



Svoboda, M. (2014). Language biographies of two Croatian lecturers: comparison of foreign language acquisition. *International Online Journal of Education and Teaching (IOJET)*, 1(5). 348-356.

<http://iojet.org/index.php/IOJET/article/view/68/95>

LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES OF TWO CROATIAN LECTURERS: COMPARISON OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Manuela Svoboda

University of Rijeka

msovoboda@ffri.hr

Manuela Svoboda, PhD: 1992-1997 Study of German Language and Literature and English Language and Literature (University of Frankfurt, Germany), completed with the state finals/graduation thesis. 2009 - 2014 doctoral study (University of Klagenfurt, Austria), completed with the doctoral dissertation: *Der Einfluss der Muttersprache auf den schriftlichen Ausdruck und das Übersetzen von muttersprachlichen Texten ins Deutsche bei DaF-Studierenden in Kroatien* (The mother tongue influence on written essays and translations of texts from mother tongue into German language of German as foreign language students in Croatia).

Copyright by Informascope. Material published and so copyrighted may not be published elsewhere without the written permission of IOJET.

LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES OF TWO CROATIAN LECTURERS: COMPARISON OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Manuela Svoboda
msvoboda@ffri.hr

Foreign language acquisition research based on language biographies is a relatively new research method. A new explicit form was created in the mid-nineties of the last century, whereas the interest in researching personal experience of language and language acquisition has existed even earlier, as for instance can be seen in Obler, L.; Fein, D. (1988): *The exceptional brain*. Language biographies can basically be described as biographical method established in social sciences, where war biographies and women's biographies are generally known as research methods to study and describe certain topics. Language biographies are used to portray personal experiences on the topic of language acquisition and language repertoire based on interviews and/or questionnaires. Language acquisition and language usage differ from person to person, depending on their social, historically-biographical surrounding, heavily depending on their personal living situation. Languages are linked to certain biographical situations, i.e. family relations and/or other places where people get in contact with language(s) (see: Krumm: 18). Moreover, language acquisition is not a linear process; social and situational influences as well as personal attitudes and individual language contacts have a big impact on it, thus it is a necessity to focus research on individual language identity concepts. Inspired by an article under the title „Als Kind, im Ausland oder nie“¹ (As child, abroad or never) written by Heinrich Stalg this contribution focuses on the analysis of second/foreign language acquisition of two Croatian lecturers at the University of Rijeka based on differences in their language biographies. The author of the above mentioned article states that a foreign language is learned as child, abroad or never, striking me as a central question which is being followed-up in the course of the research and analysis of the two language biographies. As a result, the hypothesis of Stalg that a language is learned “as child, abroad or never” should be confirmed or destroyed based on analysis of the language biographies of the two lecturers which were recorded in a questionnaire and an additional interview.

This study is not meant to be holistic and representative, it is merely an insight into two different language biographies, varying in the way the second/foreign language was acquired based on different life situations, analyzed and described from the point of view of the two interviewees. Furthermore, the study concentrates on acquisition of German as a second/foreign language and other foreign languages are mentioned but not taken into consideration in the analysis.

1. Objective and Starting Position of the Study

A main objective of the study was to find an answer to the question if there is, or rather to prove *that* there is a difference in where a foreign language is learned, as well as to analyze if there are advantages in acquiring a second/foreign language abroad, i.e. in the country where

¹ Stalg, H., Handbuch für ausländische Studienbewerber, Kap. X, Manuskript

this language is spoken as mother tongue. A further aim was to detect if age is playing a role as a factor for acquiring a second/foreign language based on statements of the interviewees.

The main difference between the two language biographies lies in the fact that one of the lecturers (Lecturer A) was born and raised in Germany, she went to kindergarten and school there. After her school-leaving examination (A-levels) he moved to Croatia in order to study German and French language and literature at the university in Zadar. By comparison, the other lecturer (Lecturer B) was born and raised in Croatia and learned German in school in Croatia. Later on she studied German and Croatian language and literature at the university in Rijeka, sometimes she went for a visit at her relative's in Germany.

By analyzing the language biographies of these two lectures in the end should give an answer to the question if learning the second/foreign language abroad, i.e. in the country where the language is spoken, is easier and results in higher language competency concerning pronunciation, grammatical correctness and last but not least language awareness.

The assessment of language competencies is based on self-assessment of the two lecturers.

2. Research Issues

In order to answer the above leading question it was necessary to pose further questions concerning the language acquisition process in the two language biographies, which are listed below:

How did the two lecturers learn the German language?

What do their language biographies look like?

How do the lecturers assess their language competencies?

How did the mother language influence the second/foreign language acquisition, or did it influence second/foreign language acquisition at all?

Which differences occurred regarding second/foreign language acquisition in the two lecturer's language biographies?

Was second/foreign language acquisition easier for the lecturer living in Germany and if yes, why so? Or, if not, why not so?

Is there a difference in language competencies between the two lecturers? And if yes, why and how do they differ?

2.1. Research Method

A questionnaire and an interview were chosen as research method. General questions concerning place and time period of second/foreign language acquisition of the two lecturers, where they went to school and how they self-assess their language competencies, which other languages they speak in addition to Croatian and German, on which level they speak those languages and how often and in which context they use the other languages (i.e. active or passive speaker) were asked in the questionnaire.

In order to gain a deeper insight in second/foreign language acquisition of the two lecturers and to get an answer to the question if and how the mother language influenced the second/foreign language acquisition, or if second/foreign language acquisition was easier for the lecturer born and raised in Germany and if, why so, as well as to see if the language competencies (due to their self-assessment) differ from each other an additional interview was conducted with the two lecturers.

As there is a lack of technical equipment at the university (there is no dictaphone and the quality of recording with a mobile phone turned out not to be good enough) the interviews could not be recorded but notes on the lecturers' answers were taken during the interviews

and the interviews were transcribed afterwards, i.e. the notes were formulated in order to get a context and not to lose important information.

3. Analysis of the Questionnaires

The language biographies are of two lecturers of approximately the same age, both teaching at the University of Rijeka, German department. Lecturer A is a linguist and Lecturer B is a methodologist for teaching German as a foreign language. In this analysis all foreign languages are mentioned, but in the final analysis and interpretation of results the focus will be only on acquisition of the German language; the other foreign languages will be left out.

3.1. Lecturer A

Lecturer A's mother language is Croatian and spent her childhood and teenage years in Germany. She went to kindergarten and to elementary school in Berlin. Upon finishing elementary school she went to the Gymnasium (grammar school) in Berlin, always having German as language of instruction. She moved to Croatia in order to study Croatian, German and French at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar. She refers to Croatian as her mother language, German as her second language, whereas English and French are determined as foreign languages.

Lecturer A assesses her language competency in her mother language as *very good*; equally she assesses her German language competency with *very good*², while she grades her language competencies in English and French with *good*. She does not speak further languages.

Concerning language usage Lecturer A made the following statements:

When it comes to speaking languages, she uses Croatian in her everyday life, with her family and friends, as well as in her job. She speaks German with her own children on a daily basis, sometimes with friends and as exclusive language of instruction in her job as lecturer. French is spoken rarely by her (with friends), and English only in a professional environment.

When it comes to writing, the situation is quite similar: She uses Croatian on a daily basis for written correspondence and for her scientific work. German is also used on a daily basis for written correspondence and scientific work, while she hardly ever uses French and on very rare occasions she uses English.

She reads in Croatian on a daily basis, mostly print media and specialist literature. Reading in German also occurs on a daily basis, both print media and specialist literature, while reading in French and English occurs on rare occasions in the field of specialist literature. Language hears on a daily basis are Croatian (everyday communication and media) and German (also everyday communication and media), whereas she hears French and English on rare occasions in media.

Lecturer A learned English and French in school, English as the first foreign language which was taught from form 4 to 10 two lessons a week and afterwards at the upper secondary level in the Gymnasium (grammar school) more often, as she decided to chose English as her major subject being taught four lessons a week.

In French she was taught two lessons a week from form 7 to 10. At the upper secondary level she chose French as her second major subject which was taught four lessons a week.

² According to the German grading system: very good (1), good (2), satisfactory (3), sufficient (4), deficient (5), fail (6)

Later on, French became her major subject at university so she was taught eight lessons a week in French.

Lecturer A determines Croatian as her mother language which she spoke with her parents but she did never learn this language at school (non-guided language acquisition). As she grew up in Germany she institutionally acquired German (Kindergarten and school) and communicated with German native speakers on a daily basis.

She ranks Croatian and German on position one concerning language competency, followed by English on position three (as she speaks it on rare occasions) and French on position four. Most frequently she uses Croatian and German (on a daily basis), then comes English (on rare occasions), followed by French (hardly ever).

Lecturer A acquired the Croatian language in Germany (from her parents); likewise she acquired German, English and French in Germany (in school).

3.2. Lecturer B

Lecturer B went to elementary and grammar school in Croatia and she studied Croatian and German at the university in Rijeka, Croatia. She considers Croatian as her mother language and German and Italian as her foreign languages. Compared with Lecturer A she labels German as foreign language not as second language.

She assesses her language competency in Croatian with *very good*, her language competency in German also with *very good*, while she assesses her language competency in Italian with *good*. Lecturer B also speaks English, assessing her language competency here with *satisfactory*.

Lecturer B speaks Croatian on a daily basis with her family and friends and in all her daily situations. She speaks German in her professional environment, at work with her colleagues five times a week, at her post-graduate studies when having presentations and in classroom discussions, approximately one to two times a week. In comparison, she uses Italian only when shopping in Italy³, approximately six times a year.

She writes emails in Croatian language to colleagues and friends on a daily basis, while she uses German in written form when writing colleagues or preparing teaching material, approximately five times a week. When it comes to the Italian language, she uses it in written form only to write postcards or greeting cards, approximately two times a year.

Lecturer B reads in Croatian language on a daily basis as she reads a lot of specialist literature, books and newspapers, as well as scientific articles, but she also reads in German on a daily basis, namely journals, specialist literature and scientific articles. She reads scientific articles in English if necessary and she does not read in Italian at all.

The Croatian language she hears on a daily basis on TV or radio, as well in her everyday communication, while she hears German at her working place in everyday communication with colleagues and students nearly on a daily basis. She hears the Italian language two to three times a week on TV (movies and TV shows). She hears English on a daily basis, mainly when watching movies on TV⁴.

³ As Rijeka is very close to the Italian border, many people from Rijeka go shopping in Italy.

⁴ In Kroatien sind Filme nicht synchronisiert, sondern werden mit Untertiteln ausgestrahlt, so dass man sie immer in der Originalsprache hört.

She specifies that she did not learn any language in a not-guided way, i.e. without having had lessons in school. According to her self-assessment she speaks the Croatian language the best, followed by German, then Italian and English on last position.

Lecturer B states that she speaks Croatian the most, expressed in percentage terms set at 100%, followed by German with 50%, Italian with 25%. In this category she did not mention English at all. Lecturer B acquired all her languages (Croatian, German, Italian and English) in Croatia in a guided way.

3.3. Interpretation of Findings

The interpretation deals with the German language only, as it was announced at the beginning, as the other languages (for they are all foreign languages acquired in a guided way in a non-native speaker surrounding) are not relevant for comparing if it is easier to learn a language as child, abroad or never.

The first striking thing when comparing the two language biographies is the fact that the two lecturers label the German language in a different way: Lecturer A who was born and raised in Germany identifies German as her “second“ language, while Lecturer B who was born and raised in Croatia identifies German as one of her “foreign“ languages. Also, there are differences concerning the usage of the German language. Lecturer A uses German at home, she speaks it with her children and friends, while Lecturer B uses German exclusively in her professional environment, as she teaches German at the university.

There are no differences concerning written correspondence, as both lecturers use the German language to write emails, mainly in professional environment, including their scientific work. When it comes to reading, there are also no differences, as both of them read specialist literature, journals and other print media in German language on a daily basis.

There is a little difference when comparing the frequency of listening to/hearing the German language: Lecturer A who was born and raised in Germany hears the German language on a daily basis, while Lecturer B who was born and raised in Croatia hears the German language five times a week, principally in her professional environment while communicating with her colleagues.

Both lecturers assess their language competency in German with *very good*. There are obvious differences concerning the self-assessment which languages they speak best. Lecturer A puts her mother language Croatian with German on first position, while Lecturer B puts her mother language Croatian on first position and German on second position. Likewise, the ranking of language usage frequency differs in the two lecturers: Lecturer A puts Croatian and German equally on first position, while Lecturer B puts Croatian on first position and German on second position again.

All in all, based on the language biography questionnaire it can be determined that Lecturer A speaks and hears the German language more often than Lecturer B. Furthermore, Lecturer A considers German as her second language, while Lecturer B definitely considers it as one of her foreign languages.

4. Analysis and Interpretation of the Interviews

In order to get a deeper insight in German language acquisition, an interview was conducted with the two lecturers. The main focus in this interview was on how the German language was acquired.

The starting position for acquiring the German language was similar for both of the lecturers: they did not know the German language before they entered the Kindergarten, or

school. However, the process of German language acquisition took place in a very different way as Lecturer A who was raised in Germany learned the German language in a non-guided way when she entered the kindergarten by communicating with other children and adults, i.e. in a native speaking environment. After that, German was a subject in school on mother language level.

In comparison, Lecturer B who was raised in Croatia learned German in a guided way for nine years in school and from time to time she visited her relatives in Germany in order to improve her knowledge of the German language by communication with native speakers. The percentage of grammar was very high in Lecturer B's language lessons, while the percentage of communication was very low; it was not considered a priority. Most of the time communication in lessons was merely based on drilled answering to questions asked by the teacher. As opposed to Lecturer A where communication was the priority in German lessons and grammar was dealt with from the aspect of German as mother tongue, therefore not playing such an important role.

When asked how often there was the possibility to speak in foreign language lessons, i.e. German lessons, Lecturer B answered that this was not very often, as text work and grammar were a priority in lessons. Lecturer A did not answer this question as she had German lessons as mother language lessons.

Lecturer B stated that she noticed interferences from the Croatian mother language when acquiring German as a foreign language, especially concerning gender and word order.

Lecturer A stated that second language acquisition happened unconsciously and that she spoke an interesting mixture of Croatian and German before she started school, not realizing interferences nor conscious code-switching. For instance, she used words like "laufati"⁵.

During foreign language acquisition Lecturer B seldom used the German language while Lecturer A was exposed to the German language on a daily basis, and spoke it everywhere but in her home, where she spoke Croatian with her parents. With her sister she mostly preferred to speak German.

In comparison, Lecturer B did not speak German, neither with her family nor with her friends, but she used the German language in the summertime when friends and relatives from Germany came to visit.

When asked if the two lecturers were shy to use the German language, to communicate with people in German, Lecturer B said that she was very shy in the beginning because she did not want to make any mistakes while Lecturer A could not remember being shy as the second language acquisition and mother language acquisition took place simultaneously. It took Lecturer B several years to lose her shyness to speak German, more precisely till the beginning of her German studies at university, in the course of which she also spend six months in Germany. That is (according to her opinion) what helped her most to get over her shyness.

Both lecturers state that, depending on the topic, sometimes they have problems in articulating certain things in their second/foreign language as they cannot recall a certain word or expression. Nevertheless, usually they are able to paraphrase it. Furthermore, Lecturer A says that she more often has problems in recalling certain words or expressions in her second language when communicating exclusively in her mother tongue for a long time. On the other hand, the same thing happens in her mother tongue when conversing exclusively

⁵ German verb conjugated like Croatian verbs.

in her second language over a longer period of time. Both lecturers state that communication in Croatian language seems more natural to them (as they live in Croatia this is not surprising). If they are to choose in which language to speak with a person who is fluent in both languages, German and Croatian, Lecturer B would prefer Croatian as she could express herself more freely and spontaneously, while Lecturer A would prefer German in Germany and Croatian in Croatia. Both lecturers would recommend a stay abroad when learning a foreign language. Lecturer B explains it with her own experience and thinks that a language can be acquired faster and in a more effective way when being in a native speaking country.

When self-assessing their language competency in German in comparison to their mother language, Lecturer B states that in comparison to Croatian (being stated with 100%) her language competency in German lies at 70%, while Lecturer A puts both languages on an equal level.

Lecturer B considers herself as having an advantage concerning grammar knowledge compared to people who have acquired German as a second language in Germany, but clearly sees a disadvantage concerning her communication skills and vocabulary. Lecturer A did not mention any advantages or disadvantages.

Based on the answers of the lecturers it is evident that the second language acquisition of Lecturer A who was born and raised in Germany was non-guided and unconscious. Mother and second language acquisition took place simultaneously, while it was more difficult for Lecturer B who was born and raised in Croatia to learn German as a foreign language. She could speak it less often and dealt more with grammar than with communication. As a consequence, she was shy to use the language and to speak freely in German. In comparison to Lecturer A, Lecturer B assesses her knowledge of German with 70%. In her eyes there is a big gap between her knowledge of the mother language (100%) and the knowledge of her second language German (70%). She would always prefer communication in her mother language Croatian to communication in German.

5. Conclusion

In summary it can be said, therefore, that after evaluation and analysis of the questionnaires and the interviews regarding the language biographies of the two lecturers the language awareness and the self-assessment of the language competency in their second/foreign language German is much higher in Lecturer A than in Lecturer B.

With regards to the leading question it can be determined that Lecturer A's acquisition of second language German started when she was a child, i.e. when she started to go to the kindergarten and took place simultaneously with the mother language acquisition. She went through the process and the stages of children's language acquisition in both languages, was practically raised bilingually.

Children's language acquisition is self organized in most of the phases they go through. New words and phrases are added to the existing concept and integrated in the existing knowledge. So the existing knowledge is expanded, deepened, rebuilt and linked; thus, the knowledge is repeatedly reorganized and newly structured, resulting in unconscious code-switching. In comparison to Lecturer B who was born and raised in Croatia Lecturer A could actively use the language more often while acquiring it, and more importantly, she was in contact with native speakers all the time, so pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar were acquired unconsciously and not-guided. The content of the language biographies was described in detail in the introduction and the analysis, so at this point it is only to be added that Lecturer A stated that she was raised bilingual, while Lecturer

B considers German as a foreign language she learned in Croatian school and university and during her short trips to Germany, giving proof of what Griebhaber states:

Es ist offenkundig, dass Kleinkinder unter normalen Kommunikationsbedingungen praktisch jede Sprache bis zum Muttersprachenniveau erwerben können, und zwar ohne dass sie dazu Grammatikunterricht benötigen. Auf der anderen Seite fällt es erwachsenen Lernern in der Regel schwer ohne kognitive Hilfen, wie z.B. Grammatikregeln usw. zu lernen. Ebenso offensichtlich ist die Tatsache, dass man etwa ab der Pubertät eine weitere Sprache nicht mehr ohne Akzenteinflüsse der schon beherrschten Sprache erwerben kann. (Griebhaber 2001:20)

Based on the differences shown in the two lecturers' second/foreign language acquisition it is evident that they acquired the language in a completely different way, under completely different conditions. On one side German in a surrounding of native speaker, on the other side German in Croatia as foreign language in school, an artificial atmosphere, as Heinrich Stalg also mentions in his article: "War es nicht eine merkwürdige, künstliche Situation? Sie konnten sich doch über alle Themen viel besser in der Muttersprache unterhalten, aber Sie waren gezwungen, die fremde Sprache zu benutzen" (Stalg: Kap. X). Most of the time communication in the classroom is performed in a way that the teacher asks a question and the students are answering it in order to practice different grammatical structures or phrases, whereby the teacher is talking much more than the students. As a conclusion one can say that it is no wonder Lecturer A assesses language competency in both languages as being on the same level. Frequent usage and exposure to both languages made her learn them simultaneously and "in as natural way" as she herself put it. Regarding the question if and how the mother language influenced the acquisition of the second/foreign language, it can be determined that Lecturer B mentioned interferences from the mother language, while Lecturer A did not realize them, or was not aware of them, but she realized another phenomena: a mixed language, or an interlanguage while she was acquiring both languages simultaneously. She transferred rules and structures from one language into the other. Such a mixed language, the interlanguage, is a language interim system which is developed by learners of second languages:

Beim Erwerb einer zweiten Sprache bildet der Lerner ein spezifisches Sprachsystem (Interlanguage) heraus, das Züge von Grund- und Zweitsprache sowie eigenständige, von Grund- und Zweitsprache unabhängige sprachliche Merkmale aufweist. Das Zusammenwirken verschiedener lernerspezifischer Prozesse, Strategien und Regeln bestimmt die Dynamik der Interlanguage, die als variabel und systematisch zugleich charakterisiert werden kann. (Bausch/Kasper 1979:15)

Nevertheless, multilingual raised children are able to keep apart and to differentiate between several languages from the beginning. According to their statements, Lecturer A and Lecturer B assess their language competency differently. The difference is not small, it amounts to 30% (Lecturer A assesses her German knowledge with 100%, Lecturer B with 70%). This leads to the conclusion that Heinrich Stalg's hypothesis can be confirmed as the Lecturer A speaks German on mother language level while Lecturer B speaks German on foreign language level with a self assessment of 70% compared to her mother language Croatian. However, the second part of his hypothesis cannot be confirmed, as it is possible to learn a language even if not a child anymore and not living abroad in the native speaking country. But I cannot be denied that mostly in adults there is an accent one can hear when they speak the foreign language and communication in the mother tongue seems more natural and is preferred to communication in foreign language.

References

- Bausch, K.R.; Kasper, G. (1979): *Der Zweitsprachenerwerb: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der „großen“ Hypothesen*. In: *Linguistische Berichte*, 64: 15.
- Brizić, K. (2007): *Das geheime Leben der Sprachen. Gesprochene und verschwiegene Sprachen und ihr Einfluss auf den Spracherwerb in der Migration*. Münster, Waxmann.
- Franceschini, R. (Hrsg.) (2001): *Biographie und Interkulturalität*. Tübingen, Stauffenburg.
- Franceschini, R. (2002): *Sprachbiographien: Erzählungen über Mehrsprachigkeit und deren Erkenntnisinteresse für Spracherwerbsforschung und die Neurobiologie der Mehrsprachigkeit*. In: *Bulletin suisse de linguistique appliquée* No. 76, Université de Neuchâtel.
- Gert, Königs, Frank G.; Zöfgen, E. (2001): *Fremdsprachen lehren und lernen*. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.
- Grießhaber, W. (2001): *Erwerb und Vermittlung des Deutschen als Fremdsprache*. In: *Deutsch in Armenien*, 1: 17-21
- Helbig, G. (Hrsg.) (2001): *Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Ein internationales Handbuch*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.
- Krumm, H.-J. (2010): *Mehrsprachigkeit in Sprachenporträts und Sprachenbiographien von Migrantinnen und Migranten*. In: *Arbeitskreis Deutsch als Fremdsprache (AkDaf) Rundbrief* 61/2010, 16-24.
- Krumm, H.-J. (2001): *Kinder und ihre Sprachen. Lebendige Mehrsprachigkeit*. Wien, Eviva.
- Ohm, U. (2000): *Second language acquisition in terms of autobiographic narratives*. In: Swierzbinska, B., Morris, F., Anderson, M. E., Klee, C. A., Tarone, E. (Hrsg.): *Social and cognitive factors in second language acquisition: Selected Proceedings of the 1999 Second Language Research Forum*, Sommerville (MA), Cascadilla Press, 458-477.
- Pavlenko, A. (2007): *Autobiographic Narratives as Data in Applied Linguistics*. *Applied Linguistics* 28/2, 163–188.
- Rampillon, U.; Zimmermann, G. (1997): *Strategien und Techniken beim Erwerb fremder Sprachen*. Ismaning. Hüber.
- Schmölzer-Eibinger, S. (2008): *Lernen in der Zweitsprache*. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.
- Stalg, H. (2008): *Handbuch für ausländische Studienbewerber, Kap. X, Manuskript*. Web. 29 Sep 2014.
- Svoboda, M. (2013): *Der Einfluss der Muttersprache auf den schriftlichen Ausdruck und das Übersetzen von muttersprachlichen Texten ins Deutsche bei DaF-Studierenden in Kroatien*. Dissertation. Universität Klagenfurt.
- Werlen, I. (1986): *Sprachbiographien von Ausländern der zweiten Generation. Arbeitsbericht zu einem soziolinguistischen Projekt unter Mitarbeit von M. Bähler et al. Teil A: Arbeitsbericht. Teil B: Transkript eines Beispielinterviews*. Bern, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Zini, V. (1992): *Narrative structures in interviews of second language learners*. Hamburg, Arbeitsstelle Mehrsprachigkeit an der Universität Hamburg.