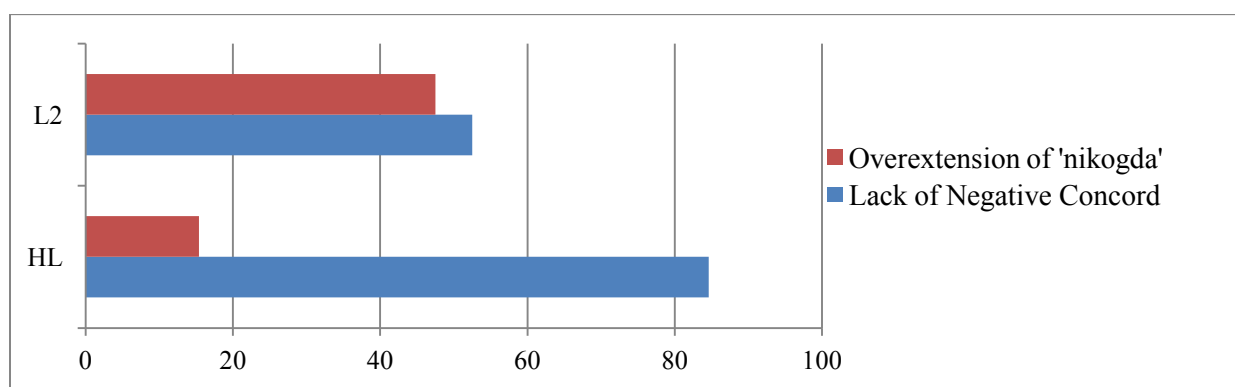


Figure 12. Percentage of negation transfer errors by HL and L2 learners.

Impersonal sentences. HL learners produced 39 impersonal sentence transfer errors (3.4% of all transfer errors for this group of learners) compared to only 13 instances produced by L2 learners (2.2%). More transfer errors were detected in instances in which learners replicated the English syntactical model of nonreferential *it*, placing *эмо* in the Russian impersonal sentence. HL learners produced 30 transfer errors in this subcategory, accounting for 77% of all transfer errors in this subcategory, while L2 learners produced nine such errors in this subcategory or 69% of all errors in this category. The remaining transfer errors were produced when the context required the learner to omit *эмо* and to use a personal pronoun in the dative case. HL writers made nine transfer errors (23% of all such transfer errors) while L2 writers made four transfer errors in this subcategory (31%). Figure 13 shows the comparison of transfer

errors produced by HL and L2 learners in this subcategory in percentages of the total number of transfer errors across the impersonal sentences category.

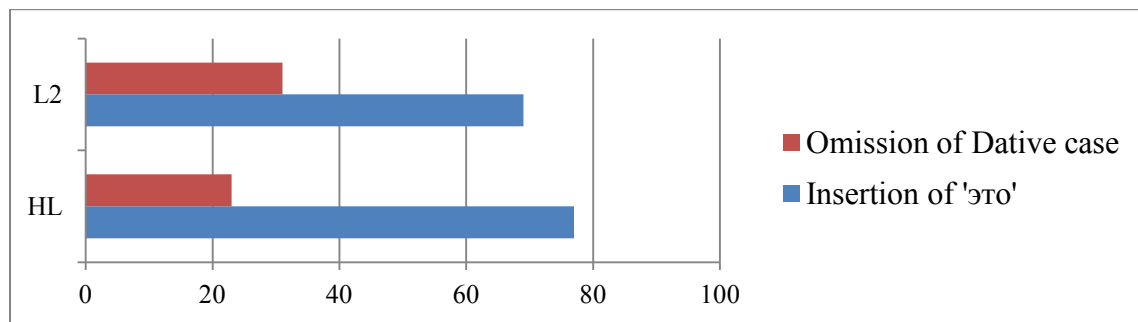


Figure 13. Comparison of transfer errors produced by HL and L2 learners in impersonal sentences.

Subordinating conjunctions. In the category of subordinating conjunctions, HL learners produced 10 negative transfer errors or 0.9% of all such transfer errors for this group. In the same category, L2 learners produced a comparable number of negative transfer errors: 12, accounting for 2% of all negative transfer errors produced by L2 learners.

Orthographic transfer. The data indicated the orthographic transfer subcategory had the least errors for both groups of learners. In this category, HL learners produced 129 instances of negative transfer, accounting for 11.2%. L2 learners made 34 transfer errors in the same category, 5.7% of all such transfer errors. As shown in Table 9, the most common orthographic transfer error by HL writers was substitution for the Russian vowel <и> with the English vowel <y>. HL learners produced 36 instances of this error, for 27.9% of all errors in this category. Substitution for the Russian consonant <В> with the English consonant was the second highest negative transfer error in this subcategory, with 33 such errors or 25.6% of all errors in this category. The third most common transfer error was replacement of the Russian vowel <y> with the English vowel <u>, accounting for 15.5% of all such transfer errors. In comparison, the greatest number of orthographic transfer errors in the L2 learners' production resulted from

substitution for the Russian consonant <Б> with the English consonant , with 15 instances, 44.1% of all orthographic transfer errors for the group, and replacement of the Russian vowel <y> with the English <u> the second most common error for this group of learners, with 12 instances, representing 35.3% of all such errors.

Table 9

Orthographic Transfer Errors Produced by HL and L2 Learners, in Raw Numbers and Percentages

Shared grapheme	N		%	
	HL	L2	HL	L2
<u>	20	12	15.5	35.3
<y>	36	2	27.9	5.9
<Б>	33	15	25.6	44.1
<с>	7	0	5.4	0.0
<г>	12	1	9.3	2.9
<Н>	10	0	7.8	0.0
<м>	7	1	5.4	2.9
<р>	3	2	2.3	5.9
<г>	1	1	0.8	2.9

Chapter Summary

This chapter included detailed discussion of the data analysis, comparing the number and types of negative transfer errors from English to Russian produced by HL and L2 learners of Russian at the intermediate mid level of proficiency. To summarize, HL learners produced more negative transfer errors (1151 instances) than L2 learners of Russian (600 instances), accounting for 67.7% and 34.3% of all transfer errors, respectively. Further, L2 learners produced negative

transfer errors in all 10 categories, whereas HL learners produced negative transfer errors in all categories except that concerning reflexive possessive pronoun *svoi*. It appears that HL learners are more prone to negative transfer errors than are L2 learners; in addition, the distribution of errors across all categories was not even for both groups. The next chapter includes the summary of the results and discussion of pedagogical implications of the findings for the SLA field, as well as discussion of the limitations of this research. It also indicates directions for future research.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter includes a summary of the primary findings of this present dissertation research, followed by a discussion of pedagogical implications and some recommendations for further research. The limitations of the study are also discussed. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the preceding sections.

Summary of the Key Findings

The primary objective of this research project was to investigate how HL and L2 learners' written production of linguistic forms and structures in Russian is influenced by their dominant language of English. This objective has been achieved by identifying and comparing the number and types of negative language transfer errors from English to Russian in written essays by HL and L2 learners of Russian at the intermediate mid level of proficiency. The secondary aim of the research was to examine which linguistic subsystem—lexical, semantic, syntactic, or orthographic—is most affected by language transfer from English to Russian in the written essays of HL and L2 learners.

The study was conducted at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at UCLA in the intermediate Russian language classes for HL and L2 learners. A one-shot exploratory approach was adopted, using the written essays submitted for the ACTR National Post-Secondary Russian Essay Contest from 2009 to 2013. The error analysis method was used as the main instrument to create a taxonomy of negative transfer errors. Although quantitative analysis of the data indicated the number and types of negative transfer errors from English to Russian in writing of HL and L2 learners of Russian at the intermediate mid level of proficiency,

these results cannot be generalized beyond the specific learners and contexts involved in the present research.

The participants of the study included HL and L2 learners of Russian designated by their language program as being at the intermediate mid level of proficiency. All students were enrolled in Russian language classes at UCLA. The primary data for the research consisted of written essays submitted for the ACTR National Post-Secondary Russian Essay Contest during 2009–2013.

One hundred twenty essays were examined. The data set yielded 10 negative language transfer error categories from English to Russian across four linguistic subsystems: lexical (lexical borrowing and loan translation), semantic (semantic extension, conceptual shift, and reflexive pronoun *svoi*), syntactic (negation, preposition, subordinating conjunction, and impersonal sentence), and orthographic. The identified categories were similar to the classificatory framework of the bidirectional negative language transfer from Russian to English and English to Russian in oral production of American learners of Russian reported by Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002). Moreover, through examination of writing samples, this present research expanded on the previous studies of negative transfer in oral production by HL and L2 learners of Russian conducted Hayes (2003), Isurin (2007), Marian and Kaushanskaya (2007), Pavlenko (2003), and Polunenko (2004).

The quantitative analysis of negative transfer errors revealed HL learners generated twice as many instances of negative transfer errors as L2 learners, given the same amount of written production. Particularly, the results indicate that the lexical subsystem is most affected by negative language transfer from English to Russian for HL learners while the semantic subsystem is most vulnerable to negative language transfer for L2 learners. The higher number

of negative transfer errors by HL learners could be attributed to their linguistic experiences and largely informal language use (Montrul, 2010). Because L2 learners receive formal instruction in the classroom, they have very few opportunities to use the target language outside of class and do not typically experiment with the language. However, HL learners learn the target language from birth and, on average, have multiple opportunities to use and try different linguistic structures in various language situations. Furthermore, these findings support the results of Marian and Kaushanskaya (2007), who found a high number of lexical and semantic transfer errors compared to other types of transfer errors in oral narratives by Russian-English bilinguals (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2007).

In the syntactic and orthographic subsystems, HL learners produced roughly 65% more negative transfer errors than did L2 learners. However, both groups of learners displayed similar patterns in proportional distribution of negative transfer errors in each subsystem. Furthermore, differences in the encoding of various linguistic structures and patterns between English and Russian in a range of contexts were identified as the primary cause of a high number of negative transfer errors for HL and L2 learners.

The data analysis showed that nine of 10 categories of negative transfer errors were present in the writings of both groups of learners, with the exception of use of the reflexive possessive pronoun *svoi*. The negative transfer error in the category of the reflexive pronoun *svoi* was found only in the written production of L2 learners of Russian. Thus, the findings of this present study do not align with the distribution of the categories for HL and L2 learners observed by Aleeva (2012) in the written production of intermediate high and advanced learners of Russian. According to Aleeva, both HL and L2 learners produced negative transfer errors only in six of 13 categories: semantic extension, comma after introductory phrase, lexical borrowing,

reflexive possessive pronoun *svoi*, capitalization, and preposition use. Therefore, this present study contributes to the literature on negative transfer errors in its investigation of writing by HL and L2 learners of Russian in the intermediate mid level range.

Pedagogical Implications

The results of this study have confirmed that negative language transfer from English to Russian is an important factor in Russian language instruction and the acquisition of Russian by both HL and L2 learners is vulnerable to the structure of the source language—English. Thus, an increased awareness of negative language transfer and its influence on learners' writing would benefit college instructors and, most importantly, Russian language learners. The experience and knowledge of how to identify and prevent negative language transfer in the classroom would help the instructor become a more effective teacher.

The following recommendations are based on the findings of this study. First, instructors could help guide language learners to identify different words and phrases and conceptualize them in each language system, Russian and English. The language teacher must be knowledgeable about the means and strategies available to learners at the intermediate level of proficiency. Reliance on knowledge of English-based structures and patterns should not be regarded as a negative aspect in Russian language teaching, but rather a constructive way of approaching language learners.

Over the last 2 decades, considerable skepticism has arisen concerning the use of the source language (L1) as a learning tool in the target language classroom (L2). In the age of communicative approaches, using the L1 has been generally minimized and relying on the L1 linguistic structures has been strongly discouraged to avoid interference from L1 and to increase opportunities for target language practice. Contrary to the accepted methodological approach in

the fields of SLA and foreign language acquisition of avoiding the L1, psycholinguistic research has provided empirical and theoretical evidence supporting specific use of L1 as a resource in language teaching. A number of studies have indicated that L2 does not represent new knowledge but rather a process of incorporating and extending the knowledge and learning strategies in L1 into L2 learning (Channell, 1988; Schmitt, 1997; Widdowson, 2003).

A compelling argument favors using the source language to learn the target language at all levels of proficiency (Nation, 2001; Stahl, 1999; Swan, 2008). In particular, it has been found that learners tend to internalize target language structures in terms of their source languages and often resort to translation as an effective and frequently used learning strategy in L2 (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990). "Starting with the L1 provides a sense of security and validates the learners' lived experience, allowing them to express themselves. The learner is then willing to experiment and take risks with a new language" (Auerbach, 1993, p. 29). Further, research has shown that providing translation equivalents, rather than allowing guessing from context and learning new vocabulary from context, leads to better retention of acquired vocabulary as well as vocabulary expansion (Coady & Huckin, 1997; Nation, 2001).

Laufer and Schmueli (2007) suggested that translation involves elaborate cognitive processing—problem solving—allowing learners to approach language learning analytically and to create stronger memory traces associated with the L2, thereby contributing to greater retention. This process requires relating new information (L2) to prior knowledge (L1) and matching new L2 structures with the appropriate L1 equivalents. Other studies that examined the degree of mental effort involved in translation have provided additional evidence in support of using translation in L2 classroom at the intermediate and advanced levels of proficiency. For example, translation at the intermediate and advance levels of proficiency involving high degrees

of difficulty requires a greater mental effort, which, in turn, favorably affects language output (Schneider, Healy, & Bourne, 2002).

Pedagogical literature has indicated that creating activities that involve both L1 and L2 may be an effective tool in anticipating and minimizing language transfer (Cook, 1999). Traditional uses of translation-based tasks involve translation lists and translation gap exercises. As an extension of this approach to the communicative classroom, translation can be used as “a vehicle” for interactive activities (Cook, 1999, p. 202).

In addition to L1 and translation, negotiation and systematic contextualized input may be effective in overcoming negative language transfer and increasing learners’ output (Ellis 1996). Negotiation, combined with form-meaning practice, has a potential to eliminate most of the instances of negative language transfer errors and increase vocabulary output. In this approach, instructors should consider incorporating information gap activities and group work into vocabulary learning.

The SLA literature has indicated that negative language transfer serves as a springboard from the source language to the target language and may make target language structures easier to acquire (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2007; Ringbom, 1978). For example, Daulton (1998) indicated the presence of loan words aids in learning the target language in most cases. Cognates and loan words represent familiar structures in L2 because of their phonemic similarity. However, it is important for language instructors to point out differences in meaning that developed after the words and structures were borrowed from L1 into L2.

Teaching vocabulary is considered another effective way to help both groups of learners—HL and L2—overcome negative language transfer in different language subsystems (Bermel & Kagan, 2000; Gass & Selinker, 2008; Hayes, 2003; Jiang, 2004; Odlin, 1989; Nation,

2001; Pavlenko, 2008; Swan, 2008). Some researchers have argued that success in acquiring the target language vocabulary lies in semantic restructuring as well as mapping syntax to semantics (Jiang, 2004; Nation, 2001) when learners become aware of the semantic differences between the target language word and its source language translation or between two target language words or structures sharing the same source language translation (Jiang, 2004). Although some HL learners are exposed to a variety of different contexts outside the language classroom, as compared to L2 learners, this exposure alone cannot guarantee successful vocabulary acquisition (Blaz, 2006; Jiang, 2004; Pavlenko, 2002; Stahl, 1999). Hence, both groups of students require targeted instructional input at the vocabulary level to minimize and eliminate negative language transfer. It is important that the teacher employ a wide range of instructional strategies to emphasize semantic and syntactic differences between Russian words and their equivalents in English. These strategies can be based on the comparative analysis of Russian and English.

A number of effective instructional strategies have been developed in the field of SLA to facilitate successful vocabulary acquisition, from using contextual cues to providing definitions with annotations, pictures, translations, and synonyms in monolingual or bilingual dictionaries; from employing visual aids (pictures, diagrams, mnemonics) to paraphrasing; from using keyword lists to word feature analysis, including suffixes, roots, and prefixes (Lawson & Hogben, 1996; Stahl, 1999; Swan, 2008). Based on empirical research, intralingual and extralingual strategies have been found effective in learning new vocabulary in the target language. Intralingual strategies include using linguistic resources of the target language, for example, definitions, synonyms, and cues based on context. Extralingual strategies involve using pictures, objects, mnemonics, and different types of media to leverage learners' background knowledge of the world.

In the last decade, a general tendency has arisen toward using intralingual strategies exclusively because they are associated with the communicative approach in language teaching that stresses the importance of context in learning a new word meaning. The meaning of words is more easily semanticized when they are embedded in the meaningful context (Beheydt, 1987; Chapman & King, 2003).

Activating and developing letter-to-sound connections (or orthographic mapping) to bond the spelling, pronunciation, and meaning of words in memory were found to assist learners in overcoming orthographic negative language transfer (Ehri, 2014). Ehri discovered that orthographic mapping is enabled by phonemic awareness and grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences. Recent findings have indicated that orthographic mapping is facilitated when language learners are taught grapheme-to-phoneme correspondences with letter-embedded picture mnemonics (Ehri, 2014). Additionally, vocabulary learning may be more effective when pronunciation and meaning of new words are accompanied by spelling. Hence, teaching learners the strategy of pronouncing new words aloud as they read or write would activate orthographic mapping and help them minimize negative transfer.

Implications for Further Research

This research has provided further evidence that negative language transfer is an important factor in second language acquisition. The present research is a general overview of negative transfer errors from English to Russian in the writing of HL and L2 learners of Russian. The types of negative language transfer from English to Russian, the linguistic subsystems involved, and language structures more susceptible to transfer were identified. Differentiating between morphological and negative transfer errors will help instructors promote a greater

degree of language awareness and overcome negative language transfer errors that influence written production by both H1 and L2 language learners.

However, the extent to which such factors as different essay topics and assignment types could influence negative language transfer has not been addressed in this research. Further research that would contribute to the fuller understanding of negative language transfer is warranted. In addition, further research incorporating statistical analysis of a larger sample size would be of benefit. An additional area of research should examine variations of negative transfer at different levels of proficiency. This information could assist teachers and curriculum developers in determining the source of negative transfer errors and tailoring instructional input to address such errors.

The present study did not take into account learners' linguistic histories and biographical data. Hence, further research could focus on identifying and examining additional linguistic factors—length, frequency, and intensity of Russian language exposure outside of the classroom—, as well as extralinguistic factors—attentional, cognitive, and developmental factors—that may affect the types and number of negative language transfer errors. The present research examined negative transfer in four linguistic subsystems: lexical, semantic, syntactic, and orthographic. Further research should extend beyond the word and sentence levels to discursive transfer related to textual organization, writing skills, contextualization, pragmatic competence, and discourse patterns to give a complete taxonomy of types and amount of transfer that emerge in the written production of Russian language learners.

Finally, earlier studies by Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002, 2008) documented that negative language transfer occurs not only in the forward direction—from English to Russian—but also in the reverse direction—from Russian to English. The present study was focused on negative

transfer in one direction only, from English to Russian. Identifying and investigating types and amount of negative transfer from Russian to English in writing would be another fruitful topic for future research.

Limitations of the Present Research

One of the most obvious limitations of the present research was the lack of demographic and sociolinguistic data, with the exception of HL and L2 learner distinctions, identification of the level of proficiency, and determination of age at immigration for HL learners. Demographic and sociolinguistic information could have accounted for some factors affecting transferability.

Conclusion

This study was conducted to identify, quantify, and compare the types and number of negative transfer errors in the written essays of HL and L2 learners of Russian, particularly to categorize all instances of negative transfer. It was also focused on determining which linguistic subsystem is most influenced by negative transfer from English to Russian. This study added a new dimension to the current linguistic knowledge concerning negative transfer and the literature available in the area of Russian language pedagogy. Sixty HL and 60 L2 learners of Russian of the intermediate mid level of proficiency enrolled in Russian language classes at UCLA participated in the study. Written essays submitted for the ACTR National Post-Secondary Russian Essay Contest on four topics were used as the primary data source.

The most important finding from this research was that HL learners produced twice as many negative transfer errors as did L2 learners of Russian. Other important findings of the study reinforced the idea that writing in Russian showed the influence of English linguistic structures in four subsystems: lexical, semantic, syntactic, and orthographic. The research

returned empirical evidence that, for both groups of learners, lexical and semantic subsystems were more vulnerable to the English-based linguistic structures than syntax and orthography.

Conclusions from this study hold pedagogical implications for Russian language instruction. For example, comprehensible meaning-focused input at the vocabulary level should be a part of the curriculum and material design. Guidelines were offered for creating comprehensive instructional intervention and productive activities that can strengthen vocabulary development and assist learners in minimizing and overcoming negative language transfer.

Further investigation of negative transfer effects from English to Russian could include samples from different institutions, as well as including biographical and linguistic data of participants. In addition, factors that determine and influence the amount and type of negative transfer should be further investigated. Finally, longitudinal studies could record changes in the amount and type of negative language transfer errors over time.

Appendix A

Sample Essays

Сравните себя, каким вы были четыре года назад и, каким вы стали теперь. (HL)

Четыре года назад я не был совсем другим человеком, но много чего изменилось.

То что не изменилось, это то что жизнь еще продолжается.

Одна измена которая произошла со мной это что я вырос и много веса набрал. И я имею в виду в хорошие стороны. Я был не сильно маленький четыре года назад, ну чуть было. Другая измена, которой я считаю самой большой изменой, это то что теперь мне надо делать выборы для себя. Мне теперь надо делать выбор что я буду делать со своей жизни в дальнейшем. четыре года назад со своей меня нечего такого не волновало, но теперь у меня есть много о чем волноваться. Школа, это само собой, главное надо выбрать то что будет для тебя счастливым в будущем. Тогда я думал стану доктором а теперь не знаю, потому что не думаю что буду счастливым в будущем. Я только и думаю, что бы я хотел делать в будущем но нечего не приходит в голову. Много чего еще поминалось. Но с школой не так много. Тогда я ненавидел математику и сейчас ненавижу. Не знаю как люди могут ей заниматься, потому что она просто долбонный урок, и в будущем я на сто процентов уверен, что не буду ей заниматься. Я всерьезно играю много баскетбола, и может в будущем найду штота, которое будет близко к баскетболу.

четыре года назад я не думал так много о частые, ну теперь только и думаю о нем. Я не знаю что принесут эти следующие четыре года. Ну хочется чтоб они принесли знание о том что я хочу делать со своей жизни в дальнейшем. Хочу, чтобы многово изменилось в эти годы к лучшему, но со школой это врятли. Наконец, измены которые произошли в последние четыре года – были хорошее, и я рад что они произошли.

Сравните себя, каким вы были четыре года назад и, каким вы стали теперь. (L2)

Я родился в маленьком городе в штате Йюта. Дом мы говорили только по-английски и в детстве я никакого иностранного языка не изучал. Когда мне было 14 лет, я начал заниматься иностранными языками. Мне было потрясающее мероприятие. Вдруг, каждое слово, которое я сказал, изменило мою точку зрения. Мне кажется что мир способностей открылся я и просто влюбился. До сих пор, я изучал шесть языков я очень счастлив, что я люблю, что каждый день мне интересно, чем я занимаюсь, четыре часа в день – это иностранные языки.

Честно говоря, после того, как я поступил в университет, у меня не было профессии. У меня не было никакой идеи и я испугался, я по разным причинам, записался на курс русского языка и еще раз, я влюбился. Русский язык – не просто язык Толстого, Достоевского и Пушкина, это не только язык любви и романа, но философии и науки. Когда я объясняю русский язык своим друзьям, я говорю о слове “пошлость”. Это красивое слово почти нельзя переводить на английский. Как объяснить эмоцию такого слова? По-моему, чтобы понимать силы языка, надо понимать язык.

В результате этого, я хочу понимать русский язык. По этому я люблю языки. Я люблю идеи, эмоции, мысли, которые создают языки. Безусловно, я люблю говорить с разными людьми и с помощью иностранными языками, я могу.

Не имей сто рублей, а имей сто друзей. (НЛ)

Я согласна с русской поговоркой. В моем опыте друзья иногда дают возможность тебе заработать больше чем сто рублей. Тем более когда имеешь деньги но одинок. В большинстве времени человек не счастливый друзья открывают дверь к отличным возможностям и к не забываемым путешествиям.

Например, даже в политике на глобальном масштабе доминирующее государство выбирают дружбу либо денег. Америка самый лучший пример страны которая используется успехом политических дружб. Не вероятно что Америка имеет огромное желание кормить правительства Грузии или Украины но они жертвуют деньгами чтобы контролировать, я имею в виду, дружить с этими странами. Америка выбирает дружбу либо денег. Америка вписанная но была и будет одна из ведущих стран в мире.

Из личной жизни, я могу привести пример когда один мужчина повернулся ко мне в линии в ресторане быстрого питания и попросил занять деньги по тому что он забыл кошелечек дома. Я долго думала и решила что я в хорошем настроении была и выбрала дружбу либо денег.

Так получилось что мне повезло и этот человек был известным продюсером в Голливуде. Он мне дал свою визитку и попросил что-то связаться.

Я согласна что как бывает редко но если судьба мне преподнесит уникальный шанс, то я верю в него в большинстве времени. Пока я имею сильное чувство надежды в людей. Я надеюсь что это не изменится с временем.

Не имей сто рублей, а имей сто друзей. (L2)

Пословица говорит “Не имей сто рублей, а имей сто друзей”, и это правда. Хотя я зарабатываю очень немного денег на работе, я считаю себя богатым потому, зато у меня отличный групп друзей. Большинство из нас вырос в том же самом районе в центре города. Когда мы были маленькими, мы учились вместе в школе. Чесно говоря наши отношения немного менились потому что многие переехали в другие районы города. Те не менее, каждую неделю мы находим время, чтобы провести немного времени вместе. Хотя необходима зарабатывать денги, это не самой важный аспект жизни. Люди могут иметь хорошую работу, но если его дом не счастливый, он не может быть доволен жизнью. Наш рабочие дни и наши расписание тяжелые, на работе нам приходится подчиниться к начальникам. На школе надо заниматься долго, чтобы получить хорошие оценки. Но если у вас хороший групп друзей вам везет потому что дружба является самой важной частью жизни. Человек один – грустный, если у него проблемы и хочется поговорить с друзьями и спросить у них совет – не может.

К счастью у меня есть хорошей групп друзей. У всех нас разные интересы. Но наши история единяет нас. Я не знаю что нам случится в будущие, но теперь я просто ситуацией. Я всегда жду с нетерпением прихода выходных потому, что по пятницам и по субботам мы собираемся, а потом ходим по барам, на дискотеку, или в кино. А когда нам ни хочется выйти из дому мы вместе сидим дома, ужинаем, шутим и танцуем.

Место, которое я люблю. (HL)

Год назад я съездила в место очень впечатлительное. Это место никогда не было одним из мест в котороя я думала поехать. Но когда я узнала что мой хор собирается ехат в Китай на гостроли, я решила что это уникальная идея. Живя в Америке, у нас всегда есть окружение людьми из разных стран. Ходя в UCLA, мы даже всегда окружены китаицами. Когда я приехала в Шангхай первое место куда нас повезли был ресторан. Я была очень удивлена тем что еда в Китае совсем не то что наш еда в Америке дают в Китайских ресторанах. Еда в Китае еще вкуснее. Каждое утро нас кормили булочками с разными начинениами. Мы пили соки всяких китайских фруктов. Город Шангхай наполнин велосипидистами и высокими зданиями. Город очень красивый, но в тоже самое время загазован. От разговора с китайскими студентами университета, я узнала что китайци по нотяшему такие-же работолюбивые как легенды говорят. Люди в Китае вопщето знают что такое труд. Когда я выступала с хором концертном зале, китайцы были очень тронуты тем что наш репертуар содержал песню на китайском языке. Они стояли хлопали и хотели чтоб ми еще раз ее спели. Одна из моих любимых поездок в Китае была на огромный базаар. Там все продовалось что можно придумать и по очень дешовой цене. Я всегда торговалась с продавцами как и все там делают. Я накупила очень много вещей и потратила больше чем сто долларов на изумительным китайском чае который открывается в цвиток когда добавляется горячая вода.

После Китая мы перелетели в город Бейжинг. Этот город очень отлечался от Шангхая своей Архитектурой. Бейджинг выглядел старее и традициональней. Малоэтажные дома мне чем то напаминали Москву. Мы ездили смотреть большую стину Китая и прошли пару миль на ней.

Место, которое я люблю. (L2)

Когда люди рассказывают о Индии, они говорят что ее иностранная страна. Но для меня Индия гругой дом. Когда я думаю о моих любимых местах, я всегда думаю о Индии. Индия будет место которы я люблю потому что я ее радиласть. Мне нравится музыку Индии, и я люблю истории Индии.

Я родилась на юге Индии в 1989 году. Когда мне была 2 лет моя семья имигрировала в Америку. В Индии я жила с моими родителями и моей сестрой. Сегодня мои другия семья еще живет в Индии. Для того, мне кажется что у меня уже есть дом в Индии. Я проводила мое детстве в Индии, котором живут мои первые друзья.

Я тоже люблю Индии потому что я люблю музыку Индии. Когда я слушает эту музыку, всегда будет счастливаает. Наверное потому что музика также из дней детствых. Я занимаюсь музыкой Индии 10 лет. Музыка Индии мне интересует помотучта ее рассказывает о истории Индии. До этого, люди встретилса а слушает эту музыку. На юге Индиа люди слушают одну музьку и на севере слушают другую музыку. Иногда можно тацовать.

У Индии есть отличная музыка, но тоже есть интересная история. Много людей из гругих стран имигривовали в Индии. Сейчас в Индии есть люди из Ирана, и Турции. Моя бабушка , в мое детстве, рассказала сказки о Индии. Мне кажутся что я жила в этом времен, не сходя с место. Я тоже люблю истории Индии потомучто один человек которого я люблю – Гандхи. Это человек помогать очен людей Индии Ганди есть очен большой человек в Индии, но тоже в других странах. Потому что в индии живет много людей из много месет, а я люблю Гандхи, я думаю что история индии очен интересно.

Человек, которого я люблю. (НЛ)

Моя бабушка заслужила любовь всех с кем она в жизни сталкивалась. Жизнь ее была непростая, но несмотря на это, она каждый день улыбалась и поддерживала семью и друзей. Даже в старости лет, она продолжает праводить нашу семью через трудные времена и продолжает поддерживать нас ее независимой любовью.

В молодости она была знаминтой режиссеркой русских кино-фильмов. Все которые с ней работали хвалили ее красоту – не только внешнюю, но и внутреннюю. Все на ее оперались когда работа ставала неуправлимой. Более того, она никогда своих не падвила. Эти характеристики она выразила в полном составе когда пришло время перевести нашу семью с России в Америку.

Чтоб мы попали в Америку, моя бабушка отдала все. Всех своих друзей в России она вынуждена ыла пакинуть для своей семьи. Во-вторых, она отдала почти все свое богатство чтобы потом моей маме купить квартиру, в которой моя бабушка даже не планировала жить. Больше чем она отдала для нашей семьи – не как.

В эти дня, ее жизнь на много спокойнее чем ее молодость. Она живет не далеко он нас в Лос Анджелесе. На своих больных ногах, она каждый день ходит по делам семьи. Он нас – ничего ей не недо. Несморя на это, она все нам готова отдать и большеństwo уже отдала. Я вижу в ее глазах что она хочет обратно в Россию.

Человек, которого я люблю. (L2)

Прежде всего, я люблю моего отца. Конечно, я также люблю моих братьев и матери и сестру и всю мою семью, но я сказала, что прежде всего я люблю моего отца, потому что в детстве я его почти ненавидела, и я буду вам чуть-чуть об этом рассказывать.

В детстве я предпочитала историю и политику с отцом. И можно лучше сказать, мне очень понравилось слушать и учиться об этих темах от моего отца. В то время я не придумала свои точки зрения, в отличие от моего отца. Когда вечером он возвращался с работы, мы включили телевизор и смотрели об истории. Когда мы путешествовали по Америке, когда мне было 7 лет, мы смотрели памятники и ходили по музеям.

Сейчас мы с отцом имеем очень хорошие отношения. Конечно теперь я живу отдельно от родителей. Тем не менее я уже не совершенно независима от отца, но он уважает меня и мои выборы, видя на то, что я работаю много и у меня конкретные планы на будущем.

В заключение можно сказать, что все семьи ссорятся друг с другом и все семьи любят друг друга, но причины разные. Конечно, я люблю моего отца и даже ему уважаю... но в конце концов некогда не была моя семья совершенно счастливой или совершенно несчастливой – мы обе счастливые и несчастливые одновременно, и я их люблю.

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