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WRITTEN LANGUAGE PRODUCTION AT A HIGHER LEVEL OF MASTERING CROATIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Productive (active) knowledge of a foreign language is associated with speaking and writing. Deviations from the norm in writing or speaking are an unavoidable part of acquiring a foreign language, but they are not the only indicator of how well a person has mastered it. In addition to testing the accuracy of a student's spoken and written production of a foreign language, recent research includes (among other things) the testing of grammatical and lexical complexity and fluency. This paper analyzes the written linguistic production of non-native speakers of Croatian at a higher level of mastery of Croatian as a foreign language. The first part of the paper analyzes the grammatical complexity, accuracy and fluency of their written material, and the second part deals with deviations at the orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexico-semantic and word-formation levels. Furthermore, the relationship between complexity, accuracy and fluency in the individual and overall written material produced is compared.

Keywords: *Croatian as a foreign language, written production, deviations, complexity, accuracy, fluency*

1. INTRODUCTION

Students' ability to write in a foreign language is an important indicator of the degree to which they have mastered it. Aladrović Slovaček and Kolar Billege (2011: 15) point out that writing is "a complex productive activity that requires a high level of linguistic knowledge (grammatical, textual and

pragmatic)". For Pasini and Ćavar (2009: 53–54), writing is "strictly limited to language competence and it requires thoughtful use of the totality of linguistic knowledge and the rules that students are familiar with." Since writing requires a high level of mastery of a foreign language, students of foreign languages exhibit insecurity when engaging in it even at advanced levels. At higher levels of mastery of a foreign language, deviations from the norms of the language being learned[1] are expected to a lesser degree as students are expected to produce texts which are lexically, grammatically and in terms of content more complex and which follow the principles of building a coherent text structure.

However, as in the evaluation of written assignments produced by native speakers, it is difficult to determine the criteria and principles which could be used for an objective evaluation of all the segments of written production. Applying the descriptors listed in CEFR (2005: 28–29), which include range, accuracy, fluency, interaction and coherence, this paper analyzes accuracy, fluency, and complexity of written production, using examples of five subjects, speakers of various languages who learned Croatian as a foreign language. With such an approach, an attempt was made to base the assessment of language mastery on measurable principles and thereby make it more objective.

1.1. An Overview of Previous Research

Over the last twenty years or so, several papers have been published which deal with learning and teaching Croatian as a foreign language. The topics covered include the production of verb forms in the present tense (Jelaska, 2003), Croatian orthography (Udier, 2015a), the lexical approach in language teaching (Bergovec, 2007; Udier, 2009), enclitics (Udier, 2015b), comparisons of speech errors in beginners and advanced students (Carović et al., 2010), differences in mastering one's mother tongue and a foreign language (Jelaska, 2012), etc.

Many papers deal with deviations from the norm at all language levels in foreign learners of Croatian. For example, deviations in the use of verb forms (Novak, 2000; Novak Milić, 2002a; Novak Milić, 2002b), aspects of verbs (Jelaska and Bošnjak, 2005; Cvikić and Jelaska, 2007; Čilaš Mikulić, 2012a), adverbs (Musulin and Macan, 2006), infinitives and the *da + present* structures (Čilaš-Mikulić, 2012b), the category of gender (Gulešić Machata, 2012, 2013), and reflexive verbs (Pavlinušić and Kelić, 2011). In addition to grammatical deviations in written language production, those found in the

[1] On deviations see Gulešić Machata and Udier (2008: 19).

speech of foreign learners have also been researched (Carović et al., 2010).

Papers on contrastive analysis covered deviations among bilingual Croatian speakers whose main communicative language is Serbian (Jelaska and Hržica, 2002), Ukrainian speakers mastering the morphology of Croatian (Fuderer, 2004), Macedonian Croatists (Cvitanušić Tvico and Nazalević, 2010), speakers of Slavic languages (Gulešić Machata and Jelaska, 2010), native speakers of German (Macan and Kolaković, 2008), native speakers of Italian (Alujević Jukić and Brešan, 2010), and native speakers of Polish (Vidović Bolt and Kodrić, 2013). Other research included comparisons between verb systems in Croatian and Macedonian as a second and foreign language (Jelaska et. al., 2010), and the most pronounced differences in spelling between Croatian and Slovenian (Ćužić, 2015).

Newer theoretical approaches, which view language as a changing system, such as dynamic systems theory, chaos/complexity theory, or complex adaptive system theory[2] in mastering Croatian as a foreign language were applied in Bašić (2015).

1.2. Basic Concepts and Terms

Mastering a foreign language is a long and complex process, and it implies mastering various language skills. During this process, various types of deviations appear, which can be used to follow a person's progress. The literature discusses three main approaches to deviations: the contrastive analysis hypothesis, error analysis and interlanguage theory.[3]

Progress was traditionally determined by comparing the learner's interlanguage, i.e. the transitional system composed of elements of the target and source languages, but also elements that do not belong to either (Selinker and Gass, 2001: 11), and the target language. Deviations were broken down according to various criteria, so research papers mention transfer errors, developmental errors, native errors and non-native errors. Furthermore, interlingual, intralingual and induced errors were detected in language production activities.

Interlanguage is influenced by a number of factors, and its partly predictable development is also characterized by a certain unpredictable variability. Linguistic development is therefore complex, creative and highly individual, and variability is most pronounced during the transition from one developmental phase to another (Medved Krajnović, 2010: 24). Analyzing written

[2] On these approaches see more in Larsen-Freeman (1997: 142), de Bot and Larsen-Freeman (2011: 8–17), Cameron and Larsen-Freeman (2007), Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008), Bašić (2015: 8–13) and Bašić (2017: 289–295).

[3] More on that in Schachter (1974), Corder (1981) and James (1998).

language produced in one's mother tongue in the so-called minimum terminable syntactic unit (T-unit), Hunt concluded that children can also form longer sentences, but only by using coordinating conjunctions (Hunt, 1965: 37). According to Hunt, reducing the number of sentences when mastering one's mother tongue and increasing the number of T-units is a sign of maturation.

It was on these syntactic units that the idea of creating an index of development when mastering a foreign language was based. Larsen-Freeman (2009: 580) was among the first to advocate this, emphasizing that such an index would make it possible to determine the developmental level of the subjects more precisely, which was prior to then based on a subjective impression and imprecisely described someone as being, for example, at an "intermediate level". The index of language development is determined by measuring complexity, accuracy and fluency, i.e. CAF.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the late 20th and early 21st century, a theoretical pluralism in the study of foreign language learning developed and brought forth a methodology to investigate various segments of texts.[4] In trying to determine the level of language development and changes in the system during the process of mastering a foreign language, researchers turned to language production activities and the analysis of complexity, accuracy and fluency (Bašić, 2015: 18). This analysis enabled a more objective evaluation of the written linguistic production of foreign language learners compared to evaluation based on the number of deviations. Furthermore, numerous studies have established that it is not possible to distinguish between compositions written by learners at an intermediate level from those of beginners or even advanced learners based on the number of deviations because language development is not linear, but rather characterized by constant variability, i.e. ups and downs (Larsen-Freeman and Strom, 1977).

In the first part of the paper, the complexity, accuracy and fluency of the written production of foreign learners of Croatian will be determined within the framework of the dynamic systems theory and complementary theories, such as chaos/complexity theory, complexity theory, complex adaptive systems theory, etc.[5] In the second part of the paper, deviations at individual grammatical levels are analyzed. In this way, more parameters have been included in the analysis of the material in an attempt to make it more objective.

[4] More on this in Medved-Krajnović (2010: 126–143).

[5] More on this in Bašić (2015: 8–13)

2.1. The Subjects and the Material

This paper analyzes journal entries of five subjects, each being a native speaker of a different language. Three of them were third year Croatian Studies students, and they are native speakers of Polish, Slovak and Turkish. One male student, an English speaker, was taking Croatian as a third year elective course and he often stays in Croatia taking Croatian language courses. A female student of Geography, a speaker of Czech, was a beginner as a "formal" learner of Croatian, but had stayed in Croatia before writing her journal, studying Geography at the University of Zadar and learning Croatian on her own for six months.

All the subjects attended the Croatian Language Course at the Center for Foreign Languages at the University of Zadar, intended for foreign students at a higher level of mastery of Croatian as a foreign language. During the course, the students kept a journal. They had a free choice of what they were going to write about and how much they were going to write. The word count for each entry was also not limited, so the entries had a different number of tokens: the entries of the Turkish speaker totalled 6,709 tokens, those of the Slovak speaker 5,794, those of the Polish speaker 3,725, those of the Czech speaker 3,617, and those of the English speaker 1,754 tokens. A total of 5,000 tokens were analyzed.

2.2. Research Method

Each subject wrote his or her journal entries in Microsoft Word, and these were prepared for more detailed processing in Microsoft Excel in such a way that each individual sentence, i.e. T-unit, was in its own line. The text was then copied and pasted into a Microsoft Excel workbook (a separate sheet was used for each of the subjects).

At the beginning of the analysis, the number of tokens in all journal entries were determined and the first thousand tokens were selected for further analysis. Then the total number of produced sentences, i.e. T-units, was determined, the sentences were divided into simple, compound, complex and compound-complex sentences. For sentences containing more than one clause, the number of clauses was also determined. Then the complexity, accuracy and fluency of the written language production was determined.[6] Before the accuracy was determined, the deviations were marked, and these will be analyzed in detail in the second part of the paper.

[6] For more on the various measures of complexity, accuracy and fluency see Wolfe-Quintero et al. (1998).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research results are divided into two parts and include a breakdown of CAF, and then an analysis of the observed deviations at individual language levels (orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical). The results of the written language production analysis of individual subjects are marked with the abbreviation for their mother tongue (Cze for Czech, Eng for English, Pol for Polish, Slo for Slovak and Tur for Turkish).

3.1. Complexity, Accuracy and Fluency (CAF)

Complexity was determined on the basis of the mean number of T-units per sentence, i.e. TU/S, the mean number of clauses per T-units, i.e. C/TU, and the mean number of dependent clauses per T-units, i.e. DC/TU. Higher mean values indicate more complex sentences. Overall accuracy was determined based on the proportion of T-units without deviations and on the basis of the number of deviations per T-unit (T-units with one deviation, with two deviations and with three or more deviations), and fluency was based on the length of T-units, the length of T-units without deviations and the length of clauses in compound and complex sentences.

3.1.1. The Complexity of the Written Production

Table 1 and figure 1 show the results of the analysis of the complexity of the written production of each subject. Table 1 provides data on the total number of sentences produced, and T-units and the mean number of T-units per sentence, and figure 1 shows the results of the analysis of sentences according to sentence structure.

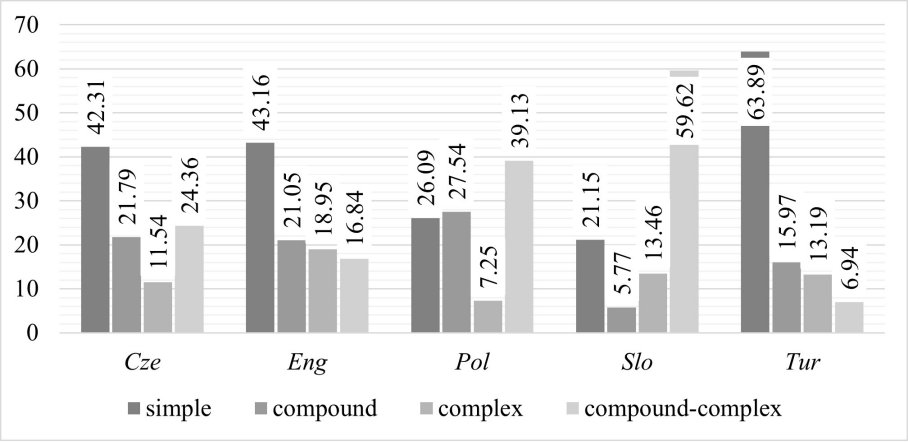
Table 1. The mean number of T-units per sentence, i.e. TU/S

	The subject's mother tongue					*total*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*	
T-units	126	131	135	90	174	**656**
sentences	78	95	69	52	144	**438**
TU/S	**1.62**	**1.38**	**1.96**	**1.73**	**1.21**	**1.50**

The Slovak speaker produced the lowest number of sentences (52), and the Turkish speaker produced the highest number (as many as 144 sentences). In the corpus, which consisted of 5,000 tokens, the subjects produced a total of 438 sentences. As for T-units, the Slovak speaker also produced the lowest number (90), and the Turkish speaker produced the highest number of them (174 T-units).

Since higher values of TU/S (mean number of T-units per sentence) indicate the production of more complex sentences, we can see that syntactically the most complex record is that of the Polish speaker (1.96), then that of the Slovak (1.73) and Czech (1.62) speakers. The record of the English speaker follows (1.38), and the lowest mean number was recorded in the Turkish speaker (1.21). The total number of T-units in the analyzed corpus was 656, and the average mean number of T-units per sentence was 1.5.

Figure 1. The proportion of sentences produced according to sentence structure



The analysis of the sentences produced according to sentence structure revealed that the Slovak speaker, who produced the lowest number of sentences (52 in total), produced mostly sentences with at least three clauses (59.62%) in contrast to the Turkish speaker who produced the highest number of sentences (144 in total), among which as many as 63.89% were simple sentences (figure 1). Simple sentences were dominant in the material produced by the English (43.16%) and the Czech speakers (42.31%) as well, while sentences containing at least three clauses were also quite numerous in the Polish speaker's material (39.13%).

Figure 2. The range and average of the proportion of sentences produced according to sentence structure (all subjects)

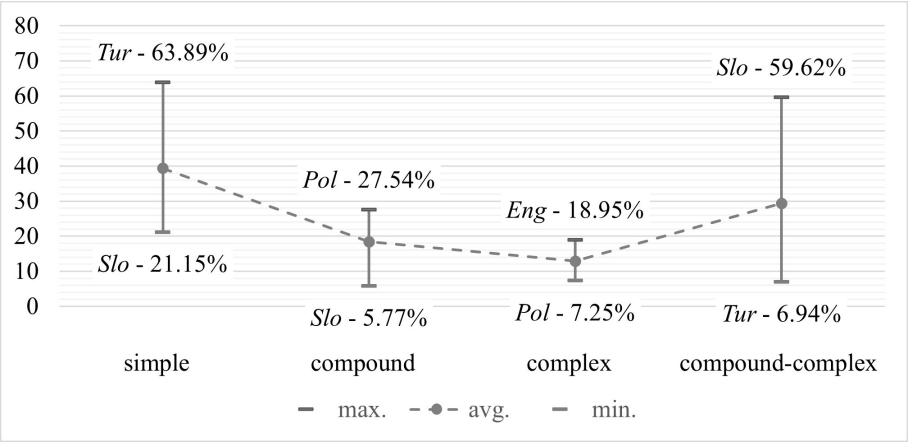


Table 2. The mean number of clauses per T-units, i.e. C/TU

	The subject's mother tongue					*total*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*	
clauses	124	130	155	143	119	**671**
T-units	126	131	135	90	174	**656**
C/TU	**0.98**	**0.99**	**1.15**	**1.59**	**0.68**	**1.02**

The data on the number of clauses produced, i.e. the mean number of clauses per T-units (C/TU), also indicate that the written language production of subjects whose mother tongue was a Slavic language (Czech, Polish, Slovak), as well as that of the subject whose mother tongue was English, was syntactically more complex than that of the subject whose mother tongue was Turkish (table 2). The proportion of complex sentences was lowest in the Turkish speaker (36.11%), and highest in the Slovak speaker (78.85%). The Polish speaker produced somewhat fewer complex sentences (73.91%), and the proportion was similar for the Czech and English speakers (57.69% and 56.84%, respectively). The Slovak speaker had the highest mean number of clauses per T-units (1.59), followed by the Polish (1.15) and then the English speaker (0.99), while the Czech speaker's mean number was slightly lower (0.98). The C/TU of the Turkish speaker differed significantly from the C/TU of the other subjects (0.68).

A comparison of the mean number of dependent clauses per T-units of an individual subject (table 3) shows that the highest mean number of DC/TU and thus the most complex language production was that of the Slovak speaker (0.71), while the other subjects produced similar mean numbers (the Czech speaker – 0.25, Polish – 0.28, English – 0.31, Turkish – 0.32). The subjects produced a total of 228 dependent clauses, and the DC/TU value of the entire material analyzed was 0.35.

Table 3. The mean number of dependent clauses per T-units, i.e. DC/TU

	The subject's mother tongue					*total*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*	
Dependent clauses	31	40	38	64	55	**228**
T-units	126	131	135	90	174	**656**
DC/TU	**0.25**	**0.31**	**0.28**	**0.71**	**0.32**	**0.35**

A comparison of the individual results for TU/S, C/TU and DC/TU, and the average results for the entire material (figure 3), shows that the Slovak speaker scored higher than average in all three categories, the Polish speaker scored higher than average in TU/S and C/TU, but lower in DC/TU, the Czech speaker scored higher than average only in TU/S, while scoring lower than average in C/TU and DC/TU. The results of all three mean numbers for the English and Turkish speakers were lower than average. It should be noted that the figures for TU/S and C/TU for the English speaker were closer to the average values, while both subjects had similar DC/TU figures (the Turkish speaker scored slightly higher [0.32] than the English speaker [0.31]). Therefore, it can be concluded that the written production of the Slovak speaker was the most complex of all the subjects.

Figure 3. Complexity – the results of the subjects in relation to the average for the entire material

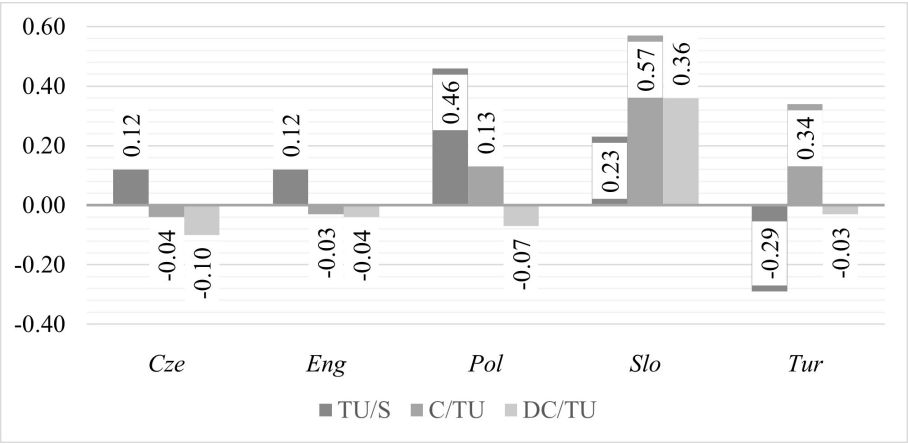


Table 4 shows the results of the analysis of accuracy in the written production of each subject, that is to say, the average accuracy of the analyzed material, as well as the data on the portion of T-units with different numbers of deviations (one, two, three or more). The entire material analyzed (656 T-units) shows that 74% of T-units the subjects produced were without deviations, in 18.3% of T-units one deviation was recorded, 4.85% of T-units had two deviations, and 2.85% of T-units had three or more deviations.

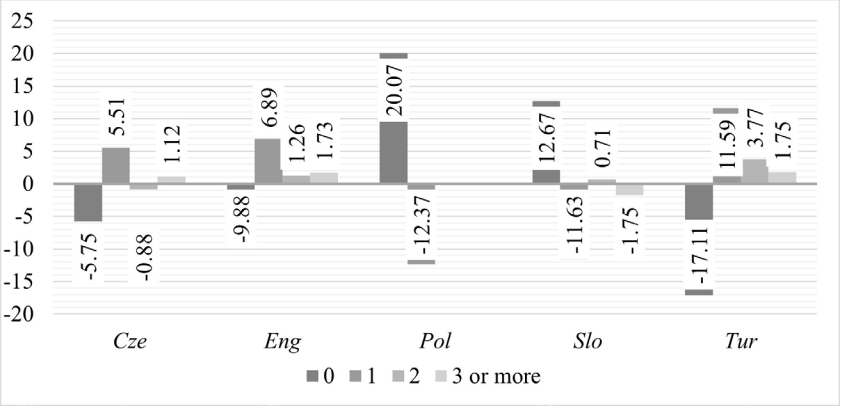
It should be noted that only in the subject whose mother tongue was Polish no T-units with two or more deviations were recorded, and her written language production also had the highest proportion of correctly produced T-units (94.07%). The subject whose mother tongue was Slovak produced 86.67% T-units without deviations, and the subject whose mother tongue was Czech 68.25%. The proportion of T-units without deviations in the material produced by the subject whose mother tongue was English was 64.12%, and in that produced by the subject whose mother tongue was Turkish was 56.89%.

Table 4. The accuracy of the written language production – proportion of deviations in T-units

Number of deviations in T-units	*The subject's mother tongue*					*total*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*	
0	68.25	64.12	94.07	86.67	56.89	**74.00**
1	23.81	25.19	5.93	6.67	29.89	**18.30**
2	3.97	6.11	0	5.56	8.62	**4.85**
3 or more	3.97	4.58	0	1.10	4.60	**2.85**

A comparison of the individual and average results of the entire material (figure 4) has shown that two subjects (the Polish and Slovak speakers) produced more T-units with no deviations than average, and the other three subjects fewer T-units with no deviations than the average. It is interesting to point out that the Slovak speaker scored better in terms of the complexity of her written language production, while the Polish speaker was better in terms of the accuracy of her written language production. The Turkish speaker's results in terms of both accuracy and complexity were found to be the worst. When it comes to the number of deviations per T-unit, it should be noted that among the T-units with deviations in all the subjects, the most numerous were T-units with one deviation. More than three deviations per T-unit were recorded once for the Czech and English speakers and twice for the Turkish speaker. Furthermore, one T-unit with as many as nine deviations was recorded in the Czech speaker.

Figure 4. Accuracy – the results of the subjects in relation to the average for the entire material



3.1.3. The Fluency of the Written Production

The fluency of the written language production was determined by three measures: the length of T-units, the length of T-units with no deviations and the length of clauses in complex sentences. The length meant the number of words in T-units, i.e. clauses. The results of the fluency analysis are presented in table 5.

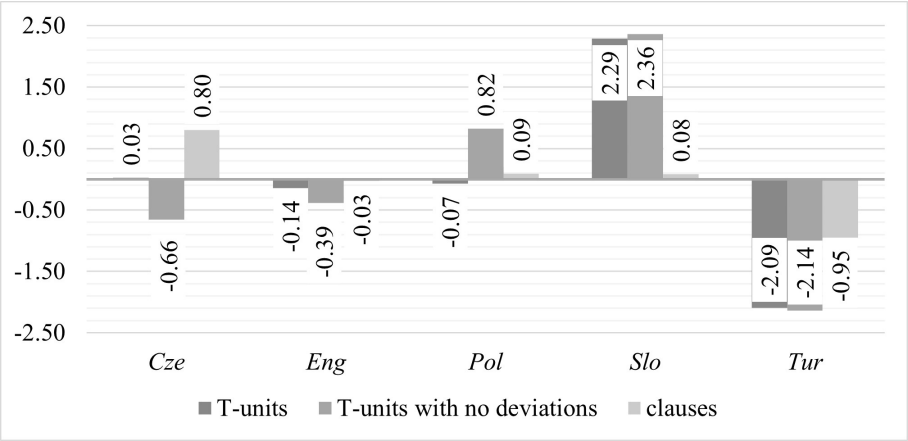
Table 5. Fluency in the written language production – length (number of words)

	The subject's mother tongue					*average*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*	
T-units	7.91	7.74	7.81	10.17	5.79	**7.88**
T-units with no deviations	6.35	6.62	7.83	9.37	4.87	**7.01**
clauses	6.5	5.67	5.79	5.78	4.75	**5.70**

On average, T-units contained 7.88 words, T-units with no deviations 7.01 words, and clauses of compound and complex sentences 5.7 words. The longest T-units were produced by the Slovak speaker (10.17 words). The T-units of three subjects (the Czech, the Polish and the English speakers) were of similar length (Cze – 7.91 words, Pol – 7.81 words and Eng – 7.74 words). The Turkish speaker produced the shortest T-units – 5.79 words.

A comparison of the individual and average results for the entire material (figure 5) has shown that the Slovak speaker achieved the best results when the fluency of the written language production was measured. The length of T-units and the length T-units with no deviations in her material was higher than average. The length of her clauses was also higher than average, but it should be noted that the Polish speaker produced slightly longer clauses (5.79 words) than the Slovak speaker (5.78 words). The length of the T-units with no deviations in the Polish speaker was also higher than average, but her T-units were slightly shorter than average. The Czech speaker's clauses were longer than average, slightly longer than the average T-unit, and the length of her T-units with no deviations was lower than average. The lengths of all three observed units in the English speaker were slightly lower than average, and the Turkish speaker scored worst in terms of fluency.

Figure 5. Fluency – the results of the subjects in relation to the average of the entire material



3.2. An Analysis of the Deviations at Individual Linguistic Levels

Writing is normally preceded by "the adoption of grammatical and orthographic rules and norms of a language" (Pavličević-Franić and Sikirić, 2005: 98), but deviations[7] are inevitable at all linguistic levels.[8] According to CEFR (2005: 112), communicative language competence includes: lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological, orthographic and orthoepic competence. The deviations have been analyzed according to this division in this paper as well. Since it deals with the written production, the deviations analyzed are orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical. Among the lexical deviations, semantic and word formation deviations are included, that is to say, lexical-semantic and lexical-morphological deviations are analyzed.[9]

A deviation is sometimes difficult to define as such exclusively at one particular level because individual examples of deviations can easily be considered deviations at several levels. The most common deviations are transfer and developmental ones, but they can also be, for example, induced (Medved Krajnović, 2010). When talking about language deviations, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a particular deviation belongs exclusively to one linguistic level because in some examples deviations occur at several linguistic levels. Therefore, in this paper examples in which

[7] For various divisions of deviations see Gulešić-Machata and Udier (2008).

[8] More in Jelaska (2005: 101).

[9] The division of deviations into lexical-semantic and lexical-morphological is used in Macan and Kolaković (2008).

deviations can be seen at several linguistic levels at the same time have been analyzed as such.

In the 5,000 tokens of the written language production by the five subjects analyzed, a total of 401 deviations were recorded (table 6). Therefore, the proportion of deviations in the whole material was 8.02%. The majority of deviations were produced by the Turkish speaker. His 172 deviations make up 42.89% of all the deviations in the analyzed material. The Slovak speaker produced the lowest number of deviations (7.48% of all the deviations, or 3% of deviations in her thousand tokens). A quarter of all recorded deviations were produced by the English speaker (102 deviations or 25.44%), the Czech speaker produced 62 deviations or 15.46%, and the Polish speaker 35 deviations or 8.73%.

Table 6. The number and proportion of deviations in the whole material

	The subject's mother tongue					*total*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*	
Number of deviations	62	102	35	30	172	**401**
Proportion of deviations	15.46	25.44	8.73	7.48	42.89	**8.02**

The range of deviations in the written language production in terms of tokens, therefore, ranged from 3% (Slo) to 17.20% (Tur), and the proportion of deviations in the whole material was 8.02%. In the part of the paper in which accuracy in regard to T-units was analyzed, it was established that the proportion of T-units with no deviations in the individual materials ranged from 56.89% (Tur) to 94.07% (Pol) and that the proportion of T-units with no deviations averaged 74%.[10]

[10] Research into the proportion of deviations, i.e. the proportion of T-units with no deviations in foreign learners of Croatian, is the subject of only one paper. Analyzing morphosyntactic deviations in a case study of a foreign learner of Croatian in the material which included 12,163 tokens, i.e. 1,399 T-units, Bašić (2015: 157) found deviations in 954 T-units (68.2%). The majority were T-units with one deviation (41.51%), followed by three or more deviations (33.44%), and the least frequent were T-units with two deviations (25.05%).

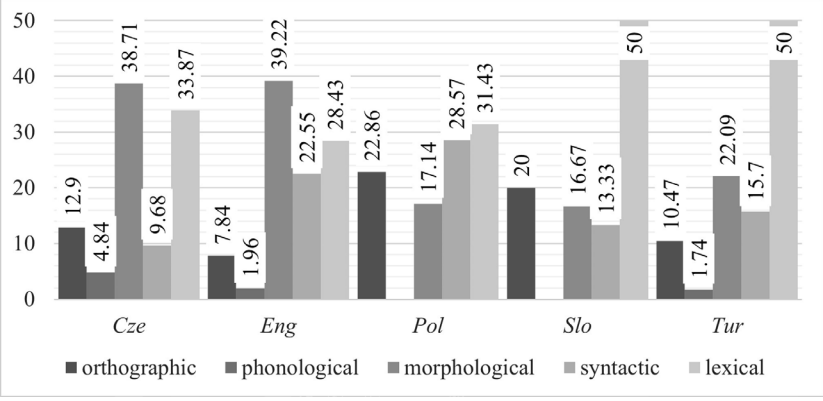
Table 7. The proportion of individual deviations at various linguistic levels

Linguistic level	*The subject's mother tongue*					*total*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*	
orthographic	12.90	7.84	22.86	20.00	10.47	**11.97**
phonological	4.84	1.96	0.00	0.00	1.74	**1.99**
morphological	38.71	39.22	17.14	16.67	22.09	**28.18**
syntactic	9.68	22.55	28.57	13.33	15.70	**17.46**
lexical	33.87	28.43	31.43	50.00	50.00	**40.4**

Table 7 shows the data on the proportion of deviations according to linguistic levels in the materials of each subject and in the whole material. In the whole material, deviations were most frequently found at the lexical level (40.4%), followed by the morphological (28.18%), syntactic (17.46%) and orthographic (11.97%) levels, and the fewest were recorded at the phonological level (1.99%).

The proportion of lexical deviations among the individual subjects was the highest in the Slovak and the Turkish speakers – as many as 50% of all the determined deviations in the analyzed material produced by these subjects related to the lexical level (figure 6). In the English speaker, the largest proportion of deviations was recorded at the morphological level (39.22%), and a similar proportion was recorded at the same linguistic level for the Czech speaker (38.71%). For the Polish speaker, the largest proportion of deviations was at the lexical level (31.43%). No phonological deviations were recorded in the entries by the Polish and Slovak speakers.

Figure 6. The proportion of deviations at the various linguistic levels



The rest of the paper will examine deviations at the individual linguistic levels in more detail.

3.2.1. Deviations at the Orthographic Level

The acquisition of orthographic rules by foreign language learners depends on various factors. At the higher and the advanced levels of foreign language acquisition, a higher level of adoption of orthographic norms is expected; however, insufficient knowledge of linguistic rules results in uncertainty in their application (Pasini and Ćavar, 2009: 53; Ćužić, 2015: 33–34). In their own texts, foreign language students often avoid using words they are not sure how to spell, so deviations at the orthographic level are not common.[11] This has also been confirmed in this study. The majority of orthographic deviations were found in the Turkish speaker, but only because he tried writing direct speech, so most of the deviations had to do with the rules of writing direct speech. Thus, out of 18 deviations, 14 refer to indicating direct speech. Other spelling deviations included punctuation (1), the omission of serial commas (2) and the comma before an adversative clause (3–4).

1) *Je li došao servis u 4.*
2) *Možete li mi hitno nazvati taksi molim Vas?*
3) *Izbacio sam mali kufer koji je bio na leđima, činilo mi se kao da će ispasti u vodotok ali sreću nije ispao.*
4) *Sjedio sam ali još nisam vjerovao.*

Eight deviations were found in the Czech speaker: omission of punctuation, (5–6), placing a comma before a dependent clause in a complex sentence[12] (7), the alternations of ije/je/e/i (*dvijesto metara*, *primjetila*), the usage of capital letters in names (*Park Prirode Blidinje*), the spelling of the preposition *s/sa* (*sa vidikovcom*), and spelling the negative particle and the adjective as two words (*ne mljevenu kavu*).

5) *Super mislim, nisam još bila ni u Crnoj Gori ni u Albaniji…*
6) *…(dobra ideja za poklon kući kažu mi cure)…*
7) *Ne mogu zamisliti, zašto čovjek koji ide autom i popije limenku pića, zašto je treba izbaciti s prozora?*

[11] Cf. Grgić and Udier (2012: 217).

[12] This is probably due to interference because in Czech the comma is placed in complex sentences even when there is no inversion.

The English speaker's deviations included the omission of commas before the adversative independent clauses (8–9) and in stringing clauses together (10), failing to use the comma when the dependent clause is inverted (11), the spelling of the preposition *s/sa* (*sa Tomislavom*, *sa nekoliko prijatelja*), spelling a compound adverb as two words (*u jutro/ujutro*), and alternations of ije/je/e (*svetla/svjetla*).

8) *Puno stvari se dogodilo u filmu, ali glavna priča je da kćerka će ići na ekskursiju s njezinom školom ali majka nema dosta novca*.
9) *Ja bih imao više ali proveo sam puno vremena s pregled dvenika jedan i dva.*
10) *Brzo se tuširam i oblačim onda odlazim za školu.*
11) *Kad moram pisati na hrvatskom mislim moj IQ spusti.*

The following deviations were noted in the Polish speaker: omission of commas before adversative independent clauses (12–13), omission of commas after inverted clauses (14–15), placing a comma before dependent clauses (16–17), placing a comma in a clause with a modal particle (18), and using a capital letter in the name of a monument (*Stare Vrata*).

12) *Šteta, jer smo s ekipom planirali roštilj i zabavu na otvorenom a čini se da umjesto toga moramo pripremiti kabanice i kišobrane.*
13) *Oko 22:40 je krenula svirati Dubioza Kolektiva ono što se tada događalo u Dvorani mladosti teško pretočiti u riječi....*
14) *Kada sam stigli kući pojela sam sendvič i otišla spavati.*
15) *Kada smo se vraćale u Zadar cesta je bila zatvorena zbog bure i zbog toga smo zakasnile predavanje.*
16) *…momci su nabavili toliko mesa, ribe i povrća, da ćemo to jesti do kraja tjedna…*
17) *Dok smo putovali, razmišljala sam o tome, da stvarno živim trenutačno u pravim raju.*
18) *Taj dan po običaju ljudi provode na otvorenom u ozračju sunca i ugodnih temperatura, ali nažalost, prema vremenskoj prognozi ove godine Hrvatska mora očekivati naoblačenje i kišu.*

Six deviations were noted in the Slovak speaker: the omission of a comma in an adversative independent clause (19), the omission of a comma in an inserted clause (20) and for emphasis (21), the spelling of the prepositions *s/sa* (*sa fakulteta, sa slovačkim*) and spelling two words as one (*prviput*).

19) *Htjela sam odabrati njemački i kao drugi sam stavila zbog ovog iskustva hrvatski ali i nizozemski-kao drugu mogućnost*.
20) *Jednog dana kada sam sjedila u fotelji me je zvala moja super prijateljica sa studija gdje smo se upoznale i sklopile odličnu vezu.*
21) *Odigrava se to jednom godišnje i to na Božić.*

As has already been stated, the Turkish speaker had a large number of deviations in indicating direct speech. Most deviations in the other subjects had to do with the placement of commas in adversative independent clauses (seven deviations). There were 20 deviations in the placement of commas in total (42% of all orthographic deviations). This was followed by deviations in the spelling of the preposition *s/sa* (five deviations), and three deviations related to the alternations of ije/je/e and the spelling of compound words each.

3.2.2. Deviations at the (Morpho)Phonological Level

It is difficult to separate phonological from orthographic deviations.[13] In this paper, phonological deviations are considered to be all deviations related to the replacement of phonemes, that is, graphemes (except for the alternations of je/ije). Since morphophonology deals with "the phonetically conditioned variation of morphemes and their morphologically conditioned phonetic variation" (CEFR 2005: 115), these deviations can be considered morphophonological.

Students of Croatian Studies are introduced to ponological changes in Croatian in various language courses. The Czech speaker did not attend any such courses, except the aforementioned language course, and three deviations were recorded in her case: the failure to perform consonant devoicing (*prije odlazka*), applying the second palatalization in masculine adjectives (… *rijetci nisu ni slučajevi kada potpuno presuši*), and deviations in words (*odvisi* < *ovisi*). In the Turkish speaker, deviations were recorded in the present tense of the verb *kretati*, in which iotation needs to be carried out (*kreču* < *kreću*), replacement of voiceless and voiced sounds (*noz* < *nos*), and failure to perform consonant devoicing (*odprije* < *otprije*). In the English speaker, the substitution of the graphemes *č* and *ć* (*ču* < *ću*) and of the graphemes *s* and *z* (*ekskursija* < *ekskurzija*) was recorded. No morphophonological deviations were recorded in the Polish and Slovak speakers.

[13] Cf. Alujević Jukić and Brešan (2010: 246).

3.2.3. Deviations at the Morphological Level

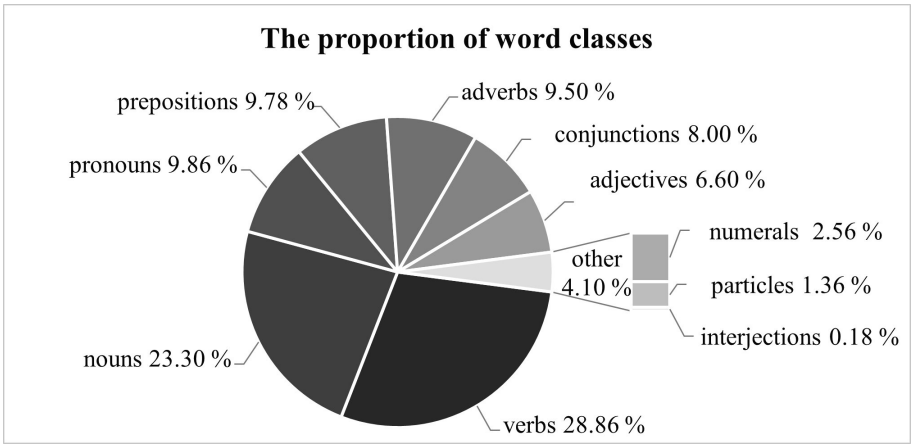
Croatian is a morphologically complex language, which presents difficulties for foreign learners. Difficulties can be expected, for example, in the production of the present tense and in the declension of nouns, adjectives and pronouns.[14] Before the analysis of deviations at the morphological level was carried out, the percentage of individual word classes in the samples of all subjects (table 8) and the whole material (figure 7) was worked out. The subjects most frequently used verbs (their proportion in the entire material was 28.86%) and nouns (23.3%). The proportion of pronouns was 9.86%, that of prepositions 9.78%, and that of adverbs 9.5%. The proportion of conjunctions was 8%, and that of adjectives 6.6%. The remaining 4.1% of tokens were numerals (2.56%), particles (1.36%) and interjections (0.18%). It is interesting to point out that the Czech speaker was the only one who produced more nouns than verbs in the analyzed sample: her proportion of nouns was 26.9%, and that of verbs 20.1%. Furthermore, a higher proportion of adverbs (13.6%) was recorded in her sample than in those of the other subjects, where this proportion ranged from 7.4% (Slo) to 9.2% (Eng).

Table 8. The proportion of word classes – number of tokens

Word class	*The subject's mother tongue*					*total*	*average*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*		
adjectives	87	63	63	74	43	330	66
adverbs	136	92	90	74	83	475	95
conjunctions	65	85	84	107	59	400	80
interjections	3	0	2	1	3	9	1.8
nouns	269	261	233	192	210	1165	233
numerals	20	38	21	15	34	128	25.6
particles	26	20	6	7	9	68	13.6
prepositions	117	87	99	100	86	489	97.8
pronouns	76	86	89	142	100	493	98.6
verbs	201	268	313	288	373	1443	288.6

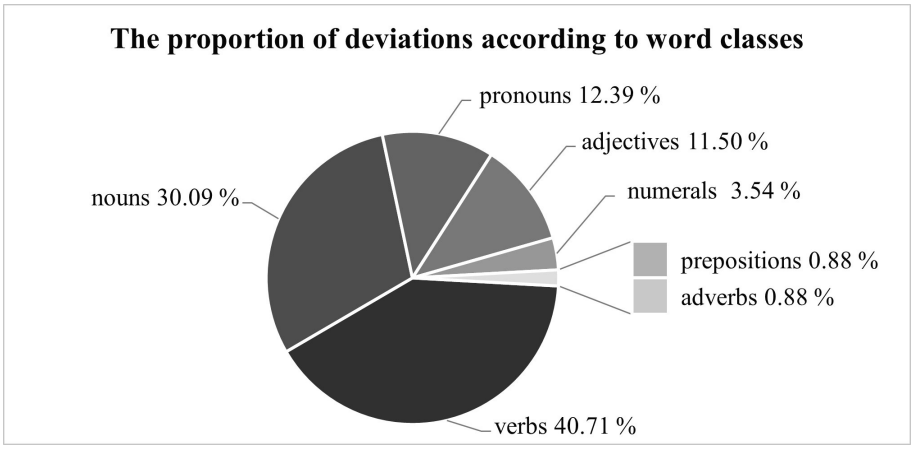
[14] Cf. Udier (2009: 81)

Figure 7. The proportion of word classes in the whole material – proportion of tokens (N = 5,000)



A total of 113 deviations at the morphological level were found in the analyzed material. The proportion of morphological deviations was 28.18% and these are the second most represented deviations in the analyzed material after the lexical ones. The largest numbers of morphological deviations were recorded in the English (40 deviations) and the Turkish speaker (38 deviations). The Czech speaker produced 24 deviations at the morphological level, while the Polish and Slovak speakers produced six and five deviations, respectively. The proportion of deviations according to word classes in the whole material can be seen in figure 8. Deviations were more frequent in the production of variable word classes – verbs (40.71%), nouns (30.09%), pronouns (12.39%), adjectives (11.5%) and numerals (3.54%), but they were also recorded in invariable word classes – adverbs and prepositions.

Figure 8. The proportion of deviations according to word classes in the whole material (N = 113)



The proportion of deviations according to word classes in each sample is shown in table 9. The deviations for verbs ranged from 1.04% (Slo) to 6.97% (Cze), for nouns from 0% (Pol) to 6.13% (Eng), for pronouns from 0% (Pol) to 7% (Tur), and the largest range was determined for adjectives – the speakers of Czech, Slovak and Turkish did not deviate in their production of adjectives; the proportion of deviations for adjectives in the Polish speaker was 3.17%, and in the English speaker as much as 17.46%.

Table 9. The proportion of deviations according to word classes

Word class	*The subject's mother tongue*					*total*	*average*
	Cze	*Eng*	*Pol*	*Slo*	*Tur*		
adjectives	0	17.46	3.17	0	0	3.94	4.13
adverbs	0	0	0	0	1.20	0.21	0.24
conjunctions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
interjections	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
nouns	2.97	6.13	0	0.52	4.29	2.92	2.78
numerals	0	5.26	0	0	5.88	3.13	2.23
particles	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
prepositions	0	0	0	0	1.16	0.20	0.23

pronouns	2.63	4.65	0	0.70	7.00	2.84	3.00
verbs	6.97	2.61	1.28	1.04	4.83	3.19	3.34
total	**2.4**	**4**	**0.6**	**0.5**	**3.8**	**2.26**	**2.26**

Deviations recorded in the production of conjugable and inflective tokens will be analyzed in the following section in more detail. Since the largest number of deviations were found in the production of verbs and nouns, most of the analysis will deal with these two word classes, but deviations which occurred in the production of other declinable word classes will also be mentioned (adjectives, pronouns and numerals).

3.2.3.1. Deviations in the Production of Conjugable Forms

As for the number of verb tokens, the largest number of deviations was recorded in the Czech speaker – 14 deviations among 201 used verb forms (6.97%), followed by the Turkish speaker – 18 deviations among 373 verb forms (4.83%). The other three subjects had less than ten deviations in the production of verb forms: the English speaker 7 deviations among 268 verb forms (2.61%), the Polish speaker 4 deviations among 313 verb forms (1.28%) and the Slovak speaker 3 deviations among 288 verb forms (1.04%). The deviations therefore ranged from 1.04% (Slovak) to 6.97% (Czech).

The subjects had more difficulties forming the present tense than forming the perfect and future tenses, even though past tense verb forms were more common in the analyzed journal entries. Deviations were therefore more frequent in the less frequent present forms, as was expected (less frequent use generally results in more deviations). Also, the frequency of deviation is also related to the predictability of the verb type[15] – there are more deviations in the production of less predictable or unpredictable verb types.[16] In addition to deviations at the morphological level in the production of verb forms, deviations are most often associated with the selection of an inappropriate aspect, but such deviations are more common in the samples of those subjects whose mother tongues do not have the grammatical category of aspect.

In the Czech speaker, deviations were most often noted in the conjugation of the present tense of verbs: zab**osti** > *zabost**im*** instead of *zabo**dem***, naruč**ivati** > *naruč**ivam*** instead of *naruč**ujem***, zapovijed**ati** > *zapovijed**ava***

[15] Zrinka Jelaska (2001) considers the following types of verbs as predictable: *-iti* > *-im*, *-jeti* > *-im*, *-Vvati* > *-ujem*, *-nuti* > *-nem*; these types as less predictable: *-ati* > *-am*, *-ati* > *-em*, *-ati* > *-im*; and the so-called "irregular" verbs as unpredictable.

[16] More on that in Novak Milić (2002a).

instead of *zapovijed**a***, čud**iti** se > *čud**uju** se* instead of *čud**e** se*, lež**ati** > *leža**ju*** instead of *leže* (22–26). The subject uses an inappropriate suffix when conjugating these verbs, and in example 27, in addition to the inappropriate suffix (*-ava* instead of *-a*), she also chooses an inappropriate verb – instead of the verb *dopuštati*, she uses the verb *popuštati*.[17]

22) *Trebat ću dvije nove pribadače da zabostim u kartu sa zemljama, koje sam već u životu posjetila.*
23) *Idemo na ćevape (ja ne naručivam, za večeru smo u hotelu dobili dva odreske s krumpriom, dosta je bilo mesa).*
24) *„Hajde na drugu stranu puta“, zapovijedava.*
25) *Na državnoj granici s Bosnom i Hercegovinom neko vrijeme čekamo dok se carinici snalazi sa svim dokumentima i čuduju se što ja, kao jedina strankinja, radim među svim Hrvatima.*
26) *Da bi se vidjele samo limenke ,ali oko puta ležaju naokolo sve vrste boca, plastične i staklene, omote hrane, pneumatike, plastične stolice i drugi komadi namještaja, neidentificirane predmete s rzaličitih materijala, stari građevinski materijal, i to ne želim znati što bih vidjela kad bih došla pogledati bliže.*
27) *Pa nema toliko veze, hrvatski stil popuštava manje zakašnjenje.*

In some examples, there are multiple deviations: e.g. a deviation in the number and aspect of the verb – the 3rd person singular of the imperfective verb *snalaziti se > snalazi se* instead of the 3rd person plural of the perfective verb *snaći se > snađu se* (25). Furthermore, an example of a deviation in the number of the verb only was also recorded – 1st person singular *popijem* instead of the 1st person plural *popijemo* (28), as well as the use of an incomplete reflexive verb – *zaustavljati se > zaustavljamo* (29).

28) *Pitali smo gdje u gradu se može nabaviti kava, ali nitko na nije shvaćao i stalno su nas slali u kafiće da samo popijem kavu.*
29) *Nekih petnaest, dvadeset minuta nakon prolaska granice zaustavljamo.*

It is also interesting to note that the stressed form of the auxiliary verb *htjeti > hoćemo* (30) was used to form the future tense, and the dialectal form of the l-participle *željeti > želili* (31) was used to form the past tense, probably under the influence of the local Ikavian idiom.

[17] Therefore, this is a combination of a lexical and a morphological deviation.

30) *Tijekom idućih sedam dana hoćemo ja i studenti pete godine geografije putovati kroz Hercegovinu, Bosnu i Republiku Srpsku u Crnu Goru.*
31) *Tada je bilo šaljivo, želili smo kupiti pravu bosansku kavu da uzmem kući.*

These were not the only deviations in the production of verb forms in the sample of the Czech speaker, but the others had to do with the use of an inappropriate aspect – *krenuti* instead of *kretati*, *nastavljati* instead of *nastaviti* (32–33), and with the overgeneralization of the rule on the pronunciation of the first future tense formed with the infinitive ending in *-ti* to verbs with the infinitive ending in *-ći* if the infinitive precedes the unstressed present tense of the auxiliary verb *htjeti – stićemo* instead of *stići ćemo* (34).

32) *Krenemo sa svim prtljagama preko puta i čekamo bus.*
33) *U Jablanici zaustavljamo na KAVU, ali također na ćevape i nastavljali smo u vožnji prema Sarajevu.*
34) *Prva je pauza isplanirana kod Modrog i Crvenog jezera kod Imotskog, kamo i (nakon još jedne kraće pauze na kavu na pumpi na autocesti) stićemo.*

The Turkish speaker most frequently deviated when choosing the category of aspect, giving preference to perfective verbs (*proći* instead of *prolaziti*, *razmisliti* instead of *razmišljati*, *sjediti* instead of *sjesti*, *mijenjati* instead of *promijeniti*), and he only chose the imperfective form instead of the perfective verb once (*zvati* instead of *pozvati*), as in examples (35–39).

35) *Više nisu prošli taksiji. Mislio sam ići pješice.*
36) *Ja sam stalno razmislio pozitivno sve mi dok se oživljava tijekom putovanja.*
37) *Sjedio sam na slobodno sjedalo, pa čekam.*
38) *Iako budem mjenjao*[18] *Euro s lirom, morao sam se voziti taksijem.*
39) *On zvao*[19] *taksista.*

[18] Apart from the incorrect choice regarding the aspect, we see a deviation at the level of spelling – *je* instead of *ije*.

[19] Only in this example can we talk about a deviation at the morphological level because the unstressed present tense of the auxiliary verb *biti* necessary for the perfect tense is missing (On *je* pozvao taksista.). The omission of the auxiliary verb *biti* in the 3rd person perfect could have occurred due to overgeneralization of the rule on the truncation of the perfect tense. The reflexive verb *zvati se* is usually taught at the beginner levels – A1/A2 (the truncated perfect: *zvao se*).

Deviations at the morphological level are mainly related to the formation of verb forms, namely conditionals (*bi se mogao* instead of *bih se mogao*, *bi spavao* instead of *bih spavao*) and the aorist tense (*uzeh* instead of *uze*, *rekoh sam* instead of *rekoh*[20]), as in examples (40–42).

40) *Kako bi se mogao vratiti nazad još jednom , gdje bi spavao?*
41) *On uzeh svoj žeton.*
42) *Pitao da je, "Koji ti broj sjedala?" Rekoh sam, "12".*

He also used the present form *igraju* instead of the perfect *su igrali* (43), the 3rd person plural *rade* instead of the 3rd person singular *radi* (44), and he believed that the verb *stići* is reflexive (45–46).

43) *Bila je prijateljska skupina tamo koje igraju karte dok prolazi vrijeme.*
44) *Ali prije toga sam mislio upitati zaštitara kampusa da bi možda nazvao taksi koji rade na medicinskom fakultetu.*
45) *Stigao sam se pred Hotela Simseka nakon što sam hodao na praznoj sveučilišnoj cesti.*
46) *Stigli smo se na zračnu luku čim nije bilo 20 minuta.*

In the material produced by the English speaker, deviations were noted in the use of reflexive verbs without the pronoun *se – igrali su* instead of *igrali su se* (47), and of intransitive verbs with the pronoun *se – spusti se* instead of *spusti*, *se je bilo* instead of *je bilo* (48–49).

47) *U jutro mala djeca su igrali i njihov trener je imao najčudniji i najglasniji glas.*
48) *Kad moram pisati na hrvatskom mislim moj IQ spusti.*
49) *Sada ima dvoje studente iz Amerike, i prvi dva tjedna se je bilo jedan čovjek zove Ramon koji je privoditelj u Luksemburgu.*

He also deviated in the formation of the present tense, so he produced the form *živu* instead of *žive* (50) and *dobi* instead of *dobije* (51). He uses the perfective verb *završiti* instead of the imperfective *završavati* (52), when conjugating the verb *dolaziti*, he uses the singular *dolazi* instead of the plural *dolaze* (53), and he also makes a mistake in the gender of the active participle and produces the form *rekli* instead of *rekle* (54).

[20] The perfect tense *rekao sam* is also correct here. It is not clear why the subject used the aorist suffix of the main verb in combination with the unstressed present tense of the auxiliary verb *biti*.

50) *Priča je o majci i kćerci koji živu u Sarajevu.*
51) *Eventualno majke dobi novac od prijateljice i kćerka može ići na ekskurziju.*
52) *To je gdje film završi.*
53) *Oko deset ipo svaki dan Mile ili njegova supruga dolazi s kavom, sokom, i keksima.*
54) *Nisam razumio taj dio filma, ali mislim da su zle djevočice u školi rekli kćerci da njezin otac nije bio branitelj.*

As for the Polish speaker, only four deviations in the production of verb forms were recorded. In the first future tense she uses the infinitive of the verb without the final *-i – provest* instead of *provesti* (55), like some native speakers, and the dialectal form of the active participle *ogladnili* instead of *ogladnjeli* (56).

55) *Ustala sam u 6 sati, pogledala sam kroz prozor i rekla sam sama sebi da ću stvarno provest ovaj dan u krevetu.*
56) *Od plivanja brzo smo ogladnili, sretno da roštilj je bio gotov i mogli smo početi jesti.*

Unlike in the previous two examples, which could be considered native speaker deviations, the use of the perfect without the auxiliary verb *biti* (*bilo* and *čekali* instead of *bilo je* and *čekali smo*) could be considered transfer deviations from the speaker's mother tongue (57).[21]

57) *Bilo nas sedmero, ostali čekali nas već na otoku.*

As for the Slovak speaker, deviations were recorded in the formation of the present and the first future tense. In (58), the subject uses the plural *pripreme* instead of the singular *pripremi*, and in (59) the auxiliary verb *htjeti* in the singular instead of the plural (*ću* instead of *će*).

58) *Svaki odjel pripreme nešto tipično što se slaže s Božićem i nakon toga se te igre predstave u zlatnoj dvorani našeg fakulteta kamo dođu i spomenuti ambasadori.*
59) *Moje prijateljice su mi rekle da ću i one stići u Zadar, tako ćemo nešto i ovdje poduzeti.*

[21] Cf. Polish: *Było nas siedmioro, pozostali już czekali na nas na wyspie.*

3.2.3.2. Deviations in the Production of Declinable Forms

The analyzed deviations in the production of declinable forms are mostly those in the production of nouns, and they refer to deviations related to the grammatical categories of case, gender and number. In relation to the number of noun tokens, the largest number of deviations was recorded in the English speaker – 16 deviations out of a total of 261 produced noun tokens (6.13%) and the Turkish speaker – 9 deviations out of a total of 210 tokens (4.29%). The Czech speaker had 8 deviations out of 269 tokens produced (2.97%), and the Slovak speaker had 1 deviation out of 192 tokens produced (0.52%), while the Polish speaker had no deviations and produced a total of 233 noun forms. The proportion of deviations therefore ranged from 0 (Pol) to 6.13% (Eng).

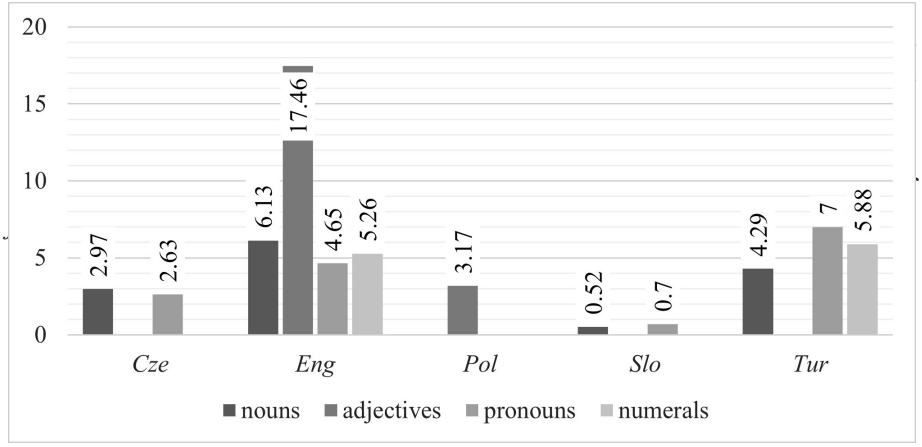
Among the 34 deviations in the production of nouns, the deviations were more frequently related to the mixing up of oblique cases (19 deviations) than to replacing oblique cases with the nominative (10 deviations).[22] It is interesting to point out that two samples do not contain such deviations at all (Pol and Slo), and that the largest number of deviations was recorded in the sample of the English speaker (13 deviations); the Czech speaker produced 9 deviations, and the Turkish speaker 7. Other deviations include the declension of the i-type noun *večer* according to the rules of the e-type (the Slovak speaker, example 60), and the use of an inappropriate number suffix, e.g. *student* instead of *studente* and *majke* instead of *majka* (the English speaker, examples 61 and 62). The Turkish speaker had problems with the noun *trošak*, which has a monosyllabic stem, and thus follows additional rules for the declension (long plural, the fleeting *a*), so he produced the form *trošaka* instead of *troškova* in the plural genitive case (63), and the noun *usna* (64), which he uses in the singular instead of the plural (singular adjective *usnu* instead of plural adjective *usne*).

[22] Due to the limited scope of this paper, only numerical data with no examples are provided. The genitive was used three times instead of the nominative and twice instead of the accusative, while the dative was used once instead of the genitive. The accusative was used three times instead of the nominative and the genitive, twice instead of the locative and once instead of the dative and the instrumental. The locative was used once for the accusative and the instrumental, and the instrumental was used once for the accusative. The nominative was used in the place of the genitive (five examples), the accusative (two examples), the instrumental (two examples) and the dative (one example).

60) *Na kraju utakmice jedne večere stajala je na igralištu jedna Slovakinja.*
61) *Kad škola ima druge student, oni i dolaze.*
62) *Eventualno majke dobi novac od prijateljice i kćerka može ići na ekskurziju.*
63) *Izašao sam iz studentskog doma, zatim moja avionska karta bi bila nevažeća, također još jednom puno rada, trošaka... "*
64) *Tada nisam mogao osjećati ni usnu ni noz zbog hladnoća.*

In addition to the declension of nouns, the subjects also made mistakes when declining adjectives (13 deviations), pronouns (14 deviations) and numerals (4 deviations).[23] The proportion of deviations in the production of a particular declinable word class shows that the English speaker had the most problems with the declension of adjectives (17.46% of deviations), but it should be noted that the number of adjective tokens produced was relatively small (63 occurrences in total and 11 deviations). The proportion of deviations in the production of declinable word classes in the other samples was no higher than 7% (figure 9). The range of deviations was the smallest in the production of declinable word classes in the Slovak sample, and the largest in the English sample.

Figure 9. The proportion of deviations in the production of declinable word classes



The Czech speaker deviated in her use of the accusative without a preposition instead of the locative of relative pronouns (e.g. *Ja to ponekad malo pretjerujem*. instead of *Ja u tome ponekad malo pretjerujem*), and she also had

[23] Due to the limited scope of this paper, these examples are also not listed in detail.

problems with agreement in number (e.g. *Za večeru smo u hotelu dobili dva odreske s krumpirom*.)

As for the Turkish speaker, the use of the dative instead of the genitive pronoun was recorded (*Išao sam kod njega.* instead of *k njemu*, *Zahvalio sam njega.* instead of *njemu*), deviations in the gender of adjectives (*...jedan je bio u mojem ruci* instead of *u mojoj*), the use of adjectives instead of adverbs (*Nemam dovoljnih kovanica.* instead of *dovoljno*), and the plural of ordinal numerals instead of the singular (*druga su bile* instead of *druge su bile*).

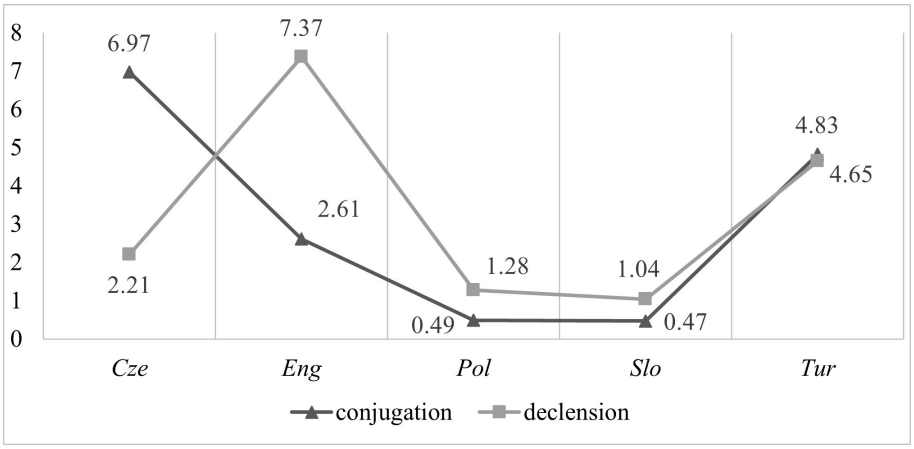
The Polish speaker deviated in the declension of adjectives (*…živim trenutačno u pravim raju* instead of *u pravom*) and in the use of the adjectival form with a pluralia tantum noun (*Stare Vrata* instead of *stara vrata*).

As already mentioned, the lowest number of deviations was recorded in the Slovak speaker. This was in the genitive of the possessive pronoun *naš*, listed in (65), for which it cannot be determined whether it is an error or a random mistake.

65) *Svaki dan smo vidjeli neki novi grad i na kraju našej odlaska se i sunce pojavilo.*

3.2.3.3. The Proportion of Conjugation and Declension Deviations – a Comparison

Figure 10. The proportion of conjugation and declension deviations



A comparison of the proportion of in declension and conjugation deviations (figure 10) shows that the Turkish speaker has mastered both categories to an equal degree. The difference in the proportion of declension and conju-

gation deviations in his written production is 0.21 percentage points in favour of declensions. It is interesting to note that the subject produced an equal number of declinable and conjugable tokens, that is to say 377 conjugable and 387 declinable tokens. The difference in the proportion of deviations for the Slovak speaker is 0.57 percentage points, also in favour of declinable tokens (the mean number of the produced declinable and conjugable tokens was 59.5 vs. 40.5), and for the Polish speaker 0.79 also in favour of declinable tokens (the mean number of the produced declinable and conjugable tokens was 56.5 vs. 43.5). The difference in the proportion of the deviations produced by the two remaining subjects was 4.76 percentage points for the Czech speaker in favour of declinable tokens, and in favour of conjugable tokens for the English speaker. It is interesting to note that they produced almost an equal number of declinable tokens (Eng – 448, Cze – 452), but the English speaker produced more conjugable tokens (268) than the Czech speaker (201). The difference in the mean number of declinable and conjugable tokens produced was the largest in these speakers (Eng – 37.4 vs. 62.6; Cze – 30.8 vs. 69.2).

3.2.4. Deviations at the Syntactic Level

Syntactic deviations are the third most represented type of deviations in the analyzed material and their proportion is 17.46%. The proportion and type of deviations coincide with the findings presented by Pasini and Ćavar (2009: 54): "At an advanced level, uncertainty appears in the word order in a sentence (even among speakers of other Slavic languages since interference occurs), in congruence, declensions of numerals and numerical nouns." The greatest number of deviations was expected in the order of enclitics. Considering the distinction between the high and low standard variety (Udier, 2015), only non-grammatical word order was considered as a deviation. In the analyzed material, 23 deviations related to the order of enclitics (32.86% of all deviations at the syntactic level) and 19 deviations related to agreement (27.14% of all deviations at the syntactic level) were recorded, which means that the order of enclitics and agreement accounted for as much as 60% of deviations at the syntactic level.

The largest number of deviations in the order of enclitics was recorded in the Polish and English speakers, with 7 deviations each, as in (66) – *Je 7*... instead of *7 je*... and (67) – ...*pa sada ja ću.* instead of ...*pa ću sad*. Deviations in agreement follow, especially with numerical words. Example 68 (*bio* instead of *bilo*) was excerpted from the written production of the Czech speaker, and examples 69 (*Sat je bio*... instead of *Bilo je*...) and 70 (*bio* instead of *bila*) from the written production of the Turkish speaker, in whose case the largest

number of deviations was recorded in vocabulary (as many as 13). In the Turkish speaker, there were also deviations in the indication of direct speech, as in example 71,[24] of which there were 7.

66) *Je 7 sati i neprekidno pada kiša*.
67) *Nisam pisao o sastanku sa Tomislavom još pa sada ja ću*.
68) *Prema nekim podacima duboko je čak i 287 metara, što bi zapravo bio najdublje jezero u Europi*.
69) *Sat je bio 4.50.*
70) *Gužva je bio.*
71) *Pitao sam ga da; "Mogu li dostići ako idem pješice?"*

As for the English speaker, we also find deviations in the use of the verb in complex conditional sentences – *je išlo* instead of *bude išlo* (72), the omission of the conjunction *da* and the use of the infinitive instead of the present tense – *provjeriti* instead of *da provjerim* (73), the use of the infinitive as the adjectival complement – *film je bio pretežak razumijeti* instead of *film je bilo preteško razumjeti* (74) or as a noun postmodifier – *imam prostor raditi* instead of *prostor za rad* (75), and the omission of the conjunction *da* (76–77).

72) *Ako sve je išlo točno, stignut ću u školu točno u devet.*
73) *Kad sam završio, ja sam uporedio izvornu hrvatsku verziju i novu hrvatsku verziju provjeriti razumijem li stvarno sadržaj*.
74) *Film mi je bio još pretežak razumjeti.*
75) *Ali sada imam prostor raditi*.
76) *Kad moram pisati na hrvatskom mislim (Ø) moj IQ spusti.*
77) *Mislim (Ø) s njegovom pomoći mogu pisati vrlo dobru primjenu.*

In addition to the order of enclitics, the position of proclitics is also part of the fixed word order (Peti-Stantić, 2006: 230), so in non-native speakers deviations in their position in the sentence can also be found. Both recorded deviations in the order of proclitics occur in the material produced by the English speaker (78–79).

78) *Ja ću biti na dva ili tri predavanja po semestru (predavanja o i hrvatskoj književnosti i prijevodu)...*
79) *Ovo je moj drugi put u Zadru. Bio sam i ovdje prošle ljeto.*

[24] The subject applies the rule on the use of the conjunction *da* for indirect speech in direct speech.

3.2.5. Deviations at the Lexical Level

Macan and Kolaković (2008: 36) state that the lexical level covers word-formation (lexical-morphological) and semantic (lexical-semantic) deviations, and Cvikić and Bošnjak (2004: 115) point out that "in order to know a particular word we need to know its *form*, *content* and its *usage*". Lexical deviations were the most prevalent of all types of deviations in the analyzed material. Their proportion in the total material was 40.4%. As already stated, this type of deviation was most prevalent in the Polish (31.43%), and the Slovak and the Turkish speakers (50%).

At the semantic level, the bulk of the deviations refer to the meanings of prepositions (22.84%), for example, *pred* was used instead of *na* (80), *iz* instead of *od* (81), *u* instead of *na* (82–84).

80) *Uzeo sam kufere, ruksak je bio pred leđima, jedan je bio u mojem ruci.*
81) *Čovjek mi je dao 2 lire iz svojih kovanica koje je uzeo od žetonmatika.*
82) *Idemo u grad, ali ostat ćemo samo neki sat vremena, sat i pol, nemamo što da radimo duže u kiši i trebamo krenuti dalje.*
83) *Obično sam išao u poluotok, ali ponekad sam se samo pokušao izgubiti.*
84) *Onda sam prevodio s engleskog u hrvatsku.*

The following are deviations having to do with the meanings of verbs (20.37%), especially (un)prefixed ones in the Polish speaker (*popuštava* instead of *dopušta/dozvoljava*, example 85) and the Turkish speaker (examples 86 – 88, *pokrenuti* instead of *krenuti*, *dostigao* instead of *stigao*, *povratiti* instead of *vratiti*).

85) *Pa nema toliko veze, hrvatski stil popuštava manje zakašnjenje.*
86) *Za 15 minuta autobus će pokrenuti…*
87) *Kako sam dostigao?*
88) *Na granici zaboravili su nam povratiti kakve papire.*

At higher levels of learning, modal words i.e. conjunctions pose problems for learners (*sretno* instead of *sva sreća* and *onda* instead of *pa*), as can be seen in examples 89–90 from the material produced by the Czech speaker.

89) *Od plivanja brzo smo ogladnili, sretno da roštilj je bio gotov i mogli smo početi jesti.*
90) *Nakon dva sata drijemanja, odlučili smo napraviti nešto aktivno, onda počeli smo igrati odbojku i frisbee.*

Deviations in expressions follow with 14.81%, e.g. in the written production by the Turkish speaker (*čim nije prošlo…* instead of *uskoro*, *prijateljska skupina* instead of *skupina prijatelja*, *je bio kao da ide* instead of *kao da se kretao*, example 91–93) and the Slovak speaker (*odličnu vezu* instead of *prijateljstvo*, example 94).

91) *Stigao nam je metro čim nije prošlo puno vremena.*
92) *Bila je prijateljska skupina tamo koje igraju karte dok prolazi vrijeme.*
93) *Autobus je bio kao da ide.*
94) *...gdje smo se upoznale i skopile odličnu vezu.*

At the lexical-semantic level, deviations can be more clearly linked to the native language of the individual speaker, as can be seen in (95–96) recorded in the material produced by the English speaker.

95) *Eventualno majke dobi novac od prijateljice i kćerka može ići na ekskurziju.*
96) *Odmor u tom vremenu je bio vrlo zanimljiv, i jedan je čuo puno jezika istovremeno.*

The English and the Turkish speakers coined two interesting words each (Eng – examples 97–98, Tur – examples 99–100).

97) Prijavilci za Fulbright moraju imati plan istraživanja.
98) Veselim se stanu jer je puno jeftinji nego drugi stani koji bih mogao naći i susjedstvo je lijepo.
99) Pričekao sam ispred žetonmatika.
100) Čekao sam u stanonici.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of the written linguistic production of five subjects of different mother tongues at a higher level of learning Croatian as a foreign language has provided insights into the individual qualities of the written production of each subject. At the time of data collection, four subjects had been learning Croatian for three years at a higher education institution, unlike the Czech speaker who had learnt Croatian only informally during a single semester of study in Croatia. Despite this fact, in terms of complexity, accuracy and fluency, her results were better than those of two other subjects, the English and the Turkish speakers, who had been learning Croatian for a longer period

of time and in a formal environment. The reason for this probably lies not only in the fact that the subject had been exposed to Croatian while attending lectures in Croatian, but also in the fact that her mother tongue, like Croatian, is a Slavic language. The subjects whose mother tongues were Polish and Slovak achieved better results than other subjects, which was expected considering their native languages are more similar to Croatian and the fact that they are students of Croatian Studies. The written linguistic production of the Slovak speaker was characterized by the highest complexity and fluency, while that of the Polish speaker was characterized by the highest accuracy. The English speaker achieved better results than the Turkish speaker even though he had not studied Croatian. However, during his studies at the University of Zadar, he attended lectures as part of the Translation Module of the Graduate Study of English, where he helped his colleagues with translation from Croatian into English, so he probably had to use Croatian actively more often than the Turkish speaker, who did attend classes with native speakers of Croatian, but rarely actively participated in discussions.[25]

Deviations were unavoidably found in the journal entries of all subjects. The proportion of deviations in the analyzed material was the highest in the two subjects who also scored worst for complexity, accuracy and fluency. The deviations produced by the Turkish speaker accounted for as much as 42.89% of all the deviations recorded, and those produced by the English speaker 25.44%. The proportion of deviations produced by the Czech speaker, who did not learn Croatian formally, was 15.46%, and the proportion of deviations by the two subjects who studied Croatian Studies was 8.73% (the Polish speaker) and 7.48% (the Slovak speaker). These two subjects produced a larger number of complex sentences than the other subjects, so it can be said that the subjects who make more mistakes in the written production in Croatian as a foreign language more frequently opt for producing simple sentences. By reaching for avoidance strategies, they are probably trying to reduce the number of deviations which are more likely to occur in syntactically more complex structures. Deviations were found at all normative levels. In the case of two subjects, the speakers of Polish and Slovak, no deviations were found at the phonological level, probably because they had mastered the phonological norm well while studying Croatian. Morphological deviations were the most prevalent type of deviations in the English and the Czech speakers, whi-

[25] In his journal entries, the subject states that he prefers writing because he has more time to formulate his thoughts, to use a dictionary and remember grammar rules, which supports the claim that "adopting the **usage** of certain words" (Cvikić and Bošnjak, 2004: 118) can make mastering a language difficult, especially when it comes to complex production activities which include speaking and writing.

le in the other three subjects, deviations at the lexical level prevailed. Since the Czech speaker did not learn Croatian in a formal environment, the high proportion of morphological deviations in her case is not surprising. Based on the comparison of the proportion of lexical, morphological and syntactic deviations in the English speaker, it could be concluded that he focused mainly on syntax, probably because he had helped students of English with their translation assignments from Croatian into English during his study abroad programme in Croatia.

The findings of the analysis of the complexity, accuracy and fluency in the written production of these five subjects, as well as the analysis of the deviations they had produced, gave an insight into the individual patterns of mastering Croatian as a foreign language. Each subject followed his or her own developmental path and, in addition to some expected deviations, also produced some specific ones depending on various factors (e.g. their mother tongue, the method of mastering Croatian, their study programme, etc.). The analysis and examples of deviations can be useful to teachers of Croatian as a foreign language in their classes as guidelines on what they should focus on and what types of deviations they can expect. Future research should therefore include samples of written language production of native speakers of other languages.

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PISANA PROIZVODNJA NA VIŠOJ RAZINI OVLADAVANJA HRVATSKIM KAO INIM JEZIKOM

Proizvodno (aktivno) znanje inoga jezika povezuje se s govorenjem i pisanjem. Odstupanja su u pisanju ili govorenju neizostavan dio ovladavanja inim jezikom, ali nisu jedini pokazatelj koliko je netko ovladao njime. Osim ispitivanja točnosti govorene i pisane proizvodnje učenika inoga jezika novija istraživanja uključuju (između ostaloga) i ispitivanja gramatičke i leksičke složenosti i tečnosti. U ovome se radu raščlanjuje pisana proizvodnja neizvornih govornika hrvatskoga jezika na višoj razini ovladavanja hrvatskim kao inim jezikom. U prvome se dijelu rada utvrđuje gramatička složenost, točnost i tečnost njihovih pisanih uradaka, a u drugome dijelu rada prikazuju se odstupanja na pravopisnoj, fonološkoj, morfološkoj, sintaktičkoj, leksičko-semantičkoj i leksičko-tvorbenoj razini. Zaključno se uspoređuju odnos složenosti, točnosti i tečnosti u pojedinačnoj i ukupnoj pisanoj proizvodnji.

Ključne riječi: *inojezični hrvatski*, *pisana proizvodnja*, *odstupanja*, *složenost*, *točnost*, *tečnost*