



# A Literature Review of Trends, Attitudes and Multilingual Learning in Research on Cross-Linguistic Influence



Name:	Malin Bergman, Alma Engström
Programme:	Ämneslärarprogrammet
Degree essay:	15 hp
Course:	LGEN2G
Level:	Undergraduate
Term/year:	HT/2023
Supervisor:	Anna-Lena Fredriksson
Examiner:	Zlatan Filipovic

Keywords: cross-linguistic influence, transfer, multilingualism, third language acquisition, language learning

## **Abstract**

This literature review identifies what trends and attitudes can be found and how the multilingual learning process is depicted in research on cross-linguistic influence (CLI) between 2009 and 2023. The aim of this is partly to investigate the changes that have followed the EU's commitment to reinforce multilingualism and to compare current research with historical findings. Through database searches via Gothenburg University Library, 13 peer-reviewed empirical studies were found which could be included based on four inclusion criteria. The findings show that most studies focus on models, hypotheses and factors and aim to predict and explain when and why CLI occurs. Another finding shows a continued shift from a negative toward a neutral view of transfer. Lastly, a minority of the studies examine reverse and bidirectional transfer as well as the intentionality of CLI, illuminating both the complexity of the multilingual learning process and a shift from the long-standing tradition of monolingual prejudice.

# Table of Contents

<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Key Terms and Concepts	3
1.1.1 Multilingualism	3
1.1.2 Cross-linguistic Influence	4
<b>2 Method</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1 Inclusion Criteria	7
2.2 Search Terms and Databases	8
<b>3 Historical Background</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>4 Findings</b>	<b>12</b>
4.1 General Findings	12
4.2 Models and Hypotheses	13
4.3 Factors Affecting CLI	14
4.4 Attitudes Toward Transfer	16
4.5 Multilingual Learning	18
<b>5 Discussion</b>	<b>19</b>
5.1 Trends of CLI Research	19
5.2 Attitudes Toward Transfer	20
5.3 Multilingual Learning	21
5.4 Pedagogical Implications	21
<b>6 Conclusions</b>	<b>22</b>

# 1 Introduction

In 1995, the European Union made a commitment to spread awareness of and support *multilingualism*<sup>1</sup> in language education in its member countries. One resolution concerning the commitment stated that “pupils should as a general rule have the opportunity of learning two languages of the Union other than their mother tongue(s)” (European Union, 1995). As a result of this decision, the presence of multilingualism has increased in both education and research on language learning (Jessner, 2008, p. 15). For example, in Swedish education, the three language-related subjects English, mother tongue education, and modern languages are mandatory for schools to offer apart from Swedish. Mother tongue education denotes education in one’s native language if that is a language other than Swedish, and the existence of that subject illustrates the reality of the modern-day language classroom, which generally consists of students of multilingual backgrounds. The fact that many students have multiple languages in their repertoire has been acknowledged by many scholars (e.g. Milambiling, 2011; Illman & Pietilä, 2018; Källkvist et al., 2017). In modern languages, students may choose between German, French and Spanish to learn as an additional language apart from Swedish, English and their mother tongue(s). The influence of the EU commitment is clear in steering documents such as the Swedish curriculum, which for upper secondary school states that students should be given the opportunity to develop a global identity (Läroplan för gymnasieskolan [Lgy11], 2011) and the syllabi for English and modern languages mention that the teaching should give students the opportunity to develop multilingualism (Engelska, 2022; Moderna språk, 2022).

Jessner (2008) points out that, despite the EU’s initiative, there has been a long-standing tradition of prejudice against the harmful effects of multilingualism. This prejudice is visible in the field of *transfer* which deals with the influence of learners’ background language(s) in their acquisition of a new language (Bardovi-Harlig & Sprouse, 2018). The fact that known languages can influence one another was recognised long before it became a field of interest in language education and traces of this can be found in Homer’s *The Odyssey* when Odysseus mentions that the “languages [of Crete] are mixed” (2018, p. 430). Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) discuss the mentioning of ‘mixed languages’ in relation to the similar terminology used during this time ‘foreigner talk’ or ‘bad Greek’, which,

---

<sup>1</sup> Key terms will be marked in italics the first time they appear.

historically, both illuminate a negative view of this type of speech. Early research on transfer became synonymously used with the related term *interference* (Weinreich, 1953), which by definition focuses solely on the negative impact of transfer. Recent developments within the field offer a plethora of terms related to transfer, many of which do not bear the traditional negative connotation. Transfer, now more commonly and neutrally named *cross-linguistic influence (CLI)* (Sharwood Smith & Kellerman, 1986), is no longer only described as a disturbance in language acquisition, but rather a natural feature of learning a language.

Considering the reality of the number of multilingual learners that teachers will meet in the language classroom, it is essential to centre pedagogical language research on multilingual learning. Against this background, along with the changes following the commitment of the EU, this literature review focuses on studies of transfer and CLI which specifically involve multilingual learners in European countries. Two major surveys in regard to this area (Odlin, 1989; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008) have been carried out summarising research development up until 2008, allowing our work to start with studies published in 2009. The research questions are as follows.

1. What trends can be identified in research on CLI of multilingual learners between 2009 and 2023?
2. What, if any, positive or negative attitudes can be identified in research toward CLI of multilingual learners between 2009 and 2023?
3. How is the multilingual learning process depicted in research on CLI between 2009 and 2023?

In section 1, the aims, research questions, as well as relevant terms and concepts of the project are stated. Section 2 presents the method and inclusion criteria. Section 3 summarises the historical background of transfer research, with special attention to Odlin's (1989) and Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) surveys. This is meant to situate the reader in the historical context before demonstrating the findings of the present literature review. In section 4, the findings of the present review are introduced. Then, section 5 presents the discussion of the findings in relation to the research questions. Lastly, section 6 summarises the main conclusions of the present literature review and accounts for some pedagogical implications.

## 1.1 Key Terms and Concepts

As a necessary part of this paper, there are some terms and concepts that need to be defined in order to fully understand the intention and focal point of the present review. The definitions stated in subsections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 are often used in pedagogical and linguistic research in somewhat different ways. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to clarify different definitions as well as to highlight how they are defined in the present literature review.

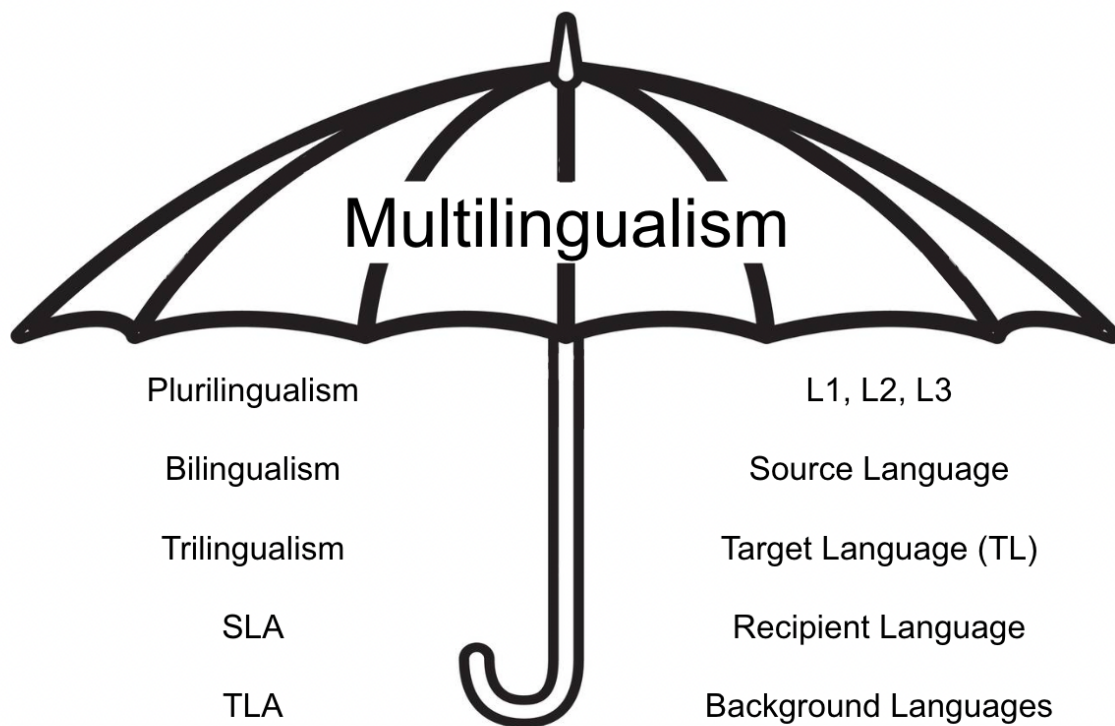
### 1.1.1 Multilingualism

Jessner (2008) points out that the term *multilingualism* holds no straightforward definition as it includes a range of meanings. In the emergence of *second language acquisition (SLA)* research, multilingualism was considered a variety of *bilingualism*, covering the constellation of knowledge of two languages (Hammarberg, 2001). In relation to transfer research and the terminology of the different languages of a learner's repertoire, the *first language (L1)* refers to the chronologically first language acquired from infancy, and the *second language (L2)* is any language(s) acquired after the L1 (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 21). Hammarberg also points out that most studies of SLA at that time only studied one L1 with one L2, but still recognised the existence of learners of more languages.

As interest increased in the field of *third language acquisition (TLA)* and *trilingualism*, bilingualism has separated from multilingualism. This is due to the fact that many scholars believe that TLA differs in complexity from SLA (Jessner, 2008). In light of this notion, multilingualism in current research signifies learning more than two languages (Jessner, 2008, p. 18). Consequently, the term *third language (L3)* was introduced in addition to the L1 and L2 terminology from SLA research. The definitions prevalent in current research are the following: L1 as in mother tongue(s), L2 as in any language(s) acquired after L1(s), and L3 as the language currently being acquired (Hammarberg, 2001, p. 22). Other commonly used terms in transfer research are *target language*, *source language* and *recipient language*. 'Target language' (TL) is often synonymous with L3 as defined by Hammarberg (e.g. Mutta, 2014; Efeoglu, Yüksel & Baran, 2020; Mirjam, 2022). The source language is described as the language from which a linguistic feature is transferred, and the recipient language is the language receiving said linguistic feature (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 41). Lastly, the term *background languages* is often used to describe all languages of a learner's linguistic repertoire (e.g. Fuster & Neuser, 2020; van Tessel & Bril, 2021; Eibensteiner, 2023).

Another term related to multilingualism is *plurilingualism*, which is less common but does appear in TLA research (e.g. Mirjam, 2022). This term makes a distinction between the individual learning of several languages (plurilingualism) and the societal use of several languages (multilingualism) (Jessner, 2008). Even so, multilingualism is still found in studies denoting the meaning of individual learning of several languages (e.g. Devlin et al., 2015; Eibensteiner, 2019; Efeoglu, Yüksel & Baran, 2020). In the present literature review, both multilingualism and TLA are used to refer to the learning of more than two languages.

Figure 1 displays an overview of the different terminology discussed in this section. Its organisation employs ‘multilingualism’ as the umbrella term, which is constructed for the purpose of the present literature review. In other words, this is not a universal organisation of the terminology but an aid for the interpretation of this paper.



*Figure 1. Terminology for multilingualism*

### **1.1.2 Cross-linguistic Influence**

The term *cross-linguistic influence (CLI)*, as we know it today, was introduced in 1986 by Sharwood Smith and Kellerman who defined it as “the interplay between earlier and later acquired languages” (p. 1). This is roughly the same definition as what many other researchers use, e.g. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, p. 1) who define the term as how a learner’s

acquired languages influence their knowledge and use of another language. Roughly 100 years previous to Sharwood Smith and Kellerman’s (1986) use of the term cross-linguistic influence, William Dwight Whitney referred to the term *transfer* with a similar definition as we use for cross-linguistic influence today (Odlin, 1989, p. 26). Today, CLI is sometimes also used synonymously with the term transfer (e.g. Odlin, 1989; Jarvis and Pavlenko, 2008), while other times, CLI refers to many different kinds of language influences from a learner’s background languages, e.g. code-switching (Lindqvist, 2010). In the present literature review, CLI and transfer will be used interchangeably, with CLI being an umbrella term for the different types of transfer (see Figure 2).

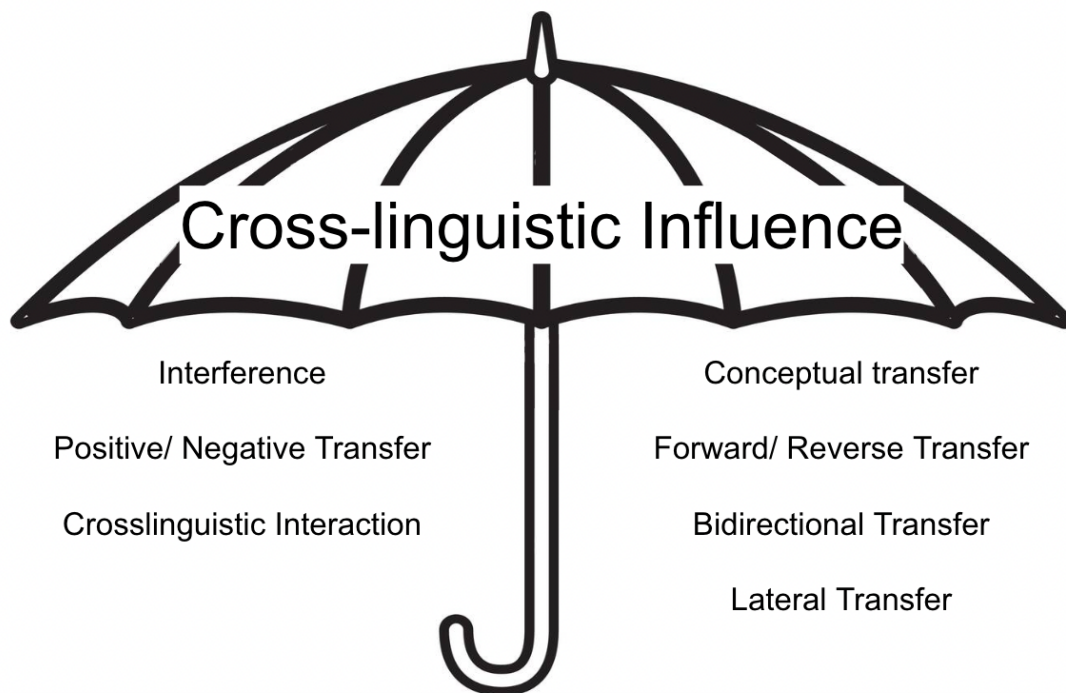


Figure 2. Terminology for cross-linguistic influence

Figure 2 shows our interpretation of CLI as a term, with the different types of transfer as a part of it. When it comes to transfer, there has always been a discussion about its positive and negative effects on language learning (section 3). Positive transfer is when the influence of a background language leads to acquisition in the target language and negative transfer, also known as *interference*, *intrusion* or simply *errors*, leads to erroneous production in the TL (Odlin, 1986, p. 26; Bardovi-Harlig & Sprouse, 2018, p. 1). However, according to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), in many cases transfer is neither positive nor negative since “objective similarities and objective differences are often meshed together” (p. 182). This neutral view of transfer is exemplified by a Swedish EFL learner who instead of saying ‘clothes’, says



‘clothers’ since ‘clothes’ in Swedish is ‘kläder’ (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 182). For the purposes of the present literature review, neutrality in terms of attitude toward transfer can be identified through the use of transfer terminology, as well as the overall treatment of the discussion of CLI.

Another type of transfer is *conceptual transfer* which is described by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) as “certain instances of CLI in a person’s use of one language are influenced by conceptual categories acquired through another language” (p. 115). One example is that the concept connected to the verb ‘be’ in English will be entirely different from the two counterparts in Spanish ‘ser’ and ‘estar’. Both Spanish verbs indicate a nuanced meaning of ‘being’ and the general distinction of situational being (estar) or more permanent being (ser) (Alonso Raya et al., 2005, pp. 177-178). Having similar or different concepts of one’s source and recipient language(s) could influence a learner’s language performance and result in transfer.

Furthermore, there is also directionality in transfer where *forward*, *reverse*, *lateral* and *bidirectional transfer* are included. Forward, or *progressive*, transfer is when a previously acquired language influences a later acquired one, such as  $L1 \rightarrow L2$  or  $L2 \rightarrow L3$ . This is perhaps the most studied type of transfer since reverse, lateral and bidirectional transfer are relatively new terms. Reverse, or *regressive*, transfer is the opposite of this, where a newer language influences an already-known language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 22; Stoehr et al., 2023, p. 2). Lateral transfer has, according to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, p. 22), two definitions. The first suggests influences between two L1s in situations where a learner has two or more of these. Lateral transfer may also refer to when a learner’s later acquired languages interact with each other, which could be from  $L2$  to  $L3$  or  $L3$  to  $L2$ . Both definitions focus on the complexity of the multilingual mind and the fact that constellations of known languages are not always as simple as one L1 and one L2. It is, therefore, with this context, that both definitions are used in the present review. Lastly, bidirectional transfer refers to when “two languages are simultaneously source and recipient” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 41), meaning, for example, that CLI goes both ways between two languages. Although very similar to lateral transfer, bidirectional transfer, in contrast, focuses more on identifying links between two specific languages that are stronger than links between other languages of a learner’s repertoire. This recognises that certain languages can be ‘paired’ in the multilingual mind.

## 2 Method

Section 2 describes the method and inclusion criteria used for the present literature review. Subsection 2.1 discusses the four inclusion criteria used in the review, and subsection 2.2 shows the search terms and databases through which the search was conducted. The latter subsection additionally includes a table illustrating the selection of studies.

### 2.1 Inclusion Criteria

In the present review, the literature search was conducted primarily through databases available via the Gothenburg University Library (see Table 1). In addition to database searches, the ‘snowballing technique’ was utilised (Ridley, 2012, p. 56). This technique refers to the use of an existing study’s references to find other related studies. However, only one relevant study was found through this technique.

Four inclusion criteria were set up for the present literature review. First, the focus was only on European countries considering the purpose of investigating the impact of the EU’s initiative (see section 1). Second, bilingual learners were excluded in order to focus solely on learners with at least three known languages, based on the fact that most learners in a classroom have more than one background language. There were a number of studies that had a monolingual control group or had a comparative stance of mono- and multilingual learners which was deemed outside the scope of literature review. The reason for this was to distance the present review from the traditional monolingual prejudice of multilingualism (cf. section 1). It is not necessary to examine multilinguals in constant comparison with monolinguals. Thus, a third criterion excluded studies comparing monolingual and multilingual learners of a TL. The reasoning for this was that multilingual learners should be isolated in this study and not compared with other learners. Lastly, only peer-reviewed empirical studies were included.

Additionally, it was not stated in the inclusion criteria that the studies must include learners of English since the multilingual scope of this review did not necessitate this. In other words, the studies chosen were not exclusively in research on English as a foreign language since transfer in language acquisition can be seen throughout every language. Nevertheless, all studies reviewed have included learners of English.

## 2.2 Search Terms and Databases

Table 1 shows the search terms used for the present review, where the results from the search in Gothenburg University Library databases resulted in 341 articles from 2009–2023. Many of these, however, were excluded based on the inclusion criteria, and altogether 13 articles were included.

*Table 1. Search terms and databases*

<b>Database</b>	<b>Search terms</b>	<b>Number of hits</b>
Gothenburg University Library: Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• multilingualism OR multilingual OR trilingualism OR trilingual OR L3 OR "third language" OR polyglot OR polyglotism OR TLA OR "third language acquisition" OR "foreign language"</li> <li>• AND transfer AND "Interference (Language)"</li> </ul>	31
Gothenburg University Library: Education Collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• multilingualism OR multilingual OR trilingualism OR trilingual OR L3 OR "third language" OR polyglot OR polyglotism OR TLA OR "third language acquisition" OR "foreign language"</li> <li>• AND transfer AND "Interference (Language)"</li> </ul>	31
Gothenburg University Library: Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• multilingualism OR multilingual OR trilingualism OR trilingual OR L3 OR "third language" OR polyglot OR polyglotism OR TLA OR "third language acquisition" OR "foreign language"</li> <li>• AND transfer AND "Interference (Language)"</li> </ul>	0
Gothenburg University Library: Supersearch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• transfer OR "crosslinguistic influence" OR "cross-linguistic influence" OR "crosslinguistic influences" OR "cross-linguistic influences" OR CLI</li> <li>• AND multilingualism OR trilingualism OR L3 OR multilingual OR trilingual</li> <li>• NOT bilingual OR bilingualism</li> </ul>	279
<b>Total studies found</b>	341	
<b>Total studies included in the present study</b>	13	

### 3 Historical Background

The aim of this section is to provide a historical background before presenting the findings of the present literature review. Firstly, the section summarises early developments of transfer research which is mainly supported by Odlin's survey (1989). Secondly, research developments between 1990 and 2008 are summarised mainly based on Jarvis and Pavlenko's survey (2008).

According to Odlin (1989), the interest in CLI and transfer, as we know it today, started as early as the 19th century when discussions about language mixing became more attractive and frequent. It was thought that grammar was a reliable way of seeing whether languages were related. In 1861, Müller implied that grammar was "the blood and soul" (Odlin, 1989, p. 8) of a language and therefore grammar should be untouched by CLI, such as loan words.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, expertise on language influences and the importance of CLI became more common (Odlin, 1989). With this expertise, transfer became a more researched area, and from the 1940s discussions of transfer properly took off. At this time, the term interference started being used for all types of transfer (Odlin, 1989), mainly by Weinreich (1953). In a summary of previous studies, Weinreich (1953, p. 116) states that in certain tests, monolinguals show more intelligence than bilinguals, and in some studies, bilinguals were said to have a sort of handicap. There were other claims finding bilingualism to be superior, but Weinreich (1953) dismisses them entirely by stating that there is "no discrepancy" (p. 117) with the previously mentioned findings. Additionally, Weinreich (1953) harshly implies that when children are not schooled in their L1, it not only "retard[s] the children's education, but their knowledge of their own language suffers, and its cultivation is neglected" (p. 121). This certainly indicates the overall negative thoughts of bilingualism and transfer at this time.

Not until the 1960s did research start to move away from the challenges of language transfer and toward its possible importance. Behaviourism had, at this time, become more popular and learning a second language meant acquiring new habits (Bardovi-Harlig & Sprouse, 2018, p. 2). It was acknowledged that second language acquisition was different from first language acquisition because of influences from a learner's background languages (Odlin, 1989). By this time, it had become more accepted that a student's native language in fact influenced the acquisition of another language (Odlin, 1989). All in all, despite the many controversies about CLI in the 19th century up until the end of the 20th century, Odlin (1989)

argues that it is problematic to only refer to transfer in negative terms, as interference or negative transfer is far from being the only type of CLI.

Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) conclude that since 1990 up until 2008, research has substantially expanded in some areas, one example being how CLI manifests itself. Moving away from the traditional dichotomy of positive and negative transfer, scholars during this time firmly assert that transfer is a natural feature of the learning process. However, this was already acknowledged in earlier research, but largely overlooked due to the overemphasis on the negative aspect of transfer.

Summarising research foci, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) discuss a number of factors that impact CLI. Some of these factors are cross-linguistic similarity and difference, language proficiency, age, and awareness. Although these factors are different from one another it is important to note that they rarely exist on their own but occur together with other factors and that identifying which factor is present is not always straightforward.

Since the 1970s, cross-linguistic similarity and difference have been recognised as contributing factors to CLI and have been so under different terms, e.g. language distance, typological proximity, and psychotypology (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 176). The general finding is that transfer is more likely to occur when the language user perceives the source and recipient languages to be similar. Ringbom and Jarvis (2009) discuss learner perception and make a distinction between *actual* and *assumed* similarities. Actual similarities (typological proximity) are constant and are learned by learners. In contrast, assumed similarities (psychotypology) are determined by the learner and are always changing as the learner gains more experience in the target language.

Another factor influencing CLI is the language proficiency factor. This factor refers to the learner's proficiency level in both target and background languages which seems to affect the extent of transfer. It is important to note that the influence is not so straightforward since conceptual knowledge cannot be measured in terms of proficiency. For example, there are some complex concepts that beginners have internalised while others have not (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 172). Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) argue that language proficiency plays an important role in CLI and that it seems to have a stronger effect in relation to source language(s) than a recipient language. In the case of reverse transfer, they point out that it is difficult to determine the role of language proficiency and that future research should explore this.

The general finding with the age factor is that older learners often experience more CLI than younger learners in forward transfer and that the opposite scenario is found in reverse transfer (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). However closely related to cognitive development, it is mentioned that it is often cognitive development rather than age that affects CLI. Separate from cognitive development, the awareness factor is a group of different metalinguistic and metacognitive abilities which emphasise the learner's conscious control of their language use. Although underresearched, it is concluded that learner awareness can affect the patterns of transfer. This awareness is also connected to the issue of *intentionality*, as in whether CLI is used as a communicative strategy or because the learner subconsciously perceives similarities between languages (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 24). It is pointed out that there are not many studies on the effect of intentionality, but some suggest that the negative transfer decreases when learners have more explicit linguistic knowledge and rely on said knowledge (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 195).

Odlin (1989, p. 23) claimed that there were no categorical constraints on how and where transfer occurs, which still seems to hold in 2008. Since 1989, more studies and research areas have emerged that cover all major areas of linguistic and communicative competence, a few examples being syntax, phonology and sociolinguistics (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Furthermore, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) argue that it will be impossible for researchers to accurately predict when CLI will occur due to the complexity of people and languages. Instead, future researchers should focus on how languages interact in the multilingual mind. Additionally, it is concluded that future researchers need to invest in longitudinal studies that compare manifestations of CLI as it was underresearched at the time. These could then be analysed together with the existing findings of pseudo-longitudinal and cross-sectional studies. Moreover, future researchers were encouraged to delve deeper into more recent classifications of transfer research.

Three of the more recent classifications that have emerged are reverse, bidirectional and lateral transfer (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). While already defined in subsection 1.1.2, the three terms reverse, bidirectional, and lateral transfer interestingly relate to the influence of multilingualism. As mentioned by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), the majority of studies focused on forward transfer, connecting one source language (often L1) to one recipient language. With reverse and bidirectional transfer it is recognised that CLI is much more complex in the multilingual mind and speculated that later-learned languages can have an effect on previously learned ones. Moreover, the term lateral transfer isolates the multilingual process

entirely and clearly separates it from mono- and bilingual studies. The authors encourage future researchers to further examine these occurrences. As Jessner (2008, p. 15) states, research has been slow to adjust from the monolingual norm due to prejudice against bi- and multilingualism, which can explain why there are fewer studies investigating lateral, reverse and bidirectional transfer.

Another newly emerged classification is conceptual transfer (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). As already defined in subsection 1.1.2, the term relates to how conceptual categorisations transfer between languages. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) discuss conceptual transfer and state that researchers and teachers may look into ways of facilitating the internalisation process by allowing a mediating and assisting role of the learners' source languages and raising intercultural competence. Moreover, the area is in need of more research to fully understand conceptual transfer of multilingual learning.

## **4 Findings**

In this section, the findings concerning the three research questions will be accounted for. Subsections 4.1 through 4.3 will focus on research question 1, identifying recent trends in CLI research. Subsection 4.1 will present the general findings regarding age span and types of CLI and in subsection 4.2, different models and hypotheses will be discussed. This leads to subsection 4.3, where factors affecting CLI are summarised, the factors being typology, psychotypology, language proficiency, and L2 Status. In subsection 4.4, the second research question will be considered and focus on whether attitudes toward CLI are more positive, negative or neutral than in earlier research. Lastly, subsection 4.5 will explore research question 3 on how the multilingual learning process is depicted in research on CLI.

### **4.1 General Findings**

In the 13 empirical studies, the average age span was 13-35 with the exception of two studies: Anastassiou and Andreou (2017) whose study had children of the ages 9-12, and Devlin et al. (2015) who did a study on a child between the age of 2 and 3 years. Additionally, Fuster and Neuser (2020) researched people aged 29-60, both having ages part of the average age span and some participants being older. In summary, the majority of the studies included participants who were teenagers and young adults, most being in high school or studying at university levels.

Seeing the trends in the types of CLI studied, it can be acknowledged that the vast majority of research (8 out of 13 studies) was made on lexical transfer (Lindqvist, 2010; Burton, 2013; Mutta, 2014; Anastassiou & Andreou, 2017; Efeoglu, Yüksel & Baran, 2020; Fuster & Neuser, 2020; Mirjam, 2022; Stoehr et al., 2023). It should be mentioned that Stoehr et al. (2023) also focused on phonetic transfer. Four additional studies researched grammatical transfer (Eibensteiner, 2019; van Tessel & Bril, 2021; Eibensteiner, 2023; Foryś-Nogala et al., 2023) and a final one focused on syntactic transfer (Devlin et al., 2015). Moreover, there were two studies mentioning intralingual or intralinguistic influences (Lindqvist, 2010; Mutta, 2014) and how these, as well as CLI, affect the L3 learner. Intralinguistic influence refers to instances where TL knowledge affects TL acquisition. As an example of this, Mutta (2014, p. 303) describes an instance where a student tries to understand the meaning of the French word ‘galanterie’ (English gallantry) by using their TL knowledge of the word ‘pâtisserie’ (English pastry shop), accurately guessing that the word denotes a special type of shop. The phenomenon of intralinguistic influence is not related to the research questions of the present review. Still, it is interesting to mention that, at least according to Mutta (2014), intralinguistic influences from the L3 were “the most probable source of both positive and negative influence” (p. 306) in some tasks.

## **4.2 Models and Hypotheses**

A general trend observed throughout all 13 studies is the research focus on what influences the use of transfer, and the conclusion that this is difficult to predict. Further explicit examples can be seen through the use of models and hypotheses which aim to investigate CLI, which language will activate, and what linguistic features are transferrable. Van Tessel and Bril (2021) and Eibensteiner (2023) introduce the L1 Transfer Scenario (e.g. Hermas, 2010), which claims that it is solely the L1 that affects the learning of an L3. It should be stated, however, that neither van Tessel and Bril (2021) nor Eibensteiner (2023) seem to agree with the model and immediately refer to other models as a way to disprove the L1 Transfer Scenario. It is apparent that the majority of studies in the present literature review share an understanding that TLA differs from SLA and that it is not only the L1 that affects the L3 (e.g. Mutta, 2014; Eibensteiner, 2019). One of the models contradicting the L1 Transfer Scenario is the L2 Status Factor (Bardel & Falk, 2007). This model claims the opposite of the first model, by indicating that it is the L2 and not the L1 that has the primary effect on TLA (van Tessel & Bril, 2021; Eibensteiner, 2023).



A model related to the L2 Status Factor is, according to Fuster and Neuser (2020), the Declarative/Procedural (DP) model (Ullman, 2001) which differentiates between declarative and procedural memory. Procedural memory includes implicit knowledge of language like L1 function words and habits, and declarative memory holds explicit knowledge like L2 grammar rules (Eibenstein, 2019, p. 68; Fuster and Neuser, 2020, p. 520). This connection between the two models is also mentioned by Eibenstein (2019, p. 68), who identifies an overall preference for L2 transfer in L3 acquisition which is explained through the ideas of the DP model.

Other models, like the Linguistic Proximity Model (LPM) (Westergaard et al., 2017) found in two studies (van Tessel & Bril, 2021; Eibenstein, 2023) and the Typological Primacy Model (TPM) (Rothman, 2011) found in three studies (Mutta, 2014; Eibenstein, 2023; Stoehr et al., 2023), imply that it is neither the L1 nor the L2 that alone affects the learning of an L3, but it is the two combined. Since these models are very similar, there will not be a distinction between them in the present study. In both models, the typological and structural similarities between the L3 and a background language affect TLA (van Tessel & Bril, 2021; Stoehr et al., 2023). In other words, the language that primarily affects the L3 can be either the L1 or the L2 depending on its typological proximity.

Lastly, the Default Supplier Model (Hammarberg, 2001) is a model only mentioned by Mutta (2014), indicating a lack of trend. However, the model is worth mentioning, since it is closely related to LPM and TPM. The Default Supplier Model suggests four factors to explain which background languages influence the L3. One of these components, similar to TPM, is typological similarities (Mutta, 2014, p. 285). Ultimately, it seems that many are in agreement (Mutta, 2014; van Tessel & Bril, 2021; Eibenstein, 2023; Stoehr et al., 2023) that it is in fact both the L1 and L2 that affect the L3; either both in unison or the typologically closest one.

### **4.3 Factors Affecting CLI**

The trend of investigating the strength of models and hypotheses naturally leads to the identification of factors impacting CLI. There are many factors brought up in the studies but those which seem most significant are typology, psychotypology, and language proficiency. Although less prevalent in the studies, the L2 status factor will also be discussed.

Typological proximity refers to the structural similarities of languages (Jessner, 2008, p. 24) which was a determining factor in eight of the studies (Burton, 2013; Mutta, 2014; Eibenstein, 2019; 2023; Fuster & Neuser, 2020; van Tessel & Bril, 2021; Foryś-Nogala et

al., 2023; Stoehr et al., 2023). Six of those studies concluded that typological similarities between languages in terms of lexicon or grammar had an effect on CLI (Burton, 2013; Mutta, 2014; Eibensteiner, 2019; 2023; Fuster & Neuser, 2020; van Tessel & Bril, 2021). Additionally, two of these studies found that the transfer of lexical items which shared cognates with several of the learner's background languages led to positive transfer (Burton, 2013; Mutta, 2014).

Even if the majority of studies that brought up typology found it significant (Burton, 2013; Mutta, 2014; Eibensteiner, 2019; 2023; Fuster & Neuser, 2020; van Tessel & Bril, 2021), two studies found contradicting evidence which illustrates that typology does not always affect CLI. Foryś-Nogala et al. (2023) conducted a study with typologically different languages (L1-Polish, L2-English and L3-Italian) but pointed out that there is a similarity between L1-Polish and L3-Italian in terms of the pro-drop rule. The rule refers to the fact that both languages allow the omission of the subject pronoun of a sentence because the verb still includes the meaning of the subject. Despite this similarity, there were no positive instances of transfer identified in the target productions. The study concludes by stating that this may be because of the lower proficiency level of the TL. Another contradictory example was observed in Stoehr et al.'s study (2023) on reverse transfer. The language repertoire of the participants was L1-Spanish, L2-Basque and L3-English, of which there is a stronger typological link between L1-L3 than L2-L3. Despite this similarity, there was more evidence supporting a stronger bidirectional link between L2-L3 than L1-L3 in the domain of lexicon and phonetics.

Closely related to typology, three studies identified a correlation between the findings and the psychotypological factor (Anastassiou & Andreou, 2017; Eibensteiner, 2019; Fuster & Neuser, 2020). The psychotypological factor is described as "the learners' perception of language distance" (Kellerman, 1983, p. 114). Fuster and Neuser (2020) concluded that typology was a more predictive factor than psychotypology in their study, but all studies observed still agree that psychotypology affects CLI.

In addition to typology and psychotypology, six studies discussed how language proficiency in both the target and background languages affects the occurrence of transfer (Lindqvist, 2010; Anastassiou & Andreou, 2017; Eibensteiner, 2019; van Tessel & Bril, 2021; Foryś-Nogala et al., 2023; Stoehr et al., 2023). Regarding target language proficiency, Lindqvist (2010) found evidence that negative CLI declines as the learner gains higher proficiency in the TL. She also points out that learners at higher L3 proficiency levels resort

to fewer background languages than learners of lower proficiency levels. Similarly, Foryś-Nogala et al. (2023) concluded that negative transfer was only found in the bidirectional L1–L3 link at lower levels of TL proficiency. It was concluded that negative transfer reduces with the increase of L3 proficiency, and also that there were more instances of positive L1 transfer at higher L3 proficiency (Foryś-Nogala et al., 2023). In terms of proficiency levels of the background languages, findings suggest some contextual-based effects. It was concluded in the studies that meaning-based transfer only occurs when the learner is highly proficient in its source languages (Lindqvist, 2010), that positive transfer occurs when there are grammatical similarities between languages (Eibenstein, 2019; van Tessel & Bril, 2021), and that positive transfer occurs when there are lexical similarities (Anastassiou & Andreou, 2017; Stoehr et al., 2023). Furthermore, no CLI was identified in relation to source language proficiency in the phonetic domain (Stoehr et al., 2023).

Related to the L2 Status Factor model (cf. section 4.2), the learner's perceived status of the L2 affects which source language will activate (Anastassiou & Andreou, 2017; Eibenstein, 2023). Anastassiou and Andreou (2017) examined the CLI of children of Albanian immigrant families in Greece on the acquisition of L3-English. It was established that Albanian was considered a lower-status language next to Greek by the participants, but despite that, no transfer effect was observed concerning this factor. In contrast, Eibenstein (2023) found evidence for the L2 Status Factor model in that L2-French and L2-English were activated instead of L1-German in the acquisition of L3-Spanish. Eibenstein (2023) also points out that this model is insufficient as it does not account for which L2 will be activated in the two languages of the study.

#### **4.4 Attitudes Toward Transfer**

The overall finding with respect to research question 2 was that a majority of studies employed neutral language (cf. Subsection 1.1.2) when discussing CLI. In 10 of the 13 studies, transfer was mostly referred to with more neutral terms such as cross-linguistic influence (e.g. Mutta, 2014; Devlin et al., 2015; Mirjam, 2022), transfer (e.g. Burton, 2013; Anastassiou & Andreou, 2017; Eibenstein, 2019), and interlinguistic influence (e.g. Lindqvist, 2010). Moreover, some researchers show clear signs of distancing their study from the traditional negative stance on transfer. One example of this is studies including instances of positive transfer (e.g. Mutta, 2014; Eibenstein, 2019; 2023). Another example is one

study including an explicit statement in response to the traditional negative stance on transfer (Mirjam, 2022):

[I]f the traces of the activation of another language are described as errors or negative transfers, CLI of English in French texts can be interpreted as a weakening of French. However, as has been shown above [...] these transfers should be considered as traces of the dynamic activation of resources present in the plurilingual repertoire. (pp. 17-18)

Three studies considered the factor of intentionality or CLI used as a learning strategy (Mutta, 2014; Eibensteiner, 2019; Fuster & Neuser, 2020). Fuster and Neuser (2020) examined four multilingual learners of Catalan and each participant knew four or more L1(s) and L2(s). The study concluded that learners intentionally use transfer as a learning strategy in 44% of the identified instances of CLI (Fuster, 2020, p. 530). In relation to attitudes toward transfer, the acknowledgement of the usefulness of transfer can be seen as a positive attitude toward the phenomenon. In contrast with traditional research where learners fell victim to subconsciously interfering with competing languages, learners are now recognised as autonomous individuals who can use their language repertoire strategically and to their advantage.

There were three studies that were identified with a relatively more negative attitude toward transfer. That is not to say they were as negative as Weinreich's (1953) account of the deteriorating effects of interference as stated in section 3, but negative in comparison with the other articles of the present literature review. The study on lexical transfer by Efeoglu, Yüksel and Baran (2020) employs some terms with clear negative connotations like *errors* or *failure to produce target-like production* (pp. 541-544). Similarly, Stoehr et al. (2023) use terms like *intrusions* and *interference* (p. 2), the latter of which is clearly connected to the negative connotations of the origin of that term (Weinreich, 1953). In Foryś-Nogala et al.'s study (2023), the negative attitude appears differently, namely, in relation to the monolingual norm (Jessner, 2008). The study focuses on learners of L3-Italian and CLI regarding the pro-drop rule. The authors point out that a failure to omit the personal pronoun does not produce an erroneous utterance, but that the statement is seen as "pragmatically odd" (Foryś-Nogala et al., 2023, p. 313). Still, the occurrence is treated as if it were an erroneous statement. This is illustrated in terms like learners' *difficulties* (Foryś-Nogala et al., 2023, p. 319) with the target structure, *inaccurate judgements* (p. 323), and *negative transfer* (p. 324). This could be seen

as an example of the prejudice toward multilingualism which considers multilingual learners as a faulty version of monolingual learners (Jessner, 2008).

It should be noted that some researchers (Lindqvist, 2010; Mutta, 2014) expressed that there is more difficulty in identifying positive than negative instances of CLI. In Lindqvist's study (2010), positive CLI was excluded completely, stating that it "is practically impossible to actually determine whether appropriate lexical use depends on the learner's knowledge of other languages or whether it has to do with TL knowledge" (p. 140). Mutta (2014, p. 306) similarly stated that CLI can vary considerably and that it is not always clear what has influenced a correct utterance.

## **4.5 Multilingual Learning**

The depiction of multilingual learning in terms of how TLA differs from SLA showed two main findings. The first finding is the focus on reverse and bidirectional transfer in the study of Stoehr et al. (2013). The study observed the instances of lexical and phonetic transfer of learners of L1-Spanish, L2-Basque and L3-English. Stoehr et al. (2013) concluded that there was a stronger bidirectional L3-L2 link than L3-L1, meaning that there were more instances of transfer from both directions between the learners' later acquired languages. It is discussed that similar findings have been found previously in a small number of studies.

The other finding concerning the multilingual learning process is related to the factor of intentionality, which is defined and discussed in section 3. Examining multilingual learners with four or more background languages, Fuster and Neuser (2020) coded the instances of CLI and distinguished intentional from unintentional CLI. Findings showed that semantic types of transfer were intentional in 75% of the occurrences (Fuster & Neuser, 2020, p. 527). Additionally, 90% of CLI of typologically distant languages are intentional (Fuster & Neuser, 2020, p. 528). The study concludes by stating that the observed instances would have been coded as unintentional by previous methodological designs and points out the importance of method design regarding intentionality. Another study that acknowledges the multilingual learner as a conscious individual is one by Mutta (2014), in which metalinguistic strategies of multilingual learners are examined. A number of form-, meaning- and form-meaning-based strategies were identified in relation to L1-L2-L3 cognates. It was concluded that L2-English was most prevalent in activation and that the strategies did not always lead to correct productions. Nevertheless, Mutta (2014) concluded that teaching strategies could still be useful in the language classroom. Lastly, and not as present as in previous studies,

Eibensteiner (2019, p. 78) interprets the finding of L2 activation in L3 production as partly due to learners' conscious desire to use L2 as a learning strategy.

## **5 Discussion**

Section 5 includes a discussion of the findings of the present literature review. In subsection 5.1, research question 1 is addressed and the trends of recent transfer research are discussed. In subsection 5.2, attitudes toward transfer are discussed with respect to research question 2. Subsection 5.3 discusses the multilingual process relating to research question 3. Lastly, subsection 5.4 includes a discussion of some pedagogical implications of the findings of the present review. It should be emphasised that one of the inclusion criteria of the present literature review ensured a selection of studies centred on multilingual learning with three or more languages. Consequently, no conclusion can be established with regard to comparative studies that compare monolinguals and multilinguals. Furthermore, there were a substantially small number of studies examined ( $n=13$ ), which means that any and all findings are highly suggestive. Nevertheless, there is an interesting discussion to be had based on the findings.

### **5.1 Trends of CLI Research**

Regarding research question 1, the trends identified in the literature for the present review were the age span, types of CLI, the use of models and hypotheses, and factors impacting CLI. It can be observed that the general age span was between 13 and 35, and any ages outside of this scope were rather underrepresented. However, the age factor is not an underresearched one and the use of transfer in people younger or older than 13-35 has been previously studied (cf. section 3). Likewise, all types of CLI have been covered over the years; thus, the trend of lexical transfer seen in the present study might just be that: a current trend.

Models and hypotheses, as seen, have been used to refer to different theories of CLI and there are many other models that have not been mentioned in this review. As mentioned in section 4.2, the L2 Status Factor states that it is the L2 that primarily affects TLA. The reason for this, as mentioned in section 1.1.1, is that the learning of a third language is a different experience from SLA (Jessner, 2008), since many learners see the “L1 as [...] non-foreign and therefore prefer to rely on a prior L2 as a learning strategy for the L3” (Eibensteiner, 2019, p. 68). Another trend that is apparent in this study, is factors affecting

CLI, notably typology, psychotypology, and language proficiency where most studies agree that these factors affect CLI in one way or another. Neither models nor factors, however, are new in CLI research and have both been used as a way of understanding CLI and why it may occur (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

Another interesting observation is the lack of a trend of conceptual transfer. As Jarvis and Pavlenko stated in 2008 (cf. section 3), conceptual transfer was then a fairly new and underresearched classification, yet 15 years later there is still very little on the topic. Despite the lack of representation in the present literature review, conceptual transfer is seemingly an important topic that would benefit from being further researched. Another, slightly more implicit, trend that extends over all studies is the focus on what affects learners' use of transfer. It is evident that transfer happens, but difficult to accurately predict when, how and why it will occur. The claim that the complexity of languages and people prohibits researchers from being able to predict transfer (cf. section 3) still stands.

## **5.2 Attitudes Toward Transfer**

In relation to research question 2 and attitudes of transfer research, the majority of studies dealt with transfer in neutral terms indicating that the overall perception of CLI has indeed shifted from earlier research (cf. section 3). Even though some studies showed a slightly more negative attitude toward transfer, the notion of it has considerably changed from the mid-20th century, with e.g. Weinreich's (1953) highly negative opinions. Altogether, the view of transfer has changed, presumably due to the fact that most researchers recognise that CLI can be used, not only against learners and teachers but also to their advantage. However, as previously mentioned, Lindqvist (2010) acknowledges the difficulties of detecting positive transfer. When a large amount of positive transfer is unseen, it is hard to tell what is target language knowledge and what is transfer when it all leads to correct utterances. Consequently, this might explain why most studies are neutral toward transfer and not entirely positive.

Another interesting observation is that, despite being outside our scope, intralinguistic influence is sometimes the source of both positive and negative influence (Mutta, 2014). This indicates that negative influences do not always originate from negative transfer but sometimes from the target language itself. The view of transfer as a solely negative thing seems rather hypocritical since, from that point of view, the TL is just as bad of an influence as the L1 or L2. As stated in section 4.4, it is not always easy to distinguish which language influences the TL.

### **5.3 Multilingual Learning**

All studies examined instances of lateral transfer, i.e. transfer to and from a later acquired language (cf. section 1.2). Despite the few instances of negative attitudes toward transfer identified (Efeoglu, Yüksel & Baran, 2020; Stoehr et al., 2023; Foryś-Nogala et al., 2023), there are overall clear indications that CLI research is continually moving away from the long-standing prejudice against the harmful effects of multilingualism (Jessner, 2008; Weinreich, 1953). Multilingual learning is treated as its own complex process and the general direction of the studies aims to understand how languages activate and interact inside the mind of the learner. The one study which focused on reverse and bidirectional transfer (Stoehr et al., 2023) also illustrates a change from the narrow-minded linear view of transfer, which only recognised influence originating from one previously acquired source language onto one later acquired recipient language. Although already stated in previous research (Odlin, 1989; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008), the complexity of the CLI of the multilingual learner is further illustrated by the studies included in the present literature review.

Transfer research on intentionality and conscious learning strategies was scant before 2009 (cf. section 3), and there were only a few studies that examined the phenomenon in the present literature review (Mutta, 2014; Eibensteiner, 2019; Fuster & Neuser, 2020). Despite the small representation, the instances are worth mentioning as they expand the view of the multilingual learner. By recognising the awareness, intention and autonomy of the multilingual learner, transfer is not only seen as a subconscious aid or hindrance but also a tool or a strategy which can be learned. It is also important to point out that there are additional challenges to detect instances of intentional use of CLI. Moreover, as Fuster and Neuser (2020) state, there might be a pattern of methodological design that has led to incorrect coding of unintentional CLI that, in fact, are examples of intentional CLI.

### **5.4 Pedagogical Implications**

Finally, comments on the pedagogical implications of CLI and multilingualism need to be made. First of all, a rather outdated standard that should be avoided in a language classroom, is the monolingual norm in which multilinguals are seen as multiple monolinguals and will never fully acquire another language because of this. The reason for this is that the complexity of how languages interact in the mind will never allow a target language to work as a closed system; it is always interacting with previously acquired languages, and the teacher should acknowledge this.



Secondly, a large part of students have more than one background language in their repertoire and these languages should not be dismissed but used to the students' advantage. Similarly, the view of intentionality of transfer can be considered a resource and a language learning strategy. A student intentionally using transfer as a strategy for their own learning should be seen as a positive thing, despite leading to possible errors. The more background languages a student has, the more resources for learning a new language they have. It can help them become aware and conscious of similarities and differences between languages and, regardless of whether it leads to correct or incorrect utterances, it will always lead to new learning opportunities.

## **6 Conclusions**

In summary, the present literature review has examined trends, attitudes and the multilingual learning process of transfer research in European countries between the years 2009 and 2023. The general findings of the 13 included studies examine some well-established models, hypotheses and factors with a general focus on understanding how CLI manifests and interacts in the multilingual mind and which factors affect this influence. In terms of attitudes, there is a continued shift to a more neutral and positive attitude toward transfer which is illustrated in contrast with more traditional views. Some examples of the traditional negative attitude were detected in a minority of the studies, which also illuminates the persistence of the long-standing prejudice against multilingualism. Regarding the multilingual learning process, there is a clear separation from monolingual learning, which is shown through the exploration of the classifications referred to as lateral, reverse, bidirectional and intentional transfer.

Although some clear changes have been observed, the present literature review is limited in data, which leaves much to explore in future research. Future research should continue to examine areas such as conceptual transfer and the directionality of CLI since current research in the areas is limited. With respect to Fuster and Neuser (2020), a change in methodological design is needed to distinguish between intentional and unintentional transfer. Lastly, transfer research is still in need of longitudinal data to fully comprehend the extent of CLI.

# References

- Alonso Raya, R., Castañeda Castro, A., Martínez Gila, P., Miguel López, L., Ortega Olivares, J., & Ruiz Campillo, J. (2005). *Gramática básica del estudiante de español*. Difusión.
- Anastassiou, F., & Andreou, G. (2017). Speech Production of Trilingual Children: A Study on Their Transfers in Terms of Content and Function Words and the Effect of Their L1. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 7(6), 30.  
<http://doi.org/10.5539/ijel.v7n6p30>
- Bardel, C., & Falk, Y. (2007). The role of the second language in third language acquisition: The case of Germanic syntax. *Second Language Research*, 23(4), 459-484.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0267658307080>
- Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Sprouse, R.A. (2018). Negative Versus Positive Transfer. *The TESOL Encyclopedia of English Language Teaching*, 1-6.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118784235.eelt0084>
- Devlin, M. Folli, R. Henry, A. Sevdali, C. (2015). Clitic Right Dislocation in English: Cross-linguistic Influence in Multilingual Acquisition. *Lingua*, 161(July), 101–124.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2015.02.001>
- Efeoglu, G., Yüksel, H., & Baran, S. (2020). Lexical cross-linguistic influence: A study of three multilingual learners of L3 English. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 17(4), 535-551. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1080/14790718.2019.1620239>
- Eibenstein, L. (2019). Transfer in L3 Acquisition. *Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 8(1), 67-83. <https://doi.org/10.1075/dujal.19003.eib>
- Eibenstein, L. (2023). Complex transfer processes in multilingual language (L3/Ln) acquisition of Spanish past tenses: The role of non-native language (L2) transfer. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, Advance online publication, 1-19.  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1080/14790718.2022.2164768>
- Engelska [ämnnesplan]*. (2022). Skolverket.  
<https://www.skolverket.se/download/18.4fc05a3f164131a74181056/1535372297288/English-swedish-school.pdf>
- European Union. (1995). Council Resolution of 31 March 1995 on improving and diversifying language learning and teaching within the education systems of the European Union. Eurolex.

[https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31995Y0812\(01\):EN:HTML](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31995Y0812(01):EN:HTML)

- Foryś-Nogala, M., Broniś, O., Opacki, M., & Otwinowska, A. (2023). Cross-linguistic influences, language proficiency and metalinguistic knowledge in L3 Italian subject placement. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 20(2), 308-328.  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1080/14790718.2020.1811710>
- Fuster, C., & Neuser, H. (2020). Exploring intentionality in lexical transfer. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 17(4), 516-534.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2018.1559845>
- Hammarberg, B. (2001). Roles of L1 and L2 in L3 production and acquisition. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner (Eds.), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition. Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp. 21–41). Multilingual Matters.
- Hermas, A. (2010). Language acquisition as computational resetting: Verb movement in L3 initial state. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 7(4), 343-362.  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1080/14790718.2010.487941>
- Homer. (2018). *The Odyssey* (Wilson, E.). W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Illman, V., & Pietilä, P. (2018). Multilingualism as a resource in the foreign language classroom. *ELT Journal Volume*, 72(3), 237-248. <https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccx073>
- Jarvis, S., & Pavlenko, A. (2008). *Crosslinguistic influence in language and cognition*. Routledge.
- Jessner, U. (2008). Teaching third languages: Findings, trends and challenges: A State-of-the-Art Article. *Language Teaching*. 41(1). 15–56.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444807004739>
- Kellerman, E. (1983). Now You See It, Now You Don't. In Gass, S. M. & Selinker, L. (Eds.), *Language Transfer In Language Learning* (p. 112–134). Newbury House Publishers, Inc.
- Kellerman, E., & Sharwood Smith, M. (1986). *Crosslinguistic influence in second language acquisition*. Pergamon Institute of English.
- Källkvist, M., Gyllstad, H., Sandlund, E., & Sundqvist, P. (2017). English Only in Multilingual Classrooms? *LMS - Lingua*, 2017(4), 27-31.
- Lindqvist, C. (2010). Inter- and intralingual lexical influences in advanced learners' French L3 oral production. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, IRAL*, 48(2/3), 131. <https://doi.org/10.1515/iral.2010.007>

- Läroplan för gymnasieskolan. (2011). Skolverket.  
<https://www.skolverket.se/undervisning/gymnasieskolan/laroplan-program-och-amnen-i-gymnasieskolan/laroplan-gyll-for-gymnasieskolan>
- Milambiling, J. (2011). Bringing one Language to Another: Multilingualism as a Resource in the Language Classroom. *English Teaching Forum*, 49(1), 18-35.
- Mirjam, E. (2022). Exploring overt cross-linguistic influence in lower secondary learners written texts in English and French as a second or third language. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, Advance online publication, 1-22.  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1080/14790718.2022.2127731>
- Moderna språk* [ämnesplan]. (2022).  
 Skolverket.<https://www.skolverket.se/download/18.4fc05a3f164131a74181066/1535372298568/Modern-languages-swedish-school.pdf>
- Mutta, M. (2014). Cross-linguistic influence in an oral translation task by L3 French learners. *LIA: Language, Interaction and Acquisition*, 5(2), 279-313.  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1075/lia.5.2.05mut>
- Odlin, T. (1989). *Language Transfer: Cross-linguistic influence in language learning*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ridley, D. (2012). *The Literature Review: A Step-by-Step Guide for Students*. Sage Publications.
- Ringbom, H., & Jarvis, S. (2009). The Importance of Cross-Linguistic Similarity in Foreign Language Learning. In Long, M. H., & Doughty, C. J. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Teaching* (pp. 106-118). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Rothman, J. (2011). L3 syntactic transfer selectivity and typological determinacy: The typological primacy model. *Second Language Research*, 27(1), 107-127.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/026765831038643>
- Stoehr, A., Jevtović, M., De Bruin, A., & Martin, C. (2023). Phonetic and Lexical Crosslinguistic Influence in Early Spanish–Basque–English Trilinguals. *Language Learning*, Advance online publication.  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1111/lang.12598>
- Ullman, M. (2001). The neutral basis of lexicon and grammar in first and second language: The declarative/procedural model. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 4(1), 105–122. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728901000220>

van Tessel, E., & Bril, M. (2021). French as a foreign language in the Netherlands. *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, 38(1), 114-127.

<https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1075/avt.00056.tes>

Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in Contact : Findings and Problems*. (New York. Linguistic circle. Publications; 1). New York.

Westergaard, M., Mitrofanova, N., Mykhaylyk, R., & Rodina, Y. (2017). Crosslinguistic influence in the acquisition of a third language: The Linguistic Proximity Model. *The International Journal of Bilingualism : Cross-disciplinary, Cross-linguistic Studies of Language Behavior*, 21(6), 666-682.

<https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1177/136700691664>