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Harambašić, Mihaela

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University of Zagreb

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Department of English

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MIHAELA HARAMBAŠIĆ

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Master's Thesis

Advisor: Dr. Anđel Starčević, Assistant Professor

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ABSTRACT

At the intersection of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, language and culture are explored to determine how the two factors affect one's sense of identity. A case study of four participants was conducted to examine their experience with living in a new country and having to overcome various linguistic and cultural obstacles, and how those experiences affected their sense of identity. The study was conducted through several interviews, and the participants are two Croatian parents and their twin daughters. The daughters were born in Canada after their parents had emigrated from Croatia, and the daughters returned in Croatia as young adults to pursue their studies, where they also had their own families with Croatian spouses. Since the parents still live in Canada, the focus of the study is on the generational aspect of language identity, and whether language habits, such as code-switching, differ across these two generations. Furthermore, the two daughters and the parents have shown some decrease in their language proficiency, while the daughters started experiencing symptoms of subtractive bilingualism since moving to Croatia, and the parents experienced similar issues on a smaller scale. Additionally, the parents explained how they raised their children to love Croatia as much they love Canada. Moreover, the daughters showed an independent, critical view on both countries, while the parents' patriotism is typical for Croatian diaspora in Canada. Still, the parents raised their children in a positive manner, encouraging bilingualism and biculturalism since the daughters' early age, and today, the daughters raise their children in a similar manner. Overall, the participants have expressed their satisfaction with both languages and cultures, and the parents and one daughter have stated that they felt equally Croatian and Canadian, while the other daughter said she felt more Croatian due to having lived in Croatia for a long time and having her own family in the country.

Sažetak

Na raskrižju sociolingvistike i psiholingvistike, istražuju se jezik i kultura da bi se ustanovilo kako oba faktora utječu na vlastiti identitet. Provedeno je kvalitativno istraživanje s četvero ispitanika, kako bi se odredilo njihovo iskustvo s boravkom u novoj državi i prevladavanje raznih lingvističkih i kulturnih prepreka te kako su ta iskustva utjecala na njihov identitet.

Istraživanje je provedeno kroz nekoliko intervjua, gdje su ispitanici dva roditelja Hrvata i njihove kćeri blizanke. Kćeri su rođene u Kanadi nakon što su se njihovi roditelji tamo doselili, a kada su odrasle, vratile su se u Hrvatsku kako bi upisale fakultet, gdje su i osnovale svoje obitelji sa Hrvatima supružnicima. S obzirom da roditelji i dalje žive u Kanadi, fokus istraživanja je na generacijskom aspektu jezičnog identiteta te razlikuju li se jezične navike, poput prebacivanja kodova, između dva naraštaja. Nadalje, obje kćeri i roditelji su pokazali smanjenu razinu jezične sposobnosti, gdje su kćeri nakon doseljenja u Hrvatku počele osjetiti simptome subtraktivnog bilingvizma, a roditelji su iskusili slične simptome u manjoj mjeri. Osim toga, roditelji su objasnili kako su odgojili svoju djecu da vole Hrvatsku jednako koliko vole i Kanadu. Nadalje, kćeri su pokazale nezavisno, kritičko razmišljanje o objema državama, dok je roditeljevo domoljublje karakteristično za hrvatsku dijasporu u Kanadi. Međutim, roditelji su svejedno odgojili svoju djecu na pozitivan način, potičući bilingvizam i bilingvizam i bikulturalizam od rane dobi svojih kćeri te danas kćeri slično odgajaju svoju djecu. Sveukupno, sudionici su izrazili zadovoljstvo s oba jezika i obje kulture, i oba roditelja i jedna kćer su izjavili da se osjećaju jednako Hrvatima koliko i Kanađanima, dok je druga kćer izjavila da se osjeća više kao Hrvatica jer živi u Hrvatskoj mnogo godina i u toj državi je zasnovala svoju obitelj.

1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout human history, migration has been a pervasive phenomenon. In recent decades, globalization, political instability, economic disparities, and various social factors have contributed to migration of humans worldwide. As people of different nationalities and cultures settle in new environments, not only do they bring their cultural heritage, but also their linguistic identities, leading to the emergence of bilingualism in the new societies. This phenomenon will be explored by studying the case of a Croatian family that lived in Canada from the 1980s, when the daughters moved to Croatia in their adulthood and now have families of their own.

In the first, theoretical section, a short history of Croatian emigration will be explored, along with bilingualism and biculturalism, as a product of migration. In the second section, an analysis of the conducted interview with the four members of the Croatian family will explore their views on language, culture, nationality, linguistic education of children and language habits. The participants will also be analyzed in terms of language identity, where their views on language, language education, and language habits should determine which of the two languages they gravitate to the most, and whether their biases in language are conditioned by language proficiency or other factors.

2 CROATIAN EMIGRATION TO CANADA

2.1 Migration and employment

According to the Central State Office for Croats Abroad[1], there are three categories of Croats abroad: Croatian emigrants, Croatian minorities, and Croats as one of the three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatian emigrants, who account for around 3,200,000 Croatian emigrants and their descendants, make the largest of the three categories. Based on estimates[2], there are around 250,000 Croats in Canada.

Knezović and Grošinić (2017, 26) divide the emigration of Croats into five periods:

1) From 1880 until World War 1 – Croats emigrated to United states, South America, South Africa, and New Zealand
2) From 1918 until World War 2 – Croats emigrated to Western European States, such as Germany, Belgium, and France
3) From 1940 to 1948 and the immediate post-war period – Croats migrated to Argentina and Latin American states, as well as Northern America
4) From 1965 to 1990 – Croats emigrated to Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada; the span from 1960s to 1970s is also when the largest wave of Croats emigrated to Canada (Petrović 2018, 61)
5) From the 1990s until today – Croats emigrated to countries such as Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Canada, USA, Australia, and New Zealand, due to the violent dissolution of former Yugoslavia in 1991, and the Croatian War of Independence

It is important to note that even though Croatian emigration to Canada is mentioned in the fourth and fifth periods, Croats also emigrated to Canada in a smaller number in the first three periods.

In the early periods of migration, young men of working age, mainly from Croatian villages, emigrated from Croatia (Mesarić Žabčić 2012, 136). Women and children joined later on, as well as entire families. Canada assumed a policy according to which workers were employed based on "merit-based migration systems" (Elrick 2021, 82), but prior to 1962, the policy only

[1] The Central State Office for Croats Abroad (2023): "Croats Abroad", https://hrvatiizvanrh.gov.hr/croats-abroad/2463

[2] The Central State Office for Croats Abroad (2023): "Croatian emigrants in European countries and overseas and their descendants", https://hrvatiizvanrh.gov.hr/croats-abroad/croatian-emigrants-in-european-countries-and-overseas-and-their-descendants/2464

applied to White immigrants. According to Elrick, in 1962 this practice changed, as with a new law, people of any race or nationality were treated the same when it comes to worker admissions. However, the issue did not completely disappear. In 2001, Bauder (2003) conducted 39 personal interviews with local Vancouver community leaders and NGO administrators of immigrants from South Asia and former Yugoslavia, along with employers who recruit immigrants. The interview centered on immigrants who came to Canada between 1985 and 2000. Before moving to Canada, more than half immigrants of the former Yugoslavia had been university-educated, while only 44% of South Asians had been educated up to grade nine. The research focused mainly on immigrants of higher education. According to the results, "educational attainment rewarded with occupational status" (ibid. 706) does not apply to immigrants to the same extent as to workers who were born and raised in Canada. South Asian and former Yugoslavian immigrants complained of not having an opportunity to get promotions, of being exploited by their employers, and not getting enough of a compensation for their qualifications. Bauder connects these issues with the phenomenon of "de-skilling" (ibid. 701), which refers to an effect of not recognizing foreign education and credentials of immigrants, which decreases their possibility of finding a job in previously held occupation. Because of this effect, immigrants are forced to switch careers or downgrade in their previously held occupation, which results in unfair compensation for their credentials. On the other hand, the effect creates more opportunities for Canadian-educated workers, whose credentials do get recognized. In the present, for certain fields in certain Canadian provinces, the situation is more optimistic. For example, between 2015 and 2025 it is estimated that in Ontario immigrant mechanical engineers will be more likely to be employed, while Canadians who migrate from other provinces are less likely and even might lose their jobs – in Ontario it is estimated that around 500 immigrants might get employed, while around 50 Canadian mechanical engineers might lose their jobs or migrate to another province (Engineers Canada 2015, 52).

2.2 Multiculturalism in Toronto and the Croatian community

Three out of four Canadians agree that "[i]t is better for Canada to have a variety of people with different religions" and "Canada's multicultural make-up is one of the best things about this country" (Legrain 2007, 287). Toronto, being the largest Canadian city, practices multiculturalism the most out of other Canadian cities – 49 per cent of its residents were born outside Canada, and it is the city where 22 per cent of all immigrants in Canada live. In Toronto, over a hundred languages and dialects are spoken, with over 90 religious groups (ibid. 284). It

is no wonder why Toronto was also a city where a large Croatian community resided, which formed many political organizations, churches and parishes, parks, pavilions, and organized gatherings for Croatian immigrants. (Rajković Iveta 2011, 345) For example, according to Rajković Iveta, every weekend Croatian immigrants would visit a parish that celebrated their patron saint (ibid. 345). Toronto has also encouraged immigrant children born in Canada to learn their parents' native language in schools with Ontario's heritage language program in 1977, and translates all formal documents into dozens of foreign languages. Additionally, for immigrants in Toronto, a lacking knowledge in the English language is not a problem, since immigrants can attend free courses in the English language, in order to improve their proficiency (ibid. 342-343). The emphasis on the immigrant acquisition of the English language has been promoted by the Canadian government from the second half of the 20th century, as in 1998 the government proposed to make "official language skills", i.e., proficiency in the English language, a more essential factor in immigrant employment, based on the merit system that had been implemented in the 1960s (Millar 2013, 22). Therefore, not only was a knowledge of English important for employment of immigrants in Canada, but it was also important for making sure that new residents in Canada of various cultural and linguistic backgrounds, i.e., immigrants, were united by the official language spoken in Canada, i.e., English. While French is also an official language in Canada, 2016 research shows that the majority of Canadians – 68% – speak only English (Huot et al 2018, 5). However, both English and French language courses are provided by the government.

2.3 Croatian schools and the preservation of Croatian heritage

In North America, one of the leading factors of preserving the Croatian language and culture in the Croatian diaspora was the establishment of Croatian Schools of America and Canada – CSAC (Hrvatske izvandomovinske škole Amerike i Kanade). Its purpose was to support already founded Croatian language schools, establish new schools, train new teachers, publish Croatian textbooks and manuals, while also producing audio tapes for classes for the Croatian diaspora (Granic 2009, 30). According to Granic (ibid. 30), the learning and teaching process included "all three settings: family, school, and visits to Croatia". Even before Ontario's heritage language program in 1977, the Croatian language school in Toronto was one of the first public language schools in Toronto, founded in 1961 (ibid. 30). Rev. Božidar Vidov was one of the pioneers in the education of the Croatian diaspora in the Croatian language, being the first to publish primers, readers, geography and history books, and religious texts. He also

helped to organize the Croatian Elementary School Abroad, at Our Lady Queen of Croatia Parish in Toronto (ibid. 33). A decade before the establishment of CSAC, Vidov proposed the establishment of a Federation of Croatian Elementary Schools, which would "serve as the central body for our schools, something akin to a Ministry of Education, that would develop and coordinate projects, provide guidance, collect financial support for those schools facing financial challenges" and "prepare some sort of instructional plan" (ibid. 35). The concept was then developed by CSAC, the umbrella organization for supporting Croatian heritage language schools, located in New York City, Chicago, Toronto, Hamilton, Los Angeles and Detroit, and run by friar Ljubo Krasić (ibid. 43).

2.4 Bilingualism

Bilingualism has often been defined as many different points of what is actually a spectrum, such as Bloomfield's criterion of having "the native-like control of two languages" (1933, 56), or Diebold's term of *incipient bilingualism* (1964, 495). The latter term describes the initial stages of contact between two languages, hence even a minimal knowledge of two languages would make a speaker bilingual. Mackey (1968, 557) specifies that a bilingual speaker must possess the knowledge of listening, reading, speaking, and writing, and the level of knowledge in each skill can vary. For example, a speaker could have excellent skill in speaking and listening, but poor skill in reading and writing. Additionally, Spolsky states that a bilingual can have "some functional ability in a second language" to be labelled as bilingual, but the term can also apply to having "very strong command of both languages", which is called *balanced bilingualism* (ibid. 2003, 45). Bilingualism is also described through the term *language contact*. Thomason (2001, 1) describes language contact as "the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time". Language contact can apply to different languages, but also different varieties of the same language. Thomason uses the example of native speakers of American English, who had difficulties in communicating and understanding each other because they spoke different dialects with different sound patterns. Therefore, a bilingual speaker could also be someone who possesses knowledge in the same language, but two different varieties, such as two different dialects.

Bilingualism has also been divided into types: Weinreich (1968, 9-11) discusses three types of bilingualism, according to how he considered the concepts of a language are encoded into a speaker's brain and how the languages have been learned: coordinate bilingualism (the

speaker learns both languages in separate environments and lexical concepts of both languages are kept separate in the brain, both languages are independent), compound bilingualism (the speaker learns the two languages in the same context, lexical concepts in both languages are fused in the brain, hence both languages are interdependent), and sub-coordinate type, which was a sub-type of coordinate bilingualism (the speaker interprets words of the weaker language through the words of the stronger/dominant language). In 1954, Ervin and Osgood combine the two coordinate types into one, claiming that acquisition of languages depends on the context in which they were learned and used. They use an example of acquiring a second language in school, where a word in the second language is usually associated to the word in the first language, resulting in a fused lexical concept of both words, hence both languages belong to the compound type of bilingualism. Bilingualism can also be divided into *primary* and *secondary* (Edwards 2006, 10-14), where primary bilingualism applies to naturally developed competencies, due to the speaker's surroundings and social context, whereas secondary bilingualism is typically the result of formal education, such as learning a second language in school or a class. Similarly, a bilingual speaker can acquire languages *sequentially* or *simultaneously*, where in the first case the first language is learned at home and the second language is acquired later or through formal education, while in the latter case the speaker (the child) is exposed to two different languages at the same time (Steinberg et al 2013, 228).

Language contact can also lead to language change – two general modes of change are shift-induced interference and borrowing. The first occurs in pair with imperfect language learning (Thomason 2001, 129), where structure of one language is transferred into the other language, and sometimes vocabulary. In borrowing, however, vocabulary is more transferred and language structure not as often. The latter is due to imperfect learning not being a significant factor in language change, so the linguistic result is different in the two types.

2.5 Accent vs. language varieties vs. language

Language contact can also affect a person's accent, i.e., a set of pronunciation patterns used by members of the same speech community, with a uniform set of phonological characteristics (Parashchuk 2000). When a person learns a new language, their first language can affect the target language by retaining an accent of the first language.

It is important to differentiate accent from language variety. The following three rules apply to discerning an accent from a language variety, and a language variety from a language:

1. “Two varieties of a single language are distinguished by accent when differences are restricted primarily to phonology (prosodic and segmental features).“
2. “If two varieties of a single language also differ in morphological structures, syntax, lexicon, and semantics, then they are different varieties, or dialects, of the same language.”
3. “If two varieties of a common mother language differ in all these ways, and in addition have distinct literary histories, distinct orthographies, and/or geo-political boundaries, then they are generally called different languages” (Lippi-Green 2012, 46)

2.6 Biculturalism

When discussing bilingualism, it is also important to discuss *biculturalism*. Grosjean (2008, 214) lists three traits of a bicultural person:

1. “They take part, to varying degrees, in the life of two or more cultures.”
2. “They adapt, at least in part, their attitudes, behaviors, values, languages, etc., to these cultures.”
3. “They combine and blend aspects of the cultures involved.”

The traits apply to any person who comes in contact with two or more cultures. Whether it be living in these cultures, or just or coming into contact with the second (minority) culture in formal education (ibid. 215).

Just as it is rare for two languages to have the same importance in the life of a bilingual speaker, so can the same be said for culture. Grosjean highlights how one culture is often dominant in the life of a bicultural, just as one language can be dominant in bilinguals (ibid. 216). On the other hand, bilingualism and biculturalism do not always have to go hand in hand – some people can be bilingual without being bicultural, or they can be bicultural without speaking the minority language, while retaining the minority culture (ibid. 217).

2.7 Culture and Identity

Cultural identity is a complex notion, and is perceived differently across members of different cultures. According to Kramsch (2008, 67), what we perceive about other cultures and languages is based on our own culture and stereotypes. Kramsch (ibid. 67) uses the case of a young African-American boy who asked two Danish women about their culture, to which they

replied that they spoke Danish and came from Denmark. The boy said that he was Black, and that that was his culture. To identify with a race or an ethnic group is not something that Whites typically do – they identify with their language and nationality. This is even more prevalent in European countries (ibid. 68). However, Kramsch adds that even European identities can be complex, as a person raised in France of Algerian parents may call himself an Algerian who lives in France and speaks French – when abroad, he might call himself French, depending on which group he wants to identify with (ibid. 68).

Acceptance of one's bicultural identity, according to Grosjean (2008), is one of the most important aspects of biculturalism. In order for a bicultural to be able to say that they belong to both culture A and culture B, they often go through "a long, and sometimes trying, process" (ibid. 219). The process involves members of culture A and culture B evaluating and interpreting the choices of the bicultural, whether it comes to language, physical appearance, attitudes, or simply education or nationality, etc. The outcome is often that the bicultural is judged to belong either to culture A or culture B, or that members of culture A judge the bicultural to belong to culture B and vice versa. Grosjean argues that cultures cannot easily accept that a bicultural can belong to both culture A and culture B. In order for a bicultural to realize which culture they belong to, they must take into account the evaluation of both cultures and make their own conclusions based on different factors, such as their personal history, knowledge of both languages and cultures, their identity needs, etc. (ibid. 219). The outcome results in four different decisions:

1. the bicultural identifies solely with culture A
2. the bicultural identifies solely with culture B
3. the bicultural identifies with neither culture A nor culture B,
4. the bicultural identifies with both culture A and culture B.

Grosjean adds that even though the fourth option is the optimal one for biculturals, because of the categorization by members of both cultures, biculturals often choose one of the first three options. Even though this can lead to unsatisfactory results and have negative consequences for the bicultural, with time, many biculturals turn around and opt for the fourth option, which reflects their bicultural identity the best (ibid. 220). Moreover, the process of one to realize their own identity can also involve various identities that conflict with one another. Kramsch (2008, 67) provides an example of an immigrant whose identity was linked to his home country in terms of social class, political views, or economic status, but in the new country it was linked to his national citizenship or religion. The shift in identity changed due to the population of the

new country, who only saw him as a member of a certain nationality, or of a certain religion. Once others viewed him in this way, the immigrant also adopted this sense of identity. As quoted in Kramsch, "[o]ut of nostalgia for the 'old country', he may tend to become more Turkish than the Turks and entertain "what Benedict Anderson has called 'long distance nationalism'(ibid. 67). Kramsch adds that the immigrant's native language might become different from the language spoken in the home country, while "…the community he used to belong to is now more an 'imagined community' than the actual present-day Turkey" (ibid. 67).

Another issue in the identity of a bilingual speaker is authenticity and appropriateness. According to Kramsch (ibid. 80), the notion of cultural authenticity helps us emotionally identify with our own and other cultures. Stereotypes of certain cultures, such as French chic or American casualness, serve as symbols which "help draw cultural boundaries between Us and Others" in order to appreciate both. This is especially important in language learning, as learners will often value the cultural appropriateness of the members of the community of the language in question. For example, a learner of the Japanese language will find value in Japanese salutations. The interest in language acquisition often comes with the interest to behave and think like members of the language community, in order to receive validation from the said members (ibid. 81). However, not always is one able to acquire a foreign language and have an understanding of the foreign culture, while keeping it separate from their own culture. Cultural appropriateness can be replaced by appropriation, where language learners adopt and align a foreign culture with their own preferences and needs (ibid. 81).

2.8 Mechanisms of Language Change

In language contact, interference is a linguistic phenomenon which can be present in all aspects of language and proficiency levels. Language change, on the other hand, is a broader term, which can, and does not have to, contribute to interference. Thomason (2001) lists seven mechanisms of contact-induced change: code-switching, code alternation, passive familiarity, `negotiation', second-language acquisition strategies, bilingual first-language acquisition, and change by deliberate decision. We are going to shortly examine the first two mechanisms according to Thomason's (2001) methodology.

2.8.1 Code-switching

Code-switching is "the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation" (Thomason 2001, 132). The mechanism is sometimes divided into

two categories: code-switching, an intersentential type of switching, which refers to switching from one language to another at a sentence boundary, and code-mixing, an intrasentential type of switching, which occurs within a sentence. The mechanism often occurs in order to adopt a word from one language as a substitute for a word in the other language, or "to fill a lexical gap" in the other language (ibid. 132). It can also contribute to lexical and structural interference. There are many other reasons for code-switching – for example, using a word from one language as a euphemism for a word in the other language, or just to "give an ethnic flavor" to the conversation during speech (ibid. 136).

It is important to note that some scholars have claimed that there is a strong relationship between code-switching and borrowing, however, some strongly deny any connection between the two. In order to assess a code-switched element as an established interference feature, it would need to appear very often in a bilingual speech and monolingual speakers would need to nativize the element, i.e., adopt it into their vocabulary from bilingual speakers (ibid. 134).

Thomason adds that code-switches will typically not occur within a stem and an affix or between two affixes of a word, called the *Free Morpheme Constraint* (ibid. 135). If such an event occurs, the element will usually be a borrowing, and not a code-switch. However, some instances in language suggest otherwise, such as an instance of hybrid English-Maori words with phonology in bilinguals' Maori speech not typical of the Maori language: English stems and Maori suffixes, which produce words such as *injectngia* – "be injected" (ibid. 135). In this instance, using the English stem *inject-* and the Maori suffix *-ngia* produces segments and consonant clusters which are not present in the Maori language itself, therefore, the English elements suggest that code-switching occurred instead of borrowing (ibid. 135).

2.8.2 Code alternation

Code alternation is the use of two or more languages by the same speaker, where each language is used individually in different environments. Thomason illustrates the simplest example, where one language would be used at home, and the other would be used at work (ibid. 137). This is often the case with dying languages, where one who speaks a dying language will only speak the language with the remaining language members, while the dominant language would be spoken with the surrounding community members. It is also often that bilingual members of communities in which code-switching is frowned upon will opt for code alternation in order to maintain a good relationship with their community members.

Additionally, Thomason brings up a point made by Grosjean and Soares, who state that "when bilinguals speak one of their languages, the other language 'is rarely deactivated, even in completely monolingual situations'" (ibid. 138). This means that language use of two or more languages in separate environments makes deactivation of either language less likely to happen, and certain aspects of one language could *slip* into the other language, and vice versa. For example, a bilingual speaker during code alternation could become susceptible to one language influencing the pronunciation of the other language, even though they did not practice code-switching.

3 INTERVIEW RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The analysis will be conducted using previous research finding in sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, semantics, and phonology. Research has been conducted through an interview of four participants who are of Croatian origin and have lived in Canada. The research material consists of just over six hours of recorded audio, which was transcribed and rearranged according to the related topics for the analysis.

The family interviewed consists of a father and mother, and two twin daughters. For the sake of privacy, their names have been changed in the results and analysis, according to the ethical guidelines of Labov (1984) – Petar (the father), Marija (mother), Sunčica (twin daughter), and Brigita (twin daughter). Even though the participants were notified of the protection of their identities, they still did not disclose private information such as date of birth, age, elementary and high schools they had attended, etc. The interviews were conducted in May and June of 2023. Since both parents were in Canada at the time of conducting the interview, the interview was conducted in person with the twin daughters in Croatia on site, and with the parents online. All four of the participants are native speakers of the Croatian language, while the twins are also native English speakers. Due to the uniformity of the questions and answers, the interview was conducted in the Croatian language. Every participant was instructed to answer the questions in whichever language they felt most comfortable.

3.1 Family background

FATHER PETAR (name altered) was born in Zagreb in former Yugoslavia. He went to elementary school and high school in Zagreb, where he also went to college. In elementary school, Petar learned English, while he learned Latin in high school. He acquired a degree in mechanical engineering, which he pursued as a career in Croatia. He married MARIJA (name altered), and both decided to move to the suburbs of Toronto, Canada, in the late 1980s. In Toronto Petar worked as an engineer and had his twin daughters with Marija. After emigration, the family returned to Croatia for a year during the Croatian War of Independence due to a close family member's illness. After a year, Petar returned to Toronto with his family and now visits Croatia every summer. He is currently retired.

MOTHER MARIJA (name altered) was born in Zagreb in former Yugoslavia. She went to elementary school and high school in Zagreb, where she also got an education in teaching. Growing up in a family of deaf parents, Marija's first language was sign language. She learned Croatian with the help of children in the neighborhood, and she also communicated in Croatian with her older sister. In school, Marija learned German and Latin, however, she has not retained the knowledge of either language in the present. She moved to Toronto with Petar, where she took a course in English for a year. In Toronto, Marija gave birth to twin daughters, SUNČICA and BRIGITA (names altered). In Toronto, the family moved through several different neighborhoods, during which time they connected with the Croatian Church and the Croatian School, in which Marija held classes for Croatian-Canadian children, including Sunčica and Brigita. Marija is currently retired.

DAUGHTER SUNČICA (name altered) was born in Toronto, Canada, during the Croatian War for Independence, where she also went to senior kindergarten. She finished grade 5 in Croatia, and went back to school in Toronto, where she continued grade 6 to the end of high school. Together with her sister BRIGITA (name altered), she took French lessons, which were obligatory in elementary school. After finishing high school, Sunčica went to the English program of the School of Medicine at University of Zagreb, where she acquired a degree and married a Croat. Sunčica now works as a resident in a Croatian hospital and has two children, a daughter and a son.

DAUGHTER BRIGITA (name altered) was born in Toronto, Canada, during the Croatian War for Independence, where she also went to senior kindergarten. She finished grade 5 in Croatia, and went back to school in Toronto, where she continued grade 6 to the end of high school. Both Sunčica and Brigita were also enrolled in a music program, through which they played in several concerts. After finishing high school, Sunčica went to the English program of the School of Medicine at University of Zagreb, where she acquired a degree and married a Croat. Sunčica now works as a resident in a Croatian hospital and has two children, both sons.

3.2 Moving to Canada

Petar and Marija moved to Toronto, Canada, during the fourth emigration wave (according to Knezović and Grošinić 2017, 26) to gain new experiences. Since they were already highly educated, they had no problem with the moving process. Petar was hired as an engineer almost immediately, as Canada had already implemented the merit-based migration

systems (Elrick 2021, 82). When asked about his and Marija's reasons for moving to Canada, Petar replied:

> P: Manje-više kak i svi drugi ljudi. Čisto opportunity da nešto novo naučiš, malo i ekonomski i to je bilo to. Nije bilo ništa politički. Svako društvo ti se ili useli ili iseli. […] Nikakvih problema nismo imali, ni od bivše države, ni u Kanadi. Engleski nam je bio odličan, ja kad sam došao praktički počeo sam za tri tjedna radit već na poslu.

By stating "Svako društvo ti se ili useli ili iseli," Petar implies how migration is a natural process of every society, and that he and Marija simply followed the natural pattern of migration themselves. Marija adds that Canada supported her eagerness to further her knowledge in the English language by providing free courses for a year, as confirmed in Rajković Iveta's (2011) and Millar's (2013) research:

> M: Semestar u semestar si išao.
>
> P: Ako hoćeš, država će te poslat na te kurseve. To ti oni plate, tak da to je bilo dobro.
>
> When asked about the level of knowledge gained from those courses, Petar states that the system did not grade the knowledge in terms of level:
>
> P: A čuj, to ti nema tih razina. Oni su ti praktični – ili znaš, il ne znaš.

Today, the most popular program in Canada for free immigrant language training in English and French is LINC, i.e., the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada, established in 1922. The program introduced standardized testing for language proficiency, which ensures that the immigrant earns their certificate upon passing the tests in speaking, listening, reading and writing[3]. When Petar said that Marija's courses offered a type of testing in which a person either passes or fails, he probably referred to an earlier type of courses and testing, before LINC and introduction of competencies. Since Petar and Marija moved to Canada in the late 1980s, Marija probably took the pre-LINC language training.

3.3 Canadians at work

Petar and Marija proceeded to explain how people in Canada behave in the work environment, continuing their statement that people in Canada are "more practical". They

[3] Government of Canada – Language classes funded by the Government of Canada: https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/new-immigrants/new-life-canada/improve-english-french/classes.html

address how they rarely had any problems with miscommunication or being treated differently as a minority, due to Canadians being straightforward and prioritizing work and results over personal differences:

> P: Tu [u Kanadi] ljudi su, kak bi rekli, straightforward. Ja nisam imao nikavih problema, dapače. Vrlo su me lijepo prihvatili. U mom poslu bitno je da si posao napravio. To je najbitnije. Nije bitno biti od 8 do 5, nego je bitno da si posao napravio. Ako ga napraviš prije, odi doma, nije važno. Bitno je napraviti posao do kraja. Ovdje su kriteriji vaši rezultati rada. Oni ne pate na diplome i doktorate, to nema veze. Bitno je da ti radiš svoj posao i rezultati tog posla. Prema tim rezultatima onda i napreduješ. Uvijek su mi dali podršku. Uvijek su rekli „Kako možemo pomoći?“ Uvijek su se trudili da mi pomognu ak ja nisam nešto slučajno znao, sistem, i to…

Petar's statement further confirms that the Canadian work environment is based on merit (Elrick 2021) – even if having a college degree can be important for employment, as Petar also had a college degree before his employment in Canada, in the long run, the quality of an employee is based on the effort invested in their work and the positive results of the said work. Marija confirms that this sort of mindset is also present in Canadian stores. She recounts her first moments in Canadian stores, where the store clerks were always approachable and helpful to everyone, which pleasantly surprised her at first. In former Yugoslavia, she had not been used to this degree of politeness from store clerks.

> M: Meni je bilo šarmantno vidjeti prodavače i prodavačice u dućanu, koji su se trudili, u ono vrijeme tako nije bilo u Hrvatskoj. [U Kanadi] trudili su se biti ljubazni, pozdravljati, pitat te kako si. I onda sam bila u šoku „Pa zašto on mene pita kako sam?“ Nisam se privikla na to. Ali, jako su ljubazni postali i u Hrvatskoj.

On the other hand, it took her a long time to get used to commuting in Toronto:

> M: Tu su velike udaljenosti problem. Do posla rijetko tko ima 15-20 minuta. Dakle, svi više-manje voze ili gube puno vremena u prometu. To je možda još jedan problem ovdje [u Torontu] da svaki dan moraš provesti 45 minuta-sat vremena u prometu da dođeš s posla do svoje kuće, a ako radiš do 4 ili do 5, onda je to već problem.

When their twin daughters were asked about this topic, Brigita stated that she did not feel loneliness over her parents being at their jobs or commuting for a long time, and that Petar would make up for being away from home by spending a whole month with his family in Croatia during summer:

> B: I knew that tata would come svaki dan, u tolko i tolko sati, da on je cijeli dan negdje radio. My mom was home with us. She worked also part-time, like as a teacher u hrvatskoj školi. And also, she worked malo u Crkvi, so she was mostly home with us then, and... no, I just felt like that was normal.

> Like, I didn't really think that it wasn't normal, 'cause I felt like my life was kind of like, in Canada, like, preko zime, let's say, in the school year. Like, that was normal. And then when we came to Hrvatska preko ljeta, it was normal for all of us to be together, you know tih mjesec dana-dva mjeseca. Ne znam kolko smo svi bili skupa. My dad would usually be in Hrvatska mjesec dana with us and we would be in Hrvatska like, dva mjeseca, maybe i više malo sometimes.

However, both Sunčica and Brigita expressed their dissatisfaction with the working culture in Canada, and how Canadians are pressured into long working hours, while their children suffer from the same culture in school. This claim is somewhat contradictory, to Petar's, who earlier mentioned that in his job, if one finished their work early, they could go home before the end of the shift. This could also suggest that these situations were rare, and that working long hours happened more often in his job. Since both Sunčica and Brigita live in Croatia as adults, and are able to compare both Croatia and Canada in terms of quality of life and overall satisfaction, both agree that life in Croatia is much better, due to a balance in working and leisure. They also agree that Croatian cities offer a variety of places to visit, while Sunčica states that it is much safer in Croatia due to lower crime rate and reliable public transport.

> B: I think da je tu puno veća kvaliteta života because, um, in Canada people are very focused on their work and they work very long hours. And here, I feel like ipak, like people make time for coffee breaks, to see friends... općenito, things are closer, like in distance. So, you know, your work is closer. You don't have to travel so far. Uh, izleti are closer. Like you're in Europe, you can go with the bus to Italy over the weekend. Uh, you can go from Zagreb to Rijeka and you can go na more za sat i pol, so there's more, let's say opportunities like that. And yeah, I just think that tu je bolje u tom smislu.
>
> S: Definitely je bolje ovdje. U Kanadi ti je više samo, ono, ideš na posao, ili ja sam išla u školu, onda me nema doma cijeli dan, onda dođeš doma, onda cijeli dan, specifically za mene, radila sam zadaću cijelo popodne, večer, završiš zadaću i onda ništa, repeat. I tako svaki dan. A preko vikenda, gdje ti možeš otići preko vikenda? Nigdje. Živiš u suburbs, tvoja opcija je da ideš pogledat neki film u kinu, da ideš to the mall, na neke dućane, i to je to. Ak nemaš vozačku, onda trebaš ići busom svugdje, što mi se baš ne sviđa, i onda djeca idu negdje s busom. Public transport u Hrvatskoj je, ne znam, I feel like Hrvatska is safe. U Hrvatskoj I don't mind kad djeca idu sama na public transport. U Kanadi ja nikad ne bi dijete poslala sama na public transport. Jedina ti je opcija da čekaš da te roditelji negdje otpeljaju, ne možeš ti baš sam negdje ići.

Since Toronto is a larger city than any of Croatia's cities, commuting also takes more time in Toronto and Canada than in Croatia. Because of Toronto's urban architecture, visiting nearby places is also more complicated, since walking to a nearby theater or restaurant can take significantly more time than, for example in Zagreb, Croatia. This is one of the reasons why

teenagers of the age 16 or over can get their driver's license, which makes commuting significantly easier in cities like Toronto[4].

Note how both Sunčica and Brigita code-switch extensively while speaking. Since they were told before the interview to speak whatever language they feel comfortable with, they constantly go back and forth between English and Croatian. What is specific to their code-switching, however, is the use of particular words. For example, throughout the interview they did not say "Croatia" or "the Croatian language" even once. Instead, they say "Hrvatska" and "hrvatski". The reason for this use correlates to Thomason's example of code-switching, where two bilinguals had a conversation in code-switched Yiddish-English, and one of the bilinguals mentioned his sister in the conversation: "Is warm. Is wool. Dos hot meyn shvester gemakht a long, long time ago (my sister made it)" (Thomason 2012, 132). When the bilingual mentioned his sister, he immediately switched to Yiddish, as this is the language he identifies his sister with. The same can apply to the example above, where Sunčica and Brigita identify *Croatia* and *the Croatian language* with the Croatian language, so they always use the terms in the Croatian language when speaking with their family or other Croats – unless they speak to anyone who does not speak Croatian. During the interview, Sunčica even added that she teaches her children to say *Hrvatska* or *hrvatski jezik*, even when speaking English.

3.4 Finding a community in Canada

As foreigners in a new country, Petar and Marija were lucky to move to a location where there were many Croats in the neighborhood. Petar explains how this was the key reason why he and Marija found it much easier to fit into the society and did not feel as lonely. However, after moving to a new neighborhood in Toronto, which had many Italian residents, and not Croatian, they turned to the Croatian Church in order to maintain their connection to Croatia (cf. Rajković Iveta 2011):

> P: Ja osobno sam se priviknuo na Kanadu već drugi dan, bez problema. Dok smo razriješili to sve skupa, našli svoje mjesto boravka i tako, pa ja bi rekao negdje godinu dana maksimalno.
>
> M: Imali smo sreću što smo došli u Hrvatsku zajednicu i bili smo friško okruženi Hrvatima. Bilo nam je lijepo dok nismo otišli u kuću (odselili se u novo susjedstvo). Onda više nije bilo Hrvata oko nas. Odmah smo se povezali s Hrvatskom crkvom, bili jako aktivni, i tako. Veliku je ulogu imala i Crkva i crkvena zajednica. Mislim da sve aktivnosti koje su se dogodile u crkvenoj zajednici su doprinijele

[4] Ontario – Driver's license: https://www.ontario.ca/page/get-g-drivers-licence-new-drivers

razvoju opće svijesti i kulture hrvatskoj djeci. Djeca su bila u toj zajednici, rasla zajedno. Sad se sve to skupa i tu promijenilo.

B: Yeah, and we had priredbe, we had veliki ručkovi and everything, me and Sunčica would bile, like, the glavne u Crkvi for any reading that had to be done because, like, our hrvatski was, like, a lot better than the other kids, because the other kids, mislim, our generation, ne znam, mislim da su bili već druga generacija u Kanadi, ili treća generacija, and their hrvatski wasn't as good. Like, you know, they had a very bad accent when they would speak hrvatski. So then, like, whenever something had to be done, like, they would always say, Sunčica i Brigita, you guys do the priredba ili čitajte u crkvi...

P: …ima nekoliko hrvatskih crkvi u Torontu, pošto Toronto ima skoro 4 milijuna stanovnika, isto ko Hrvatska. Na raznim stranama Toronta ima hrvatskih crkva koje okupljaju Hrvate iz tog svog područja, a to je jako pozitivno.

Brigita and Sunčica remember how differently the other Croatian children would speak Croatian, due to their parents not speaking the language to them. Since the children would only learn Croatian in the Croatian school, and Sunčica and Brigita learned it from their parents, it led the twins to be the best Croatian speakers in the community. Since the twins were able to learn both languages from an early age, unlike other Croatian-Canadian children in their community who started learning Croatian later in school, Sunčica and Brigita displayed characteristics of balanced bilingualism (Spolsky 2003, 45):

B: It was okay, but, like, slabije su pričali, 'cause some, you know, because their parents wouldn't speak hrvatski to them at home. Their parents, let's say, su već bili, let's say, druga generacija u Kanadi, so their parents were just speaking English to them doma and oni bi samo učili hrvatski u hrvatskoj školi. Ipak, my parents were speaking hrvatski to me at home.

S: I already knew hrvatski, ali ova ostala djeca nisu tak dobro pričali hrvatski. Oni su baš imali naglasak. Mislim, I know da ja imam naglasak, as well, al compared to some people, my naglasak is non-existent. Mislim, neke riječi ne čuješ, i onda kažem nešto, i onda skužiš, kao, aha, I hear your naglasak.

It is interesting to note that, while Brigita spoke about one's language skills in general, Sunčica rather focused on accents and pronunciation. In Sunčica's opinion, accent (i.e., speech) determines the quality of linguistic competence. On the other hand, Brigita addresses that one's competence depends on one's exposure to the language and language use in day-to-day conversation. It is true that children who learn a second language in a natural situation, such as learning at home with family (i.e., everyday life), can learn the language at the same level as their first language even within less than one year, and that as humans get older, their memory, motor skills, and social interactions which promote language learning gradually decline (Steinberg et al. 2013, 178-179). Additionally, older children, such as around the age of puberty,

can be hesitant to learn and use the second language if the language and culture surrounding it may conflict with their individual identity and cultural believes, so the children can often avoid situations which would expose them to using the language in question (ibid. 180).

The topic of accent will be covered in more detail later in the chapter.

Another aspect of community is the presence of family and relatives, or in this case, the lack of family and relatives and loneliness that comes with it. Since Petar and Marija moved to Toronto to discover new things and gain new experiences, they left their family and relatives in Croatia. Even though they came back to Croatia for a year to nurture their family member during the time of their illness, Sunčica and Brigita were very young and do not remember this period. When the family moved back to Canada, they were able to only maintain the relationship with their family members through phone calls and letters and see them during their summer visits in Croatia. Marija expresses her guilt of depriving her children of family and relatives, which Sunčica admits to have caused her feeling lonely at times:

> M: Mene je to opterećivalo jer djeca su čeznula za širom obitelji. Talijanska zajednica ima običaj okupljanja, njih od 30 se okupi za blagdane, a Sunčica i Brigita su bile zakinute za to. Mislim da je njima bilo jako teško zbog toga. I mi smo se trudili svake godine odlaziti u Hrvatsku i približiti ih tim ljudima. Sada ne možeš ti u tom kratkom periodu stvoriti čuda, o povezanosti govorim.
>
> S: […] s druge strane, koja obitelj? I just had one cousin that was, like, a lot older than me. Nekad jesam se osjećala usamljeno compared to other people. My peers in school koji su imali bake i djedove, išli su u posjete rođacima, i tako. Zbog toga mi je možda bilo malo tužnije.

She furthers explains that in the new neighborhood with many Italians, she also felt lonely due to being the only young person coming from a Croatian family. The high school that she attended had around 1000 students, and there were only three Croatian students:

> S: U mom naselju nije uopće bilo Hrvata. Brigita i ja smo bili jedini u osnovnoj školi Hrvati. Kad smo se preselili u [novo naselje], niko nije bio Hrvat. Mi smo bili jedini Hrvati. Tek u high school smo upoznali još troje Hrvata. To je to, od 1000 i nešto djece samo troje Hrvata još. […] Mislim, uvijek sam se osjećala da se ne uklapam s njima [Talijanima]. Nisam se trudila uklopit s njima, nego samo sam se osjećala da se ne uklapam s njima jer su oni svi Talijani.

Since language and socialization go hand in hand, there is no doubt that Brigita and Sunčica growing up in a neighborhood that did not speak their language made them feel lonely and excluded at times. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Europeans tend to identify themselves with their nationality and their culture, which becomes even more prevalent when migrating to another culture. Without seeking the company of Croats in

Catholic communities in Toronto and summer visitations to Croatia in the summer, it is not as likely that the twins would grow up with as strong of a connection to their Croatian roots. The concept of the Self and the Other has been a subject of many literary, philosophical and academic works (Hegel 1807, Sartre 1943, Lacan 1997/1981, Kapuściński 2009), where the Other serves as a tool for the Self's perception of oneself. Thus, the two are connected in a way where one cannot exist without the other. Kapuściński makes a point, which in this example can describe the emotional state of minority immigrants: "to distinguish Europeans, people from the West, whites, from [...] non-Europeans, non-whites, while fully aware that for the latter, the former are just as much 'Others'" (Kapuściński 2009, 13). If a white European migrates to a non-white community, the roles are reversed and the European becomes the Other. In the example of the twins, even though the Italians in their neighborhood were just as much of European descent as them, the girls still felt as the Other because they were the minority immigrants in the neighborhood and of different culture than the Italian majority. Sunčica mentioned how she even befriended a South Korean student in school – someone who would be considered as the Other by the West – which furthers my argument that even Sunčica and Brigita would be considered as the Other by the majority culture in their school. This feeling was lessened by spending their time in the Croatian Catholic community, as their sense of the Self was strengthened, and provided them with emotional comfort, unlike loneliness within the Italian community.

3.5 Moving to Croatia

When the twins finished high school at the age of 18, they were expected to go to college. Even though they were in a music program in school, they had a passion for science and biology, so they chose to study Medical Studies in Croatia. Croatia seemed like a smart option, since in Canada it is more complicated and time-consuming to study Medical Studies. They took the program in English, so they did not have any difficulties with comprehension of their learning material. By asking the twins to compare the education system in Canada with the one in Croatia, I was hoping to access their unmonitored speech, similar to Labov's technique of asking the "danger of death" question (1984). By asking questions which trigger an emotional reaction, or by asking questions about a specific personal experience, the style of speech of the interviewee might shift towards the vernacular and the interviewee might lessen their focus on the formality of the interview (ibid. 33):

B: In Canada, you can't go right out of high school to medical school, you have to finish at least three years and get a, let's say, bachelor's degree. Usually, you do the four years and get a bachelor's degree in something and then you apply to medical school. It's not a problem. It's just that, like, you can do the three, four years and then apply, and not get in. And then what? And then you have a bachelor's in, I know, Science, let's say. What can you do with that? You can't really go in, like, nekakav, a specific field. Like you can't really do anything. You can, let's say become a science teacher in school, or maybe you can do some kind of other work or something. But you know, if you don't get into medical school, then that's it, you didn't get into med school.

S: Because, mislim, u Kanadi sam upala na sve faksove na koje sam se prijavila, just, odlučila sam se for Hrvatska jer ovdje sam upala na medicinu, a u Kanadi ne možeš odma ić na medicinu, nego prvo trebaš završit… I don't know, nešto, bilo šta. Let's say, završit… techincally, mislim da trebaš dvije godine faksa, i onda nakon te dvije godine, kao, možeš završit taj ispit i onda se prijavit na medicinu, ali… nemaš ti guarrantee nakon dvije godine, nego obično ljudi završe neki degree četiri godine, i onda se prijavljuju na medicinu, tak da imaš veće šanse da te prime. Ne znam, ti možeš završit ples, ali samo trebaš imat određeni broj predmeta, ne znam, biology, chemistry, physics, tako par tih, i onda se prijaviš na medicinu nakon četiri godine, a završiš ples. Mislim, nema mi smisla. A ovdje smo obadvoje, Brigita i ja upali nakon srednje na medicinu na engleskom, so I was like „Okay, idemo probati."

While Brigita spoke almost entirely in English, Sunčica remained speaking Croatian with only a few words and phrases in English. Labov's technique did not seem to work on Sunčica, while Brigita spoke Croatian a little less often than in other parts of the interview. The reason why Sunčica did not switch to her natural vernacular may be due to being used to speaking Croatian to Croats, since she had been living in Croatia for almost half of her life up to the point of the interview, so speaking Croatian to Croats might be automatic for her up to the point that it is hard for her to speak in her vernacular with Croats who she is not as emotionally close with as with her family and friends.

When it comes to language competence, the twins struggle with the Croatian language due to English becoming their primary language. Even though they learned Croatian as a first language, because they grew up in an English-speaking environment, English eventually became their dominant language (cf. Coulmas 2005, 142). Today, they often have misunderstandings due to difficulties in conveying the meaning of what they are trying to say in Croatian, since they first need to translate what they want to say from English:

S: Everything was na engleskom, so meni je bilo lakše nego da je na hrvatskom faks, znaš. Mislim, da je na hrvatskom bilo, malo bi mi teže bilo učiti and everything, 'cause I'm not used to studying na hrvatskom jer cijeli život učim na engleskom. Ja razmišljam na engleskom. Ja sebi u svojoj glavi prevedem sve s engleskog na hrvatskom, joj… kad se to desi, ja napišem nešto na hrvatskom, a mislim

na engleskom. [Moj suprug] kaže, kao ono, „Šta Sunčice, što si ti to napisala?“ „Pa prevela sam, ono kao, engleski na hrvatski.“ „Pa ne možeš to tak napisat“. Kao, meaning behind it, nije isto. Ne znam što je bilo nekidan, napisala sam, kao, „When you have, like, two kids under two, then it's, like, all hectic.“ I onda sam to napisala na hrvatskom „Kak misliš ‘ispod dva’, Sunčice, što to znači?“

Here, it is clear that not only has English become Sunčica’s dominant language, but it has also become a tool for speaking and conveying thoughts in Croatian. In this sense, Sunčica and Brigita are experiencing *subtractive bilingualism* (Coulmas 2005, 141), where the twins’ acquisition of English has replaced their Croatian to an extent, and they need to translate English into Croatian in order to access certain Croatian lexemes and morphology in the mind. Such translating can lead to interference, as seen in the example above, where Sunčica uses the phrase “two under two” in Croatian in direct translation – borrowing a phrase that Croats would never say in such a way, as in Croatian it would not make any sense. Hence, even though the twins often code-switch in their day-to-day conversation, it is evident that there is a level of interference and borrowing present in their language.

The struggle to maintain a coherent conversation is even more frustrating in public, especially if one is in a store and needs to buy something urgently, but is not sure how to say it in the target language. Sunčica and Brigita talk about the same situation in different instances, in which they went to buy groceries, and could not tell the clerk how many items they needed, due to struggling with Croatian morphology:

S: To me uvijek frustriralo, kao u dućanu. „Jel mogu dvije žemlje dobit?“ „Šta?“ „Dvije žemlje.“ „Dve žemlje?“ Ne znam, neko kaže dve žemlje, neko kaže dvije. Na kraju ja nisam znala je li dve ili dvije, onda svaki put bi izabrala drugu riječ pa bi mi teta rekla dve i onda bi totalno poludila. Ja bi ponekad rekla dve, ponekad dvije, i onda uvijek ak kažem dvije, neko kaže „Dve?“ i ak kažem dve, neko kaže „Dvije.“

B: I don't know, više mi je bilo... ne znam, because I'm a perfectionist, so I didn't wanna make a mistake, you know, like I didn't wanna go to the store and then ask for, is it dvije žemlje or dve žemlje? Like what do I tell the woman? What if I say, like, the wrong one? And više je, like, for me than for other people.

Such events can lead to anxiety in a speaker, more specifically situational anxiety, where a person will develop apprehension from a specific event. Situational anxiety can be defined broadly, such as shyness, or narrowly, such as communication apprehension (MacIntyre and Gardner 1991, 91). Moreover, what can also be linked to situational anxiety is self-confidence (ibid. 94). If a speaker of a language lacks self-confidence

when communicating, anxiety could ensue and the speaker could have difficulty with not only with language acquisition, but also language retention and production (ibid. 84). For Sunčica, each instance that she is told that a different variant of the same lexeme is "correct" is frustrating, and such frustration can lead to the avoidance of that lexeme. In addition, Brigita's intrinsic desire for perfection can also lead to the avoidance of the lexeme because she does not want to use the "wrong" variety. Since both Sunčica and Brigita had excellent grades in school, this could be the one of the reasons for Brigita's perfectionism when it comes to language acquisition and communication:

> S: Oh, I had excellent ocjene. I had, I think, the best ocjene in the school. Znam da, for sure, to je išlo svake godine. Svake godine svi su dijelili, kao, te nagrade, ko je imao najbolje ocjene. Znam da u 10. razredu I got it, mislim u 11. možda isto, možda nisam u 12., možda sam bila second top u 12. I was like, ono, ja i Brigita smo imale one of the best grades in all of the school, a imaš 300 djece per grade."

Since the twins learned Croatian with family and in the Croatian school, their formal language education could also have led the twins to experience anxiety. It is said that those who learn a language with friends could have a lower risk of anxiety, than those who learn the language at home and in school (ibid. 100). Additionally, learning the standard Croatian variety in a formal setting could also lead to integration of the *standard language ideology* (Milroy 2007, 133), where the standard variety of a language is believed to be the "correct" one, while dialects and other language varieties are thought to be "incorrect". Such attitude can also lead to having negative attitudes towards people who use non-standard varieties, such as attitudes towards social class, ethnicity, gender, etc. (ibid. 135) In reality, both forms – *dvije* and *dve* are used in the Croatian language and neither form is neither "correct", nor "wrong". It is simply a matter of language variety, since both forms belong to their respective varieties. It is important to note that this ideology can not only be adopted by people who learn a language in a formal setting, but also by native speakers. Therefore, anyone who is a speaker in a standard language culture (ibid. 133) can be susceptible to developing this belief.

The problem of miscommunication often happens to the twins in the present. Sunčica tells the story of how she went to ask for help in a retail store, and she could not explain to the store clerk why the product that she had bought was not working. The situation became frustrating for Sunčica, because she knew what she wanted to say in English, but she struggled to find the right words in Croatian. This often happens when a bilingual is in a situation where they are

forced to use the language in a *weak domain*, such as visiting a retail store, versus using language in a *strong domain*, which includes vocabulary that they know and are used to, such as family and close friends (Grosjean 2010, 32-33). A common reaction for a bilingual when speaking a language in a weak domain would be using words from the stronger language either to adapt them into the conversation in the weaker language, or explain them, to make the conversation more fluid:

> S: I didn't know how to explain that my tiki torch wasn't lighting up properly. Kupili smo tiki torches, znaš šta je tiki torch? Ona baklja. Mi smo to kupili i... we light the torch and then after like 20 seconds it turns off, and then I tried to explain that jučer u dućanu, i ne znam, nisam znala kak da njoj [prodavačici] to kažem, da plamen se gasi i da to neće gorit, i to sam nekako probala objasnit i ona je mene samo gledala onak... i onda je rekla "Ti hoćeš da ja tebi kažem zašto se ugasi?" No, I know zašto se ugasi, I'm telling you just neće gorjeti. Ko da I'm asking her to explain priroda meni, zašto se to ugasi, or something like that.

As seen in the statement, Sunčica felt frustration, not just because of her struggle to find the right words in public, but also because she felt as if the store clerk questioned her basic knowledge in physics. Such instance could result in low self-confidence and anxiety, as previously discussed. However, in the present, the twin sisters are trying not to let the miscommunication issues affect them. As two individuals who have always tried to do their best in school, becoming doctors and mothers, they are trying to live with the fact that they have to balance two languages at once and not worry about what other people think:

> B: Yeah, a mislim, događa se. Like, even now, and I'm like "Oh no, did I say the right thing? Like, I wanted to say this, but did that come out like that?" So, sometimes I second guess myself. U tom smislu. Because I feel like, maybe sometimes, the sentence that I say in English in my head, I wanted to say the same thing in hrvatski, and sometimes maybe, you know, you don't have that exact same word, or... and then I was like, "Ajoj, so did it turn out like that? Like I wanted to say it?" I'm like, "Yeah, I guess it did, but it's not enough. Like, exactly like I want to say it, but I guess they still got the message", so yeah.

It is evident that even though Brigita earlier stated that she is a perfectionist, she has enough self-confidence that she does not feel any anxiety when speaking Croatian. Even though lexical retrieval of some Croatian words may not always go as smoothly as Brigita hopes it would, she still knows that her language skills are good enough to be understood by other Croats.

On the other hand, Brigita noticed that, by living in Croatia and being surrounded by Croats, she is more comfortable with using Croatian in conversation, and even started to think more in Croatian, unlike thinking only in English in the past. However, she also noticed that her

knowledge in English deteriorated, and she does not feel as fluent as before. Therefore, her frequent usage of Croatian reinforced her competencies in the language, while it started to replace some of her competencies in English. This means that she is experiencing *subtractive bilingualism* again, but this time it is English that is deteriorating, unlike Croatian in the past. This could mean that with time, Croatian could become her dominant language. On the other hand, thinking can also be independent of language (Grosjean 2010, 127), therefore, English could remain her dominant language even if she starts thinking in Croatian more:

> B: Maybe because I use more hrvatski now than, like, English. I feel like my English is, like, you know, getting a little worse than it was, let's say, a few years ago. Because I'm starting to think more on hrvatski and everything, and before I would just be, like, English, English, English. Everything's in English. And my sentences, I'm transitioning from English to hrvatski, and now, ipak, I do think of, like, some things i na hrvatskom, or say some sentences na hrvatskom because I'm stalno exposed to hrvatski around me and I'm having to use hrvatski every day, so...

Petar and Marija have a similar problem: they noticed how the Croatian language evolved and became more modern, so they sometimes struggle to find words in Croatian. Even though their dominant language is Croatian, they still show uncertainty in using some Croatian words:

> P: Pa hrvatski jezik se malo modernizirao u riječima, koje su meni malo čudne. Ja još uvijek govorim onaj hrvatski otprije 35 godina, tak da ima par čudnih riječi. Ne veli se kad pišete pismo „u prilogu“, nego drugačije.
>
> M: U ovitku.
>
> P: Privitku! Ima takvih smiješnih riječi kojih kad ih čujem, hoću se baš smijat.
>
> M: Nije više molba...
>
> P: Sad je zamolba.
>
> M: Zamolba?
>
> P: Nemam pojma.

Petar also noticed how he lost a large part of Croatian terminology for what he used to do in former Yugoslavia, before moving to Canada and working in Toronto. He observed how his lack of using technical terms in Croatian contributed to English terms replacing Croatian:

> P: Ja sam primijetio da meni, pošto ajde, cijeli život radim te dopise i kontakte skupa na engleski, jako mi je teško napisati neki dopis na hrvatski. To mi je teško.

It is interesting to note that, while Petar's Croatian lexicon deteriorated over the years because of living in Canada and communicating in English at work, Marija also seems to struggle with some Croatian lexemes, even though she used Croatian more often in her daily life due to

working at the Croatian school. Instead of using the correct prefix to the word "privitak", she uses the prefix *o-* in the word "ovitak". This could happen due to a number of reasons, such as lack of focus during the interview or just tiredness. However, it is important to note that the oral Croatian language (also *majority language* – Grosjean 2008, 222) is Marija's second language, as she first learned the Croatian Sign Language. Therefore, oral Croatian is Marija's second language, and English is her third language. Even if spoken Croatian became Marija's dominant language over time, she could experience the same issues in subtractive bilingualism as Sunčica and Brigita experience with English in the present. Extensive usage of English in Canada, Petar and Marija's country of residence, could lead to their deterioration of competencies in Croatian, even if they grew up in former Yugoslavia and spoke Croatian for most of their life. Additionally, Petar and Marija also do not seem to experience any lack of self-confidence or anxiety when communicating in either Croatian or English, as even though they acknowledged that they did not know some Croatian terms, they did not express that the matter neither bothers them nor affects their ability to communicate.

3.6 Growing up bilingual

While Petar and Marija grew up in former Yugoslavia and spoke Croatian, Sunčica and Brigita grew up in Canada. Before acquiring Croatian, Marija's first language was sign language, since her parents were deaf. Because of this, she felt as if people from her Zagreb neighborhood would discriminate against her – not because of sign language being her first language, but due to coming from a family that was different than others in the neighborhood. At the time, using sign language was deemed strange in society around Marija:

> M: Nije se cijenilo ono što ti znaš, nego onako kako se izražavaš.

Marija's statement seems to be supported by research, as for young children, social interaction is not conditioned by language, while for adults, language is one of the main factors for social interaction (Steinberg et al. 2001, 179). As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are three characteristics of a bicultural. Grosjean (2008, 227) states that a bilingual speaker of both the oral language and the sign language is also bicultural (Grosjean here mentions the Deaf bilingual, but the same principle can be extended to Marija, who grew up using sign language in her family – hence she also belongs to both cultures). Moreover, Grosjean adds that in order for the bilingual speaker to realize their identity as a member of both cultures, the speaker must take into account various factors of their cultures and identity – such as being accepted by

members of either culture, or not. As an example, Grosjean illustrates a study on members of the French Deaf community, 50 percent of the respondents felt they were part of the Deaf culture the most, while 25 percent swayed toward belonging to both cultures equally (ibid. 227). In Marija's case, even though she maintained contact with her family even after moving to Canada, it is evident that she also leans towards the oral community, as she worked in the Croatian school in Toronto as a teacher, and participated in many events and gatherings with her family in the Catholic community in Toronto.

In Canada, Petar and Marija wanted their children to speak Croatian from an early age. They would speak to their children in Croatian, and Sunčica and Brigita acquired Croatian as their first language. However, when the twins got older and started playing with other children in Canada, they would start speaking English. Brigita recalls speaking English with other children in senior kindergarten in Canada, after living in Croatia for a while:

> B: I don't even remember, honestly, da sam učila hrvatski, I think… I feel like I just knew it oduvijek. 'Cause my mom told me that my first language was hrvatski, that I didn't even know how to speak English when I was little. And then when I started going to senior kindergarten when we moved to Canada. Then I learned English like from school, from the other kids. And then I just odmah started speaking English, so...

However, the twins did not start learning English from other children. In fact, Marija and Petar taught them basic English words after teaching them Croatian. They also let them watch English-speaking shows for children, and would read to them in English, as well:

> M: Imali smo engleske knjigice i imali smo, recimo, a ne znam koliko su imale godina, recimo 3-4, kada smo počeli gledati Barney. Kada su savladale hrvatske riječi, više-manje onda smo prešli i na engleske riječi. Mislim da to bolje rade sad Sunčica i Brigita nego što sam ja radila, da se kaže odma djetetu i hrvatski i engleska riječ. Mislim da to one bolje rade od mene.

In psycholinguistics, such a way of learning a language is called induction, i.e., surrounding the learner with vocabulary and morphology of a language, where the person learns the structure of a language through self-analysis (Steinberg et al. 2013, 170). On the other hand, basic grammar and some of the more complex elements can be learned through explication, i.e. by explaining the rules of the grammar to the learner. This is also how Petar and Marija learned English, since they received formal education in the language. It is important to note that explication cannot be applicable to the acquisition of a language in its entirety, as not every aspect of a language can be explained through written rules. In reality, more complex rules can also be learned through induction (ibid. 170-71).

Marija agrees that it is better for young children of bilingual parents to acquire both languages simultaneously, and that the child should learn a word in Croatian and English right away. If the goal of the parent is for their young child to acquire both languages, it is a good choice to start early, because children up to the age of 8 have a phenomenal memory, so teaching children as many words as possible is a good choice (ibid. 174). In fact, younger children tend to rely on their rote memory in acquiring a language, while older children rely on their cognitive abilities in analyzing the structure of a language (ibid. 174).

Brigita explains how she reads books to her son in Croatian and English, although, she reads to him in English more often. On the other hand, she wants her son to learn popular Croatian stories, such as *Zeko i potočić* in Croatian, and she would translate other Croatian stories to him in English:

> B: We have knjigice na hrvatskom and we have knjigice na engleskom. When I read knjigice, I read to him na engleskom mostly. Sometimes I read na hrvatskom, you know, ako je baš neka, ne znam, Zeko i potočić, then I'll say it, you know, na hrvatskom. And then, other knjigice, čak i ako jesu pisane na hrvatskom, I'll izmislit ta ista priča na engleskom.

As previously mentioned, young children rely on their rote memory to acquire words. There have been recorded instances of young children memorizing bedtime stories that their parents regularly read to them, and if the parents skipped some words due to tiredness, the children would correct them on which words the parents skipped (ibid. 174). Hence, reading stories to young children is a great way to have children memorize many words in the target language.

Additionally, Sunčica and Brigita speak English to their children on a daily basis. Sunčica expresses her struggle in trying to have her daughter speak to her in English, but the daughter usually speaks Croatian. Nevertheless, Sunčica recognizes that it would be easier for her daughter to speak Croatian and think in Croatian, as she will go to a Croatian school and will have less difficulty communicating in school and being a good student:

> S: Ja jedina pričam engleski s njom. Mislim, probam pričat, ono, čisti engleski s njom, ponekad ubacim koju hrvatsku riječ. Ona sve razumije na engleskom, ali slabije mi priča na engleskom. Ona priča više hrvatski, mislim da ona razmišlja na hrvatskom. A mislim, bolje za nju. Bar, ono, bit će joj lakše ovdje u školi. Ja razmišljam na engleskom pa je to meni isto teško. Ja sve prevedem u glavi prvo s engleskog na hrvatski i onda to izađe iz mojih usta.

However, Sunčica's opinion is somewhat flawed, as it has been proven that children can acquire a language to a native level, especially when being immersed in a social setting where they can

play with their peers and learn the language from other children: for example, an English-speaking 5-year old girl moved to Tokyo with her family, and by communicating with Japanese children through play, she learned Japanese in less than a year at the native level, and would even translate for her parents whenever they did not understand Japanese when shopping, or when having a conversation through telephone (ibid. 178). Since Sunčica and Brigita learned Croatian mostly from their parents, they lacked the social situation of learning the language from their peers – however, they spoke English with their peers in Canada, which is why they felt more comfortable speaking English even when moving back to Croatia, than speaking Croatian. In the same sense, even if Sunčica spoke to her daughter only in English at home up to the point that her daughter would only communicate in English, she would probably have excellent competencies in Croatian if she used Croatian to communicate with her friends and classmates in school. Therefore, there are no downsides to teaching a child both languages from a young age, since neither language will hinder the acquisition of the other one.

Even though having Croatian as a first language is more useful to communicate with Croats, Sunčica and Brigita find it important to teach their children English. Not only is English part of their Canadian identity, but it is also a *lingua franca*:

> B: Pa da, of course. Of course I think it's very important for him to learn English from me. And, mislim, hopefully he will learn to speak very nicely, then. And then when he goes to school, like he'll already be ahead of his classmates who might not even know English. I mean, I mean English is like a universal language. Everyone speaks English. He might as well learn it right away now at home from me. Like, what's the point of not teaching him English?

Brigita's statement is also supported by research. For a young child, learning a second language in a natural situation (ibid. 178), i.e., everyday life and interaction, is beneficial, as the child can acquire the second language on a native level. For young children, natural situation is more beneficial for language acquisition than learning a language in a formal environment, i.e., the classroom situation (ibid. 181). The latter environment typically works better for adults, so if Brigita and Sunčica want their children to learn English at a native level, it is best to teach them at home from an early age, since they are both native speakers.

3.7 Thoughts on accents

The twins also have a preference when it comes to accents. Even though they would not insist on their children speaking English with a native accent, they still show bias towards native vs. non-native accents:

S: Definitely. Osobno mi je bitno, I do not want them to have an accent na engleskom. And because, ono, they hear me speaking English without an accent, I expect the same thing from them.

They exhibit the same attitude towards the Croatian language. When asked if they think that their children would speak Croatian in Canada as they do in Croatia, Sunčica once again stated that she would be worried about her children having a non-native accent in Croatian, since she thinks that she also has a non-native accent when speaking the Croatian language:

S: A ne znam, možda ne bi znali tak dobro pričat hrvatski, 'cause I would be speaking English with them. Jedino onda baka i deda bi onda pričali hrvatski. Mislim da ne bi slušali pravilni hrvatski from me, 'cause I know that I have an accent, and I know isto... ne znam, neke stvari možda ne znam na hrvatskom pa kažem na engleskom. Znam da Hrvati koji su bili second generation, oni su puno lošije od mene pričali, gdje su moji bili, ono, kao, first generation iz Hrvatske, znaš?

Sunčica's view is somewhat correct, as many scholars have argued that there is a critical period for a person to develop the foreign language speaking and listening competencies on a native level – somewhere between the ages of 6 and 12 (ibid. 189). Furthermore, the earlier the child is exposed to listening and speaking to native speakers, the sooner will it develop a native accent in the target language. Therefore, having a parent who is a native speaker of the target language is one of the best ways for the child to acquire a language with a native accent. On the other hand, there have been many instances of advanced adult learners whose accent in the target language passed as native (ibid. 189). Overall, it is true that our motor skills related to the production of speech are not as refined when we get older, and often speakers of a foreign language will not be aware that they have an accent, because they will hear their own speech through the phonological system of their first language (ibid. 176-77).

Additionally, I have not heard Sunčica having "an accent" when speaking Croatian, so I believe her fear of having a non-native accent has made her believe that she does have one. However, since she grew up speaking Croatian to her parents who are native speakers, and has now lived in Croatia for almost half of her lifetime, I believe she does, in fact, have a native Croatian accent, due to her pronunciation that I heard during the interview, and the reason that I listed in the text above.

However, most of the family's bias is projected towards the English language. Since none of the participants confirmed that they would often hear people in Canada speak in dialects, they would only hear when someone speaks in a different accent, and so are able to distinguish different accents:

B: No, I just hear accents because Canada is multicultural. Znači, like you, okay, everyone's Canadian, but everyone comes from somewhere. There's very few people who are just *Canadian Canadian,* that have been here for 500 years. Like, that's rare. Like, everyone comes from somewhere. Everyone's parents are from somewhere, or grandparents. And then you hear when those people speak that, of course they don't speak perfect, like without any accents English. Like, they have some kind of accent when they're speaking English. But that's not a dialect, that's just the way that they speak English. Like if someone's from Russia, you hear them like speaking, like, very thick Russian English. Like, you know, the thick accent.

P: Taj naglasak je vrlo sličan naglasku svih Slavena koji ga govore. Možeš reći, onda nisi siguran je li Hrvat, ili Poljak, ili Čeh, ili Rus. Nisi siguran tko to govori engleski. Slavenski naglasak, ja bih rekao. On dobro govori engleski, isto ko i ovaj, sve štima gramatički, ali će imat taj jedan naglasak, ja bi rekao slavenski naglasak. Nijemac će napravit, ja odmah znam je li porijeklom Nijemac, on će malo njemački naglasak imat.

While Petar says that he is unable to discern the accent of Slavic speakers when speaking English, Brigita mentions that she would be able to recognize a Russian speaker by their accent. On the other hand, Petar says that he would be able to discern a German speaker, insinuating that their accent would be different from other Germanic speakers. While it is true that overall, Germanic interlocutors have a more similar phonological system of their native language with English, the phonological system of Slavic languages is not as similar (Kochubei 2019, 274), so it is more difficult for Slavic learners to master English with an accent that would be on a native level. Hence, Slavic learners would be more likely to display pronunciation interference, both in speaking (production) and listening (perception). While to a native English speaker Slavic and Germanic languages can sound similar, and their phonological systems can sound similar, there are still distinct differences of each Slavic and Germanic language, which can influence native Slavic and Germanic speakers to have non-native English accents unique to their own language. For example, native Ukrainian and Russian speakers can differ in devoicing voiced consonants at the end of a word: while Russian speakers will devoice voiced consonants, Ukrainian speakers will not do so. While in English, voiced consonants are only partially devoiced, some Ukrainians whose second language is Russian might devoice voiced consonants ant the end of English words (ibid. 278). This is why it is sometimes difficult to recognize the nationality of a Slavic speaker, because if a Slavic speaker also speaks other Slavic languages, those languages might influence their English accent. Even in a speaker of English might have an accent that resembles Russian, they might be of other nationality, but Russian might influence their accent in English. The same can be said about Germanic language speakers – while the phonological systems of e.g. German and Dutch have their similarities and speakers

of either language will produce a non-native English accent influenced by either German or Dutch as their first language, there could be an instance where a Dutch person also speaks German as their second language, and when speaking English their accent can be heavily influenced by German rather than Dutch. This is why one can never be 100% sure which ethnicity a non-native speaker of English is, just by hearing their accent when speaking.

The bias towards native vs. non-native accents seems to be purely stylistic, in the opinion of the twins and the parents. As mentioned before, language ideology has imposed the popular view that any deviation from a standard language is incorrect or less worthy, and the same applies to pronunciation. Many people have negative responses towards speakers of a language with a non-native accent, often thinking that the speakers must not know the language in terms of vocabulary or grammar, or find their fluency to be lacking (Lippi-Green 2012). Even though the participants seem to favor native accents in English and Croatian, they agree that having a non-native accent does not necessarily lead to having a bad knowledge in the language:

> P: Pa ja ne bi rekao. Kanađani, oni koji govore *engleski engleski*, a i ti Kanađani su možda druga generacija imigranata. Ima Hrvata koji perfektno govore engleski, koji su tu rođeni kao Sunčica i Brigita. Ja nisam stekao dojam da ako imaš naglasak, da onda imaš neke poteškoće ili u gramatici ili u vokabularu.
>
> B: No. Because you can have an accent in a language and still know the language, and still know the grammar. And you know, still speak fluently, and you just have an accent. But there's also situations that you can have an accent and you can see that the person's struggling and that they're barely speaking.

Here, Brigita discerns speaking in an accent from being able to speaking fluently, which makes sense – fluency refers to temporal factors, such as speech rate, and is an "automatic procedural skill" (Schmidt 1992), which indicates the overall proficiency of a speaker. On the other hand, an accent refers a speaker's competencies in speaking and listening, where pronunciation interference happens due to the phonological systems of a speaker's first language and target language mixing, and any kind of pronunciation interference does not have to lead to interference in grammar or lexical interference. Hence, a person can speak fluently and have a non-native accent, which does not refer to a lower degree in language proficiency. Brigita adds that, even though a person's accent is not equal to poor proficiency in a language, she believes that it does have an effect on the quality of speaking. In this sense, she claims that even if a person can have a good knowledge in a language, a non-native accent can affect their quality of speaking. She discerns this quality as "speaking well" and "speaking poorly":

B: I think that, mislim, you can hear ako neko dobro priča ili dobro ne priča. And I think that all depends on koliko si izložen tom jeziku, so ak si više izložen, you're gonna speak the language better. Ak si manje izložen, you'll see how he malo struggles kad priča. Do I want [my son] to struggle in priča? No, I want him to be the person koji super priča. Ali, mislim, kak ispadne, ispadne, šta ja mogu. I'll survive.

While it is true that having a foreign accent can affect communication due to reduced intelligibility, this intelligibility does not only depend on the speaker, but also on the listener. In a study, native listeners who supposed that they would not be able to understand speakers of the target language were prone to not understanding the speaker, even when the interlocutor spoke in the listener's own dialect (Rubin 1992). On the other hand, the attitude of a speakers "speaking well" and "speaking poorly" or "struggling in speaking" even with a great proficiency in grammar and vocabulary is present due to the language ideology, which promotes an attitude that only native speakers are the ones who speak a language well, or even more extreme, that only speakers of the standard variety are the ones who speak correctly (Lippi-Green 2012).

The same attitude is shown by the twins towards Croats who speak English. They claim that they can hear when a Croat does not speak English really well, and they have a specific type of non-native English accent. While Brigita seems to address only some Croats who have a specific accent, Sunčica states that not only do most of Croats have the specific accent, but it also shows up in their discourse sooner or later, which seems to match Rubin's (1992) theory:

B: Sometimes I hear u Hrvatskoj, like, somebody who doesn't really speak English really well. Like, you can hear like that they have like a very thick accent. It sounds like Russian English. Like when Italians speak English, they kind of, like… you know how Italians speak, their language is kind of, like, musical. So they also speak English kind of that way. Yeah... it depends where you come from.

S: Imaju, I'm sorry! I mean, some Hrvati skoro da nemaju, ali there will always be neka riječ na engleskom da ću ja čut neki accent. And I just heard you speak English and it was really, ono, super. Super si zvučala, ali vidjet ćemo još koja će to riječ biti.

3.8 Attitudes towards language

When it comes to dialects, opinions of the four participants diverge. While Petar and Marija generally think that dialects enrich language, Sunčica and Brigita hesitate on agreeing with the statement due to a lack in understanding of Croatian dialects. While Brigita somewhat agrees that dialects can contribute to linguistic diversity, Sunčica disagrees completely, since

she prefers the standard variety. This is due to uniformity, since if everyone spoke the same language, no one would have to stand out and potentially be looked down upon. Since the twins never communicated with anyone from Canada who spoke in a dialect, they were unable to comment on Canadian dialects:

> M: Puno, bogatiji je. Puno ljepši. Daju osobnost čovjeku, tak da ja sam za to.
>
> B: Ne znam. A mislim, I don't know. I don't really know any dialects in Canada. Like, everyone just... where I am from, like, speaks the same, so... I know u Hrvatskoj, like, you have dialects. I think that's zgodno. It's, like, cool, you know, like someone from Dalmacija, like, they speak onak dalmatinski, and someone who's up from Bednja, I couldn't even understand what they were saying. Maybe that's kind of bad if you can't understand at all.
>
> S: Ne znam ako to čini jezik bogatijim, čini jezik puno više konfuznijim. Mislim da je ljepše kad nema dijalekta, onda svi se razumiju. Onda nemaš osjećaj da je neko drugačiji zbog nekog dijalekta.

Sunčica was right about one aspect of the notion of standardization – standardization is a process that imposes uniformity (Llamas et al. 2007, 133). If all speakers used all the same grammatical and lexical forms, no one would stand out and become subject of ridicule or discrimination, as it often happens in speech communities (ibid. 135). However, it is important to note that absolute uniformity is impossible to achieve in practice, and there will always be variance in language.

The participants were also asked to compare the standard Croatian variety with the standard English variety that they spoke in Canada. Petar stated that the standard Croatian language is the kind of language a person hears in the evening news program *Dnevnik*, but that generally Croats speak their own regional (and local) dialects. He says that even though Canadians speak the standard English variety, it is nice to hear Croats speak their own dialects, and also have the standard Croatian language to unite them as people. Marija draws a parallel with Canada and comes to a conclusion to why English in Canada is so standardized – she states that English is standardized in Canada due to Canada being a country of immigrants. She comes to a conclusion that immigrants come to Canada and learn academic English, just as Marija did when she and Petar moved to Toronto. Therefore, if the majority learns the standard version of the English language, they will also speak the same way. Petar adds that English is more standardized and precise than Croatian, and that one rarely makes a mistake while speaking. However, he claims that in Croatian, one can say a sentence in many ways, and still not be understood:

P: Pa čuj, to je isto kao i u Hrvatskoj. Ono što čuješ u Dnevniku i na HRT-u, to bi treao biti hrvatski standardni jezik. Pa isto tako i u Kanadi, kada čujemo vijesti na kanadskoj televiziji, to bi trebao biti, recimo, standardni engleski jezik. Ja bi rekao da u Kanadi manje-više svi govore, koliko smo čuli, standardni jezik. U Hrvatskoj, recimo, to nije tako, nego svaka regija ima ipak svoj nekakvi naglasak, i slavonski, i otočki, i primorski, dalmatinski, i zagroski... što je jako lijepo zapravo, mislim, meni je to jako lijepo održavat taj način govora. A opet smo svi nekako objedinjeni u tom nekako, takozvanom službenom hrvatskom jeziku, ne?

M: Možda uzrok takvog izražavanja u Kanadi je to što je Kanada imigratska zemlja. Dakle, imigranti su ovdje došli i učili standardni engleski jezik i to je razlog vjerojatno tom govoru, tom izražavanju.

P: I recimo što se meni svidjelo u engleskom je da je sve točno standardizirano i decidirano. Tu nema greške. U hrvatskom možeš reći neku stvar na sto načina, a da opet sugovornik nije siguran o čemu pričaš. Ovdje su više konkretni, nema druge riječi za pojedini pojam.

While Petar is right about the fact that since Croatia has many dialects and varieties, and not every Croat from e.g. Osijek would be able to understand a Croat from e.g. Korčula, the English language is also abundant in dialects and varieties. For example, Newfoundland English is an English dialect in Canada with unique vocabulary and grammar, influenced by Irish English, Scottish English and other regional dialects (Clarke, 2012). Marija also made a good point on the reason, or one of the reasons for standardization of the English language – since Canada is a multicultural country, a common, standard language, helps fostering a sense of national identity among its inhabitants of various ethnic origin. Another major reason for language standardization was the role of printing press in the 15th century, as people across the country were able to read in one, uniform language, and the publication of dictionaries and grammar guides also provided the population with the knowledge on the standardized English language. Other reasons for standardization of the language were trade and commerce, as a standardized language was more useful for communication among merchants and consumers, and political reasons, such as colonial expansion (Freeborn 1992). On the other hand, standardization of the Croatian language was a result of political and social factors. For example, since Croatian was deemed as a language variety of the Serbo-Croatian language in former Yugoslavia, the separation and establishment of the new Republic of Croatia happened with Serbian and Croatian becoming separate languages in the previous Yugoslavia territory (Spolsky 2003, 30). Therefore, regional and local dialects in Croatia have a significant cultural importance in the country with a rich history, as dialects in long-settled European countries typically do (ibid. 29)

– so much so that some Croatian dialects, such as the Bednja dialect, serve as markers of regional identity and cultural heritage in Croatia[5]

The participants were also asked to draw parallels between English and Croatian on the topic of formal vs. informal register. While all four of the participants generally agree that the English formal register is simpler, Petar notices how in English there is a certain pattern in formally addressing a person. He notices that in English the noun *Mister (Mr) and Missus (Mrs) or Miss (Ms)* is used as an honorific term, while omitting the honorific would be considered as informal register. Sunčica and Brigita seem to differ in their opinions, since Brigita does not have a strong opinion on the matter and simply accepted the language as it is due to being used to politeness from birth, while Sunčica exhibits discontent towards the Croatian formal register:

> M: Engleski je jednostavniji. Meni se čini daleko jednostavnije baratati engleskim jezikom, nego hrvatskom jezikom.
>
> P: Oni će na drugačiji način napraviti opis poštovanja prema tebi. „How are you doing, Mr George?“ Umjesto „How are you doing, George?“ Taj „Mr.“ Daje malo težinu, iako nemaju „Vi“, daje težinu da netko smatra da si gospodin George.
>
> B: There's a lot of those extra things that don't exist in English. Mislim, I think it's polite, iz pristojnosti to, like, say "Vi", like, I use those things and I always say "Vi" to other people, especially if they're older, or to kolege or something. Like, you can't just say "Ej, ti". Ne znam, for me, that's just how I grew up. Like, to be pristojna u tom smislu.
>
> S: To mi je isto tak grozno ovdje bilo, ovdje imaš "Vi" kad je neko stariji, ili respectfully onda "Vi" umjesto da kažeš "ti". To mi je isto išlo na živce, kad mi, normalno, would say "you" svima. Doesn't matter jel si stariji, mlađi, it's just "you". I sad trebaš pazit da nekog ne uvijediš, oh, my goodness… kakve gluposti. Mislim, ajde, možda je considered nice and proper, ali I think it's nepotrebno.

While the formal register in Croatian might seem more complicated for the twins, due to specific *terms of address* that are also used in languages across Europe, and especially Western European languages (Spolsky 2003, 20), Petar makes a good point how in English, honorifics are used as terms of address, while European languages, such as Croatian, use the plural V form, such as Vi in Croatian, which is often capitalized, to address someone older or of higher status, while the same person would use the singular T form, such as ti in Croatian, which is not capitalized, to address someone younger or of lower status (ibid. 20-21). In Eastern Europe, especially in the Russian language, the

[5] “Bednjanski govor i govor Huma na Sutli na listi zaštićenih nematerijalnih kulturnih dobara RH” http://www.humnasutli.hr/bednjanski-govor-i-govor-huma-na-sutli-na-listi-zasticenih-nematerijalnih-kulturnih-dobara-rh.aspx

switch from the V form to the T form was associated with communism, which is why the V and T forms have also a political importance in Western Europe (ibid. 21). While the English language does not use the V and T terms of address, aside from using honorifics, politeness is also expressed through specific use of tenses and modal verbs. For example, a common *politeness formula* with a modal verb in past tense "Could you pass me the salt?" is used, often with adverbs such as *possibly* or adding formulae such as *please*, while the same sentence with the modal verb in present tense "Can you pass me the salt?" would seem informal or even impolite (ibid. 19-20). Therefore, even if the Croatian language can seem complicated in terms of addressing others and expressing politeness, the English language can be just as confusing for a learner. More on politeness in chapter 3.10.

When it comes to attitudes towards names used for family and extended family in English and Croatian, all four participants prefer English names, as they find them to be simpler than their Croatian counterparts. Sunčica and Brigita state that Croatian is more complicated and confusing when it comes to nouns referring to extended family members:

> M: Oni to jednostavnije kažu, oni su jednostavniji ljudi. Oni upotrebljavaju općenite pojmove.
>
> P: Njima su svi koji nisu roditelji ili baka i deda, svi su cousins. Ponekad ako su pristojni, onda će ti reći first cousin ili second cousin.
>
> B: Here is just confusing. Like, ovo je žena mamine strane, žena od maminog brata, and then you have a specific word for her. Ona je... strina? Ne, ujak i ujna, ona je ujna. And then ak je mamina sestra, then it's teta i tetak. It's just bezveze, like, you just say aunt and uncle i gotovo.
>
> S: Vi imate stric i ujak i, svašta, i teta, i strina. Kod nas je samo aunt i uncle. Mislim da ste vi nepotrebno to sve zakomplicirali. Vi, kao narod Hrvati. I don't know, when it comes to these kinds of things… like, „Vi Hrvati ste to zakomplicirali." To me jako uvijek ljuti, zašto to treba tako bit?

While the topic of familial relations is used to examine the attitudes of participants, I want to draw focus on how each participant addresses Croats and Canadians/native English speakers in this question. While Brigita uses the term "here" for Croatia, because the interview took place in Croatia, where Brigita and Sunčica currently live, Petar and Marija took part in the interview from Canada via a phone call. However, neither Marija nor Petar used the words "here" or "there" for Canada and Croatia, but they used the pronoun "them", which stands for Canadians/native English speakers. On the other hand Sunčica uses the pronoun in the plural form "you", as in "you Croats" to address Croats, even though she is of Croatian origin herself, and has lived in Croatia for almost half of

her life. Brigita acknowledges that she uses the phrase "you Croats" when she feels discontent towards the Croatian language or Croatian culture, as if she dissociates herself from certain aspects of the language and culture. Brigita's use of word "here" for Croatia, the country she currently lives in, and "there" for Canada, the country she used to live in, seems more neutral, which tells me that even though she does not particularly like some aspects of the Croatian language and culture, she is more accepting of the fact that both the language and culture are the way the are, and she does not specifically distance herself from it. Marija and Petar use the term "they" for Canadians/native English speakers, even though they also have a Canadian citizenship, which tells me that either they used the expression because they were speaking to a Croat, so they wanted to avoid ambiguity of using "us", which could imply "us Croats", or they also want to disassociate themselves from Canadians/native English speakers due to underlying discontent towards the language or culture. The discussion on their identity will be explored more in depth in chapter 3.11. The only thing that is for sure is that Sunčica showed discontent towards the Croatian language and culture, and has distanced herself from a specific part of Croatian language and culture. Since a bicultural does not have to adapt fully to their both cultures (compare Grosjean 2008, 214; or chapter 2.6), it is perfectly normal for her to feel frustrated by certain aspects of the language or culture. Additionally, Sunčica does not have to agree with every aspect of the language nor culture to still be able to identify with both cultures in which she grew up.

3.9 Language habits

While Petar and Marija think in Croatian, they also count in Croatian. On the other hand, Sunčica and Brigita not only think in English, but count and express their emotions in English. Counting and mathematic computations are usually done by a bilingual in the language they were learned first, according to the *complementary principle* (Grosjean 2010, 33). In the same way, praying is done in the language in which it was first memorized. Petar and Marija switch between Croatian and English when expressing their emotions. When it comes to dreaming, Marija states that she rarely dreams, but sometimes hears Petar talk in his sleep in English. Brigita switches between English Croatian when dreaming, and the language in her dreams depends on her location. The same principle, as mentioned in counting, applies to dreaming – bilinguals dream in a specific language that is tied to a specific person or location. If a bilingual dreams about being in France, they will often dream about speaking French (ibid. 128). Since

Marija and Petar live in Canada, Petar will often dream in English if he dreams about work, or speaking to someone from their community in Canada. Additionally, Brigita mentions how she dreamt about speaking Croatian to her mother-in-law and father-in-law, who are also Croats, which confirms that she also dreams according to the complementary principle:

> M: Vrlo rijetko sanjam. Petar sanja, ali na engleskom često, često. I onda ga ja guram. Priča u snu često.
>
> B: Well, it depends where I am. If I'm like somewhere, like, where the people speak hrvatski, then the people are speaking hrvatski to me because they're Hrvati, and I know they don't know how to speak English. Mislim, like, in real life, ak ti ljudi meni pričaju na hrvatskom, onda in my dream, they also speak hrvatski to me. I baš had a dream tonight that's [my husband's] parents were getting a divorce and that they were telling me "Yeah, we're getting a divorce." And I'm like, "What? What?" And they were telling me all of that na hrvatskom. Because I just know them as speaking hrvatski, you know, they don't know how to speak English. So, yeah.

Expressing emotions in bilinguals is a more complicated subject, because of the common myth that bilinguals express emotions in their first language (ibid. 129). In reality, there could be many combinations of preferred language for expressing emotions and intimacy – for example, a person could express emotions in their first language if it is what they learned in their first language. On the other hand, they could avoid expressing emotions if they avoid using their first language altogether. A bilingual could also use the second language for expressing emotions if they learned how to express emotions in the second language, such as in the case of Petar and Marija having the twins in Canada, and saying "I love you" because it is the dominant language of their children. A bilingual could also find it easier to express emotions in the second language if they find it uncomfortable to express intimacy in their first language for whatever reason. (ibid. 130-31).

All four of the participants also code-switch often. When speaking, Petar and Marija code-switch less often than Sunčica and Brigita. Furthermore, Marija expresses her embarrassment when it comes to code-switching, as she thinks that a person should strive for speaking one language at a time. She finds code-switching to be a "weakness". Such attitude is not uncommon, as Grosjean (2010, 52-53) mentions that code-switching has often been seen in a negative light, both by bilinguals, and by monolinguals.

> M: Joj grozno, priznajem. Neugodno mi je priznati, ali da, to je grozno. Treba se čovjek izražavati ili na jedan ili na drugi način. To je moja slabost. Ali to više radimo doma. Recimo, ako nešto napravim tu, lakše mi je reći „sorry", nego oprosti.

Petar adds that Croatian news reporters sometimes opt for code-switching to sound smarter, instead of using a Croatian word for what they are trying to say. Grosjean (ibid. 55) states that people often code-switch to show expertise, which is what seems to be the case of Croatian reporters, at least according to Petar's viewpoint.:

> P: Ima dosta po tim novinama engleskih riječi što su počeli upotrebljavat, i onda valjda hoće izgledat puno pametnije, a ima isto tako lijepa hrvatska riječ za te stvari.

Petar also makes a point on how unusual it is for reporters to use words from a foreign language in their articles, especially since journalism is one of the professions that promotes the standard variety following an ideology, which does not allow words from foreign languages to interlope with the native standard variety (Milroy 2007, 137).

Brigita admits to code-switching just like her parents, however, she is not ashamed of it. She says that with strangers from Croatia, she uses only Croatian, but with friends who speak English, she is comfortable with code-switching and often adds English or Croatian words and phrases to her sentences:

> B: Ak su Hrvati, and like, we're not friends and they go, we're ovako, ne znam, I just met them, or initial professional or ljudi na poslu. I speak, uh, samo hrvatski. If they're my friends and like, you know, we're close and they know, you know, oh, I'm from Canada, i to sve. And then ubacim, like, tu i tamo koju englesku riječ, sometimes cijela engleska rečenica. It depends if I know if the person speaks English or if they can't speak English, 'cause if they can't speak English, then I just stay on hrvatski. But if I know, okay, they speak English really well, then I'll do malo English as well.

Petar shares the same opinion, and often uses English words and phrases with his family:

> P: Ovisi s kim pričaš. Ako dođem u dućan u Hrvatskoj, ne mogu koristiti riječ na engleskom. Ako smo doma, jasno da za usisavač kažemo vacuum cleaner.

Sunčica and Brigita also code-switch with their families. Most often with their children, as they use code-switching as a tactic to teach their children English and Croatian words and phrases:

> B: I do both. Like, I say, like, let's say, like, the sentence on English, and then I say the exact same sentence on hrvatski. And then he understands like, he knows like eyes, ears, mouth, nose on English. But he also knows na hrvatskom, gdje su ti oči, gdje je nos, gdje su usta, so...

If the participants were to accidentally code-switch in public, they would mostly be met with surprise on the strangers' faces, but they describe those situations as funny. They even describe their code-switching language as one, *Croglish* (the mixture of Croatian and English) language. Such name for a mixture of two languages is not uncommon, as there have been records of the name in Croatian academic articles (Josipović Smojver 2010). Grosjean (2010) also mentions

the mixture of French and English, Franglais, however, he adds that such name is given as a pejorative. Nevertheless, Brigita and Sunčica do not have put any negative connotations onto the given name, as they just use it to easily describe their family language.

> M: Dole u dućanu rekla sam na blagajni, nešto na engleskom, i onda me je dečko gledal, i onda kad sam skužila one oči otvorene, onda sam rekla „Ma kak se to zove?“ Brzo sam se ispravila.
>
> P: Ima tih miješanja. Isto tako dođemo na lunch, i sad tražimo račun i onda se zabunim i velim „Možemo dobit račun?“ i onda me konobarica gleda. Desi se. Nije to ništa ružno, meni je to baš simpatično. Mene *a propos* jezika toliko impresionira, kak su ti narodi napravili više jezika da za istu stvar drugačije to izgovore, nekakve druge zvukove puste za isti pojam. Mene to fascinira cijeli život, ne?
>
> B: I think that they think it's jako zanimljivo, smiješno... because I write sometimes, like, to my friend, like, WhatsApp messages where it's, like, pola rečenice je hrvatski and then like tu i tamo koja engleska riječ or druga polovica engleski, and then like, prijateljica mi se smije "Joj, kao I have to show this to my boyfriend, tak si me nasmijala" Meni je to normalno, you know? 'cause that's just, I feel like razmišljam tako nekak in that *Croglish* world, pola engleski-pola hrvatski.
>
> S: Obično kad ja krenem koristit neke engleske riječi u hrvatskim rečenicama, svima je to simpatično-smiješno. Jedan je prijatelj rekao da trebam imat svoju radio emisiju gdje bih trebala pričat tako cijelo vrijeme.

Another habit that is present in Sunčica and Brigita when it comes to language is using Croatian words with English morphology. Brigita explains how she and Sunčica would sometimes use Croatian verbs and add -ing suffixes, creating their own Croatian-English hybrid participles:

> B: Well sometimes, like, I know me and Sunčica would invent, let's say, words, so we would take the, ne znam, kao... I have to think of like a verb, let's say. Like we take hrvatski verb, let's say. And then we add the corresponding English at ending. Like, if it's like past tense, you know... But I have to think of nekakav word to give you [calls for her husband, who enters the room]. Do you know, you know how I always add like, extra endings to, like, hrvatski verbs, and stuff? And I make like words that like don't really exist, but like, I add like... [he says "kao hodaing"] Yeah. So like walking, like its "hoda", right? Na hrvatskom. And then I add the -ing. Like I wanna say I'm walking, so it's like hodaing, gleda something – to watch something. And then I add -ing, like gledaing. Me and Sunčica thought we'd make our own word by combining, like, the English grammar to, like, the hrvatski word.

This example is similar to the example in the previous chapter, where English-Maori speakers would use English stems with Maori suffixes. Like in the English-Maori example, Brigita and Sunčica intentionally use Croatian-English hybrids, but their pronunciation produces clusters of vowels and consonants that are not typical for the English language, since they pronounce the Croatian stems with a Croatian accent, and

the -ing suffix with an English accent. This means that their case may not be the one of borrowing, but actually code-mixing, since both sisters are aware that they are intentionally mixing the Croatian stems with the English affixes.

3.10 Cultural differences

When it comes to politeness, Canadians seem to surpass Croats, according to the participants. Brigita mentions that employees in Canada practice politeness to one's face, no matter the circumstances. She compares the politeness of Canadians to the politeness of Croats, and states that Croats seem to be cold and distant. She adds that even though Canadians are polite in person, they might hide their true feelings behind a smiling face, while Croats seem to speak their mind. Sunčica has a similar story – however, her story is more focused on the differences in conversation between an employee and the customer, rather than behavior:

> B: I mean that's true, that's true. Because in Canada, let's say you go to nekakav office or something, like, the person that's going to be in a šalter is gonna be super nice. Like, you know, help you with whatever, smile to your face, you know, be so polite, apologize if they have to apologize. And that's just how everyone's used to working, like, with other people. But in Hrvatska when you come negdje na šalter, mislim, you know yourself. Like, if the woman nije sad raspoložena, she's gonna say "Joj, kao, ne mogu sad, sad idem na kavu... što ste mi sad došli?" Mislim, I've heard those before. So in terms of that, maybe, like, customer service things, or u kontaktu with people. If you have a nekakav job that has, like, communication with people in Canada, they are more polite to your face. I don't know what they say behind your back. Maybe they're also just like that. But here the Hrvati are to your face odma bezobrazni.

> S: U Kanadi ti je sve, like, polite. Kada si u dućanu, ta teta koja radi za šalter, kao ono, "Have a nice day," "You too," "Bye," "Hi, how are you doing today?" "I'm fine, thank you. How are you?" "Okay, I'm good, thanks." I to svi ti uvijek tako govore, "How are you doing today?" "I'm good, thanks. How are you?" "I'm fine, thank you." Svi tako govorimo, iako nismo [dobro]. A ovdje kad dođeš u dućan, ono, tete rade za šalterom, kao, pogledaju te, „Jel ti baš trebaš biti ovdje? Šta ti radiš ovdje?" Like, ono, attitude bez da ti išta treba reći. Nitko neće reći "Have a nice day. Goodbye!" U Kanadi te pitaju „Kako si?" i ti trebaš automatically odgovoriti „Dobro." To mi je sve bilo normal, i onda ovdje mi je bilo čudno, kak ono, svi su zagorčeni, kao, „Što je s tobom?" Sad sam prešla, sad više ne govorim da sam dobro. Mislim, nitko ovdje me ne pita na šalteru jesam dobro.

According to the twins, in Canada, employees engage in a kind of small talk, which De Stefani and Horlacher (2018) call *mundane talk*. Mundane talk refers to any conversational engagement that is not connected to the service being provided. On the other hand, it seems that Croats are more prone to participating in *task-directed talk*, which only concerns the specific service being

provided. De Stefani and Horlacher give two examples of employees who switch between the two kinds of talk at work, one of them being driving instructors in Switzerland, who switch between mundane talk and task directed talk (such as giving driving instructions). Even though there are different types of Croatian professions that are typical for switching between both kinds of talks, it seems that the sisters have not had the chance to experience both mundane talk and task-directed talk in Croatia as much as they do in Canada.

Petar adds that in Canada, he is always greeted in public by passers-by, and he also appropriated this kind of behavior. However, when he came to Croatia and applied the same behavior with other Croats, he was met with confusion:

> P: Koga god sretnem [u Kanadi], netko bi rekao „How are you doing today?“ Meni se par puta desilo da u Zagrebu kad netko uđe u lift, kažem „Kako ste? Jeste dobro?“, ovaj me gleda čudno, kak ga ja to pitam?

This is not surprising, since the countries in central and east Europe rank low in their inhabitants' "daily emotional experience", according to the Gallup polling firm[6]. However, Anglophone nations are very emotional and happy. This is why the twins and Petar find it shocking that they are easily greeted by strangers in Canada, while Croats seem to be more emotionally cold and distant.

Petar and Marija continued the conversation of politeness, as Petar mentioned that in Canada people do not ask any personal questions, since it is considered rude to be talking to one's private life with acquaintances. Marija adds that in Croatia asking about one's personal life has its social value, so it is encouraged. Additionally, in a chat between friends and colleagues, asking about one's personal life also has its *phatic function*, as it could strengthen the relationship between the interlocutors (Lyons 1977, 52). When Croats ask about one's personal life, it is often just a part of small talk, hence it has a phatic function. On the other hand, Canadians find this kind of small talk between strangers intrusive, so in Canada asking personal questions between strangers does not have a phatic function. Therefore, acts of politeness in Canada do not equal to acts of politeness in Croatia, and it is difficult to say that one country is objectively more polite than the other:

[6] A color-coded map of the world's most and least emotional countries: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2012/11/28/a-color-coded-map-of-the-worlds-most-and-least-emotional-countries/

P: Oni jesu pristojniji, tu [u Kanadi] vas ne bu niko uvrijedil, pogotovo neke privatne stvari pital, nikada. Nemam nikakvih loših iskustava što se tiče pristojnosti, dapače. Pristojni su bili i kolege na poslu, i šefovi, svi su bili vrlo pristojni.

M: Znaš šta, i taj pojam pristojnosti se isto može rastegnut malo, jer u kanadskoj kulturi pristojnost nalaže ne pitati privatna pitanja. U Hrvatskoj, pa to ti je osnovno, kad hoćeš nekog upoznat da pitaš privatna pitanja. Dva različita svijeta.

When it comes to impoliteness, swearing is considered as impolite both in Canada and Croatia. However, all of the participants agree that swearing is more widely accepted in Croatia, while in Canada it is heavily looked down upon. In the participants' case, they swear very rarely, since Petar and Marija are strongly against swearing and have always taught their children never to swear:

B: I think that that's more accepted here, da se psuje. Like in regular, you know, day-to-day conversations, I think a lot of people use psovke as regular language. Kao, like, it's not bad to say. And even more kids probably use those kinds of psovke, but that's... pa ne znam, that's just how it is. […] My parents taught me never to psovat, tak sam i ostala. Danas ne znam, maybe tu i tamo ako mi nešt izleti, if I get so, so angry, ali rijetko.

S: I remember when I was little, maybe some kids would, like, would psova, and I didn't even know like that was hrvatska psovka, you know, because I... my parents would never psova, and I wouldn't hear, kao, to. And then I had to ask them, like, you know, what is that? And they would say, like, "Oh, that's, like, a bad word".

P: Meni je žao osobno da su uopće psovke sastavni dio hrvatskog jezika. Ja bi to ukinuo iz vokabulara ako je moguće. To je dio nekulture. Kultura je drugo.

Notice how Sunčica uses the word "psova". It is not certain why she uses this form, but it seems that she is trying to say the English equivalent of "would swear" – the past tense of the modal verb *will* with the verb *swear* in its infinitive form. It is possible that she is experiencing morphological interference in the sentence, as instead of using the past form of the Croatian verb *psovati – psovali,* she uses the Croatian verb without the infinitive suffix -ti, as if she is trying to transform the verb into past tense with flawed Croatian morphology. She has also showed to struggle with Croatian morphology, as she used the adjective *ogorčen* with the wrong prefix, za-. This is why I believe that even though she has a great knowledge in the Croatian language, she is experiencing shift-induced interference.

While the family almost never swears, Petar admits that if he had to swear, he would feel not as bad if he swore in English, while Brigita feels the opposite – to her, swearing in English is really bad, while Croatian swear words do not have much emotional weight. Petar comes to a

conclusion that it makes sense for him to feel bad when swearing in Croatian and not as bad in English, since he realizes that swearing in Croatian to him is more "close to heart," since his first and primary language is Croatian. Since he learned English in school and did not grow up with the same culture as someone from Canada whose first language is English, to Petar, Croatian swear words have more meaning. Brigita comes to a similar conclusion. According to Grosjean (2010), many bilinguals find swearing in the second language to not hold such an emotional weight comparing to their first language, so they would more likely swear in their second language than their first language if they are hesitant to swear in their first language. The reason is similar to bilinguals' expression of emotions discussed in the section above.

> P: Mi ne psujemo, ni Englezi baš ne psuju. Imaju možda dvije-tri psovke, ali ja nisam čuo te psovke kak i u hrvatskom jeziku. Ovi mladi su sada kreativni sa psovkama. Ovdje imaju standardizirane dvije-tri psovke i to je to. Manja je težina ako baš moram psovat, manja težina bi bila psovat na engleski, šta je u logično. Nije u srcu da psješ.
>
> B: Well, I feel like English psovke mean to me, like that's, like, oh, that's really bad. Like, that's a swear word. Like, I'm not supposed to use those words. You know, you're not supposed to say that. But then hrvatske psovke, I just feel don't have, in my mind, takav negative značaj. Because... a ne znam, I never used it like my whole life. And I didn't really grow up here and I didn't really see that as like such a bad word. And then na engleskom let's say, like, the "F word" is, like, oh, that's such a bad word, but the same like word na hrvatskom, it seems less bad.

Sunčica states that while she tends to stick to English swear words, to her Croatian swear words have almost no meaning. She uses a Croatian swear word "zajebavati" while driving, in order to mimic what she heard from somebody else while also driving. She acknowledges that to her, Croatian swear words do not have emotional value. While being more comfortable saying the Croatian swear word, she hesitates to say *the "F" word* in English. She also states that her husband is annoyed by hearing her swear in Croatian, which makes sense, because he is a native Croatian speaker, so he holds more emotional value to swearing in Croatian than in English. Once again, Sunčica's conjugation of the verb *psovati* shows that she struggles with Croatian morphology. In the following example, Sunčica uses the -am suffix with the verb, which might follow the logic of conjugation of verbs such as *pitati* or *pokušati*, where in the present tense, the suffix for first person in the singular form is *pitam* or *pokušam*, and so Sunčica uses the word form *psovam*. However, *psovati* uses the conjugation logic of verbs such as *pisati* or *šetati*, where the suffix for first person in the singular form is -em which is preceeded by iotation, and so the verbs conjugate as *pišem* and *šećem*, which then applies to *psovati – psujem*:

S: Ja psovam na engleskom. Ne psovam na hrvatskom. Neke ću, let's say, ružne riječi reći na hrvatskom, ali to samo bezveze ću ih reći, ili znam da to [mog supruga] živcira. Njemu je to, kao „Sunčice, kako to možeš reći?" Ja uopće nemam ni osjećaj da je to ružna riječ na hrvatskom. Nikad nisam govorila te riječi, meni je to bezveze neka riječ. Na engleskom ak trebam psovat, onda ću psovat na engleskom i to je to. Ako vozim, onda ću samo reći ono što sam čula od svojih dok voze, *zajebava*. „Što ovi zajebavaju?" To i ja isto kažem dok vozim, „Što ovaj zajebava?" Uopće ne razumijem da je to nešto lošije možda reći, meni je to samo neka riječ kad je neko dosadan. I usually use the F-word. I won't even say it now, only if I have to, I'll say it, I don't like to swear inače. Isto, od psovki, možeš samo reći idiot na engleskom ako je neko idiot. It's not a psovka, but it's still mean.

When it comes to patriotism, Petar and Marija are patriotic people who love Croatia. Even though they moved to Canada, they instilled patriotism in their children's hearts, and always taught them to love Croatia and never forget where they come from. Additionally, Petar and Marija admire Canada for how Canadians are united and show their love for Canada. They compare Canadians to Croats and come to a conclusion that, while they love Croatia, Croats do not show as much love towards their country as Canadians do towards theirs:

M: Recimo, ponosni su na Kanadu. Vole Canada Day. I svi iskazuju na neki način poštovanje prema toj kanadskoj zastavi, svi hodaju po cesti s kanadskim zastavicama, znaš? Uključujući i Hrvate.

P: Sve te nacije imaju taj zajednički dan. Canada Day, to je dan svih imigranata, zapravo. Poštuju zemlju koja im je puno pružila.

M: U Hrvatskoj se ne zna, u biti, šta se slavi.

It seems that Marija is disappointed in Croats, as both her and Canada think that people in Canada show their patriotism more than the people of Croatia. While it seems that in Canada, every national holiday is celebrated, Marija insinuates that Croats are more reluctant to celebrate national holidays, as if significance of Croatian national holidays is not as great to Croats as Canadian national holidays are to Canadians. However, it is important to remember that Croatia is a post-communist country, and nationalism in Croatia seems to be declining over time, just as it is in other post-communist countries in Central and East Europe (Voicu, 2012). For context, in other post-communist countries in Central and East Europe, nationalism strengthened through developing a strong sense of language and religion, as communist ideology is based on scientific atheism and internationalism – erasing individual identity and nations (ibid. 125). Therefore, after the collapse of former USSR, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, post-communist nations rejected the former ideology by strengthening their sense of religion, nation language, and patriotism – in Croatia it is Catholicism, the Croatian language, and love for the Republic of Croatia. Moreover, Croatia seems to be the country with

the strongest sense of religiosity and nationalism between 1990 and 1999 (ibid. 129). However, as in most of other post-communist countries, over time, people in post-communist countries detached themselves from the nationalist ideology (ibid. 126). Voicu explains that one of the reasons is that religion has had a gradually declining effect on nationalism in all post-communist countries in Europe (ibid. 126). Since Petar and Marija moved to Canada just as the sense of nationalism was at its strongest in Croatia, they did not experience the gradual change as did society in Croatia, therefore, they do not share the same experiences and attitudes on nationalism and patriotism as most other Croats.

Once Petar and Marija moved to Canada, not only did they celebrate Croatian holidays, but they also started to celebrate Canadian holidays. They would often celebrate at home Canadian holidays, such as Thanksgiving in a Croatian way, with family and friends interested in participating, such as eating traditional food – mlinci with turkey. They would also celebrate Croatian Catholic holidays with their Croatian Church community. This is probably the most obvious example of biculturalism, as the family incorporates and blends both cultures into their everyday life (Grosjean 2008, 214):

> B: Because, of course, we grew up, like, you know, with the traditional Croatian običaji. Even though we would celebrate Thanksgiving, let's say in Canada, my mom would still make *mlinci* with the turkey, right? And I just love *mlinci* and it was normal for us. And then my friend, who's Korean, we invited her over like for Thanksgiving, and I was trying to explain to her, oh yeah, we're gonna have *mlinci*. And then, you know, *mlinci* don't exist in Canada. So, like, you have to explain "Yeah, it's kind of like this doughy thing... pasta, kind of, but it's not really pasta. And then you cook it and then you put in the oven later." And then, like, she tried it and she really liked it. So we always, like, incorporate our hrvatski običaji with, let's say, Canadian.
>
> S: People mostly celebrate, like, Christmas, Easter. Susjedi isto su imali Easter. For the Easter, Easter Bunny brings you presents, and for Christmas, Santa Claus and Isusek bring you presents. We had Sveti Nikola svake godine, even though the other kids in my class didn't have, but my Croatian friends in Canada, they also had Sveti Nikola. In hrvatska škola we talked about Sveti Nikola. U Hrvatskoj crkvi we would have, like, a priredba for Sveti Nikola and recitacije, and presents or something...

The family still celebrates both Canadian and Croatian holidays. Even after moving back to Croatia, Sunčica and Brigita celebrate Thanksgiving every year. Sunčica describes her "Canadian" habits, i.e., things she does in Croatia that are thought to be Canadian stereotypes (compare with *cultural authenticity* Kramsch 2008, 80):

> S: You have to have Thanksgiving every year. I like maple syrup on everything, I guess that's very Canadian. I say sorry a lot. I know that Canadians are known to say sorry. Isto tak, ono, bezveze you do something, onak "Sorry about that! Sorry! Sorry!" I drive a car that's automatic, that's Canadian.

'Cause no one in Canada drives a stick, we all drive automatics. I like to watch the Oscars every year. To u Kanadi, we always watch the Oscars every year, but that's American, ali dobro.

3.11 Identity and nationality

To keep in touch with their Croatian heritage, Petar and Marija raised their children by surrounding them with the Croatian language, culture, and teaching them to always love Croatia. Since both Marija and Petar are religious, they joined the Croatian Church community in Toronto, and took their children to Sunday sermons, where the girls would sing with the church choir even before they knew how to read. As mentioned in chapter 2.3, Croatian schools in Toronto were tied to the Croatian Catholic community, since the community helped to establish Croatian schools (Granic 2009, 33):

M: Strogo smo pazili da koristimo hrvatski jezik u kući, da pričamo puno s njima, da čitamo knjige, puno priča smo pričali, odlaskom u Hrvatsku, aktivnostima u hrvatskoj zajednici, pjevanjem na misi. One nisu znale čitat, imale su četiri godine, ali su već bile gore na zboru i pjevale. Normalno, htjele su držati note ko i malo starija djeca pa su naopačke držali. Cijela se Crkva smijala. Onda su redovito čitale na misama, išle su u Hrvatsku školu, tako da smo se mi jako, jako trudili da one znaju gdje su i tko su.

Sunčica and Brigita grew up with the idea that Croatia is their second home to Canada, and to always love Croatia the same way they love Canada. However, the family expressed their concern that the Croats do not love their country enough and take it for granted. Sunčica states that, since she grew up with the idea of seeing the Adriatic Sea every summer is a privilege, Croats do not feel the same:

M: Ja sam bila šokirana kada sam došla u Hrvatsku i smatram da hrvatska djeca premalo vole Hrvatsku. To je moje mišljenje. Ta djeca bi trebala u vrtićkoj dobi dobit hrvatsku zastavicu, ta djeca bi svaki dan trebala pjevat hrvatsku himnu, tu djecu bi trebalo odgajat da vole svoju domovinu. Gdje god otišli, oni moraju nositi domovinu u srcu.

S: To je više bilo, like, "You have to love Hrvatska. Hrvatska is the best. It's all about Hrvatska." And when you come here, it's like "Yeah, Hrvatska! We all love Hrvatska!" It's like neki musical. Živiš cijelu godinu da ideš u Hrvatskoj za vrijeme ljeto, and then ovi svi u Hrvatskoj... it's just, like… vi ne znate što imate ovdje, vi živite u Hrvatskoj. Kad si u Hrvatskoj, kad ideš na more, it's like, "This is beautiful! How aren't you grateful for this every day?"

The family's thought on patriotism of Croats is not surprising to hear, as there has always been a tension between the Croatian diaspora and Croats in the homeland. According to Winland (2002, 695), there is a difference in "homing desire" and "desire for the homeland" in diaspora's

point of view. For example, Croatian diaspora in Toronto has made “the imagined and remembered ‘homeland’” part of their identity. However, the political desire for their homeland is different from having a desire to return to the homeland (ibid. 695). This is why Marija and Petar instilled into their children the same desire and love for Croatia, but both parents still choose to live in Canada. On the other hand, Croats in the homeland have gone through a different process of shaping identity, where the post-independence homeland has tried to re-establish Croatian national identity. The late President Tuđman’s regime, despite the efforts to establish a new, free Croatian state, has been criticized to be corrupt (ibid. 696), and many people in the country still did not share the same view on the future of Croatia as its former president. Nevertheless, in Croatia also remains a discussion on what makes “a good Croatian”, where even in Croatia, Croats often scold other Croats on being as “unpatriotic, un-Croatian, ‘Yugonostalgic’, ‘Yugo-zombies’” (ibid. 697). Political activism is still present in the country, as one teacher who was asked by the newly-appointed principal to put an emphasis on Croatian cultural/nationalist ideas stated: "I wanted to tell her that my job is to teach them mathematics, not politics” (ibid. 697).

Brigita states that language plays a huge role in one’s national identity. She went to school with Canadians of Italian descent, who were often vocal about their Italian heritage. However, Brigita states that not only did they not speak the Italian language, they also did not know that Croatia is right next to Italy. This is why Brigita finds important that her children speak English, since English is also part of her national identity. A similar attitude has been discussed in chapter 2.7, where Europeans will often identify themselves with their language and nationality (Kramsch 2008, 67-68). Sunčica and Brigita, both second-generation Croats in Canada, share the same sentiment:

> B: When I moved to the house and I started going like to a new area, uh, to the new school and where everyone's like Italian around me, like none of the kids in my class even knew where Hrvatska was. Like, they didn't know, like… where is Hrvatska? And I was like, I have to explain to them, it's right beside Italy. How don't you know where Hrvatska is? They just didn't know. […] They all say, oh yeah, we're Italian. Yeah, Italy, go Italy! But they have nothing to do with Italy. Znači, they don't even know how to speak Italian. They maybe have their grandparents or great-grandparents came to Canada from Italy. So they have nekakav kao roots in Italy, ali zapravo, they don't have nikakvu ovak povezanost, let's say, in terms of language to Italy. So they identify like that. They're Italian, but they don't even know anything about Italy. I think they should at least know [the language] nešto barem malo. I think it's lijepo like if, if like you come from negdje, da barem malo znaš taj jezik, nešto reći, or... of course, of course [my son] has to learn English, for sure.

S: Uglavnom, gdje sam ja živjela su ti svi bili Talijani porijeklom, so it's like "I'm Italian", and it's like, šta si ti Italian? Ti si Italian, ono, three generations back. I onda ih pitaš, kao, ne znam, "What's across Italy? Where's Croatia?" They're just, like, "Is that in Asia?" Some Italian you are! I onda ih pitaš "Can you please speak Italian for me? Ajde, say something in Italian." "I don't know Italian." Yeah, baš si neki Italian!

On the other hand, even though Petar and Marija think that language plays a role in forming identity, they also believe that so does culture. Marija explains how some children from their Church did not understand Croatian, because they were from mixed marriages and did not learn the language, but they still sang Croatian songs in the choir (therefore, the children were monolingual and bicultural). Petar adds that, even if children are born into mixed marriages, their parents can still teach them how to speak in their language, even if they are exposed to a different culture in public:

M: Ima jako puno djece iz tih mješovitih brakova koji su članovi našeg zbora bili, koji su pjevali hrvatske pjesme, ali nisu uopće razumjeli šta pjevaju.

P: Imaš isto slučajeva – Hrvatica udala se za Talijana, a djeca normalno fluentno govore Hrvatski.

M: S obzirom da je tata valjda malo jači u odgoju, ja mislim da su djeca išla u talijansku školu. Ali govore Hrvatski. Mama ih je doma učila hrvatski, iako je tata Talijan. Ima raznih slučajeva, da. Ali definitivno jezik treba njegovati i očuvati.

P: Njegovanjem jezika očuvaš i identitet hrvatski.

Marija notes that, since she and Petar grew up in Croatia, their moving away to Canada might have resulted in romanticizing Croatia, i.e., their "homing desire" for Croatia (Winland 2002, 695):

M: Možda emotivno, znaš, malo smo nježnij prema Hrvatskoj.

However, they still chose to stay living in Canada. Marija states how she likes how all people in Canada are equal (compare with multiculturalism in Canada – Legrain 2007, 287). She gives an example of voting – she states that her vote is worth as much as a vote of an Englishman:

M: I nema privilegija za nijednu naciju, to je važno. Ovdje smo svi Kanađani. Druga stvar je šta mi njegujemo u srcu Hrvatsku i volimo Hrvatsku, i osjećamo se Hrvatima jednim dijelom, ali mi poštujemo zemlju u kojoj smo i mi smo svi ravnopravni. I moj glas za, recimo, gradonačelnika Toronta, ili premijera Kanade, će vrijediti isto kao i glas Engleza. Ja nemam nikakvih privilegija, a niti Englez nema. Dakle, svi smo ovdje ravnopravni i zato mi se sviđa Kanada.

Even though Sunčica and Brigita moved back to Croatia to study and have their families in Zagreb, Brigita says that moving back to Canada with her family is not out of the question. On

the other hand, Sunčica prefers her life in Croatia because she loves living in Zagreb, and she loves the Adriatic Sea:

> B: Never say never. Like, who knows what the future holds. Sada smo tu, we're happy here and, yeah, to je to.
>
> S: Ne znam, mislim da ne bi. Život nije samo posao, trebaš u životu and I think that Hrvati know how to do that. Kanađani do not know how to do that. A mislim, znaju in their Kanađani way, kao go to the cottage, na neki brod po Lake Ontario i tako neke stvari, ali to ne možeš usporediti s morem ovdje, 'cause I just love the more.

When the participants were asked if they felt more Canadian or Croatian, they gave mixed answers. While Marija and Petar gave a more diplomatic reply, stating that they feel like there are both due to their dual citizenship, Brigita stated that she cannot decide, so she feels like she falls somewhere in between. Sunčica, on the other hand, stated that in the present, she feels more Croatian than Canadian:

> P: Pa jedno i drugo. Pa to je i logično. Nemojmo se pravit. Kanada je zemlja koja ima dual citizenship. Imamo kanadski pasoš, ali isto tak možemo imati i hrvatske dokumente. Tako da možemo i jedno i drugo.
>
> B: I mean, I'm a Hrvatica, but I'm also, like, Canadian. So nešto između. I'm on an island between Canada and Hrvatska.

Overall, it seems that all four participants identify with both the Croatian and the Canadian culture, which satisfies Grosjean's fourth outcome of bicultural identification (Grosjean 2008, 219).

4 CONCLUSION

Even though the family's migration to Canada was not due to political reasons, it seems that the parents are very patriotic when it comes to Croatia, which borders with nationalism, which seems to be common among Croats in Canada. The parents instilled the sense of patriotism in their children, as the twins expressed how they always "had" to love Croatia, and that they "had" to be happy to spend their summers on the Adriatic Coast, leading to a small amount of resentment from one of the daughters. The love for Croatia did not stop at the idea of Croatia, as the parents taught their children the Croatian language as their first language. Nevertheless, the parents also seem to appreciate Canada just as much they appreciate Croatia, which also reflects in the daughters' love for both countries. Both daughters raise their children in a positive bilingual environment, where they try to motivate their children to speak the English language just as well as Croatian, which is what Petar and Marija, the parents, practiced with the twins in their childhood. However, the English language quickly became the dominant language of the twins in their late childhood, and their Croatian language was used less often – leading to subtractive bilingualism in both daughters. Once the twins moved to Croatia in their adulthood and started using Croatian more and English less often, they started to experience the same problem with English, where Croatian started to cause interference and has become dominant in their everyday life. However, English has shown to still be their main language of communication between the siblings and their friends in Canada, where they only speak Croatian with strangers and people who do not speak English, while using code-switching in their day-to-day conversation. The parents have also experienced a similar issue, where they use English in their daily life due to still living in Canada, and using Croatian when speaking to Croats and code-switching with their children. One of the most striking findings is that Marija, the mother, finds code-switching to be a flaw, and thinks that one should only speak one language at a time, whereas the daughters feel comfortable with code-switching and have embraced their mixed language. Marija and Petar also strive for linguistic purity, where they find using foreign words and borrowings in formal environments to be a sign of poor language proficiency, which is commonly thought by many people due to the ideology of the standard language, whichoften has a grip on any society where the standard variety exists in a language. Overall, the participants have shown a positive view on bilingualism and biculturalism, as they embrace both the English and the Croatian language, and both the cultures of Croatia and the cultures of Canada, which will also have a positive influence on their descendants in the future.

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