ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)

Vytautas Magnus University | Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas
Institute of Foreign Languages | Užsienio kalbų institutas

SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM

Biannual Scientific Journal

DARNIOJI DAUGIAKALBYSTĖ

Periodinis mokslo žurnalas

***21*/2022**

Kaunas, 2022

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022

EDITORIAL BOARD REDAKCINĖ KOLEGIJA

Editor-in-Chief	**Vyriausioji redaktorė**
Prof. dr. NEMIRA MAČIANSKIENĖ Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania	Prof. dr. NEMIRA MAČIANSKIENĖ Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
Executive Editors	**Vykdomieji redaktoriai**
Assoc. prof. dr. VILMA BIJEIKIENĖ Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania	Doc. dr. VILMA BIJEIKIENĖ Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
Assoc. prof. dr. SERVET ÇELIK Trabzon University, Turkey	Doc. dr. SERVET ÇELIK Trabzono universitetas, Turkija
Editorial Board	**Redakcinė kolegija**
Dr. ANNE-MARIE BARRAULT-MÉTHY University of Bordeaux, France	Dr. ANNE-MARIE BARRAULT-MÉTHY Bordo universitetas, Prancūzija
Dr. ANDREA BERNINI University of Heidelberg, Germany	Dr. ANDREA BERNINI Heidelbergo universitetas, Vokietija
Dr. ASIER BLAS MENDOZA University of the Basque Country, Spain	Dr. ASIER BLAS MENDOZA Baskų krašto universitetas, Ispanija
Dr. LOIC BOIZOU Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania	Dr. LOIC BOIZOU Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
Assoc. prof. dr. MORENO BONDA Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania	Doc. dr. MORENO BONDA Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
Prof. dr. BEATRICE BOUFOY-BASTICK Catholic University of Paris, France	Prof. dr. BEATRICE BOUFOY-BASTICK Katalikiškasis Paryžiaus universitetas, Prancūzija
Prof. dr. NIJOLĖ BURKŠAITIENĖ Mykolas Romeris University, Lithuania	Prof. dr. NIJOLĖ BURKŠAITIENĖ Mykolo Romerio universitetas, Lietuva
Prof. dr. MANUEL CÉLIO CONCEIÇÃO University of Algarve, Portugal	Prof. dr. MANUEL CÉLIO CONCEIÇÃO Algarvės universitetas, Portugalija
Prof. dr. JAMES PATRICK CUMMINS University of Toronto, Canada	Prof. dr. JAMES PATRICK CUMMINS Toronto universitetas, Kanada
Prof. dr. INETA DABAŠINSKIENĖ Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania	Prof. dr. INETA DABAŠINSKIENĖ Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
Prof. dr. DMITRIJ DOBROVOLSKIJ Stockholm University, Sweden	Prof. dr. DMITRIJ DOBROVOLSKIJ Stokholmo universitetas, Švedija

EDITORIAL BOARD REDAKCINĖ KOLEGIJA

Prof. dr. MICHAEL KELLY University of Southampton, United Kingdom	Prof. dr. MICHAEL KELLY Pietų Hemptono universitetas, Didžioji Britanija
Assoc. prof. dr. ULRIKE KURTH Westfalen-Kolleg Paderborn, Germany	Doc. dr. ULRIKE KURTH Paderborno Vestfalijos kolegija, Vokietija
Assoc. prof. dr. STEFANO MARIA LANZA Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania	Doc. dr. STEFANO MARIA LANZA Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
Assoc. prof. dr. MICHAEL LÖNZ Ruhr-Kolleg, Germany	Doc. dr. MICHAEL LÖNZ *Ruhr-Kolleg* kolegija, Vokietija
Prof. dr. MANFRED MALZAHN United Arab Emirates University, United Arab Emirates	Prof. dr. MANFRED MALZAHN Jungtinių Arabų Emyratų universitetas, Jungtiniai Arabų Emyratai
Assoc. prof. dr. MARTHA NYIKOS Indiana University Bloomington, United States	Doc. dr. MARTHA NYIKOS Indianos universitas Blumingtone, Jungtinės Amerikos Valstijos
Prof. dr. STEFAN OLTEAN Babes-Bolyai University, Romania	Prof. dr. STEFAN OLTEAN *Babes-Bolyai* universitetas, Rumunija
Prof. emeritus dr. ROBERT PHILLIPSON Copenhagen Business School, Denmark	Profesorius emeritas dr. ROBERT PHILLIPSON Kopenhagos verslo mokykla, Danija
Prof. dr. JOSÉ JAVIER MARTOS RAMOS University of Sevilla, Spain	Prof. dr. JOSÉ JAVIER MARTOS RAMOS Sevilijos universitetas, Ispanija
Prof. dr. ALIDA SAMUSEVICA Liepaja University, Latvia	Prof. dr. ALIDA SAMUSEVICA Liepojos universitetas, Latvija
Prof. dr. TOVE SKUTNABB-KANGAS Åbo Akademi University, Finland	Prof. dr. TOVE SKUTNABB-KANGAS *Abo Akademi* universitetas, Suomija
Prof. dr. JOLITA ŠLIOGERIENĖ Vilnius Gediminas Technical University, Lithuania	Prof. dr. JOLITA ŠLIOGERIENĖ Vilniaus Gedimino technikos universitetas, Lietuva
Assoc. prof. dr. ELŻBIETA MAGDALENA WĄSIK Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland	Doc. dr. ELŻBIETA MAGDALENA WĄSIK Poznanės Adomo Mickevičiaus universitetas, Lenkija
Prof. dr. MARIA TERESA ZANOLA Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Italy	Prof. dr. MARIA TERESA ZANOLA Katalikiškasis Šventosios Širdies universitetas, Italija
Prof. dr. dr. GHIL'AD ZUCKERMANN The University of Adelaide, Australia	Prof. dr. dr. GHIL'AD ZUCKERMANN Adelaidės universitetas, Australija

Scientific periodical journal

"Sustainable Multilingualism"
is indexed in
SCOPUS, MLA, DOAJ, C.E.E.O.L.,
J-GATE, LINGUISTICS ABSTRACTS
ONLINE, LINGUISTIC BIBLIOGRAPHY
and WANFANG DATA databases.

Periodinis mokslo žurnalas

„Darnioji daugiakalbystė"
yra referuojamas šiose
duomenų bazėse: SCOPUS, MLA, DOAJ,
C.E.E.O.L., J-GATE, LINGUISTICS
ABSTRACTS ONLINE, LINGUISTIC
BIBLIOGRAPHY ir WANFANG DATA.

SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM

The Journal was established
by Vytautas Magnus University
science cluster
"Research in Plurilingual
Competence Development" H-08-09,
published by
the Institute of Foreign Languages.
Since 2017 the online version of the
journal has been published by SCIENDO
(former DE GRUYTER OPEN).

DARNIOJI DAUGIAKALBYSTĖ

Žurnalą įsteigė
Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto
mokslo klasteris
„Daugiakalbystės kompetencijos
tobulinimo tyrimai" H-08-09,
leidžia
VDU Užsienio kalbų institutas.
Nuo 2017 metų el. žurnalas
leidžiamas leidykloje SCIENDO
(buvusi DE GRUYTER OPEN).

© Vytautas Magnus University / Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2022
© Institute of Foreign Languages / Užsienio kalbų institutas, 2022

REVIEWERS 2022 | 2022 M. RECENZENTAI

Dr. AKINCI Muhammed, Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey
Dr. ALTAY Mehmet, Kocaeli University, Turkey
Dr. ANGLICKIENĖ Laimutė, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Dr. BARRAULT-MÉTHY Anne-Marie, University of Bordeaux, France
Dr. BAYRAKTAR ÇEPNI Sevcan, Trabzon University, Turkey
Prof. dr. BERNAUS QUERALT Mercedes, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain
Assoc. prof. dr. BIJEIKENĖ Vilma, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Prof. dr. BOUFOY-BASTICK Beatrice, Catholic University of Paris, France
Assoc. prof. dr. ÇELIK Rasit, Ankara University, Turkey
Dr. ÇEPNI Gökhan, Trabzon University, Turkey
Assoc. prof. ÇOMOĞLU Hatice İrem, Dokuz Eylül University, Turkey
Prof. dr. CONCEIÇÃO Manuel Célio, University of Algarve, Portugal
CVILIKAITĖ-MAČIULSKIENĖ Jurgita, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Dr. DAUKŠAITĖ-KOLPAKOVIENĖ Aurelija, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Dr. EIDUKEVIČIENĖ Rūta, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Dr. ERARSLAN Ali, Alanya Alaaddin Keykubat University, Turkey
Dr. ERBAY ÇETINKAYA Şakire, Karadeniz Technical University, Turkey
Dr. JOHANNING-RADZIENE Antje, Herder Institute, Germany
Prof. dr. KALĖDAITĖ Violeta, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Prof. dr. KÖMÜR Şevki, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University, Turkey
Dr. LEÓN-MANZANERO Ana, Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia
Dr. MACIJAUSKAITĖ-BONDA Jurgita, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Prof. dr. MAČIANSKIENĖ Nemira, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Prof. dr. MALZAHN Manfred, United Arab Emirates University, United Arab Emirates
Dr. PANERO Sonia, Southampton University, United Kingdom
Prof. dr. PEETERS Kris, University of Antwerp, Belgium
PUNDZIUVIENĖ Daiva, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Prof. dr. RAMOS Javier, University of Sevilla, Spain
Prof. dr. SAMUSEVICA Alida, Liepaja University, Latvia
Dr. SMITH Taylor Raeanne, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Prof. dr. VANAGS Peteris, Stockholm University, Sweden
Dr. VAISVALAVIČIENĖ Kristina, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Prof. dr. hab. WĄSIK Elżbieta Magdalena, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland
Dr. WANPHET Phalangchok, Nord University, Norway

REVIEWERS 2022 | 2022 M. RECENZENTAI

Assoc. prof. dr. YEŞILYURT Savaş, Ataturk University, Turkey

Prof. dr. ZANOLA Maria Teresa, Catholic University of Sacred Heart, Italy

Prof. dr. dr. ZUCKERMANN Ghilʻad, The University of Adelaide, Australia

PhD(c) ŽIŪRAITĖ Vigilija, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022

EDITORIAL

By Assoc. prof. dr. Moreno Bonda, Vytautas Magnus University

The privilege to introduce the latest issue of *Sustainable Multilingualism* requires an effort to reflect on the nature of the studies published during the past decade. It is a retrospective endeavor aimed at identifying valuable perspectives for future integrative discussions within the frame provided by this platform.

Since the publication of the first volume of this scientific journal in 2012, the semiotic need to investigate the *shared meaning* of "sustainability of multilingualism" has been opportunely marginalized to facilitate multidisciplinary approaches (Mačianskienė, 2017). Despite the impossibility to univocally classify perspectives of investigation, the survey of previous volumes confirms the variety of methodologies adopted to study topics as disparate as teaching and learning in multilingual and multicultural settings (48 articles); issues for language policy (28), with particular focus on national policies; plurilingual competence development in higher education (20); how identities react to, influence or confront multilingualism (32); how society creates and perceives multilingualism (18), often touching upon dynamic phenomena such as social interaction and mobility; linguistics of pop-culture and the influence of new technologies (14); the cultural clash between monolingualism and plurilingualism (12). Even though multilingual education, together with its social and political ramifications, lies at the core of this journal, anthropological (*lato sensu*) and sociolinguistic studies point at new possibilities for the investigation of plurilingualism and multilingualism in certain physical environments.

While the theoretical discussion usually refuses such obsolete oppositions as 'native vs. foreign, ours vs. theirs […], the prestigious vs. the marginalized' (Bijeikienė, 2021), the phenomenal reality (*Erscheinungswelt*) of border communities, schools receiving immigrants, national language policies or those of citizens required to choose and proclaim their belonging to a distinct identity, etc. prove these clashes – or conflicts – are still relevant to the empirical studies. With reference to multilingualism, this interest means the expansion of the investigation beyond the merely anthropological frame of the cultural construction of the Self in opposition to what is perceived as the Otherness (see Francesco Remotti, *Contro l'identità* [*Against Identity*]). Rather, it means the necessity to investigate the faded boundaries of Identity and Alterity, for multilingualism is one of the most manifest forms of intercultural and transnational relation. It is the result of the interaction between spaces, not of the juxtaposition of spaces. It is an ever-changing *flow*, that is a form of communication benefitting from any new influence, as opposed to the rigid *structure* of "national languages". The potential of an anthropological interest for the process of imagining identities through language, as well as for the spaces where these identities form and interact, has been consistently emerging in many studies circulated in this journal since 2012.

In semiotic terms, ten years of publications focused mainly on expression-based communication in which active, intentional subjects respond to affordances of objects appearing in the physical space through *Bedetungen* –

"expressive exchanges of signified meanings". While in this entire process language and speeches lay at the center – for they carry meaning and convey information capable of identifying the speaker – the process itself assumes the traits of a *kinaesthesia* – "a movement producing an exchange of information" between *agents* acting in a social space. Specifically, the concept of *agency* refers to a subject's ability to perceive, conceive and represent distinct objects, including the subject itself. It presupposes the existence of an object and that of a space in which to collocate the object and the subject, but it also involves some sort of movement in that space. As an example, this is the typical situation of a foreigner crossing a border into another community where he or she studies, lives, and tries to integrate while reflecting on his or her new and past identities in that environment. It is a paradigmatic condition that emerges at the micro-level of the family and in the macro-processes of national policies. However, a quite relevant number of articles published in *Sustainable Multilingualism* touching upon contemporary pop culture and the influence of innovative technologies hinted at the possibility to explore unexpected and still poorly investigated phenomena involving the perception of the Self, the space around it, and movement.

The last decade marked the triumph of the ethereal "collective Self" known as the World Wide Web. In turn, the Internet allowed for the creation of identities which are "transversal" to traditional political, national, or cultural partitions. Furthermore, the Web made possible the existence and sharing of virtual objects stored on immaterial clouds. More recently, the pandemic inhibited most forms of movement and physical interaction. Nonetheless, during the last three years people continued acting together resorting to "hegemonic" languages, using means and forms of communication often unseen before. In contrast with abstract theorizations, the practice of daily life proved agency can occur outside a physical space too, and even without physical objects, for the language can conceive things it created itself.

These cogitations lead me to conclude that the reflection on multilingualism and its sustainability could greatly benefit from an even higher degree of interdisciplinarity and, occasionally, from a shift of focus from purely linguistic phenomena to the frame in which they manifest themselves. Explicitly, potentially valuable could be *the study of the spaces in which multilingualism occurs*, rather than of multilingualism itself. Particularly, *occurrences of multilingualism in absence of physical space* could lead to radical reforms of existing semiotic models. Likewise, greater attention could be paid to *the mechanics of interaction without movement* since interaction is among the most relevant factors in creating the conditions for a multilingual environment. Furthermore, considering the variety of innovative virtual means of interpersonal contact, in the source-message-channel-receiver model of communication, *a shift of focus from the message to the properties of the channel* would possibly reveal the relevance of the channel itself in determining the nature of certain forms of multilingualism.

Lastly, reviewing ten years of publications, I noticed (in several studies about language policy and the cultural clash between monolingualism and plurilingualism) a certain interest for the conflictual relation between personal ideology or values on the one hand, and collective/governmental practices on the other. Not rarely plurilingualism has been described in terms of English 'language hegemony' (Lūžys 19/2021) or 'neglected identity'. Accordingly, psychological aspects and value theory seem to deserve more structured investigations *focused precisely on the subject experiencing instances of multilingualism* rather than on the language spoken or influencing the subject.

While I hope some of these personal reflections could be of any utility to past and future contributors, I noted with pleasure several studies published in this number of *Sustainable Multilingualism* already address some of the issues discussed above. 'The Age of Artificial Intelligence' is the meaningful timeframe in which D. S. Low, I. Mcneill, and M. J. Day investigate the subjective perception of 'Endangered Languages, Language Death, Identity Loss and Preservation'. Similarly, the above-mentioned *mechanics of interaction* are studied in a sociolinguistic perspective and in terms of 'Dynamics of Power and Solidarity in German-Lithuanian Business Negotiations' by G. Gelūnaitė-Malinauskienė. The *psychological interest* in the acting subject emerges as *attitude* in D. Laiveniece and L. Lauze's sociolinguistic survey conducted (just before the pandemic) with the intent to characterize students' perception of errors in learning and using a foreign language.

Moreover, the present issue introduces some important questions related to the field of *Education in Multilingual and Multicultural Settings*, for instance, the role and influence of digital technologies which are perceived both as precious didactical tools with immense potential for career perspectives (O. Ural & K. Dikilitas), and as serious challenges to higher education institutions (V. Inci-Kavak & Y. Kirkgoz). These problems are integrated by reflections on good practice in the section *Issues in Language Didactics* in which language-specific and cultural-specific challenges are investigated not only with reference to 'the hegemonic' English language but also Spanish and Latvian. The practical implementation of teaching techniques and a variety of writing exercises (A. Babina) discussed in this issue of the journal could be of great interest to language teachers and educators in general.

References

Bijeikienė, V. (2021). Editorial/Redaktoriaus žodis. *Sustainable Multilingualism, 18/*2017.

Lūžys, S. (2021). Linguistic identity: Between multilingualism and language hegemony, *Sustainable Multilingualism, 19/*2021. https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2021-0012

Mačianskienė, N. (2017). Editorial/Redaktoriaus žodis. *Sustainable Multilingualism, 11/*2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/sm-2017

Remotti, F. (2012). *Contro l'identità* [*Against Identity*]. GLF. Editori Laterza.

sciendo
ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022

REDAKTORIAUS ŽODIS

Autorius doc. dr. Moreno Bonda, Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas

Privilegija pristatyti naujausią žurnalo „Darnioji daugiakalbystė" numerį reikalauja pastangų apmąstyti per pastarąjį dešimtmetį paskelbtų tyrimų pobūdį. Tai retrospektyvus siekis, kuriuo bandysiu nustatyti vertingas perspektyvas būsimoms integracinėms diskusijoms remiantis šia platforma.

Nuo 2012 m., kai buvo išleistas pirmasis šio mokslinio žurnalo tomas, semiotinis poreikis tirti bendrą „daugiakalbystės darnumo" reikšmę buvo tikslingai nukeltas į antrą planą, kad būtų lengviau tyrinėti fenomeną iš skirtingų perspektyvų (Mačianskienė, 2017). Nors ir neįmanoma vienareikšmiškai suklasifikuoti tyrimų perspektyvų, ankstesnių leidinio tomų apžvalga patvirtina metodologijų įvairovę, taikomą tiriant tokias skirtingas temas kaip mokymas ir mokymasis daugiakalbėje ir daugiakultūrėje aplinkoje (48 straipsniai); kalbos politikos klausimai (28), ypatingą dėmesį skiriant nacionalinei politikai; daugiakalbystės kompetencijos ugdymas aukštosiose mokyklose (20); kaip tapatybės reaguoja į daugiakalbystę, daro jai įtaką ar su ja susiduria (32); kaip visuomenė kuria ir suvokia daugiakalbystę (18), dažnai nagrinėjant tokius dinamiškus reiškinius kaip socialinė sąveika ir mobilumas; popkultūros lingvistika ir naujųjų technologijų įtaka (14); vienkalbystės ir daugiakalbystės kultūrinis susidūrimas (12). Daugiakalbis švietimas kartu su jo socialinėmis ir politinėmis pasekmėmis sudaro šio žurnalo pagrindą, bet antropologiniai (*lato sensu*) ir sociolingvistiniai tyrimai rodo naujas bendrosios ir individualiosios daugiakalbystės tam tikrose fizinėse aplinkose tyrimo galimybes.

Teorinėse diskusijose paprastai atsisakoma pasenusių priešpriešų, tokių kaip „vietiniai vs. svetimi, mūsų vs. jų [...], išrinktieji vs. atstumtieji" (Bijeikienė, 2021), tačiau pasienio bendruomenių, imigrantus priimančių mokyklų, valstybinės kalbos politikos ar piliečių, iš kurių reikalaujama pasirinkti ir deklaruoti savo priklausomybę skirtingai tapatybei, fenomenali tikrovė (vok. *Erscheinungswelt*) ir pan. įrodo, kad šie susidūrimai – ar konfliktai – vis dar aktualūs empiriniams tyrimams. Kalbant apie daugiakalbystę, susidomėjimas reiškia tyrimo išplėtimą už grynai antropologinių ribų – kultūrinio savęs konstravimo supriešinus tai, kas suvokiama kaip Kitoniškumas (žr. Francesco Remotti, *Contro l'identità* [Prieš tapatybę]). Veikiau tai reiškia būtinybę tirti išblukusias Tapatybės ir Kitoniškumo ribas, nes daugiakalbystė yra viena iš akivaizdžiausių tarpkultūrinio ir tarpvalstybinio santykio formų. Ji yra erdvių sąveikos, o ne erdvių sugretinimo rezultatas. Tai nuolat besikeičiantis srautas, t. y. bendravimo forma, kuriai naudinga bet kokia nauja įtaka, priešingai negu griežtai „nacionalinių kalbų" struktūrai. Antropologinio susidomėjimo galimybės tapatybių įsivaizdavimo per kalbą procesui, taip pat erdvėms, kuriose šios tapatybės formuojasi ir sąveikauja, nuosekliai išryškėja daugelyje studijų, nuo 2012 m. pristatomų šiame žurnale.

Semiotikos terminais kalbant, dešimties metų publikacijose daugiausia dėmesio skiriama išraiška pagrįstai komunikacijai, kai aktyvūs, sąmoningi subjektai reaguoja į fizinėje erdvėje esančių objektų prieinamumą per *Bedetungen* – „ekspresyvius apsikeitimus signifikuojamomis reikšmėmis". Nors visame šiame procese kalba, ir kalbos yra svarbiausia, nes jos turi prasmę ir perteikia informaciją, pagal kurią galima identifikuoti kalbėtoją, pats procesas įgauna *kinaesthesia* bruožų – „judėjimo, sukeliančio informacijos mainus" tarp socialinėje erdvėje veikiančių subjektų. Konkrečiai *agency* sąvoka reiškia subjekto gebėjimą suvokti, įsivaizduoti ir reprezentuoti atskirus objektus, įskaitant patį subjektą. Ji suponuoja objekto ir erdvės, kurioje objektas ir subjektas gali būti sujungti, egzistavimą, tačiau taip pat apima tam tikrą judėjimą toje erdvėje. Kaip pavyzdį galima pateikti tipišką situaciją: užsienietis pereina sieną ir patenka į kitą bendruomenę, kurioje studijuoja, gyvena ir bando integruotis apmąstydamas savo naująją ir ankstesnę tapatybę toje aplinkoje. Tai paradigminė būklė, atsirandanti šeimos mikrolygiu, taip pat nacionalinės politikos makrolygiu. Tačiau gana aktualus skaičius straipsnių, paskelbtų žurnale „Darnioji daugiakalbystė", kuriuose paliečiama šiuolaikinė popkultūra ir naujųjų technologijų įtaka, užsimena apie galimybę tyrinėti netikėtus ir vis dar menkai ištirtus reiškinius, susijusius su Aš, jį supančios erdvės ir judėjimo suvokimu.

Pastarąjį dešimtmetį triumfavo nežemiškas „kolektyvinis Aš", vadinamas pasauliniu žiniatinkliu. Savo ruožtu internetas leido sukurti tapatybes, kurios yra „transversalios" tradiciniam politiniam, nacionaliniam ar kultūriniam susiskaldymui. Be to, žiniatinklis suteikė galimybę egzistuoti virtualiems objektams, saugomiems nematerialiuose debesyse, ir jais dalytis. Pastaruoju metu pandemija suvaržė daugumą judėjimo ir fizinės sąveikos formų. Vis dėlto, per pastaruosius trejus metus žmonės ir toliau veikė kartu pasitelkę „hegemonines" kalbas, naudodamiesi anksčiau dažnai nematytomis bendravimo priemonėmis ir formomis. Priešingai abstrakčioms teorijoms, kasdienio gyvenimo praktika įrodė, kad subjekto gebėjimas suvokti, įsivaizduoti ir reprezentuoti atskirus objektus, įskaitant jį patį, gali pasireikšti ir už fizinės erdvės ribų, ir net neegzistuojant fiziniams objektams, nes kalba geba suvokti dalykus, kuriuos pati sukūrė.

Šie svarstymai leidžia daryti išvadą, kad daugiakalbystės ir jos tvarumo apmąstymams būtų labai naudingas dar didesnis tarpdiscipliniškumas, o kartais ir dėmesio perkėlimas nuo grynai kalbinių reiškinių prie sistemos, kurioje jie pasireiškia. Kitaip sakant, potencialiai vertingas galėtų būti ne pačios daugiakalbystės, o *erdvių, kuriose daugiakalbystė pasireiškia, tyrimas*. *Daugiakalbystės pasireiškimai nesant fizinės erdvės* galėtų ypač paskatinti radikalias esamų semiotinių modelių reformas. Taip pat daugiau dėmesio galėtų būti skiriama *sąveikos be judėjimo mechanikai*, nes sąveika yra vienas svarbiausių veiksnių, sudarančių sąlygas daugiakalbei aplinkai. Be to, atsižvelgiant į naujoviškų virtualių tarpasmeninio bendravimo priemonių įvairovę, komunikacijos modelyje „šaltinis – žinutė – kanalas – gavėjas" *dėmesį perkėlus nuo žinutės prie kanalo savybių*, galbūt, būtų atskleista paties kanalo reikšmė, lemianti tam tikrų daugiakalbystės formų pobūdį.

Galiausiai, apžvelgdamas dešimties metų publikacijas, pastebėjau (keliuose tyrimuose apie kalbų politiką ir kultūrinę vienkalbystės ir daugiakalbystės priešpriešą) tam tikrą susidomėjimą asmeninės ideologijos ar vertybių ir kolektyvinės (valstybinės) praktikos konfliktiniu santykiu. Neretai daugiakalbystė apibūdinama anglų „kalbos hegemonijos" (Lūžys, 2021) arba „nepaisomos tapatybės" terminais. Atitinkamai psichologiniai aspektai ir vertybių teorija, regis, nusipelno labiau struktūruotų tyrimų, *orientuotų būtent į subjektą, patiriantį daugiakalbystės atvejus*, o ne į kalbą, kuria kalbama ar kuri daro įtaką subjektui.

Tikiuosi, kad kai kurie iš šių asmeninių pamąstymų gali būti naudingi ankstesniems ir būsimiems autoriams, bet su džiaugsmu pastebėjau, kad kelios studijos, paskelbtos šiame „Darniosios daugiakalbystės“ numeryje, jau nagrinėja kai kuriuos iš aptartų klausimų. „Dirbtinio intelekto amžius“ – tai prasmingas laiko tarpsnis, kuriame D. S. Low, I. Mcneill ir M. J. Day tyrinėja subjektyvų suvokimą apie „Nykstančias kalbas, kalbos mirtį, tapatybės praradimą ir išsaugojimą“. Panašiai minėtą *sąveikos mechaniką* sociolingvistiniu aspektu nagrinėja ir G. Gelūnaitė-Malinauskienė „Galios ir solidarumo dinamika vokiečių-lietuvių verslo derybose“. *Psichologinis susidomėjimas* veikiančiuoju subjektu išryškėja kaip požiūris D. Laiveniecės ir L. Lauzės sociolingvistinėje apklausoje, atliktoje (prieš pat pandemiją) siekiant apibūdinti studentų suvokimą apie klaidas mokantis ir vartojant užsienio kalbą.

Be to, šiame numeryje pristatomi kai kurie svarbūs klausimai, susiję su švietimo daugiakalbėje ir daugiakultūrėje aplinkoje sritimi, pavyzdžiui, skaitmeninių technologijų, kurios suvokiamos ir kaip vertingos didaktinės priemonės, turinčios didelį karjeros perspektyvų potencialą (O. Ural ir K. Dikilitas), ir kaip rimtas iššūkis aukštojo mokslo institucijoms (V. Inci-Kavak ir Y. Kirkgoz), vaidmuo ir įtaka. Minėtas problemas integruoja gerosios praktikos apmąstymai skyriuje „Kalbų didaktikos problemos“, kuriame kalbų ir kultūrų specifikos iššūkiai nagrinėjami ne tik kalbant apie „hegemoninę“ anglų kalbą, bet ir apie ispanų bei latvių kalbas. O aptartas praktinis mokymo metodų įgyvendinimas ir įvairios rašymo užduotys (A. Babina) galėtų būti labai įdomios kalbų mokytojams ir apskritai pedagogams.

Literatūra

Bijeikienė, V. (2021). Editorial/Redaktoriaus žodis. *Sustainable Multilingualism, 18/*2017.

Lūžys, S. (2021). Linguistic identity: Between multilingualism and language hegemony, *Sustainable Multilingualism, 19/*2021. https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2021-0012

Mačianskienė, N. (2017). Editorial/Redaktoriaus žodis. *Sustainable Multilingualism, 11/*2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/sm-2017

Remotti, F. (2012). *Contro l'identità* [*Against Identity*]. GLF. Editori Laterza.

CONTENTS | TURINYS

SOCIETY. IDENTITY. LANGUAGE PRESERVATION AND REVIVAL

VISUOMENĖ. IDENTITETAS. KALBOS IŠSAUGOJIMAS IR ATGIMIMAS

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0011

Dylan Scott Low
National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan
Isaac Mcneill
Mahidol University, Thailand
Michael James Day
Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University, China

ENDANGERED LANGUAGES: A SOCIOCOGNITIVE APPROACH TO LANGUAGE DEATH, IDENTITY LOSS, AND PRESERVATION IN THE AGE OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Summary. Sociolinguists suggest language death entails significant cultural, personal, and ecological loss. Socio-cultural and socio-political factors exacerbate language erosion and encourage supplantation by another more dominant language. Hence, we ask: what are the sociocognitive principles which make language death hurtful and symbolic? Within this article, we attempt to outline a sociocognitive account of language death, situating the Hallidayan perspective of language as a "social-semiotic" system alongside a Cognitive Linguistic approach. We further contextualise language as inseparable from culture, drawing insight from the sociological thought of Bourdieu. We contend that language death entails psychological trauma, representing the destruction of cultural genealogy and the loss of knowledge intrinsic to personal self-imagery and identity. To this end, we present a case study of the Māori languaculture in Aotearoa (New Zealand), tracing the impact of colonialism and marginalisation to current efforts and ambitions to ensure the languacultural survival of Māori and reclaim space in Aotearoa as a respected knowledge system and means of expression, particularly in the socio-technical age of artificial intelligence (AI) and the Web. We argue that our analysis bodes practical implications for language maintenance and revitalisation, concluding that sociolinguistic practitioners should consider a socio-cognitivist as well as socio-technical paradigm for language intervention. In closing, we discuss leveraging AI technologies towards language heritage, archival, and preservation to limit the destructive impact of the death of a language.

Keywords: language death; culture; identity; cognition; sociolinguistics; artificial intelligence.

Introduction

Languages can die. Language death, which sociolinguists regard as when a language loses its native speakers and ceases to be spoken, is a traumatic experience for its cultural community, usually ethno-cultural minorities, with significant social and cultural-ecological implications (Crystal, 2002). It is estimated that 50–90% of endangered languages will disappear in the next

100 years, taking history, communal connectivity, and heritage along with them (Nuwer, 2014). Yet, there are theoretical implications as well, which extend across an interdisciplinary mindscape. Adopting the functionalist idea of language as a "social-semiotic" system (Halliday & Hasan, 1985), language death entails two significant losses: the loss of cultural heritage and a unique system of thought expression. These tend to be taken separately, but they are as intertwined in language death as they are in life; culture is the accrued capital that fuels our symbolic communication (Bourdieu, 1972–1977). Hence, contemporary threats to the heritage of cultural bodies, accompanied by the impact of social transformation as a result of globalisation, are reshaping the verbal expression of culture.

From a cognitive perspective, linguistic speech acts involve the mapping of meaning to symbols, a semiotic process (Langacker, 2008; Lamb, 1999). The cognitive processes underlying this cannot be decoupled from experiences that give rise to our meanings (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). To this end, Cognitive Linguistics is an interdisciplinary endeavour where language arises from general cognitive competencies. Yet, its parent discipline, Cognitive Science, has been undergoing a paradigm shift, from a classical computationalist approach envisioning the mind as a modular algorithmic machine, to a more dynamic approach which situates the mind, broadly, as shaped by context (Varela et al., 1991). So, there is now greater recognition that the mind, and thus, language, operates in the context of culture and environment, a socio-technical perspective (Low et al., 2020). Indeed, whilst Cognitive Linguistics has been traditionally disconnected from Sociolinguistics, work uniting the two has begun to emerge as "Cognitive Sociolinguistics" (cf. Geeraerts et al., 2010). Yet, language death and erosion issues have remained understudied from the cognitive approach.

Hence, we attempt to outline a cognitive approach to language death. We contend that language death, as an event, is symbolic. Furthermore, we highlight the importance of emergent technologies such as artificial intelligence in preventing language death. Consequently, we lay the foundation for a framework where a language death event itself has meaning, or *cultural capital*, to borrow from Bourdieu (1972/1977; 1979/1984). From the perspective of the community whose heritage language has died, this cultural capital possesses a negative value, potentially traumatic and painful. Consequently, when a knowledge system is faced with extinction, we contend that effective use of technologies may form a solution to preserve it, as well as its wider culture. Hence, the question we ask is: What are the cognitive principles that make language death traumatic, and how can such destruction be mitigated?

Sociological Considerations: What is Language?

Language serves major social functions. Indeed, society can hardly function without language. There is a consensus amongst linguists that language is unique and exclusive to human beings, separating us intellectually from animal species. Where the consensus ruptures, however, is on the issue of what exactly language is. The Chomskyan tradition contends that language is a system of formal rules innate to our biology, and that the goal of linguists should be to uncover these universal principles, which constitute a mental faculty autonomous from other cognitive, and social, functions. Alternatively, the functionalist paradigm understands language as a tool for social, communicative, and even survival purposes. In this view, language is very much subject to social pressures and developed out of these pressures through our species' evolution (Joseph, 2018). Additionally, this entails the implication that language cannot be autonomous from other realities of human life, such as culture, wider cognitive systems, wider social systems, and brain structure (Agar, 2019; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Lamb, 1999).

Joseph (2018, p. 4) levies significant criticism against the Chomskyan conception of language, criticising Chomsky for attempting to perpetuate a "...façade of scientific certainty" about Linguistics by manufacturing the concepts of *I-language*, or "internalised language", and *E-language*, or "externalised language", to disconnect the discipline from social phenomena. Borrowing from Latour (1993/1991), Joseph identifies language as a hybrid concept between "nature" and "society" (2018, p. 10). To use Latourian parlance, the denial of the social dimensions of Linguistics is a *work of purification*, which we may juxtapose against a *work of translation*, meaning the conceptualisation of "hybrids of nature and culture" within the scientific theory (Latour, 1993–1991, p. 10). It is argued that works of translation are more scientifically productive (Joseph, 2018).

Unfortunately, language death seems to have received a different work of purification, one that has undercut its connection to the mind and body. Crystal (2002) provides five reasons why language death is something to be cared about: because we need diversity, because languages express identity, because languages are repositories of history, because languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge, and because languages are interesting in themselves. Yet, Crystal's reasons would hardly be convincing to the Chomskyan linguist; for Chomsky, these all fall in the "artificial" and "not very interesting" realm of E-language (Chomsky, 1986, p. 26). Crystal's reasons are thus susceptible to Chomsky's critique of E-language. These phenomena, such as a language's suppression, disuse, and death, are suggested by Chomsky to be arbitrary constructs built on the whims of socio-political factors external to Linguistics and "understood independently of the mind/brain" (Chomsky, 1986, p. 20).

Whilst a well-known political activist, Chomsky (1988, p. 394) maintains that "Surely one cannot simply deduce social and political consequences from any insights into language". Yet, to purify the language of either social or bio-cognitive entailments is, in our view, counter-productive in defining language itself. Consequently, here we present our challenge; we reject the idea that "E-language", if such a label is to be used, is scientifically uninteresting. Whilst we are more sympathetic to the sociolinguistic position, we contend we must also call for more consideration of cognitive operations in (socio-)linguistic practice. To this end, we suggest that to better understand the cognitive principles behind language, and language death, we must first situate language in context. Hence, a work of translation is necessary, and we engage this by outlining a sociological approach to language, starting with a social-semiotic conception.

Work of Translation: Language as a Social-semiotic System

Language and culture are inseparable. Within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Halliday argues for language as a "social-semiotic" system with which we use to construe our experience and enact social relationships, alongside other systems such as art, ceremony, and even cuisine (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). One may identify a Saussurean aspect here; for de Saussure, Linguistics formed a sub-branch of a more general study of "the life of signs within society" (de Saussure, 1916–1959, p. 16). Other thinkers further emphasise the unity between linguistic and cultural systems, such as Agar (2019; 1993), who champions the term *languaculture*. Similarly, Halliday (2016, p. 115) contends that, as an example, the English language, through its colonial past and present international status, has become adapted to the "meaning styles of its new speakers", so culturally contingent contexts of thought and expression. Such cultural "meaning styles" can be interpreted as an aspect of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*.

Halliday's perspective on language, then, gives primacy to semantic structures. Yet, Halliday also links semantics to culture, summarising language as "...one among a number of systems of meaning that, taken all together, constitute human culture" (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 2). Chomsky draws a distinction between linguistic *competence*, which refers to a person's ability to generate linguistic material, and linguistic *performance*, which corresponds to Halliday's notion of *instance*, the production of text and meaningful cultural products; for example, speech, books, social media posts, or instant messages (Chomsky, 1986; Halliday & Hasan, 1985). Distinct from Chomsky's understanding, Halliday's concept is tied to social interaction and enactment; Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) qualify "text" broadly as an instance of language in some medium that is comprehensible to someone who understands the language. Derrida (1972–1982) further qualifies text as necessarily *iterable*, meaning it is repeatably reinterpretable by some interlocutor; when a text is no longer acknowledged as a meaningful unit, it loses its iterability and ceases to be text.

An iterable text is also necessarily subjected to reinterpretation each time it is processed by an interlocutor; our understanding of a text is always construed in terms of our own conceptual resources (Derrida, 1972–1982; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Within Cognitive Linguistics (CL), language use is embedded in the mind's wider cognitive competencies. Language expresses thought, organised as meaning, and to an extent, reveals certain common patterns by which we think (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). The compatibility between SFL and CL is emphasised by Butler (2013), who highlights Halliday's notion of language as a *meaning-making resource*. The "systemic" part of Halliday's SFL thus refers to the conception of language as consisting of systems of potential meaning, whilst both SFL and CL agree that language construes human experience (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Langacker, 2008; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Yet, SFL also emphasises that such construal of experience, via language, always enacts some social action.

This refers to what is termed the *interpersonal metafunction* of language, and grounds the "social-semiotic" view (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The interpersonal metafunction works alongside the *ideational* and *textual* metafunctions to create coherent, meaningful, and contextually relevant language. All instances of language simultaneously perform these triadic metafunctions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In brief, the ideational metafunction is responsible for the construal of experience and logic into lexicogrammatical structure, and the textual metafunction is responsible for organising linguistic units into coherent and flowing orders of discourse (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Foucault, 1966–1970). The interpersonal metafunction denotes those grammatical systems which help the speaker establish their attitudes, position, and relation to other actors; consequently, it also acts as a contextual constraint on what can be said by delineating the appropriateness of a speaker's possible utterances.

Such relationships entail an aspect of power, as well as economic exchanges of information (Foucault, 1966/1970; Bourdieu, 1982–1991). The "social-semiotic" conception of language, as developed within the SFL paradigm, thus offers a socially-grounded perspective for language issues. Despite Halliday's commitment to Linguistics as "a branch of sociology" and the belief that "...there is no need to interpose a psychological level of interpretation" to language (Halliday, 1978, pp. 38–39), such a "psychological" extension of SFL is precipitated by SFL's compatibility with CL theories of experiential construal. What SFL adds of value to cognitivist approaches to language is its "social-accountability" (Matthiessen, 2012). This was a deficiency of Chomsky's linguistic cognitivism, though it later inspired Bourdieu's response in his theory of linguistic practice, emphasising language in social context (Salö, 2019). Bourdieu offers a perspective to unite the "social-semiotic" conception with Cognitive Sociology, and adds value to Linguistics by outlining a cogent framework for situating language in society.

Bourdieu's Theory of Linguistic Practice

Words have power. Language is thus a vehicle to enact complex interpersonal relationships and construct social realities (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Bourdieu (1979–1984, p. 101) condenses his sociological theory into a simple formula: [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice. Bourdieu also sought to fuse the study of language with the study of society. According to Bourdieu, *habitus* refers to "...a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class" (1972–1977, p. 86). Thus, habitus refers to the collection of dispositions that guide the actions and reactions of an individual in general correlation with their social group. For example, picture a Western tourist in Thailand during *Songkran*, the Thai New Year. Holding a super-soaker and a beer, the tourist had come to the country for the "world's biggest water fight", as media often markets Songkran. Consider then, during the same festival, an 80-year-old Thai woman visiting her local Buddhist temple to offer food to monks and give blessings in a traditional ritual.

These two individuals, situated in the same geographical setting, have different dispositions, formulated from divergent experiences owing to their different histories. In discussing language, Bourdieu proposes a certain *linguistic habitus*. Habitus are formed through social inculcation, and thus serve as a mechanism for the reproduction of culture; a person's habitus is built from their early childhood interactions with their parents, and later through their education and other social activities (Bourdieu, 1977–1972). Similarly, the linguistic habitus is developed through early childhood acquisition of one's native language, dialect, and meaning style (Bourdieu, 1982–1991). This account of acquisition is similar to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980; 1999) arguments for embodied cognition, which suggested that pre-linguistic thought was structured by experience with the external world.

Bourdieu also recognised the embodiment of language, principally through its link to the human vocal tract and mouth, which enable speech (Bourdieu, 1982–1991). Scovel (1988, p. 14) independently extended this idea, claiming that the emergence of language in human evolution has to be credited to the lateral development of our unique vocal tract system, as the "organ of speech", alongside the brain, as the "organ of language". However, whereas Scovel's account seems to neglect non-speech-based linguistic systems, such as signed languages amongst the deaf, Bourdieu would likely have noted that spoken languages and signed languages are distinguished by different modes of embodiment (one uses oral-respiratory apparatus while the other relies mainly on hand-based expression), and that this entails different access to symbolic capital. Such modes of embodiment are themselves symbolic; despite the fact that signed languages do not lack any cognitive functionality possessed by spoken languages, many cultures associate signed languages with disability.

Symbolic capital refers to elements that, like currency, can be exchanged for benefits (Bourdieu, 1972–1977; 1979–1984). The lectureship title *Ajarn* in Thailand is an example of culture-specific symbolic capital (Day et al, 2021). For a more general example, a degree from a brand name school possesses more symbolic capital than one from a less famous school. On the other hand, *cultural capital* refers to the collection of one's cultural knowledge which informs their habitus, consequently guiding their successful navigation of cultural context. For example, to fully appreciate the poem *Beowulf*, one would need to possess certain forms of cultural capital, such as sufficient knowledge of Old English and historical knowledge. Knowledge of Old English, then, would constitute a subtype of cultural capital called *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1982–1991).

This linguistic capital refers to the linguistic resources we access to function in certain linguistic fields, which are the contexts in which certain configurations of "meaning styles", to borrow from Halliday, are dominant. To illustrate, a person who speaks Singapore English (SE) may not appreciate much an American English (AmE) pun where the word "duty" [ˈduːɾi] is humorous because the word sounds similar to "doody" [ˈduːɾi] in AmE. Yet, in SE, "duty" [ˈdjuti] and "doody" [ˈdudi] are not homophonic, and "doody" is a rare word. This situation depicts an intercultural conflict, what Agar (1993) calls a *rich point*, a divergence between different *languacultures*, which are Bourdieusian fields. Here, the meaning of the pun is lost because of differences in the linguistic capital of SE and AmE speakers.

Constructing Language Death: Neurophenomenology and A Case from Te Reo Māori

Within Sociolinguistics, the more common term for what we have been calling "field" is "ecology" (cf. Crystal, 2002). This choice of terminology is significant because it is an employment of metaphor; in particular, that *language is an organism*. The term "language death", then, is congruent to this metaphor and reinforces it. Hence, "language death", as well as the synonymous phrase "language extinction", invoke the above-mentioned *language is an organism* metaphor, whilst the related term "language erosion" instantiates the metaphor *language is a physical object* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The choice of these specific metaphorical construals amongst the academic linguistic community is arguably underpinned by a discursive decision to attach to language, as an entity, the connotations that, like living organisms, language is real and has ecological value worth protecting.

This idea that languages constitute natural real-world entities, according to Lamb (1999), is fallacious. This is because each person possesses a unique configuration of their linguistic habitus, a subset of their complete mental model of perceived reality (Lamb, 2020). Thus, what is typically called "English" is but a set of abstract generalisations across heterogeneous unique and personal mental models of "English" by speakers around the world. "English", then, does not exist as a natural entity independent of its speakers. Rather, it is embedded in the linguistic habitus of its speakers; a monolingual English speaker operates according to their personal understanding of the norms and conventions of "English". Each English speaker may be described as having their own ways of linguistically expressing themselves, with "English" merely being a label for a group of similar patterns of expression. What sociolinguists call "language death", then, must be construed not as the loss of discrete natural entities but as the loss of the knowledge of *ways of expression*.

Yet, just because languages are not living organisms does not make their losses any less traumatic. Like culture, natural languages owe their continuous existence to human behaviours (Low et al., 2020). Parents raise their children in some language A, and the children grow up to speak language A. The repetition of this process across generations allows language A, as a languacultural knowledge system, or habitus, to have a continuous genealogy. For Lamb (1999) and Feldman (2006), we can model linguistic knowledge as patterns of neural network circuitry, susceptible to biological rewiring, or *neuroplasticity*. Malabou (2012) characterises neuropathological diseases such as Alzheimer's as "explosive" trauma that erases selfhood; as the neural connections which make up the self deteriorate, the original self ceases to exist whilst a new, less recognisable self emerges. Language death, then, involves the retirement of patterns associated with a language from the cultural bio-genealogy of a population.

To the outside observer, then, language A may simply be no longer spoken by its people, perhaps replaced by language B. Especially problematic, is when this happens as supplantation by a politically powerful external culture, as in colonial or neo-colonially driven language death. Phenomenologically, the community associated with language A experiences a trauma akin to Malabou's description: the self which language A was a part of has been erased, replaced by a new unfamiliar self speaking some imposed language B. Language A's genealogy is ended, barring unreachable traces of memory, as with neurodegeneration. As Erikson's (1968) psychoanalysis of self-identity expounds, people coordinate multiple senses of self, which form the individual's *composite Self*. A lost language represents a constituent of the composite Self, then; language death proves psychologically harmful because it damages the ability of the individual to access their sense of self associated with that language. Such damage may consequently lead to *identity crisis*, in which the individual struggles with "…not just a matter of contradictory self-images… but a central disturbance dangerous for the whole ecological interaction of a mind organism [the individual] with its 'environment'" (Erikson, 1970, p. 749). Thus, language death, especially by marginalisation, creates a pathway to social dysfunction.

Viewing language death as psychological trauma, furthering dysfunction, which may lead to crisis, echoes Du Bois' (1899) observations that marginalised groups, such as African Americans in late-nineteenth century Philadelphia, tend to experience little socioeconomic success not because of inherent deficiencies but rather psychological harm inflicted by more dominant groups. However, marginalisation is complex, and language death does not always entail dysfunction; the Baba Malay-speaking Peranakan Chinese of Singapore, for example, experienced a trend of socioeconomic advancement in the early twentieth-century British colonial era owing to their early adoption of English-medium education, rather than Chinese or Malay, for their children (Chew, 2013). Rather, the abandonment of Baba Malay, now a moribund language, might be said to represent an unconscious effort to preserve social function, at the expense of cultural damage. The complexity of marginalisation, languacultural loss, and identity entails that such issues take vastly different forms and meanings in different contexts. To illustrate, we explore a case study from a specific languaculture experiencing loss, namely the Māori people of Aotearoa (New Zealand).

Languacultural Loss, Colonialism, Assimilation, And the Revitalised Recovery of Te Reo Māori

Te reo Māori (te reo) is the Indigenous language of Aotearoa, or New Zealand (NZ). In the 1800s, te reo was widely spoken. During this period, European settlers used te reo in social networks that facilitated trade within NZ's majority Māori population. The use of te reo diminished after *Pākehā* (NZ Europeans) became the majority in the 1860s and English took over as the primary language for commerce, education, and communication. The land wars of the late 1800s saw massive confiscations of Māori land, when British soldiers and *iwi* (tribes) allies used a scorched earth policy and the government eventually took control of NZ by force. By 1900 it was estimated that Māori, who had numbered in the hundreds of thousands prior to settlers arriving, had a population of only 42,000 (Reedy, 2000, p. 157). It was predicted that Māori would become extinct as a people. The near-death of Māori as a people was symbolic of the subsequent near-death of their languaculture. Indeed, the colonial suppression of te reo is well documented by scholars (Reedy, 2000;

Tau, 2001; O'Toole, 2020).

Two significant factors that caused the decline in the use of te reo were the government assimilation policies which prioritised English and penalised the use of Māori in education institutions, and the urbanisation of Māori in the mid-twentieth century. O'Toole (2020) notes that a 1930 survey of children attending Native schools showed that approximately 96.6% spoke te reo at home. O'Toole also observed that intergenerational language transmission declined through their urban disconnection to the *rohe* (tribal lands). Indeed, just thirty years later in 1960, only 26% used te reo exclusively at home, "...and by 1979, te reo was considered moribund" (O'Toole, 2020, p. 199). However, in the 1970s, Māori began to restore their identity. The Māori Language Act was passed in 1987, making te reo an official language of NZ. This legislation was replaced by the Māori Language Act 2016 and the formation of Te Mātāwai in 2018, which created a responsibility structure for protection of te reo between the NZ government and Māori; progress has been made by Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Wānanga, and other educational institutions to revitalise te reo, including its *iwi* (tribal) dialects.

Revival of the te reo is symbolic of Māori resilience, but the trauma of colonial domination has devastating psychological consequences. Radio New Zealand (2019) reported the "suicide rate among Māori men rose to almost 32 per 100,000 in 2016 – more than double the non-Māori male rate." The revitalisation of te reo through government policy, educational institutions, media and at a broader social level involving both Māori and non-Māori is now a priority. This reaffirms the language, granting more power than seen previously. There are significant signs of increasing use of te reo in the home, in education, in government and in businesses; but the long term use of te reo within a sustainable population remains doubtful.

The political discourse of ideas, knowledge, and language are essential indicators of dominance by some groups over others (Bourdieu, 1982–1991; Foucault, 1980). The colonial imposition of British cultural hegemony saw the NZ government enforce English as the dominant language whereas te reo and Māori culture were deemed inferior to that of Pākehā. The "superiority" of Western knowledge was applied by the NZ government as a method to accumulate power and dominance over Māori. Te reo has always been central to Māori political expression and identity as *tangata whenua* (people of the land). For Māori, te reo is crucial to the socio-political struggle for *mana motuhake* (self-determination) and social justice; language survival is a form of cognitive justice. Cognitive justice seeks to address the dominance of Eurocentric knowledge and asserts that the plurality of non-Western knowledge has a right to coexist with Western knowledge (Leibowitz, 2017). What it seeks is a space for dialogue between knowledge systems in order to achieve social justice. However, in some institutions there is resistance to more culturally inclusive curricula due to the wrong belief that Western knowledge is superior. In 2021, *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) was dismissed as "not science" in a letter by some top academics at the University of Auckland (Dunlop, 2021).

Corporate use of Māori languaculture such as the *haka*, which has been commercialised by the All Blacks rugby team and pop artist Lorde's 2021 release of an EP in te reo, bring up problematic questions as to whose responsibility it is to guide the revitalisation of te reo. Smith (2012, p. 4) makes a compelling case for decolonising and indigenising approaches within academic institutions, to counter the destructive legacy of imperialism, remarking that "...increasing numbers of indigenous academics and researchers have begun to address social issues within the wider framework of self-determination, decolonization and social justice." In their discussion of te reo and NZ national identity, O'Toole (2020, p. 209) states that, "As more non-Māori engage with te reo in ways meaningful to them, the value and place of Māori culture in New Zealand society shifts." Regardless of its revitalisation, te reo is still in danger of language death. It is listed as "vulnerable" by UNESCO. The Ministry for Ethnic Communities (2021) lists just 3% of New Zealand's population as te reo speakers, according to the 2013 NZ Census. Barrett-Walker et al. (2020) concluded that current learning rates of te reo show that it is on a path towards extinction and that proficient speakers must focus on teaching young Māori as a priority before non-Māori. However, whilst significant progress has been made, much more needs to be done to protect, promote, and preserve te reo if it is to continue to be passed down as a knowledge-system and means of expression. Consequently, the Ministry of Māori Development, Te Puni Kōkiri (2019, pp. 11–13), has put forth "audacious goals" which state that:

> "By 2040, 85 per cent (or more) of New Zealanders will value te reo Māori as a key part of national identity. By 2040, one million (or more) New Zealanders will have the ability and confidence to talk about at least basic things in te reo Māori. By 2040, 150,000 Māori aged 15 and over will use te reo Māori at least as much as English."

Whilst "audacious", such goals underscore a desire for a bright future for te reo. This is especially true in a digital era, when language is changing rapidly, with new discourse unfolding and evolving constantly. Yet, technology, especially the Web, needs to be utilised more to preserve te reo and its dialects. It is crucial for archiving *taonga* (cultural treasures) and *tikanga Māori* (customary practises) that may be lost. Furthermore, socio-cultural factors such as anti-te reo sentiment in the Pākehā population can proliferate both online and offline, and revitalisation efforts must tackle this. However, also significant, Māori need to overcome the language trauma of te reo's near-death and its psychological barriers. For example, Morrison (2019, p. 9) suggests that learning te reo should include fun and *whanaungatanga* (family) based activities to address "…common barriers such as whakamā, or embarrassment and language trauma from past experiences…". In other words, revitalisation must encourage resistance to the colonially-shaped languacultural field which devalues te reo. With social media technologies playing a larger role in the evolution of culture, younger generations of Māori fluent in digital technology may be able to enact a cultural shift by using te reo online.

In discussing the need for the Ngāi Tahu iwi to adapt, Tau (2001, p. 150) states that "As devastating as it was, the arrival of the Pākehā did one thing; it showed our ancestors that there was a world beyond these shores and that if we do not actively engage with the rest of the world Ngāi Tahu will become an artefact that exists by itself in the 'intangible void'." Undoubtedly, Māori must continue to adapt and look ahead to the future with technology as a tool for the emancipation of te reo from language death. There are many important social, cultural, and technical traditions embedded within many cultures that could just have easily disappeared. Yet, part of the problem is that agendas towards preservation usually arise from the efforts of those communities whose survival is under threat. This comes at the cost of diminishing returns due to their limited resources, adding a form of cultural shock driven by the complexity of marginalisation, languacultural loss, and political diminishment, especially in authoritarian settings (Mcneill, 2021).

Interdisciplinary Implications: Language AI Preservation and Revitalisation

The question, then, is of external investment, given cultural assimilation and colonisation originating from Western settings, which emerge dominant. Our implication is that technology, or socio-technicality, can be used more effectively to preserve and revitalise languacultures, such as the Māori traditions described above. Artificial intelligence (AI), namely the incorporation of large data sets and analytical instruments that enable machines to undertake complex modelling and comprehension activities that previously required tedious human input, provides one tangible direction. This is an important instrument for language preservation and cultural archiving; yet studies linking the use of AI and language maintenance have not been well documented, perhaps because many studies of AI are driven from cultural settings not facing language death. Yet, consideration is given to preserving information published on the Web, or digitally mediated through printed publications then preserved as an "online" version after-the-fact, usually in English and detailed with an emphasis that the information is unique, valuable or, likely, useful for future data-mining. Hence, much of such practice is situated in Western nations that have the luxury, and, importantly, technical resources, for such an undertaking (Costa, Gomes, & Silva, 2017).

Of course, one vulnerability is that consensus seems hard to reach on what should or shouldn't be preserved. Of relevance might be the neo-Marxist, or perhaps libertarian, idea that digital preservation thwarts the more nefarious hostaging of information by big-data companies, which store and make use of human data for profit, rather than for pro-human futures (Day et al., 2015). Ultimately, however, this suggests that preservation of heritage and data, independent from such companies, is necessary to ensure appropriate representation of a given event, for prosperity, then. Yet, the socio-technical commoditisation of our data, hence heritage data, is now an intrinsic feature of the contracts of encapsulated interest that define much of our digital existence, and, meanwhile, Internet activity is often heavily influenced by politics beyond the West (Day & Skulsuthavong, 2021a). As Foucault (1966/1970, p. 183) remarks, in any "…given moment, there is always only one episteme that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge…"

Consequently, colonial legacies, both internal and external, seek to maximise the storage and security of Western data expressed digitally, but little resource, or even consideration, is given to those cultures for whom data preservation would be a necessity. Thus, the data-value and act of such preservation inevitably creates a point of paradox; first, consensus must be reached on whether something should be preserved, and second, the act of such preservation must be supported by the resources of an institution with sufficient capabilities. Often, these institutions are situated far from events that might cause language death; a gap emerges where a form of digital colonialism occurs: largely Western narratives dominate and decide the social and cultural fates of minorities. Such forces thus hold the power to decide, then, whether a language can be preserved, along with its culture. In this sense, then, because of the profound data implications of storing culture and language in a digital archive, we are inevitably reliant on the demands of large, socio-technically complex western institutions to determine what is, or isn't, worth retaining.

Such preservation is not assured to prevent language death, identity loss, or cultural erosion. However, this problem is not new; the management and manifestation of knowledge are often inseparable from debates on truth, as well as power, which are subjectively defined. As Foucault (1980, p. 109) remarks, "Each society has its regime of truth… that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true…". Therefore, as technological developments advance our capacity to record, preserve, and protect the past, along with endangered languacultures, it cannot be assumed that institutions with power will seek to do so, without bias. Indeed, some might seek to write the narratives of "their truths", as has been seen historically in numerous instances, especially in more authoritarian places. Moreover, the logistic complexities faced by archival of large amounts of data are problematic even within the most privileged countries in the world. Various organisations, which include US institutions such as The Internet Archives and The Library of

Congress, seek to preserve what we might term a “pro-human” Web whilst challenging big-business monetisation of data archiving (Day et al., 2015). The Internet Archives does so using automated and AI-driven crawling methods to save billions of web captures that, in 2021, took up 45 petabytes (or 45,000,000 gigabytes) of storage space (Kramer, 2021).

This is a lot of data; modern challenges of ensuring the preservation of such storage increase, naturally, along with the amount of data, which is challenging for developing nations’ archival efforts. Colavazzi et al. (2021) argue there is no clear study of the relationship between AI and archiving, though they draw attention to studies which highlight use for AI in the digital history and cultural heritage sector. Naturally, machine learning and automation lend themselves well to document processing, record-keeping, and other forms of digital transference that suggest a forthcoming interdisciplinary field joining Computer Science and History. In a similar regard, we note that there is not yet a clearly defined body of literature linking AI to its use in preserving endangered languages and enabling heritage revitalisation. Hence, we present it a need for it here. Indeed, much of language-related AI discourse on the area of cultural preservation focuses on transcription and translation, so accessibility of popular languages through the development of multilingual archives built on linked open data, as well as the enrichment of tools to make sense of the scale and scope of such huge data-sets (Wilde & Hengchen, 2017). Less consideration has been directed towards how AI might be used to preserve endangered languages, when every few months a language is suggested to vanish, along with its last speaker. Admittedly, Microsoft now pushes AI development towards preserving languages. Much of their efforts rely on neural machine translation models and deep learning strategies. For example, in January 2021, in partnership with the Government of Nunavut, Microsoft took steps to enhance text translation for the Inuktitut dialect of Inuktut and add the Inuinnaqtun dialect to the Microsoft Translator (Peesker, 2021). Listed on UNESCO’s list of endangered languages, Inuinnaqtun is now a focus of preservation, as community members are crowd-sourced to increase the longevity of the language. The study established how, within the same culture, different generational groups of an endangered language may not be able to communicate with each other, thereby improving cross-generational communication capacity. This is important. As Nuwer (2014) emphasises:

> "Over the past century alone, around 400 languages – about one every three months – have gone extinct, and most linguists estimate that 50% of the world's remaining 6,500 languages will be gone by the end of this century…Today, the top ten languages in the world claim around half of the world's population. Can language diversity be preserved, or are we on a path to becoming a monolingual species?"

In 2021, the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports partnered with Microsoft and A_DA to create an AI mapped model of Ancient Olympia called *Ancient Olympia: Common Grounds*. A virtual augmented reality, 3D technologies and drones with high resolution cameras were used to document the monuments, which were then combined with archaeological data to create models in case of further site deterioration (Lu, 2021). These demonstrate, then, two brief examples of collaboration between actors to preserve and educate, made possible by AI and Web technologies (Day, 2019). To this end digital heritage, the Web and AI, towards the goal of preventing language death, and promoting identity preservation, form an important trinity, and research direction.

Conclusion

Sociolinguists have argued that language death brings socio-political and socio-ecological loss. The erosion of language, and the role of politically dominant languages, creates implications that are both hurtful and symbolically significant. We have argued for a view of languages as social-semiotic systems embodied in human (neuro-)cognitive apparatus. Language death, which is often rooted in (neo-)colonialism, therefore, reflects a stop in the evolution of cultural systems, biology, knowledge and expression. It is a trauma, which erases traditions, genealogy, and marginalises those languages, alongside knowledge systems, deemed undesirable by (neo-)colonialist forces. Within this article, therefore, we explored a small case study of Māori languaculture in Aotearoa (New Zealand). The case of Māori tells us the importance of two things to combat language erosion: anti-colonialism and adapting to current contexts, particularly via digital technologies and AI.

Our analysis bodes practical implications for language maintenance and revitalisation, concluding that sociolinguistic practitioners should consider a socio-cognitivist, as well as socio-technical, paradigm for language intervention. Additionally, we highlighted leveraging AI technologies towards languacultural preservation to limit the destructive impact of language death, offering two examples of a growing field. Within this field, however, we stressed the economies of scale, survival, and sustainability that impact cultural heritage and preservation of endangered languages: the tentative issues of using costly AI resources, to preserve. We offered a narrative that suggests heritage preservation, via AI and other digital technologies, entails an inevitable reliance on powerful, likely-Western institutions. Paradoxically, preserving endangered languages, often colonially eroded, currently requires Western-funded AI. We must, now, negotiate the priorities of such institutions, rather than just preserving data for encapsulated mining, especially when governments rely on big business and data politics, not always pro-human (Day & Skulsuthavong, 2019; 2021a).

Our article presents a step towards an AI-driven future for the preservation of languaculture. However, whilst we have sketched a foundation, we acknowledge that our presentation is limited by the lack of a concrete plan for languaculture preservation in the age of AI. We consider this a temporary problem. The digital age demands that sociolinguists consider languaculture in forms beyond what traditional Linguistics might delineate. For example, social media, itself, is a new form of expression, filled with different communication acts. These could, given the mercurial nature of the Internet, become endangered. As seen in Myanmar, Thailand, and across Asia during 2021 and 2022, governments have sought to minimise social media expression, to conceal human rights violations and violence. Internal colonialism, then, is also a threat to languaculture. The widening scope of instantaneous expression, on the Internet, fuels discourse, power, and truth (Day & Skulsuthavong, 2021b). Treating such complex issues, concerning personal and national identity, as matters of languaculture and sociocognitive transmission, then, requires specialised strategies tailored to local contexts. This is no easy task but is essential for disentangling (neo-)colonialism and advancing a more sustainable pro-human world, even when oppressive forces would see languacultures erased not only from the digital record but people's minds and futures.

Acknowledgements

We acknowledge the Māori of Aotearoa (New Zealand), for their efforts to preserve.

References

Agar, M. (1993). *Language shock: Understanding the culture of conversation*. William Morrow.

Agar, M. (2019). *Culture: How to make it work in a world of hybrids*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Barrett-Walker, T., Plank, M. J., Ka'ai-Mahuta, R., Hikuroa, D., & James, A. (2020). Kia kaua te reo e rite ki te moa, ka ngaro: Do not let the language suffer the same fate as the moa. *Journal of the Royal Society Interface*, *17*(162). https://doi.org/10.1098/rsif.2019.0526

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge University Press. (Original work published 1972).

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Harvard University Press. (Original work published 1979).

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power* (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.). Polity Press. (Original work published 1982).

Butler, C. S. (2013). Systemic functional linguistics, cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics: Opportunities for dialogue. *Functions of Language*, *20*(2), 185–218. https://doi.org/10.1075/fol.20.2.03but

Chew, P. G. -L. (2013). *A sociolinguistic history of early identities in Singapore: From colonialism to nationalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use*. Praeger.

Chomsky, N. (1988). *Language and politics*. Black Rose Books.

Costa, M., Gomes, D., & Silva, M. J. (2017). The evolution of web archiving.

International Journal on Digital Libraries, *18*, 191–205. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00799-016-0171-9.

Crystal, D. (2002). *Language death*. Cambridge University Press.

Day, M. J. (2019). *Teaching the web: Principles for web education* [Doctoral thesis, University of Southampton]. University of Southampton Institutional Repository.

Day, M. J., & Skulsuthavong, M. (2019, November 6–9). *Web science in SE Asia: Cultivating a 'Thai digital renaissance' through (re)introducing an interdisciplinary science in higher education* [Conference session]. Proceedings of the 7th Annual ANPOR Conference: Power of Public Opinion and Multicultural Communication Toward Global Transformation, Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Day, M. J., & Skulsuthavong, M. (2021a). Towards social transformation in Thailand: Orwellian power struggles and 'digital' human rights under the socio-technical Thai internet panopticon. In C. Yamahata, D. M. Seekins, & M. Takeda (Eds.), *Social transformations in India, Myanmar, and Thailand: Volume I.* Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-9616-2_17

Day, M. J., & Skulsuthavong, M. (2021b). Newton's socio-technical cradle? Web science, the weaponisation of social media, hashtag activism and Thailand's postcolonial pendulum. *JOMEC Journal*, *16*(1), 100–129. https://doi.org/10.18573/jomec.207

Day, M. J., Carr, L., & Halford, S. (2015, June 28–July 1). *Developing the 'pro-human' web* [Conference session]. Proceedings of the 2015 ACM Web Science Conference, Oxford, UK. http://doi.org/10.1145/2786451.2786458.

de Saussure, F. (1959). Course in general linguistics (W. Baskin, Trans.). In C. Bally & A. Sechehaye (Eds.), *Philosophical Library*. (Original work published 1916).

Derrida, J. (1982). Signature event context (A. Bass, Trans.). In J. Derrida (Ed.), *Margins of Philosophy* (pp. 307–330). The Harvester Press.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1899). *The Philadelphia Negro*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Dunlop, M. (2021, July 28). *University academics' claim mātauranga Māori 'not* *science' sparks controversy*. Radio New Zealand. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/447898/university-academics-claim-matauranga-maori-not-science-sparks-controversy

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. W.W. Norton & Company.

Erikson, E. H. (1970). Autobiographic notes on the identity crisis. *Daedalus*, *99*(4), 730–759. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20023973

Feldman, J. (2006). *From molecule to metaphor: A neural theory of language*. MIT Press.

Foucault, M. (1970). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. Routledge. (Original work published 1966).

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews & other writings 1972–1977*. Harvester.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Vintage Books.

Geeraerts, D., Kristiansen, G., & Peirsman, Y. (Eds.) (2010). *Advances in cognitive sociolinguistics*. De Gruyter Mouton.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as a social-semiotic: The social interpretations of language and meaning*. Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (1985). *Language, context, and text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Deakin University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar*. Hodder Arnold.

Joseph, J. E. (2018). *Language, mind and body*. Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh*. Basic Books.

Lamb, S. (1999). *Pathways of the brain: The neurocognitive basis of language*. John Benjamins Publishing.

Lamb, S. (2020). *The field of consciousness as a network of relationships: Support for idealism from theoretical linguistics* [Video presentation]. TSC Consciousness Conference, Tucson, AZ, United States. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=icqiPClhQjI

Langacker, R. W. (2008). *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. Oxford University Press.

Latour, B. (1993). *We have never been modern* (C. Porter, Trans.). Harvard University Press. (Original work published 1991)

Leibowitz, B. (2017). Cognitive justice and the higher education curriculum. *Journal of Education*, (*68*), 93–112. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2520-98682017000100006&lng=en&tlng=en

Low, D. S., Aung, M. T., & Day, M. J. (2020). Cognitive sociology: developing the 'Diversity Pathways' model in cultural neuroscience. *Human Behavior, Development and Society*, *21*(4), 66–77. https://so01.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/hbds/article/view/243179

Lu, F. (2021, November 24). Ancient Olympia is digitally revived in Microsoft's mixed reality exhibition. *Jing Culture & Commerce*. https://jingculturecommerce.com/ancient-olympia-common-grounds-microsoft-ai-ar/

Malabou, C. (2012). *The new wounded: From neurosis to brain damage* (S. Miller, Trans.), Fordham University Press.

Matthiessen, C. (2012). Systemic functional linguistics as appliable linguistics: social accountability and critical approaches. *DELTA Documentação de Estudos em Lingüística Teórica e Aplicada*, *28*(spe), 437–471. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-44502012000300002.

Mcneill, I. (2021, July 12–13). *Internet freedom and digital authoritarianism during the Covid-19 pandemic: The need for a right to the internet* [Conference session]. International Virtual Conference on Emerging Research in Politics, Development, and Human Rights, Bangkok, Thailand.

Ministry for Ethnic Communities. (2021, July 9). *Languages spoken in New Zealand*. https://www.ethniccommunities.govt.nz/resources-2/our-languages-o-tatou-reo/languages-in-new-zealand/

Morrison, S. (2019). Kotahitanga in te reo Māori revitalisation. *Kura nui o Waipareira*, *3*, 8–13. https://wairesearch.waipareira.com/dz_research_journal/kotahitanga-ma-te-kotahitanga-e-whai-kaha-ai-tatou-in-unity-we-find-strength/

Nuwer, R. (2014, June 6). Languages: Why we must save dying tongues. *BBC Future*. https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20140606-why-we-must-save-dying-languages.

O'Toole, M. (2020). Responsibility, language movement, and social transformation: The shifting value of te reo for non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. In L. Siragusa & J. K. Ferguson (Eds.), *Responsibility and language practices in place* (pp. 195–212). Finnish Literature Society.

Peesker, K. (2022, February 1). Government of Nunavut preserving endangered Inuit languages and culture with the help of artificial intelligence and Microsoft. *Microsoft News Centre*. https://news.microsoft.com/en-ca/2022/02/01/government-of-nunavut-preserving-endangered-inuit-languages-and-culture-with-the-help-of-artificial-intelligence-and-microsoft/.

Radio New Zealand. (2019, July 11). Suicide rate among Māori men rises to highest in decade. *Radio New Zealand*. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/394108/suicide-rate-among-maori-men-rises-to-highest-in-decade

Reedy, T. (2000). Te reo Māori: The past 20 years and looking forward. *Oceanic Linguistics*, *39*(1), 157–169. https://www.doi.org/3623221

Salö, L. (2019). Thinking about language with Bourdieu: Pointers for social theory in the language sciences. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, *12*(3–4), https://doi.org/10.1558/sols.32916

Scovel, T. (1988). *A time to speak: A psycholinguistic inquiry into the critical period for human speech*. Newbury House.

Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonising methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books.

Tau, T. M. (2001). The death of knowledge: Ghosts on the plains. *New Zealand Journal of History*, *35*(2), 131–152. http://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/2001/NZJH_35_2_01.pdf

Te Puni Kōkiri. (2019). Pūrongo-ā-tau | Annual report for the year ended 2019. *Ministry of Māori Development*. https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/a-matou-mohiotanga/corporate-documents/purongoatau-annual-report-2019

Varela, F., Thompson, E., & Rosch, E. (1991). *The embodied mind*. MIT Press.

Wilde, M., & Hengchen, S. (2017). Semantic enrichment of a multilingual archive with linked open data. *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, *11*(4). http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/11/4/000328/000328.html

Dylan Scott Low
Nacionalinis Taivano normalusis universitetas, Taivanas
dylanscottlow@outlook.com
Isaac Mcneill
Mahidolio universitetas, Tailandas
isaac.mcn@student.mahidol.edu
Michael James Day
Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool universitetas, Kinija
drmjday@outlook.com

NYKSTANČIOS KALBOS: SOCIALINIS IR KOGNITYVINIS POŽIŪRIS Į KALBŲ MIRTĮ, TAPATYBĖS PRARADIMĄ IR IŠSAUGOJIMĄ DIRBTINIO INTELEKTO AMŽIUJE

Santrauka. Sociolingvistai teigia, kad kalbų mirtis reiškia didelę kultūrinę, asmeninę ir ekologinę netektį. Sociokultūriniai ir sociopolitiniai veiksniai didina kalbos eroziją ir skatina jos išstūmimą kita, labiau dominuojančia kalba. Taigi klausiame: kokie sociokognityviniai principai daro kalbos mirtį skaudžia ir simboline? Šiame straipsnyje pateikiame sociokognityvinį kalbos mirties aiškinimą, greta kognityvinės lingvistikos požiūrio pateikdami Halliday'aus požiūrį į kalbą kaip į „socialinę-semiotinę" sistemą. Toliau kontekstualizuojame kalbą kaip neatsiejamą nuo kultūros, remdamiesi Bourdieu sociologine mintimi. Teigiame, kad kalbos mirtis sukelia psichologinę traumą, nes sunaikinama kultūrinė genealogija ir prarandamos žinios, susijusios su asmeniniu savęs įsivaizdavimu ir tapatybe. Šiuo tikslu pateikiame maorių kalbos kultūros Aotearoa (Naujoji Zelandija) atvejį, kuriame atsekame kolonializmo ir marginalizacijos poveikį iki dabartinių pastangų ir siekių užtikrinti maorių kalbos kultūrinį išlikimą ir susigrąžinti vietą Aotearoa kaip gerbiamai žinių sistemai ir išraiškos priemonei, ypač sociotechninėje dirbtinio intelekto ir interneto eroje. Teigiame, kad mūsų analizė turi praktinės reikšmės kalbos išlaikymui ir atgaivinimui, ir darome išvadą, kad praktikuojantys sociolingvistai turėtų apsvarstyti sociokognityvistinę ir sociotechninę kalbos intervencijos paradigmą. Pabaigoje aptariame dirbtinio intelekto technologijų panaudojimą kalbos paveldui, archyvavimui ir išsaugojimui, siekiant sumažinti destruktyvų kalbos mirties poveikį.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: kalbos mirtis; kultūra; tapatybė; pažinimas; sociolingvistika; dirbtinis intelektas.

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0012

Maria Montroy
Cátedra UNESCO de Patrimonio Lingüístico Mundial UPV-EHU, España

MULTILINGÜISMO EN SANTO TOMÉ Y PRÍNCIPE: UN ACERCAMIENTO DESDE LA SUBTITULACIÓN

Resumen. Santo Tomé y Príncipe (STP) es un país en vías de desarrollo en el que conviven diversas lenguas, aunque sólo una de ellas, el portugués, actúa como lengua oficial. El resto de las lenguas se limitan a un uso privado y muchas de ellas se encuentran en riesgo de desaparición. Como experimento piloto para encontrar fórmulas que permitan la conservación de estas lenguas, este trabajo toma como referencia el criollo forro. El forro ya no se transmite de padres a hijos ni se estudia en las escuelas, siendo las personas ancianas quienes mayoritariamente mantienen la lengua. A su vez, los ancianos son un grupo social que sufre el abandono y la discriminación de la sociedad. En este contexto, nos preguntamos si la subtitulación sería útil para preservar y promover el forro y contribuir a la integración de los ancianos en la sociedad; cuál es la percepción lingüística de ancianos hablantes de forro y la de personas no ancianas de STP y, por último, qué opinan de las posibilidades de la subtitulación los expertos en Cooperación Internacional (CI), Traducción Audiovisual (TAV) y Cooperación Lingüística (CL) consultados. Los resultados recogen la percepción de los participantes sobre el forro, la situación de los ancianos y la subtitulación, y desembocan en una propuesta final: la grabación de vídeos en forro y subtitulados en portugués dirigidos a niños, cuyos protagonistas serían ancianos que fomentarían el aprendizaje de forro y la cultura ancestral a través de historias o canciones y que podrían proyectarse en escuelas o en las comunidades como un cine itinerante.

Palabras clave: forro; multilingüismo; personas ancianas; santomé; Santo Tomé y Príncipe; subtitulación.

Introducción

Este estudio analiza las posibilidades que ofrece la subtitulación en una situación multilingüe como la de Santo Tomé y Príncipe (STP), incluyendo aspectos como la necesaria integración de los ancianos hablantes de una de las lenguas que se hablan en el país, el criollo forro, permitiendo así un trabajo transversal que incluiría la promoción y protección lingüística y la integración de personas ancianas a través de una herramienta innovadora en este sector, la subtitulación.

El contexto en el que se desarrolla este estudio es la realidad lingüística de STP, un país en el que se hablan cinco lenguas de las cuales sólo una, el portugués, actúa como lengua oficial exclusiva. El resto son lenguas criollas, la mayoría de ellas autóctonas, que se han visto minorizadas a lo largo de los siglos en favor del portugués: no se estudian en las escuelas, cuentan con escaso apoyo institucional y su presencia en los medios de comunicación es muy limitada. Aunque la idea es que los resultados de esta investigación sirvan para plantear nuevas perspectivas para el resto de las lenguas del país, para este estudio en particular nos centramos en el criollo forro, el más extendido y considerado el criollo nacional. Además, esta lengua se relaciona con los ancianos, que son un grupo social vulnerable en STP, ya que sufren de la exclusión social y el abandono familiar debido a la pobreza, entre otras razones.

El presente estudio, por lo tanto, plantea la posibilidad de aunar la preservación de una lengua y la integración de personas ancianas a través de la subtitulación, una herramienta innovadora en este campo de actuación. Para introducir la situación en la que se enmarca la investigación, las secciones siguientes se dedican más exhaustivamente a desarrollar las características generales del país, de su situación de multilingüismo y, por último, la relación entre la subtitulación y el aprendizaje de lenguas, un aspecto clave para determinar la relevancia que puede tener esta herramienta para la promoción lingüística.

Santo Tomé y Príncipe

STP es un país en vías de desarrollo formado por varias islas que se sitúan en el golfo de Guinea. Tiene una superficie de 1.001 km^2 y 215.000 habitantes (The World Bank, 2022).

Se cree que antes del descubrimiento de estas islas en 1471 estaban deshabitadas y, por lo tanto, se considera que la historia humana del país comienza a partir de la colonización de los portugueses (Agostinho & Bandeira, 2017; Seibert, 2009) durante la cual, además de basar la economía en plantaciones de azúcar y, más adelante, de café y cacao, STP se convirtió en un punto neurálgico para el negocio del tráfico de esclavos (Hagemeijer, 2009; Lorenzino, 1996; Seibert, 2009).

Tras siglos siendo una colonia de Portugal, en 1975 STP consiguió la independencia, pero la inestabilidad política y la falta de medidas eficientes, entre otros factores, fueron incrementando la pobreza del país desde 1900 hasta la actualidad (Caballero & Metzger, 2007). Actualmente, un tercio de la población viven por debajo de la línea de la pobreza, y más de dos tercios es pobre (The World Bank, 2022). En cuanto al desarrollo humano del país, STP se encuentra en el 135º puesto en un listado de 189 países (UNICEF, 2021), y la esperanza de vida es de 70,58 años (Countryeconomy, 2020). Esta situación influye en la decadencia que sufre el país en diferentes áreas como la salud o la educación y formación que, a su vez, son elementos condicionantes del desarrollo (Cardoso, 2004; Cooperación Española, 2006-2008; MICS6-STP, 2020; UNICEF, 2021).

Es cierto que a partir de 2011 se han visto esfuerzos para intentar mejorar la situación del sistema educativo, aunque quedan pendientes muchos aspectos a mejorar, como las condiciones laborales del profesorado, la calidad docente y de la enseñanza, o el abandono escolar (Ministério da Educação, Cultura e Formação, 2012; PNUD, 2002; UNICEF, 2021).

Las necesidades de protección social en el país también merecen ser mencionadas, pues hay numerosos grupos de población vulnerables, como las personas ancianas (Fernandes de Almeida, 2022; Guedes, 2018; PNUD, 2002). El PNUD señala la pobreza en las familias como la causante de la exclusión de las personas ancianas, ya que empuja a muchas familias a dejar a los mayores atrás. Esta situación se ve agravada por los casos de intolerancia y acusaciones de hechicería que sufren los ancianos y que a veces desembocan en vejaciones, insultos y daños físicos y psicológicos (Fernandes de Almeida, 2022; Guedes, 2018; Neves, 2009; Valverde, 2000; PNUD, 2002).

La exclusión de la vida social, económica y política de los ancianos también influye en su elevado índice de pobreza, ya que son los últimos en recibir cualquier tipo de recurso (agua potable, saneamiento básico, protección social, etc.) y viven arrinconados en instituciones o en sus propias casas (Cooperación Bierzo Sur, 2012).

Multilingüismo en STP

Pese a tratarse de un país tan pequeño, STP posee una gran riqueza y variedad lingüística. Además del portugués, que actúa como lengua oficial exclusiva a todos los efectos, también se hablan los criollos angolar, caboverdiano, forro y lung’ie, este último en la isla de Príncipe (Hagemeijer, 2009).

Del primer contacto de los colonizadores portugueses con los primeros esclavos africanos nació un pidgin que se expandió rápidamente y dio lugar al criollo forro (Gonçalves & Hagemeijer, 2015; Hagemeijer, 2009) también conocido como santomé o dialecto) en la isla de Santo Tomé. Este mismo pidgin evolucionó en el lung’ie en Príncipe (Agostinho & Bandeira, 2017).

Con el paso de los años, y una vez estos dos criollos estaban establecidos entre los habitantes africanos del país, llegaron más trabajadores de Cabo Verde, Angola y Mozambique, lo que supuso un incremento del multilingüismo del país (Hagemeijer, 2019). Después de la independencia, la mayoría de los caboverdianos decidieron quedarse en lugar de regresar a su país y, a día de hoy, este criollo sigue manteniéndose activo, especialmente en la isla de Príncipe (Gonçalves & Hagemeijer, 2015; Ribeiro de Souza, 2015).

En lo que respecta al angolar, es producto de una mezcla entre el forro y las lenguas autóctonas de un grupo de esclavos que se escaparon de las plantaciones donde trabajaban en el siglo XVI, y se pudo desarrollar como un criollo independiente gracias al aislamiento en que vivieron estos esclavos fugados (Lorenzino, 1998), que se refugiaron en la selva durante 30 años (Abreu de Castaño, 2012).

Durante los años de colonialismo, las lenguas criollas fueron denostadas; de hecho, hablar portugués era una de las condiciones indispensables para conseguir algún privilegio administrativo o social. Aún con este contexto de diglosia, las lenguas criollas se mantuvieron vivas, aunque se utilizaban en muy pocas ocasiones por el miedo al castigo (Ribeiro de Souza, 2015). Sin embargo, la independencia de Portugal no supuso una mayor consideración de las lenguas criollas. El portugués se reafirmó como lengua oficial exclusiva en la educación y en todos los contextos comunicativos, lo que impidió superar la estigmatización que los criollos habían sufrido durante la época colonial, además de disminuir ciertos elementos de identidad de tipo cultural y religioso (Gonçalves & Hagemeijer, 2015; Ribeiro de Souza, 2015); los criollos se relegaron a un estatus propio de personas pobres y analfabetas y no se permitía que los niños los utilizaran para que no afectara a su correcta adquisición del portugués (Bouchard, 2017 y 2019). Debido a todos estos hechos sociohistóricos, STP es la ex-colonia portuguesa de África con más hablantes nativos de portugués y supone un caso único en el continente africano, donde el número de hablantes nativos de las lenguas coloniales suele ser bajo (Hagemeijer, 2018).

Aunque en la actualidad las lenguas criollas sólo se utilizan en el ámbito privado y no cuentan con ningún apoyo institucional, desde el año 2010 se están haciendo avances importantes, como la creación del *Alfabeto Unificado para as Línguas Nativas de São Tomé e Príncipe*, el primer diccionario portugués/forro – forro/portugués, o *The Gulf of Guinea Creole Corpora* (Agostinho & Bandeira, 2017; Araujo & Agostinho, 2010; Araujo & Hagemeijer, 2013; Bouchard, 2020; Hagemeijer et al., 2014).

A pesar de todos estos esfuerzos por parte de académicos, la mayoría de lenguas criollas todavía no se incluyen en ningún nivel de enseñanza (Hagemeijer et al., 2018) y la mayoría de las personas que las utilizan habitualmente son personas ancianas (Gonçalves & Hagemeijer, 2015; Ribeiro de Souza, 2015). La excepción es el lung'ie en la isla de Príncipe, cuya enseñanza ha empezado a implementarse recientemente en las escuelas de esta región autónoma (Agostinho & Araujo, 2021).

En cuanto a los medios de comunicación, generalmente son en portugués, aunque puede encontrarse una mayor presencia de las lenguas criollas en los medios audiovisuales, especialmente cuando se emiten canciones o videoclips (Antunes, comunicación personal, 2016). En la Rádio Regional do Príncipe emiten programas en lung'ie dos días a la semana que consisten en conversaciones informales sobre lengua, música, política y la vida en Príncipe en general (Agostinho, 2015; Agostinho & Bandeira, 2017). En lo que a la televisión respecta, hay tres canales de los cuales sólo uno es nacional, TVS. Los otros dos, RTP Internacional y RTP África son portugueses. Todos los canales emiten en portugués excepto alguna programación concreta en forro (Hagemeijer et al., 2018; Bouchard, 2017). La mayoría de contenido audiovisual externo que emite TVS procede de Brasil. La programación subtitulada es escasa y cuando un contenido o una intervención de un programa nacional es en alguna lengua criolla de STP, no se subtitula ni se dobla (Malé, comunicación personal, 2019).

Centrándonos más en el forro, que es la lengua escogida para esta investigación por ser el criollo más extendido (Araujo, 2020; Bouchard, 2022,

p. 167), cabe decir que cuenta con cierta tradición escrita conformada por adivinanzas, proverbios, poemas, canciones, historias cortas o textos ligados a alguna manifestación cultural del país (Cardoso et al., 2015). Bouchard (2017 y 2020) señala que muchas personas han aprendido forro estando en el extranjero y lo utilizan como marca de identidad, pues lo consideran una herramienta de unión de santotomenses en la diáspora que les distingue de otros hablantes de portugués. También observa un mayor interés por el forro en los medios de comunicación y en la producción musical, así como un deseo de preservar la lengua e introducirla en el sistema educativo, aunque no especifica iniciativas concretas. A pesar de todas estas observaciones positivas sobre la percepción del forro, en la actualidad siguen siendo los residentes de las zonas más agrícolas y, sobre todo, las personas ancianas, quienes mantienen este criollo como lengua habitual (Gonçalves & Hagemeijer, 2015; Mata, 2004; Ribeiro de Souza, 2015).

La subtitulación en el aprendizaje de lenguas

Durante los últimos años, diversos investigadores han probado la utilidad de la subtitulación en el proceso de aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera. Vanderplank (1988) fue uno de los primeros en defender el potencial de visionar material audiovisual subtitulado en el aprendizaje incidental de lenguas, pues esta actividad proporciona un input lingüístico comprensible y auténtico. Según este autor, los vídeos subtitulados contribuyen a la mejora de la comprensión de una lengua extranjera porque supone enfrentarse a códigos verbales y visuales a la vez, lo que permite realizar conexiones referenciales necesarias para la comprensión del vídeo (Vanderplank, 1988).

Entre los beneficios de la subtitulación en las clases de lengua extranjera, Terrero (2016) observa que permite exponer al alumnos a situaciones comunicativas reales y favorecer que se sienta más motivado y sufra menos ansiedad por participar en situaciones comunicativas reales en la lengua que están aprendiendo.

Ahora bien, existen diferentes tipos de subtítulos según la lengua en la que se encuentre el vídeo y la lengua de los subtítulos o si están dirigidos a personas con necesidades especiales, y cada tipo de subtítulos proporciona unos beneficios distintos en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera. En esta investigación, nos decantamos por los subtítulos interlingüísticos estándar. Es decir, aquellos en que la pista sonora está en la lengua que se quiere aprender y los subtítulos en la lengua materna del estudiantes. Son subtítulos que refuerzan la comprensión oral y permiten crear conexiones entre dos sistemas lingüísticos, recomendados para niveles principiantes de aprendizaje (Díaz-Cintas, 2012, p.99). Investigadores como d'Ydewalle y Pavakanun (1997) o Danan (2004) observaron que los vídeos con subtítulos interlingüísticos son beneficiosos para aumentar el léxico de una lengua extranjera, sobre todo cuando el alumnos se encuentra en las fases iniciales del aprendizaje.

El motivo para escoger esta modalidad, es decir, audio en forro y subtítulos en portugués, se debe a varios factores. En primer lugar, a pesar de contar con un sistema de escritura oficial y cierta tradición escrita en forro (Cardoso et al., 2015), no está suficientemente extendida entre la población, dado que las lenguas criollas no se incluyen en el sistema educativo de Santo Tomé y Príncipe (Hagemeijer et al., 2018) y, además, es una lengua ligada a la tradición oral a través de historias, proverbios, chistes y música. En consecuencia, el conocimiento general que se pueda tener del forro escrito es inferior al de portugués, que es la lengua en la que se aprende a leer y escribir.

Por último, cabe mencionar que, como se explica en la sección anterior, el público general de STP no está demasiado habituado a los subtítulos, sean del tipo que sean. Sin embargo, en cuanto a los canales de RTP y la programación que emiten, hay que destacar un informe del Conselho Geral Independente (2015) en el que se señalan como aspectos a mejorar la subtitulación para personas con necesidades especiales (p.18) y la promoción de la subtitulación en RTP Internacional (p. 86), uno de los canales que se emiten en STP además de RTP África y TVS (siendo este último un canal nacional). Además, según confirma RTP a través de una comunicación personal (2019), hay una tendencia creciente a subtitular programación para RTP Internacional y RTP África y, de mantenerse esta tendencia, la subtitulación tendría una mayor presencia en STP en un futuro no muy lejano.

Metodología

A pesar de que la investigación que se presenta se rige sobre todo por el papel de la traducción audiovisual en un contexto multilingüe y de necesidades como el de STP, también bebe de otras disciplinas como la etnografía para definir su metodología. Mientras las necesidades de integración de personas ancianas han supuesto el punto de partida, la subtitulación ha sido el instrumento principal para desarrollar la investigación y la etnografía la base de la planificación metodológica del trabajo.

En primer lugar, se grabaron unas entrevistas a tres personas ancianas de STP sobre la percepción que tienen de su realidad, pero también sobre la situación del forro. A partir de estas entrevistas (realizadas en forro) se creó un vídeo de 12 minutos que expone los pensamientos y sentimientos de estos mayores sobre el país que conocieron en su juventud en comparación con el país en la actualidad en términos sociales y culturales.

En segundo lugar, se subtituló este vídeo en portugués y, posteriormente, se entrevistó a 16 personas de diferentes edades, sexo y profesión residentes en la isla de Santo Tomé. En una primera fase, respondieron preguntas sobre su percepción sobre la cultura, la lengua y los ancianos del país. A continuación, se les mostró el vídeo subtitulado y se profundizó más en estos temas, invitando a la reflexión en base al testimonio que ofrecen los ancianos en el vídeo. Para obtener otros puntos de vista sobre el objetivo principal de esta investigación, valorar si la subtitulación de vídeos podría utilizarse en favor de la integración de las personas ancianas a través de la promoción del forro, se realizó una triangulación de datos. Es decir, se consultó a tres grupos de expertos que podían aportar visiones complementarias sobre este estudio: expertos en Cooperación Internacional (CI), en Traducción Audiovisual (TAV) y en Cooperación Lingüística (CL).

A continuación, se analiza con más detenimiento la metodología desarrollada en las diferentes fases de la investigación: las entrevistas con personas ancianas, las entrevistas con personas no ancianas, y la consulta con expertos.

Personas ancianas

Los ancianos entrevistados (dos mujeres y un hombre) se localizaron en un centro de día para la tercera edad de la ciudad. De entre los ancianos que hablaban forro, estos tres se ofrecieron voluntariamente a participar. Sus edades se sitúan entre los 70 y los 88 años, no habían ido a la escuela o no habían terminado la escuela primaria, y procedían del distrito de Água Grande. El objetivo de estas entrevistas con los tres ancianos era conseguir un testimonio sincero sobre su percepción personal de la situación que viven y de la realidad cultural y lingüística de su país.

En un principio, al tratarse de una muestra tan pequeña y teniendo en cuenta el tiempo del que se disponía para trabajar en el terreno, se consideró la estructura que propone Seidman (2013), que aconseja realizar las entrevistas en tres fases: una primera para establecer la historia de vida de las personas entrevistadas en relación con el tema central de la entrevista, una segunda para averiguar la experiencia de las personas entrevistadas sobre el tema que se trata y, por último, una tercera fase para que las personas entrevistadas puedan reflexionar de manera más profunda sobre el tema central. En este caso, en una primera fase de las entrevistas se les preguntó por cómo era su vida cuando eran jóvenes; en la segunda, sobre aspectos culturales de STP, como canciones o tradiciones; en la tercera fase, los tres ancianos reflexionan sobre cómo ven en la actualidad la situación lingüística del país, las tradiciones y la vida de las personas mayores en comparación con lo que recordaban del pasado. Este contenido se condensó en el vídeo de 12 minutos que se subtitularía en portugués y se mostraría más adelante a los 16 entrevistados posteriores.

Llegados a este punto, es necesario mencionar la adaptación que se aplicó a las convenciones habituales de subtitulación. El sistema educativo de STP cuenta con numerosas carencias que, sumadas a la falta de acceso a libros u otro tipo de materiales pedagógicos (Montroy, 2020, p. 148), marca necesariamente una diferencia en la velocidad y la comprensión lectora que se pudiera esperar de los participantes en este estudio. Por este motivo, no se utilizaron las convenciones habituales de subtitulación, que definen la cantidad de caracteres por línea que debe tener un subtítulo, así como el tiempo que necesita mantenerse en pantalla, entre otros muchos aspectos (Díaz-Cintas, 2012), sino que se contó con la ayuda de una de las entrevistadas no ancianas, con estudios básicos y sin hábito de lectura, que iba indicando las dificultades que encontraba para leer los subtítulos de modo que pudieran adaptarse a su capacidad lectora. Estas dificultades pueden resumirse en falta de tiempo para leer y procesar el contenido de los subtítulos. Por tanto, la información se redujo al máximo y se extendió el tiempo que estaban los subtítulos en pantalla hasta que esta primera entrevistada confirmó que podía leerlos cómodamente y con tiempo suficiente para disfrutar también de las imágenes. Como resultado y tal como se pretendía, al final de las entrevistas todos los participantes confirmaron que habían podido leer los subtítulos adaptados cómodamente (Montroy, 2020, p. 201).

Personas no ancianas

Los entrevistados de este grupo son un total de 16 personas, que pueden dividirse según sus edades: dos pediatras tradicionales, un atleta y un estudiante de entre 18 y 20 años; un cocinero, una peluquera, una trabajadora doméstica, un estudiante y albañil, y un fotógrafo, guía turístico y barbero de entre 20 y 30 años; una trabajadora doméstica y una administrativa del hospital de entre 30 y 40 años; y una contable, una empresaria, un albañil y la directora de una ONG de entre 40 y 50. Entre todos estos participantes, cuatro no entienden ni hablan forro, la mayoría tienen un conocimiento pasivo de la lengua, y un par de ellos afirman que se trata de su lengua materna. A pesar de ello, estas dos personas crían a sus hijos en portugués.

Lo que se pretendía con estas entrevistas era averiguar la opinión general que se tiene sobre la situación de las personas ancianas y del forro, analizar si la percepción de los entrevistados no ancianos cambiaba después de ver el vídeo de las personas ancianas y conocer la opinión que les generaba la exposición al material audiovisual subtitulado.

Expertos

Como se ha expuesto anteriormente, los expertos consultados mediante grupos de discusión y entrevistas representaban la visión de la CI, la TAV y la CL.

El grupo de expertos en CI está formado por un antropólogo con experiencia en cooperación en América Latina (no especifica países), una enfermera y presidenta de una ONG que trabaja en STP, una especialista en arteterapia con experiencia en cooperación en Uganda, una enfermera que coopera en África (no especifica países), un albañil y una enfermera, ambos con experiencia como voluntarios en la isla de Santo Tomé.

El grupo de expertos en TAV está formado por una experta en subtitulación accesible, una experta en doblaje y subtitulación, una persona con experiencia variada en las diferentes modalidades de TAV (subtitulación para personas sordas, doblaje, subtitulación, localización, audiodescripción y voces superpuestas); y un experto en accesibilidad y sincronización de subtítulos.

Los dos expertos en CL forman parte de la organización Garabide, que lleva 15 años apoyando a comunidades de diferentes partes del mundo que quieren revitalizar lenguas minorizadas. Por motivos de disponibilidad horaria de estos expertos, así como por la localización geográfica de cada uno de ellos, en este caso no fue posible realizar un grupo de discusión y la consulta se realizó mediante entrevistas telemáticas.

Tabla 1

Entrevista con expertos CL. Adaptada de Montroy, 2020, p. 186

BLOQUE 1	APORTACIÓN DE INFORMACIÓN
	Explicación de la propuesta
	Valoración de las frases sobre lengua y subtitulación extraídas de las entrevistas a los participantes de STP
BLOQUE 2	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	1. ¿Qué te parece la iniciativa desde tu experiencia?
	2. ¿Qué efectos tendría la subtitulación en el caso de STP?
	3. ¿Conoces otros casos en los que se podría aplicar la subtitulación de forma similar?
	4. Para una ONG, ¿sería viable a nivel económico utilizar la subtitulación?
	5. ¿Quién realizaría los subtítulos?
	6. ¿Cómo se distribuiría el material subtitulado?
	7. ¿Qué problemas podrían surgir en el caso de utilizar la subtitulación en cooperación lingüística?

Para estimular la reflexión y la discusión sobre la opinión de estos expertos sobre el uso de la subtitulación como herramienta de revitalización o preservación lingüística y de cooperación para la integración de personas ancianas, se utilizaron la misma serie de frases extraídas de las entrevistas con personas no ancianas que representan su percepción sobre el forro, los ancianos y la subtitulación. La dinámica de las consultas siempre se iniciaba con un desconocimiento total por parte de los expertos y expertas de cuál iba a ser el tema de la discusión para evitar posibles influencias o ideas preconcebidas que pudieran afectar la calidad de los resultados. La información se iba facilitando a medida que avanzaba la conversación.

Tabla 2

Guión del grupo de discusión con expertos en CI. Adaptada de Montroy, 2020, p. 190

BLOQUE 1	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	1. ¿Sabéis qué es la cooperación lingüística?
	2. ¿Conocéis algún proyecto de cooperación lingüística?
	3. Creéis que la cooperación lingüística se debería tener más en cuenta en proyectos de CI?
	4. ¿Pensáis que la cooperación lingüística sería útil en los países donde habéis trabajado?
BLOQUE 2	APORTACIÓN DE INFORMACIÓN
	Explicación de la situación en STP.
	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	5. ¿Sería beneficiosa la cooperación lingüística en el caso particular de STP? ¿Cómo se podría aplicar?
	APORTACIÓN DE INFORMACIÓN
	Explicación de la propuesta del estudio y del ejercicio realizado en STP. Testimonios de STP sobre lengua.
	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	6. ¿Cómo valoráis el uso de la cooperación lingüística en STP a partir de los testimonios extraídos de las entrevistas realizadas en el terreno?
BLOQUE 3	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	7. ¿Pensáis que la subtitulación podría ser útil en proyectos de cooperación lingüística?
	8. ¿Cómo valoráis el uso de la subtitulación en cooperación a partir de las siguientes frases, extraídas de las entrevistas realizadas en STP?
	APORTACIÓN DE INFORMACIÓN
	Testimonios de STP sobre subtitulación.
	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	9. ¿Qué dificultades supondría aplicar la subtitulación en este contexto?
	10. ¿Qué otra utilidad podría tener la subtitulación en proyectos de cooperación?

Tabla 3

Guión del grupo de discusión con expertos en TAV. Adaptada de Montroy, 2020, p. 193.

BLOQUE 1	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	1. ¿En qué ámbitos se puede utilizar la TAV más allá del consumo de productos audiovisuales extranjeros?
	2. ¿Y en CI? ¿De qué forma se podría aplicar?
	3. ¿Pensáis que sería útil en proyectos de revitalización lingüística?
	4. ¿Sabéis qué es la cooperación lingüística? ¿Se os ocurren usos de la TAV en cooperación lingüística?
	APORTACIÓN DE INFORMACIÓN
	Introducción a la situación de STP y a los testimonios de STP sobre lengua
BLOQUE 2	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	5. ¿Qué opináis sobre las frases obtenidas en STP?
	6. ¿En este contexto, qué papel podría tener la subtitulación?
	APORTACIÓN DE INFORMACIÓN
	Explicación de la propuesta y el trabajo realizado hasta ahora
	Testimonios de STP sobre subtitulación.
BLOQUE 3	RONDA DE PREGUNTAS
	7. ¿Qué opináis de estas frases? ¿Os han sorprendido?
	8. ¿Se os ocurre alguna idea de trabajo en STP después de lo que habéis leído?
	9. ¿Qué problema pensáis que encontraríamos si se aplica la subtitulación en STP?
	10. ¿Sería posible aplicar otra modalidad de TAV?

Resultados

A continuación, se presentan los resultados según los participantes de los que se obtienen. Por una parte, las personas ancianas de STP; por otra, las personas no ancianas de STP; por último, los expertos.

Personas ancianas

En lo que a la relación con las personas ancianas se refiere, de las conversaciones con estos tres entrevistados se desprende que antiguamente se les tenía un respeto que se inculcaba a los niños, y que ahora se ha perdido incluso en el propio seno familiar, donde los hijos dejan incluso de visitar a sus padres cuando se han hecho viejos.

Sobre la cuestión lingüística, se confirma que antiguamente se hablaba más forro y que estos tres ancianos representan una generación que dejó de hablar la lengua con sus hijos para que tuvieran estudios, o bien porque se considera que es una lengua de adultos y que la más adecuada para los niños es el portugués (Montroy, 2020, pp. 209–215).

Tabla 4

Resultados personas ancianas

Bloque temático	Resultados
Situación de los ancianos	• El respeto y la atención que se les tenía en el pasado ha cambiado
Lengua	• No se habla tanto en forro como en el pasado • Se abandona el forro como lengua de crianza porque la lengua en la escuela es el portugués • Se considera que el forro es una lengua de adultos

Personas no ancianas

A todos los participantes no ancianos les gustaría que se enseñara forro en las escuelas y que hubiera más programación en la televisión en esta lengua.

También tienen una percepción positiva de la subtitulación. Entre los aspectos positivos que identifican están la utilidad que intuyen que tendría para facilitar el aprendizaje de forro, que sería una forma de acercar la lengua a los niños y los jóvenes, que les ayudaría a aprender sobre la cultura de su país, y que sería una forma de no excluir a nadie por la lengua que habla. Así mismo, todos creen que existe algún tipo de relación entre la situación decadente de los ancianos y la del forro y muchas tradiciones del país. Respecto a este último aspecto se observa que, efectivamente, cuanto más jóvenes son los entrevistados, menos tradiciones conocen.

Hay que subrayar el estímulo que supone el vídeo subtitulado de los ancianos en ciertos participantes no ancianos. Uno de ellos, que en un primer momento muestra cierto desconocimiento o indiferencia sobre la situación de las personas ancianas en STP, empieza a empatizar más tras el visionado. Un entrevistado de entre 18 y 20 años sin conocimientos de forro, se muestra a favor de que la lengua tenga más presencia en el sistema educativo y en los medios de comunicación porque cree que facilitaría su aprendizaje. Otro entrevistado que inicialmente mostraba una actitud hostil al abordar la situación de abandono que viven los ancianos, acaba por ponerse de acuerdo con lo que dicen los ancianos en el vídeo cuando termina el visionado. Por último, cuatro entrevistadas mayores de 30 años reflexionan días después de haber visto el vídeo sobre algunos de los aspectos de los que trata (Montroy, 2020, pp. 215–234).

Tabla 5

Resultados personas no ancianas

Bloque temático	Resultados
Situación de los ancianos	• Se identifica una relación entre la situación del forro y la de los ancianos • Se empatiza con el testimonio de los ancianos
Lengua	• A favor de que el forro se enseñe en la escuela • A favor de una mayor programación en forro en la TV
Subtitulación	• Percepción positiva • Se intuye su utilidad para aprender forro • Se considera útil para acercar a niños y jóvenes al forro • Se identifica como una forma de no excluir a nadie

Expertos

De la participación de los expertos en los debates de los temas propuestos (en el caso de los expertos en CI y TAV) y en las entrevistas realizadas (en el caso de los expertos en CL), se extrae la siguiente información:

En el grupo de discusión con expertos en CI surgen diferentes concepciones sobre qué es la cooperación: una actividad que se realiza desde el punto de vista de los países del norte según las prioridades que se establecen desde estos países, y otra que analiza las necesidades de los países en vías de desarrollo y actúa según estas necesidades que se identifican. En este grupo, además, se cree de forma unánime que se debe respetar la lengua del país en el que se trabaja para que las personas locales no se sientan agredidas, aunque esta apreciación varía cuando se trata de lenguas minorizadas porque se considera que tienen un carácter político. En esta línea, se reconoce, por una parte, la importancia de la CL mientras que, por otra parte, se pone en entredicho que sea un tipo de acción prioritaria. Algunos de estos expertos consideran que la CL puede convertir las lenguas en armas arrojadizas, que a los gobiernos no les interesaría y que sería una actividad conflictiva en países donde se hablan muchos idiomas. Además, para algunos de ellos, la revitalización o la preservación lingüística no caben en la cooperación pues creen que se trata de política lingüística. Sin embargo, para el caso concreto de STP sí que les parece positivo incluir iniciativas de CL para trabajar de manera transversal la preservación del forro y una mejora en el estatus de las personas ancianas. En este escenario, los expertos en CI consideran positivo el uso de la subtitulación, aunque también identifican algunas desventajas, como el gasto económico que supondría, dudan que fuera útil para aprender la lengua y que, si la población es analfabeta, el uso de subtítulos sería inútil (Montroy, 2020, pp. 235–245).

En el grupo de expertos en TAV, se identifica una clara relación entre la situación del forro y la situación de las personas ancianas, y se empatiza con la situación lingüística de STP. Aunque inicialmente, estos expertos reconocen no saber cómo podría aplicarse la TAV en proyectos de CI, más adelante aportan varios ejemplos: festivales de cine solidario, actividades de alfabetización a través de la subtitulación y creación de material audiovisual en lenguas minoritarias. A todos estos expertos les parece positiva la idea de utilizar subtítulos en portugués con el audio en forro en el caso de STP con el objetivo de acercar al público a la lengua y dar visibilidad a los ancianos. Consideran que la subtitulación es útil para acercar los ancianos y el forro a la población, especialmente a los niños. En cuanto a los posibles problemas que se pueden prever, son la dificultad para leer que pueda tener el público, quién se encargaría de realizar los subtítulos y el debate entre utilizar subtitulación o doblaje. Para uno de estos expertos, en cambio, el problema más grave sería convencer a la gente para que vea el vídeo en cuestión. En cuanto a la aceptación de la subtitulación, los expertos no dudan que tendría una buena acogida, aunque se trata de una modalidad que a menudo resulta incómodo al principio. Según una de las expertas, a los pocos minutos el público se habitúa y pueden ver programación subtitulada con normalidad. Por último, los expertos en TAV proponen una serie de futuras líneas de trabajo: un taller de introducción al forro, proyectos de doblaje de dibujos animados con ancianos y niños como actores y actrices de doblaje, las posibilidades de doblar tanto material nacional como internacional, la realización de programas culturales con ancianos como protagonistas, establecer unas convenciones de subtitulación específicas para STP para facilitar que todas las personas puedan leer los subtítulos correctamente y organizar un cine itinerante para acercar los vídeos subtitulados a las distintas comunidades del país (Montroy, 2020, pp. 245–251).

Los expertos en CL desconocían la situación de STP, pero confirman que el hecho de que la lengua de los mayores esté desprestigiada es bastante común en todo el mundo y, por lo tanto, creen que la decadencia del forro y la exclusión de los ancianos están relacionados. Estos expertos, al contrario que los expertos en CI, creen que la subtitulación es una herramienta económica que puede ayudar a dignificar la lengua y a facilitar su aprendizaje. En cambio, consideran que no debe ser la única herramienta para trabajar en favor del forro y que debe planificarse muy cuidadosamente cómo se desarrollaría la actividad. Uno de ellos expresa cierto temor a que, el hecho de que los subtítulos sean en portugués haga un efecto contrario al deseado y se acelere la desaparición del forro, ya que opina que no lo sitúa como lengua necesaria para entender el contenido del vídeo. En caso de utilizarse la subtitulación, piensan que debería encargarse un equipo diverso formado por personas locales, traductores profesionales, voluntarios, etc., para poder combinar el conocimiento y el activismo. En cuanto a la distribución, señalan la importancia de la televisión, las escuelas e internet. Para que un programa de revitalización lingüística tenga éxito, los expertos consideran necesario que el forro se incluya en el sistema educativo y en los medios de comunicación, pero también que se realicen más grabaciones de ancianos para tener material de trabajo. Finalmente, indican algunos futuros temas de investigación: las posibilidades de subtitular en forro un contenido que resulte interesante para el público y que no puedan entender de otra manera, grabar más ancianos hablando en forro, introducir el forro en la escuela de forma lúdica y que se trabaje a partir de las historias de los ancianos y estudiar cuál sería la frecuencia, el contenido y la temática más conveniente para los vídeos (Montroy, 2020, pp. 251–261).

Tabla 6

Resultados expertos

Bloque temático	Grupo de expertos	Resultados
Situación de los ancianos	Traducción Audiovisual Cooperación Lingüística	• Relación forro y ancianos
Lengua	Cooperación Internacional	• Relación lenguas y política • CL importante, però no prioritaria • CL conflictiva • CL adecuada para STP
Subtitulación	Cooperación Internacional	• Herramienta positiva • Herramienta cara • Dudas sobre su utilidad para aprender una lengua • Inútil para analfabetos
	Traducción Audiovisual	• Útil para acercar el forro y los ancianos a la población • Buena aceptación • Subtítulos en portugués con audio en forro es la opción más adecuada
	Cooperación Lingüística	• Herramienta económica • No debe ser la única técnica que se utilice • Dudas sobre la modalidad de subtitulación • Equipo multidisciplinar • Escuelas, TV e internet • Grabar a más ancianos
Propuestas de futuras líneas de trabajo	Traducción Audiovisual	• Taller de introducción al forro •Taller de doblaje de dibujos animados • Programa cultural con ancianos como protagonistas • Convenciones de subtitulación específicas • Cine itinerante
	Cooperación Lingüística	• Vídeo en lengua extranjera subtitulado en forro • Grabar a más ancianos • Forro en la escuela de forma lúdica a partir de historias de ancianos • Estudiar la frecuencia, contenido y temática de los vídeos más conveniente

Conclusiones

Esta investigación pretendía comprobar si la subtitulación puede ser una herramienta útil en el contexto multilingüe de STP, tomando como objeto de estudio el forro y teniendo en cuenta la relación de las lenguas criollas con las personas ancianas y la realidad que éstas viven. Atendiendo a los resultados obtenidos, parece que sí que podría implementarse con resultados positivos tanto a nivel lingüístico como a nivel social. Esta sección se dedica a analizar los resultados obtenidos y a extraer las conclusiones relativas a cada grupo de participantes. En primer lugar, analizamos las conclusiones que se extraen de las intervenciones de los participantes no ancianos de STP.

En primer lugar, todos ellos creen que hay un vínculo entre la situación de los ancianos y el hecho que el Forro y algunas tradiciones del país se estén perdiendo. De existir este vínculo, tendría sentido unir estos tres aspectos (los ancianos, la lengua y la cultura ancestral) para trabajarlos a la vez de manera transversal, y el material audiovisual subtitulado permitiría este tipo de ejercicio.

En general, estos entrevistados consideran que el forro no es una lengua adecuada para criar a los hijos, pero todos piensan que debería enseñarse en las escuelas. Dos de ellos piensan que el forro ya no se transmite intergeneracionalmente, precisamente, porque no está incluido en el sistema educativo. Entendemos pues, que no existe un rechazo visceral a la lengua; los padres eligen no transmitirla a sus hijos para no obstaculizar el futuro educativo de sus hijos, de lo que se deduce que las escuelas son cruciales para la preservación del forro y que su inclusión en el sistema educativo no supondría un problema para los padres.

Cabe destacar, que algunos entrevistados especificaron que la enseñanza de forro debería ser entretenida y divertida, diferente de otras asignaturas. Si se une esta idea con el hecho de que el forro se identifica con una lengua para cantar y bromear, se refuerza la propuesta de utilizar la subtitulación como método alternativo para preservar este criollo. Además, todos los entrevistados pertenecientes a este grupo tienen una visión positiva de los subtítulos en portugués de un vídeo en forro, y creen que les ayudaría a aprender esta lengua. De hecho, uno de ellos propone la emisión de un programa infantil subtitulado para que los niños aprendan forro. Otro entrevistado señala que la subtitulación sería una forma de no excluir a nadie. Todas estas consideraciones coinciden que la exposición a vídeos con una temática interesante y divertida de ancianos hablando en forro con subtítulos en portugués serviría para dar visibilidad y como ejercicio de integración de los ancianos, y para estimular el aprendizaje o la exposición al forro.

En cuanto a los participantes expertos, los expertos en CI ponían en duda la efectividad de la subtitulación para el aprendizaje de forro. Sin embargo, numerosos estudios han demostrado su efectividad para este fin, como los llevados a cabo por Danan (2004), Díaz-Cintas (2012), Ellsworth (1992), Lertola (2012), Marzà y Torralba (2014), Talaván (2011 & 2013), Vanderplank (1988), Ydewalle y Pavakanun (1997), etc. Para el caso que se presenta en este artículo, proponemos el uso de subtítulos interlingüísticos estándar que, según Díaz-Cintas (2012, p.99), sirven para reforzar la comprensión de los diálogos originales y crean conexiones entre dos sistemas lingüísticos diferentes.

Otra apreciación que surge entre los expertos en CI es que la subtitulación supondría un importante dispendio económico. Sin embargo, los expertos en CL precisamente aprecian que la subtitulación es una herramienta económica y asumible para utilizarse en contextos de cooperación. En realidad, la subtitulación es bastante asequible comparada con otras modalidades de TAV (Bartoll, 2015) y también fácil de utilizar. Por otra parte, los expertos en CL señalan que, para obtener resultados positivos, la subtitulación debe integrarse en un programa más amplio y bien planificado, que incluya otras herramientas, agrupaciones y entidades con el mismo objetivo común: preservar y fomentar el forro a la vez que se trabaja por la visibilización e integración de los ancianos.

La observación en el grupo de expertos en CI de que la subtitulación sería inútil para la población analfabeta contrasta con el apunte de los expertos en TAV, que señalan la posibilidad de utilizar la subtitulación como herramienta de alfabetización.

A uno de los expertos en CL le preocupa que, si el audio es en forro y los subtítulos en portugués, se acelere la desaparición del criollo al no ser necesario para comprender el texto. A este respecto, si bien la utilidad de los subtítulos interlingüísticos estándar (audio en forro y subtítulos en portugués) está más que demostrada como se ha mencionado anteriormente, la opinión de este experto señala la posibilidad de analizar los resultados que se obtendrían en caso de utilizar el audio en un idioma extranjero y los subtítulos en forro.

Otro apunte de los expertos en CL indica la ideal distribución del material subtitulado (la televisión, las escuelas e internet), y la importancia de que se incluya el forro en las nuevas tecnologías, así como la necesidad de integrar la preservación del forro dentro de un equipo multidisciplinar que haga uso de distintas herramientas. Esta última observación refuerza la idea de unir la protección y revitalización de las lenguas criollas de STP con la situación social de sus hablantes mayoritarios. En el caso del forro, se propone que su preservación vaya de la mano de una integración social de las personas ancianas hablantes de esta lengua en exclusión o en riesgo de exclusión, para darles un rol de dignidad y respeto en la comunidad.

Limitaciones y futuras líneas de investigación

Una vez expuestas las conclusiones extraídas de los resultados, esta sección se dedica a revisar las limitaciones que se identifican en el presente estudio, así como una serie de posibles futuras líneas de investigación.

Primeramente, hay que tener en cuenta el carácter cualitativo de la investigación que se presenta que, si bien permite tener cuenta las opiniones y detalles de las contribuciones de los participantes, implica ciertas limitaciones derivadas de la cantidad de personas entrevistadas. Un análisis cuantitativo con un número más representativo de participantes permitiría extraer conclusiones generales válidas para el conjunto del país y, en consecuencia, se incluirían más variables, por ejemplo, cuántas personas ancianas en exclusión o en riesgo de exclusión hay, las zonas del país en las que viven y qué lenguas hablan para poder establecer unas directrices más concretas, lo cual permitiría promover y proteger las lenguas criollas de STP a la vez que se protege a sus hablantes más vulnerables.

En lo que respecta al nivel de alfabetización en STP, existe una gran diferencia entre los datos oficiales, que indican un 90%, y la opinión de una de las expertas en CI, que estima que la mayoría de la población no sabe leer ni escribir. Conociendo las dificultades que sufre la administración de este país en lo que a la actualización de datos se refiere (Álvarez, comunicación personal, 2019), así como las reacciones y opiniones de los participantes en terreno, deducimos que, si bien es muy probable que la tasa de alfabetización no sea tan alta como la que indican los datos oficiales, tampoco es tan baja como la que sospecha la experta. En cualquier caso, sería necesario desarrollar un estudio independiente sobre el grado de alfabetización del país para determinar cuál sería el tipo de subtitulación más adecuado según las necesidades de la población.

En esta línea, cabe mencionar que debido a las características de este estudio, muchos de los datos recogidos en terreno no se han podido verificar de manera independiente y, dado que surgen de percepciones, ideas, recuerdos, creencias, opiniones y valores de los participantes, pueden tener un margen de sesgo ya que pueden tratarse de contribuciones subjetivas, determinadas por las circunstancias personales de cada una de estas personas; por lo que cualquiera de las conclusiones que se extraen de estas aportaciones pueden ser susceptibles de una investigación independiente y objetiva que las pueda corroborar, desmentir o puntualizar.

En el planteamiento inicial de esta investigación, se deja al margen el "cómo" más específico de esta hipotética participación de la subtitulación en el contexto multilingüe de STP para centrarse en si esta herramienta puede tener posibilidades que resulten beneficiosas en este país. A partir de los resultados y las conclusiones extraídas, sin embargo, sí que surgen algunas ideas de implementación.

En primer lugar, el material audiovisual para subtitular podría surgir de iniciativas realizadas en las propias comunidades para facilitar la integración de las personas ancianas con el resto de los vecinos, por ejemplo, a través de festivales o concursos de poesía, canciones, cuentos, etc. en forro que sitúen a las personas ancianas como protagonistas o, al menos, como elementos primordiales. Sin duda, esta propuesta requiere de una organización a conciencia y de la colaboración y participación de agentes locales. Esta idea, una vez esté adecuadamente diseñada, podría desarrollarse como experimento piloto en una comunidad específica y analizar los resultados obtenidos para estudiar las posibilidades de replicarla en otras comunidades, integrándola incluso en las redes sociales como sugieren los expertos en CL. Además, podría suponer un valioso material de grabación para futuros vídeos subtitulados. Debería hacerse un seguimiento de esta actividad desde el momento en que se anuncia para conocer la recepción que tiene entre la población, el interés que hay por participar, la asistencia y la valoración final que hagan del evento la comunidad en cuestión y los ancianos participantes para tomar toda esta información como base para mejorar y darle una continuación a este o similares proyectos.

En segundo lugar, los expertos en TAV apuntaban la idea de organizar un cine itinerante, que bien podría contemplarse como posibilidad de trabajo. En este caso, debería decidirse si las proyecciones son de material extranjero o nacional. En el primer caso, también habría que estudiar si, como propone este artículo, se aprovecha para integrar una sensibilización hacia los ancianos y de qué forma podría hacerse, o si se mantiene como un trabajo aparte. En cualquier caso, sería necesario determinar qué tipo de subtítulos serían los más adecuados.

Respecto a la difusión del material audiovisual, los expertos suelen pensar en la televisión como primer instrumento. En este sentido, habría que investigar cuál es el impacto real de la televisión en el país y la influencia que tiene en la población, así como las posibilidades de negociar con la televisión nacional la emisión de este tipo de programación, en criollo y con los ancianos como protagonistas o con un rol relevante.

A pesar de que este estudio parte de la subtitulación como herramienta para favorecer la preservación de los criollos de STP, hay otras ramas de la TAV que podrían valorarse para este mismo fin, como el doblaje.

Finalmente, hay que enfatizar en la observación de uno de los expertos en CL, que informa sobre la importancia de incluir las lenguas criollas en las nuevas tecnologías para que no se queden atrás. Esta cuestión abre un nuevo abanico para investigar en busca de fórmulas que permitan a las lenguas criollas superar el reto digital de nuestro tiempo.

En resumen, y sin olvidar las limitaciones de este estudio, los datos recogidos de las intervenciones de todos los participantes, así como las fuentes teóricas consultadas y las evidencias sobre los beneficios de la TAV en el aprendizaje de lenguas hasta la fecha, sustentan la idea de que la subtitulación sería una herramienta útil en la prevención de la desaparición de una lengua así como de la dignificación de sus hablantes mayoritarios, los ancianos, si estos se toman como figuras de relevancia en el material audiovisual que se subtitule. Además, la subtitulación puede adaptarse a las necesidades que se identifiquen en la población, ya sea mediante subtítulos interlingüísticos o de otro tipo, como herramienta para la alfabetización, subtitulación para sordos (SPS), etc.

Bibliografía

Abreu de Castaño, I. F. (2012). A Cultura Santomense: identidade cultural e Santomensidade. *São Tomé e Príncipe: Cultura(s)/ Património(s)/ Museu(s)*, *VOLUME I* (pp. 53–65). Faculdade Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Agostinho, A. L. (2015). *Fonologia e método pedagógico do lung'Ie*. [Tese, Doutorado em Filologia e Língua Portuguesa, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo]. São Paulo.

Agostinho, A. L., & Bandeira, M. (2017). Línguas nacionais de São Tomé e Príncipe e ortografia unificada. *RILP – Revista Internacional em Língua Portuguesa*, *31*, 209–229. https://doi.org/10.31492/2184-2043.RILP2017.31/pp.209-229

Agostinho, A. L., & de Araujo, G. (2021). Playing with language: three language games in the Gulf of Guinea. *Language Documentation & Conservation, 15*, 219–238.

Bouchard, M. E. (2017). *Linguistic variation and change in the Portuguese of São Tomé*. Department of lingüístics. New York University. https://doi.org/10.5334/jpl.192

Bouchard, M. E. (2019). Becoming Monolingual: The Impact of Language Ideologies on the Loss of Multilingualism on São Tomé Island. *Languages*, *4*(50). https://doi.org/10.3390/languages4030050

Bouchard, M. E. (2020). Redefining Forro as a marker of identity: Language contact as a driving force for language maintenance among Santomeans in Portugal. *Multilingua*, *41*(1), 85–104.

https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2020-0082

Bouchard, M. E. (2022). The vitality of Angolar. A study of attitudes on São Tomé island. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages, 37*(1), 160–188. https://doi.org/10.1075/jpcl.00089.bou

Caballero Rodríguez, T., & Metzger da Costa Gama, D. (2007). Análisis sociológico de la pobreza en São Tomé y Príncipe, pp. 65–86, 114. *Revista Santiago*. Ed: Dirección de Información Científico Técnica de la Universidad de Oriente, Santiago de Cuba.

Cardoso, H. et al. (2015). Crioulos de base lexical portuguesa. In M. Iliescu & E. Roegiest (Eds.), *Manual des anthologies, corpus et textes romanes* (pp. 670–691). Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110333138-043.

Cardoso, M. M. (2004). Educação/Formação/Investigacão em São Tomé e Príncipe – Será uma aposta do país no caminho para o desenvolvimento? *A questão social no novo milénio.* VIII Congresso Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais. Coimbra.

Conselho Geral Independente (2015). *Relatório de Avaliação de Cumprimento Estratégico para a RTP e Parecer sobre as Obrigações Legais de Investimento em Produção Audiovisual e Cinematográfica Independente*.

Cooperación Bierzo Sur (2012–2013). *Programa de evaluación geriátrica integral con ancianos de las casas sociales de Cruz Vermelha en Santo Tomé y Príncipe.*

Cooperación Española (2006–2008). *Plan de Actuación Especial 2006-2008. Santo Tomé y Príncipe.* Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación. Secretaria de Estado de Cooperación Internacional. Dirección General de Planificación y Evaluación de Políticas para el Desarrollo.

Countryeconomy (2020). *Sao Tome and Principe – Life expectancy at birth*. https://countryeconomy.com/demography/life-expectancy/sao-tome-principe

d'Ydewalle, G., & Pavakanun, U. (1997). Could enjoying a movie lead to language acquisition? In P. Winterhoff-Spurk & T. Van der Voort Opladen (Eds.), *New Horizons in Media Psychology* (pp. 145–155).

Westdeutscher-Verlag GmbH.

Danan, M. (2004). Captioning and subtitling: Undervalued language learning strategies. *Meta*, *49*(1), 67–77. https://doi.org/10.7202/009021ar.

de Araujo, G. & Agostinho, A. L. (2010) Padronização das línguas nacionais de São Tomé e Príncipe. Língua e Instrumentos Linguísticos. *Revista Língua e Instrumentos Lingüísticos*, *26*, 49–81.

de Araujo, G. & Hagemeijer, T. (2013). *Dicionário livre do santome-português*. Hedra.

de Araujo, G. (2020). Portuguese language expansion in Sao Tome and Principe: an overview. *Revista Diadorim, 22*, 57–78. https://doi.org/10.35520/diadorim.2020.v22n1a32012

Díaz-Cintas, J. (2012). Los subtítulos y la subtitulación en la clase de lengua extranjera. *Abehache, Revista da Associação Brasileira de Hispanistas, 2*(3), 95–114.

Ellsworth, T. (1992). Waiter, a dish of satellite, please!: Integrating subtitled video into your teaching. *English Teaching Forum, 30*(3), 24–27.

Fernandes de Almeida, M. I. (2022). Estudo sobre a violência contra as idosas em São Tomé e Príncipe no período 2018–2020. *Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso da Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afrobrasileira (UNILAB).* repositorio.unilab.edu.br/jspui/handle/123456789/2588.

Gonçalves de Género, E. (2012). *Análise da Estratégia de Desenvolvimento da União Africana: uma abordagem geo-social aplicada a São Tomé e Príncipe.* Universidade Técnica de Lisboa. Instituto Superior de Ciências Políticas e Sociais. http://hdl.handle.net/10400.5/5889

Gonçalves, R., & Hagemeijer, T. (2015). O português num contexto multilingue: O caso de São Tomé e Príncipe. *Revista Científica da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane: Série Letras e Ciências Sociais*, *1*(1), 87–107.

Guedes, N. (2018). Cabelos brancos e feitiçaria. Os idosos abandonados em São Tomé. *TSF Rádio Notícias.* https://www.tsf.pt/internacional/cabelos-brancos-e-feiticaria-os-idosos-abandonados-de-sao-tome-9692460.html

Hagemeijer, T. (2009). As Línguas de S. Tomé e Príncipe. *Revista de Crioulos* *de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola*, *1*(1), 1–27

Hagemeijer, T. (2018). From creoles to Portuguese. Language shift in São Tomé and Príncipe. In L. Álvarez (Ed.), *The Portuguese Language continuum in Africa and Brazil* (pp. 169–184). John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.20.08hag

Hagemeijer, T., Gonçalves, R., & Afonso, B. (2018). Línguas e Políticas Linguísticas em São Tomé e Príncipe. In P. F. Pinto, & S. Melo-Pfeifer (Eds.), *Políticas Linguísticas em Português* (pp. 54–59). Lidel. https://www.ceied.ulusofona.pt/pt/download/politicas-linguisticas-em-portugues/

Hagemeijer, T., Généreux, M., Hendrickx, I., Mendes, A., Tiny, A., & Zamora, A. (2014). The gulf of Guinea Creole corpora. *Proceedings of the he 9th International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'14)* (pp. 523–529), Reykjavik, Iceland. European Language Resources Association (ELRA). http://www.lrec-conf.org/proceedings/lrec2014/pdf/438_Paper.pdf

Lertola, J. (2012).The effect of the subtitling task on vocabulary learning. In A. Pym, & D. Orrego-Carmona (Eds.), *Translation Research Project 4.* (pp. 61–70). Intercultural Studies Group, Universitat Rovira i Virgili.

Lorenzino, G. (1998). *The Angolar Creole Portuguese of São Tomé: Its grammar and sociolinguistic history*. Lincom Europa.

Lunin, M., & Minaeva, L. (2015). Translated subtitles language learning method: a new practical approach to teaching English. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences, 199*, 268–275. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.07.516Get

Marzà, A., & Torralba, G. (2014). Incidental language learning through subtitled cartoons: Is it possible in a dubbing country? *Subtitles and language learning: Principles, strategy and practical experiences* (pp. 199–219). Peter Lang.

Mata, I. (2004). A suave pátria: reflexões político-culturáis sobre a sociedade São-Tomense. In F. Mão de Ferro (Ed.), *Edições Colibri*.

MICS6-STP. (2020). *São Tomé e Principe/ Inquérito aos Indicadores Múltiplos 2019*. Relatório dos Resulados do Inquérito. Dezembro, 2020. INE, UNICEF, UNFPA, UE.

Ministério da Educação, Cultura e Formação. (2012). *Carta de Política Educativa São Tomé e Príncipe (Visão 2022)*. Primera versão Maio 2012. https://www.globalpartnership.org/sites/default/files/2012-05-sao-tome-education-sector-plan.pdf

Montroy, M. (2020). *La subtitulació com a eina per a la cooperació: el cas de São Tomé i Príncipe*. Tesis doctoral. Universitat Jaume I.

Neves, P. (2009). *Estórias de Vida. ED. UNEAS* (União Nacional dos Escritores e Artistas de S. Tomé e Príncipe).

PNUD (2002). *Relatório do Desenvolvimento Humano em São Tomé e Príncipe*. As mudanças de 1990 a 2002 e o desenvolvimento humano. https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ressources/sao_tome_and_principe_rdh_2002_pt.pdf

Ribeiro de Souza, L. (2015). São Tomé e Príncipe em dois momentos identitários. (Quinta seção: discurso, língua, pátria e ensino). *Cadernos de Pós-Graduação em Letras* (Mackenzie), *15*(1). http://editorarevistas.mackenzie.br/index.php/cpgl/article/view/9428

Seibert, G. (2009). Santo Tomé y Príncipe: transformaciones políticas y socioeconómicas del periodo poscolonial. *Nova Africa*, *24*, 23–36.

Seidman, I. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research*. Teachers College Press.

Talaván, N. (2011). Justificación teórico-práctica del uso de los subtítulos en la enseñanza-aprendizaje de idiomas. *Trans. Revista de traductología, 16*, 23–38. https://doi.org/10.24310/TRANS.2012.v0i16.3209

Talaván, N. (2013). *La subtitulación en el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras*. Octaedro.

Terrero, A. (2016). *Los subtítulos como recurso didáctico para la enseñanza-aprendizaje de inglés en la etapa de educación secundaria* [Trabajo de fin de máster, Universidad Internacional de La Rioja].

The World Bank. (2022). *The World Bank in Sao Tome and Principe*. https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/saotome

UNICEF. (2021). *Country Office Anual Report 2021.* Sao Tome and Principe. https://www.unicef.org/media/116721/file/Sao-Tome-and-Principe-2021-COAR.pdf

Valverde, P. (2000). *Máscara, Mato e Morte em São Tomé: textos para una* *etnografia de São Tomé*. Celta Editora.

Vanderplank, R. (1988). The value of teletext subtitles in language learning. *ELT Journa*l, *42*(4), 272–281.

Maria Montroy
UNESCO Chair on World Language Heritage UPV-EHU, Spain
maria.montroy@uji.es

MULTILINGUALISM IN SAO TOMÉ AND PRINCIPE: USE OF SUBTITLING APPROACH

Summary. Sao Tome and Principe (STP) is a developing country where several languages coexist, although only one of them, Portuguese, serves as the official language. The rest of the languages are limited to private use and many of them are at risk of disappearing. As a pilot experiment to find formulas for the preservation of these languages, this work takes Forro Creole as a reference. Forro is no longer transmitted from parents to children, nor is it studied in schools, and it is mainly the elderly who maintain it. At the same time, elders form a social group that suffers abandonment and discrimination from their community. In this context, we wondered whether subtitling would be useful to preserve and promote Forro Creole and to contribute to the integration of the elderly into society; what the linguistic perceptions of Forro-speaking elderly and non-elderly Santomeans are; and, finally, what experts in International Cooperation (IC), Audiovisual Translation (TAV) and Linguistic Cooperation (LC) think of the possibilities of subtitling in this area. The results show the participants' perception of Forro, the situation of elders and subtitling, and lead to a final proposal: the recording of videos in Forro, subtitled in Portuguese and aimed at children whose protagonists would be elders who would encourage Forro learning and the ancestral culture through stories or songs that could be screened in schools or in the communities as a mobile cinema.

Keywords: elderly people; Forro; multilingualism; Santome; Sao Tome and Principe; subtitling.

Maria Montroy
UNESCO Pasaulio kalbų paveldo katedra UPV-EHU, Ispanija
maria.montroy@uji.es

DAUGIAKALBYSTĖ SAN TOMĖJE IR PRINCIPE: SUBTITRAVIMO METODO TAIKYMAS

Santrauka. San Tomė ir Prinsipė (STP) yra besivystanti šalis, kurioje koegzistuoja kelios kalbos, nors tik viena iš jų – portugalų – yra valstybinė kalba. Likusios kalbos vartojamos tik privačiai ir daugeliui jų gresia išnykimas. Bandomajame eksperimente, kuriuo siekėme rasti šių kalbų išsaugojimo formules, rėmėmės forro kreolų kalba. Forro kreolų kalbos tėvai vaikams nebeperduoda, jos nebesimokoma mokyklose, ją daugiausia palaiko pagyvenę žmonės. Vyresnieji sudaro socialinę grupę, kuri patiria bendruomeninę atskirtį ir diskriminaciją. Atsižvelgdami į tai, domėjomės, ar subtitravimas būtų naudingas siekiant išsaugoti ir populiarinti forro kreolų kalbą ir prisidėti prie pagyvenusių žmonių integracijos į visuomenę; koks yra forro kalba kalbančių pagyvenusių ir nepagyvenusių santomiečių kalbinis suvokimas; galiausiai, ką apie subtitravimo galimybes šioje srityje mano tarptautinio bendradarbiavimo (IC), audiovizualinio vertimo (TAV) ir lingvistinio bendradarbiavimo (LC) ekspertai. Rezultatai rodo, kaip dalyviai suvokia forro kalbą, vyresniųjų padėtį ir subtitravimo metodo taikymą, ir leidžia pateikti šį baigiamąjį pasiūlymą: siūlome įrašyti filmukus forro kalba, subtitruotus portugalų kalba ir skirtus vaikams, kurių herojai būtų vyresnieji, pasakojimais ar dainomis skatinantys mokytis forro kalbos ir protėvių kultūros. Tokie filmai galėtų būti rodomi mokyklose ar bendruomenėse kaip mobilus kinas.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: pagyvenę žmonės; forro; daugiakalbystė; santome; San Tomė ir Prinsipė; subtitravimas.

PLURILINGUAL COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT

DAUGIAKALBĖS KOMPETENCIJOS PLĖTOJIMAS

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0013

Onur Ural
University of Arizona, the USA
Kenan Dikilitas
University of Stavanger, Norway

IDENTITY FORMATION AND CAREER PROSPECTS OF BILINGUAL PROFESSIONALS: BLENDING LANGUAGE SKILLS TO CREATE NOVEL APPLICATIONS TO CAREER PURSUITS

Summary. The most widely believed misconception about bilingualism purports that exposure to a second language within the community will automatically yield bilingual children, who can apply their balanced language skills in every domain of their future employment. However, this misconception does not represent the real-life experiences of most bilinguals. Through a pivotal focus on individual cases, this study was designed to manifest (1) bilingual identity formation and (2) career prospects of early and sequential bilinguals. The study analyzed collected data from individual surveys and in-person interviews with bilingual professional adults. Findings revealed that conscious engagement with the languages they were exposed to as children plays an active role in a bilingual speaker's identity formation process and influences their career pursuits, instead of the common notion that being exposed to a second language is adequate to embrace bilingualism. Hence, this article brings implications to consider on career pursuits of bilingual speakers as the results indicate bilingual career pursuits transcend language-related occupations.

Keywords: bilingual identity; bilingual professional; career prospects; identity formation; linguistic capital.

Introduction

Linguistic capital is a resource that can be invested by a person in order to yield economic returns (Bourdieu, 1991; Grin, 2003; Fang, 2011; Flynn, 2013). However, in various settings competence in another language is viewed as a problem rather than a resource (Agirdag, 2014; Hakuta, 1986; Herrera & Wedin, 2010; Ruiz, 1984). In lay conversations about bilingualism, as Block (2007) posits, "there are often comments to the effect that the children of immigrants end up fully proficient in neither the host community language nor their heritage language" (p.67). In some studies, bilingualism is also statistically linked to lower academic performance (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2017).

On the other end of the spectrum, a battery of studies revealed that bilingual children outperform monolingual children in tasks that required cognitive functioning skills (Carlson & Meltzoff, 2008; Kalashnikova & Mattock, 2012; Kapa & Colombo, 2013) and that bilingual children are inaccurately labeled as delayed or in need of special resources (Kovács & Mehler, 2009; Pearson, 1998; Werker & Byers-Heinlein, 2008). In some settings, bilingual people are considered competent in every aspect of their life, including their education, employment, hobbies, and so on (Grosjean, 2010).

Results in scientific research on two ends of the continuum are surprising in the context of evidence related to bilingualism. To this end, we aimed at unfolding specific cases of individuals who use different dyads of languages across different regions and nations to indicate how bilinguals cast distinctive bilingual identities and follow career pursuits pertinent to their identity construction process; a research area that is barely investigated in the literature. Our findings indicate that bilinguals can tailor their bilingual skills to form a novel understanding of their career pursuits, instead of acting like two monolinguals in one domain of employment.

Theoretical Framework

Vygotsky (1986) postulates that a person's thought development is determined by language and the sociocultural experience of the individual as complementing tools since a slow accumulation of functions of the language mastered by the individual underpins the basic structures of thinking. Drawing on Vygotsky's sociocultural views on the role played by language and dialogue in knowledge construction, Halliday (1990) notes that "a child's acts of meaning are joint constructions, enacted through dialogue between himself" (p. 74) and others to achieve a personal identity. In other words, the use of language provides spaces to authenticate (Bucholtz, 2003) one's self "meaning-making and making sense of the world" (Makalela, 2015, p. 210). To this end, identity and language are in an interwoven relationship, in which language acts as a catalyzer for understanding the world and developing an identity.

As language and identity are interwoven entities, Block (2007) posits there is a need to approach bilingualism through a multimodal mindset which shifts the focus of attention "beyond the narrow linguistic realm to the broader realm of semiotic behavior" (p. 70), in which bilingualism, communication, and socioeconomic progress are seen to transcend the linguistic means. This understanding of language as a multivariate and complex phenomenon is reflected in Larsen-Freeman's (2011) call for viewing language as an adaptive, multidirectional, and nonlinear web which emerges in new circumstances via interactions with multiple agents. This complex system arises from interactions among multiple components in a complex net of language resources. To explore this net, there is a need to employ a bottom-up approach to understand the ecological nature of social contexts (Larsen-Freeman, 2011). In this approach, bilingualism is not considered a mere system of an L2 added to an L1, instead, bilingualism is one linguistic repertoire consisting of new language practices that make up the unique meaning-making resources of language users (Garcia & Wei, 2015). This meaning-making process helps shape bilingual identity.

Language use has several "forms of capital or power when colliding with one's … language identity" (Babino & Stewart, 2019, p. 153) to make meaning, which creates complex language investments over time. As bilingual identity is shaped within the society; the degree of economic gains from bilingualism depends on regions, nations, and the value set by the society (Zarobe et al., 2011).

Previous Studies

Despite the lack of studies investigating the bind between bilingual identity and career prospects, there are studies in the field that investigated bilingualism and pertinent economic outcomes through a description of correlated variables. It may seem that the economic advantages of bi/multilingualism have become almost a norm in many parts of the world (Hornberger & Link, 2012); however, many studies in the field indicate less optimistic views. Chiswick and Miller (2007) found that proficiency in an immigrant language, as well as the dominant language within the society, is associated with lower earnings among the native-born in many parts of the world. In a similar vein, Callahan and Gandara (2014) found that "research investigating economic returns of bilingualism remain inconclusive at best" (p. 4).

Literature on immigrants' career prospects in their host countries suggests that language skills bring the potential to play a pivotal role in their career advancement, yet there are other potent factors that should not be ignored. In their study in which language fluency was juxtaposed with immigrants' earnings, Chiswick and Miller (1995) found that English-language fluency is shown to be associated with a 16.9% increase in the United States, 12.2% in Canada, and 11.0% in Israel. However, through an analysis of the language and earnings of immigrants in Germany, Dustman and Van Soest (2002) statistically revealed the possible false reasoning of previous studies, in which "straightforward regression analysis concluded that immigrants' proficiency in the language of their adopted country is correlated with their productivity, as measured by earning" (p. 73). The data in the study revealed that employment of immigrants in their adopted country depends on several socioeconomic and educational factors, in which proficiency in language brings a 5% return in earnings while the education level of the immigrants' parents may add up to a 10% increase in earnings. In some research comparing job retention of alien and non-alien workers after on-the-job training in Belgium, H'madoun and Nonneman (2012) found similar results. In the study, they indicated that ethnic minorities within a country usually "reside in the poorest inner-city urban areas with substandard school facilities and lack of opportunities to expand language skills" (p. 94), which later contributed to lower employment prospects of these ethnic groups in Belgium. After statistical analysis, it was found that being a member of an ethnic minority reduces the employment probability by nearly 10% even after other factors are controlled. The results of this study, therefore, concluded that even after job training, employers discriminate against ethnic bilingual speakers with good language skills in the host country. "The question is therefore whether the language itself, other factors being equal, does result in earnings differentials" (Grin 2003, p. 17).

In a comparative analysis conducted in the UK by Blackaby et al. (2002), "[n]ative ethnic minorities are also found to be twice as likely to be not working than a comparable sample of whites with a similar age structure" (p. 274). It was revealed that the earnings of ethnic minorities were also lower.

White hourly earnings over the period 1993 to 1996 were found to be "£9.08 which is substantially higher than that found for Pakistanis (£7.00) and blacks (£7.89). Indians, as in the case of employment, do better than other ethnic groups, but at £8.23 per hour earnings are still significantly below those of whites" (p. 274). When data on education levels were juxtaposed, it was found that "whites, whether employed or out of work, have fewer years of formal schooling than any other ethnic minority group" (p. 278).

In a study conducted in Germany, Burkert and Zeibert (2007) indicated that the gender gap in unemployment among ethnic minorities prevailed and that occupational and skill mismatch was observed at labor market entry for individual nationalities even after relevant variables that determine transition chances were controlled when conducting the analysis. A similar study conducted in Ireland by Barrett et al. (2008) revealed that the average earnings difference between immigrants from new EU members as of May 2004 and natives in Ireland is between 10 and 18 percent. Hence, overall data indicate that wage premiums are not commensurate to competence in the language of the host country and the level of education of bilingual speakers (Grin, 2003).

Brecht and Ingold (1998) claim the "cost in instructional time and dollars required to bring [bilingual speakers] to professional levels of competence is significantly less than the cost for individuals without home language experience" (p. 2), yet "underlying deficits in the information, interaction, dialogue, [and] research" (p. 3) make it inadequate. Pertinent research that is available in the field is "mostly limited to short-term outcomes… [h]owever, linguistic repertoires of [individuals] might equally play a role over the long term" (Agirdag, 2014, p. 450). There is a relative scarcity of studies tracking and documenting learners' linguistic development in detail over long periods of time through a narrative account of their interactional experiences (Mitchell, Myles, & Marsden, 2013). Literature to date does not link the identity formation of bilingual speakers with their career pursuits. Therefore, this study aims to provide multiple cases of bilingual speakers in order to explore how different dyads of languages impact the bilingual identity and the career prospects of bilingual speakers. In line with this idea, we address two research questions:

1. What are the perceptions of adult bilinguals on their development of a bilingual identity?
2. How does one's bilingual identity influence career choices and prospects?

Research Design

Considering Larsen-Freeman's (2011) call for viewing language as an adaptive, multidirectional, and nonlinear web which emerges in new circumstances via interactions with multiple agents**,** we employed a multiple case study design with a focus on exploring the lived experiences of individual participants (Odom et al., 2018; Vannest et al., 2018). The study was implemented by pursuing a survey followed by two interviews. Participants' answers were combined for summative data analysis to obtain codes pre-determined with our research questions.

Participants

We employed purposeful sampling procedures to understand the phenomena (Creswell, & Plano Clark, 2018). The call for candidates for the study was enacted through word-of-mouth by our colleagues.

Table 1

Participant Information

Participant	Age	Major in BA	Place of Birth	Current Country of Location	Self-reported Languages
John	30	Linguistics	United States	United States	Spanish – heritage language English – majority language
Neil	35	Semitic languages and Syriac studies	Australia	Australia	Aramaic – heritage language Arabic – heritage language English – majority language

Participant	Age	Major in BA	Place of Birth	Current Country of Location	Self-reported Languages
Sophie	31	Second language acquisition and teaching	The Philippines	Turkey	Bisaya – heritage language Maranao – heritage language Filipino – majority language English – second language Turkish – foreign language (6 years of residence)

Table 1 provides information about the participants who all met our criteria of being employed professionals and advanced speakers in two languages or more. We also valued diversity in our criteria for participant selection to include bilingual speakers from different countries who major in various fields in order to secure the credibility of our data. However, we did not mention the research questions; candidates were only informed about the study being on bilingualism in general. We decided to recruit the three participants after being informed about them and reached them via email. All three of them agreed to grant consent to participate in the study.

Data Collection

In this study, we explored bilingual identity and career prospects of the participants by considering possible factors that may exert an effect on their identity and career prospects. Data collection occurred in three distinct stages. The reason behind a three-step data collection was to set the context firstly by asking participants their background information, work settings, responsibilities at work, and related information on their education, family, and the milieu they were raised in. More specifically, in stage 1, participants individually answered questions of an online face-to-face survey "to record basic demographic data about participants" (Richards, & Morse, 2013, p. 92) – (a) personal background, (b) languages spoken within the family and the community, (c) academic studies, and (d) occupation. This enabled us, in the second stage, to develop the semi-structured interview questions that best fit the participants in the study. Therefore, in stage 2, a semi-structured interview was employed as a tool to understand the experiences of the participants as bilingual speakers. We preferred a semi-structured interview as it allowed flexibility for further questions arising during the interview. Thus, the interview provided us with the opportunity to look for different perspectives and receive feedback on the reasons behind (1) bilingual identity and (2) career prospects of the participants.

Table 2

Sample of semi-structured interview questions

Questions
How do you identify yourself ethnically?
What languages were you exposed to when you were a child?
What language did you prefer and why?
Tell us your experiences with your family and friends about languages spoken at home and in the community
In what domains do you feel more affiliated with each language?
Why did you want to pursue a career in your field?
What are your responsibilities at work?
Can you please tell us about your experiences as a bilingual speaker at the workplace?

Interviews were conducted individually in English as it was the common language between the interviewers and interviewees.

After acquiring data on participants' background information to set the context in stage 1 and allowing participants to describe their experiences with the language in stage 2, a second interview in stage 3 allocated us time in between to contemplate on data acquired in stages 1 and 2, and to develop further questions to acquire more robust data. From the perspective of the participants, a second interview "fosters a stronger relationship between researcher and participant, such that the latter may feel more comfortable deeply describing difficult or emotionally laden experiences" (Knox, & Burkard, 2009, p. 569). Therefore, in stage 3, a second interview was conducted in order to ask follow-up questions related to participants' reflections on bilingual identity and career prospects with questions including "Can you tell me how you understand your role as a bilingual speaker?", "Where do you see yourself in the future?".

Data Analysis

The participants' answers were coded and analyzed, and underlying ideas were examined in a semantic context. We initially prepared the data for analysis with the transcription process, which was followed by data revision in which coding procedures (Richards, & Morse, 2013) were implemented. We merged the survey and interview data for a summative data analysis to investigate participants' language use and lived experiences that have a bearing on their bilingual identities and career prospects. We coded and categorized each response under predetermined codes designated with our research questions: (1) bilingual identity, and (2) career prospects of bilingual speakers. In a coda to this process, we obtained labeled sections of the interview data that fell under each code.

Table 3

Sample of coding under predetermined themes

Code	Bilingual Identity	Career Prospects
Interview Excerpt	"I experienced rich exposure to Assyrian Aramaic at home, with extended family, and among the wider Assyrian diaspora communities in Sydney." (Neil)	"Education, training, and experience weigh significantly more than being a native speaker. These qualifications are always superior to being a native speaker." (Sophie)

Trustworthiness

In the course of participant selection, we placed emphasis on the diversity of languages and nationalities to obtain data credibility. Quoted words of the participants were cited verbatim. For this process, we individually asked the participants whether they agreed with each statement, a process known as member checking (Cresswell, & Miller, 2000), which was employed to ensure the accuracy of the findings and to avoid any inaccuracies or alterations in the participants' raw data. During the data analysis process, we employed analysis triangulation among us - the researchers in order to verify data credibility and dependability (Cresswell, & Poth, 2018).

Positionality

We believe that sociocultural environmental factors influence a person's thought and identity development (Vygotsky, 1986; Pavlenko, 2001). However, one possible setback of considering social aspects as a pivotal factor in language learning processes is overgeneralizations about individuals in certain communities or settings and inadequately addressing individual differences such as investment (Bourdieu, 1991), agency (Miller, 2014), and identity (Pavlenko, & Norton, 2007). Such an overgeneralized understanding of social representations has the potential to define language learners under stereotypical assumptions while ignoring distinct variables influencing individual learning processes. That is why, there is a need for an approach to understand language learners as "complex social beings with various kinds of agency, identities, aspirations, emotions, linguistic and cultural repertoires and forms of social/cultural and economic capital" (Duff et at., 2013, p. 105). Within this framework of understanding the individual, it is deemed pivotal to consider identity as an emerging construction on a dynamic continuum, instead of viewing it as a static entity. This multiple case study is a reflection of our understanding of the issue at hand.

Findings

In this study, we explored the identity formation and career prospects of bilingual speakers. In the findings section, each participant is introduced based on three aspects: (1) background information, (2) bilingual identity, and (3) career prospects. Such a description follows our data collection order (a background survey followed by two interviews), and our research questions: participants' perceptions of their development of a bilingual identity, and the influence of it on their career choices and prospects.

Late Appreciation of Bilingualism: "I Disliked the Language After My Parents' Divorce" (John)

John is a 30-year-old male with American parents. He has an English-speaking monolingual mother and a Spanish heritage speaker father. His parents divorced when John was 2 years old, so he was raised with his mother, with regular visitation to his father's and grandparents' home in which Spanish was spoken.

Born and raised in southern California, a region in the US located at the American Mexican border, the participant was also heavily exposed to Spanish speakers from different countries in Latin America. Therefore, his paternal family was not the only source of Spanish for him. This provided John with rich exposure to different languages at different locations. As he received simultaneous exposure from birth to both these languages, his case is referred to as simultaneous bilingualism (Kim et al., 2016). The participant currently lives with his sister, who is also a bilingual speaker of English and Spanish. Yet, the language spoken at home is mainly English.

> "While I worked on the Spanish translation of some documents of the company I worked for, seeing the differences between languages from an early age stoked the interest, which got me into linguistics."

What makes John different from a myriad of heritage language speakers is that John has adopted linguistics as a career path and decided to study linguistics at the University of California. As he has a degree in linguistics, John has a scholarly view on the concept of bilingualism, which would diminish the effect of tacit knowledge during the study as he has developed his self-image as a bilingual through an academic perspective besides sociocultural mediation.

Bilingual Identity

Rich exposure to languages spoken around him entitled John to appreciate the uniqueness each language afforded. As one of the purposes of this study is to gain insights into bilingual identity formation, the shift John went through from attaching negative connotation to Spanish in his early childhood to later developing a positive connection to it in part because of Latin music his father introduced to him clearly exemplifies his identity formation and language affiliation as a bilingual.

In John's case, bilingualism transcends competence in languages. He finds race and ethnicity two complicated issues. Growing up, he often hesitated with government paperwork for school and has never found an appropriate race box:

> "Options with the lines *Caucasian, not of Hispanic origin* or *Hispanic, not of Caucasian origin* make things complicated for me being bi-racial. Phenotypically speaking, I do not look Hispanic nor white in the classical American consciousness which allows for a certain ambiguity in how people perceive and interact with me on both sides of the racial and language divide."

When he needs to identify though, then at this moment, ethnically he says white, because he was raised predominantly by his mother. Racially, he says mixed, white, and Hispanic. He believes Latin and Mexican have much more marked and perhaps situational-specific meanings, and he does not consider it appropriate in all contexts to use them:

> "I would choose Mexican over Latin since, there is a utility in the distinction culturally, and that Mexican and Spanish is technically more accurate in my case."

It is seen in John's case that language awareness and bilingual identity formation are interrelated issues. In his early childhood, John identified languages with people. As his maternal side of the family was entirely monolingual speakers of English, he feels closely affiliated with English as he was raised by his mother. Because he developed negative affiliations with his paternal family, he associated the language they speak, Spanish, with his negative feelings towards them. Yet, there was a shift in his feelings towards Spanish as he grew up.

John did not feel inclined towards Spanish and its cultural associations while he was growing up, due to the negative family aspects related to the divorce. He found Spanish to be a predominant factor separating him and his mother from his paternal family. His mother was not a Spanish speaker, and he found his paternal family unwelcoming; therefore, in his mind, Spanish absorbed that negative connotation in his childhood. However, later in life, he grew to appreciate it and developed a positive connection to Spanish music because of his father, which he still enjoys to this day.

Career Prospects

John mentions the hardship of being raised by a single mother. As they did not collect money for his college funds, John preferred to study at a community college which was relatively less expensive than state universities in California before transferring to the University of California. He aspired for higher education and to fulfill this, he decided to study Spanish as he was highly aware of his bilingual abilities and the doors it might open. Hence, his decision to take a Spanish minor was pragmatic, a way to improve, and a way of certification.

Having classes for two years at the community college, John decided to study linguistics and applied to the Department of Linguistics. This decision allowed John to examine languages from an academic perspective and create a mental map to envision career trajectories that he can pursue as a linguist. As he developed a deep interest in technology and acquired some work experience with programming:

> "I decided to tailor my linguistic abilities with my interests and experience in coding and programming."

Hence, he decided to take computational linguistics lessons in his junior and senior years at university and changed his minor from Spanish to a more comprehensive technological bent, Speech and Language Technologies.

Survival As a Child of a Migrant Family Despite the Socioeconomic Contenders: "Our Culture Is Threatened." (Neil)

Neil is a 35-year-old male, bilingual from birth, with ethnic Christian Assyrian parents who came to Australia from Iraq as children. His parents were bilingual in Assyrian Aramaic and Arabic, languages of the Semitic branch. They also spoke English as a third language, having learned it largely as adults. From his birth, both parents had communicated in their native language, and the siblings spoke mostly in English, ensuring that he had input in both languages:

> "My brother and sister gradually lost their Arabic language skills, but they speak English and Assyrian Aramaic at home".

The participant lived in the family home until high school graduation. He thus had a rich exposure to Assyrian Aramaic at home, with extended family, and among the wider Assyrian diaspora communities in Sydney and Melbourne, to which he was always strongly connected, having lived in areas with large concentrations of Assyrian Aramaic speakers from different countries in the region and attending an Assyrian Saturday school between the ages of 5 and 13:

> "My family was not the only source of Assyrian Aramaic."

Having been born and raised in Australia, where English is the official language, and having received education from pre-school up to the doctoral level there, he is also native in that language. He is thus completely literate in both Assyrian Aramaic and English.

As he has a degree in Semitic languages and Syriac studies, Neil has academic knowledge in linguistics and bilingualism, which enabled us as researchers to have a similar academic jargon during the interview as he has developed his bilingual identity through a scholarly perspective in addition to sociocultural mediation.

Bilingual Identity

Rich exposure to languages and dialects spoken around him enabled Neil to recognize linguistic patterns and differences and to communicate with people from different backgrounds. The case of Neil as a diaspora Assyrian growing up in an English-speaking milieu exemplifies his identity formation as a bilingual speaker.

What makes the case of Neil noticeable among heritage language speakers is that Neil has embraced his heritage language and decided to work on it to help protect it. He was born in the diaspora to a family that was closely connected with its culture and watched the increasing waves of Assyrian immigrants arrive in Australia, emptying out communities in their original homelands:

> "My ethnic group is stateless, and my culture is threatened due to lack of recognition, ethnic discrimination, and religious persecution."

This made him interested in learning more about it in order to preserve it, the language and the heritage.

He reported not being able to remember how he learned the two languages but found no problems in learning them or keeping them separate. However, he encountered some initial difficulties when he began school as a child:

> "I had problems with appropriacy, politeness, and mixing codes – often translating Assyrian expressions into English and vice versa."

He reported being fluent in Arabic, having been exposed to the language through music and film, as well as connections with neighboring Arabic-speaking communities. When he was a child, he also studied French and Dutch. Being bilingual helped him to learn these languages - with Assyrian being a mediating language for Arabic and, English being a mediating language for French and Dutch due to similarities in grammar, giving him an advantage over monolingual Australian peers.

Neil identifies strongly as an ethnic Assyrian and an Aramaic speaker, but he interestingly sees himself as somewhat distant from identifying as an Australian due to the cultural differences and values he was raised with. It is seen in Neil's case that authentication and bilingual identity formation are interrelated issues. Neil often identified languages with people as he was growing up. As he felt more connected to his own family and ethnic community, he feels closely affiliated with Assyrian Aramaic. Because he sometimes experienced racism, he associated the dominant language, English, with his negative feelings toward the speakers of it. Yet, there was a shift in his feelings toward English as he grew up. When discussing problem-solving, he sometimes focused on the intercultural aspects, which eventually allowed him to relate to both ways of thinking:

> "How would an Australian think, and an Assyrian think about the problem?"

He has thus developed a conscious ability to switch between languages and cultural frameworks when the need arises. He seems to regard his own experience of being the son of multilingual parents who are part of a diaspora community living in a country with a totally different culture as rather unique.

Career Prospects

Neil described the hardship of being raised by a family from a low socio-economic and immigrant background. However, as he has developed a bilingual identity in favor of his heritage language, he decided to study Semitic languages. His decision to study Semitic languages such as Arabic and Hebrew, and to specialize in Syriac was mostly out of interest, but also a way to improve his language skills, as modern Assyrian is related to those languages and much of its vocabulary and expressions are derived from Syriac, and as a way of certification.

Neil's decision to study Semitic languages at the University of Sydney enabled him to examine cognate languages from an academic perspective and envision career trajectories that he can pursue as a language and cultural specialist in the academic world. As he has developed a deep interest in teaching and acquired some work experience with language acquisition, he decided to tailor his linguistic abilities with his interests and experience. Hence, he decided to focus on teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) as well:

> "The decision to focus on TESOL was because of my passion for being able to learn methods of teaching to create future learning materials for Assyrian Aramaic to preserve my critically endangered language."

Neil is aware of his linguistic ability and its possibilities for the future, particularly mentioning the general need for interpreters and language professionals:

> "I have more options than a monolingual, and I do not discount the chance of using Assyrian Aramaic or Arabic."

From his own experience, he is highly aware of the need for bilingual translators and interpreters by non-governmental organizations dealing with refugees, and of his own ability to fulfill such a role. He cited other possible areas of language use as academia, international relations, humanitarian/aid work, human resources, and translation and interpretation, all possible career choices that can also be pursued. He is strongly motivated to maintain his bilingualism. He currently has no fear of losing bilingualism, expressing a love of languages as an advantage, and speaks either of them whenever possible. He emphasized, however, that his language ability did not necessarily make him a better person than others, i.e., his interest was intrinsic rather than motivated by any status or material value. However, he is aware of the possible economic value of his language skills.

Being a Non-Native Speaker Does Not Equate to Accomplishing Less: "Education Weighs Significantly More Than That of Being a Native Speaker." (Sophie)

Sophie is a 31-year-old woman born and raised in the southern region of the Philippines. She is the youngest one of her seven siblings, and they were brought up in an extended family setting in a rural environment. Growing up in the southern region of the Philippines, she learned 4 languages to cope with both daily and academic interactions:

> "English, Filipino, Bisaya, and Maranao are the languages that I have known since my childhood."

Sophie currently resides in Turkey and is a graduate student majoring in civilization studies. She started learning Turkish in her late 20s when she was first accepted to the programs on scholarship. Therefore, her case is referred to as emergent bilingualism as "the term emergent bilingual not only seeks an equality in the education of language minority students" (Turnbull 2016, p. 3) but also considers language learning to be a journey in which bilingualism is considered a continuum:

> "I am exposed to a number of distinct languages since my childhood, but I have developed varying levels of skills in each language depending on the domains."

As she reported, at schools, private and government institutions, English and Filipino are often used in the Philippines when local languages are often limited to settings within the community. English is formally taught from kindergarten up to university levels. It is the medium of instruction in all educational institutions. There is also a Filipino course at every level of education. For Maranao and Bisaya, these languages are not taught through the formal teaching system:

> "Locals simply absorbed the way they are supposed to be spoken when they were children and retained onwards. Interactions with those who spoke these languages have aided one another, to some degree, to be competent enough to speak these languages."

Bilingual Identity

Sophie identifies languages within the cultures they were born into:

> "Language both shapes and is shaped within the culture and that language is the voice of a culture. I believe knowing the language, not just being able to speak it, is equated to knowing the culture."

She reports that when a person dwells in an environment or a scenario where two different languages, hence cultures, interact, then the cohesiveness of communicating with people of different cultures becomes apparently effective. In this spectrum, she identifies herself with the cultures in which languages are spoken. She says her heritage language Maranao is mostly used by the elders due to the nationalization program of the educational system wherein English and Filipino were prioritized over other languages. Even though she reports to be a member of the Maranao tribe and a speaker of the language that is also called Maranao, she says there has never been a first language in their community but a mixture of languages. The mixture in a sense that at times conversations shifted from English to Filipino to Bisaya to Maranao and vice versa. Often, words from all those languages are used to form a sentence.

Besides the languages and cultures she was exposed to in the Philippines, Turkish culture and thus Turkish community during her stay in Turkey have enabled her to gain transformative experiences. As Turkish has been used for casual communication with people representing different backgrounds within Turkish society for the past 6 years, she says it has been of great aid in her perceptions of the world. In this sense, it could be suggested that there is also not a first culture but a mixture of languages and cultures that help shape her identity as a bilingual speaker as she considers languages and cultures as a blended entity.

Career Prospects

The benefits of bilingualism in terms of career advancement are not limited to language-related occupations as seen in the case of Sophie as she is a graduate student majoring in civilization studies:

> "I have acquired indispensable aid in relation to my perceptions of the various concepts in social and scientific domains thanks to my exposure to a number of distinct cultures."

This was what led her to be affiliated with research projects that pertain to a wide range of areas from health sciences to philosophy, politics, and history. Tailoring these distinct skills, she says, in the near future, she is planning to be involved in public policy research as a professional. In her quest to become a transliterate, she considers being literate in several languages a multilingual ability, which paved the path to see the world from a multilingual perspective.

Discussion

In this study, two research questions were probed. The participants' answers were compiled to address predetermined codes designated with our research questions. We firstly explored the perceptions of adult bilinguals on their development of a bilingual identity. This is the first subsection of the discussion section. The next subsection addresses the second research question, the influence of one's bilingual identity on their career choices and prospects.

The Perceptions of Adult Bilinguals on Their Development of a Bilingual Identity

Linguistic complementary of bilinguals heavily depends on their individual histories, which indicate unity with their social spheres (Hammer, 2017) and are sociolinguistic manifestations of their cultural identity (Joseph, 2004). John's identity shift is similarly linked with the languages spoken in his immediate surroundings. Hence, his early affiliation with English instead of Spanish spoken by his paternal migrant family indicate sociolinguistic patterns in his bilingual identity. He has gone through conflicting processes in his childhood, which have affected his bilingual identity formation. He, first, rejected Spanish and therefore bilingualism as he associated one language of the dyad, Spanish, with his negative feelings related to his parents' divorce when he was 2. This notion brings us the fact that preferences and experiences play an active role in a bilingual speaker's identity formation process (Herrera & Wedin, 2010; Wong, Athanses, & Banes, 2017), despite the common notion that being raised in a bilingual environment does automatically render children bilingual speakers. The case of John indicates that the individual is also an active participant in the bilingual identity formation process, instead of assuming that being exposed to a second language is adequate to embrace a bilingual identity.

He embraced Spanish though, only when he started spending more time with his father in his childhood. He enjoyed playing musical instruments with his father and learned Spanish songs, as a result of which he felt affiliated with Latin music and culture. Therefore, he was an active participant and controller of his bilingual identity formation.

The case of Neil follows a similar pattern, in which his struggles to preserve his heritage languages indicate his active participation in his bilingual identity formation process. Examples to this notion could be shown with his active problem-solving process with questions in his mind such as *How would an Australian vs. Assyrian think about the problem*?, instead of simply relying on either one of the languages and cultural problem-solving resources. During this questioning process, he benefited from all the culture-related knowledge at his disposal to find solutions that transcend what the sum of his language-related knowledge could individually suggest. In other words, he actively sought answers to his individual problems, and solutions arose from a combination of all the languages at his disposal. To this end, he embraced both his heritage languages and the majority language he was exposed to. As a heritage speaker who looks for ways to make most of his linguistic resources, Neil is a vivid example of the issue delineated by Brecht and Ingold (1998), who claim that heritage language speakers are "an important, but largely untapped, reservoir of linguistic competence" (p. 2.). Neil considered English and Assyrian Aramaic as a complementary unit rather than quite distinct languages when he decided to take TESOL in order to create future learning materials for Assyrian Aramaic. This was a quite unique perspective and, in many ways, this fresh view on languages exemplifies translanguaging. As Garcia and Lei (2015) assert, translanguaging provides bilinguals with the opportunity to use their "full linguistic and semiotic repertoire" (p. 226) and Neil would like to benefit from his linguistic and semiotic repertoire of Assyrian Aramaic and English. In addition to considering teaching languages as a possible career prospective, in his imagined community Neil also would like to help refugees and is aware of his own ability to fulfill such a role by working for non-governmental organizations or doing humanitarian/aid work. As Pavlenko and Norton (2007) define it, "humans are capable, through our imagination, of perceiving a connection with people beyond our immediate social networks" (p. 670), which is called imagined community. Yet, in his self-perception language ability does not necessarily make him a better person than others even though he is aware of the possible value of his language skills. What makes his language skills valuable in practice is receiving education in languages and contributing to the society he is affiliated with.

The case of Sophie suggests that languages learned later in life continue to influence the bilingual identity process. Her exposure to Turkish, firstly in her 20s, opened up the chance to embrace transformative experiences, blending her home languages and experiences with those she acquired in Turkey. To this end, we suggest that bilingual identity formation does not have rigid end (Turnbull, 2016) but is instead a fluid stance in a continuum (Larsen-Freeman, 2011).

Francis (2010), in his quest to trace models of bilingualism, posits that second language learner with non-native "knowledge of the target language nevertheless may perform adequately or even more effectively than the average native speaker in a wide variety of language use contexts because of… skillful mastery of pertinent, culturally specified, pragmatic rules" (p. 145). This phenomenon defines Sophie's mastery in Turkish school settings even though she started his journey as a second language learner of Turkish. From this perspective, we can see that native speakers should not be the unique model for language learners (Ping, 2017). Sophie has developed language expertise in academic settings in Turkish by transferring her academic language skills from her L1(s) and L2(s). When it comes to the daily use of Turkish, Sophie reveals her awareness of the semiotic means of languages (Hornberger, & Link, 2012). She often identifies languages via culture – with concrete examples within her immediate surrounding and the interaction between Turkish culture and Turkish language. Her recognition of the shift in her identity as she meets people from different backgrounds supports the notions by Teng (2019) as "identity can be transformational and transformative" (p. 43).

How One's Bilingual Identity Influences Career Choices and Prospects

Robertson et al. (2013) indicate that "bilingual practitioners have the potential to draw on their funds of knowledge" (p. 610) since "diverse resources nestle within each other and emerge from [these] funds of knowledge" (p. 611). Hence, "syncretizing languages, literacies, learning, discourse styles, and experiences create something that is greater than the sum of the constituent parts, this new energy enables them to be a head taller than in any one of their separate worlds" (Gregory et al., 2003, p. 323). The case of John as a linguist supports these hypotheses as he benefited from his bilingual resources as an asset in hard circumstances in which he was raised by a single mother. Despite his earlier negative feelings towards Spanish in his early childhood, his work on the Spanish translation of some documents of the company he worked for when he was at the community college sparked his academic interest in linguistics. He considered his bilingual skills as a career asset and got accepted into the department of linguistics. This indicates complete adoption of a bilingual identity as an English and Spanish speaker who no longer discriminate against languages but instead view them as a resource to benefit from.

The career trajectory of John, from being raised by a single woman to becoming a speech linguist working as a contractor for Google, is a tangible example of how early bilingualism could pave the path to pursue a promising career. Besides the benefits such as the potential to connect to extended family, facilitation of travel and broadening of social spheres, and enrichment from widened horizons from language, arts, and culture, bilingualism provided him with "increased opportunity for employment in a global economy" (Bialystok, 2016, p. 675). An important proportion of these aforementioned advantages of bilingualism come into being in John's life.

The notion of language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984), instead of language as a problem has taken deep roots in research on bilingualism (Herrera & Wedin, 2010). As Agirdag (2014) states "[w]hat is generally missing in this literature is a strengths perspective, that is, an investigation of what immigrants might have (i.e., being proficient in an immigrant language)" (p. 449). Therefore, being proficient in their immigrant language might also pave the path to make a living out of it. Neil has pursued a career to make most of the literature in teaching English as a second language to design teacher training materials to teach his mother tongue. To this end, he repurposes English, making it an end to produce learning materials in another language.

The career choice of Neil is heavily impacted by his identity as a bilingual speaker who aims to preserve his heritage languages. He felt closely affiliated with his heritage languages and this was what led him to pursue a career in Semitic languages and Syriac studies. In his case, Neil does not only take his bilingual skills granted to pursue a career and find employment, but he also feels responsible to protect them. To this end, he decided to produce language learning materials in his heritage language, blending his experiences in the field with the majority language when he decided to take TESOL credentials. However, he is also aware that his bilingual skills might also bring him economic returns with the rising demands for bilingual translators and speakers at governmental departments and private organizations.

Bilinguals' "linguistic capital is integral to their affective, cognitive, social, cultural, academic, and economic capital that can potentially radicalize their experiences as agents of change in their own lives" (Babino & Stewart, 2019, p. 155). Sophie's case is a reminder of bilingualism considered as a multimodular system that is comprised of various linguistic, sociocultural, affective, and other relevant mediating knowledge of a person emerging when acquiring a new language (Lin & He, 2017). In other words, she has acquired new perceptions of the world when she has acquired new languages. These perceptions led the way to her academic interests in civilization studies thanks to various emerging concepts presented to her with each language she was exposed to.

Cummins (2001) positioned multilingual and multicultural resources as an advantage in a society's ability to play an important social and economic role on the world stage. Sophie's understanding of the world through a multimodular perspective exemplifies how linguistic capital transcends economic gaining, which therefore brings her novel mindsets to envision the world. It is possible that this novel mindset has enabled her to conduct interdisciplinary research blending civilization studies with philosophy, politics, and history.

Conclusion

The study has implications for language teachers, school administrators, and other private and government organizations. As seen in the cases of the participants, feeling affiliated to the languages learners are exposed to plays a central role in their language learning process. The findings indicate that simply being exposed to two or more languages even in childhood may not necessarily yield bilingualism as children actively embrace or reject languages they are exposed to. Secondly, the career prospects of bilingual speakers should not be considered limited within the spectrum of language-related studies and occupations. Since bilingualism is beyond the linguistic aspect of it, career prospects it brings transcend the linguistic realm and is heavily related to how a bilingual person views the world, taking advantage of languages, cultures, experiences, and other mediating factors that influence one’s thinking system. In the longer term, it enhances people with a new way of meaning-making process which leads to one enhanced sociocultural and socioeconomic identity.

References

Agirdag, O. (2014). The long-term effects of bilingualism on children of immigration: student bilingualism and future earnings. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 17*(4), 449–464.

Babino, A., & Stewart, M. A. (2019). Multiple pathways to multilingual investment: a collective case study of self-identified Mexican students in the U.S. *International Multilingual Research Journal, 13*(3), 152–167.

Barrett, A., McGuinness, S., & O'Brien, M. (2012). The Immigrant Earnings Disadvantage across the earnings and skills distributions: The case of immigrants from the EU's new member states. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *50*(3), 457–481.

Bialystok, E. (2016). Bilingual education for young children: review of the effects and consequences. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *21*(6), 666–679.

Blackaby, D., Lesley, D. G., Murphy, P., & O’Leary, N. (2002). White/ethnic minority earnings and employment differentials in Britain: Evidence from the LFS. *Oxford Economic Papers*, *54*, 270–97.

Block, D. (2007). Bilingualism: Four assumptions and four responses.

Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching, *1*(1), 66–82.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Polity Press.

Brecht, R., & Ingold, C. (1998). Tapping a national resource: Heritage languages in the United States. *Eric Digest*. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED424791.pdf

Bucholtz, M. (2003). Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *7*(3), 398–416.

Burkert, C., & Zeibert, H. (2007). Labour market outcomes after vocational training in Germany. Equal opportunities for migrants and natives?, IAB Discussion Paper No. 31, Institut fur Arbeitsmarktund Berufsforschung, Nurnberg, Germany.

Callahan, R., & Gandara, P. (2014). Contextualizing bilingualism in the labor market: New destinations, established enclaves and the information age. In R. M. Callahan & P. C. Gandara (Eds.), *The Bilingual Advantage: Language, Literacy and the US Labor Market* (pp. 3–16). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Carlson, S., & Meltzoff, A. (2008). Bilingual experience and executive functioning in young children. *Developmental Science, 11*(2), 282–298.

Chiswick, B., & Miller, P. (1995). The Endogeneity between language and earnings: International analyses. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *13*(2), 246–288.

Chiswick, B., & Miller, P. (2007). *The Economics of Language*. Routledge.

Cresswell, J., & Poth, C. N. (2017). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches.* Sage Publications, Inc.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry, *Theory into Practice*, *39*(3), 124–130

Creswell, J., & Plano Clark, V. (2018). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Cummins, J. (2001). Bilingual children’s mother tongue: Why is it important for education? *Sprogforum*, *19*, 15–20.

Duff, P. A., Anderson, T., Ilnyckyj, R., VanGaya, E., & Wang, R. (2013). *Learning Chinese: Linguistic, sociocultural and narrative perspectives.* Mouton De Gruyter.

Dustmann, C., & Van Soest, A. (2002). Language and the earnings of immigrants. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, *55*(3), 473–492.

Fang, G. (2011). Linguistic capital: Continuity and change in educational language polices for South Asians in Hong Kong primary schools. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *12*(2), 251–263

Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics. *America's children: Key national indicators of well-Being*. 2017. Government Printing Office.

Flynn, N. (2013). Linguistic capital and the linguistic field for teachers unaccustomed to linguistic difference, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *34*(2), 225–242.

Francis, N. (2010). Modular perspectives on bilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *5*(3), 141–161.

García, O., & Wei, L. (2015). Translanguaging, bilingualism, and bilingual education. In W. E. Wright, S. Boun, & O. García (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingual and multilingual education* (pp. 223–240). Palgrave.

Gregory, E., Lytra, V., Choudhury, H., Ilankuberan, A., Kwapong, A., & Woodham, M. (2003). Syncretism as a creative act of mind: The narratives of children from four faith communities in London. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, *13*(3), 322–347.

Grin, F. (2003). Language planning and economics. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *4*(1), 1–66.

Grosjean, F. (2010). Bilingual Life and Reality. Harvard University Press.

H'madoun, M., & Nonneman, W. (2012). Explaining differences in job retention between alien and nonalien workers after an in-company training. *Applied Economics*, 44 (1), 93–103.

Hakuta, K. (1986). *Mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism*. Basic Books.

Halliday, M. (1990). *The place of dialogue in children's construction of meaning*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Analysis of Dialogue. (3rd, Bologna, Italy, May 2–5, 1990).

Hammer, K. (2017). They speak what language to whom! Acculturation and language use for communicative domains in bilinguals. *Language & Communication*, *56*, 42–54.

Herrera, L., & Wedin, A. (2010). Bilingualism and bilingual education in a complex context. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *23*(3), 235–249.

Hornberger, N., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: a biliteracy lens, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *15*(3), 261–278.

Joseph, J. (2004). *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kalashnikova, M., & Mattock, K. (2014). Maturation of executive functioning skills in early sequential bilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *17*(1), 111–123.

Kapa, L., & Colombo, J. (2013). Attentional control in early and later bilingual children. *Cognitive Development*, *28*(3), 233–246.

Kim, A., Park, A., & Lust, B. (2018). Simultaneous vs. successive bilingualism among preschool-aged children: a study of four-year-old Korean–English bilinguals in the USA. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *21*(2), 164–178.

Knox. S., & Burkard, A. W. (2009). Qualitative research interviews, *Psychotherapy Research*, *19*(4–5), 566–575.

Kovács, A., & Mehler, J. (2009). Flexible learning of multiple speech structures in bilingual infants. *Science*, *325*, 611–612.

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2011). A complexity theory approach to second language development/ acquisition. In D. Atkinson (ed.) Alternative approaches to second language acquisition. Routledge.

Lin, A. M. Y., & He, P. (2017). Translanguaging as Dynamic Activity Flows in CLIL Classrooms, *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *16*(4), 228–244.

Makalela, L. (2015). Moving out of linguistic boxes: the effects of translanguaging strategies for multilingual classrooms. *Language and Education*, *29*(3), 200–217.

Miller, E. R. (2014). *The language of adult immigrants: Agency in the making*. Multilingual Matters.

Mitchell, R., Myles, F., & Marsden, E. (2013). *Second language learning theories*. Routledge.

Odom, S. L., Barton, E. E., Reichow, B., Swaminathan, H., & Pustejovsky, J. E.

(2018). Between-case standardized effect size analysis of single case designs: Examination of the two methods. *Research in Developmental Disabilities*, *79*, 88–96.

Pavlenko, A. (2001). Poststructuralist approaches to the study of social factors in second language learning and use. In V. Cook (Ed.) *Portraits of the L2 User*. Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language learning. In J. Cummins, & C. Davison (Eds.), *International Handbook of English Language Teaching*. Springer.

Pearson, Z. B. (1998). Assessing lexical development in bilingual babies and toddlers. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *2*(3), 347–372.

Ping, W. (2017). Understanding bilingual education: an overview of key notions in the literature and the implications for Chinese university EFL education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *47*(1), 85–102.

Richards, L., & Morse, J. M. (2013). *Read me first for a user's guide to qualitative methods*. Sage Publications.

Robertson, L. H., Drury, R., Cable, C. (2014). Silencing bilingualism: a day in a life of a bilingual practitioner. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *17*(5), 610–623.

Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, *8*(2), 15–34.

Teng, M. F. (2019). Learner identity in foreign language education: Research nexus and implications. In: *Autonomy, Agency, and Identity in Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language*. Springer.

Turnbull, B. (2016). Reframing foreign language learning as bilingual education: Epistemological changes towards the emergent bilingual. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Advance online publication.

Vannest, K. J., Peltier, C., & Haas, A. (2018). Results reporting in single case experiments and single case meta-analysis. *Research in Developmental Disabilities*, *79*, 10–18.

Vygotsky, L. (1986). *Thought and Language*. MIT Press.

Werker J. F., & Byers-Heinlein, K. (2008). Bilingualism in infancy: First steps in perception and comprehension. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *12*(4), 144–151.

Wong, J. W., Athanases, S. Z., & Banes, L. C. (2017). Developing as an agentive bilingual teacher: self-reflexive and student-learning inquiry as teacher education resources. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *23*(2), 153–169.

Zarobe, Y. R., Sierra, J. M., & Puerto, G. M. (2011). *Content and foreign language integrated learning: contributions to multilingualism in European contexts (Linguistic insights).* Peter Lang AG.

Onur Ural
Arizonos universitetas, JAV
onurural@arizona.edu
Kenan Dikilitas
Stavangerio universitetas, Norvegija
kenan.dikilitas@uis.no

DVIKALBIŲ SPECIALISTŲ TAPATYBĖS FORMAVIMASIS IR KARJEROS PERSPEKTYVOS: KALBŲ ĮGŪDŽIŲ DERINIMAS SIEKIANT SUKURTI NAUJAS KARJEROS GALIMYBES

Santrauka. Plačiai paplitusi klaidinga nuomonė apie dvikalbystę, kad sąlytis su antrąja kalba vaikystėje automatiškai padaro vaikus dvikalbiais, ir kad savo subalansuotus kalbinius įgūdžius jie galės pritaikyti visose būsimos karjeros srityse. Deja, šis įsitikinimas yra klaidingas ir neatspindi daugumos dvikalbių realios gyvenimo patirties. Šiuo tyrimu, sutelkus dėmesį į atskirus atvejus, buvo siekiama atskleisti (1) dvikalbio tapatumo formavimąsi ir (2) anksti ir nuosekliai tapusių dvikalbiais karjeros perspektyvas. Analizuoti duomenys surinkti taikant individualias apklausas ir asmeninius interviu su suaugusiais dvikalbiais profesionalais. Tyrimo rezultatai atskleidė, kad sąmoningas įsitraukimas į kalbas su kuriomis jie susidūrė vaikystėje, atlieka aktyvų vaidmenį dvikalbių kalbėtojų tapatybės formavimosi procese ir daro įtaką jų karjeros siekiams, ir paneigė vyraujančią nuomonę, kad norint tapti dvikalbiu užtenka turėti sąlytį su antrąja kalba bendruomenėje. Šio tyrimo rezultatai gali būti svarbūs dvikalbiams asmenims renkantis karjerą, nes rodo, kad dvikalbių asmenų karjeros siekiai peržengia su kalba susijusių profesijų ribas.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: dvikalbė tapatybė; dvikalbis profesionalas; karjeros perspektyvos; tapatybės formavimasis; kalbinis kapitalas.

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0014

Diana Babušytė
Universität Vilnius, Litauen
Justina Daunorienė
Universität Vilnius, Litauen

MULTILINGUALE KOMPETENZ BEI PHILOLOGIESTUDIERENDEN: ERGEBNISSE EINER FALLSTUDIE ÜBER MEHRSPRACHIGKEIT ALS RESSOURCE IM DAF-UNTERRICHT

Zusammenfassung[1]. Der vorliegende Aufsatz ist der aktuellen Fragestellung der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik gewidmet, ob und wie das sprachliche Vorwissen der Lernenden im Sprachunterricht einzusetzen ist und welche Rolle die Vernetzung der erlernten Sprachen beim Lernen einer weiteren Fremdsprache spielt. Auch der Gemeinsame Europäische Referenzrahmen weist auf die Wichtigkeit hin, die individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit zu fördern, die mehrsprachige Kompetenz der Lernenden im Fremdsprachenunterricht einzusetzen sowie die Sprachenvernetzung als bewährtes didaktisches Mittel zu benutzen. Diese Methodik gilt sowohl im schulischen als auch im universitären Bereich als aktuell. Die durchgeführte Pilotstudie setzte sich zum Ziel, in Angesicht neu entwickelter Studienprogramme an der Philologischen Fakultät der Universität Vilnius mit Haupt- und Nebenfach sowie mit zahlreichen Möglichkeiten, eine weitere Fremdsprache als Wahlfach zu lernen, der Frage der multilingualen Kompetenz bei den Sprachstudierenden nachzugehen und die Wahrnehmung der Studierenden von ihren plurilingualen Kompetenzen zu untersuchen. Die Daten für die Studie wurden in den Jahren 2020 und 2021 in zwei Schritten gesammelt: Als die erste deutschlernende Gruppe wurden die Studierenden aus unterschiedlichen Studienprogrammen, die Deutsch als Wahlfach lernen, zu ihrer Plurilingualität befragt[2]. Die zweite Gruppe der Respondenten bildeten Philologiestudierende, die Deutsch als Haupt- oder Nebenfach studieren. Die Studierenden wurden gebeten, in Form von Fragebögen einzuschätzen, ob und wie ihnen die Vorkenntnisse in anderen Sprachen beim Deutschlernen helfen oder ob sie die Einflüsse der Muttersprache und weiterer Fremdsprachen als Interferenzphänomene sehen und sie eher negativ beurteilen. Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden nach einem kurzen Überblick über die wichtigsten Konzepte der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik und Modelle des multiplen Sprachenlernens die Ergebnisse aus der Datenanalyse der zweiten Befragung präsentiert. Die aus den Fragebögen

[1] Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung wurden in einem Vortrag an der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Tagung „Sustainable Multilingualism 2021" (am 4.-5. Juni 2021 in Kaunas, Litauen) unter dem Titel „Multilinguale Kompetenz bei Philologiestudierenden: Ergebnisse einer Fallstudie über Mehrsprachigkeit als Ressource im DaF-Unterricht" präsentiert. Die Zusammenfassung des Tagungsbeitrages erschien in „Sustainable Multilingualism 2021. Book of Abstracts. The 6th International Conference", Vytautas Magnus University, 2021. Abrufbar unter: https://www.vdu.lt/cris/bitstream/ 20.500.12259/ 139540/1/ISBN9786094674815.pdf).
[2] Die aus der ersten Etappe dieser Pilotstudie gewonnenen Ergebnisse finden Sie unter: Babušytė, D., & Daunorienė, J. (2021). Individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit von Studierenden und ihr Einsatz beim Deutschlernen: Pilotstudie an der Philologischen Fakultät der Universität Vilnius. *Verbum*, *12*, 3. Vilnius. https://doi.org/10.15388/Verb.22.

gewonnenen Daten verdeutlichen die Einstellungen der Studierenden gegenüber der Mehrsprachigkeit, präsentieren ihre Fähigkeit, das multilinguale Vorwissen und ihre sprachlernbezogenen Erfahrungen beim Erwerb des Deutschen als einer weiteren Fremdsprache einzusetzen, und zeugen von der Sprachbewusstheit der Sprachlerner.

Schlüsselwörter: Deutsch als Fremdsprache; Fremdsprachenerwerb; mehrsprachige Kompetenz; multiples Sprachenlernen; Sprachbewusstheit.

Einleitung

Die individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit und die Wichtigkeit ihrer Förderung werden weltweit auf der Grundlage didaktischer, sozio- und psycholinguistischer etc. Untersuchungen immer wieder hervorgehoben. Der Gemeinsame Europäische Referenzrahmen für Sprachen weist auch auf die sprachlichen Vorkenntnisse der Lernenden und die Vernetzung der Sprachen hin. Aus diesem Grund nehmen die Prinzipien und Methoden der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik mit ihrer positiven Wirkung einen wichtigen Platz im Fremdsprachenunterricht ein und man setzt sich verstärkt mit der Frage auseinander, wie individuelle Unterschiede der Lernenden angesichts ihrer sprachlichen Hintergründe wahrgenommen und in den Lernprozess einbezogen werden können.

Personen, die auf muttersprachlichem Niveau mehr als eine Sprache beherrschen sowie Lerner, die Kenntnisse in weiteren Sprachen rudimentär erworben haben und deren Mehrsprachigkeit als funktional bezeichnet wird, werden als mehrsprachig angesehen (Bredthauer, 2018, S. 275). Demzufolge handelt es sich hierbei um ein Repertoire mit unterschiedlich ausgeprägten Fähigkeiten, die verschiedene Kompetenzbereiche sowie verschiedene Sprachen umfassen und die die Lerner in unterschiedlichen Situationen anwenden (Bredthauer, 2018, S. 276).

Nach der angeführten Beschreibung der Mehrsprachigkeit lässt sich der Großteil der Studierenden an litauischen Hochschulen als multilingual definieren. Laut Bredthauer entsteht diese Mehrsprachigkeit vor allem „durch bilinguale Elternhäuser und schulischen sowie universitären Fremdsprachenunterricht" (ibd. S. 275). Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird der Frage nachgegangen, ob und wie litauische Universitätsstudierende ihr mehrsprachiges Repertoire als Hilfe beim Deutschlernen verstehen und nutzen. Zu diesem Zweck wurde eine Befragung unter den Studierenden an der

Philologischen Fakultät der Universität Vilnius, die Deutsch als Wahlfach lernen bzw. Germanistik im Haupt- oder Nebenfach studieren, durchgeführt. Das Ziel dieser auf der Umfrage und der Analyse der den Fragebögen entnommenen Daten basierenden Untersuchung war herauszufinden, ob die Philologiestudierenden als eine spezifische Studierendengruppe, deren Einstellungen insgesamt durch ein stärkeres Sprachbewusstsein geprägt sind, das Vorwissen in anderen Sprachen als den Lernprozess fördernde Ressource im Deutschunterricht sehen oder ob durch die Sprachkenntnisse der Muttersprache sowie weiterer Fremdsprachen Interferenzphänomene hervorgerufen werden und ob die Studierenden geneigt sind, aus den das Lernverfahren erschwerenden Erfahrungen den Einsatz der Mehrsprachigkeit im Sprachunterricht als negativ zu beurteilen. Die während der Umfrage gewonnenen Daten geben Auskunft, ob und wie die Sprachstudierenden ihre plurilingualen Fähigkeiten wahrnehmen, wie sie diese bewerten und beim Deutschlernen einsetzen.

Didaktische Konzepte zur Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit

Die grundlegenden Theorien der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik (MSD) wurden in den letzten 30 Jahren entwickelt. Sie werden darauf gerichtet, die plurilingualen Ressourcen der Sprachlernenden im Unterricht gezielt und vorteilhaft zu nutzen sowie eine integrative Sprachkompetenz zu fördern, zu der alle Sprachlernerfahrungen der Lerner beitragen und miteinander interagieren können. Obwohl die wichtigsten Konzepte der MSD mit unterschiedlichen Schwerpunktsetzungen entwickelt wurden, stützen sie sich im Grunde auf gleiche didaktische Prinzipien. Sie beruhen vor allem darauf, das Interesse der Sprachlerner an Fremdsprachen und die Freude am Lernen zu wecken sowie eine Distanz zum traditionellen monolingualen Fremdsprachunterricht zu schaffen. Diese Konzepte stellen den Lerner ins Zentrum ihres Interesses, sie konzentrieren sich auf die Förderung individueller Mehrsprachigkeit und sind darauf abgezielt, „interlingualen Transfer anzuregen, Sprachbewusstheit zu schulen und Lernstrategien zu vermitteln" (Bredthauer, 2018, S. 278).

Als bekannteste Konzepte gelten die Interkomprehensionsdidaktik, die darauf basierende Methodik der EuroComprehension, dann auch die Tertiärsprachendidaktik und Deutsch nach Englisch (DaFnE). Alle diese Methoden konzentrieren sich auf die Förderung von Mehrsprachigkeit im Fremdsprachenunterricht. Im Unterricht sollten die Aufgaben und Übungen so gestaltet sein, dass die Lernenden ganz konkret auf andere ihnen zugängliche Sprachen zurückgreifen, „Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen den Sprachen entdecken und sich dessen bewusst werden, dass ein Umgang mit bereits erlernten Sprachen beim Lernen einer neuen Sprache hilfreich sein kann" (Grasz, 2017, S. 62). Da der Sprachvergleich als eine der Lernstrategien gilt und dazu dienen kann, „Transferbasen in anderen gelernten Sprachen aufzuzeigen sowie das metasprachliche Bewusstsein zu fördern" (Babušytė, Daunorienė, 2021), wird er in allen genannten Konzepten als didaktisches Hauptelement angesehen (vgl. Reich & Krumm, 2013, S. 103). Den mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktischen Ansätzen liegt die Erkenntnis zugrunde, dass mehrsprachige Lerner fähig sind, hohe (meta-)linguistische und (meta-) kognitive Fähigkeiten zu entwickeln[3], wenn sie im Fremdsprachenunterricht entsprechend gefördert werden (Bredthauer, 2018, S. 279–280), was bereits in verschiedenen Studien nachgewiesen wurde[4].

Eine der wichtigsten Fragen der MSD sind Fremdsprachenlernmodelle. Bei älteren Modellen zum Spracherwerb geht es hauptsächlich um die Differenzierung zwischen der Erstsprache (L1) und einer Zweitsprache (L2) und Unterschieden in ihrem Erwerb (vgl. Roche, 2013, S. 167; Grasz, 2017, S. 57). Angenommen wird, dass ausschließlich der Erwerb der Erstsprache (L1) sich vom Zweitspracherwerb (L2) unterscheidet und somit die Unterscheidung innerhalb des Fremdsprachenerwerbs zwischen L2 und L3 oder L4 irrelevant ist. Der Lernprozess jeder weiteren Sprache wird als *tabula rasa* angesehen und es wird so gehandelt, als ob der Lerner noch nie eine Fremdsprache gelernt

[3] Laut dem Bericht zum Thema „Lehrerprofessionalisierung im Kontext von Mehrsprachigkeit" am Mercator Institut für Sprachenförderung und Deutsch als Zweitsprache. Zu lesen unter: https://www.mercator-institut-sprachfoerderung.de/de/themenportal/thema/lehrerprofessionalisierung-im-kontext-von-mehrsprachigkeit/ (eingesehen am 5.12.2021)

[4] Seit über 20 Jahren wird das Thema des Einsatzes der mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktischen Ansätze im Fremdsprachenunterricht in mehreren wissenschaftlichen Studien untersucht, vgl. Bär 2009, Behr 2007, Bredthauer 2016, Marx 2005, Meißner 2010 etc.

hätte und über keine Lernerfahrungen verfüge. Bei den seit den ca. 1990er Jahren auf den psycholinguistischen, kontrastiv-linguistischen oder soziolinguistischen Grundlagen entwickelten Modellen, die auf die Spezifik des Drittsprachenlernens (L3) im Allgemeinen gezielt sind, wie das dynamische Modell (Herdina & Jessner, 2002), das Rollen-Funktions-Modell (Williams & Hammarberg, 1998, Hammarberg, 2001), das Foreign Language Acquisition Model (Groseva, 2000) und das ökologische Modell (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2003), werden als die zentralen Elemente aller Mehrsprachigkeitsmodelle die kognitive Vorgehensweise beim Sprachenlernen und die dafür notwendige Sprachbewusstheit – explizites Wissen der Lerner über die Einsetzbarkeit ihrer Sprachkenntnisse – eingesetzt. Laut Hufeisen & Gibson (2003, S. 15) stehen die Modelle in keiner Konkurrenz zueinander, sondern sie ergänzen sich in verschiedener Hinsicht.

Eines der bekanntesten Modelle ist Hufeisens Faktorenmodell (2010). Nach Hufeisen (2010, S. 201) besteht nicht nur ein qualitativer, sondern auch ein quantitativer Unterschied zwischen dem Prozess des Lernens einer zweiten oder weiteren Fremdsprache (L3) vom Erlernen der ersten Fremdsprache (L2). Dieser Unterschied entsteht „aufgrund spezifischer Charakteristika bei emotionalen, kognitiven, linguistischen und fremdsprachenspezifischen Faktoren" (Grasz, 2017, S. 57). Die Lernenden von L3 zeichnen sich auf der emotionalen Ebene im Lernprozess durch Selbständigkeit und Wissbegierde aus. Auf der kognitiven Ebene beherrschen sie bereits einige Lernstrategien, die sie in früheren Lernprozessen (z. B. der L2) schon kennengelernt haben, und können diese gezielt einsetzen. Auf der fremdsprachenspezifischen Ebene haben sie besser entwickelte Fähigkeiten beim sprachenübergreifenden Denken (Marx & Hufeisen, 2010, S. 828). Mit der L2 wird laut Hufeisen die Grundlage für die Mehrsprachigkeit gelegt, zum Vorschein kommt sie aber erst beim Erwerb einer L3 (Hufeisen & Gibson, 2003, S. 17). Das genannte Modell betont vor allem die positive Seite vom Vorhandensein verschiedener Sprachen im Repertoire eines Lerners und hebt diese hervor. Jeder kann vorhandene Sprachkenntnisse vorteilhaft nutzen und alte, bereits gemachte Erfahrungen neu verwenden.

Zur Untersuchung

Die schriftliche Befragung zur plurilingualen Kompetenz bei Studierenden wurde an der Philologischen Fakultät der Universität Vilnius in Form eines Fragebogens durchgeführt. Die Idee für diese Pilotstudie entstammt einer ähnlichen Untersuchung von Sabine Grasz (2017), die die Meinungen finnischer Sprachstudierender zur Rolle der Mehrsprachigkeit bzw. ihrer bereits erworbenen Kenntnisse in anderen Fremdsprachen als Hilfe beim Deutschlernen untersucht hat. Die Daten für die an der Universität Vilnius durchgeführte Studie wurden 2020–2021 in den DaF-Lehrveranstaltungen gesammelt, die Deutsch als Hauptfach für Germanistikstudierende sowie als Wahlfach für Studierende verschiedener philologischen Studienprogramme anbieten. Seit 2013 werden für den Studiengang Deutsche Philologie nicht nur BewerberInnen mit Deutschkenntnissen (Referenzniveau B1–B2), sondern auch solche ohne Vorkenntnisse (Referenzniveau A1) immatrikuliert. Aus diesem Grund liegt das Sprachniveau der an der Befragung beteiligten Studierenden meistens bei A2. Es ist anzumerken, dass die Untersuchungsergebnisse wegen einer relativ niedrigen Zahl der Probanden, statistisch bewertet, nur bestimmte Tendenzen aufzeigen. Erst nach weiteren Untersuchungen können aufschlussreichere Einblicke gewonnen werden.

Die Umfrage als Erhebungsinstrument wurde aufgrund der Spezifika des Forschungsgegenstandes gewählt. Da die Sprach(lern)bewusstheit auf den automatisierten und mentalen Optionen der kognitiven bzw. metakognitiven Ebene beruht, können lediglich ihre Faktoren wie Motivation, Selbsteinschätzung sowie Lernstrategien, Meinungen etc. untersucht werden (Juhásová, 2016, S. 23). Der zweiteilige Fragebogen enthielt offene und geschlossene Fragen in litauischer Sprache. Im ersten Teil des Fragebogens wurden die wichtigsten Sozialdaten gesammelt; die Fragen im zweiten Teil bezogen sich auf die Sprach(lern)bewusstheit sowie metalinguistisches Bewusstsein der Befragten. Dabei handelte es sich um ihre Lernerfahrungen, Motivation, Bedeutung der Muttersprache und anderer Fremdsprachen beim Deutschlernen. Die Bearbeitung des Datenmaterials erfolgte unter Verwendung von deduktiv-induktiven Verfahren der qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse. Die angeführten Antworten der Probanden wurden ins Deutsche übersetzt und nach Fragebogen nummeriert.

An der Befragung nahmen 82 Philologiestudierende teil, darunter waren 66 Befragte (80%) weiblich und 16 (20%) männlich. Das durchschnittliche Alter liegt bei 21 Jahren, dabei beträgt die Lerndauer der deutschen Sprache samt dem schulischen Deutschunterricht ca. 1,5 Jahre. Die Mehrheit der Befragten (80%) gab Litauisch als ihre Muttersprache an, zehn (12,5%) der Befragten verwiesen auf das Russische und sechs (7,5%) auf das Polnische als ihre Muttersprache.

Tabelle 1

Angaben zu den Probanden

Zahl	82
Geschlecht	66 (80%) weiblich 16 (20%) männlich
Altersdurchschnitt	ca. 21 Jahre
Muttersprache	66 (80%) Litauisch 10 (12,5%) Russisch 6 (7,5%) Polnisch
Studienfach	24 (29%) Anglistik 22 (27%) Germanistik als Hauptfach 10 (12%) Skandinavistik 7 (8,5%) Germanistik als Nebenfach 7 (8,5%) Lituanistik 12 (15%) andere Studienfächer (klassische / französische / italienische / spanische Philologie etc.)

Die meisten Probanden (88%) nennen Englisch als ihre erste Fremdsprache (L2). Den zweiten Platz nimmt Russisch als L2 mit 8,5% ein, 2,5% der Studierenden stufen Deutsch und 1% Polnisch als ihre L2 ein. Alle befragten Studierenden verfügen auch über andere Fremdsprachenkenntnisse: Die meistgenannten Sprachen waren Französisch, Dänisch, Norwegisch, Italienisch, Spanisch und Russisch. Sprachen wie Hebräisch, Lettisch, Koreanisch oder Latein wurden jeweils einmal genannt.

Für die Untersuchung erwies sich auch als relevant, die Stellung des Deutschen unter den von den Befragten erworbenen Fremdsprachen statistisch auszuwerten. Bei der Mehrheit der befragten Studierenden (55%) gilt Deutsch als ihre dritte Fremdsprache (L4), 24,5% haben Deutsch als ihre zweite (L3) eingestuft und für 18% der Befragten geben Deutsch als ihre vierte Fremdsprache (L5) an. Auch wenn nur 2,5% der Probanden Deutsch als ihre erste Fremdsprache (L2) bezeichnen, war dieser Prozentsatz für die durchgeführte Untersuchung vorteilhaft: Je weiter Deutsch als eine zu lernende Fremdsprache eingestuft wurde, desto reichere mehrsprachige Basis die Deutschlernenden zur Verfügung haben sollten.

Tabelle 2

Deutsch unter den von Probanden erlernten Fremdsprachen

Deutsch als L2	2,5%
Deutsch als L3	24,5%
Deutsch als L4	55%
Deutsch als L5	18%

Als Motivation für das Deutschlernen haben die meisten Befragten folgende Gründe angegeben: Mit der deutschen Sprache verbindet man meistens das weitere Studium und (oder) die zukünftige Arbeit, somit auch bessere Berufschancen in Litauen bzw. Europa; betont werden die Befürwortung zum Deutschlernen seitens der Familie oder das Vorhandensein deutschsprachiger Kontakte. Auch das Interesse an deutschsprachiger Literatur und die Schönheit der deutschen Sprache werden als Motivation genannt:

> *(52) Ich glaube, das ist die schönste Sprache.*
>
> *(61) Ich lerne Deutsch, weil ich diese Sprache gemütlich und warmherzig finde; ich habe Verwandte in Deutschland; die Struktur der Sprache ist interessant, deswegen ist es nicht langweilig, sie zu lernen.*
>
> *(80) Die Möglichkeit mehr Bücher und Artikel zu lesen, sich in anderen Ländern zu verständigen, eine Arbeit zu finden.*

Interessanterweise bestätigten 77% der Befragten das Klischee über das Deutsche als eine „schwierige Sprache“ mit „schwer aussprechbaren, langen“ Wörtern sowie mit einer „komplizierten“ Grammatik. Nur 10% der Probanden haben Deutsch als „überhaupt nicht schwer“ und (13%) als „beides, sowohl schwer als auch nicht schwer“ eingestuft.

Zum Einsatz von Muttersprache und anderen Fremdsprachen beim Deutschlernen

Die Analyse der Befragungsdaten ließ erkennen, dass die Mehrheit der befragten Studierenden (51%) ihre Muttersprache aufgrund der etymologischen Distanz zum Deutschen nicht als Anhaltspunkt beim Lernen einsetzt. Als Hauptgrund werden etymologische und teilweise typologische Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Sprachen (L1 und Deutsch) genannt:

> *(25) Nein, weil Litauisch zu einer anderen Sprachgruppe gehört und es keine Zusammenhänge gibt.*
>
> *(66) Weil Deutsch und Russisch ziemlich unterschiedlich sind, im Hinblick auf Wortschatz und Grammatik.*

Aber fast die Hälfte der Befragten (49%) sieht in der Muttersprache doch eine gewisse Transferbasis beim Sprachenlernen:

> *(50) Ja, es hilft. Mit der Wahrnehmung der Prozesse der Muttersprache kann man durch den Vergleich auch besser die Struktur und die Grammatik einer anderen Sprache verstehen. So findet man ähnliche oder ganz unterschiedliche Vokabeln, die sich leichter merken lassen.*
>
> *(59) Manchmal, z. B. als wir Dativ (Wo?) und Akkusativ (Wohin?) gelernt haben, hat mir die Muttersprache geholfen, weil es im Polnischen auch den Unterschied bei den Richtungsangaben gibt.*

Aus der Analyse der Fragebögen lässt sich auch schließen, dass die Mehrheit der Respondenten mit Verfahren der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik in Kontakt kam. 83% Sprachstudierender verwiesen darauf, dass im universitären DaF-Unterricht bei der Vermittlung eines bestimmten Lernstoffs u. A. Vergleiche mit anderen Fremdsprachen gezogen wurden. 17% verfügen dagegen über keine Erfahrung mit dem Sprachvergleich und den mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktischen Ansätzen im Fremdsprachenunterricht:

> *(32) Diese Methode wird oft im Unterricht verwendet. Der Vergleich hilft, sich in die Sprache zu vertiefen und sie zu verstehen.*

(60) Diese Erfahrung habe ich erst als Studentin gesammelt. Das wird meiner Meinung nach gemacht, weil man sich so den Stoff leichter einprägen kann.

Tabelle 3

Einsatz von Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik im Unterricht

83%	haben die Erfahrung mit den Ansätzen der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik im Fremdsprachenunterricht
17%	haben keine solche Erfahrung

Die weitere Frage wurde darauf gerichtet, zu ermitteln, ob die Teilnehmer der Befragung die Kenntnisse in bereits gelernten Fremdsprachen beim Deutschlernen einsetzen. Die meisten Studierenden sehen in ihrem mehrsprachigen Repertoire einen klaren und eindeutigen Vorteil beim Deutschlernen. So sind 91,5% der Befragten der Meinung, dass die vorhandenen Kenntnisse anderer Sprachen als Ressource beim Deutschlernen dienen und 8,5% der Befragten empfinden diese Kenntnisse auch als störend:

(30) Es können Probleme entstehen, weil sich die Sprachen vermischen.

(59) Beim Deutschlernen ziehe ich oft Vergleiche mit dem Dänischen. Das hilft mir die Syntax zu verstehen und sie einzuprägen, weil sie in den beiden Sprache sehr ähnlich ist. Der einzige Unterschied liegt nur in Nebensätzen.

(66) Es gibt Vor- und Nachteile. Im Schwedischen gibt es beispielsweise viele Wörter, die dem Deutschen ähnlich sind. Die Wortfolge im Satz ist auch sehr ähnlich. Aber gleichzeitig können ähnlich klingende Wörter stören, weil ihre Aussprache gleich und ihre Schreibweise unterschiedlich sind, z.B. dt. ungefähr – schwed. ungefär.

Tabelle 4

Mehrsprachigkeit: Hilfe oder Hindernis beim Deutschlernen

91,5%	meinen, dass andere Sprachen beim Deutschlernen helfen
8,5%	meinen, dass andere Sprachen beim Deutschlernen wenig helfen oder sogar stören

Im Weiteren werden die Begründungen der befragten Studierenden hinsichtlich des positiven und negativen Einflusses anderer Fremdsprachen präsentiert. Die Mehrheit der Befragten führt konkrete Beispiele an und nennt Bereiche, in denen ihre individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit als Ressource beim Deutschlernen dient. Viele Sprachlerner erwähnen lexikalische Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den nah verwandten Sprachen (vor allem zwischen Deutsch und Englisch), die als die sog. Brückensprachen im Lernprozess herangezogen werden:

> *(30) Mir hilft es, dass ich andere dem Deutschen verwandte Sprachen kann. Es gibt ähnliche Regeln, ähnliche oder gleiche Vokabeln.*
>
> *(33) Der größte Vorteil liegt in ähnlichen Wortformen, z. B. apple = Apfel, deswegen lassen sie sich leichter einprägen.*

Einige Studierende präzisieren ihre Erklärungen und verweisen darauf, dass der neue Wortschatz durch Überbrückung von Englisch, Norwegisch oder Dänisch auf Deutsch erschlossen wird, und somit sich form- und bedeutungsähnliche Wörter leichter merken lassen:

> *(26) Englisch und Norwegisch sind dem Deutschen ähnlich, z. B. Namen der Monate werden auf Deutsch und Norwegisch fast identisch geschrieben.*
>
> *(31) Deutsch und Dänisch sind sehr ähnlich. Man hat manchmal den Eindruck, dass man zwei Sachen auf einmal lernen kann: Es gibt so viele ähnliche Vokabeln, die sich nur durch einen Buchstaben unterscheiden.*

Zwischensprachliche Ähnlichkeiten dienen laut den Befragten als Hilfe beim Erkennen von Wörtern sowie beim Textverständnis.

> *(29) Mit Sprachkenntnissen anderer germanischer Sprachen kann man leichter die Texte übersetzen, ähnliche Vokabeln finden und die Wortbedeutungen erschließen.*

Da bei den meisten Studierenden die englische Sprache als erste Fremdsprache eine wichtige Rolle als Brückensprache spielt, erkennen die Sprachlernenden auch im Deutschen schnell Fremd- oder Lehnwörter englischer bzw. amerikanischer Herkunft. Darüber hinaus tragen internationale Wörter, die es in den beiden Sprachen gibt, zur schnelleren Wortschatzerweiterung bei und werden von Studierenden mehrmals als Verständnishilfen erwähnt:

> *(39) Im Deutschen und im Englischen gibt es viele Internationalismen, die gleiche Bedeutung haben.*

> *(46) Deutsch und Englisch sind verwandt. Die Deutschen verwenden oft Anglizismen, nicht nur in der Alltagssprache werden englische Wörter, Redewendungen, Terminologie u. ä. eingesetzt.*

Am zweithäufigsten wird auf die Hilfe im Bereich der Grammatik hingewiesen. Die meisten Befragten bemerken ähnliche grammatische Strukturen zwischen den Sprachen, die beim Lernen zum besseren Verständnis morphologischer oder syntaktischer Sprachstruktur und zur schnelleren Einprägung beitragen:

> *(8) Norwegisch ist sehr dem Deutschen ähnlich. Einige grammatische Regeln sind ähnlich, dadurch ist es leichter, die Texte zu verstehen.*

> *(24) Man braucht sich nicht mehr so viele grammatische Sachen zu merken, wenn man sie bereits gelernt hat.*

Einige Befragte gaben konkrete Beispiele an und verglichen sie mit anderen Sprachen. Ein Befragter meinte beispielsweise, dass ihm die Kenntnisse im Französischen und Englischen helfen, die Zeitformen und den Artikelgebrauch im Deutschen zu verstehen; das Russische und Litauische ermöglichen das deutsche Deklinationssystem zu erschließen:

> *(28) Französisch- und Englischkenntnisse erlauben es, die Bildung von Tempusformen und das Artikelsystem leichter zu verstehen. Litauisch und Russisch verhelfen beim Erschließen des deutschen Kasussystems.*

In einem anderen Fragebogen wurde die Ähnlichkeit der Formen *genus verbi* im Englischen und Deutschen als hilfreiches gemeinsames Merkmal dieser Sprachen genannt:

> *(57) Bislang hat mir das Englische am meisten geholfen, weil beide Sprachen germanische Sprachen sind, z. B. das Lernen von Passiv fiel mir leichter, weil ich es vorher im Englischen konnte.*

Bei den Antworten, die Kenntnisse in anderen Sprachen als mögliche Gründe zu Interferenzen beim Deutschlernen vermerken, werden zwei Gruppen unterschieden. Ein kleiner Teil der Befragten sieht in den vorher erworbenen Sprachen keinen Einfluss auf das Deutschlernen (3 Nennungen). Von der zweiten Gruppe wird die Meinung vertreten, dass es eine negative Wirkung gibt (4 Nennungen), und es werden dabei drei Bereiche – Wortschatz, Satzbau und Aussprache – genannt:

> *(8) Manchmal wirkt die Wortähnlichkeit verwirrend und man verwechselt die Sprachen.*
>
> *(9) Manchmal verwechselt man die Aussprache und die Wörter, insbesondere am Anfang des Lernprozesses.*
>
> *(20) Die Aussprache! Deutsche Wörter spreche ich Französisch oder Englisch aus.*
>
> *(22) Es fällt schwer, die Vokabeln und die Satzstruktur nicht zu verwechseln.*

Zum Schluss des Fragebogens wurden die Befragten gebeten, folgender Behauptung mit einer auf persönlicher Erfahrung basierenden Begründung zuzustimmen oder ihr nicht zuzustimmen: *„Je mehr Sprachen ich lerne, desto leichter ist es, eine neue Sprache zu lernen*“. Aus den Antworten der befragten Studierenden sollte ihre Einstellung zur Mehrsprachigkeit beim Fremdsprachenlernen im Allgemeinen ermittelt werden. Hier können sowohl kognitive als auch fremdsprachenspezifische Faktoren zum Vorschein gebracht werden, die Lerntechniken, Sprachbewusstheit, metalinguistische Kenntnisse und multilinguale Fähigkeiten der Studierenden nachweisen. Die absolute Mehrheit der Befragten (85%) drückt rein positive Einstellungen gegenüber der Mehrsprachigkeit beim Fremdsprachenlernen aus. Die Studierenden sehen den Nutzen in solchen Bereichen wie metalinguistisches Sprachbewusstsein, dass sich vor allem durch Vergleiche zwischen den Sprachen auszeichnet, sowie in metakognitiven Fähigkeiten, zu denen u. A. früher entwickelte Lerntechniken gehören. In den Begründungen der Befragten dominieren Formulierungen mit konkreten Beispielen aus bewährten persönlichen Erfahrungen. An dieser Stelle lässt sich schließen, dass die Studierenden mit reicherem Repertoire an Sprachen mehr Erfahrung beim Fremdsprachenlernen besitzen und somit ihre multilinguale Kompetenz ausschließlich als wichtigen Vorteil sehen:

> *(30) Ich weiß bereits Prinzipien, wie man Fremdsprachen überhaupt lernen soll und was sich für mich eignet: nicht das Auswendiglernen, sondern praktische Anwendung der Sprache und das Lesen.*
>
> *(26) Ich stimme der Behauptung zu, weil man dann von Anfang an syntaktische, morphologische oder phonetische Eigenheiten leichter bemerkt; man versucht sogar bewusst, nach Zusammenhängen unter bereits erlernten Sprachen zu suchen und es verhilft, sich die Information oder neue Vokabeln schneller einzuprägen.*
>
> *(50) Ja. Je mehr Sprachen man lernt, desto leichter ist es. Wenn man mehr als eine Fremdsprache kann, entwickelt man eine eigene Lernmethodik, mit der man leichter den Wortschatz und die Grammatik erschließt. Es wurde auch bereits erwähnt, dass somit auch natürliche Assoziationen zwischen verwandten Sprachen entstehen, und der Lernprozess wird leichter und … macht immer mehr Spaß.*

Nur von 15% der Befragten wird die Auffassung vertreten, dass Kenntnisse in mehreren Sprachen den Erwerb einer neuen Sprache sowohl positiv als auch negativ beeinflussen können. Als negativer Faktor wird vor allem die typologische Nähe zwischen den Sprachen angeführt, wobei sie aus einem anderen Blickwinkel auch häufig als eine wichtige und bequeme Transferbasis verstanden wird:

> *(24) Ich stimme zu, weil ich mir mit Englisch- und Norwegischkenntnissen die deutsche Grammatik leichter merken kann, es gibt viele ähnliche Wörter, einige Wörter kann man erraten oder durch Analogie erschließen. Aber gleichzeitig verwischen sich manchmal im Kopf die Grenzen einer Sprache und man übergeht unbemerkt in eine andere. Manchmal bilde ich die erste Satzhälfte auf Deutsch und die zweite auf Norwegisch.*
>
> (55) *Ich stimme teilweise zu. Wenn man viele Sprache gelernt hat, hat man mehr Lernerfahrung, deswegen kann man das System einer neuen Sprache schneller „knacken". Andererseits, je mehr Sprachen man spricht, desto öfter vermischen sie sich untereinander, besonders wenn sie zur gleichen Sprachfamilie gehören. Das stört vor allem beim Sprechen, wenn man etwas schnell und korrekt sagen möchte.*

Ausblick

Die vorliegende Studie setzt sich mit der Frage auseinander, ob und wie individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit von Philologiestudierenden der Universität Vilnius beim Deutschlernen bzw. Sprachenlernen eingesetzt wird. Nach der Auswertung der Ergebnisse der unter den Studierenden verschiedener philologischen Studienprogramme durchgeführten Umfrage lässt sich Folgendes als Fazit festhalten:

Die Mehrheit der Befragten weist eine positive Einstellung gegenüber ihrer mehrsprachigen Kompetenz beim Lernen einer weiteren Fremdsprache auf. Konkrete, auf ihrer Erfahrung beruhende und bewährte Beispiele veranschaulichen, wie Studierende die Kenntnisse anderer Sprachen auch beim Deutschlernen nutzen. Im Hinblick auf verwandte Sprachen kann aus der Studie schlussfolgert werden, dass trotz zwischensprachlicher Interferenzen, die sich störend auf den Lernprozess auswirken können, überwiegend der Nutzen der vorhandenen Sprachkenntnisse als Ressource beim Lernen einer neuen Sprache wahrgenommen wird. Die Mehrheit der befragten Studierenden gab an, dass sie Erfahrung (auch wenn geringe) mit Methoden der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik im DaF-Unterricht haben. Daher lässt sich empfehlen, im Rahmen des universitären Studiums von Fremdsprachen weiter verstärkt auf mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktische Ansätze einzugehen.

Die Ergebnisse der Umfrage erlauben die Behauptung, dass es in Bezug auf Einstellungen der Studierenden gegenüber der Mehrsprachigkeit, auf ihre multilingualen Fähigkeiten, Sprach(lern)bewusstheit sowie sprachenübergreifendes Denken die positive Wahrnehmung der Mehrsprachigkeit im universitären DaF-Unterricht gibt und eine zufriedenstellende Entwicklung im Bereich der mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktischen Ansätze festgestellt werden kann. Um aufschlussreichere Ergebnisse zu erzielen, wird diese Untersuchung fortgesetzt, indem Studierende anderer Studienfächer, Fakultäten bzw. Universitäten befragt und die Daten zum Einsatz ihrer individuellen Mehrsprachigkeit beim Deutsch- bzw. Fremdsprachenlernen mit den Ergebnissen aus der vorgelegten Studie zur plurilingualen Kompetenz der Philologiestudierenden verglichen werden.

Literatur

Aronin, L., & Ó Laoire, M. (2003). Exploring multilingualism in cultural contexts: Towards a notion of multilinguality. In C. Hoffmann, & J. Ytsma (Hrsg.), *Trilingualism in family, school, and community* (SS. 11–29). Multilingual Matters.

Babušytė, D., & Daunorienė, J. (2021). Individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit von Studierenden und ihr Einsatz beim Deutschlernen: Pilotstudie an der Philologischen Fakultät der Universität Vilnius. *Verbum*, *12*. https://dx.doi.org/10.15388/Verb.22

Bär, M. (2009). *Förderung von Mehrsprachigkeit und Lernkompetenz. Fallstudien zu Interkomprehensionsunterricht mit Schülern der Klassen 8 bis 10. (= Gießener Beiträge zur Fremdsprachendidaktik)*. Narr.

Behr, U. (2007). *Sprachenübergreifendes Lernen und Lehren in der Sekundarstufe I. Ergebnisse eines Kooperationsprojektes der drei Phasen der Lehrerbildung. (= Giessener Beträge zur Fremdsprachendidaktik)*. Narr.

Bredthauer, S. (2016). Gestaltung, Einsatz und Lernerwahrnehmung mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktischer Elemente im Fremdsprachenunterricht – eine exemplarische Untersuchung in einem universitären Niederländischmodul. *Zeitschrift für Angewandte Linguistik*, *65*(1), 129–157.

Bredthauer, S. (2018). Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik an deutschen Schulen – eine Zwischenbilanz. *DDS – Die Deutsche Schule*, *3*(110), 275–286.

Grasz, S. (2017). Hilfe oder Hindernis? Meinungen finnischer Sprachstudierender über Mehrsprachigkeit als Ressource beim Deutschlernen. *Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht*, *22*(2), 56–65. https://tujournals.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/index.php/zif/article/view/858

Groseva, M. (2000). Dient das L2-System als ein Fremdsprachenlernmodell? In. B. Hufeisen, & B. Lindemann (Hrsg.), *Tertiärsprachen. Theorien. Modelle. Methoden* (SS. 21–30). Stauffenburg.

Hammarberg, B. (2001). Roles of L1 and L2 in L3 Production and Acquisition. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner (Hrsg.), *Cross-linguistic influence* *in third language acquisition – psychological perspectives* (SS. 21–41). Multilingual Matters LTD.

Herdina, P., & Jessner, U. (2002). *A dynamic model of multilingualism. perspectives of change in psycholinguistics*. Multilingual Matters.

Hufeisen, B. (2010). Theoretische Fundierung multiplen Sprachenlernens – Faktorenmodell 2.0. *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, *36*, 200–207.

Hufeisen, B., & Gibson, M. (2003). Zur Interdependenz emotionaler und kognitiver Faktoren im Rahmen eines Modells zur Beschreibung sukzessiven multiplen Sprachenlernens. *Bulletin VALS-ASLA*, *78*, 13–33.

Juhásová, J. (2016). Sprachbewusstheit und ihr Einsatz von Jugendlichen, die Deutsch als Tertiärsprache in der Slowakei lernen. *Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht*, *21*(2), 27–41.

Marx, N. (2005). *Hörverstehensleistungen im Deutschen als Tertiärsprache. Zum Nutzen eines Sensibilisierungsunterrichts im „DaFnE"* [Dissertation]. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren.

Marx, N., & Hufeisen, B. (2010). Mehrsprachigkeitskonzepte. In H. -J. Krumm, Ch. Fandrych, B. Hufeisen, & C. Riemer (Hrsg.), *Deutsch als Fremd- und Zweitsprache. Ein internationales Handbuch 1* (SS. 826–832). De Gruyter Mouton.

Meißner, F. J. (2010). Interkomprehension empirisch geprüft: Kompetenzprofile, Mehrsprachenerlebnis, Lernerautonomisierung. In P. Doyé, & F. J. Meißner (Hrsg.), *Lernerautonomie durch Interkomprehension: Projekte und Perspektiven* (SS. 193–225). Narr.

Reich, H. H., & Krumm, H. J. (2013). *Sprachbildung und Mehrsprachigkeit. Ein Curriculum zur Wahrnehmung und Bewältigung sprachlicher Vielfalt im Unterricht*. Waxmann.

Roche, J. (2013). *Mehrsprachigkeitstheorie. Erwerb – Kognition – Transkulturation – Ökologie*. Narr Verlag.

Williams, S., & Hammarberg, B. (1998). Language switches in L3 production: Implications for a polyglot speaking model. *Applied Linguistics*, *19*(3), 295–333.

Diana Babušytė
Vilniaus universitetas, Lietuva
diana.babusyte@flf.vu.lt
Justina Daunorienė
Vilniaus universitetas, Lietuva
justina.daunoriene@flf.vu.lt

FILOLOGINIŲ PROGRAMŲ STUDENTŲ DAUGIAKALBYSTĖS KOMPETENCIJA: DAUGIAKALBYSTĖS VAIDMUO IR TAIKYMAS MOKANTIS VOKIEČIŲ KAIP UŽSIENIO KALBOS – TYRIMO REZULTATAI

Santrauka. Individuali asmens daugiakalbystė ir jos skatinimas bendrojo lavinimo bei aukštosiose mokyklose yra aktuali tema. „Bendrieji Europos kalbų mokymosi, mokymo ir vertinimo metmenys" taip pat numato daugiakalbystės skatinimo tikslus, uždavinius ir funkcijas daugiakultūrėje ir daugiakalbėje Europoje, pabrėžiant besimokančiųjų kompetencijos atpažinti kalbų sąsajas ir pritaikyti šias žinias mokymosi procese svarbą. Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas daugiakalbystės kompetencijos klausimas, kuris tapo itin aktualus mokantis užsienio kalbų po to, kai Vilniaus universiteto Filologijos fakultete buvo parengtos naujos studijų programos, leidžiančios rinktis studijuoti germanistiką kaip pagrindines arba kaip gretutines studijas, taip pat sudaryta daug galimybių mokytis vokiečių kalbos kaip pasirenkamojo dalyko. Todėl 2020 m. rudens semestre buvo atliktas tyrimas, kuriuo buvo siekta išsiaiškinti, ar ir kaip filologinių programų studentai pritaiko jau išmoktų kalbų arba savo gimtosios kalbos žinias mokydamiesi vokiečių kalbos. Tyrimo pradžioje buvo parengtos tikslinės anketos, kurias užpildė vokiečių filologiją kaip pagrindinį dalyką bei vokiečių filologiją kaip gretutinį dalyką studijuojantys studentai ir kitų filologinių programų studentai, besimokantys vokiečių kalbos kaip pasirenkamojo dalyko. Tyrimu siekta nustatyti, ar jau išmoktų kalbų žinios padeda studentams mokantis vokiečių kalbos ir naudojamos kaip mokymosi procesą palengvinantys ištekliai, ar gimtosios ir kitų kalbų žinios laikomos interferencijos veiksniu ir vertinamos neigiamai. Po trumpos svarbiausių daugiakalbystės didaktikos principų ir kalbos mokymo(si) modelių apžvalgos straipsnyje pateikiami atliktos apklausos rezultatai: studentų apklausos metu surinkti duomenys atskleidžia užsienio, tarp jų ir vokiečių, kalbų besimokančių studentų požiūrį į daugiakalbystę, jų gebėjimą taikyti savo daugiakalbes žinias ir gerąsias mokymosi patirtis mokantis vokiečių kaip užsienio kalbos bei rodo besimokančiųjų kalbinį sąmoningumą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: vokiečių kaip užsienio kalba; užsienio kalbos mokymas(is); daugiakalbė kompetencijų; daugiakalbis kalbų mokymosi metodas; kalbinis sąmoningumas.

Diana Babušytė
Vilnius University, Lithuania
diana.babusyte@flf.vu.lt
Justina Daunorienė
Vilnius University, Lithuania
justina.daunoriene@flf.vu.lt

MULTILINGUAL COMPETENCE OF PHILOLOGY STUDENTS: RESULTS OF A CASE STUDY ON MULTILINGUALISM AS A RESOURCE IN GERMAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS

Summary. The importance of promoting individual multilingualism is emphasized repeatedly around the world. Likewise, in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2020), the prior knowledge of the learners and the networking of languages are pointed out. For this reason, the principles and methods of multilingual didactics with their positive effects occupy a prominent place in foreign language teaching, and the question of how individual differences between learners regarding their linguistic backgrounds can be considered in language teaching is increasingly being dealt with. This article examines the question of whether and how Lithuanian university students see their multilingual repertoire as a resource for learning German. For this purpose, a survey was carried out among the students at Vilnius University who are studying German as their major or German as an elective course. The aim of this study was to find out whether the previous knowledge of other languages helps the students to learn German or whether they see the influences of their mother language and other foreign languages as interference phenomena and judge them negatively. The data obtained from the survey present the students' attitudes towards multilingualism, their multilingual skills, and language awareness as well as their language-related experience in acquiring German as a foreign language.

Keywords: German as a foreign language; foreign language acquisition; metalinguistic awareness; multilingual competence.

EDUCATION IN MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL SETTINGS

UGDYMAS DAUGIAKALBĖJE IR DAUGIAKULTŪRĖJE APLINKOJE

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0015

Vildan Inci-Kavak
Gaziantep University, Turkey
Yasemin Kırkgöz
Cukurova University, Turkey

ATTITUDES TOWARDS TRANSLANGUAGING PRACTICES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LITERATURE AND FOOD ENGINEERING CLASSES[1]

Summary. With an increase in the number of colleges and universities offering courses in English in the education market globally, higher education institutions face serious challenges. In non-native settings where English is favoured as a prestigious choice for the medium of instruction, learners struggle with the huge barrier between demanding course contents and necessary language proficiency levels, which encourages them to use translanguaging and alternative strategies extensively in and out of classrooms. In this light, this study aims to look at an under-researched topic by questioning how university students' and lecturers' views on translanguaging practices show parallels and differences in literature and engineering courses from a comparative perspective. The data of the study were collected at English Language and Literature (ELL) and Food Science (FS) programmes of Gaziantep University (GAUN) in Turkey through face-to-face interviews and class observations. The classrooms were visited and observed for 21 lesson hours. 15 students and 6 lecturers from each department volunteered to participate in the study. The recorded and transcribed data were analysed then by using content analysis. The results show that while the lecturers from the FS programme stress that L2 use is vital for students to develop content knowledge and linguistic skills, the lecturers from the ELL programme claim it to be a context-sensitive practice, so some courses might necessitate more frequent use of L1 or translanguaging during the delivery, analysis or comprehension of the specific content or in formal or informal exchanges. The study has thus revealed how lecturers' and students' views in different departments change substantially based on the requirements of/expectations from the courses and how translanguaging functions as an effective and essential learning/teaching tool in the content-based courses. Accordingly, the findings should encourage teachers, lecturers and policy-makers in countries such as Turkey to reconsider the nature of bilingual teaching and learning in different areas of tertiary level education.

Keywords: attitudes; bilingual education; content-based classroom; higher education; translanguaging.

Introduction

English has become a widely preferred language and a prestigious choice for

[1] This study has been adapted from the corresponding author's Ph.D. dissertation.

education providers and policy-makers shaping academic course contents around the world. Universities often compete with each other ruthlessly to offer programmes taught entirely in English (Doiz et al., 2011), for which more and more students and families are lured by international recognition of their education and purported career prospects.

Multilingual learning and teaching have entered the agenda in recent years thanks to the globalisation and internationalisation of higher education. Studies such as the one by Mazak and Donoso (2015) suggest that "multilingual learning, far from being confusing as a monolingual perspective would see it, actually opens up higher education to more discourses and has the potential to expand students' academic mastery of those discourses" (p. 712). The functions of translanguaging took the attention of Creese and Blackledge (2010), who highlight the importance of researching what "teachable pedagogic resources" are available in the contexts in which learners and teachers freely use all their linguistic collections (p. 113).

This study contributes to translanguaging research by offering a focused perspective on two separate and distinct fields in academia and by providing insights into the nature of bilingual and multilingual interactions and exposing challenges faced by both students and lecturers in following formal requirements and engaging with academic tasks. The amount of research on English as the medium of instruction (EMI), English as a foreign language (EFL) or content-based classes is relatively high, but the issues of translanguaging in these contexts have not been touched adequately by researchers thus far.

Literature Review

To use or not to use L1?

Studies have shown that L1 is widely used in language and content-based classrooms whether an agreement on its use is reached or not (Kırkgöz, 2018; Sert, 2005). Teachers and students frequently utilise L1 since it "facilitates both communication and learning" (Eldridge, 1996, p. 310). Translation in language classes, for example, is seen as "a natural phenomenon and an inevitable part of second language acquisition" (Harbord, 1992, p. 351).

A group of researchers including Cook (2006) underline the positive impact of L1 on language learning. They believe that banning learners' mother tongues in the classroom, where they spend most of their time, is not a benevolent act. When L2 is strictly enforced, the learners' right to speak or ask questions would be limited (Cook, 2000) as it can be used as a strategy to compensate for the low level of English proficiency. Thus, L1 should not be seen as a barrier, but teachers should look for ways in which they could benefit from translanguaging practices. Therefore, having bilingual students can bring richness into the classroom, not a problem (Cook, 2006) as translanguaging serves various functions such as increasing participation, dealing with problems and negotiating meaning (Atkinson 1993; Chambers, 1992; Dickson, 1996; Macaro, 1996, 2003, 2009; Mitchell, 1988).

Mother tongue use is more common and spontaneous when students interact with each other, especially in monolingual classes where students speak a common mother tongue. Studies show that students use their L1 unconsciously (Jingxia, 2010; Sert, 2005; Skiba, 1997). Significant differences between students' levels of L2 and L1 tempt them to use L1 to check whether they understand spoken interaction correctly. This is an important function of L1 use by students when they feel stuck in the class (Simon, 2001). Their L1 thus covers the gap of knowledge they have in L2 as a compensation tool (Heredia & Brown, 2005). Otherwise, communication breakdowns become inevitable and classroom interaction may come to a halt.

A bilingual speaker is no more considered a speaker of two single languages today as bilingual language inventories are not considered as "two autonomous language systems" (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 2). Rather, it is claimed that bilingual speakers actually have only one unique linguistic repertoire but these can be "societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages" (p. 2). Baker (2011) defines translanguaging as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (p. 288). He claims that traditional structuralist ideologies are counter-effective because they do not help learners "accelerate the learning process" (p. 288). Garcia and Wei (2014) also support this claim by defending that using L1 can help learners improve their L2.

Translanguaging

As a reaction to the structuralist views, translanguaging broadens and deepens our understanding of the interactional practices of bilinguals. Leung and Valdes (2019) state that translanguaging is "a rapidly expanding conceptual-cum-theoretical, analytical and pedagogical lens that directly draws from contemporary perspectives on bi/multilingualism and that in many ways both informs and challenges existing theoretical positions and pedagogical practices" (p. 1). There are three main hypotheses of the translanguaging theory (Vogel & Garcia, 2017):

- Speakers select and deploy resources from their unitary linguistic repertoire for communication.
- Speakers' dynamic linguistic and semiotic practices should get more attention to understand bilingual behaviour, not the named languages of nations and states.
- However, it does not ignore the material effect of the named languages which are constructed by the societies and also the influence of the structural approach to languages.

Translanguaging advocates speakers' utilisation of their unitary linguistic repertoires rather than separate mental units for meaning-making and fulfilling particular communicative purposes. Translanguaging has the potential for challenging the current theories of bi- and multilingualism by not accepting the traditional lines of demarcation and divisions among languages. Therefore, translanguaging has recently caught the attention of scholars. While some scholars have embraced it with enthusiasm and thus have deepened, built upon and elucidated the notions and limits of translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012), the others who have embraced structure-based language theories have resisted or have tacitly acceded to these efforts.

Attitudes towards Translanguaging

Opinions about L1 use in the class have vacillated between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideologies for years. However, students' profiles and the linguistic nature of classrooms have gone through a transformation (Garcia, 2009). "Language classrooms in the twenty-first century are moving from monolingualism towards translingualism, encouraging flexible concurrent language use rather than continuing to keep students' linguistic knowledge separate or treating prior languages as non-existent or purely negative influences" (Wang, 2019, p. 2). Accordingly, the traditional attitudes towards L1 use or flexible language use should be reconfigured because these practices can contribute to pedagogical success (Canagarajah, 2011).

Macaro (2009) proposed a "continuum" model in lecturers' attitudes towards multiple language use in EFL classes, featuring three different positions on translanguaging. In the first position called the "virtual position", lecturers believe that the best practice is to use L2 exclusively in the class and expect the same from students. In the second called "maximal position", lecturers think that they never have ideal classroom conditions to make their "only English" dream realise, so they use L1 when necessary, feeling guilty about it (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017). In the last one called "optimal position", lecturers use both languages strategically and sensibly with the purpose of improving and facilitating learning. The speakers in this group are considered to have multilingual perspectives and they adopt a welcoming attitude towards translanguaging practices (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017).

Not many lecturers keep an optimal position for multilingual use in practice (Macaro, 2014). Wang and Kirkpatrick (2012) explored teachers' attitudes towards language choices by using Macaro's continuum model in four universities in Beijing. Their findings confirm that teachers display a positive attitude towards L1 use although the school strictly enforces a Chinese-only policy. They use L1 to make courses more interactive, stating that the systematic use of L1 is a must in such a setting (Spolsky, 2012).

Raman and Yiğitoğlu (2015) conducted a study at a university in Nothern Cyprus regarding the functions of code-switching by examining classroom interactions in a classroom that adopts English as the medium of instruction. They concluded that code-switching serves vital functions such as expressing feelings, creating a feeling of connectedness and liberating teachers' inner voices. The study also highlighted that all the participants consider code-switching as an asset to learning and teaching.

A recent study in a Turkish university context investigated lecturers' attitudes in three universities that have an English-only policy (Karakaş, 2016). The lecturers in these universities have positive attitudes towards students' purposeful L1 use as they tend to value content mastery more than language choice. The lecturers who hold a negative attitude justify their position with the presence of institutional language policy as well as with international students who do not share the same L1 with the others.

However, there is still a large gap in comparative studies in the Turkish tertiary education context. To address the need for comparative research, two diverse fields of university education were represented in this study. The participants from the FS programme represent natural sciences/engineering departments and those from the ELL programme represent social sciences/humanities departments at Gaziantep University. The selection criteria for these programmes could be summarised as follows:

a. These departments are commonly run in English across comparable state and private universities in Turkey. This is an advantage for the researchers to offer resonance for similar groups of participants at different institutions.
b. These two programmes enable us to compare divergences and convergences in the attitudes of the stakeholders of the departments in a comparative manner.
c. These departments accommodate large numbers of students and teaching staff, which confers a clear advantage for reaching more participants who could help us explore the issues at greater length.

This study aims to investigate and compare the perceptions of lecturers and students in the selected programmes on translanguaging practices in EMI courses. Hence, the study will seek answers to the following research questions.

1. What are the ELL students' and lecturers' attitudes towards translanguaging practices?

2. What are the FS students' and lecturers' attitudes towards translanguaging practices?
3. What are the differences in student and lecturer attitudes towards translanguaging in ELL and FS programmes?

Methodology

Context

The study was conducted at Gaziantep University, which is one of the prestigious universities offering English-only (EMI) courses in several undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. A fundamental reason for selecting the university for such a study is that one of the researchers had direct access to the research setting, which contributed to the study by providing comprehensive and reliable data collection.

Research Design

The research adopted a qualitative approach, so the data were collected by two methods (semi-structured interview and observation), which were complementary and helped the researchers cross-check the data (Johnson et al., 2007). Methodological triangulation can be seen as a key strength of the study, which aims to compensate for the weaknesses of each method (Dörnyei, 2007; Payne, 1994).

Participants

The participants of the study were selected randomly from among the ELL and FS lecturers and students. Random sampling gives the opportunity of an "equal probability of selection" to all participants in the population, which increases the reliability of research (Kish, 1965). This helps draw a comprehensive picture of attitudes and in-class practices.

Table 1

A Sampling of the Study in ELL and FS Programmes

Programme	Total Number of Students	Interviewed students	Observed classes	Interviewed lecturers
English Lang. and Literature	156	15	21	6
Food Sciences	158	15	21	6
Total	314	30	42	12

As shown in Table 1, about 10% of the total number of students contributed to the study by being interviewed (Total f:30 students, f:12 lecturers).

Data Collection Tools

The data for the study were collected through interviews and classroom observations, which were examined by using inductive content analysis (Creswell, 2014). The semi-structured interview consisted of six parts, covering questions about the participant's background information, the participant's L1 use in the class, the participant's frequency of L1 use, the participant's attitudes towards L1 use, the participant's problems and his/her personal solutions as well as final comments. The student interview questions were adapted to be used for lecturers with minor changes.

Semi-structured interviews were designed and conducted to gather data from the participants (Henerson et al., 1987), which has some key benefits: it allows the researcher to make any adjustments by not limiting the freedom of the researcher (Berg et al., 2012; Dörnyei, 2007; Turner, 2010) and to take "on-the-spot decisions" during the interviews (Kvale, 2007, p. 34; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

Observation is another tool used to explore attitudes and practices in their natural settings. In this way, the researcher can "see events, actions, and experiences" clearly (Ritchie et al., 2013, p. 35). A checklist adapted by Küçük (2018) was used to gather and arrange the data. A total of 21 teaching hours, each lasting 45 minutes, of content classes were observed in the course of the study.

Data Analysis Techniques

Inductive content analysis was utilised for the data analysis of this study (Creswell, 2014). The interview data were recorded, transcribed and coded sequentially. Hatch (2002) claims that "codes should not be defined as rigid regularities with sharp boundaries; they can also cover varying forms" (p. 198). Adopting an "exploratory problem-solving" (Saldana, 2008) attitude allowed the researchers to set up a network of connections and relations. According to Richards and Morse, coding leads us "from the data to the idea and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea" in a cyclical manner (2007, p. 137).

Colour-coding was also an important technique for categorisation and interpretation of the data. The items in the same colour were grouped together to identify common themes.

Member-checking and peer debriefing were carried out from time to time (Creswell 2017; Merriam, 1998). The co-author and a group of colleagues from the field checked the codes and transcriptions of the data, which aimed to contribute to the trustworthiness and credibility of the study (Janesick, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Spall, 1998; Spillett, 2003).

Results

The data have revealed the students' and lecturers' attitudes towards translanguaging practices in literature and engineering classes. Table 2 shows the summary of the themes derived from the student statements in the interviews. Following the analysis of the data collected in literature and engineering classes, the results of the data from the ELL programme are compared with the results of those collected from the FS programme in the discussion section.

Interview Results of ELL Students

Table 2

The Summary of the Themes (ELL Student Interviews)

Themes	Frequency (f)
a. Translanguaging is a common practice in and out of the class.	15
b. Studying in the EMI context is not challenging.	15
c. Lecturers should provide only English class materials.	15
d. Translanguaging helps deeper understanding, internalising and personalising.	15
e. Translanguaging has a detrimental effect on L2 oral skills.	10
f. Lecturers should be stricter about English-only policy.	9
g. I use translanguaging for note-taking.	7

***Translanguaging is a common practice in and out of the class*.**
ELL students declare that they use L1 in the classroom when they are with their friends and lecturers (f:15). They assert that the lecturers use translanguaging strategically to gain the students' attention.

> Lecturers use L1 for holding our attention because we lose it very quickly in the EMI context. (Student 9, Year 3)

They also state that these fluid practices are common even outside the school when they come together with their classmates to study a topic or revise for exams. This statement is very likely to be accurate as the students share a mutual academic repertoire, through which they communicate with each other practically and comfortably.

> If the lecturers and most of the students are Turkish and we live in a country where Turkish is the mother tongue, translanguaging is a natural thing, so it is inevitable, I think. (Student 15, Year 4)

Translanguaging enhances creativity, and in this way, the students use what they learn at school in their everyday lives without restrictions. In other words, they construct a unique space for inventiveness in their conversations by translanguaging and using terminology spontaneously and frequently out of its immediate context.

> For example, we learn the Freudian drives in the lesson, so we joke around about what we have learned and say "death drive ım harekete geçti" (my death drive has been triggered) before the final exams. (Student 15, Year 4)

Studying in the EMI context is not challenging. All the interviewees confirm that the students enrolled in the ELL programme as a personal choice. However, they claim that it is not the language, but often, the content of courses that is challenging for them (f:15). When they encounter unfamiliar terms during courses, they easily get confused. However, the more experienced students claim to have different studying strategies to succeed in such courses as illustrated below in the interview comments. The interviewed students overcome the difficulties they face in the courses by note-taking during the lectures and revising them afterwards, translating resources before and after class, story making, and coding key terminology prior to the exams to help themselves with memorisation and strategical learning. Some examples of this phenomenon are provided below:

> For Dr. Moreau, we say Dr. Moron because he is a mad scientist. Coding helps us memorise words quicker in exams. (Student 8, Year 3)

> For example, Hades in Greek mythology has a three-headed dog, called Cerberus /ˈsɜːrbərəs/ but we call it /ˈdʒerberəs/ (like it is pronounced in Turkish) because that's a wild dog. (Student 3, Year 1)

> We use coding for literary terms and definitions in literature and mythology. For instance, James Joyce. Joyce (جوز) means a kind of tree (walnut tree) in Arabic and we imagine Ulysses as the fruit of that tree. (Student 14, Year 4)

Lecturers should provide only English class materials. Some students state to prefer studying and learning English the hard way, so all the materials should be exclusively in English for them (f:15). They are expected to write, discuss and present in English. One states that "English only materials are the best for us. Otherwise, we would only read the Turkish version, which would be a 'fatal' mistake for our learning" (Student 8, Year 3).

The students confess that even if understanding an English text entails extra effort, they are enthusiastic to make an effort to learn better.

> English-only materials are effective because they are primary sources. Imagine a novel; it can be loosely or erroneously translated. Translated works are limiting for primary sources but they are good to be worked on in terms of word choice, etc. (Student 13, Year 3)

They also declare to have read the Turkish translations of the resources at times so that they can compare and contrast the literary works with a critical eye. However, if the lecturers provide them with bilingual materials, this could encourage lethargy and lack of motivation for them to read the texts in L2, in which case the students would only read the text in their mother tongues.

Translanguaging helps deeper understanding, internalising and personalising the content. All the interviewees agree that translanguaging facilitates a deeper understanding of the courses with challenging contents (f:15). As seen below, the interviewees use all resources available to them to be able to grasp the specifics of the reading material.

> When we are learning about a novel, for example, Dracula, we read it in English, in Turkish with different translations and watch the movie, so we learn it better. (Student 10, Year 3)

Some students claim that translanguaging is inevitable, particularly in the courses such as translation, poetry and linguistics, the course texts of which demand more individual resources and abilities to decipher meaningfully and successfully. Knowing keywords and other terminology is vital in the content-based context considering that whenever the students misinterpret the key concepts, understanding the text properly becomes a major hurdle.

> Lecturers have to use L1 because some terminology is not available in our home language for example extended metaphor, uncanny, etc. (Student 12, Year 3)

For some courses, the lecturers use local examples to build connections between the known and the unknown. To illustrate, as the students study Linguistics, the lecturer offers examples in their L1 to build a bridge with the target language. This facilitates their learning by facilitating their accumulated knowledge as a base and continue building new knowledge upon it.

> If there is more terminology in the course such as Linguistics, we need L1 more for support. (Student 13, Year 3)

The students (f:6) claim that when the class tries to understand the lecture or an English text, the students use their L1 and L2 (even L3 if available). They translate the written or spoken text, which helps not only their writing but also their oral skills as well. But, the students also allege that when they have lecturers coming from the Turkish literature programme to give a presentation or a lecture, they, as students, struggle because they do not have a grasp of the relevant terminology in Turkish. A knowledge of terms in Turkish would be highly beneficial to them.

> We as EMI students, struggle to understand talks given in L1 because we only master key terminology in English. (Student 11, Year 3)

***Translanguaging has a detrimental effect on L2 oral skills*.** The students stress that translanguaging gradually becomes a habit, so they feel as if they forget how to speak English appropriately, with no interference of words from their mother tongues –Turkish and Arabic in the selected context (f:10). One declares that "If a native speaker came here, s/he wouldn't understand our English (Student 8, Year 3)." This newly compiled language affects their performance negatively, especially in the exams, in which they profess to receive poor scores from time to time.

Lecturers should be stricter about English-only policy. More than half of the interviewees expect lecturers to be stricter by compelling them to speak English only in the class (f:9) as they believe not to have other opportunities to communicate in English outside the classroom (f:6).

> School is the only place where we are exposed to the language so lecturers should help us maximally on that. Therefore, they should force us to speak English in class. (Student 11, Year 3)

They express that if they are exposed to the target language more, their English will improve. Also, the majority of the students aim for a career in teaching, yet their oral skills are one of their weaknesses, which weakens their self-confidence. Thus, they expect lecturers to offer an L2 atmosphere to help them at every opportunity.

> Lecturers shouldn't provide the Turkish equivalence straightaway; they should simplify the complex language first. For me, explaining something in Turkish should be the last resort. (Student 2, Year 1)

Another point made by an Arab student is that when the lecturer translanguage, the Arab students feel excluded and ignored due to their limited Turkish. She asserts that the lecturers sometimes use a mixture of Turkish and English. For international students, translanguaging (Turkish/English) makes comprehension even harder as the interviewees state that they might not be proficient in English, Turkish or both. Accordingly, translanguaging between these languages is not effective each time for all the students as they do not speak the same mother tongue with the lecturer and the rest of the class.

I use translanguaging for note-taking. Translanguaging can be seen frequently in the students' notes as well (f:7). All the lesson materials are provided in English, but it is very common to see hand-written notes that belong to some students' L1. Many adopt a combination of words from their mother tongues and the target language for note-taking. Because it is an exclusively personal habit; how, what and how much they take notes vary considerably. Some use L2 more commonly whereas others use L1 to highlight and clarify what is written in L2. Some take notes in the same code the lecturer uses at that moment. Some others do simultaneous translations in the flow of talk and take notes in the meantime. Each student has a unique note-taking style that is particular to her/him. We can see the samples of this elaborately in the interview extracts:

> I take notes of what the lecturer has said in the class, they are generally in English, then I translate it in my head to Turkish. After that, I summarise and rewrite the sentences in my own words. This is how I learn best. (Student 7, Year 1)

> I take personal notes in Turkish on the English text. (Student 5, Year 1)

Interview Results of ELL Lecturers

All ELL lecturers state to use L1 in the classroom now and then. The views of the lecturers are discussed below in detail with the extracts taken from the interviews. As only 6 lecturers were interviewed, the frequency is not provided in the study in order not to mislead the reader (See Table 3).

Table 3

The Summary of the Themes (ELL Lecturer Interviews)

Themes
a. Translanguaging is highly personal and content-sensitive.
b. Translanguaging is used strategically.
c. Student participation is more important than the preferred language.
d. The English-only policy has some challenges.

Translanguaging is highly personal and content-sensitive. All the lecturers openly state that L1 use and its amount are shaped and determined by the content of the course and participants of that specific class. Their justifications differ significantly from each other. Half of them assert to translanguage more for scaffolding in order to improve the low-level students' comprehension of the content.

> Translanguaging can only be suitable for low levels. At high levels, only L2 should be used. There's no exposure to L2 out of the school, which negatively affects students' speaking performances. (Lecturer 2)

Yet, the other half confess to having a much stricter approach to the freshman students who need more exposure to L2. The students can easily abuse the language policies, so the lecturers state that they generally stick to the use of L2 in the class. As for the final-year students, the lecturers confess to being more flexible as these students tend to be more attentive and conscious of the course objectives.

> "We don't want to encourage them to speak only in L1, so there must be an acceptable balance". (Lecturer 3)

The lecturers claim that course content determines the amount of translanguaging. Some courses requiring translation, grammar activities, linguistics concepts or discussions on literary theory hearten or entail the students to translate, analyse, compare and contrast expressions in their L1 and L2.

L1 is used strategically. The lecturers state to use L1 strategically as a linguistic and educational tool. They use it for building rapport, joking around or as an attention-getter. All stress that they accept questions in either language as they do not want the students to go silent due to loss of motivation. Lecturer 6 states that "interfering students, while they are making a point, is very disappointing for them. They wouldn't participate next time." Correspondingly, Lecturer 2 reports, "I never silence them with L2, it breaks motivation". She clarifies that she first provides an answer in L2 with challenging vocabulary, and then, simplifies it with more basic equivalents in L2. She translanguages as a final resort. She summarises "when the students ask Turkish questions, I answer them in L1 for different levels". However, the lecturers use different strategies to manage the questions in L1. They all agree that they would never stop the students to ask them for answers in L2, which could break their self-confidence and motivation to speak in front of their classmates, so tailoring answers for those at different levels of proficiency is critical and highly beneficial.

Student participation is more important than the preferred language. The lecturers highlight the merits of student participation in the courses. Within the flow of the lessons, they acknowledge discussing controversial issues and avoid worrying about the code of the language now and then. Nonetheless, they do not mean to abuse the language policy as they claim that the amount of L1 use never exceeds that of L2.

> In the department, we expect students to analyse, synthesise, comment on and develop critical skills. (Lecturer 5)

> A lecturer has stated to be sharing the same cultural and linguistic background with the students regarding nationality, language and identity, so she prefers to use L1 with no hesitancy and regret by declaring that "if a Turkish expression fits the best to the context, why should I use it furtively?" (Lecturer 1).

Another lecturer also favours this stance by maintaining that the books and poems they analyse often feature instances of translanguaging. Thus, they need to approach texts with this metalinguistic awareness. They read such texts with a critical eye to decipher the hidden meaning behind the manuscript and attempt to figure out how the meaning is constructed and manipulated by these different language codes.

> In some lessons, authors or poets translanguage in their works purposefully, and thus, we question that too in our discussion because there must be a message underneath. (Lecturer 4)

The English-only policy has some challenges. Half of the lecturers mention that English-only teaching is not a well-working strategy for themselves as they have difficulty expressing themselves in Turkish. They explain this by stating that when they read reference books in L1 or when they attend a conference in Turkish, they struggle with the terminology to be presented in their mother tongues.

> When I read a theory book in Turkish, I don't understand it because I realise I am unfamiliar with its specific terminology, so reading and writing theory in Turkish are always more challenging for me. Then I realise I am alien to the specific terminology of that language. (Lecturer 3)

Interview Results of FS Students

Table 4

The Summary of the Themes (FS Student Interviews)

Themes	Frequency
a. Translanguaging is a common practice in and out of the class.	15
b. Translanguaging helps deeper understanding, internalising and personalising.	15
c. Lecturers should provide only English class materials.	13

Themes	Frequency
d. Translanguaging has a detrimental effect on L2 oral skills.	9
e. Studying in the EMI context has some challenges.	8
f. Lecturers should be stricter about English-only policy.	7
g. I use translanguaging for note-taking.	7

Translanguaging is a common practice in and out of the class. All the students who participated in the interview agree that they translanguage in and out of the school for various reasons (f:15). The main reason for using such a fluid language is that they are highly exposed to English in written and spoken forms in their departments. They highlight that the terminology they use is always in English and the language around it is regularly in L1. The entries of the keywords are made in English, so they stay as they are, and they do not have to be translated into Turkish. The students prefer to learn, memorise and use the concepts of high significance in English.

> As I learn the keywords for the first time in the department, when I translanguage, they are always in English. We don't even remember their Turkish equivalence. (Student 9, Year 3)
>
> We say "melting point neresi?" instead of "where is the melting point?" we don't want to get stressed speaking English, such expressions are understood by everybody. (Student 10, Year 3)

The students also reveal that the lecturers often translanguage, but they use key vocabulary in English only even when they speak Turkish. This unique programme-specific language is contagious, and the students seem to take the lecturers as role models for themselves in this regard.

> Even lecturers say "beaker" or "tube" when they are speaking Turkish, we don't know what they are in Turkish. (Student 11, Year 3)

Translanguaging helps understanding, internalisation and personalisation. All the interviewed students claim that translanguaging helps them understand better (f:15). In lessons delivered in English exclusively, they accept that they fail to understand the content wholly, so they feel like missing important points of the content (f:15). Consequently, they feel obliged to study more and spend extra effort to comprehend the delivered lesson and written materials.

> I generally understand 50% in lessons. I read, listen and write in both languages, and then, I finally understand. (Student 8, Year 1)
>
> With the help of translanguaging, we accommodate the information. (Student 5, Year 1)

They confess that some lecturers embrace a critical attitude towards L1 use in the class. In those classes, verbal interaction is limited, and the students feel to be silenced by the target language.

> I really struggle when the lecturer explains my Turkish question in English again in the same way, I don't understand again, so I give up asking any more questions, there's no point. (Student 12, Year 3)

They are observed keeping quiet, whispering the answer to their desk mates or plucking up enough courage to answer questions in their mother tongue.

> If lecturers stop us from speaking Turkish and force us to speak English, we'll go silent and wouldn't ask questions anymore. (Student 2, Year 1)

The students habitually translanguage in applied courses in laboratories where any misunderstanding of the instructions can end up in accidents and physical injuries. These students deal with explosive and inflammable gases or dangerous chemical solutions. For that reason, they often check their comprehension with their peers by asking questions to each other. In negotiating the meaning, they make sure what they have understood is correct and be safely put into practice.

> Especially in the lab, translanguaging is vital for checking if we have understood the instructions correctly. (Student 2, Year 1)

The students claim that not only their L1 or L2 (f:6) but also their overall linguistic skills develop intuitively with the help of translanguaging. They believe that lecturers should not be strict about L1 use because L1 helps the students keep on track (f:8).

> Lecturers should allow students to speak flexibly because this helps me improve my skills in different languages. (Student 4, Year 1)

> When we try to understand, we use all skills available to use. (Student 7, Year 1)

***Lecturers should provide only English class materials*.** Nearly all the students indicate that they do not prefer bilingual materials -English and Turkish in this case- as this would trigger indolence and mental inactivity, which will end up in procrastination (f:13).

> If we used bilingual materials for studying, it would make us even lazier because we would only read the Turkish half of the content. (Student 10, Year 3)

> We are in an EMI department, we need to study texts in English only. (Student 8, Year 1)

The students also stress that the lecturers should provide them with the English materials with high-quality explanations, model questions, clear examples and easy-to-follow layouts. They state to have English texts they could extensively exploit as resources for unpacking the meaning and maximise their learning.

> When lecturers provide English-only materials, we can translate, take notes on, highlight, research the parts we don't understand and learn better this way. (Student 1, Year 1)

***Translanguaging has a detrimental effect on L2 oral skills*.** More than half of the students think that translanguaging has a negative impact on their L2 oral skills (f:9). They assert to have no opportunity to practice their L2 with a native speaker in order to improve their speaking skills (f:12), and there is no exposure to the target language in and out of the school.

> There is nowhere in which we can improve our speaking. Courses are often delivered as lectures. We only listen and take notes. (Student 6, Year 1)

The English-only policy has some challenges. More than half of the students stress the problems they face with the English-only policy (f:8).

In the EMI context, they are familiar with the English forms of field-specific vocabulary, but they lack such knowledge in their mother tongue. They justify their points by mentioning that they are assigned to local factories, some of which belong to internationally known companies, and they often employ qualified and multilingual staff. However, some institutions are categorically small-scale workplaces where almost nobody speaks English, thus they complain about the difficulty of adapting to such work environments.

> Lecturers should have a proper understanding of us using L1 because many of us will end up working in local places. (Student 13, Year 3)
>
> I prefer bilingual lesson materials because when we go to the factories for training, we don't understand when they say "plakalı eşanjör" for "plate heat exchanger". Terminology is totally different in local and international work settings. (Student 11, Year 3)

Another challenge mentioned by some students is that they generally memorise to be able to write in the examinations (f:3), they do not internalise the lesson content, so after a while, they forget what they have learned by heart.

> We as students try to pass the courses, we're not trying to improve our English. (Student 15, Year 3)

Less than half of the students (f:6) claim to have started their departments after the English preparation year without getting ready to take the courses. They maintain to take mandatory Freshman English courses which cover English for specific purposes, but all the engineering students attend such courses together in the lecture halls. The content is not programme-specific; thus, they claim not to benefit from those courses. They confess that they need English support during their university education, but there are no such available courses to support their language development.

> Prep school, freshman English and what we have to learn are like cheese and chalk. When we come to the department from prep school, we're like fish out of water, but we have to pick up the language from scratch in the first two years. (Student 15, Year 3)

The students confess that high focus on the EMI education is tough and counter-effective as some lecturers adopt the English-only policy in the class and use a very flat tone and tedious teaching style, so the students cannot grasp what is relevant or superfluous. In the end, they lose their attention and begin not to listen to the lectures with due care.

> While a lecturer is speaking, if I don't know a word, I get stuck and disconnected from the lesson immediately. (Student 10, Year 3)
>
> EMI context is difficult when the lecturer uses only English with no intonation, I lose concentration very quickly. (Student 14, Year 3)

Lecturers should be stricter about English-only policy. Nearly half of the students claim that the lecturers should not be flexible about the English-only policy (f:7) because the only reason why they chose this department/programme is its policy of English as the medium of instruction. Therefore, if they struggle to understand the course contents, the lecturers should use techniques such as shifting their intonation, using visual aids, presenting the topic on the board, providing handouts or explicating the topic with examples, etc. to support their comprehension.

> Lecturers shouldn't speak Turkish because it is an EMI context and we came here on purpose. (Student 15, Year 3)
>
> Lecturers should explain complex points in English again by simplifying their languages. Using the mother tongue shouldn't be the first but the final resort. (Student 5, Year 1)

Some international students also stated that they do not prefer lecturers to use L1 and all members of the class should stick with it. Otherwise, they stressed that they think the EMI setting would not benefit them and they feel left out.

Translanguaging is an effective tool for note-taking. Nearly half of the students claim that they translanguage when they are taking notes (f:7). Although all the lesson materials are presented in L2, how students take notes differs significantly. The most frequent note-taking technique is taking notes in

L1 on the lesson material written in L2. Below are provided some interview answers on the students' note-taking habits.

> I take notes in English and Turkish, I use Turkish for my personal notes on English texts. (Student 8, Year 1)
>
> I take notes in English, when I go home, I translate them into Turkish for better understanding then I write them in English again with my own words. This is how I learn best, I never forget this way. (Student 13, Year 3)

Interview Results of FS Lecturers

Table 5

The Summary of the Themes (FS Lecturer Interviews)

Themes
a. Terminology is always produced in L2.
b. The English-only policy should be followed.
c. Student participation in the class is limited.
d. The English-only policy has some challenges.

Terminology is always produced in L2. Most of the lecturers confirm that as they all had educational backgrounds in the EMI contexts, they struggle with the equivalences of terminology in L1. Using the terminology in English causes minimal communication breakdown in verbal interactions. The students are also influenced by this field-specific and jargon-heavy speech and take their lecturers as role models.

> It's hard to say technical words in Turkish because the equivalence doesn't match them properly. They are technical words even in some Turkish contexts; they are used as they are. (Lecturer 3)
>
> Like us, our students don't know what "beher" is in Turkish, we just say "beaker". (Lecturer 6)

The lecturers see this speaking style as a natural characteristic of the programme. Thus, all the members of this academic community have been adapted to such a hybrid communication. They justify their points by saying that all input they receive and provide is in English, so this flexible and natural talk (in other words, translanguaging) naturally emerges in academic and daily interactions in the department. Two lecturers also mention that the students do not know the L1 equivalences of the engineering terminologies until they start internships at physical worksites.

> Students use all keywords in English because they are exposed to them in L2, and they overuse them. (Lecturer 1)

> They don't know how to say static-state in Turkish, which is "yatışkın durum" so they say: "sistem static-state oldu" (the system is in a static state). (Lecturer 4)

The English-only policy should be followed. Half of the lecturers believe to follow the English-only policy firmly. They disapprove of smuggling the EMI context by using the mother tongue.

> L1 use shouldn't be allowed because they (the students) come to this department for EMI. (Lecturer 3)

The lecturers stress how poorly students perform in the examinations due to their low proficiency levels of English. When the students are asked theoretical questions that require them to explain with words, not with numbers or symbols in detail, many of them fail inevitably. Therefore, nearly all the lecturers state to have ignored common grammatical or spelling mistakes as long as the students' exam papers are intelligible to read and their responses are accurate and consistent.

> In exams, we don't mark grammatical problems as long as they explain the main points. (Lecturer 2)

Another point made by the lecturers is that the students have poor verbal skills. If the students are permitted to use their L1 liberally in the classes, they would exploit this seriously. That's why, the lecturers do not appreciate the students' use of L1 widely, especially during their interactions with the lecturers.

> Translanguaging doesn't help students improve their speaking. (Lecturer 5)

All the lecturers agree that the students should be more conscious about why they should stick with language policy and be aware of the value and prestige of studying in an FS programme offering English as the medium of instruction. They highlight a global vision and the key role of Food Engineering in international markets.

> Students should be familiar with international scientific terminology because these engineering departments are internationally popular and prestigious. (Lecturer 3)
>
> To be able to compete globally with other countries, we have to be internationally visible. (Lecturer 1)

The lecturers state that a BA diploma in engineering complemented by English proficiency will enhance the students' job opportunities in the local and international markets, so they should not ignore the foreign language element of their degrees by focusing on the course contents only.

> This diploma is nothing if they don't have English because many others have this from Turkish departments. It will make them more preferable and presentable in the international job opportunities arena. (Lecturer 2)

Participation in the class is limited. All the lecturers complain about the low participation levels in the classes, particularly in the first and second years. They stress finding it hard to understand whether the students are motivated adequately. One of the interviewed lecturers asserts that the reason why students do not contribute to the lesson may be psychological reasons rather than the students' low proficiency in English or reluctance to participate in classes regularly. He maintains

> Ideally, students who prefer our department should have no problems with the target language. They learn technical English on top of general English but unfortunately, we are concerned about the state of readiness of the students who come here. They have their hands full with trying to understand challenging lesson content and picking up the language, which makes their job very difficult. (Lecturer 2)

Also, all the lecturers also underline the students' poor state of personal and intellectual readiness for the department affects their participation in the lessons and automatically their performances.

The English-only policy has some challenges. The majority of the lecturers experience similar problems with their students' understanding of the field-specific terminology in Turkish. They acknowledge to be unfamiliar with some terminology in L1 and fail to communicate with other colleagues successfully stating that "We have problems understanding our colleagues who work in departments in which the language of instruction is Turkish because we don't know the Turkish equivalents of some English technical words" (Lecturer 5). All the lecturers claim that there is no equivalence of a word or terminology in L2 such as some food names that are specific to Turkish cuisine.

> I only use Turkish words when they have no equivalence in English for example "kaşar, pekmez, baklava, şalgam", which are introduced and accepted internationally. (Lecturer 1)

All the lecturers accept that translanguaging helps their students for better understanding. They ask their peers questions, request for further simplifications, discuss with them their solutions, enquire about further phases, interpret visual materials, etc. As the level of the course content and their language proficiency do not match each other, translanguaging operates by compensating for such gaps just like a bridge from the known to the unknown.

> Translanguaging helps students fill in the gaps in their previous knowledge. (Lecturer 3)

Discussion

Table 6

The Comparison of the Frequency of Themes (ELL and FS Student Interviews)

Themes	Frequency(ELL)	Frequency(FS)
Translanguaging is a common practice in and out of the class.	15	15
Studying in the EMI context is not challenging / has some challenges.	15	8
Lecturers should provide only English class materials.	15	13
Translanguaging helps deeper understanding,	15	15

Themes	Frequency(ELL)	Frequency(FS)
internalising and personalising.		
Translanguaging has a detrimental effect on L2 oral skills.	10	9
Lecturers should be stricter about English-only policy.	9	7
I use translanguaging for note-taking.	7	7

A total of 30 students from the ELL and FS programmes (15 from each) agree that translanguaging is ubiquitous (f:30) in the academic and non-academic university settings. They benefit from this inventive, fluid and hybrid language with any speaker, including lecturers and peers, who can participate in the various forms of interactions (Lin 2019). All the students agree that translanguaging helps them for a better understanding of academic content. In this way, they can personalise and internalise the topics for accommodation (f:30). Nearly half of each group think that the content (through lectures, self-study, lab experiments, etc.) feeds into students' continuously expanding, holistic and linguistic repertoire (L1 and L2) (Lin, 2019), irrespective of no matter what language it is produced in (ELL, f:6; FS, f:6). The students find the lecturers' strict language–policy stances beneficial because as they feel more pressure from the lecturers, which encourages them to produce more English (ELL, f:9; FS, f:7). However, they do not reject the benefits of translanguaging in the classroom. Learning challenging content in a language that is the medium of instruction but not the language used for social interactions is not easy for students (Kim, Kweon and Kim, 2017; Ngcobo, 2016; Makalela, 2015; Rolin-Ianziti and Varshney, 2008; Rukh, 2012; Shifidi, 2014; Xhemaili, 2017).

Furthermore, the students do not prefer their class materials in their mother tongue as they have easy access to L1 materials, but they struggle to reach simplified English-only materials (ELL, f:15; FS, f:13). They highlight the detrimental effect of translanguaging on their L2 oral skills and they conclude that speaking is one of their weakest points and that L1 use makes more harm than good in this respect (ELL, f:10; FS, f:9). They state that their verbal deficiencies and weaknesses in L2 (vocabulary, pronunciation and communication skills) turn them into passive listeners and they habitually refrain from participating in the seminars and class discussion confidently

(Tatzl, 2011). Even the idea of participation puts them under stress when they want to ask or answer a question in L2 because they are not confident about their English proficiency. Their low participation might cause them to lose their attention and get bored of the lesson easily. When they stop paying attention to the subject matter being delivered, the important shares of lesson content go unnoticed. This cycle causes the students to fail and drop the courses. As Tavares (2015) puts it, students should be allowed to collaborate to deal with challenging lesson content, so classroom participation can be activated further by peer scaffolding.

Despite various resemblances, the two themes derived from the student interviews are strikingly different from each other. Participation in the class is more valued than the preferred language in the ELL classroom (f:6), so the ELL students are never criticised or get any negative response from the lecturer regarding their L1 use. However, in the FS classrooms, participation is very limited. The students are studying in a programme in which English is the medium is challenging particularly in verbal lessons (f:6) as they accept that their linguistic abilities are not propitious for mastering the subject matter in this language policy (Evans and Morrison, 2011; Hellekjaer, 2010; Tatzl, 2011). This problem leads the students to miss some important points of the content and to lose their motivation, which prompts a gradual withdrawal in the long run. They are expected to cover a lot of challenging terms in these courses, and they are expected to pass the exams and other forms of evaluations by revisions as most lecturers believe that content mastery is only possible through self-study.

As a final difference, the FS students think that the English-only policy brings some challenges (f:8). The students' lack of terminological knowledge in L2 particularly worries them about working in local worksites. They need to know the key terms related to their discipline in L1 (Lasagabaster, 2013). Some lecturers believe that they would overcome this after their internships in local companies, but the students are worried about time restrictions and course workloads. They feel that covering the four years of content in one go would be very intense and nerve-breaking, especially in their final years when they will have to deal with high-stake exams, graduation work, training reports, career worries, etc.

Four themes have been derived from lecturers' statements in the interviews, two of which are similar to each other, and another two reflect key differences between the mindset of ELL and FS lecturers. To begin with, ELL and FS lecturers confirm that English-only policy carries some challenges both for them and their students. They confess that when they listen or read translated academic works written in their home language, but they cannot understand them properly as some terminology entries are kept in L2. ELL lecturers find translanguaging a useful resource if it is used strategically in the courses, highlighting its context-sensitiveness. The lesson content and its immediate context are key determining factors for the amount of hybrid language and translanguaging practices. While some courses require students to translanguage more often, others encourage far less. Specifically, theory-based lessons are taught in the form of lectures, so student participation and interaction are often very limited. The dynamics of such courses do not create the necessary space for fruitful and meaningful translanguaging.

Some striking differences should also be mentioned here. Similar to what ELL students and lecturers stated in their interviews, class observations reveal that translanguaging increases both participation and interaction in the classroom (Tavares, 2015; Wang, 2019). Students often use translanguaging practices to participate, elaborate ideas and raise questions (Lewis et al., 2012). On the contrary, when the lecturers strictly force the policy, students keep quiet, and thus, both participation and interaction dramatically drop (Kılıçkaya, 2006). ELL students and lecturers justify that as long as students actively participate, they do not consider their translanguaging practices as a distractor that needs to be dealt with (Karakaş, 2016). Lecturers also maintain equality among students with different proficiency levels. By translanguaging, any student can contribute to the lesson, not only the ones whose level of English is superior to the others in some ways (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Accordingly, the differences are levelled out in a way, Students with low proficiency levels contribute to the lesson content profoundly by not being disadvantaged or silenced by L2 anymore.

The observation notes reveal that the FS lecturers are keen to follow the English-only policy, thus they show a stricter and tough attitude towards L1 use in the class. As FS students' participation is limited in classes, they shy away from speaking in front of their peers. The wide use of translanguaging in the classrooms is seen as "undesirable, unrealistic and untenable" practices, which is in line with Levine's outcomes (2011). The lecturers feel that keeping L2 in the class is one of their duties. In other words, they nominate themselves to tirelessly police students' language practices as their primary responsibility. When they have to use L1 in a few instances, they prefer keeping it clandestine as having been taught to think that they have not made a cogent decision with this move (Garcia, 2009). According to Canagarajah (2011), translanguaging naturally abounds in all classrooms where the content is not delivered in the students' mother tongue. Even if lecturers stick with L2 use, students will still prefer to ask their questions in their L1, as evinced in recorded classes in this study. From an opposing standpoint, the ELL lecturers agree with students' benefiting from their L1, thus they value and embrace translanguaging (Doiz and Lasagabaster, 2017). However, they do not employ it clandestinely and appear to know the criticality of strategic and deliberate use of translanguaging as a teaching and learning aid.

Conclusion

This study offers a comparative analysis of the students' and lecturers' attitudes towards translanguaging practices in literature and food science classes at a public university in Turkey. It has been observed that the selected group of students translanguage strategically in and out of the classes to fulfill various functions. The lecturers in FS and ELL programmes hold divergent views on L1 use and its benefits in their courses. Those in the ELL programme regard students as bilinguals and use L1 tactically in those courses by being conscious of its rewards. They claim that L1 is indispensable for some courses such as Translation, which requires constant translanguaging or Poetry, in which student participation in class discussion and collaborative textual analysis are highly valued. The lecturers state that they employ translanguaging practices for two broad purposes. The first is the pedagogical purposes such as clarifying and conveying meaning to facilitate a better comprehension of the content, explaining new words and concepts and giving voice to students' thoughts and explanations, which increases their participation. The other is the affective purposes such as comforting students in the challenging contexts of taboo topics and building rapport with them. Accordingly, they adopt flexible instructional methods in their lectures by holding an optimal position towards multilingualism and encouraging translanguaging among students intentionally. Translanguaging thus serves the pedagogical purposes of the courses, so they question the prejudice and reluctance regarding the issue. They consider the target language both as a means and an end, thus they generate a linguistic space in their classes by and for translanguaging practices.

The FS lecturers appear to be more loyal and adamant about sticking to the English-only policy in their courses. Nevertheless, they shy away from interfering with students' use of mother tongues considering the fact that these practices aid meaning-making and deeper comprehension. Even if the lecturers do not favour the concept and practices of translanguaging personally, L1 use is existent in a clandestine way as a side-product of tertiary engineering instruction. Lecturers' authoritarian attitudes towards English-only policy reveal the fact that EMI is a prestigious choice in the field. The students agree with the lecturers regarding that the English-only policy is an ideal option, yet their practices differ substantially and frequently from their stated views. Despite their need for continual and concentrated exposure to English for improving their English proficiency and specific field repertoire, they tend to see L1 as a valuable resource in their day-to-day and academic interactions and education.

The study, accordingly, provides potential implications for educators, authorities and other researchers in the field. Authorities should revisit and reconsider the principles of monolingual/EMI teaching and design policies with a more welcoming attitude towards multilingualism in tertiary level natural sciences/engineering and humanities/social sciences education in Turkey. Further research with different variables (e.g., language levels, discipline, gender, etc.) on translanguaging habits and practices in university-level education would necessarily contribute to discipline-specific translanguaging studies with new insights and implications.

References

Atkinson, D. (1993). *Teaching monolingual classes*. Longman.

Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Multilingual Matters.

Berg, B. L., & Lune, H. (2012). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (8th ed.). Pearson.

Canagarajah, S. (2011). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, *2*(1), 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110239331.1

Chambers, G. (1992). Teaching in the target language. *Language Learning Journal*, *6*, 66–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571739285200491

Cook, V. (2000). *Second language learning and language teaching*. Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press and Edward Arnold Publishers.

Cook, V. (2006). Using the first language in the classroom. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *57*(3), 402–423. https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.57.3.402

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal, 94*(1), 103–115. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00986.x

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *A concise introduction to mixed methods research*. Sage publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2017). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Dickson, P. (1996). *Using the target language: A view from the classroom*. NFER.

Doiz, A., & Lasagabaster, D. (2017). Teachers' beliefs about translanguaging practices. In C. M. Mazak, & Kevin S. Carroll (Eds.), *Translanguaging in higher education, beyond monolingual ideologies* (pp. 155–174). Multilingual Matters.

Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D., & Manuel, J. (2011). Internationalisation, multilingualism and English-medium instruction. *World Englishes, 30*(3), 345–359. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2011.01718.x

Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies.* Oxford University Press.

Eldridge, J. (1996). Code-switching in a Turkish secondary school, *ELT Journal*, *50*(4), 303–311. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/50.4.303

Evans, S., & Morrison, B. (2011). Meeting the challenges of English-medium higher education: The first-year experience in Hong Kong. *English for Specific Purposes, 30*(3), 198–208. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2011.01.001

Garcia, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Garcia, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. Palgrave Pivot.

Harbord, J. (1992). The use of the mother tongue in the classroom. *ELT Journal*, *46*(4), 350–355. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/46.4.350

Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. SUNY Press.

Hellekjær, G. O. (2017). Lecture comprehension in English-medium higher education. *HERMES-Journal of Language and Communication in Business, 23*(45), 11–34. https://doi.org/10.7146/hjlcb.v23i45.97343

Henerson, M. E., Morris, L. L., & Fitz-Gibbon, C. T. (1987). *How to measure Attitudes* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Heredia, R., & Brown, J. M. (2005). Code-switching. In P. Strazny (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (pp. 214–216). Taylor & Francis.

Hornberger, N. H., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *15*, 261–278. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2012.658016

Janesick, V. J. (2004). *Stretching exercises for qualitative researchers* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Jingxia, L. (2010). Teachers' code-switching to the L1 in EFL classroom. *The Open Applied Linguistic Journal*, *2*(4), 10–23. https://doi.org/10.2174/1874913501003010010

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *1*(2), 112–133. https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689806298224

Karakaş, A. (2016). Turkish lecturers' views on the place of mother tongue in the teaching of content courses through English medium. *Asian Englishes*, *18*(3), 242–257. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13488678.2016.1229831

Kim, E. G., Kweon, S. O., & Kim, J. (2017). Korean engineering students' perceptions of English-medium instruction (EMI) and L1 use in EMI classes. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *38*(2), 130–145. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2016.1177061

Kırkgöz, Y. (2009). Students' and lecturers' perceptions of the effectiveness of foreign language instruction in an English-medium university in Turkey. *Teaching in Higher Education*, *14*(1), 81–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562510802602640

Kırkgöz, Y. (2018). Confronting similar challenges? Exploring students' experiences of studying engineering at a Turkish university: Turkish versus English-Language Medium of Instruction. *Rassegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata,* 2–3, 145–160. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ejemplar/529611

Kish, L. (1965). *Survey sampling*. John Wiley & Sons.

Küçük, C. (2018). *Investigating translanguaging as a teaching and learning practice in an English medium higher education context in Turkey* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Çukurova University.

Lasagabaster, D. (2013). The use of the L1 in CLIL classes: The teachers' perspective. *Latin American Journal of Content and Language Integrated Learning, 6*(2), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.5294/3148

Leung, C., & Valdés, G. (2019). Translanguaging and the transdisciplinary framework for language teaching and learning in a multilingual world. *The Modern Language Journal*, *103*(2), 348–370. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12568

Levine, G. S. (2011). *Code choice in the language classroom.* Multilingual Matters.

Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: Developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, *18*(7), 655–670. https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.

2012.718490

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage.

Macaro, E. (1996). Teacher use of the target language. *Languages Forum*, *1*(5), 2–7.

Macaro, E. (2003). *Teaching and learning a second language*. Continuum.

Macaro, E. (2009). Teacher use of codeswitching in the second language classroom: Exploring‛optimal’ use. In M. Turnbull, & J. Dailey-O'Cain (Eds.), *First language use in second and foreign language learning* (pp. 35–49). Multilingual Matters.

Macaro, E. (2014). Overview: where should we be going with classroom Codeswitching research? In R. Barnard, & J. McLellan (Eds.), *Codeswitching in university English-medium classes: Asian perspectives* (pp. 10–23). Multilingual Matters.

Macdonald, C. A. (1990). *Swimming up the Waterfall: A Study of School-Based Learning Experiences. A Final Report of the Threshold Project.* Human Sciences Research Council.

Makalela, L. (2015). Moving out of linguistic boxes: The effects of translanguaging strategies for multilingual classrooms. *Language and education*, *29*(3), 200–217. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2014.994524

Mazak, C. M., & Herbas-Donoso, C. (2015). Translanguaging practices at a bilingual university: A case study of a science classroom, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *18*(6), 698–714. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.939138

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Mitchell, R. (1988). *Communicative language teaching in practice*. Centre for Information on Language Teaching.

Ngcobo, S., Ndaba, N., Nyangiwe, B., Mpungose, N., & Jamal, R. (2016). Translanguaging as an approach to address language inequality in South African higher education: Summary writing skills development. *Critical Studies in Teaching and Learning*, *4*(2), 10–27. https://www.ajol.info/index.php/cristal/article/view/149784

Payne, D. A. (1994). *Designing educational project and program evaluations:*

A practical overview based on research and experience. Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Raman, Y., & Yigitoglu, N. (2015). Friend or foe?: English as the medium of instruction policy versus code switching practices. *The International Journal of Research in Teacher Education*, *6*(3), 1–23. https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/ijrte/issue/8572/106262

Richards, L., & Morse, J. M. (2007). *Read me first for a user's guide to qualitative methods*. Sage.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (Eds.). (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Sage.

Rolin-Ianziti, J., & Varshney, R. (2008). Students' views regarding the use of the first language: An exploratory study in a tertiary context maximizing target language use. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 65*(2)*,* 249–273. http://dx.doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.65.2.249

Rukh, S. (2012). Students' attitudes towards teachers' code-mixing/code-switching to L1 and its influence on their L2 learning: A case of business students in Sargodha. *International Journal of Science and Research, 3*(5), 1111–1116. https://www.ijsr.net/archive/v3i5/MDIwMTMyMDAz.pdf

Sert, O. (2005). The functions of code-switching in ELT classroom. *The Internet TESL Journal*, *11*(8), 1–6. http://iteslj.org/Articles/Sert-CodeSwitching.html

Shifidi, L. N. (2014). *Integration of translanguaging in lessons: an approach to teaching and learning in Namibian junior secondary schools. A qualitative case study in three regions in Namibia*. [Unpublished Master's Thesis]. Hedmark University, Norway.

Simon, D. (2001). Towards a new understanding of codeswitching in the foreign language classroom. In R. Jacobson (Ed.), *Codeswitching worldwide II* (pp. 311–342). Mouton de Gruyter.

Skiba, R. (1997). Code switching as a countenance of language interference, *The Internet TESL Journal*, *3*(10), 1–6. http://iteslj.org/Articles/Skiba-CodeSwitching.html

Spall, S. (1998). Peer debriefing in qualitative research: Emerging operational models. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *4*(2), 280–292. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780049800400208

Spillett, M. A. (2003). Peer debriefing: Who, what, when, why, how. *Academic Exchange Quarterly, 7*(3), 36–40. https://www.thefreelibrary.com/ Peer debriefing: who, what, when, why, how.-a0111848817

Spolsky, B. (2012). What is language policy? In B. Spolsky (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of language policy* (pp. 3–15). Cambridge University Press.

Tatzl, D. (2011). English-medium masters' programs at an Austrian university of applied sciences: Attitudes, experiences and challenges. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 10*(4), 252–270. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2011.08.003

Tavares, N. J. (2015). How strategic use of L1 in an L2-medium mathematicsclassroom facilitates L2 interaction and comprehension. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *18*(3), 319–335. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.988115

Turner, D. W. (2010). Qualitative interview design: A practical guide for novice investigators. *The Qualitative Report*, *15*(3), 754–760. http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR15-3/qid.pdf

Vogel, S., & Garcia, O. (2017 December). Translanguaging. In G. Noblit, & L. Moll (Eds.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education* (pp. 1–22). Oxford University Press.

Wang, D. (2019). Translanguaging in Chinese foreign language classrooms: Students and teachers' attitudes and practices. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *22*(2), 138–149. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2016.1231773

Wang, D., & Kirkpatrick, A. (2012). English as a lingua franca in teaching Chinese as a foreign language in Beijing: An investigation into teachers' language beliefs. *The Journal of Multilingual Education, 2*(1), 11–18.

Xhemaili, M. (2017). *The influence of mother tongue (Albanian) in learning and teaching EFL*, Pristina, Kosovo. [Unpublished Thesis]. Kolegji AAB, Pristina.

Vildan Inci-Kavak
Gaziantepo universitetas, Turkija
vildan_elt@hotmail.com
Yasemin Kırkgöz
Čukurovos universitetas, Turkija
ykirkgoz@gmail.com

POŽIŪRIS Į TRANSKALBYSTĖS PRAKTIKĄ: LITERATŪROS IR MAISTO INŽINERIJOS PAMOKŲ LYGINAMASIS TYRIMAS

Santrauka. Pasaulinėje švietimo rinkoje augant kolegijų ir universitetų, siūlančių studijas anglų kalba, skaičiui aukštojo mokslo institucijos susiduria su rimtais iššūkiais. Studijoms vykstant ne gimtosios kalbos aplinkoje, kur dažniausiai pasirenkama anglų kalba kaip prestižinė dėstymo kalba, besimokantieji susiduria su didžiuliu iššūkiu: studijų turinio supratimas reikalauja aukštų mąstymo gebėjimų, o daugelio kalbinės kompetencijos lygis, būtinas studijų turiniui suprasti, nėra pakankamas, ir tai skatina studentus plačiai taikyti transkalbystės (angl. *translanguaging*) ir alternatyvias strategijas auditorijose ir už jų ribų. Atsižvelgiant į tai, šiuo tyrimu siekiama pažvelgti į nepakankamai ištirtą temą, lyginamuoju aspektu klausiant, kokias paraleles ir kokius skirtumus rodo universiteto studentų ir dėstytojų požiūris į transkalbystės praktiką literatūros ir inžinerijos dalykuose. Tyrimo duomenys buvo surinkti Turkijos Gaziantepo universiteto (GAUN) anglų kalbos ir literatūros (ELL) bei maisto mokslo (FS) programose, atliekant tiesioginius interviu ir stebėjimus paskaitose. Auditorijose buvo apsilankyta ir stebėta 21 paskaita. Tyrime savanoriškai sutiko dalyvauti 15 studentų ir 6 dėstytojai iš kiekvienos katedros. Įrašyti ir transkribuoti duomenys vėliau buvo analizuojami taikant turinio analizę. Rezultatai rodo, kad nors FS programos dėstytojai pabrėžia, jog anglų kalbos vartojimas yra gyvybiškai svarbus studentams, kad jie įgytų turinio žinių ir kalbinių įgūdžių, ELL programos dėstytojai teigia, kad tai yra kontekstui jautri praktika, todėl kai kuriuose dalykuose gali prireikti dažniau vartoti studento namų kalbą (L1) arba transkalbystę perteikiant, analizuojant ar suvokiant konkretų turinį arba bendraujant formaliai ar neformaliai. Taigi tyrimas atskleidė, kaip iš esmės keičiasi dėstytojų ir studentų požiūriai skirtinguose fakultetuose, atsižvelgiant į dalyko reikalavimus / lūkesčius, ir kaip transkalbystė veikia kaip veiksminga ir būtina mokymosi / mokymo priemonė turiniu pagrįstuose dalykuose. Gauti rezultatai turėtų paskatinti mokytojus, dėstytojus ir politikos formuotojus tokiose šalyse kaip Turkija iš naujo apsvarstyti dvikalbio mokymo ir mokymosi pobūdį įvairiose aukštojo mokslo srityse.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: požiūris; dvikalbis mokymas; turiniu grindžiamas mokymas; aukštasis mokslas; transkalbystė.

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0016

Eider Saragueta
The University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU, Spain
Oihane Galdos
The University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU, Spain
Leire Ituiño Aguirre
The University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU, Spain

IN-SERVICE PRIMARY TEACHERS' PRACTICES AND BELIEFS ABOUT MULTILINGUALISM: LINGUISTICALLY SENSITIVE TEACHING IN THE BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

Summary. European schools have seen a considerable increase in the number of multilingual students (Bergroth et al., 2021). Teaching languages separately restricts the use of students' entire linguistic repertoire; however, new lines of research have pointed out the usefulness of multilingualism and the potential benefits of pedagogical translanguaging (Leonet et al., 2017). In this context, Linguistically Sensitive Teaching (LST) allows teachers to make multilingualism visible in their classrooms (Llompart & Birello, 2020). This qualitative research study was conducted in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), where Basque and Spanish are official languages. In most cases, English is taught as a Foreign Language. Even though the minority language is not the student's first language in many cases, most students' families choose Basque as the language of instruction (Basque Government, 2020). This study analyses in-service primary teachers' perspectives on multilingual education in a government aided semiprivate school. Data were collected through linguistic landscape analysis, observations, and a focus group discussion. Two researchers observed one hundred six primary multilingual students and eight in-service language and content teachers for three weeks. Teachers who participated in the study were at least bilingual and fluent in Basque and Spanish and some (4) were also fluent in English (B2–C1 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for languages). The findings reveal that in-service primary teachers are aware of the utility of putting LST into practice, and they are willing to teach and flexibly use languages. In addition, they believe in transferences across languages and highlight the value of using language to learn content. Although in many cases, multilingual strategies are appropriate for adapting to the current situation, those strategies are not systematized, creating a climate of insecurity. The results suggest the need for more linguistically sensitive education and training.

Keywords: in-service primary teachers; language beliefs; Linguistically Sensitive Teaching; minority language; multilingual education.

Introduction

The number of multilingual students at European schools has considerably increased, and thus it is necessary to include and consider the entire linguistic repertoire of all students. Consequently, numerous proposals have called for monolingual practices to be abandoned and to instead consider a multilingual approach that softens the boundaries between languages (Canagarajah, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014). In this context, Linguistically Sensitive Teaching (LST) is an approach that advocates for a transformative, inclusive, and sensitive way of using languages in the whole school. Furthermore, LST favours social cohesion and highlights the necessity of building bridges between languages, leaving aside one-language-only policies.

LST considers four areas: 1) the multilingual environment of the school, 2) the wellbeing of students, which relates to the opportunity to use their full linguistic repertoire, 3) the adequate use of languages inside the classroom with the aim of fostering understanding and cooperation among the students, and 4) the flexible use of both majority and minority languages. Thus, LST does not just consider language didactics but the teaching practices of the entire school community. To put it simply, this teaching approach supports a more fluid and dynamic use of languages to promote students' academic success and wellbeing.

In this vein, the Linguistically Sensitive Teaching in all Classrooms (LISTiac) project aims to make teachers (and future teachers) more linguistically sensitive in their beliefs and teaching practices. Thus, the first step is to identify teachers' thoughts and attitudes to achieve a real change in education. The data for the current study were collected within the framework of LISTiac. The study was conducted in the Basque Autonomous Community and aimed to analyse in-service primary teachers' perspectives on multilingual education. In the following sections, attention will be focused on these three core ideas: the environment of a multilingual school, the use of translanguaging as a pedagogical tool, and the multilingual educational approach and student wellbeing, which are closely connected to the foundations of LST.

The Multilingual School Environment

Most linguistic landscape studies focus on public spaces such as hospitals, government buildings, or public street signs. However, as Gorter (2013,

p. 191) pointed out, "the linguistic landscape refers to any display of visible written language." When it comes to education, the linguistic landscape is "a powerful tool for education, meaningful language learning, towards linguistic activism" (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009, p. 326). Since the signs of the school are part of the linguistic landscape, a more specific term was proposed by Brown (2005), that is, *schoolscape*. She defined it as "the school-based environment where place and text, both written (graphic) and oral, constitute, reproduce, and transform language ideologies" (Brown, 2012, p. 282). The schoolscape has been analysed in various ways (see, e.g., Dressler, 2015; Laihonen & Tódor, 2017), using a broad range of linguistic landscape research methods. Gorter and Cenoz (2015) examined the linguistic landscape in the Basque Country's primary and secondary multilingual schools. Since the analysed schools have Basque as a medium of instruction, Basque was the most common language used for school signs. However, the situation of the Basque language in society differs from that of schools.

Linguistic landscape research can be related to language awareness or second or third language acquisition in educational settings, while also revealing the inner workings of multilingual literacy, multilingual competence, or linguistically sensitive teaching.

The Use of Translanguaging as A Pedagogical Tool

Traditionally the educational setting has been characterized by a monolingual view, following the idea that languages need to be taught in the same way worldwide because they are fixed codes. However, Cenoz and Gorter (2020) pointed out that multilingual speakers differ from monolingual speakers at three levels: multilingual trajectories, multilingual discourses, and multilingual competence. In addition, multilingual speakers' entire linguistic repertoire has to be considered when learning and using languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014) since it can be a rich resource for comparing and learning different languages and language elements and use these resources cross-linguistically. The term "translanguaging," created by Cen Williams in the 1980s, has its origins in the Welsh educational system and combines the input and output of two languages (Welsh and English) in a planned and systematic way (Lewis et al., 2012). The term has evolved to include didactical strategies and spontaneous communicative practices characteristic of multilingual speakers. Furthermore, pedagogical translanguaging embraces instructional strategies that integrate two or more languages and "softens boundaries between languages and aims at developing multilingualism and multiliteracy" (Cenoz & Santos, 2020).

Moreover, students' learning process can be reinforced using this strategy since they can use their whole linguistic repertoire instead of avoiding using their linguistic knowledge. In Basque-medium education, where there are three languages in the curriculum, and one of them is a minority language, there is an aim to develop and reinforce the latter. For over 30 years, Basque — extensively used as a language of instruction — has faced several challenges (Zalbide & Cenoz, 2008), including the problem of being isolated inside the classroom (as the other curriculum languages) as well as students having limited contact with the language outside the classroom. However, in recent years new trends have arisen, and as Leonet et al. (2017) indicated, pedagogical translanguaging provides the opportunity for students to use their whole linguistic repertoire. Nonetheless, they mention that although translanguaging pedagogies can be compatible with the maintenance and revitalization of minority languages, their implementation needs to be tailor-made to specific contexts and gradually introduced.

Educational Multilingual Approach and Students' Wellbeing

Traditionally, languages have been taught separately in the school curriculum, considering the monolingual speaker as a model when learning a new language. However, to achieve a true multilingual education, it is essential to shift from a monolingual to a holistic view of education. In this context, the "Focus on Multilingualism" (FoM) (Gorter & Cenoz, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014) approach takes the multilingual speaker as a whole and argues that languages are not different "mental boxes," and there is instead a common linguistic repertoire in which languages are interrelated. Furthermore, FoM also considers the whole social context, of which languages are a significant part. In simple terms, FoM considers three dimensions: the multilingual speaker, the whole linguistic repertoire, and the social context. One of the implications of FoM in education is that multilingual students' linguistic levels are not compared with those of monolinguals, which could benefit learners' general wellbeing. As Cook (2010) argues, the so-called "native speakerism" ideology produces a sense of failure and lack of self-confidence in students, which could have negative consequences when learning an additional language.

The Affective Filter hypothesis (Krashen, 1982) explains the relationship between affective variables and second language acquisition. According to this learning theory, affective variables act as a filter, blocking the necessary input for acquisition. Motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety are the three main categories regarding affective variables. If a student's Affective Filter rises (for example, if anxiety levels are high), the acquisition process is negatively affected. Even if the student can comprehend the input, this understanding will not go deeper until they acquire the new form. Consequently, it is essential to create a pleasant learning atmosphere in which the students' Affective Filter is low. To create a comfortable learning atmosphere and support multilingual learners' general wellbeing, multilingual practices — specifically pedagogical translanguaging — has been proven effective (Back et al., 2020; Ahn et al., 2018).

To sum up, it is necessary to highlight the importance of a multilingual approach to support students' wellbeing when learning. Acknowledging that multilingual speakers have a common linguistic repertoire (and taking advantage of this) could significantly promote content learning and academic success without leaving aside students' innermost feelings and thoughts.

Context

This qualitative research study was conducted in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), an administrative area in Northern Spain with close to 2.1 million inhabitants. There are two official languages in the region, the minority language Basque and the majority language, Spanish. Thus, instruction in both languages is compulsory between the ages of 6 to 16. In most cases, English is taught as a Foreign Language, introduced in the early stages of education. However, for socio-cultural reasons and due to the community's proximity to France, in some cases, French is also taught (usually in Secondary Education). Moreover, in recent years the number of migrant students has considerably increased (Bergroth et al., 2021). Consequently, there are many students whose mother tongue is different from the language of instruction.

The language policy in the BAC aims to promote multilingual education and in so doing revitalize and encourage the use of Basque. According to the "Barcelona objective 2002," established by the European Commission (2008), European citizens need to communicate in two languages other than their mother tongue. Furthermore, this objective encourages considering minority languages, which are not usually appreciated and are reduced to a much more informal sphere, such as the family environment. Thus, education in the BAC is provided according to three different linguistic models: A, B, and D. The Models are defined according to the languages of instruction and the time devoted to developing the objectives set in the curriculum.

Model A is taught completely in Spanish (except when Basque, English, or French is offered). In Model B, both Basque and Spanish are taught as subjects, and they are also languages of instruction except for English and, in some cases, French. In this case, the school decides the percentage of use of Basque and Spanish. Finally, Model D offers education in Basque. All subjects are taught in Basque in this model, except for Spanish, English, and French if offered.

Model D was “originally created as a language maintenance program for native speakers of Basque” (Cenoz, 2008). Over the years, however, the popularity of the D model and the use of Basque as a language of instruction has increased. Most students' families choose to enrol their children in Model D, with Basque as the language of instruction (Basque Government, 2020), even though, in many cases, the minority language is not the families' first language. Consequently, the number of Basque speakers in the BAC increased markedly between 2011 and 2016 (Eustat, 2018).

However, the minority language still faces many challenges. While Basque is usually regarded as the "language of school," its use out of the classroom is still limited. Moreover, data show that as students grow up, their use of Basque diminishes. As Cenoz and Gorter (2017) pointed out, most of the students in primary education (79%) used "Basque only" or "more

Basque than Spanish" inside the classroom. Yet, that percentage considerably decreased in secondary education, and only a minority (44%) mainly mentioned Basque. Moreover, the number of students who indicated using "only Basque" or "more Basque than Spanish" during school breaks was 41% in primary and 29% in secondary school. Therefore, the main challenge of the educational policies in the BAC is to promote multilingualism and, at the same time, to develop students' communicative competence in Basque to ensure the active use of the lesser-used language.

Aim of the Research Study and Research Questions

The current research study explores in-service primary teachers' perspectives on multilingual education. In particular, the participants' beliefs and teaching practices were analysed, paying special attention to the environment of the multilingual school, multilingual practices, translanguaging, and finally, the wellbeing of multilingual students. Therefore, the following research questions guided the study:

RQ1. How is multilingualism displayed in the school environment?
RQ2. How is translanguaging used inside the multilingual classroom?
RQ3. How is the wellbeing of the multilingual students supported?
To address these questions, qualitative research study was conducted.

Methodology

This research study used linguistic landscape analysis, observations, and focus group discussions. Additionally, observations were made to analyse the previously mentioned teachers' beliefs and linguistically sensitive teaching practices. Finally, for three weeks, students were monitored during Basque, Spanish, English, arts and crafts, Maths, and social science lessons.

Participants

The research study was conducted in a government-aided semiprivate school in Donostia-San Sebastian in the Basque Country (Spain). The participants were eight in-service teachers and 106 primary school students. The students were between the ages of 10 and 11, and half were enrolled in Model D (55) and the other half in Model B (51), although most of the students (86) had Spanish as their first language. Regarding English, it was introduced in the early stages of education and for them English was a Foreign Language. The teachers who taught language and content classes ranged between 25 and 60 years of age. All the teachers were at least bilingual and fluent in Basque and Spanish, and some (4) were also fluent in English (B2-C1 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). Table 1 displays the specific characteristics of the teachers who participated in the focus group discussions.

Table 1

Characteristics of the teachers in the group discussions

CODE	Gender	Age	Teaching experience	Linguistic teaching model (D/B)	Considered themselves as
T1	F	25-30	5 years	D&B	Bilingual
T2	F	55-60	25 years	D&B. Mainly D	Bilingual
T3	M	45-50	18-19 years	D&B	Bilingual

Data and Analysis

Data was collected through linguistic landscape analysis, observations, and a focus group discussion. The tools included the observation guide created by the European project LISTiac, translated into Basque from English. The rest of the instruments were directly written in Basque.

To analyse the linguistic landscape, 48 pictures were taken, and, in some cases, more than one picture of the same sign or text was taken. The pictures were taken in the enclosure of the school building and inside the school building. In addition, monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs were analysed, paying special attention to the text position and size.

The observation guide proposed by LISTiac included the following four sections: languages in the whole school, building good relations and supporting wellbeing, linguistically sensitive classroom interaction in school language/s, and encouraging the use of various languages. Field notes were taken to complete the observation scheme.

The focus group discussion was also conducted by two researchers to gather teachers' background information and inquire about their teaching experiences. The focus group was based on the adapted versions of the LISTiac semi-structured interview protocol.

Procedure

The data collected were analysed qualitatively. First, codes were identified and then grouped to create four main categories of the use of translanguaging: (1) input & output, (2) translation, (3) comparisons & derivation, and (4) cognates. The authors analysed the transcripts and pictures separately and then shared the analyses to increase the reliability of the study. In addition, the field notes provided a general overview to set the context of the interactions and practices.

Results

This section describes the study results, considering the three research questions proposed.

Multilingualism in the School Environment

To answer the first question, "How is multilingualism displayed in the school environment?" the linguistic landscape was analysed. Since the school environment was composed of various spaces, this research focused on the linguistic landscape outside and inside the classroom.

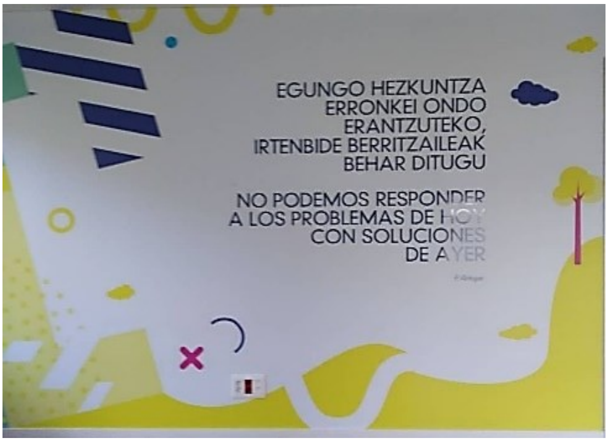
The first figure shows the entrance of the school outside the building. This sign is the first poster that can be found in the school and displays a map of the buildings that constitute the school. The poster is in Basque, Spanish, and English (in that order). As discussed with the teachers, one of the aims is to promote the minority language. Thus, Basque is the first language in the sign, even though Spanish is the most used language among the families. Therefore, the school decided to add that co-official language. As the teachers explained, the school wants to encourage their students to learn English, hence using the language in the sign. It is important to mention that the order of the languages is not coincidental. Basque is the minority language, and receives the most attention, which is why it is displayed first. This is followed by the second language (the co-official language of the Basque Country) and, finally, the foreign language. All the languages are presented in the same text size and font, and as a result, all three are equal except for the order of presentation.

Figure 1

School entrance sign

Figure 2

The entrance of the building



A coloured wall welcomes visitors in Basque and Spanish at the building entrance. Figure 2 shows the sentence that is one of the emblems of the school: "We cannot answer today's problems with yesterday's solutions." Basque was placed first in the written sign, and both languages were displayed with the same text type and colour.

There were several information panels outside the classroom, most of which were bilingual.

Figure 3

Classroom distribution

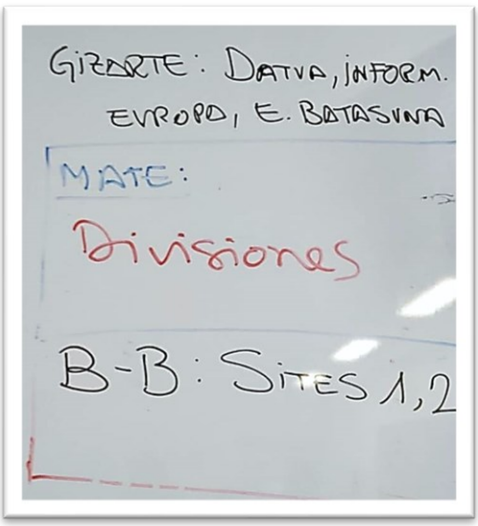
Figure 3 displays the distribution of the classrooms, that is where each grade and class were located. Moreover, the Basque language was written in bold while Spanish was written in regular type. The official signs were placed in Basque and Spanish, although Basque had a more distinguished space.

The next sign analysed outside the classroom was the toilet sign in Basque, but this also included a graphic representation in case someone could not understand the language.

Since there was a lot of space in the corridors to share and display different content outside the classroom, most of the signs were located there. However, the distribution of glass walls, windows, and whiteboards inside the classroom did not allow the teachers and the students to put up signs, posters, or other information panels. That is why teachers wrote directly on the whiteboard that was also used to display the textbook of each subject.

Figure 4

Classroom whiteboard



In Figure 4, three languages can be seen: Basque, Spanish, and English. The picture is part of the whiteboard placed on the main wall inside the classroom. The teachers used this whiteboard for various purposes, such as writing or displaying a textbook to mark or point towards a specific section.

We consider this written sign to be part of the linguistic landscape inside the classroom because this method of writing signs was used as an alternative to printing posters. There was only one additional poster inside the class due to the lack of space.

As mentioned previously, teachers used cabinets to display certain posters due to a lack of space. When the researchers visited the school, only one information poster was in place — a colourful poster written mainly in Spanish (except for three lines below the text that were in Basque). However, the print next to the poster (without colours or images) was a written translation only in Basque.

In the school environment, mainly Basque and Spanish were displayed although some English was also evident at the school entrance. However, inside the building, all the signs and posters were written in the co-official languages.

Translanguaging In the Multilingual Classroom

The second research question was "How is translanguaging used inside the multilingual classroom?". To answer this question, 106 students and eight teachers were observed, creating four main categories of translanguaging use: (1) input & output, (2) translation, (3) comparisons & derivation, and (4) cognates.

(1) Input and Output. Using another language to reinforce the understanding or using different classroom resources was common among the educators. The in-service teachers used many Spanish resources when teaching in English or Basque. For example, some of them decided to use books in Spanish to give the students a deeper understanding of history. This pedagogical tool was extended to arts subjects since some in-service teachers used *YouTube* videos and *TikToks* in Spanish to keep their students engaged during music class. Nonetheless, when talking to the in-service teachers, they were unsure whether this was a good idea. They attributed the use of resources in additional languages to the low budget and lack of available tools in the language of instruction.

(2) Translation. Translation was a commonly used strategy, particularly in English classes. The in-service teachers were aware that the pupils did not always understand what they said. Thus, translations were used if the message was important, and they felt the need to understand. The teachers resorted to translations in several situations. First, a word — rather than the whole sentence — was translated when the teachers believed that the students could understand what they were saying just by giving them one word. For example, during one of the lessons, the pupils were asked to create a draft for a written assignment. To guarantee that they would do the draft, one of the in-service teachers translated the term "draft" to Basque. Full translations were also common, although those were used as a last resort. The full translation was used if the pupils remained confused even after the teachers had repeated the sentences or tried to explain using different words. Lastly, the results showed that translations were immediately done whenever the in-service teachers were angry or disappointed with the students.

(3) Comparisons & derivation. The in-service teachers noticed that many students sometimes mixed the languages they were learning. Thus, the educators took time to go over the most repeated mistakes and explain that, even though some rules were transferable between languages, this did not work all the time for all the languages. As a result, the multilingual students used their linguistic repertoire, with the support of the in-service teachers. Nonetheless, they were sure to check the most common mistakes made by the pupils to correct them immediately. In addition, the teachers used different strategies to take advantage of their students' multilingual repertoire. For example, during Spanish classes, the teachers decided to ask the students about the "WH questions" in English to help them find the Spanish equivalents.

(4) Cognates. The use of cognates was a recurrent strategy employed by the teachers. Cognates were used in every class to help those students who did not make the connections to see the similarities between the languages. Most of the time, this strategy was used when the language of instruction was English — the third language of most children — and the other language used was Basque. The results show different Basque, Spanish, and English examples, including Jealous/Jeloskor, Poison/Pozoitu, and Mind Map/Mapa Mental(a).

To sum up, in-service primary teachers took advantage of the students' whole linguistic repertoire. They used translanguaging in different school subjects for a variety of purposes, including increasing students' level of understanding, keeping them engaged during lessons, explaining some common mistakes, or making connections between the students' languages.

The Wellbeing of Multilingual Students

The third research question was: "How is the wellbeing of the multilingual students supported?" The results have revealed in-service teachers' attempts to leave aside the monolingual approach of traditional language teaching, the role of students' first languages regarding their wellbeing, and the importance of arousing student motivation.

First, in-service teachers explained the methodological change needed to achieve supportive multilingual education and avoid the separation of languages in the curriculum. The participants argued for the usefulness of having a complete overview of students' abilities, knowledge, and progress, therefore adopting a more fluid vision of languages, and rejecting the "one language, one teacher" perspective. As T3 stated during the focus group discussion, there was a teacher for each subject in past years, but now the tutors teach the project, math, and language subjects. Even if it is more time-consuming and tiring for them, in-service teachers have a general view of everything, and it is easier to monitor the progress of the students.

In this vein, the participants reflected on the possible consequences of this dynamic language perspective. All the in-service teachers participating in the focus group discussion believed that the benefits undoubtedly outweighed the drawbacks. For example, students could feel confused in the primary years. Still, as T2 explained, "there are three languages (Basque, Spanish, and English) and most of the students can manage" [hiru hizkuntza daude (Euskara, gaztelania eta ingelesa) eta gehienak moldatzen dira]. So, the participants held the view that instead of damaging students' development, multilingual practices support and benefit students' learning and wellbeing.

During the observations, it was noted that if students had problems or difficulties, the materials and explanations were adapted to ensure their understanding and wellbeing. In addition, in-service teachers allowed students to decide the language they wanted to use to create a more supportive and comfortable learning environment. Sometimes, however, the use of Basque was reinforced, which showed the intention to promote the use of the minority language. The same idea emerged during the focus group discussion when asking if students could use Spanish during a lesson delivered in Basque. As stated by T1, "first, they should try in that language (Basque)" [lehenbizi hizkuntza horretan saia daitezela (Euskara)]. Similarly, it was observed that Basque was assigned to a more academic sphere, whereas Spanish was used in more informal situations. Students tended to use Spanish to discuss important issues, and for this purpose the teachers chose the majority language to speak to students, suggesting that Spanish was an emotional language for the participants. This could be linked to Spanish being most participants' first language.

Moreover, the teachers highlighted the importance of motivation, which is connected to the students' wellbeing. As stated by T2 during the focus group discussion, making students active participants fosters meaningful learning, promotes understanding, and leaves behind traditional teaching methods. T2 explained that before, in-service teachers asked students to open the books, underline and memorize. However, students now create their notes or prepare presentations for their peers to explain the topics. Students are creators, and as T2 argues, their understanding is better due to the implications of such an approach.

In sum, in-service teachers were flexible when using languages in different lessons, which supported students' wellbeing and created a comfortable learning environment. It was also observed that Spanish was the language most used by both teachers and students when it came to discussing feelings and important issues. However, on some occasions, the teachers tried to promote the use of the minority language (Basque) by recalling the "Basque-only" language policy, which could be understood since the lesser-used language is commonly used in academic situations. Nonetheless, its use in informal situations is somehow limited. Finally, student motivation was mentioned as an important factor for promoting active and meaningful learning.

Conclusion and Discussion

The first research question was: "How is multilingualism displayed in the school environment?" The collected data show a balanced use of both official languages of the region — Basque and Spanish. Still, our findings indicate that Basque occupies a more predominant position, which is in accord with Gorter and Cenoz (2015). They found that Basque was the most used language in school signs in Basque-medium primary and secondary schools, suggesting the intention to promote the lesser-used language since Basque is still regarded as a more formal and academic language, whereas its use outside the school and classrooms is more limited.

The presence of languages other than Basque and Spanish was somewhat minimal. English, being the third language of the school (the foreign language), was present in a sign at the entrance of the school building as well as on the whiteboard inside the classroom. However, apart from the languages of schooling, no others were observed. Thus, the linguistic landscape did not include all the languages present in the school, which is fundamental to promoting a transformative and inclusive educational approach. Linguistically Sensitive Teaching advocates for the responsible use of more than one language in class and the whole school community, and one of its foundations is the multilingual environment of the whole school. At this point we should highlight the difficulty for teachers to display posters or signs inside the classroom due to glass walls. To put it simply, the classroom set-up did not allow space for multiple languages and cultures.

The second research question was: "How is translanguaging used inside the multilingual classroom?" The results show that using another language for input and output during lessons was common among teachers. However, teachers were unsure about this decision since they tried to justify their teaching practices by citing the lack of resources in the instruction language. This observation suggests the need for more in-depth training on LST to achieve a more linguistically sensitive education. Moreover, translations were used when teachers believed students did not understand something important, notably for activities or explanations during foreign language lessons, or when teachers were angry or disappointed.

As Leonet et al. (2017) mentioned, teachers consider that translanguaging pedagogies can be a rich experience to develop metalinguistic awareness, although they feel that Basque should be reinforced more than other languages. Nevertheless, LST is not limited to the language area, and every teacher needs to be linguistically sensitive and take advantage of students' whole linguistic repertoire. Concerning comparisons and derivations, the teachers went over the most common mistakes among students and the most usual or clear comparisons. Moreover, teachers considered students' full linguistic potential when preparing the activities. In this context, as Cenoz and Gorter (2014) mentioned, a multilingual speaker's whole linguistic repertoire needs to be considered when learning and using languages.

The third research question was: "How is the wellbeing of the multilingual students supported?” Our findings show how the teachers attempt to implement multilingual practices to benefit the students' learning and general wellbeing. The teachers argued in favour of the benefits of leaving aside a monolingual approach to language learning to adopt a more holistic and fluid view of education. Therefore, a rejection of "one teacher-one language" ideology was perceived, with the teachers taking a step toward a "Focus on Multilingualism" (FoM) (Gorter & Cenoz, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014) approach, which regards the multilingual speaker as a whole and assumes a common linguistic repertoire in which languages are interrelated. Furthermore, the teachers showed flexibility when using languages, adapting materials and explanations, and giving students the chance to use the language with which they felt more comfortable. This practice creates a more supportive learning environment in which the students' Affective Filter (Krashen, 1982) is low, and undoubtedly, it benefits the students' learning and language acquisition process. In some cases, however, the use of Basque was reinforced. As stated above, this reflects the difference in the use of Basque and Spanish in society, with Basque being the language less commonly used for informal purposes. In this regard, it was observed that Spanish remained the most emotional language, which could be linked to student's proficiency in the language and the fact that it is most students' mother tongue.

To conclude, it can be argued that in-service teachers of a semi-private school use multilingual strategies during lessons. However, those strategies are not systematized, creating a climate of insecurity. Even though in many cases multilingual strategies are useful for adapting to the current situation, the teachers do not feel entirely confident using them. Furthermore, greater use could be made of the school's linguistic landscape to make visible all the languages that are used in the school. These results suggest the need for more linguistically sensitive education and training and, similarly, emphasize the importance of projects such as LISTiac to bring about a change in teacher cognition and professional competence. According to Bergroth et al. (2021), LST should be extended as a more cross-curricular element in the general pedagogy rather than included only as a part of the language-teaching curriculum. Besides, it should be part of the professional identity of teachers. Additionally, this study has some limitations since just one school has been analysed, and the results may vary according to the selected school's location, student body, or the language of instruction. Another interesting approach to add could be students' appreciation of the Basque language and their motivation to learn, maintain and support it. Therefore, it is necessary to continue investigating the linguistically varied and complex situation of the BAC and expand this analysis to other contexts and educational situations.

Acknowledgments

This work was supported by the European project "Linguistically Sensitive Teaching in All Classrooms (LISTiac)", funded by Erasmus+ Key action 3 – Support for policy reform – Policy experimentations (call EACEA 28/2017, code 606695-EPP-1-2018-2-FI-EPPKA3-PI-POLICY), the Agencia Estatal de Investigación, Spain [Grant Number PID2019-105818GB-100] and the Basque Government [Grant Number DREAM IT1666-22].

References

Ahn, S-Y., Shin S., & Kang H-S. (2018). *Investigating the Effects of*

Translanguaging Practices on Learners' Willingness-to-Communicate and Foreign Language Anxiety in the EFL Context [Paper presentation]. Annual Conference of the American Association for Applied Linguistics, AAAL 2018, Chicago, Illinois, United States.

Back, M., Han, M., & Weng, S. C. (2020). Emotional scaffolding for emergent multilingual learners through translanguaging: Case stories. *Language and Education*, *34*(5), 387–406. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2020.1744638

Basque Government (2020). *Unibertsitatekoak ez diren irakaskuntzetan matrikulatutako ikasleen hizkuntza-eredua. EAE eta Nafarroa*. https://www.euskadi.eus/web01-apeusadi/eu/eusadierazle/graficosV1.apl?idioma=e&indicador=80

Bergroth, M., Llompart, J., Pepiot, N., van der Worp, K., Dražnik, T., & Sierens, S. (2021). Identifying Space for Mainstreaming Multilingual Pedagogies in European Initial Teacher Education Policies. *European Educational Research Journal*. https://doi.org/10.1177/14749041211012500

Brown, K. D. (2005). Estonian schoolscapes and the marginalization of regional identity in education. *European Education*, *37*(3), 78–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/10564934.2005.11042390

Brown, K. D. (2012). The Linguistic Landscape of Educational Spaces: Language Revitalization and Schools in Southeastern Estonia. In D. Gorter, H. F. Marten, & L. Van Mensel (Eds.), *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape* (pp. 281–298). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230360235_16

Canagarajah, S. (2013). Theorizing a competence for translingual practice at the contact zone. In S. May (Ed.), *The multilingual turn* (pp. 88–112). Routledge Publishers. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203113493

Cenoz, J. (2008). Achievements and challenges in bilingual and multilingual education in the Basque Country. *AILA Review*, *21*(1), 13–30. https://doi.org/10.1075/aila.21.03cen

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2014). Focus on multilingualism as an approach in educational contexts. In A. Blackledge, & A. Creese (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 239–254). Springer.

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7856-6_13

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2017) Minority languages and sustainable translanguaging: threat or opportunity? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 38*(10), 901–912. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2017.1284855

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2020). Teaching English through pedagogical translanguaging. *World Englishes, 39*(2), 300–311. https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12462

Cenoz, J., & Santos, A. (2020). Implementing pedagogical translanguaging in trilingual schools. *System, 92*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2020.102273

Cook, V. J. (2010). The relationship between first and second language acquisition revisited. In E. Macaro (Ed.), *The Continuum companion to second language acquisition* (pp. 137–157). Continuum. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781474212397.ch-004

Dressler, M. (2015). Historical Trajectories and Ambivalences of Turkish Minority Discourse. *New Diversities, 17*(1), 9–26.

European Commission (2008). Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions - Multilingualism: An asset for Europe and a shared commitment [SEC(2008) 2443] [SEC(2008) 2444] [SEC(2008) 2445}]. COM/2008/0566 final.

Eustat (2018). *Tres de cada cinco personas que residen en la C.A. de Euskadi tienen algún conocimiento de euskera en 2016*. http://www.eustat.eus/elementos/Tres_de_cada_cinco_personas_que_residen_en_la_CA_de_Euskadi_tienen_algun_conocimiento_de_euskera_en_2016/not0014683_c.html

Gorter, D. (2013). Linguistic Landscapes in a Multilingual World. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 33*, 190–212. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190513000020

Gorter, D., & Cenoz, J. (2011). A multilingual approach: Conclusions and future perspectives: Afterword. *The Modern Language Journal, 95*(3), 442–445. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01203.x

Gorter, D., & Cenoz, J. (2015). Linguistic landscapes inside multilingual schools. In B. Spolsky, M. Tannenbaum, & O. Inbar (Eds.), *Challenges for language education and policy: Making space for people* (pp. 151–169). Routledge Publishers. https://scholars.cityu.edu.hk/en/publications/publication(ab8269f4-345e-4a15-9442-9f8fe8fbe386).html

Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. Pergamon.

Laihonen, P., & Tódor, E-M. (2017). The changing schoolscape in a Szekler village in Romania: signs of diversity in rehungarization. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 20*(3), 362–379. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2015.1051943

Leonet, O., Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2017). Challenging Minority Language Isolation: Translanguaging in a Trilingual School in the Basque Country. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 16*(4), 216–227. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2017.1328281

Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: Origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, *18*(7), 641–654. https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2012.718488

Llompart, J., & Birello, M. (2020). Migrant and Non-Migrant Origin Pre-Service Teachers' Beliefs about Multilingualism and Teaching in Multilingual Classrooms: Convergences and Divergences. *Sustainable Multilingualism*, *17*(1), 102–123. https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2020-0015

Shohamy, E., & Waksman, S. (2009). Linguistic landscape as an ecological arena: Modalities, meanings, negotiations, education. In E. Shohamy, & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery* (pp. 313–331). Routledge.

Zalbide, M., & Cenoz, J. (2008). Bilingual Education in the Basque Autonomous Community: Achievements and Challenges. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 21*(1), 5–20. https://doi.org/10.2167/lcc339.0

Eider Saragueta
Baskų krašto universitetas UPV/EHU, Ispanija
eider.saragueta@ehu.eus
Oihane Galdos
Baskų krašto universitetas UPV/EHU, Ispanija
oihane.galdos@ehu.eus
Leire Ituiño Aguirre
Baskų krašto universitetas UPV/EHU, Ispanija
leire.ituino@ehu.eus

PRADINIŲ KLASIŲ MOKYTOJŲ PRAKTIKA IR ĮSITIKINIMAI APIE DAUGIAKALBYSTĘ: LINGVISTIŠKAI JAUTRUS MOKYMAS BASKŲ AUTONOMINĖJE BENDRUOMENĖJE

Santrauka. Europos mokyklose gerokai padaugėjo daugiakalbių mokinių skaičius (Bergroth et al., 2021). Mokant kalbų atskirai, ribojamas viso mokinių kalbinio repertuaro panaudojimas, o naujausi moksliniai tyrimai atskleidė daugiakalbystės naudą ir galimą pedagoginės transkalbystės (angl. *translanguaging*) naudą (Leonet ir kt., 2017). Šiame kontekste lingvistiškai jautrus mokymas (*Linguistically Sensitive Teaching*, LST) leidžia mokytojams padaryti daugiakalbystę matomą savo klasėse (Llompart ir Birello, 2020). Kokybinis tyrimas atliktas Baskų autonominėje bendruomenėje (BAC), kurioje baskų ir ispanų kalbos yra oficialios kalbos, o anglų kalba daugeliu atvejų mokoma kaip užsienio kalba. Nors baskų kalba daugeliui mokinių nėra gimtoji kalba, tačiau daugumos mokinių šeimos pasirenka baskų kalbą kaip mokymo kalbą (Baskų vyriausybė, 2020). Šiame tyrime analizuojamas pradinių klasių mokytojų požiūris į daugiakalbį ugdymą valstybinėje pusiau privačioje mokykloje. Duomenys buvo renkami atliekant kalbinio kraštovaizdžio analizę, stebėjimus ir tikslinės grupės diskusiją. Du tyrėjai tris savaites stebėjo šimtą šešis pradinių klasių daugiakalbius mokinius ir aštuonis pradinių klasių kalbos ir turinio mokytojus. Tyrime dalyvavę mokytojai buvo arba dvikalbiai, arba laisvai kalbėjo baskų ir ispanų kalbomis, o kai kurie (4) taip pat laisvai mokėjo anglų kalbą (B2–C1 *pagal Bendruosius Europos kalbų metmenis*). Tyrimo rezultatai atskleidė, kad pradinių klasių mokytojai supranta LST taikymo praktikoje naudą, yra pasirengę mokyti ir lanksčiai vartoti kalbas. Be to, jie tiki kalbų perkėlimu iš vienos į kitą kalbą ir pabrėžia kalbos vartojimo vertę mokantis dalyko turinio. Nors daugeliu atvejų daugiakalbės strategijos yra tinkamos prisitaikyti prie esamos situacijos, šios strategijos nėra susistemintos, todėl sukuriama nesaugumo atmosfera. Gauti rezultatai rodo kalbiškai jautraus švietimo ir mokymo poreikį mokytojų kvalifikacijos tobulinimui.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: pradinių klasių mokytojai; kalbiniai įsitikinimai; lingvistiškai jautrus mokymas; mažumos kalba; daugiakalbis ugdymas.

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0017

Engelina Maria Smeins
University of Groningen, The Netherlands
Kirsten Wildenburg
University of Groningen, The Netherlands
Joana Duarte
University of Groningen, The Netherlands

THE USE OF DIGITAL TOOLS IN PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

Summary. As language diversity in education gradually increases, several challenges for primary school teachers arise. According to previous studies, there are not many adequate teacher training programs that prepare teachers in linguistically diverse classrooms and, therefore, teachers that teach pupils with linguistically/culturally diverse backgrounds highly depend on their own engagement with plurilingualism. This shows the need for initial plurilingual(-oriented) pre-service teacher training and in-service teachers' continuing professional development that focus on acquiring language awareness and obtaining strategies for promoting and recognizing linguistic diversity in the classroom. In addition, most teachers feel the need for further professionalization and tools to help them manage and acknowledge the diversity in their classrooms. Through a pre-post-intervention design, this study examined a) the effects of digital tools for teacher professionalization for plurilingual education on pre-service teachers' attitudes and knowledge, and (b) how AR-games can be used to further language awareness and openness towards plurilingualism of pre-service teachers and their pupils. The participants reported that the digital tools contributed to their knowledge of linguistic diversity in the classroom, as well as ways to implement plurilingualism in their teaching practices and further language awareness.

Keywords: digital tools; language attitudes; language awareness; professional development; plurilingual education.

Introduction

Linguistic and cultural diversity are global phenomena that have been present in societies throughout history (Cenoz, 2013). The last decades have however been witnesses to unprecedented global migration flows, leading to a rising number of children who do not speak the language of instruction, or who speak another home language. This in turn resulted in linguistically heterogeneous classrooms becoming the norm in most urban areas across the globe (Spotti & Kroon, 2017). However, many teachers still favor forms of monolingual instruction (Kirsch & Duarte, 2020), since underlying monolingual ideologies in education often cause linguistic diversity to be perceived as a threat (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2015). This increasingly leaves linguistically diverse pupils dealing with school languages, ideologies, and policies that do not align with their language practices at home (Spotti & Kroon, 2017). Yet, it has been found that using pupils' home languages in education positively influences their cognitive development, identity formation and pupils' sense of well-being and school belonging (Kirsch & Duarte, 2020).

In addition to monolingual ideologies, teachers' pedagogical practices are influenced by their own beliefs, attitudes and knowledge of plurilingualism (Diephuis, 2018), as described in the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2020). This in turn greatly influences the recognition of minority languages in the classroom (Tegene, 2016), teachers' expectations of their pupils (Diephuis, 2018) and has impact on general decision-making in education (Robinson-Jones, 2020).

Research has revealed that primary school teachers have moderate to low knowledge of plurilingualism and lack tools that could support the use of home languages in education (Van Gelder & Visser, 2005). According to Van Laere et al. (2017), technology could provide a solution, since digitalization – even more so in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic – has offered new ways to tackle this issue. Studies have shown that using technology that supports pupils' home languages can stimulate the learning process of pupils (e.g., Clark et al., 2012; Lu et al., 2014), without the teacher having to speak all the home languages of their pupils (Van Laere et al., 2017). More specifically, (mobile) game-based learning (GBL) has been found to have great potential as a learning tool as it increases the engagement and motivation of pupils and positively influences their problem-solving skills (Girard et al., 2013). Besides the advantages for pupils, digital tools also offer advantages for teachers. Previous research shows that there is a significantly positive correlation between the use of (mobile) technology in the classroom and teachers' perceptions of the instructional benefits of technology (e.g., Furió et al., 2015). Furthermore, Foulger et al. (2017) found that the use of digital tools for professional development (PD) was considered positive by teachers in improving lesson quality but could only become part of teacher training programs if educational institutions and organizations also provided support for the use of ICT in education.

There is a gap in knowledge on plurilingualism among teachers and their perceptions/beliefs largely influence the language practices in the classroom. Therefore, there is an urgent need to provide better guidance to teachers utilizing digital tools on how to implement plurilingualism in the classroom. This study uses a mixed-methods design (Creswell, 2016) and an intervention design (Fraser & Galinsky, 2010) to provide insights into teachers' attitudes towards plurilingualism in education, and their knowledge on plurilingual education by participating in an intervention program in which they experiment with different digital tools from the VirtuLApp[1] project. Further, this study provides insights into the impact of digital games on pupils' and pre-service teachers' language awareness. The following research questions will be addressed:

(1) To what extent do digital tools used in teacher professionalization for plurilingual education have an impact on the attitudes and knowledge of pre-service teachers in primary education?
(2) How can game-based learning be used to further language awareness and openness towards different languages of both pre-service teachers and their pupils?

The Use of Digital Tools for Teacher Professionalization Towards Plurilingual Approaches in Primary Education

Language Awareness and Language Attitudes

The Association for Language Awareness (ALA) defines language awareness (LA) as "[…] explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and

[1] The Virtual Language App, or VirtuLApp, is a 3-year Erasmus + Key action 2 Strategic Partnership project that aims to develop a multididactic approach which can be used by teachers in every (plurilingual) situation. The project is coordinated by the Mercator European Research Centre, hosted at the Fryske Akademy in Leeuwarden, The Netherlands. Other partners working on the project are ATiT (Belgium), Trinity College Dublin (Ireland), University of the Basque Country (Spain) and LUCA School of Arts (Belgium).

sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use" (ALA, 2021). However, Otwinowska (2014) mentions, as did Baker (1992), that 'language attitudes' seems to be "an umbrella term rather than a homogeneous notion" (p. 98). According to Baker (1992), the term not only covers attitudes towards languages in general but also towards particular dialects, language learning, and language use. In accordance with this, Cenoz (2009) points out that, with regard to languages, an attitude can be an evaluative reaction "towards a specific language or a specific language group (an object), or the activity of learning languages (event)" (p. 176). Related to language attitudes are the 'underlying' language ideologies that involve "cultural and personal conceptions of language and language varieties" (Fazaka, 2014, p.337). According to Fazaka (2014), language attitudes and ideologies are strongly related to each other and contain certain matters of values, norms, standards, and feelings about languages.

More recently LA has also been considered as a prerequisite for a plurilingual approach in education. LA causes pupils to develop an open attitude towards linguistic diversity, and it makes both pupils and teachers aware of the existence of multiple languages and their underlying cultures in the world, and specifically in the classroom (Sierens & Ramaut, 2018). Furthermore, Frijns et al. (2011) found that LA helps pupils to acquire knowledge about languages and to develop metalinguistic skills over time that can be used to further their learning of both foreign languages as well as their mother tongue. Teaching is also influenced by attitudes related to language ideologies, such as standardization or monolingual ideologies, which can affect pupils' linguistic practices (Farr & Song, 2011). According to Diephuis (2018), teachers' underlying language ideologies are shaped partly by society and have a major influence on their teacher practices.

Teacher Professionalization for Plurilingual Education

Plurilingual education can be defined as 'the use of two or more languages in education provided that schools aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy' (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015, p. 2), and often refers to schools that have three or more languages in the curriculum and that acknowledge pupils' diverse home languages (Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2018). Nevertheless, teachers often lack knowledge about the development of plurilingual learners and the importance of their languages in education, which is mainly due to lack of teaching of the subject during teacher training (Van Gelder & Visser, 2005). According to Maude et al. (2010, p.105), "it is impossible to prepare tomorrow's teachers to succeed with all of the students they will meet without exploring how students' learning experiences are influenced by their home languages, cultures, and contexts". The acquisition of knowledge about linguistic diversity can be achieved through professional development that involves "teachers learning, learning how to learn, and transforming their knowledge into practice for the benefit of their students' growth" (Avalos, 2011, p.10). Professional development (PD) has been defined as: "the systematic effort to ensure that professionals are adequately qualified and to provide them with opportunities to complement, consolidate and develop their attitudes and knowledge" (Kirsch et al., 2020, p.190).

Maandag et al. (2017) argue that interventions at different times will demonstrate the PD of teachers. In interventions, it is important to address the didactical content to show the effectiveness of PD (Maandag et al., 2017). Flores & Smith (2008) state that teachers who have had more training in linguistic diversity hold more positive attitudes towards plurilingual pupils and their potential. However, research has also shown that due to the low impact of these programs on future teachers, educators are still opposed to "redefin[ing] pluricultural education" (Lenski et al., 2005, p.2). Therefore, this study explores the impact of a new approach for pre- and in-service teachers that focuses on promoting positive attitudes and knowledge on plurilingualism with the help of digital tools, thus addressing the key issue that teachers do not always have the right tools and knowledge to acknowledge and use pupils' home languages in the classroom (Hélot & Young, 2002). Although many types of studies have been conducted on the use of digital tools for pupils in plurilingual education (Van Laere et al., 2017), no research, to the best of our knowledge, has focused on the use of digital tools for teacher professionalization in the scope of plurilingual education. In this study, we will therefore explore the use of digital tools for teacher's PD concerning a plurilingual teaching approach.

The Use of Digital Tools in Education

In recent years, technology has been increasingly deployed in education, as it is a valuable tool for the acknowledgement of different languages and cultures and increases language awareness (Shih, 2015).

Furthermore, technology can also be used as a learning tool in teachers' PD, as Ratheeswari's (2018, p. 45) study showed that the use of ICT "improves teaching and learning and its importance for teachers in performing their role of creators of pedagogical environments". However, the use of ICT can only be effective if teachers get instructed on the integration of technology in the classroom. Furthermore, Haelermans (2017) argues that the implementation of ICT in schools can only maximize pupils' development if the digital tools are implemented correctly and therefore, teacher training should focus on the use and effectiveness of digital tools. In addition, Kirsch et al. (2020) argue that videos are commonly used in pre-service teacher professionalization in order "to engage [teachers] in systematic reflection of their planning and teaching" (p. 193). Hamre et al.'s (2012) study demonstrates that when videos are used in PD, teachers report more knowledge of interactional strategies and are better at identifying effective teacher-pupil interactions in the videos. Teachers also develop "stronger beliefs about the importance of teaching children early literacy and language skills and demonstrated greater knowledge about these skills" (p. 110).

A less frequently used tool in teacher's PD is games. Games can be aimed at "fostering teachers' participation and engagement in the training intervention" or provide support for "enhancing intrinsic motivation to adopt innovative approaches" (Pozzi et al., 2016, p.79). The emergence of digital tools has led to an increased popularity of mobile game-based learning (Klopfer et al., 2009).

Game-Based Learning

The use of games in education provides promising opportunities, since it "enables players to construct understanding actively, and at individual paces, and […] well-designed games enable players to advance on different paths at different rates in response to each player's interests and abilities, while also fostering collaboration and just-in-time learning" (Klopfer et al., 2009, p. 1). Furthermore, evidence suggests that playing educational games in collaboration with other pupils can have positive effects on learning gains and helps pupils in overcoming potential misconceptions about the content (Mikropolous & Natsis, 2011). A technology that is new in mobile game-based learning (GBL) is Augmented Reality (AR). Furió et al. (2015) found that "with AR technology, traditional teaching materials are preserved and supplemented by virtual content" (p. 190) which led to a higher motivation and engagement of the pupils, since AR technology is what allows pupils to explore their learning content from a range of different perspectives (Kerawalla et al., 2006). This in turn would improve the learning experience of the pupils (Furió et al., 2015).

It was not until recently, when the VirtuLApp project developed the collaborative AR game BabelAR, that there was a game available specifically focusing on plurilingualism in the classroom. The game provides teachers with a tool to welcome linguistic diversity in the classroom and aims to increase language awareness of pupils and teachers, strengthen the identities of plurilingual pupils and show pupils the value of their language(s) (VirtuLApp, 2021). Therefore, the present study aims to explore how digital games in general and the BabelAR game specifically can stimulate the development of language awareness and openness towards different languages of pupils and pre-service teachers *(tools are open source on the website: www.VirtuLApp.eu).*

Methodology

This study employed a mixed-methods and an intervention design with a pre- and post-measurement (Creswell, 2016; Fraser & Galinksy, 2010) to evaluate the digital tools and game developed by VirtuLApp. During a four-week program, the pre-service teachers shared their experiences with a digital toolkit by sending weekly updates, providing evidence for the intervention design. Their attitudes towards plurilingual education were assessed before and after the intervention using a pre- and post-survey. Furthermore, their knowledge and language awareness were assessed by using thematic analysis

(Braun & Clark, 2006). In addition, several semi-structured interviews (Galletta & Cross, 2013) were conducted with a sub-sample of the pre-service teachers after they had completed the Intervention Program. The mixed-methods design allows for complementarity in the analysis, as the qualitative part of this study can provide more detailed insights into the results of the quantitative data (Wisdom, 2013).

Setting Of the Study

This study was conducted within the Virtual Language App (VirtuLApp), an Erasmus+ project (2019-2021), aiming at developing a multididactic approach which teachers can use in the classroom in any (plurilingual) situation. The needs of teachers – more knowledge about and tools for plurilingual education, integration of migrant languages and less language separation – were addressed with the development of a multi-player augmented reality game for plurilingual pupils and of a toolkit which consists of didactical videos with examples of practices of plurilingual education in the different settings and Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) compiled among participating (pre-service) teachers and answered by experts in the field (including expert teachers). In this project, researchers and (pre-service) teachers in three highly diverse areas in Europe – the Basque Country, Belgium and the Netherlands (Friesland) – worked on developing these tools for plurilingual education.

Materials

Pre- and post-survey. A pre- and post-survey about plurilingualism in education was distributed online among the participants. The questionnaires were based on existing research and instruments (Gorter & Arocena 2020; Pulinx et al, 2017, Steunpunt Diversiteit en Leren, 2019; Fürstenau et al., 2014). The pre-survey consisted of 55 questions and the post-survey of 63 questions, containing multiple choice questions, open-ended questions and statements measured on a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from (1) 'Strongly disagree to (5) 'Strongly agree'). Mostly based on existing and validated scales, the pre- and post-survey contained the following sections: 1. Thoughts on languages, 2. Teaching multiple languages and 3. Plurilingualism in the school. In addition, the post-survey contained additional sections about the FAQs, didactical videos and the BabelAR game (see Table 1). The scale reliability of the sections was measured using Cronbach's alpha, which measures internal consistency (UCLA, 2021). This means that a high value indicates that a set of items is relatively closely related as a group.

As Table 1 shows, sections 3 and 6 have a relatively low alpha score compared to the other sections, which means that, even though the scores are significant, the items in these sections are slightly less closely related.

Table 1

Sections and reliability of questionnaires

Scale	N Items	Type of scale	Cronbach's α	Source
1. Thoughts on languages	16	5-point Likert scale,	0.843	Gorter & Arocena (2020)
2. Teaching multiple languages	11	5-point Likert scale,	0.848	Pulinx et al (2017), Steunpunt diversiteit en leren (2019); Fürstenau, Huxel & Dickmann (2014)
3. Plurilingualism in the school	10	5-point Likert scale,	0.71	Pulinx et al (2017), Fürstenau, Huxel & Dickmann (2014)
4. The VirtuLApp didactical videos	6	5-point Likert scale, open-ended questions	0.869	VirtuLApp (2021)
5. The VirtuLApp FAQ videos	6	5-point likert scale, open-ended questions	0.937	VirtuLApp (2021)
6. The BabeLAR game	6	5-point likert-scale, open-ended questions	0.751	VirtuLApp (2021)

Intervention Program. The Intervention Program was developed to evaluate the digital tools and the game developed by the VirtuLApp team. The program was spread over a period of 4 weeks, during which participants used the digital tools of VirtuLApp and gave a weekly update on the tools and their experiences with them. It consisted of using the following tools: 4 didactical videos, 17 Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs), and the augmented reality game called BabelAR.

Semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to further examine the experiences, views and beliefs of the participants. The interviews were to complement the answers given in the survey and the weekly update reflections. A sub-sample was used due to the fact that the participation was voluntary and only a number of participants were available for a 30-minute interview. The interviews were conducted via Google Meet due to the COVID-19 pandemic, either in English or Dutch. They were audio-recorded by the researchers and were transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were then analyzed using ATLAS.ti 9 in order to further explore the feedback given in the Intervention Program.

Participants and Procedure

Table 2

Overview of the participant characteristics per context and overall.

	Friesland (n = 5)	**Basque Country (n = 16)**	**Flanders (n = 4)**	**Overall (n = 25)**
Age				
Mean	19.8	21.88	24.5	21.88
Min-max	19-21	21-25	21-34	19-34
Gender				
Female	4 (80%)	11 (68.8%)	4 (100%)	19 (76%)
Male	1 (20%)	5 (31.2%)	-	6 (24%)
Year of study				
First-year bachelor	-	-	2 (50%)	2 (8%)
Second-year bachelor	5 (100%)	-	-	5 (20%)
Third-year bachelor	-	-	-	-

	Friesland (n = 5)	**Basque Country (n = 16)**	**Flanders (n = 4)**	**Overall (n = 25)**
Fourth-year bachelor	-	16 (100%)	2 (50%)	18 (72%)
Language diploma				
Yes	2 (40%)	16 (100%)	1 (25%)	19 (76%)
No	3 (60%)	-	3 (75%)	6 (24%)
Self-perceived plurilingualism				
Yes	2 (40%)	16 (100%)	4 (100%)	22 (88%)
No	3 (60%)	-	-	3 (12%)

For this study, purposive sampling (Allen, 2017) was used to "select respondents [i.e. pre-service teachers] that are most likely to yield appropriate and useful information" (Kelly, 2010, p. 317). The participants were recruited through the VirtuLApp partners and network, and they received the survey links and Intervention Program via email. A total of 25 pre-service teachers participated (see Table 2).

Even though all these regions are multilingual in the sense that the minority language has an official status, it is important to note that these three settings are quite different. First, Frisian and Basque are both minority languages that are spoken only in these regions of the respective countries, whereas French is indeed a minority language in Flanders, but not in Belgium as it is the official language in Wallonia (with the exception of the German-speaking communities). Secondly, the Frisian and Basque contexts are quite different from each other as well, as "the demography of [minority] languages and their status is very diverse" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015, p. 476). Even though the Basque Country maintains a strong language policy in order to promote Basque, everyday use of the language is quite limited, except in education (Cenoz, 2008). The language policy in Frisian is not as strong, especially in education, but Frisian seems to be spoken in everyday life more frequently (Gorter, 2015).

Before participants' participation in the intervention, they were asked to fill in the pre-survey. Following the pre-survey, participants received the instructions for the Intervention Program, and after they had completed the program, they were asked to fill in the post-survey. All participants filled out a consent form for the pre- and post-survey, and for the interview. The interviews were conducted online, approximately one week after the participants had finished the intervention. These interviews had a duration of roughly 30 minutes and were audio-recorded by the researchers.

Data Analyses

To (partly) answer RQ1, a statistical analysis was conducted to determine the overall attitudes of pre-service teachers towards plurilingualism in education. The survey-items that measured the attitudes of the participants were assessed on a 5-point Likert-scale (1 = most negative, 5 = most positive). Some items were reversed. Due to a reduced sample size – caused by the COVID-19 pandemic – the data has been treated as a trend over time.

The pre- and post-surveys from the different contexts were treated as one for the statistical analysis due to the low response rate per context. This demonstrates the overall attitudes of pre-service teachers towards plurilingualism (in the classroom). To investigate the influence of the Intervention Program on attitudes, a Paired Samples *t*-test was conducted. In the post-survey, the attitudes towards the VirtuLApp digital tools were analyzed separately by using descriptive statistics.

To address RQ1 and RQ2, the reflections in the weekly updates, the open-ended questions in the surveys and the interviews were coded in ATLAS.ti 9 by using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes were coded inductively using 33 codes for the *Didactical videos*, 37 for the *FAQs* and 3 for the *BabelAR Game*.

Results

Digital Tools for Teacher Professionalization

Attitudes. The overall attitude score towards plurilingualism in education of the participants on the pre-survey was 4.24 (SD=0.4), indicating that pre-service teachers were generally quite positive towards plurilingualism in the classroom and plurilingual education, already before they started the intervention. Nevertheless, a paired samples t-test showed that pre-service teachers generally had a more positive overall attitude on the post-survey (M = 4.27, SD = 0.4) as compared to the pre-survey (M = 4.24, SD = 0.4). However, this difference failed to reach significance (t (24) = 0.57, p = 0.58), 95% CI [-0.076, 0.13]. It must be considered that this lack of significance could be due to the small sample size.

Regarding the different contexts, a statistical analysis revealed that pre-service teachers from Friesland were significantly less positive (M = 3.75, SD = 0.35) on the post-survey as compared to the pre-service teachers from both Flanders (M = 4.52, SD = 0.37), p = 0.0032, 95% CI [-1.29, -0.25] and the Basque Country (M = 4.37, SD = 0.28), p = 0.0019, 95% CI [-1.02, -0.23]. This means that even though the pre-service teachers from Friesland are relatively positive towards plurilingualism in education, they are more hesitant about it than the pre-service teachers from Flanders and the Basque Country. The difference between the pre-service teachers from Flanders and the Basque Country was insignificant.

Table 3

Overall mean attitude score of pre-service teachers towards the VirtuLApp tools

VirtuLApp tools (n=25)	**Mean (SD)**
Didactical videos	4.1 (.15)
Frequently Asked Videos (FAQs)	3.78 (.31)
Game	4.44 (.16)

Furthermore, a descriptive analysis was conducted to compare the overall mean score attitude of pre-service teachers towards the digital tools. As can be seen in Table 3, participants held a very positive attitude towards all the VirtuLApp tools, being most positive about the BabelAR game (M=4.44, SD=.16). In addition, pre-service teachers were slightly more positive towards the didactical videos (M=4.1, SD=.084) than towards the FAQ’s (M=3.78, SD=.31).

Knowledge on plurilingualism. To further answer RQ1, responses to the open survey questions, the weekly reflections, and the interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). With regard to the code 'FAQs' (n = 37), many of the pre-service teachers reported that they watched a specific FAQ, because they did not have certain knowledge on a specific topic or because they wanted to gather more information on the topic. Moreover, participants reported that they learned new information, such as the inclusion of languages or the transfer of language skills. Regarding the negative points, participants reported on the difficulty of the English used in the videos, the generality of the answers provided and the substantiation of specific case studies with good practices. In addition, participants expressed their concerns about the implementation of the ideas presented in the videos, involvement with the parents, the link to the school vision, the communication with plurilingual pupils, and pupils' attitudes towards other languages than the school language.

Table 4

Quotes illustrating the pre-service teachers' experiences with the FAQs

Quote	Region
"They are useful to reflect at least. Or make you aware that your teaching could be improved. (..) at least I can get a starting point to start moving forward and you can establish some kind of space. And then you can search for books or training (..) to help you develop more of those skills"	Basque Country
"(..) there were so many different points of different professors and it was interesting to see and they didn't just give the theory but they linked it with practical approaches, so that was interesting"	Basque Country
"I think it is they give a lot of good practices and ways to make it easier to implement it so I think it will be easier for me to now really instead of having this idea I want to implement multilingualism in the classroom to just do it and take more initiative to really put my thoughts into actions"	Flanders
"I think with the videos I know better what I am doing, and I feel more comfortable (..) I can bring it to another teacher, a principal and say: 'watch the FAQs and spread the knowledge.	Flanders

Furthermore, most of the participants valued the content given in the videos which could help them face challenges in plurilingual education more easily since most of the questions answered were related to classroom practice (see Table 4 for quotes).

Regarding the code 'Didactical Videos' (n = 33), the pre-service teachers mentioned some practical issues, such as the length of the video and the need for subtitles in English. In general, most of the feedback on the didactical videos was positive feedback. Participants commented on the engagement of children in the videos, the involvement of parents in the video, the contribution of the video to own personal development, the contribution of the video to fostering positive attitudes towards plurilingualism, the benefits of plurilingual education mentioned in the video and the plurilingual activities presented in the videos (see Table 5).

Table 5

Quotes illustrating the pre-service teachers' experiences with the didactical videos

Quote	**Region**
"Having posters with different languages, such as a welcome poster can be very positive for those students who don't speak the school language. In this way, it will be easier for them to feel that their language is valued"	Basque Country
"(..) they show that it is possible to use multiple languages in the classroom without experiencing big problems it is really good to see how it works in practice"	Flanders
"I think that multilingualism in the classroom, using home languages in the classroom at all, really helps to promote the educational climate, especially for children with a different home language (..). As described in those videos, they must also have the feeling that their home language matters. And if they don't have that feeling, is there a safe pedagogical climate for those children?	Friesland
"Some of them also talked about the pedagogical side, which was really helpful, because they also talked about research and so on"	Friesland

In addition, some pre-service teachers in Friesland put into practice some of the plurilingual activities presented in the didactical videos (see Figures 1 and 2). The teachers got acquainted with different activities they could integrate into their lessons to make plurilingualism more visible. They expressed that most pupils were not used to speaking their home language at school and found it difficult to talk about it. However, they were very enthusiastic and curious about the number of different languages spoken by their classmates. Also, the desire to implement more activities was being expressed: "For the next time, I would like to focus more on multilingualism in the classroom (if applicable) and also look at the culture of this country to get more experience in the lesson." (Pre-service teacher in Friesland).

Figure 1

Plurilingual poster on holidays

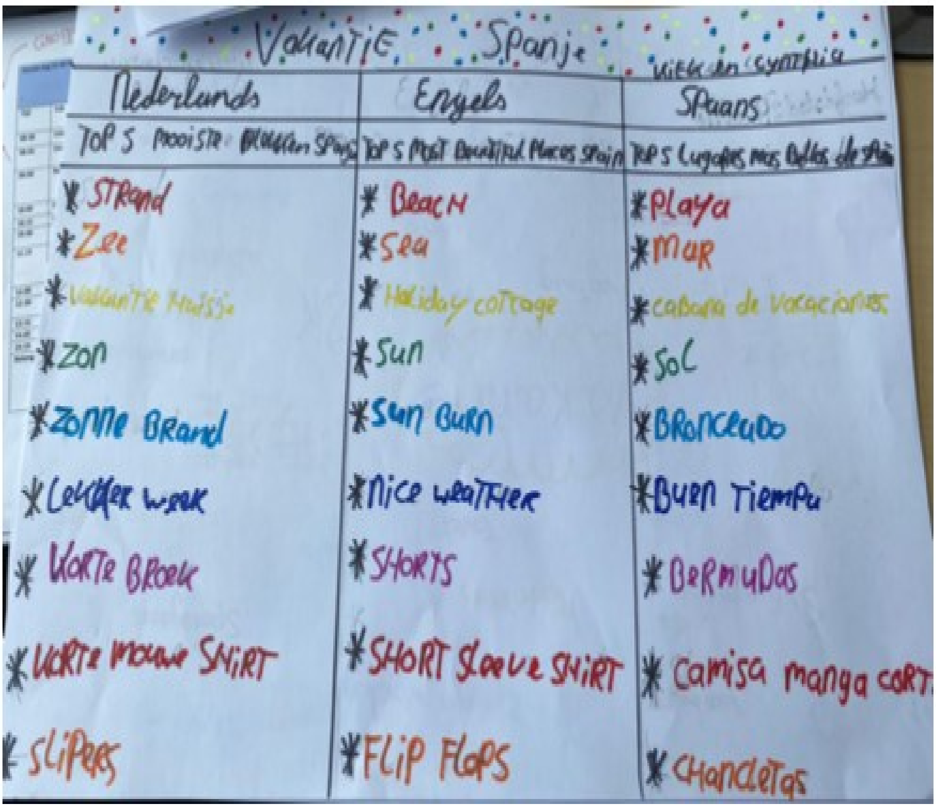


Figure 2

Plurilingual poster on holidays

Lastly, regarding the theme 'BabelAR game', participants reported that they got inspired to implement BabelAR and other digital games. Also, some participants mentioned that it was very valuable for their own pedagogical work to see that it was possible to implement plurilingualism through the use of a digital tool and got inspired to implement it on their own (see Table 6).

Table 6

Quotes illustrating pre-service teachers' experience with the BabelAR game

Quote	Region
"(..) I think that the game shows it is easy and possible to implement languages in the classroom even if you don't know them yourself. I think a lot of teachers are kind of scared to use languages in the classroom that they do not themselves know, so it shows that there is a fun and good way to use the languages (..) I think that really when you know that it works in the game you can little by little try other exercises and see multilingualism as a bonus"	Flanders

Quote	Region
"You just have to try and practice. That's interesting and also for the teachers to say to see and compare the languages so yes for the teachers it is also very useful"	Flanders

Digital Games to Further Language Awareness and Openness

Impact on pupils. Participants mentioned the impact that the game had or would have on their pupils. They generally agreed that using the game increases language awareness and pupils' language attitudes. Most of the pre-service teachers referred to similarities between languages, and how this game is a fun way to look for these similarities. According to the pre-service teachers, pupils really need to rely on their entire linguistic repertoire to find the correct answer, and it makes children aware of the fact that there are people who speak other or multiple languages. It also engages them to learn new languages and it stimulates their interest in the languages others speak. Table 7 gives some examples of the aforementioned experiences.

Table 7

Quotes illustrating the impact of BabelAR on pupils

Quote	Region
"In that way they can see what the reality is, that there are so many languages spoken all over the world."	Basque Country
"It shows that even though you do not speak a language, you can do with it and you can learn about it."	Flanders
"I think that they will look differently at foreign languages […], that maybe it is easier to learn a language or that it does not differ all that much."	Friesland

Furthermore, a pre-service teacher from Flanders mentioned that the game gives children with home languages different from the school language a sense of pride. In addition, BabelAR does not only raise linguistic awareness of pupils, but it also makes monolingual pupils better understand their immigrant classmates according to a participant from Flanders, as “they can experience how it feels if you cannot understand the school language”.

Impact on pre-service teachers. The pre-service teachers also reported on the impact the game had on themselves. Many of the participants argue that playing the game and implementing it in the classroom had increased their own language awareness to some extent. Furthermore, some pre-service teachers from the Basque Country mentioned that the game had increased their overall knowledge on plurilingualism to a certain degree as well. Pre-service teachers from Flanders also reported that playing BabelAR had helped raise their own awareness on the benefits of plurilingualism. In addition, one of the Frisian participants stated that the game aids teachers in better understanding their pupils who are learning Dutch as a second language (see Table 8). Lastly, many of the participants reported that the BabelAR game inspired them to implement plurilingualism in their lessons to a larger extent.

Table 8

Quotes illustrating the impact of BabelAR on pre-service teachers

Quote	**Region**
“This made me realize even more that, even if I was playing the game in a language that I do not understand, I am able to use my resources.”	Basque Country
“It is interesting, and also for the teachers to see and compare the languages. So yes, for the teachers it is also very useful.”	Flanders
“You try to do it as well as possible, but that is actually what a NT2 [Dutch as second language] pupil does as well, for example. […] I realized this last week while I was playing that game.”	Friesland

Table 9 gives an overview of the advantages and disadvantages that were reported by the participants regarding digital games in general and the BabelAR game in particular. This table reveals that the use of digital games has much to offer in plurilingual classrooms.

Table 9

Overview of advantages and disadvantages of digital games in general and BabelAR in particular reported by the participants

Advantages	**Disadvantages**
Digital games	
- Suitable way to introduce plurilingualism and raise awareness	- It cannot be an activity on its own (it should be combined with other tools)
- Engages children to participate in the lessons	
- Motivates pupils to learn new languages and about plurilingualism	
- Pupils learn without noticing it	
BabelAR game	
- Raises language awareness of both pupils and teachers	- Not suited to play with children whose language(s) are not integrated
- Gives multilingual pupils a sense of pride	- Not suited to play with illiterate children
- Children can play it independently (without help from the teachers)	- Not suited to play in a whole-class arrangement
- AR aspect engages children to partake in the lesson	
- Stimulates collaboration	
- Makes both teachers and (monolingual) pupils better understand immigrant pupils	
- Increases teachers' knowledge on (benefits) plurilingualism	

Discussion

This study aimed at providing insights into the effects of digital tools on pre-service teachers' attitudes and knowledge of plurilingual education (RQ1) and digital games to further language awareness and openness towards languages of both pupils and teachers (RQ2).

Influence Of Digital Tools for Teachers' Professionalization for Multilingual Education

Regarding the attitudes towards the digital tools, it was found that pre-service teachers' attitudes towards the VirtuLApp tools were positive to very positive. The quantitative analysis showed that the pre-service teachers were most positive towards the BabelAR game followed by the didactical videos and lastly, the FAQs. As the qualitative analysis revealed, the participants noted an increase in language awareness using both the game and the didactic videos. These findings suggest that digital tools are a useful way to increase (pre-service) teachers' language awareness.

With regard to the didactical videos, participants claimed that the videos helped them to understand and face difficulties in the classroom. This could explain why the teachers were less positive about the FAQs than the didactical videos since these videos include practical examples recorded in the classroom. Although the FAQs did not contribute as much to teacher language awareness, the pre-service teachers reported that the FAQs were most useful for their pedagogical work, since they mostly reported on the usefulness of the videos for facing certain challenges and creating a safe educational climate within plurilingual education. These results show that the use of technology in teacher training programs can be effective to improve their teaching practices and guide them in "performing their role of creators of pedagogical environments" (Ratheeswari, 2018).

The experiences with the BabelAR game showed that most participants reported that they learned to look at languages differently by comparing them. They claimed the game was beneficial for both teachers as well as for pupils since, according to them, you can increase your knowledge about languages in a fun way. Also, they reported that it was very valuable for their pedagogical work to have such a tool to implement plurilingualism in their classrooms.

In addition, the experiences with the FAQs revealed that pre-service teachers mostly appreciated the fact that experts answered questions regarding plurilingual education and that most of these questions were worries/doubts or relatable problems in education. They reported on the usefulness the videos for their pedagogical work by saying that the videos provided them with solutions on how to deal with diversity in the classroom and inspired them to implement pupils' home languages in the classroom. Also, some pre-service teachers liked the idea of a video, so they could refer their colleagues to the videos to work together on the implementation of plurilingualism.

Lastly, the experiences with the didactical videos revealed that pre-service teachers claimed to learn considerably about the benefits of plurilingual education, ideas for plurilingual activities and that the videos contributed to fostering positive attitudes. On the one hand, these findings show that the use of digital tools in plurilingual education can contribute to fostering more positive attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity by engaging with a game. On the other hand, the results show that the use of digital tools for teacher professionalization supports teachers' knowledge and helps them to face certain challenges (Kirsch et al, 2020; Pozzi et al., 2016) in plurilingual education. Furthermore, it shows that technology for teacher professionalization offers a solution for teachers who do not own adequate tools and have the right skills and knowledge to integrate plurilingualism in education (see Van Laere et al, 2017).

Using Digital Games to Further Language Awareness and Openness

In response to the second research question, the data from all three instruments (i.e., the surveys, Intervention Program, and semi-structured interviews) revealed that pre-service teachers generally agree that the use of games in education can be considered an asset, which is in accordance with previous research (e.g., Klopfer, 2009). Furthermore, similar to other studies (Girard et al., 2013), participants reported that digital games in general increase the engagement of pupils and their motivation to learn. In addition, some of the pre-service teachers emphasized that they believe that when digital games are used in the classroom, they should always be combined with other tools.

In relation to the BabelAR game, pre-service teachers from all three contexts believe that the game increases language awareness and pupils' linguistic skills. They observed that their pupils were increasingly open to learning about each other's languages and to learning new languages in general, which unconsciously raises their language awareness as they become aware of the fact that there are other languages and that one is able to speak multiple languages. This in turn would help them develop metalinguistic skills over time that are useful for their learning of both foreign and home languages (Frijns et al., 2011). In addition, participants from all three contexts agreed that the game is a suitable tool to increase teachers' language awareness, as it does not only increase overall knowledge of teachers on plurilingualism, but also raises teachers' awareness of the benefits of plurilingualism.

As research has shown (Robinson-Jones, 2020), teachers' unwillingness to integrate home languages in their lessons is often caused by a lack of knowledge on the benefits of plurilingualism and the importance of maintaining home languages. Since BabelAR reportedly increases this knowledge, it can be considered an effective tool to raise teachers' language awareness as well as to promote plurilingualism in education, as some of the participants stated that they were inspired to integrate plurilingualism in their lessons to a larger extent.

Limitations and Recommendations

It should be acknowledged that several limitations derived from the chosen design. In order to provide more in-depth conclusions and to examine the differences and similarities between the contexts in more detail, a larger sample size would be needed. Initially, this dataset was supposed to be larger and statistical tests would be conducted to see to what extent the different contexts differed and matched with respect to their attitudes before and after the use of the VirtuLApp tools. However, due to COVID-19, this study had to be adapted to the circumstances, resulting in the small sample size.

For further research, it might be interesting to include more regions (both multilingual and monolingual) from the countries present in this study and other countries to see if differences in attitudes towards plurilingual education can be found. In addition, it will be useful to include in-service teachers and compare their attitudes towards plurilingual approaches and the use of technological tools with those of pre-service teachers. Furthermore, the effect of a plurilingual approach with the use of technological tools could also be assessed in comparison to a plurilingual approach without the use of those tools. Also, it would be interesting to investigate other factors that could influence teachers' attitudes towards plurilingual education, such as their self-perceived plurilingualism, type of language diploma, years of experience in teaching, the type of program the pre-service teachers are following and the type of subjects/knowledge on plurilingualism within their programs.

Furthermore, teachers have only been experimenting with the tools for four weeks and only a few of the participants have implemented activities/ideas in practice. In order to further investigate the impact of these tools on teachers' attitudes and knowledge of plurilingual education, it is necessary to conduct longitudinal research. It would also be interesting to investigate teachers with more experience in education to see to what extent these tools might have an impact on their attitudes and knowledge.

Conclusion

To conclude, this study revealed that pre-service teachers' attitudes towards plurilingual education can be positively influenced by using digital tools and game-based learning in education. Participants reported that the BabelAR-game stimulates pupils to learn more about languages that are unfamiliar to them and that they want to learn more about each other's languages as well. In addition, according to the pre-service teachers the game also helped them to further develop their own language awareness. Therefore, by engaging in a plurilingual game, both their language awareness and their openness towards languages is further developed, which aids them in developing metalinguistic skills over time (Frijns et al., 2011). The results further showed that by engaging with digital tools, pre-service teachers reported to become more aware of the importance of pupils' home languages in education. They also indicated that they have more knowledge on the implementation of plurilingualism in their teaching practices due to the tools and the guidance in using these tools for educational purposes. These are important aspects in engaging with plurilingual pupils in education (Pulinx et al., 2017).

The scope of this study was reduced due to constraints related to the pandemic. Further research is needed and should include larger numbers of participants, as well as control and experimental groups to assess the circumstances under which the use of digital tools and games is successful in fostering plurilingual education. However, our results show that teacher training programs that focus on the use of digital tools are highly needed as these tools contribute to extending classroom activities and help teachers to strengthen knowledge in the field of multilingualism (Kirsch & Duarte, 2020).

References

ALA (2021). *About – Association for Language Awareness*. Retrieved April 7, 2021, from https://www.languageawareness.org/?page_id=48

Allen, M. (2017). *The sage encyclopedia of communication research methods* (Vols. 1–4). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Avalos, B. (2011). Teacher professional development in teaching and teacher education over ten years. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27*(1), 10–20.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and languages* (Ser. Multilingual matters, 83). Multilingual Matters.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101.

Cenoz, J. (2008). The status of Basque in the Basque Country. In M. Barni, & G. Extra (Eds.), *Mapping linguistic diversity in multicultural contexts* (Ser. Contributions to the sociology of language, 94) (pp. 93–114). Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110207347

Cenoz, J. (2009). *Towards multilingual education: Basque educational research from an international perspective* (Ser. Bilingual education and bilingualism, v. 72). Multilingual Matters.

Cenoz, J. (2013). Defining Multilingualism. *Annual Review of Applied*

Linguistics, *33*, 3–18.

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (Eds.). (2015). Multilingual education: Between language learning and translanguaging. Cambridge University Press.

Clark, D. B., Touchman, S., Martinez-Garza, M., Ramirez-Marin, F., & Skjerping Drews, T. (2012). Bilingual language supports in online science inquiry environments. *Computers & Education, 58*(4), 1207–1224. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2011.11.019

Council of Europe. (2020). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, and Assessment – Companion volume*. Language Policy Division. www.coe.int/lang-cefr

Creswell, J. W. (2016). Revisiting Mixed Methods and Advancing Scientific practices. In S. N. Hesse-Biber, & R. Burke Johnson (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research* (pp.1–24). Oxford University Press.

Diephuis, E. (2018). *Listening to the voice of teachers: multilingualism and inclusive education* [Master's thesis]. http://arno.uvt.nl/show.cgi?fid=147703, 23-2- 2021

Farr, M., & Song, J. (2011). Language ideologies and Policies: Multilingualism. *Language and Linguistic Compass, 5*(9), 650–665

Fazakas, N. (2014). Linguistic attitudes and ideologies of the students of the Sapientia University of Transylvania. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae Philologia, 6*(3), 335–356.

Flores, B., & Smith, H. (2008). Teachers' characteristics and attitudinal beliefs about linguistic and cultural diversity. *Bilingual Research Journal,* (31), 323–358.

Foulger, T. S., Graziano, K. J., Schmidt-Crawford, D., & Slykhuis, D. A. (2017). Teacher educator technology competencies. *Journal of Technology and Teacher Education*, *25*(4), 413–448.

Fraser, M. W., & Galinsky, M. J. (2010). Steps in Intervention Research Designing and Developing Social Programs. *Research on Social Work Practice, 20*(5), 459–466.

Frijns, C., Sierens, S., Van Gorp, K., Van Avermaet, P., Sercu, L., & Devlieger, M. (2011). *'t Is goe, juf, die spreekt mijn taal! Wetenschappelijk rapport over talensensibilisering in de Vlaamse* *onderwijscontext* [It's allright, Miss, (s)he speaks my language! Scientific report on language awareness in the Flemish education context]. University of Leuven/Ghent University.

Furió, D., Juan, M.-C., Seguí, I., & Vivó, R. (2015). Mobile learning vs. traditional classroom lessons: A comparative study. *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning, 31*(3), 189–201.

Fürstenau, S., Huxel, K., & Diekmann, F. (2014). MIKS Mehrsprachigkeit als Handlungsfeld Interkultureller Schulentwicklung Fragebogen I vor Projektbeginn [MIKS Multilingualism as a Field of Action for Intercultural School Development Questionnaire I before the start of the project]. https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/download.asp?db=D&id=61702

Galletta, A., & Cross, W. E. (2013). *Mastering the semi-structured interview and beyond: from research design to analysis and publication* (Ser. Qualitative studies in psychology). New York University Press.

Girard, C., Ecalle, J., & Magnan, A. (2013). Serious games as new educational tools: How effective are they? A meta-analysis of recent studies: Serious games as educational tools. *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning, 29*(3), 207–219.

Gorter, D. (2015). Multilingual interaction and minority languages: proficiency and language practices in education and society. *Language Teaching*, *48*(1), 82–98.

Gorter, D., & Arocena, E. (2020). Teachers' beliefs about multilingualism in a course on translanguaging. *System, 92*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2020.102272

Haelermans, C. (2017). *Digital Tools in Education: On usage, effects and the role of the teacher*. SNS Förlag. https://www.scienceguide.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/digital-tools-in-education.pdf

Hamre, B. K., Pianta, R. C., Burchinal, M., Field, S., LoCasale-Crouch, J., Downer, J. T., Howes, C., LaParo, K., & Scott-Little, C. (2012). A course on effective teacher-child interactions: effects on teacher beliefs, knowledge, and observed practice. *American Educational Research Journal, 49*(1), 88–123. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831211434596

Hélot, C., & Young, A. (2002). Bilingualism and language education in French primary schools: why and how should migrant languages be valued? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 5*(2), 96–112. https://stats.oarc.ucla.edu/spss/faq/what-does-cronbachs-alpha-mean/

Kelly, S. E. (2010). Qualitative interviewing techniques and styles. In I. Bourgeault, R. Dingwall, & R. de Vries (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Methods in Health Research* (pp. 307–326). Sage Publications.

Kerawalla, L., Luckin, R., Seljeflot, S., & Woolard, A. (2006). "Making it real": exploring the potential of augmented reality for teaching primary school science. *Virtual Reality, 10*(3–4), 163–174.

Kirsch, C., & Duarte, J. (2020). *Multilingual Approaches for Teaching and Learning: From Acknowledging to Capitalising on Multilingualism in European Mainstream Education*. Routledge.

Klopfer, E., Osterweil, S., & Katie, S. (2009). *Moving learning games forward: Obstacles, opportunities & openness. An Education Arcade white paper*. http://education.mit.edu/papers/MovingLearningGamesForward_EdArcade.pdf

Lenski, S. D., Crawford, K., Crumpler, T., & Stallworth, C. (2005). Preparing preservice teachers in a diverse world. *Action in Teacher Education, 27*(3), 3–12.

Liddicoat, A. J., & Taylor-Leech, K. (2015). Multilingual education: The role of language ideologies and attitudes. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 16*(2), 1–7.

Lu, J., Meng, S., & Tam, V. (2014). Learning Chinese characters via mobile technology in a primary school classroom. *Educational Media International, 51*(3), 166–184.

Maandag, D. W., Helms-Lorenz, M., Lugthart, E., Verkade, A. T., & Van Veen, K. (2017). *Features of effective professional development interventions in different stages of teachers' career*. The department of teacher education of the University of Groningen.

Maude, S. P, Catlett, C., Moore, S., Sánchez, S. Y., Thorp, E. K., & Corso, R. (2010). Infusing diversity constructs in preservice teacher preparation: The impact of a systematic faculty development strategy. *Infants &*

Young children, 23(2), 103–121. Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Mikropoulos, T. A., & Natsis, A. (2011). Educational virtual environments: A ten-year review of empirical research (1999–2009). *Computers & Education, 56*(3), 769–780.

Otwinowska, A. (2014). Does multilingualism influence plurilingual awareness of Polish teachers of English? *International Journal of Multilingualism, 11*(1), 97–119.

Pozzi, F., Persico, D., Collazos, C. A., Dagnino, F. M., & Jurado, J. L. (2016). Gamifying teacher professional development: an experience with collaborative learning design. *IxD&A, 29*, 76–92.

Pulinx, R., Van Avermaet, P., & Ağırdağ, O. (2017). Silencing linguistic diversity: the extent, the determinants and consequences of the monolingual beliefs of Flemish teachers. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 20*(5), 542–556.

Ratheeswari, K. (2018). Information Communication Technology in Education. *Journal of Applied and Advanced Research, 3*(1), 45–47

Robinson-Jones, C. (2020). *Multilingualism in Teacher Education in the Netherlands: Pre-service primary and secondary school teachers' self-perceived knowledge and skills, and attitudes towards multilingual education* [master thesis]. University of Groningen

Shih, Y. C. (2015). A virtual walk through London: Culture learning through a cultural immersion experience. *Computer Assisted Language Learning, 28*(5), 407–428.

Sierens, S., & Ramaut, G. (2018). Breaking Out of L2-Exclusive Pedagogies: Teachers Valorizing Immigrant Pupils' Multilingual Repertoire in Urban Dutch-Medium Classrooms. In P. Van Avermaet, S. Slembrouck, K. Van Gorp, S. Sierens, & K. Maryns (Eds.), *The Multilingual Edge of Education* (pp. 285–311). https://doi.org/10.1057/978- 1-137-54856-6_13

Spotti, M., & Kroon, S. (2017). Multilingual Classrooms at Times of Superdiversity. In S. Wortham, D. Kim, & S. May (Eds.) *Discourse and education* (Third, Ser. Encyclopedia of language and education), (pp. 97–109). Springer.

Steunpunt diversiteit en leren. (2019). *DISCO Diversiteitsscreening Onderwijs*

[DISCO Diverstity Screening in Education]. https://www.lop.be/lop/files/_uploaded/omso/201902%20DISCO%20%20presentatie %20LOP%20Oostende.pdf

Tegene, W. (2016). The Attitude of Teachers towards Varieties of a Language and Its Effects on Learners' Education and Self Esteem. *Journal of Literature, Languages and Linguistics, 18*(1), 93–97

UCLA Statistical Methods and Data Analytics. (2021). *What does Cronbach's alpha mean? | SPSS FAQ*.

Van Gelder, F., & Visser, S. (2005). *Van Misverstand tot meertaligheid: een onderzoek in het kleuteronderwijs van de stad Groningen.* [From misunderstanding to Multilingualism: A Study in Preschool Education in the City of Groningen.]. University of Groningen.

Van Laere, E., Rosiers, K., Van Avermaet, P., Slembrouck, S., & Van Braak, J. (2017). What can technology offer to linguistically diverse classrooms? using multilingual content in a computer-based learning environment for primary education. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 38*(2), 97–112.

Vaske, J. J., Beaman, J., & Sponarski, C. C (2016). Rethinking Internal Consistency in Cronbach's Alpha, Leisure Sciences. https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2015.1127189

Wisdom, J. (2013). Mixed Methods: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis While Studying Patient-Centered Medical Home Models. *PMCH Research Methods Series, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality.* Rockville. https://pcmh.ahrq.gov/sites/default/files/attachments/MixedMethods_032513comp.pdf, 17-4-2021

Engelina Maria Smeins
Groningeno universitetas, Nyderlandai
engelinasmeins@lezenenschrijven.nl
Kirsten Wildenburg
Groningeno universitetas, Nyderlandai
k.wildenburg99@gmail.com
Joana Duarte
Groningeno universitetas, Nyderlandai
j.duarte@rug.nl

SKAITMENINIŲ PRIEMONIŲ NAUDOJIMAS BŪSIMŲ MOKYTOJŲ PROFESINIAM TOBULĖJIMUI SIEKIANT KALBINĖS ĮVAIROVĖS PRADINIAME UGDYME

Santrauka. Palaipsniui didėjant kalbų įvairovei ugdymo procese, pradinių klasių mokytojams kyla nemažai iššūkių. Ankstesnių tyrimų duomenimis, nėra daug tinkamų mokytojų rengimo programų, pagal kurias būtų rengiami mokytojai darbui kalbiškai įvairiose klasėse, todėl mokytojai, kurie moko mokinius iš įvairiomis kalbomis kalbančių šeimų, augusių įvairių kultūrų aplinkoje, yra labai priklausomi nuo jų pačių įsitraukimo į daugiakalbystę. Tai rodo, kad reikalingas pirminis pluralingvistinis (į daugiakalbystę orientuotas) būsimų mokytojų rengimas ir tęstinis mokytojų kvalifikacijos tobulinimas, kuriame daugiausia dėmesio būtų skiriama kalbinio sąmoningumo įgijimui ir kalbinės įvairovės skatinimo ir atpažinimo klasėje strategijų įgijimui. Be to, dauguma mokytojų mano, kad jiems reikia tolesnio profesinio tobulėjimo ir priemonių, padedančių valdyti ir pripažinti įvairovę klasėje. Šiame tyrime, taikant prieš-po-intervencijos tyrimo metodą, buvo nagrinėjama: a) skaitmeninių priemonių, skirtų mokytojų profesiniam tobulėjimui daugiakalbio ugdymo srityje, poveikis būsimų mokytojų nuostatoms ir žinioms; b) kaip AR-žaidimai gali būti naudojami būsimų mokytojų ir jų mokinių kalbiniam sąmoningumui ir atvirumui daugiakalbystei didinti. Dalyviai teigė, kad skaitmeninės priemonės prisidėjo prie jų žinių apie kalbinę įvairovę klasėje įgijimo, jie taip pat sužinojo naujų būdų kaip įgyvendinti daugiakalbystę savo mokymo praktikoje ir padidino jų kalbinį sąmoningumą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: skaitmeninės priemonės; kalbinės nuostatos; kalbinis sąmoningumas; profesinis tobulėjimas; daugiakalbis ugdymas.

ISSUES IN LANGUAGE DIDACTICS

KALBOS DIDAKTIKOS KLAUSIMAI

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0018

Agata Babina
Universidad de Liepaja, Letonia

EL MICRORRELATO, UN TEXTO AUTÉNTICO PARA EL DESARROLLO DE LECTOESCRITURA EN ELE

Resumen. El presente estudio parte de que la lectoescritura ha sido destacada como una de las ideas principales en el nuevo Estándar Educativo de Letonia (vigente desde septiembre de 2020). Este hecho, seguido por la reciente investigación de Solvita Berra sobre los textos auténticos en la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras, lleva a la explotación del microrrelato como un texto auténtico y una herramienta idónea para el fomento de la lectoescritura en el aula de ELE, dado que se combina a la perfección con la escritura creativa. El microrrelato es un género narrativo que ha tenido una gran repercusión en el ámbito académico español en las últimas décadas. La introducción del microrrelato en el aula de ELE hasta ahora ha sido propuesta en varias memorias de máster, pero aún es muy escasa su investigación a nivel científico. Los beneficios de la introducción de este género literario en la didáctica han sido tratados a nivel de tesis doctoral de Belén Mateos Blanco (Universidad de Valladolid) y luego publicados en el manual de y luego publicados en el manual "El microrrelato como herramienta didáctica en la enseñanza de ELE", y poco más. No obstante, los microrrelatos son buenos referentes socioculturales y sirven tanto para la enseñanza de diferentes aspectos literarios, lingüísticos y socio-culturales, como para la fomentación de la lectoescritura. Además, representan una gran variedad del español, ya que han sido escritos por los autores de casi todos los países hispanohablantes. Finalmente, el estudio presenta una propuesta de dos unidades didácticas desarrolladas a base del uso de los microrrelatos demostrando su aplicación en la práctica. Estas dos unidades forman parte de una propuesta didáctica con 20 unidades que forman anexo de la tesis doctoral.

Palabras clave: didáctica; ELE; construcción del texto; lectoescritura; microrrelato; texto.

Introducción

A lo largo del último siglo, los docentes de lenguas han pasado por múltiples metodologías para la enseñanza de las mismas: el método de gramática y traducción, el método directo, el método audiolingual y audiovisual, el método comunicativo, el método por tareas y, finalmente, el método integral, que reúne un poco de todos los métodos anteriores (Mateos Blanco, 2020, p. 13). Hoy en día el enfoque en la enseñanza de lenguas es cada vez más pragmático y, por lo tanto, cada unidad lingüística enseñada ha de tener una aplicación en la vida real y responder a las siguientes preguntas: 1) ¿Para qué le sirve esta expresión a un alumno?; 2) ¿Qué aprenderá leyendo el texto o haciendo el ejercicio de gramática?; 3) ¿Cómo lo aplicará en la situación lingüística auténtica? Por otro lado, el Consejo Americano de Profesores de Inglés, el Marco Común Europeo de Referencia para las lenguas (complementado en 2018), así como el nuevo Estándar Educativo de Letonia (vigente desde 2020) y otros, destacan la importancia del desarrollo personal, creativo y filosófico del individuo en el momento de la adquisición de la lengua, tanto materna como extranjera. Igual que en la enseñanza básica se implementa cada vez más el método integral, también la enseñanza de la lengua es cada vez más interdisciplinar. El alumno, aparte de aprender a hablar, leer y escribir, también practica la habilidad de criticar, desarrollar proyectos, presentar y producir textos de una gran variedad — tanto orales como escritos —, además desarrolla la capacidad de experimentar con las unidades lingüísticas y textuales en diferentes contextos. Juega con el idioma para entenderlo y sentirlo mejor. Se considera que el fomento de un profundo estudio del texto y sus variedades es imprescindible para lograr estos objetivos de aprendizaje.

En las últimas dos décadas ha aumentado notablemente la discusión sobre la inclusión de los textos auténticos, incluso textos literarios, en la didáctica de la lengua extranjera, que hasta entonces habían sido ignorados. Es cierto que, en esta primera década del milenio, en los manuales de ELE se observan intentos de incorporar textos literarios, aunque no son nada más que apéndices al final de las unidades didácticas y "siempre como mero trazo ornamental, cultural y casi exótico, del que no surgen apenas propuestas metodológicas entroncadas en la unidad didáctica" (Naranjo Pita, 1999, p. 9, citado por Albaladejo, 2007, p. 4).

Siguiendo la trayectoria basada en la idea de la implementación de textos literarios en el aprendizaje de ELE, el estudio pretende centrarse en los microrrelatos como textos breves y fáciles de adaptar a las diferentes necesidades didácticas, así como al marco temporal de una clase académica (lo que el docente normalmente dispone). Dado que el tema en relación a la importancia del texto en la enseñanza de lenguas — tanto materna, como extranjera —, ha sido particularmente destacado con la nueva aprobación del Estándar Educativo de Letonia, el estudio presenta varios conceptos relacionados con el uso del texto en el aula de lengua extranjera en general, y la explotación de los microrrelatos en particular, considerándolos como los textos más didácticos, interactivos, variados, multiculturales y multimodales.

El objetivo del presente artículo es presentar dos unidades didácticas desarrolladas a partir de microrrelatos hispanos para la enseñanza de ELE, basándose en los estudios más recientes acerca de la importancia del uso de textos para el fomento de la lectoescritura en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera.

El estudio consta de cuatro partes. En primer lugar se analiza la terminología acerca del estudio de texto, después se describe el rendimiento didáctico del texto en la enseñanza de la lengua; en tercer lugar se introduce el término y los beneficios didácticos del microrrelato como un texto auténtico, y en cuarto y último lugar se proponen dos unidades didácticas desarrolladas a partir de los microrrelatos hispánicos para los niveles de adquisición del español A1–A2 y B2. Las dos unidades han sido probadas en el aula de ELE de la Universidad de Liepaya (Letonia) y forman parte de un material didáctico constante de veinte unidades en total para los niveles A1–B2 elaborado a lo largo de los años 2018–2022.

El texto y la lectoescritura en el contexto de la enseñanza de lenguas

En la segunda década del milenio, la importancia del uso de textos auténticos no es sólo la visión de algunos docentes, sino que aparecen tesis doctorales, manuales y otros documentos correspondientes con este enfoque en la enseñanza de lenguas. El Estándar Educativo de Letonia, en vigor desde el 1 de septiembre de 2020, claramente resalta la importancia de la explotación del texto en la enseñanza, tanto de la lengua materna, como de lenguas extranjeras. A partir del Estándar Educativo de Letonia (de aquí en adelante Estándar), el Contenido Educativo de Letonia para el aprendizaje de lenguas está organizado en tres partes: 1) Comunicación en contexto; 2) Texto y construcción del texto y 3) Estructura lingüística a nivel de educación primaria (Reglamento No. 747, Adjunto 2, 2018); y, a su vez, en cuatro partes: 1) Lengua y sociedad; 2) Medios, lengua e impacto; 3) Estilística y 4) Estructura lingüística en el nivel de educación secundaria (Reglamento No. 416, Adjunto 2, 2019). Esta estructura coincide con las tendencias proclamadas por el Consejo Americano de Profesores de Inglés (de aquí en adelante ACTFL – *American Council of Teaching Foreign Languages*), enfocando la enseñanza de las lenguas en la colaboración y la comunicación, esta última a través de textos que son tanto impresos como digitales, escritos, orales o multimediales y, por tanto, requieren de un pensamiento crítico, evaluativo y analítico antes, durante y después del encuentro con el mismo. Además, incluye la posproducción, es decir, la creación de textos propios a partir de la información leída o la estructura textual analizada (Martena et al., 2021, p. 8). El Estándar destaca palabras como *investigar*, *opinar*, *interpretar*, *combinar*, *motivar*, *usar adecuadamente*, *comprender, evaluar...,* que indican el nivel de lectoescritura que se requiere del alumno que aprende la lengua, suponiendo que el proceso de aprendizaje se enfoca más hacia el análisis que hacia una simple reproducción (Martena et al., 2020, p. 75). Por lo tanto, es necesario aclarar la siguiente terminología: *el texto*, *la lectoescritura* (*ing. literacy*) y su estrecha conexión con *la construcción de textos* (ing. *text-formation*).

En el reciente estudio realizado por tres eminentes profesores de letón como lengua extranjera, el texto se define como la unión de recursos léxico-sintácticos, expresados de manera oral, escrita, visual o gráfica, característicos para uno o varios estilos de un género determinado que corresponde a funciones, metas o situaciones comunicativas concretas. El texto está caracterizado por su determinación, integridad, coherencia y completitud. También se debe considerar la informatividad, temática y composición de cada texto (Martena et al., 2020, p. 33).

Solvita Berra en su reciente estudio (2020) opina que los textos más aptos para la enseñanza de un idioma son los textos auténticos. El término, en este caso, "auténtico" se refiere a: "los enunciados reales producidos por usuarios del idioma reales para un grupo meta real" (Gilmore, 2007, p. 98, citado por Berra, 2020, p. 38). En el contexto de la enseñanza de lenguas, son textos que no han sido creados para el aprendizaje – no están ni abreviados, ni simplificados, ni complementados, pero, a su vez, son fáciles de incluir en la enseñanza desde la perspectiva léxica, temática y gramatical.

Según el Estándar (Reglamento No. 747, 2018; Reglamento No. 416, 2019), una de las palabras claves respecto a la enseñanza de lenguas es la *lectoescritura*, que debe ser comprendida como la capacidad de enfrentarse a diferentes textos para llegar a la acción, sentimiento u opinión que el autor refleja en ellos en un contexto determinado. El objetivo de la educación es capacitar a los alumnos para llegar a ser pensadores, comunicadores creativos, y críticos (Wells, 1989, citado por Cassany et al., 2003, p. 42).

Respecto a la lectoescritura, Arvils Šalme destaca otros dos rasgos del texto: la intencionalidad y la aceptabilidad. La intencionalidad es importante porque transmite el mensaje (la intención) del autor en el texto. Šalme considera este rasgo crucial en el momento de la construcción del texto, de su planificación y de la elaboración del contenido. Es importante ayudar al alumno a pensar en la intención del texto que está creando para que sea claro, justificado y comprensible para el lector. Por su parte, la aceptabilidad demuestra la posición del receptor acerca del texto. Para Šalme es un aspecto importante en el momento de la crítica y educación del lector u oyente del texto, demostrando su necesidad y motivación. La aceptabilidad debe responder a preguntas como: ¿por qué lo estamos leyendo o escuchando?; ¿qué beneficio obtendremos del presente texto?; ¿cómo evaluamos la información dirigida al lector u oyente?; ¿cuál es el mensaje transmitido? etc. Hace falta considerar estos criterios en el momento de la evaluación de la originalidad, credibilidad, volumen, y aspecto visual y gráfico del texto (Martena et al., 2020, p. 35).

Por lo tanto, el objetivo de la enseñanza de idiomas basada en los textos es enseñar y complementar la lectoescritura del estudiante. Según Solvita Berra (2020), la lectoescritura parte de los siguientes principios educativos:

> 1) tanto en los textos orales como escritos, su estructura y sus rasgos gramaticales son enseñados de manera explícita en el momento del enfrentamiento con el texto;
> 2) los textos orales y escritos están relacionados con sus respectivos contextos sociales y culturales;
> 3) el proceso de enseñanza está planteado con el objetivo de desarrollar los conocimientos para la percepción del texto, su interpretación y su uso;
> 4) los estudiantes son provistos de ejemplos y pautas para un desarrollo completo de las competencias lingüísticas en la interacción con el texto (Feez, 1998, citado por Berra, 2020, p. 39).

Acorde con el ACTFL, la lectoescritura es una actividad colaborativa donde la negociación, el análisis y la conciencia de la audiencia son tan importantes como comprender o crear un mensaje. El aprendizaje de idiomas, como se describe en los Estándares de Preparación Mundial para el Aprendizaje de Idiomas, se basa en cinco áreas de objetivos que conectan el desarrollo de las habilidades de comunicación (a través de tres modos de comunicación que conectan la lectura, la escritura, la comprensión auditiva y el habla con un propósito comunicativo) con contextos significativos y contenido atractivo (explorar culturas, examinar conexiones, hacer comparaciones y participar en comunidades) (National Standards Collaborative Board, 2015, p. 47 citado por ACTFL).

Como vemos, el objetivo de la enseñanza de lenguas no es solo enseñar a leer, escribir y hablar, sino también enseñar a pensar, criticar, interpretar, reescribir, distinguir la estilística de diferentes textos y saber crear y adaptar sus propios textos según la necesidad, además de saber colaborar a través de la creación y producción de textos. El nuevo Estándar de Letonia para los alumnos del nivel de educación secundaria claramente demuestra que un alumno es capaz de leer, analizar y escribir los textos de diferentes géneros, por lo tanto ya estaría preparado para la investigación antes de entrar a la universidad. Y aunque la investigación se asocia con un lenguaje culto y académico, no se puede negar que incluso la investigación pide un proceso de pensamiento creativo, abierto, capaz de adaptar e interpretar lo leído según los objetivos del texto creado por el investigador.

Según Sanita Martena (Martena et al., 2020, p. 24), la lectoescritura comprende las siguientes habilidades que se deben fomentar a través de la didáctica de lenguas:

1) una profunda comprensión de modalidades textuales (entre otros, los textos expresados con palabras, imágenes, esquemas, tablas y/o gráficos);
2) comprensión no sólo de la idea principal del texto sino también sus matices explícitos e implícitos;
3) evaluación crítica del contenido leído o visto antes de usarlo en sus propios textos;

4) el uso decidido de la información adquirida añadiéndole un nuevo significado.

En total, el proceso de la lectoescritura consta así del llamado *input* — adquisición de la información (lectura, escucha, observación), proceso y evaluación crítica; y finalmente el *output* — producción del texto (la escritura o el habla). Por consiguiente, respecto al *output*, el Estándar destaca la habilidad de *construcción del texto* — habilidad de formar un texto según la intención y situación comunicativa, así como el estilo funcional y género textual observado en las normas de fonética y ortografía. Es una parte de la lectoescritura conectada con el desarrollo de habilidades productivas que a su vez dependen de la experiencia del alumno. Además, la construcción del texto es un proceso largo que incluye una revisión constante. Por lo tanto, la competencia discursiva que se desarrolla a través de la creación de un texto requiere del conocimiento de interpretación y creación de géneros textuales particulares. Este conocimiento se adquiere gradualmente a partir de las tareas de reformulación, re-escritura, intentos de copiar las formas textuales presentadas en el aula y en última instancia, realizando ejercicios de escritura libre y escritura creativa (Martena et al., 2020, p. 36).

Pero, ¿qué tipo de textos son los mejores para lograr el mayor rendimiento didáctico en el proceso de la enseñanza de un idioma? ¿Sirve cualquier texto? Muchas veces dependerá del docente y su capacidad de guiar a los alumnos hacia el descubrimiento de los valores lingüísticos y culturales que aporta el texto. Una de las preguntas más a menudo lanzadas por el editor de la editorial Difusión es "¿Qué quieres provocar con este texto?" (Pablo Garrido, citado por Aristu, 2021). Básicamente el texto seleccionado debería provocar todas las actividades antes mencionadas respecto a la lectoescritura, e invitar al lector hacia una actividad lingüística.

Explotación didáctica de textos en la enseñanza de la lengua extranjera

La importancia del texto en la adquisición de una lengua siempre ha sido una cuestión importante. El texto es usado como una herramienta para adquirir información, observar diversos fenómenos lingüísticos, así como desarrollar todas las actividades lingüísticas cuya meta sea la comunicación — para informar, expresar ideas, opiniones, pensamientos, emociones o incluso demostrar la creación y conocimiento de uno mismo — (Martena et al., 2020, p. 31).

A la hora de realizar la propuesta didáctica, es importante elegir un texto que obtenga el máximo rendimiento didáctico, permitiendo así explorar tanto los aspectos léxicos como morfosintácticos, culturales, filosóficos y, por supuesto, textuales (Sanz, 2021). Y en un texto auténtico probablemente encontraremos todos estos aspectos porque son textos que representan la cultura, el pensamiento y el idiolecto de su autor.

Para el descubrimiento completo de cada texto son imprescindibles los siguientes aspectos:

1) el conocimiento previo del alumno sobre el idioma y la activación de sus conocimientos;
2) un vocabulario frecuentemente y conscientemente complementado;
3) una atención a la estructura del texto, y
4) el aprendizaje de las estrategias para la comprensión del texto.

Por lo tanto, no es suficiente con entender el significado de las palabras en el contexto, sino que también resulta necesario entender la aplicación de estas palabras en la producción de textos orales y escritos. Como hemos visto antes, los estudios están cada vez más enfocados hacia la pragmática de la lengua: su uso real en situaciones reales. Una lectura detallada desarrolla una profunda comprensión del sentido del texto; es decir, percibir no sólo lo que está escrito, sino también saber leer entre líneas lo indirectamente dicho (Martena et al., 2020, p. 14).

Cada vez más docentes de idiomas (Albaladejo, 2007; Laiveniece, 2011; Berra, 2020; Mateos, 2020; Sanz, 2020) consideran que sólo los textos auténticos pueden estimular al alumno a la producción de una lengua natural y al pensamiento en la lengua meta. A diferencia de textos adaptados, muchas veces utilizados en los manuales de la lengua, los textos auténticos proporcionan un contexto mucho más amplio para un público general. Los textos adaptados suelen ser estudiados a nivel de la oración, mientras que el estudio de textos auténticos proporciona el aprendizaje de la lengua a nivel del discurso. Además, los textos reales provocan más interés en el alumno, invitándolo a reflexionar y, posteriormente, desarrollar su producción textual tanto escrita como oral (Berra, 2020, p. 38). Igual lo indica Belén Mateos, opinando que un texto no es una secuencia de frases sin más, sino que existen relaciones entre las diferentes oraciones que lo componen. Los alumnos deben entender que no pueden asimilar el sentido del texto tratando cada una de sus frases de manera aislada. El uso del diccionario es la última opción que debemos sugerir a los alumnos de lengua extranjera. Antes de acudir en busca de una definición, estos deben aprender a contextualizar las palabras (Mateos, 2020, p. 79).

Cassany, Luna y Sanz (2003) establecen una dicotomía entre la lectura intensiva y extensiva, y consideran que la primera debe basarse en textos cortos que, por su extensión y el tiempo empleado en su lectura, permitan realizar la pertinente explotación didáctica en el aula. Este tipo de lectura permite desarrollar las denominadas microhabilidades, tales como realizar resúmenes o relacionar unos textos con otros. La lectura extensiva, sin embargo, se fundamenta en la lectura de textos largos, obras completas, cuya lectura debe llevarse a cabo fuera de las horas lectivas y cuyo objetivo clave es el de fomentar el hábito y placer por la lectura (Cassany et al., 2003, p. 201). Sin embargo, trabajando con los alumnos de nivel básico de la lengua extranjera, resulta difícil esperar que se dediquen a una lectura extensiva, así que es preciso enfocar la atención hacia la explotación intensiva de textos cortos, fáciles de abordar durante el tiempo limitado de una clase.

Por su parte Diāna Laiveniece (2011, p. 32) comenta que en el proceso de adquisición de una lengua se utilizan tanto los textos completos o macrotextos con un amplio volumen de información, como los fragmentos que reflejan una unidad reducida, pero al mismo tiempo completa (microtextos). El uso de un microtexto tiene valor sólo cuando se caracteriza por su completitud y sentido dentro de una monotemática. O sea, cuando el texto, siendo un fragmento de una obra más grande, tiene todos los rasgos textuales que le permiten estar separado del resto.

Por lo tanto, el microtexto supone la unidad comunicativa mínima, donde, en comparación con la oración, demuestra por completo la unión gramatical y semántica. Tanto el microtexto como el macrotexto se caracterizan por los siguientes rasgos ya antes mencionados: la unidad temática, la coherencia, la completitud, la modalidad o relación entre el contenido, y la realidad (Ипполитова, 1998, p. 122 citado por Laiveniece, 2011, p. 32).

Laiveniece también comenta que a menudo la adaptación de un texto está justificada por el deseo de simplificarlo, omitir las estructuras sintácticas más complejas, sustituir palabras desconocidas por unas ya estudiadas por los alumnos de la lengua o con un pretexto de simplificar la gramática que, según dice la autora, es una actitud inaceptable hacia el texto y un desprecio hacia su creador y su expresión auténtica. El docente debe planear el trabajo a partir de un texto incluyendo las actividades para descubrir el léxico antes de la lectura; involucrar a los alumnos en una discusión a partir del título o ciertas palabras claves del texto para descubrir su posible sentido; proporcionar el vocabulario o definiciones posiblemente necesarias para la comprensión del léxico (Laiveniece, 2011, p. 40). Por su parte, Ana Aristu (2021) indica que mucho más aceptables son los recortes de textos en el caso de tiempo o volumen limitados, pero seguramente deban conservar su contenido léxico y gramatical original.

Los textos auténticos proporcionan diversos géneros así como registros de la lengua; diversidad lingüística y cultural que, en el caso del español, proporciona el panorama de más de 20 países hispanohablantes. Además, en el caso de los textos literarios, la estilística proporciona al lector el conocimiento de idiolectos representativos de cada escritor nativo.

El microrrelato, un texto idóneo en la didáctica de ELE

Una vez investigada la teoría sobre el propósito de la lectoescritura y las posibilidades didácticas a partir de un texto, la atención se centrará en el *microrrelato* como texto literario, un microtexto y un macrotexto a la vez, según el criterio de Laiveniece. El microrrelato dispone de multitud de características antes mencionadas para ser usado en la clase de la lengua. Ha sido definido como el cuarto género narrativo por autores como Irene Andrés-Suárez (2012), David Lagmanovich (2006) y otros. Generalmente un microrrelato es un cuento que se puede narrar en pocas líneas y que surge en la actualidad del mundo en que vivimos, un mundo ocupado y acostumbrado a la prisa y, por consiguiente, a los mensajes instantáneos de WhatsApp o al formato de lectura de mensajes cortos como los de Twitter. Según Andrés-Suárez (2012, pp. 26–27), el microrrelato procede de la evolución de dos formas distintas. Por una parte, se origina del poema en prosa (en el que disminuye la descripción y aumenta la narración) y, por otra parte, es el cuento clásico que sufre un proceso de comprensión textual y condensación, donde todo lo que no era imprescindible para la trama desaparece. A la vez, el lenguaje de un microrrelato se poetiza y es connotativo. Es decir, es un género narrativo, que cuenta una historia y tiene todos los elementos propios de la narrativa como la trama, la historia, los personajes y las acciones; pero es tan breve que a menudo apenas cabe en un par de frases. Los elementos narrativos están reducidos al mínimo. La autora destaca que la brevedad de este género implica los siguientes rasgos: 1) la ausencia de complejidad estructural; 2) la mínima caracterización de los personajes; 3) el esquematismo espacial; 4) la condensación temporal; 5) la utilización de un lenguaje esencialmente connotativo que confiere al texto la potencia expresiva y semiótica, y 6) la importancia del título que muchas veces encierra en sí mismo la clave de la narración, proporcionando una información que se puede omitir en el mismo cuerpo del texto (Andrés-Suárez, 2012, p. 24).

Es un género cuya difusión actual está muy relacionada con las redes sociales y los blogs, lo que ha favorecido su distribución e influido en su proceso creativo. Fernando Valls, el autor de otra antología editada a partir de los microrrelatos publicados en su blog *La nave de los locos,* lo define como:

> Un texto narrativo breve que cuenta una historia, a pesar de no ser la brevedad el rasgo distintivo que lo singulariza, sino su estructura condensada, producto de la precisión, la intensidad y la concisión narrativas; siendo su particular forma la consecuencia lógica de esos rasgos definitorios (Valls, 2012, p. 10).

David Lagmanovich, a su vez, emplea el término *conciso* acentuando que no es lo mismo lo conciso que lo corto. La escritura concisa es virtud de los grandes escritores, es decir mucho con pocas palabras (Lagmanovich, 2005, p. 90).

El microrrelato tiene bastante repercusión en la enseñanza de ELE como lo demuestran varias Memorias de Máster (Bamidele Oyewo (2009); La

Hoz Funes (2011); Cogollo (2012); Fernández-Cuesta Valcarce (2012); Herrera López (2013); Babina (2014); Fernández Cienfuegos (2014); Sánchez Guayazán (2016)), relativamente pocas Tesis Doctorales (Dong Liu (2017), Mateos Blanco (2019)) y algunos manuales (Chamorro Mejía (2019); Mateos Blanco (2020)). El microrrelato ofrece al docente la posibilidad de renunciar a la monotonía en el planteamiento de actividades: innovar proponiendo la conversión de un texto a otro, modificando por tanto la naturaleza del género; utilizar recursos intertextuales para modificar la trama original, etc. (Mateos, 2020, p. 56). Un microrrelato sirve para una explotación didáctica completa, según lo sugieren los autores previamente mencionados.

Mateos Blanco señala que una gran parte del triunfo de la literatura en el aula de ELE, tanto en materia de contenidos docentes como en el ambiente y ritmo de la clase, depende de una adecuada recopilación de textos acorde con los criterios didácticos. Según la autora, el microrrelato resulta sumamente productivo en la clase de español como lengua extranjera gracias a las diversas opciones de explotación derivadas de sus rasgos discursivos, formales, temáticos y pragmáticos. Además, junto con la escritura creativa, forma un, "binomio perfecto" (Mateos, 2020, p. 54) que también ha sido probado en la práctica docente de otros profesores.

Desde el aspecto didáctico, el microrrelato destaca entre otros géneros narrativos por los siguientes rasgos:

1) Es un texto auténtico que representa rasgos literarios creativos de diversos autores, cuyo público es cualquier lector y no particularmente el estudiante de idioma, por lo que representa un léxico, gramática y estilística original, no forzada, representando la forma de pensar de un hablante nativo.
2) La brevedad requiere del autor una cierta precisión léxica que resulta ser bastante ilustrativa para explicar lo no dicho. La elipsis, o sea, la falta de palabras, así como los finales abruptos de estos textos, deja espacio a la interpretación del lector.
3) La trama hace que la curiosidad del alumno crezca y pueda sobrellevar los escollos estructurales y las dificultades léxicas.
4) La brevedad invita a una segunda lectura que permite la reflexión.

5) En los microrrelatos aparecen temas diversos y diferentes estilos, así que el profesor siempre encontrará algo que enseñar y que atraiga a sus alumnos (Mateos, 2020, p. 35).
6) Es un género híbrido porque proporciona una variedad de textos diversos escritos en forma de anuncios (Juan José Arreola), obras de teatro, bestiarios, fábulas (Javier Tomeo), recetas (Paola Tena), etc. Los autores de microrrelatos experimentan con una gran variedad de formas y temas, siempre guardando los rasgos antes mencionados como marco definitorio de este cuarto género narrativo.
7) Los microrrelatos representan una gran variedad lingüística y sociocultural en cuanto a las variedades de español existentes en España e Hispanoamérica.
8) Una de las peculiaridades del microrrelato son los finales abruptos o abiertos e inciertos, cuya lectura se presta a diversas interpretaciones y sirve de gran apoyo para el docente a la hora de fomentar una escritura libre, creativa, ampliada, reducida, etc.

Respecto al multilingüismo, estrechamente vinculado con el plurilingüismo, cabe destacar que según el Marco Común Europeo de Referencias en su versión complementada por la Comisión Europea (CEFR, 2018), cada europeo no sólo debe aprender como mínimo dos lenguas extranjeras, sino también se valora altamente su capacidad de usar o, por lo menos, comprender varios dialectos de otras lenguas europeas. Por otra parte, la lengua representa la cultura y sin duda los microrrelatos representan una gran variedad cultural, no sólo por reflejar realidades de los países originarios de sus autores, sino también porque uno de los rasgos fuertes de estos textos breves es la intertextualidad. Los microrrelatos muchas veces interpretan a los temas y héroes bien conocidos en la literatura mundial los sitúan en un ámbito contemporáneo de tal manera invitando a su lector pensar de una manera más crítica y cuestionar los los retos de la sociedad actual. Estos textos estimulan un pensamiento global, capaz de vincularlos con textos y realidades diferentes, situando el pasado en el presente o hasta en un posible futuro.

En la actualidad, el trabajo con el texto en el aula de lengua extranjera se vincula con la creatividad estimulada a través de múltiples posibilidades didácticas como, por ejemplo, escribir una carta al protagonista del texto literario, formular preguntas para una entrevista extraordinaria con el autor del texto, escribir instrucciones para los dispositivos domésticos inexistentes, reescribir el texto de un género a otro, ampliar el texto añadiendo descripciones de objetos, personajes, lugares, añadir imágenes o dibujos que representan el texto leído o al revés, así como escribir un texto a partir de la imagen dada. A la hora de crear un texto propio se destaca la creatividad e innovación, así como el desarrollo de un estilo personal del alumno (Martena et al., 2021, p. 75).

También Helmer claramente realiza un enfoque hacia el proceso literario, creativo y filosófico en el aula de la lengua extranjera, considerando que ”con el mínimo conocimiento de la gramática hay que lograr el máximo provecho en la comprensión de la estructura lingüística” (Helmer, 1997, pp. 200–201, citado por Martena et al., 2021, p. 77). Sin embargo, eso no significa que la gramática tenga menor importancia en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera, sino que propone adquirir ciertas formas morfosintácticas en el momento de enfrentarlas en su ambiente natural – el contexto. Se debe recordar a los alumnos que incluso la gramática es una herramienta para la formulación de ideas. Aunque una buena gramática otorga buen sabor a lo expresado, lo más importante a la hora de aprender y saber usar el idioma es expresar las ideas, opiniones y necesidades de cada uno.

La explotación didáctica de los textos es casi ilimitada, tanto Albaladejo (2007) como Laiveniece (2011) han enumerado multitud de posibilidades didácticas a partir de los textos. Algunas de ellas son:

1) adivinar la posible temática del texto a partir de su título, crear nubes de palabras, campos semánticos, etc.;
2) resumir el texto, eliminando lo que sobra y convirtiéndolo en un microrrelato, reducir el microrrelato a una sola frase que revele su sentido más preciso;
3) ampliar un texto añadiendo descripciones de personajes, lugares, objetos, etc., convirtiendo finales abiertos en finales concretos;
4) reescribir el texto sustituyendo las palabras destacadas por sus sinónimos;

5) reescribir el texto cambiando su género por otro;
6) adivinar la posible intención del autor en el texto;
7) comparar los rasgos temáticos, estructurales y gramaticales en varios textos presentados en el aula.

Las unidades didácticas desarrolladas a base de microrrelatos usualmente parten de una estructura dónde las actividades se dividen en tres partes: antes de la lectura, durante la lectura y después de la lectura.

A pesar de que la actividad de prelectura activará muchos de los conocimientos adormecidos en las mentes de los alumnos, estos deben ser conscientes de que rara vez conocerán el significado de todas las palabras que aparecen en el texto literario, y que esto no debe ser motivo para abandonar su lectura ni supone una barrera para llegar a comprender el sentido del microrrelato. Es precisamente ante estos vacíos de información donde el alumno debe poner en práctica las estrategias de lectura y comprensión de textos adquiridas con su competencia lectora; además el profesor debe proporcionar unas pautas para facilitar esta tarea. Por ejemplo, los sustantivos y los verbos poseen mayor carga semántica que los adjetivos y los adverbios por lo tanto, invitar a los alumnos a centrarse en este tipo de palabras los ayudará a desentrañar el sentido del texto.

La propuesta didáctica

La siguiente propuesta didáctica consta de dos unidades, la primera de ellas para los niveles A1-A2 y la segunda para el nivel B1 de ELE. Cada unidad está centrada en un microrrelato seleccionado y consta de ejercicios que se dividen en tres fases: ejercicios antes de la lectura, ejercicios durante la lectura y ejercicios después de la lectura. Las dos unidades incluyen muestras de los resultados de ejercicios aprobados en el aula en la Universidad de Liepaya. Los ejemplos han sido presentados de forma anónima, atribuyendo los ejemplos a **Alumno A** y **Alumno B**.

Unidad didáctica I "Yo y mi infancia", Nivel A1–A2, 90 min

La unidad ha sido creada a partir del microrrelato "Infancia" de la escritora mexicana Paola Tena. El rasgo particular de este texto es su forma como citando ingredientes de una receta, que permite la explotación de la estructura del texto solo con la atención visual hacia lo escrito. Las cantidades indicadas conforman la estructura de cada línea, que ya activa el conocimiento previo del alumno aunque su nivel de español sea principiante y en el texto aparezcan varias palabras relacionadas con nombres de enfermedades claramente desconocidas en el nivel de A1-A2. Por una parte, la mención de diferentes números y palabras como *gramos*, *monstruo, amiga, historia, diente* debe facilitar la comprensión del texto para los alumnos de nivel básico y permitir la discusión a partir de lo conocido. Por otra parte, el docente puede empezar la discusión sobre el texto a partir del título y la estructura del título, siguiendo los pasos de esta unidad, e invitar a los alumnos a mencionar los ingredientes principales de su infancia.

Ejercicios antes de la lectura

A. Mostrar sobre la pantalla las siguientes preguntas: *¿Con qué objetos asocias tu infancia? ¿Dónde pasa (pasó si ya conocen el pretérito indefinido) tu infancia*? En el caso del trabajo en el aula, los estudiantes de la Universidad de Liepaya (Letonia) han usado la aplicación de *Mentimeter* (https://www.mentimeter.com); de tal manera el docente obtiene una nube de palabras (**Imagen 1**), donde destacan las palabras que han sido mencionadas por varias personas. De igual forma, las preguntas y respuestas pueden ser escritas en la pizarra.

Imagen 1

De tal manera el docente obtiene una nube de palabras

B. El docente organiza una discusión entre los alumnos preguntando si reconocen todas las palabras de la nube y si les recuerdan a su infancia a los demás. Los alumnos pueden responder con *yo también*, *a mí también*, *yo tampoco, a mí tampoco.*

C. En el siguiente paso, el docente pide a los alumnos escribir los adjetivos que pueden atribuir a las cosas anteriormente mencionadas (**Imagen 2**).

Imagen 2
Las cosas anteriormente mencionadas

Ejercicios durante la lectura

D. El docente invita a sus alumnos a leer el texto de Paola Tena y pregunta, ¿a qué se parece el texto leído? y ¿pueden asociarlo con algo? Siendo las respuestas posibles que el docente obtendrá: *lista de compras*, *una receta, una lista de ingredientes*, *una instrucción* etc. Una vez que todos hayan dado su variante, se descubre qué es lo que les hace pensar en este tipo de textos, cómo lo saben. Por lo tanto se hablará de los tipos de textos y sus características. Aunque los alumnos tengan conocimientos muy básicos de la lengua, su experiencia con diferentes tipos de textos en su lengua materna, les ayudará.

Infancia

Contenido:
1 monstruo violeta
5 cartas de amiga imaginaria
112 historias narradas en fascículos
Set de frasquitos con enfermedades infantiles varias (paperas, varicela, rubéola; el de sarampión se quebró en casa del vecino).
253 gr. de costras
1 saquito con dientes de leche.
7 duros para comprar una dulcería entera.
Favor de embalar en papel de burbujas y almacenar con cuidado en el desván. El contenido es muy frágil.
(Tena, 2017, p. 16)

E. Luego se les pide volver a la lectura del texto y subrayar 5 palabras cuyo significado no conocen. El docente explica las palabras subrayadas por cada alumno, de tal manera que el grupo total accede a un mayor conocimiento del vocabulario representado en el texto.

Ejercicios después de la lectura

F. El docente invita a los alumnos a componer su propia receta de infancia usando las palabras escritas antes de la lectura. Una vez escritos, los alumnos comparten sus textos entre el grupo de compañeros.

A continuación se muestran los resultados obtenidos tras la aplicación de la propuesta en el curso de análisis del texto para el nivel A1 de ELE. Los resultados se muestran de tal manera como han sido trabajados en el aula y los textos no han sido corregidos por el profesor sino que se muestra el proceso seguido después de la lectura de estos textos por parte de los alumnos.

Alumno A

1 columpio grande
1 bicicleta vieja y gastada
Cajita de chocolate dulce
2 abuelos viejos
Mucho campo tranquilo y pacífico
Un grupo de buenos amigos
Varias horas con películas animadas
Marcos con recuerdos de travesuras con primos
Un par de costras en las piernas
Un tazón de helado frío

Alumno B

101 travesura malcriada
2 cajas grandes de arena
Muchísimos peluches blandos, legos y muñecas
10 kg de helado
Cada semana una casita en un árbol diferente
Recuerdos con primos
Pescando con mi abuelo en el gran lago

Los resultados obtenidos demuestran que los estudiantes universitarios que están en el primer año de estudios de español como lengua extranjera, ya son capaces de identificarse con la forma del texto y recomponer su lista de ingredientes de infancia. Obviamente, en el proceso han aparecido algunos errores gramaticales y ortográficos menores, luego debatidos y corregidos en aula.

En el ejemplo del **Alumno B**, el alumno ha usado el gerundio en la última estrofa del texto. En esta fase de estudios el gerundio todavía no se había estudiado que hace pensar que el alumno posiblemente haya usado el traductor automático. En este caso fue imprescindible explicar que para completar la tarea no hace falta usar el traductor sino usar el conocimiento adquirido en las clases anteriores y sugerir cambiar el gerundio *pescando* por el sustantivo *la pesca*. El gerundio hace referencia a la continuidad del proceso y no al hecho que pudiese ser importante para el autor del texto.

Unidad didáctica II "Los famosos", nivel B1, 120 min

Esta unidad propone descubrir la diversidad regional y lingüística de España a partir de unos datos biográficos y de los apellidos del autor, y, por tanto, abre el debate sobre Cataluña y sus particularidades para descubrir el conocimiento del grupo.

Durante los estudios a distancia, esta unidad también ha sido adaptada para su uso a través de la plataforma de *Padlet (*https://es.padlet.com), que ha permitido la interacción entre los alumnos y la discusión sobre el texto y las imágenes seleccionadas.

A partir del texto propuesto "Talento natural" se estimula la discusión sobre qué significa ser famoso, cómo uno se hace famoso y qué historias son las que inspiran a los alumnos a interesarse por la biografía de alguien.

La tarea **G.** de la unidad es opcional según le parezca al docente y dependiendo de si se han visto microrrelatos en clases anteriores o si los alumnos tienen claros los criterios de qué es un microrrelato. En el caso del trabajo con los alumnos de la Universidad de Liepaya, esta tarea ha sido omitida y está por implementarse en el futuro.

Ejercicios antes de la lectura

A. A partir de una pequeña descripción, el docente pregunta los alumnos si pueden adivinar el posible origen del autor del texto.

> *David Roas Deus es un escritor y crítico literario español, especializado en literatura fantástica. Es profesor de Teoría de la Literatura y Literatura Comparada en la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.*

B. Una vez aclarada la conexión con Cataluña (por sus apellidos y mención de Barcelona), el docente invita a los estudiantes, que escriban las palabras que asocian con esta región autónoma de España (Imágen 3), compartiendo su experiencia. Resultados obtenidos en el aula en la Universidad de Liepaja.

Imágen 3

Las palabras que asocian con esta región autónoma de España

Nota: Posteriormente fue corregida la fecha de la Olimpiada, que fue en 1992.

El docente invita sus alumnos a descubrir la región autónoma de Cataluña buscar la siguiente información y luego compartir de forma oral la información encontrada:

- Situación geográfica y fronteras
- Personas famosas
- Celebraciones importantes
- Un dato interesante que hace Cataluña una región única

De tal manera los alumnos han obtenido diferentes hechos sobre Cataluña, sus tradiciones, vida cultural y política porque cada uno ha buscado de manera individual diferentes hechos de tal manera creando una visión sobre la región y aprendiendo algo aparte de lo que sugiere el texto pero aún está relacionado con la procedencia del autor .

Ejercicios durante la lectura

C. El docente invita a sus estudiantes a leer el microrrelato de David Roas "Talento natural".

> *Mujer, visual y verticalmente limitada, de peso superior a la media, nacida en un barrio marginal de Los Ángeles en el seno de la humilde familia mexicana (cuya vergüenza ante su pobreza marcó decisivamente su infancia y adolescencia), sin estudios (los abandonó muy pronto para ir pasando de empleo en empleo cada vez más humillante y peor pagado), divorciada y acosada sexualmente por su jefe...* (Roas, 2007, p. 59).

Ejercicios después de la lectura

D. El docente invita a sus alumnos a buscar fotos para ilustrar las siguientes frases:

- *de peso superior a la media*
- *barrio marginal*
- *humilde familia*

Las fotos han sido subidas a la plataforma *Padlet* y debatidas entre el grupo.

E. El docente facilita la discusión sobre las frases anteriormente mencionadas e invita a alumnos a pensar qué tienen que ver con el contexto del microrrelato y propone que inventen un posible final en un par de líneas para compartirlo posteriormente entre los compañeros del grupo.

Resultado obtenido

Alumno A

Pero aún así, después de muchos momentos de vergüenza, muchos fracasos, ella va por la vida con la nariz en el cielo. Porque sabe que puede todo, sabe que hará mucho, está feliz con su apariencia y vivirá su vida al máximo. Luchará por su vida, por los derechos de la mujer y la injusticia en el mundo. Sabe que es más que una pobre mujer gorda. ¡Ella es fuerte y lo vale!

F. El docente presenta el final original del microrrelato e invita a pensar en personalidades que han crecido en circunstancias desfavorables pero, a pesar de todo, han logrado ser famosas.

> *No hay duda de que lo tiene todo a su favor para triunfar. Ahora sólo falta encontrar el camino: novela, pintura, cine... Aunque eso, evidentemente, es lo de menos.*

G. Se proponen algunos nombres para ser descubiertos: Francisco de Quevedo, Frida Kahlo, Ángel Ganivet, Federico García Lorca, Celia Cruz. El docente es libre de proponer otras personalidades relacionadas con la cultura hispana o con alguna otra cosa, según le parezca adecuado. Los estudiantes eligen una de las personalidades para investigar su vida y presentarla a través de un microrrelato.

En el caso de la Unidad didáctica II, se requiere una mayor contribución y expresión por parte del alumno, se activa su conocimiento sobre Cataluña, así como conceptos abstractos como la pobreza, la fama, o la marginalidad. Se implementa un pensamiento más abstracto, la fantasía para acabar el texto cuyo final ha sido eliminado por el docente. Por otra parte, se ve que el mensaje del texto ha sido suficientemente comprensible, porque el Alumno 1 ha propuesto un final coherente. Además, el contenido ha facilitado un material para discutir, pensar en los diferentes destinos de las personas y buscar más sobre las vidas de personajes relacionados con la cultura hispana y su contribución a ella. Por lo tanto, ha servido para descubrir diferentes temas culturales como la pintura, la música o la literatura.

Tal y como se puede observar, los microrrelatos funcionan como empuje hacia una variedad de tareas y temas para discutir en el aula de ELE, además, su adaptación para el uso en las plataformas digitales y el aprendizaje en línea es bastante fácil. Cada docente, según su competencia y su plan de estudios, tiene una amplia posibilidad de buscar y encontrar en estos textos lo que le parece más destacable. En este caso, la Unidad I demuestra un enfoque en la forma del texto, mientras que la Unidad II se centra más en el contenido. En ambos casos se ha propuesto a los alumnos no sólo ser lectores atentos, sino también creadores de sus propios textos, lo que demuestra una aproximación hacia el texto completa y mutua, y, por lo tanto, correspondiente a los conceptos de lectoescritura antes mencionados.

Las dos unidades didácticas han sido presentadas tal y como fueron utilizadas en la experiencia de docencia en la Universidad de Liepaya. Sin embargo, cada uno de estos textos puede invitar a más actividades o incluso elaborarlas de manera diferente; complementarlas con otros materiales didácticos o contenidos culturales, profundizando en diferentes aspectos, por ejemplo, en el uso del pretérito indefinido hablando de la infancia, o en la cultura y lengua catalana o literatura fantástica hablando de la obra de David Roas. Como se mencionó anteriormente, las posibilidades didácticas son ilimitadas y dependen del contexto y del plan de estudios de cada curso de ELE.

Conclusiones

1) El aumento de publicaciones dedicadas al uso de textos auténticos, microrrelatos entre ellos, y una clara definición de la lectoescritura como meta en el proceso de aprendizaje de lenguas ha llevado al texto a convertirse en el elemento crucial del contenido educativo de Letonia

y en los Estándares de Preparación Mundial para el Aprendizaje de Idiomas.

2) El beneficio principal del uso de los textos auténticos en el aula es su contenido original y su carácter universal que permite un contacto directo con el idioma en su entorno natural.

3) Cualquier texto permite ser explorado desde un punto de vista complejo, analizando tanto su forma como su estructura, léxico y morfosintaxis, así como su contenido literario y cultural.

4) La adquisición de la lengua invita al alumno a una serie de actividades creativas como criticar, interpretar o reescribir los textos. Además, el microrrelato permite llevar al alumno a todas las acciones requeridas por el concepto de lectoescritura destacado tanto en el Estándar de la enseñanza de lenguas en Letonia como en el MCER para las lenguas (CEFR 2018).

5) El microrrelato dispone de todos los rasgos textuales necesarios para la fomentación de la lectoescritura, y una multitud de rasgos diferentes que lo hace fácil de incluir en el proceso de enseñanza de la lengua extranjera, en este caso ELE.

6) Las posibilidades didácticas del uso de textos en la enseñanza son ilimitadas y dependen de la aproximación al texto por parte del docente y de sus objetivos didácticos para la clase.

7) Los microrrelatos son idóneos para la didáctica, ya que proporcionan una amplia variedad de temas, estructuras, contenidos léxico-gramaticales, recursos literarios, etc., siendo además breves y fáciles para su adaptación en diferentes entornos del aula (presencial o virtual).

8) El docente debe provocar una participación activa del alumno durante el proceso de la adquisición de la lengua que, probablemente, se estimule a través de una secuencia de actividades en el aula. Por lo tanto, trabajar con textos cortos permite una lectura múltiple y un análisis más profundo en el tiempo limitado de la clase.

9) Las unidades didácticas aprobadas hasta ahora demuestran que los estudiantes de la lengua española, incluso en los niveles más básicos, son capaces de interpretar y recrear los microtextos si éstos son bien guiados por el docente durante el proceso.

Bibliografía

ACTFL. (2021, Mayo). *Literacy in Language Learning.* The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. https://www.actfl.org/resources/guiding-principles-language-learning/literacy-language-learning

Albaladejo, D. (2007). *Cómo llevar la literatura al aula de ELE: de la teoría a la práctica*. ELE. http://marcoele.com/descargas/5/albaladejo-literaturaalaula.pdf

Andréz-Suárez, I. (2012). *Antología del microrrelato español (1906–2011). El cuarto género narrativo.* Cátedra.

Aristu, A. (2021). *Del mundo al aula. Textos reales en el aula de idioma.* Webinario. Editorial Difusión, 3 de junio de 2021. https://youtu.be/CrjjxwmOD8E.

Babina, A. (2014). *Microrrelato en la didáctica de ELE.* TFM. Universidad de Letonia.

Bamidele Oyewo, D. (2009). *Competencia Literaria, Literatura Hipertextual y Microrrelatos en el Aula de E/LE*. Universidad de Nebrija.

Berra, S. (2020). *Autentiski teksti valodas apguvē: teorijas, pieejas un pieredzes stāsti*. LU Latviešu valodas institūts.

Cassany, D., Luna, M., & Sanz, G. (2003). *Enseñar lengua.* Graó.

CEFR (2018). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment – Companion Volume with new descriptors.* Council of Europe.

Chamorro Mejía, M. (2019). *El microrrelato en el aula de intercomprensión en cuatro lenguas romances: portugués, italiano, francés y español.* Universidad de Alcalá de Henares.

Cogollo, L. (2012). *El microrrelato como recurso didáctico en el desarrollo de la competencia literaria.* TFM. Stockholms Universitet.

Dong, L. (2017). *Microrrelatos para la enseñanza de ELE a estudiantes chinos* (*ID Code: 45402).* [Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid].

Fernández Cienfuegos, J. (2014). *El empleo del microrrelato en la enseñanza de ELE .* TFM. Universidad de Oviedo.

Fernández-Cuesta Valcarce, M. (2012). *El microrrelato: origen, características y evolución. Propuesta didáctica en el aula de L2. aplicaciones prácticas en L1*. TFM. Universidad de Málaga.

Gilmore, A. (2007). Authentic materials and authenticity in foreign language learning. *Language Teaching, 40*(2), 97–119.

Herrera López, B. (2012). *El Microrrelato En La Enseñanza De ELE: Presencia Actual y Propuesta Didáctica Para Niveles Iniciales (A2–B1)*. TFM Universidad de Cantabria.

Lagmanovich, D. (2005). *La Otra Mirada*. *Cuentos españoles. Cuentos hispanoamericanos.* Menoscuarto.

Lahoz Funes, A. (2011). *El Microrrelato En Aula ELE. Aplicación Didáctica. TFM.* Universidad Pablo de Olavide.

Laiveniece, D. (2011). Darbs ar tekstu un tekstveide latviešu valodas mācībās. Grāmatā: *Ar mūsdienu acīm uz klasiskām lietām: saturs un metodika* (pp. 30–55). Latviešu valodas aģentūra.

Martena, S., Laiveniece, D., & Šalme, A. (2020). *Lingvodidaktika: latviešu valodas mācības pusaudžiem un jauniešiem Rokasgrāmata pamatskolas un vidusskolas pedagogiem LVA*.

Mateos Blanco, B. (2014). *Los microrrelatos de Juan Pedro Aparicio y su aplicación en la enseñanza de E/Le.* TFM. Universidad de Valladolid.

Mateos Blanco, B. (2019). *Intertextualidad y autorreferencialidad en los microrrelatos del grupo leonés: aplicaciones didácticas para la enseñanza de español como lengua extranjera* [Tesis Doctoral, Universidad de Valladolid]. https://doi.org/10.35376/10324/37862

Mateos Blanco, B. (2020). *El microrrelato como herramienta didáctica en la enseñanza de ELE.* Agilice Digital S. L.

Reglamento No. 416, Adjunto 2 (2019). MK noteikumi Nr. 416 2019 – *Noteikumi par valsts vispārējās vidējās izglītības standartu un vispārējās vidējās izglītības programmu paraugiem.* https://likumi.lv/ta/id/309597 .

Reglamento No. 747, Adjunto 2 (2018). MK noteikumi Nr. 747. *Noteikumi par valsts pamatizglītības standartu un pamatizglītības programmu paraugiem.* https://likumi.lv/ta/id/303768

Roas, D. (2007). *Horrores cotidianos*. Menoscuarto ediciones.

Roas, D. (2008). *El microrrelato y la teoría de los géneros.* En I. Andrés-Suárez, & A. Rivas (Ed.), *La era de la brevedad. El microrrelato hispánico* (pp. 47–76). Menoscuarto Ediciones.

Sánchez Guayazán, V. (2016). *Creación de microrrelatos digitales en el aula de ELE: Propuesta didáctica para el nivel A2.* TFM. Universidad Internacional de la Rioja.

Sanz, N. (2020). *Textos, textos, textos… Cuáles, para qué y cómo.* Webinario. Editorial Difusión: 6 de agosto de 2020. https://youtu.be/BW7Fw7wFnG4.

Tena, P. (2017). *Las pequeñas cosas*. Ediciones La Palma.

Valls, F. (2012). *Mar de Pirañas. Nuevas voces del microrrelato español*. Menoscuarto Ediciones.

Agata Babina
University of Liepaja, Latvia
agata.babina@liepu.lv

FLASH FICTION STORY, AN AUTHENTIC TEXT FOR LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN SPANISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Summary. The present study is based on flash fiction texts as a tool for literacy. Literacy has been highlighted as one of the main ideas in the new Educational Standard of Latvia (in force since September 2020). This fact, followed by Solvita Berra's recent research on original texts in foreign language teaching, leads to the exploration of flash fiction stories (sp. *microrrelatos*) as an authentic text and a perfect tool for promoting literacy in the Spanish as a foreign language (ELE) classroom, since it blends perfectly with a variety of creative writing exercises. The flash fiction is a narrative genre that has had a great impact on the Spanish academic field in recent decades. The introduction of flash fiction in the ELE classroom has so far been proposed in several master's dissertations, but its research at a scientific level is still very scarce. The benefits of the introduction of this literary genre in didactics have been treated at the doctoral thesis level by Belén Mateos Blanco (University of Valladolid) and later published in the manual "The flash fiction as a didactic tool in the teaching of ELE", and few others. However, flash fiction stories are good socio-cultural references and serve both, for the teaching of different literary, linguistic and sociocultural aspects, as well as for the promotion of literacy. In addition, they represent a great variety of Spanish, since they have been written by authors from almost all Spanish-speaking countries. The empirical part of the article presents two didactic Units developed based on the use of flash fiction stories for the A1–A2 and B1 Spanish acquisition level. These two units form part of a 20-unit didactic material created as a result of a doctoral thesis. Here published proposal has been proved in the classwork with University of Liepaja students of the 1st and 2nd year of Spanish studies.

Key words: didactics; flash fiction; literacy; Spanish as a foreign language; text; text-formation.

Agata Babina
Liepājas Universitāte, Latvija
agata.babina@liepu.lv

MIKROSTĀSTS – AUTENTISKS TEKSTS TEKSTPRATĪBAS ATTĪSTĪŠANAI SPĀŅU VALODĀ KĀ SVEŠVALODĀ

Kopsavilkums. Pētījuma pamatā ir mikrostāstu teksti kā lasītprasmes līdzeklis. Lasītprasme ir viena no galvenajām pamatidejām jaunajā Latvijas Izglītības standartā (spēkā kopš 2020. gada septembra). Savukārt Solvitas Berras nesenais pētījums par autentisku tekstu izmantošanu svešvalodu apguvē, loģiski noved darba autori pie mikrostāstu (sp. microrrelatos) kā autentiska teksta un ideāla rīka rakstpratības veicināšanai izpētes. Mikrostāsta iekļaušana valodas apguvē līdz šim bijusi rosināta vairākos maģistra līmeņa darbos, taču augstākā zinātniskā līmenī pētījumu par mikrostāstu izmantošanu lingvodidaktikā vēl aizvien ir samērā maz pētījumu. Šī teksta veida izmantošanas svešvalodu didaktikā priekšrocības ir nedaudz pētītas Belenas Mateosas Blanko promocijas darba līmenī un vēlāk publicētas viņas monogrāfijā "Mikrostāsts, didaktisks instruments spāņu valodas kā svešvalodas mācīšanā" (Valjadolidas Universitāte) un vēl nedaudzos promocijas darbos. Mikrostāsts lieliski iekļaujas svešvalodu didaktikā, jo tādējādi lasīšanu iespējams apvienot ar dažādiem radošās rakstīšanas vingrinājumiem, kas veicina arī tekstveidi. Mikrostāsti kalpo kā sociālkultūrali referenti arī dažādu literāro, lingvistisko un sociokulturālo aspektu mācīšanai. Turklāt tie pārstāv dažādu spāniski runājošo valstu autorus un spāņu valodas variantus, jo to autori nāk no gandrīz visām spāniski runājošajām valstīm. Pētījuma empīriskā daļa iepazīstina ar divām lingvodidaktikas materiāla nodaļām, kas ir daļa no autores promocijas darba pielikum, kurā kopumā ir 20 nodaļas. Konkrētie divu nodaļu piemēri ir paredzēti A1–A2 un B1 valodas apguves līmenim un ir tikuši aprobēti darbā ar 1. un 2. kursa spāņu valodas studentiem Liepājas Universitātē.

Atslēgvārdi: didaktika; mikrostāsts; tekstpratība; spāņu valoda kā svešvaloda; teksts; tekstveide.

Agata Babina
Liepojos universitetas, Latvija
agata.babina@liepu.lv

„ŽYBSNIO LITERATŪROS" – AUTENTIŠKAS TEKSTAS ISPANŲ KALBOS KAIP UŽSIENIO KALBOS RAŠTINGUMO UGDYMUI

Santrauka. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjami „žybsnio literatūros" (angl. *flash fiction*) tekstai kaip raštingumo ugdymo priemonė. Naujame Latvijos švietimo standarte (įsigaliojusiame nuo 2020 m. rugsėjo mėn.) raštingumas išskirtas kaip viena pagrindinių idėjų. Šis faktas, taip pat neseniai Solvitos Berros atliktas tyrimas apie originalius tekstus mokant užsienio kalbų, skatina tyrinėti žybsnio istorijas (isp. *microrrelatos*) kaip autentišką tekstą ir puikią priemonę raštingumui skatinti ispanų kalbos kaip užsienio kalbos (ELE) pamokose, nes jos puikiai dera su įvairiomis kūrybinio rašymo pratybomis. Žybsnio literatūra yra naratyvinis žanras, kuris pastaraisiais dešimtmečiais padarė didelę įtaką ispanų kalbos akademiniame pasaulyje. Iki šiol šio pobūdžio literatūros diegimas ELE pamokose buvo siūlomas keliuose magistro darbuose, tačiau tyrimai moksliniu lygmeniu vis dar labai reti. Šio literatūrinio žanro įvedimo į didaktiką naudą daktaro disertacijos lygmeniu nagrinėjo Belén Mateos Blanco (Valjadolido universitetas), vėliau ji buvo paskelbta vadovėlyje „The flash fiction as a didactic tool in the teaching of ELE" (liet. „Žybsnio literatūra kaip didaktinė priemonė mokant ELE") ir dar keletas kitų. Žybsnio istorijos yra gera medžiaga plėtojant sociokultūrinę kompetenciją, naudojama tiek mokant įvairių literatūrinių, lingvistinių ir sociokultūrinių aspektų, tiek skatinant raštingumą. Be to, atspindi didelę ispanų kalbos įvairovę, nes šio pobūdžio kūrinius rašo autoriai iš beveik visų ispaniškai kalbančių šalių. Empirinėje straipsnio dalyje pristatomi du didaktiniai vienetai, sukurti remiantis žybsnio literatūros pasakojimų naudojimu, skirti A1–A2 ir B1 ispanų kalbos mokymosi lygiams. Šie du vienetai sudaro dalį 20 vienetų didaktinės medžiagos, sukurtos kaip daktaro disertacijos rezultatas. Čia publikuojamas pasiūlymas buvo išbandytas dirbant klasėje su Liepojos universiteto I ir II kurso ispanų kalbos studijų studentais.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: didaktika; žybsnio literatura; raštingumas, ispanų kalba kaip užsienio kalba; tekstas; teksto formavimas.

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0019

Diāna Laiveniece
Liepājas Universitāte, Latvija
Linda Lauze
Liepājas Universitāte, Latvija

STUDENTU LINGVISTISKĀ ATTIEKSME PRET KĻŪDĀM SVEŠVALODU APGUVĒ UN LIETOJUMĀ

Kopsavilkums. Pieaugot saziņas intensitātei, pieaug valodā pieļauto kļūdu daudzums. Mūsdienās svešvalodas apguve un lietojums bieži notiek paralēli, un valodas kļūdas ir šī procesa dabiska sastāvdaļa, taču tas nenozīmē, ka ar tām jāsamierinās. Pētījuma pamatā ir dati, kas iegūti no sociolingvistiskas aptaujas, kura tika veikta 2018. un 2019. gadā un kurā anonīmi piedalījās četru augstskolu 253 dažādu tautību un specialitāšu, kā arī atšķirīgu studiju līmeņu studenti no Liepājas, Ventspils un Rīgas. Vairumam respondentu latviešu valoda ir dzimtā valoda, nelielai daļai tā ir otrā valoda vai svešvaloda. Aptaujātie studenti atšķiras arī pēc apgūto svešvalodu veida un skaita. Rakstā atspoguļots pētījuma turpinājums (pirmā posma rezultātus sk. Laiveniece & Lauze, 2020), tā mērķis ir raksturot studentu lingvistisko attieksmi pret kļūdām svešvalodas apguvē un lietojumā: kā vērtēt kļūdas, vai kļūdas vispār ir pieļaujamas, kas tās ietekmē un kā tās novērst. Pētījuma gaitā tika izvirzīts pieņēmums: jo vairāk svešvalodu apgūst, jo vairāk toleranta lingvistiskā attieksme veidojas pret kļūdām, kas tiek pieļautas, runājot svešvalodā. Tomēr aptaujas materiāla analīze to neapstiprināja. Liela daļa respondentu kļūdīšanos saista ar valodas apguves procesu. To, vai, runājot svešvalodā, ir/nav pieļaujamas kļūdas, nosaka saziņas situācija un mērķis, ko valodas lietotājs parasti apzinās. Taču valodas apguves līmenis ietekmē to, vai izdodas īstenot saziņas situācijai un mērķim nepieciešamo runas kvalitāti.

Atslēgvārdi: kļūdu cēloņi; kļūdu novēršana; lingvistiskā attieksme; studenti; svešvalodas apguve; svešvalodas lietojums; valodas kļūda.

Ievads

Pieaugot saziņas intensitātei, pieaug valodā pieļauto kļūdu daudzums. Tas attiecas gan uz dzimto valodu, īpaši rakstveidā, gan uz svešvalodu.

Valodas apguvē tiek šķirtas divu veidu kļūdas:

- nejaušas kļūdas (angl. *error*), kas rodas starpvalodas ietekmē un kas atbilst valodas apguvēja tā brīža kompetencei, bet šī kompetence vēl neatbilst mērķvalodas normām;
- izpildījuma kļūdas (angl. *mistake*), kad valodas lietotājs savu kompetenci kādu noteiktu iemeslu dēļ nespēj adekvāti īstenot (EKPVA, 2006, p. 136).

Latviešu lingvodidaktikā šos gadījumus nešķir, un arī termins ir viens – *valodas kļūda*: „Skaņas, skaņu kopas, vārda, teikuma, teksta izrunas vai rakstības neatbilstība pareizrunas vai pareizrakstības normām." (LTSV, 2011, p. 94) Angļu lingvodidaktikā, īpaši runājot par angļu valodas kā otrās valodas apguves pētniecības aizsākumiem, terminu *mistake* un *error* lietojums tiek saistīts ar to, vai kļūda uzlūkojama par sistēmisku (*error*) vai nesistēmisku (*mistake*) (Corder, 1967, p. 166). Tādējādi sistēmiskas kļūdas tiek saistītas ar nepietiekamu kompetenci otrajā valodā, bet nesistēmiskas kļūdas pamatā tiek attiecinātas uz dzimtās valodas lietojumu. Tas ir šķīrums, kas balstīts uz valodas kompetenci (zināšanām par kādas valodas sistēmu un lietojuma normām) un valodas performanci jeb reālo izpildījumu, kas lielākoties ir spontāns (sk. arī Karra, 2019). Dzimtajā valodā pieļautās atkāpes no valodas normām bieži tiek skaidrotas ar steigu, kas rada paviršību, arī ar dažādiem ekstralingvistiskiem aspektiem (atmiņas traucējumiem, nogurumu, uzmanības novirzi u. c.), taču dažkārt iemesls var būt arī zināšanu trūkums par valodas normatīvo lietojumu. Savukārt kļūdas, kas tiek pieļautas saziņā svešvalodā, visbiežāk ir izraisītas tieši nepietiekamu zināšanu dēļ, lai gan arī ekstralingvistiskajiem faktoriem, protams, var būt ietekme uz valodas lietojumu. Kā attiekties pret kļūdām svešvalodas lietojumā, kā tās noteikt, identificēt un – galvenais – kā tās novērst, ir svarīgākie aspekti, kam pievērsta uzmanība plašāka pētījuma otrajā posmā, kas atspoguļots šajā publikācijā.

Pētījuma pirmajā posmā (Laiveniece, Lauze, 2020) tika noskaidrota studentu vispārējā lingvistiskā attieksme pret kļūdām, runājot svešvalodā, kā arī viņu individuālā pieredze un attieksme pret aizrādījumiem uz pieļautajām kļūdām, par kļūdu labošanu un to ietekmi uz svešvalodas prasmes uzlabošanu.

Lingvistiskā attieksme tiek definēta kā „dažādu etnosu, sociālo grupu un indivīdu subjektīvo faktoru komplekss – valodas uztveres īpatnības, attieksme pret dažādām valodām un valodas situācijas regulēšanas mehānismiem" (VPSV, 2007, p. 219). Svešvalodu apguves jautājumu analīzē būtu lietderīgi paplašināt šī termina izpratni, izmantojot kognitīvo pieeju, kurā tiek atzīts, ka klausītāja lingvistisko attieksmi pret to, kā runātājs lieto valodu, veido trīs komponenti: kognitīvais (angl. *cognitive*), afektīvais (angl. *affective*) un uzvedības (angl. *behavioural predisposition*) (Cargile et al., 1994, p. 214). Ina Druviete norāda, ka kognitīvais komponents ir saistīts ar „pārliecību par kādu jautājumu, piemēram, par kāda vārda vai izteikuma pareizību", afektīvais komponents „atspoguļo izjūtas, piemēram, izdzirdot kādu valodu vai valodas variantu", bet uzvedības komponents parāda „reālo rīcību" (Druviete, 2021, p. 20). Šajā pētījumā svarīgākais ir lingvistiskās attieksmes kognitīvais komponents, taču dažu ar svešvalodas kļūdām saistītu aspektu traktējumā respondentu komentāros saskatāmas norādes uz faktoriem, kas saistāmi ar afektīvo un uzvedības komponentu.

Pētījuma pirmajā posmā radās vairāki secinājumi, uz kuriem svarīgi norādīt, pirms pievērsties pētījuma otrā posma aprakstam:

1) studentu vairākums apzinās, ka viņu svešvalodas lietojumā ir iespējamas kļūdas, tāpēc lūdz, lai kāds, kuram šīs valodas prasme ir augstākā līmenī, uz kļūdām norāda;
2) studenti ir pārliecināti, ka kļūdas valodas apguves procesā ir jālabo, jo tas paaugstina svešvalodas apguves kvalitāti, neļauj kļūdām nostiprināties un nodrošina valodas pareizumu;
3) studenti uzskata, ka saziņas kvalitāti visvairāk ietekmē leksikas kļūdas, bet gramatiskās nepilnības – daudz mazāk.

Kopumā šie secinājumi liecina par valodas apguvēju ieinteresētību savas valodas kompetences paaugstināšanā, tiesa gan – lielāku akcentu liekot uz vārdu krājuma paplašināšanu, nevis izteikumu gramatisko precizitāti.

Metode un pētījuma materiāls

Mūsdienās svešvalodas apguve un lietojums bieži notiek paralēli, tādējādi viens otru ietekmējot. Process var būt nepārtraukts un laikā neierobežots, un valodas kļūdas ir likumsakarīga šī procesa sastāvdaļa. Pret tām būtu jāattiecas neitrāli, taču tas nenozīmē, ka ar kļūdām jāsamierinās. Pētījuma mērķis ir raksturot studentu lingvistisko attieksmi pret kļūdām svešvalodas apguvē un lietojumā, pievēršoties šādiem aspektiem:

1) kā vērtēt kļūdas – vai kļūdas ir normāla parādība

svešvalodas apguves procesā, kam nav jāpievērš uzmanība, vai tomēr – slikta valodas lietojuma pazīme, kas jāizskauž?

2) vai kļūdas ir pieļaujamas, runājot svešvalodā, – kāpēc jā vai kāpēc nē?

3) kas tās ietekmē – cik lielā mērā kļūdu rašanos ietekmē dzimtā valoda, cita iepriekš apgūta svešvaloda, nepietiekama mācīšanās un nepietiekama vingrināšanās valodas lietojumā praksē, t. i., reālā saziņā, nevis mācību situācijās?

4) kā kļūdas novērst – kas konkrēti jādara, lai uzlabotu svešvalodas zināšanas un attiecīgi – valodas lietojuma kvalitāti?

Pētījuma pamatā ir aptaujas rezultāti, kas iegūti 2018. gada decembrī un 2019. gada janvārī. Par pētniecības metodi ir izraudzīta sociolingvistiska aptauja, kas ietver slēgtus un atvērtus jautājumus. Tāda pieeja dod iespēju noskaidrot respondentu viedokli atbilstoši pētījuma mērķim, kā arī atklāt plašāku redzējumu par to vai citu pētījuma aspektu. Aptaujā, neskaitot vispārīgas ziņas par respondentu un viņa lingvistiskās biogrāfijas datiem, iekļauti astoņi jautājumi, bet šajā pētījuma otrajā posmā ir interpretēti dati no četriem jautājumiem.

Aptaujā anonīmi piedalījās četru augstskolu 253 dažādu tautību un specialitāšu, kā arī atšķirīgu studiju līmeņu (bakalauranti, maģistranti, doktoranti) studenti no Liepājas, Ventspils un Rīgas. Vairums respondentu ir norādījuši, ka latviešu valoda ir dzimtā valoda, nelielai daļai tā ir otrā valoda vai svešvaloda. Aptaujātie studenti atšķiras arī pēc apgūto svešvalodu veida un skaita, kas norādīts anketas sadaļā par viņu lingvistisko biogrāfiju. Visbiežāk līdzās latviešu valodai minēta angļu un krievu valoda, retāk – vācu valoda. Tas sasaucas ar vispārējiem rādītājiem par to, kuru svešvalodu prasmes ir populārākās Latvijas iedzīvotāju vidū (Kibermane, Kļava, 2016, p. 57). Nosauktas arī tādas svešvalodas kā franču, spāņu, lietuviešu, zviedru, ķīniešu u. c. Jāpiemin, ka respondentu vidū ir arī studenti, kuri kā savu specialitāti ir izvēlējušies kādas svešvalodas studijas.

Iegūtie rezultāti interpretēti deskriptīvi un kvantitatīvi. Iegūto datu apstrādei daļēji veikti procentu aprēķini, lai vērtētu, kuram no variantiem respondenti dod priekšroku, taču dažu aspektu interpretācijai uzskatāmāk šķitis izmantot norādes par gadījumu skaitu – sk. rezultātu un diskusiju 2. nodaļu, kur pamatojumu sadaļā sniegtās informācijas apstrādei ir izmantota atbilžu satura analīze, tāpēc rezultāti norādīti absolūtos skaitļos, nevis procentos, un 4. nodaļu, kur aplūkotas vairākatbilžu jautājumā piedāvātās izvēles un to kombinācijas. Piebilstams, ka ne uz visiem pētījuma otrajā posmā izvēlētajiem jautājumiem ir atbildējuši visi respondenti, tāpēc atbilstoši jautājumiem respondentu skaits svārstās no 253 līdz 246, kas ņemts vērā, veicot procentuālos aprēķinus.

Rezultāti un diskusija

Studentu viedoklis par svešvalodas kļūdām

Studentu viedoklis par svešvalodas kļūdām, kas tiek pieļautas gan valodas apguves procesā, gan valodas lietojumā, tika izzināts saistībā ar trim apgalvojumiem (sk. anketas 1. fragmentu un 1. tabulu).

Līdzīgus pieņēmumus, kā norādīts šajā anketā, svešvalodas apguves procesa izpētē hipotētiski pieļauj arī citi pētnieki (Lyons, 2018; Szynalski, b.g.). Īpaši augstu tiek vērtēta valodas apguvēja spēja pašam nonākt pie atzinuma, ka svešvalodas lietojumā pieļauta kļūda (Corder, 1967, p. 165).

1. attēls

Anketas 1. Fragments

Kuram apgalvojumam Jūs piekrītat? (Lūdzam norādīt ar x atbilstošo)

1.	Kļūdas ir normāla parādība svešvalodas apguves procesā, kam nav jāpievērš vērība.	2.	Kļūdas ir slikta valodas lietojuma pazīme, tāpēc tās ir jāizskauž jau uzreiz.	3.	Pie konstatējuma, ka tā ir kļūda, valodas apguvējam jānonāk pašam.

Respondentiem dota iespēja izvēlēties, kuram apgalvojumam viņi piekrīt. Vairums (48 %) uzskata, ka kļūdas ir normāla, dabiska parādība valodas apguves procesā: *Kļūdas ir normāla parādība svešvalodas apguves procesā,* *bet tas nenozīmē, ka tām nav jāpievērš uzmanība, ir tikai jāizvēlas atbilstošs veids, kā to darīt*.

Pieci respondenti ir labojuši pirmo apgalvojumu, nosvītrojot vārdu „nav”, tādējādi veidojot izteikumu, ka kļūdas ir normāla parādība svešvalodas apguves procesā, kam ir jāpievērš vērība: *Kļūdas ir tās, kas mums palīdz augt un attīstīties, pilnveidot savu valodas lietojumu*. Vēl vairāk – dažās anketās tiek uzsvērts, ka cilvēki tādā veidā mācās, tāpēc ir svarīgi kļūdas ne vien fiksēt, bet arī izskaidrot un saprast. Īpaši tiek akcentēta vajadzība strādāt ar kļūdām:

> *Valodas apguvējam ir jābūt spēcīgai vēlmei kļūdas izskaust*; *Ja zini, ka tev ir kļūdas kādā svešvalodā, vērsies pie skolotāja un uzzini, kas tev ir jālabo savās zināšanās. Tā tu sevi pilnveidosi. Vajag izprast tematu, kurā tev ir kļūdas, lai zinātu, kā tālāk rīkoties. Piemēram, ja ir slikta izruna angļu valodā, skaties vairāk filmas šajā valodā!*

Tomēr respondentu izteikumos kļūdas jēdziens nereti tiek saistīts ar psiholoģiskajiem faktoriem – bailēm runāt un kautrēšanos runāt: *Daudz kļūdas rodas no bailēm runāt svešvalodā. Bail pārteikties, bail nepareizi izrunāt vārdus utt.*; *Labāk izdarīt kļūdu un to piefiksēt, nekā baidīties to neizdarīt. Mācību laikā vajag lielu drosmi, jo praktiska valodu lietošana vienmēr paceļ valodas prasmes*. Bailes un kautrēšanās rezultātā var novest pie svešvalodas lietojuma barjerām: *Pēc pieredzes saku, ka pārvarēt valodas barjeru ir ļoti grūti, jo baidāmies, kautrējamies. Tam nav pamata, jo tam, kuram šī svešvaloda ir dzimtā, novērtēs jūsu centienus runāt viņu valodā*. Šādos gadījumos studentu lingvistiskajā attieksmē ir saskatāmi iepriekš minētie trīs kognitīvās pieejas komponenti. Kognitīvais komponents pauž runātāja pārliecības trūkumu par svešvalodas prasmi, afektīvais – ietver satraukumu, bet uzvedības komponents norāda uz runas darbības ierobežošanu.

32 % respondentu kļūdas vērtē kā sliktu valodas lietojuma pazīmi, tāpēc tās ir jāizskauž. Taču šis faktors netiek vērtēts viennozīmīgi. Tiek norādīti vairāki aspekti, kas saistīti ar attieksmi pret kļūdām svešvalodas lietojumā:

> - *nedrīkstētu pieļaut rupjas kļūdas, bet niansēm, kuras,*

iespējams, pat nezina cilvēki, kuriem tā ir dzimtā valodā, nav jāpievērš uzmanība;
- *kļūdas nebūtu vēlams pieļaut publiskajā runā un formālā vidē, bet ikdienas situācijās tām nebūtu pievēršama liela vērība*;
- *svešvalodu mācību procesā ir ļoti svarīgi ievērot valodas apguvēju līmeni – ja tēma ir par sarežģītu, kļūdu būs vairāk, un tas var likt zaudēt valodas apguves motivāciju vai pat radīt kompleksus*.

Tikai 16,4 % respondentu atbalsta trešo apgalvojumu, ka pie konstatējuma, ka tā ir kļūda, valodas apguvējam jānonāk pašam. Galvenokārt tas tiek saistīts ar pamatojumu, ka tikai tādā veidā cilvēks var iemācīties valodu: *Apguvējiem varētu būt vērtīgi pašiem meklēt un labot savas kļūdas (piemēram, salīdzinot savu rakstu darbu vai runas ierakstu ar paraugu)*; *Par progresu vislabāk norāda tas, ka valodas apguvējs pats nonāk pie secinājuma, ka ir kļūdījies, un atrod veidu, kā to izlabot*.

Vairākos gadījumos respondenti nebija varējuši izvēlēties vienu apgalvojumu, tāpēc gan kombinējuši 1) + 2) vai 1) + 3), vai 2) + 3), gan arī izvēlējušies pie apgalvojumiem pievienot „+” un „–” vai „+/–”, tādējādi ranžējot šos apgalvojumus kā „piekrītu”, „daļēji piekrītu” un „nepiekrītu”.

1. tabula

Studentu viedoklis par svešvalodas kļūdām

Kļūdas ir normāla parādība svešvalodas apguves procesā, kam nav jāpievērš vērība	Kļūdas ir slikta valodas lietojuma pazīme, tāpēc tās ir jāizskauž jau uzreiz	Pie konstatējuma, ka tā ir kļūda, valodas apguvējam jānonāk pašam	Atbilžu variācijas ar komentāriem
48 %	32 %	16.4 %	3.6 %

Jāsecina, ka studentu viedokļi par to, kā vērtēt kļūdas gan svešvalodas apguves procesā (1. aspekts), gan valodas lietojumā (2. aspekts) ir visai atšķirīgi, bet tajā pašā laikā tie nav pretrunā viens ar otru: svešvalodu apgūstot, kļūdas, protams, ir sastopamas, tā ir likumsakarīga šī procesa sastāvdaļa, kā uzskata gandrīz puse no visiem respondentiem, taču kļūdas nevajadzētu pieļaut valodas lietojumā, kā uzskata apmēram trešdaļa respondentu. 3. aspekts – pie konstatējuma, ka tā ir kļūda, valodas apguvējam jānonāk pašam – apstiprina raksta sākumā izteikto: svešvalodas apguve un lietojums bieži notiek paralēli, tādējādi viens otru ietekmējot. Pieaugot svešvalodas lietojuma intensitātei runā un rakstos, īpaši sazinoties mutvārdos ar citiem mērķvalodā runājošiem (par respondentu lingvistisko attieksmi pret kļūdām svešvalodas runas formā sk. nākamajā nodaļā), valodas apguvējs/ lietotājs var sākt savas kļūdas apzināt pats, un tas ir cits līmenis valodas kompetences paaugstināšanā, salīdzinot ar gadījumiem, kad uz kļūdām norāda skolotājs.

Studentu viedoklis par kļūdām svešvalodas runas formā

Valoda, arī svešvaloda, tiek izmantota gan runas, gan rakstu formā. Atkarībā no valodas eksistences paveida (standartvalodas, sarunvalodas, izloksnes u. tml.), teksta tipa, saziņas mērķa, adresāta u. c. nozīmīgiem faktoriem rakstīšanai parasti ir iespējams veltīt vairāk laika, kā arī atvēlēt lielāku uzmanību teksta lingvistiskajai kvalitātei. Rakstītu tekstu var pārdomāt, precizēt, var izmantot vārdnīcas, pareizrakstības programmas u. tml. līdzekļus, ja tas ir nepieciešams, pat izmantot citu cilvēku palīdzību, piemēram, kāda, kam lietotā svešvaloda ir dzimtā valoda. Kaut arī ir tādi mutvārdu teksti, kas ir iepriekš sagatavoti un ko lielākoties, publiski uzstājoties, nolasa (plašāk par valodas paveidiem un to eksistenci mutvārdu formā sk. Lauze, 2004, p. 12–17, kā arī mutvārdu tekstu daudzveidību sk. Lauze, 2020), tieši runājot daudzās situācijās izpaužas spontanitāte kā būtiska mutvārdu teksta producēšanas pazīme, kas atklāj valodas lietotāja patiesās zināšanas un prasmes un to automatizācijas pakāpi.

Dokumentā *Eiropas kopīgās pamatnostādnes valodu apguvei: mācīšanās, mācīšana, vērtēšana* runāšana kā viens no četriem valoddarbības veidiem ir iekļauts visu valodas apguves līmeņu vispārīgajā aprakstā, kur minēta spēja sazināties vienkāršiem teikumiem elementārās saziņas situācijās A līmenī, bet spēja sarunāties samērā brīvi un spontāni norādīta kā atbilstoša vidējā līmeņa augstākajai pakāpei B2 un C līmenim (sk. EKPVA, 2006, p. 28–29). Runāšanas prasmes pašvērtējumā šajā dokumentā ir atsevišķi izdalīta mutvārdu teksta dialoga un monologa forma (sk. EKPVA, 2006, p. 31).

Valodas apguves process nav iespējams bez kļūdīšanās. Runāšanas kvalitatīvo aspektu raksturojumā minētajā dokumentā kļūdas nav pieminētas tikai viszemākajā un visaugstākajā valodas apguves līmenī – A1 un C2, taču citos līmeņos tās ir saistītas ar gramatiski pareizu valodas lietojumu (A2, B2 un C1 līmenī) vai runāšanas plūdumu, raitumu (B1). A2 līmenī valodas apguvējs vēl „sistemātiski pieļauj elementāras kļūdas", taču, sākot ar B1 līmeni, lielākā vai mazākā mērā tiek akcentēta kļūdu labošana konkrētajā runāšanas kvalitātes aspektā (sk. EKPVA, 2006, p. 32–33).

Pētījuma gaitā tika izvirzīts pieņēmums: jo vairāk svešvalodu apgūst, jo vairāk toleranta lingvistiskā attieksme veidojas pret kļūdām, kas tiek pieļautas, runājot svešvalodā.

Lielākais apgūto valodu skaits (ieskaitot dzimto valodu), ko anketās uzrādīja respondenti, ir sešas (1,99 % studentu) un piecas (5,97 %). Vairums respondentu prot četras (32,27 %) un trīs (45,01 %) valodas, bet pārējie 14,76 % respondentu norādījuši, ka pārvalda divas valodas.

2. attēls

Anketas 2. fragments

Vai, runājot svešvalodā, kļūdas valodas lietojumā, Jūsuprāt, ir pieļaujamas? Lūdzam atbildi pamatot

- jā, ir pieļaujamas, jo ....
- nav pieļaujamas, jo ....

Lai noskaidrotu, vai respondenti vispār pieļauj faktu, ka svešvalodā varētu atļauties runāt ar kļūdām, tika uzdots jautājums par studentu lingvistisko attieksmi pret kļūdām valodas lietojumā (sk. anketas 2. fragmentu un 2. tabulu). Šajā gadījumā respondentiem tika piedāvāts daļēji slēgtais jautājums ar iespēju paskaidrot tuvāk apgalvojumu vai noliegumu izvēlētajā atbildē.

Atbildot uz jautājumu, vai, kļūdas valodas lietojumā, runājot svešvalodā, ir pieļaujamas, vairums aptaujāto (89,2 %) atzīst, ka kļūdas svešvalodas runas formā ir pieļaujamas. Pamatojumam visbiežāk minēts arguments, ka svešvaloda nav dzimtā valoda (63 gadījumos) un ka tā ir svešvaloda (9 gadījumos), kas pēc būtības ir tas pats apgalvojums, tikai izteikts pretējā formā.

Liela daļa respondentu kļūdīšanos saista ar valodas apguves procesu: *Tas ir normāli kļūdīties mācību procesā un runā*; *Tādā veidā notiek valodas pilnveide*; *Apgūt valodu perfekti ir neiespējami*; *Ne vienmēr svešvalodas apguvei vidusskolās tiek pietiekami apjomīgs mācību kurss* u. tml. Ir aprakstītas arī iespējamās individuālās grūtības svešvalodas apguves fonētiskajā aspektā, pieminot vārdu izrunu, akcentu, runāšanas tempu u. c. No vienas puses, atbilstoši respondentu zināšanām un pieredzei svešvaloda un dzimtā valoda tiek pretstatītas. No otras puses, 13 gadījumos valodas apguves process negaidīti tiek vienādots, uzsverot, ka arī dzimtajā valodā runātāji pieļauj kļūdas, kas šķiet kā kļūdu pieļaušanas attaisnojums.

Daļā pamatojumu tiek uzsvērta atziņa, ka *galvenais ir spēt sazināties, lai otrs saprot runātāju*. Būtiski piebilst, ka tam ir ne tikai praktiska, bet arī teorētiska nozīme, jo šīs atziņas iespaidā lingvodidaktikā tika izstrādāta komunikatīvā pieeja. Svarīgākās pārmaiņas lingvodidaktikā, kas akcentē komunikatīvās kompetences pilnveidi, ir nosauktas par revolucionārām, jo tās pievērsa uzmanību runas prasmju mācīšanai un „atjaunoja pārliecību –, lai saprastu citus cilvēkus, vispirms jāspēj ar viņiem sarunāties" (Kramsch, 1994, p. 70). Mācot lietuviešu valodu kā svešvalodu un meklējot jaunus risinājumus šīs baltu valodas didaktikā ārzemniekiem (kopš 1990. gada), Meilute Ramoniene (*Meilutė Ramonienė*, 2002, p. 9) secina: „Ar to vien nepietiek, ka lingvistiskās formas tiek lietotas gramatiski pareizi. Nepieciešams tās lietot atbilstoši visam sarunas kontekstam. Vairumā gadījumu šāda sazināšanās kompetence lietuviski runājošajiem cittautiešiem ir svarīgāka nekā spēja bez kļūdām izmantot lingvistiskās konstrukcijas."

Tomēr 8,4 % respondentu uz šo aptaujas jautājumu ir snieguši negatīvu atbildi, apgalvojot: *Ir jārunā gramatiski pareizi*; *Svešvalodu* *zināšanām ir jābūt labā līmenī*. Divos gadījumos pieļauta atkāpe, ja kļūdīties sanāk emocionālu apsvērumu, respektīvi, uztraukuma dēļ, vai tad, ja ir pieļautas *mazas kļūdas, kas nemaina visu kontekstu*. Neliela daļa aptaujāto (2,4 %) ir šaubījusies par viennozīmīgu viedokli, tādējādi atrasti argumenti gan tam, ka kļūdas ir pieļaujamas, gan tam, ka tās nav pieļaujamas. Piemēram:

- *jā, atkarībā no situācijas, ja esi tūrists Itālijā; nē, ja aizstāvu kādu darbu, runā darba vietā vai lietišķajā vidē kļūdas nav pieļaujamas*;
- *jā, jo valodu apguvējam nav automātiska ideāla valodas pratība; nē, jo vismaz pamata vienības, standartfrāzes, sveicienus jāmāk*.

2. tabula

Studentu viedoklis par kļūdām svešvalodas runas formā

Runājot svešvalodā, kļūdas valodas lietojumā ir pieļaujamas	**Runājot svešvalodā, kļūdas valodas lietojumā nav pieļaujamas**	**Runājot svešvalodā, kļūdas valodas lietojumā ir vai nav pieļaujamas atkarībā no situācijas**
89,2 %	8,4 %	2,4 %

Iepriekš izvirzītais pieņēmums, ka apgūto valodu skaits pozitīvi korelē ar attieksmi pret valodas kļūdām, pētījuma gaitā neapstiprinājās, jo 8,4 % respondentu, kas izvēlējušies atbildes variantu, ka kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā nav pieļaujamas, ir studenti ar atšķirīgu apgūto valodu skaitu – no divām līdz sešām.

Kļūdu rašanos ietekmējošie faktori

Lai noskaidrotu, kas ietekmē kļūdu rašanos svešvalodas lietojumā, respondentiem tika piedāvāts ranžēt četrus faktorus (sk. anketas 3. fragmentu), novērtējot to ietekmi no 5 līdz 0, kur 5 nozīmē 'vislielākā ietekme' un 0 – 'nav ietekmes' (respondentiem bija iespēja ar 5 punktiem novērtēt vairākus vai pat visus faktorus). Pirmie divi faktori saistīti ar citām valodām, kas nav mērķvaloda, bet divi pēdējie – ar mērķvalodas apguvi.

3. attēls

Anketas 3. fragments

Cik lielā mērā kļūdu rašanos, Jūsuprāt, ietekmē (lūdzam norādīt skalā no 5 līdz 0, kur 5 – vislielākā ietekme, 0 – ietekmes nav)

	5	4	3	2	1	0
• dzimtā valoda..........................						
• cita iepriekš apgūta svešvaloda....						
• nepietiekama mācīšanās............						
• nepietiekama vingrināšanās........ valodas lietojumā praksē						

18,29 % respondentu uzskata, ka dzimtajai valodai ir vislielākā ietekme uz kļūdu rašanos svešvalodas lietojumā (piešķirot 5 punktus), un vairāk nekā ceturtā daļa (26,66 %) no šiem 18,29 % respondentiem dzimto valodu izvirza kā vienīgo svarīgāko faktoru, kas ietekmē svešvalodas kļūdainu lietojumu, citus faktorus vērtējot ar 0 (prioritāro izvēļu apkopojumu sk. 3. tabulā). Atsevišķos gadījumos šāda izvēle tiek arī skaidrota: *Kļūdas rodas, jo teikumu gribas veidot, balstoties uz dzimtās valodas noteikumiem*. Taču tiek izteikts arī viedoklis par valodu hierarhiju: *Cilvēkam ir vispirms jāapgūst sava valoda skolā un tikai tad ir jāķeras pie citu valodu izzināšanas*, tādējādi netieši norādot, ka stabilas zināšanas dzimtajā valodā ir garants tam, lai interference nerastos.

Pētnieki uzskata, ka dzimtajai valodai ir vērā ņemama ietekme uz kļūdu rašanos, runājot svešvalodā (par to vairāk sk. Wood, 2017). Stīvens Krašens (*Stephen Krashen*, 1981, p. 67) atbalsta uzskatu, ka dzimtās valodas ietekme uz svešvalodu ir saistīta ar zemu valodas apguves līmeni, norādot, ka šī ietekme mazinās, ja svešvalodas apguvē tiek piedāvāts autentisks valodas materiāls un palielinātas valodas lietojuma iespējas. Dzimtās valodas ietekmē kļūdas rodas galvenokārt fonoloģijā, leksikā un gramatikā. Sākot lietot svešvalodu, valodas apguvēji mēdz uz to pārnest dzimtās valodas formas, nozīmes un kultūras aspektus, tādējādi izraisot kļūdas.

3. tabula

Kļūdu rašanos ietekmējošie faktori (prioritārā izvēle)

	Dzimtā valoda	Cita iepriekš apgūta valoda
Pats svarīgākais faktors (5 punkti)	norāda 18,29 % no visiem respondentiem	norāda 6,88 % no visiem respondentiem
Vienīgais svarīgākais faktors	norāda 26,66 % no iepriekš minētajiem respondentiem	norāda 23,52 % no iepriekš minētajiem respondentiem
	Nepietiekama mācīšanās	Nepietiekama praktizēšanās
Pats svarīgākais faktors (5 punkti)	norāda 55,64 % no visiem respondentiem	norāda 60,72 % no visiem respondentiem
Vienīgais svarīgākais faktors	norāda 18,84 % no iepriekš minētajiem respondentiem	norāda 23,33 % no iepriekš minētajiem respondentiem

Kopumā dzimtās valodas ietekmes faktoru kā ļoti nozīmīgu (piešķirot 5 un 4 punktus) vērtē 39,43 % respondentu, kā vidēji nozīmīgu (piešķirot 3 un 2 punktus) – 41,05 %, bet kā nenozīmīgu (attiecīgi 1 un 0 punktu) – 19,52 % (visu izvēļu apkopojumu sk. 4. tabulā).

4. tabula

Kļūdu rašanos ietekmējošie faktori (visas izvēles)

	Dzimtā valoda	Cita svešvaloda	Nepietiekama mācīšanās	Nepietiekama praktizēšanās
Nozīmīgs faktors (5 un 4 punkti)	39,43 %	30,37 %	85,08 %	83,8 %
Vidēji nozīmīgs faktors (3 un 2 punkti)	41,05 %	58,7 %	13,3 %	15,4 %
Maznozīmīgs faktors (1 un 0 punktu)	19,52 %	10,93 %	1,61 %	0,8 %

Kā relatīvi mazāk nozīmīgs faktors, kas ietekmē kļūdu rašanos mērķvalodas lietojumā, tiek norādīta cita iepriekš apgūta svešvaloda (L2) – tātad ir runa jau par trešās valodas (L3) apguvi. L2 par ļoti svarīgu faktoru, piešķirot 5 punktus, uzlūko 6,88 % studentu, bet par vienīgo svarīgāko – 23,52 % no viņiem. Kopumā 30,37 % respondentu saskata šīs ietekmes nozīmīgumu (piešķirot 5 un 4 punktus). Vairums respondentu citu iepriekš apgūtu svešvalodu uzskata par vidēji nozīmīgu faktoru – 58,7 % vai pat par nenozīmīgu – 10,93 %. Pastāv pieņēmums, ka cita iepriekš apgūta svešvaloda darbojas kā filtrs, kas neitralizē dzimtās valodas ietekmi uz apgūstamo mērķvalodu un tās lietojumu (Bardel, Falk 2007). Tomēr tas nenotiek gadījumos, kad dzimtā valoda ir tipoloģiski tuvāka L3 nekā L2. Kamilla Bardela (*Camilla Bardel*) un Ilva Falka (*Ylva Falk*) par svarīgu L3 apguves faktoru uzskata metalingvistiskās zināšanas par valodām (2020). Tās ir apgūtas iepriekš, gan skolā mācoties dzimto valodu, gan apgūstot svešvalodas. Šīs sakarības saskata arī valodas apguvēji: *Mācoties svešvalodas, jāmēģina atrast paralēles starp valodu, kuru apgūst, un tām, kuras jau ir apgūtas. Iespējams, pastāv vārdi vai izruna, kuras ir vienādas abās valodās, šādā veidā samazinot risku kļūdīties*; *Citu svešvalodu zināšana gan atvieglo, gan apgrūtina jaunu svešvalodu apgūšanu, jo ir daudz nostiprinājušos priekšstatu par kādas valodas likumsakarībām, kas citā valodā nav spēkā. Tas rada kļūdas*.

Šajā sakarā ir jārunā par valodas pārnesi (angl. *language transfer*), kas tiek raksturota kā izrietoša ietekme no mērķvalodas līdzībām vai atšķirībām ar jebkuru citu iepriekš apgūtu valodu (kaut vai nepilnīgi apgūtu) (Odlin, 1989). Valodas kļūdas, kas rodas pārneses jeb interferences rezultātā, ir gan atkāpes no dzimtās valodas normām kontaktvalodas ietekmē, gan dzimtās valodas negatīva ietekme uz mērķvalodas apguvi. Interference var izpausties visos valodas līmeņos – fonētiskajā, morfoloģiskajā, sintaktiskajā, leksiskajā, semantiskajā līmenī un vārddarināšanā. (LTSV, 2011, p. 40)

Kā divi nākamie faktori, kas varētu ietekmēt kļūdu daudzumu svešvalodas lietojumā, tika vērtēta nepietiekama mācīšanās un nepietiekama vingrināšanās svešvalodas lietojumā praksē, proti, reālas saziņas situācijās, nevis mācību vidē. Kopumā abiem šiem faktoriem studenti piešķīruši lielāku vērtību nekā iepriekš apgūto valodu faktoram.

85,08 % respondentu uzskata, ka kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā ir skaidrojamas tieši ar nepietiekamu mācīšanos (vērtējums ar 5 un 4 punktiem), bet kā pašu svarīgāko faktoru, vērtējot to ar 5 punktiem, atzīst 55,64 % no visiem respondentiem. No tiem 18,84 % respondentu mācīšanos izvirza kā vienīgo svarīgāko faktoru, kas ietekmē svešvalodas kvalitatīvu lietojumu, citiem faktoriem punktus nemaz nepiešķirot. Pamatojot savus uzskatus, respondenti lieto saukļiem līdzīgas frāzes: *Mūžu dzīvo – mūžu mācies!*; *Mācīties, mācīties un vēlreiz mācīties!*; *Galvenais ir mācīties no savām kļūdām*.

Tikai 13,3 % respondentu uzskata mācīšanos par vidēji nozīmīgu faktoru (piešķirot 3 un 2 punktus) un 1,61 % – par nenozīmīgu faktoru (piešķirot attiecīgi 1 un 0 punktu).

Tāpat augstu tiek vērtēta praktizēšanās nozīme svešvalodas lietojumā, sazinoties ar citiem šajā valodā runājošajiem: *Latviešiem kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā rodas tieši no nepietiekamām saziņas procesa iespējām*; *Kļūdas rodas, kad valodu nelieto pietiekami daudz. Tā ir jādzird un vairāk jāpraktizē, runājot ar šīs valodas pratējiem*; *Lai iemācītos svešvalodu, tā obligāti ir jālieto, sarunājoties ar cilvēkiem, ne tikai lasot, rakstot*; *Valoda ir jālieto ikdienā*. Kopumā 60,72 % respondentu svešvalodas lietojumu praksē uzlūko par ļoti nozīmīgu faktoru (5 punkti) un 23,33 % no viņiem – par vienīgo svarīgāko, salīdzinot ar citiem trim faktoriem. Ar 4 un 5 punktiem šo faktoru vērtē 83,8 % studentu, ar 3 un 2 punktiem – 15,4 %, bet ar 1 un 0 punktu – tikai 0,8 % respondentu.

Ja uz abiem pēdējiem faktoriem – nepietiekamu mācīšanos un nepietiekamu valodas lietojumu praksē – raugās kopumā, tad jāsecina, ka gandrīz trešdaļa respondentu (30,76 %) abus šos aspektus vērtē kā pašus nozīmīgākos, kas ietekmē kļūdu rašanos. Respondenti uzsver mācīšanās nozīmi: *Ar laiku, cītīgi mācoties, runājot, tās* [kļūdas] *izzudīs*. Savukārt nav respondentu, kas kā abus nozīmīgākos faktorus vērtētu dzimtās valodas un citas iepriekš apgūtas svešvalodas ietekmi.

Tātad, pēc respondentu skatījuma, kļūdas svešvalodas apguvē un lietojumā visvairāk ietekmē nepietiekama mācīšanās un nepietiekams valodas lietojums saziņā. Secināms, ka mūsdienās svešvalodu apguvēji tomēr drošāk balstās uz sevi pašu – savu prasmi mācīties valodu un izmantot visas iespējas, lai vingrinātos valodas praktiskajā lietojumā, – nevis uz blakus faktoriem vai ārējiem apstākļiem.

Studentu izmantotie kļūdu novēršanas veidi

Lai uzzinātu, kādā veidā respondenti paši ir centušies novērst iespējamās kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā, anketā tika iekļauts vairākatbilžu jautājums (sk.

anketas 4. fragmentu), kurā piedāvāti astoņi atbilžu varianti ar iespēju uzrakstīt vēl citu variantu, kurš iepriekš nav minēts. Trīs respondenti uz šo jautājumu nav atbildējuši.

4. attēls

Anketas 4. fragments

Kā pats/pati esat centies/centusies novērst iespējamās kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā?
Lūdzam norādīt ar x atbilstošo; var izvēlēties vairākas atbildes

1.	Noskaidroju vārda tulkojumu
2.	Noskaidroju vārda izrunu
3.	Pārliecinos par vārda nozīmi vārdnīcā
4.	Sameklēju nepieciešamo gramatikas likumu
5.	Vēršos pēc palīdzības pie skolotāja vai citas personas, kas labi zina konkrēto svešvalodu
6.	Paskatos *Google*, kā citi to raksta/izrunā
7.	Necenšos novērst iespējamās kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā
8.	Cits variants ....

Aptaujas rezultāti apliecina, ka studentu pieeja kļūdu novēršanai ir daudzveidīga un samērā individuāla, jo kopumā ir izveidotas 53 atbilžu kombinācijas, kurās visbiežāk ir iekļauti šādi kļūdu novēršanas veidi:

- noskaidroju vārda tulkojumu – 1. variants (223 reizes);
- noskaidroju vārda izrunu – 2. variants (193 reizes);
- vēršos pēc palīdzības pie skolotāja vai citas personas, kas labi zina konkrēto svešvalodu – 5. variants (156 reizes);
- paskatos *Google*, ka citi to raksta/izrunā – 6. variants (127 reizes);
- pārliecinos par vārda nozīmi vārdnīcā – 3. variants (113 reizes).

Vien retos gadījumos (6 reizes) studenti ir atzīmējuši tikai vienu atbilžu variantu. Vairums respondentu ir veidojuši atbilžu variantu kombinācijas, no kurām visbiežāk ir izveidotas šādas:

- 1., 2., 5. un 6. variants (31 reize);
- 1., 2. un 5. variants (24 reizes);
- 1., 2. un 6. variants (20 reižu).

Retāk (61 reizi) kā viens no kļūdu novēršanas veidiem ir norādīta nepieciešamā gramatikas likuma meklēšana (4. variants). Jāņem vērā, ka kļūdu pamanīšana un mazināšana svešvalodas lietojumā no runātāja prasa uzmanību, piepūli un pacietību. Apgūstamās valodas pilnveide tiek turpināta neformālos apstākļos, ārpus mācību vides augstskolā. Šajā ziņā pētījuma rezultāti saskan ar Arvila Šalmes (2011, p. 35) atzinumu: „Šādā mācību procesā parasti automatizētas iemaņas veidojas ilgstošas un intensīvas prakses rezultātā, runātājam saziņā mēģinot reproducēt pilnas nozīmes izteikumus, bet nesaistot to lietojumu ar valodas teorētiskajām likumībām."

Tikai seši respondenti ir atzinuši, ka necenšas novērst iespējamās kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā, izvēloties 7. atbilžu varianta formulējumu. Tāpat tikai daži respondenti ir izmantojuši 8. variantu – iespēju pievienot savu atbildi: *Uzlabojot vārdu krājumu*; *Pavaicāju draugam, vai viņš zina vārdu*; *Ja ir zināms kāds, kas tajā valodā runā, tad pajautāju tam cilvēkam, ko tas vārds nozīmē*. Vispārinot papildus minētos kļūdu novēršanas veidus, tie būtu iekļaujami jau paredzētajos atbilžu variantos.

Secināms, ka lielākā daļa respondentu domā par to, kā novērst kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā. Savukārt, runājot par izvēlēm, redzams, ka vēlreiz apstiprinās pētījuma pirmajā posmā secinātais (sk. iepriekš minēto raksta ievadā): precizitāte leksikā tiek uzskatīta par prioritāru salīdzinājumā ar izteikuma gramatisko korektumu – tikai ceturtdaļa aptaujāto (24,4 %) atzīst, ka iespējamās kļūdas svešvalodas lietojumā cenšas novērst, izmantojot gramatikas likumus.

Nobeigums

Ir vērts atcerēties, ka svešinieks, kurš ir ieradies citā zemē kā tūrists un mēģina runāt vietējā valodā, rada labvēlīgu komunikācijas pamatu. Tāpēc kļūdām viņa runā uzmanība netiek pievērsta, galvenais ir saziņas kvalitāte un saprašanās.

Var pievienoties Deivida Kristala (*David Crystal*, 2019, pp. 279–280) aicinājumam: „Nekad nebaidieties pamēģināt runāt citā valodā! Nekad nebrauciet uz citu valsti bez vārdnīcas kabatā! Centieties katru dienu apgūt kaut vienu jaunu vārdu! Un nesatraucieties par kļūdām. Es nepārtraukti kļūdos, runājot citās valodās, bet vienmēr esmu ticis galā. Jebkuram cilvēkam patīk, ja citi cenšas runāt viņa valodā."

Taču ne visi apgūst svešvalodu, lai ceļotu pa svešām zemēm. To, vai, runājot svešvalodā, ir vai nav pieļaujamas kļūdas, nosaka saziņas situācija un mērķis, kā arī valodas apguves līmenis. Ja svešvalodu izmanto profesionālām vajadzībām, it sevišķi formālās runas situācijās, kļūdas nebūtu pieļaujamas. Gadījumos, kad runātājam ir sanācis kļūdīties un ir izdevies pašam to pamanīt, ir iespējams atkārtot sacīto izlabotā veidā vai atvainoties par pārteikšanos. Neformālās runas situācijās ikdienā saziņas partneriem pārsvarā ir saprotoša lingvistiskā attieksme pret iespējamo kļūdīšanos, tomēr jāpatur prātā, ka valodas kļūdas var radīt pārpratumus.

Pētījumā iegūto datu apstrādes un interpretācijas rezultātā ir iegūtas atbildes uz pētījuma mērķī iekļautajiem jautājumiem:

1) vērtējot kļūdas, kas rodas gan svešvalodas apguves procesā, gan lietojumā, gandrīz puse respondentu nosliecas par labu viedoklim, ka svešvalodas apguvē kļūdas ir normāla parādība, kurām tomēr ir jāpievērš uzmanība, lai tās pēc iespējas neatkārtotu un izskaustu. Savukārt, runājot par valodas lietojumu, aptuveni trešdaļa respondentu kļūdas uzskata par sliktu svešvalodas lietojuma pazīmi;
2) zināmā pretrunā iepriekšminētajam ir studentu lingvistiskā attieksme pret to, vai kļūdas ir pieļaujamas, runājot svešvalodā. Teju deviņas desmitdaļas respondentu apstiprina kļūdu pieļaujamību, lietojot svešvalodu mutvārdos;
3) viedoklī par galvenajiem faktoriem, kas ietekmē kļūdu rašanos, respondenti akcentē nepietiekamu mācīšanos un nepietiekamu valodas lietojumu reālā saziņā. Tie lielā mērā ir subjektīvi un arī paškritiski spriedumi, kas attiecināmi uz pašu studentu kā valodas apguvēju/lietotāju centīgumu un piepūli, kā arī ieinteresētību svešvalodas kvalitātes paaugstināšanā;
4) domājot par to, kā kļūdas novērst, lai uzlabotu svešvalodas zināšanas un valodas lietojuma kvalitāti, respondenti norāda, ka galvenokārt izmanto darbības, lai nekļūdītos leksiskajā aspektā, noskaidrojot vārda nozīmi un/vai tā izrunu. Šajā ziņā studenti biežāk paļaujas uz citiem konkrētās svešvalodas lietotājiem, nevis uz normatīvajiem avotiem (vārdnīcām, gramatikām).

Visticamāk, ka diendienā cilvēki, kas apgūst kādu svešvalodu, par valodas lietojuma kļūdām nedomā kategorijās labi/slikti, pieņemami/nepieņemami, kā arī nedomā par savu attieksmi pret tām. Piedalīšanās aptaujā un anketas aizpilde respondentiem deva iespēju iedziļināties šajā jautājumā, dziļāk paraugoties uz savu valodas apguvēja un valodas lietotāja pieredzi, kas turpmāk varētu arī ietekmēt svešvalodas apguves procesu un rezultātu, kurš tādējādi īstenojas kvalitatīvā valodas lietojumā.

Literatūra

Bardel, C., Falk, Y. (2007). The role of the second language in third language acquisition: The case of Germanic syntax. *Second Language Research*, *23*(4), 459–484.

Bardel, C., Falk, Y. (2020). L1, L2 and L3: Some or different? *SAGE journals*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267658320941033

Cargile, A. C., Giles, H., Ryan, E. B., & Bradac, J. J. (1994). Language attitudes as a social process: A conceptual model and new directions. *Language and Communication*, *14*(3), 211–236.

Corder, S. P. (1967). The significance of learners' errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, *5*, 161–170. uky.edu/~tmclay/Corder%201967.pdf

Druviete, I. (2021). Lingvistiskā attieksme valodas politikā. Un I. Druviete. (Zin. Red.), *Latviešu lingvistiskā attieksme: vērtības, pārliecība, prakse. Kolektīva monogrāfija* (ll. 18–28). Latvijas Universitātes Akadēmiskais apgāds.

EKPVA 2006 – Eiropas Padome. (2006). Valodas politikas nodaļa. *Eiropas kopīgās pamatnostādnes valodu apguvei : mācīšanās, mācīšana, vērtēšana.* Madonas poligrāfists.

Karra, M. (2019, March 17). Second language acquisition: Learners' errors and error correction in language teaching*. Sciword: Translation and Interpreting Tips and Thoughts*. http://www.fresneltranslations.com/blog/2019/03/17/second-language-acquisition-learners-errors-and-error-correction-in-language-teaching.html

Kibermane, K., & Kļava, G. (2016). Latvijas iedzīvotāju valodu prasme. Un L. Lauze (Zin. red.), & G. Kļava (atb. red.). *Valodas situācija Latvijā: 2010–2015.* Sociolingvistisks pētījums. LVA.

Kramsch, C. (1994). *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* Oxford University Press.

Krashen, S. (1981). *Second language acquisition and second language learning*. Pergamon press Inc.

Kristals, D. (2019). *Mazā valodas grāmata.* Tulk. Ina Druviete, zin. red. Sanda Rapa. LVA.

Laiveniece, D., & Lauze, L. (2020). Valodas kļūdas svešvalodu apguves procesā: studentu pieredzes atspoguļojums. *Valodu apguve: problēmas un perspektīva*, XIVI: zinātnisko rakstu krājums. LiePA, 352–368. https://doi.org/10.37384/VA.2020.16.352

Lauze, L. (2004). *Ikdienas saziņa: vienkāršs teikums latviešu sarunvalodā*. LiePA.

Lauze, L. (2020). Mutvārdu teksts un tā elementu atveide rakstu formā. *Valodas prakse: vērojumi un ieteikumi. Populārzinātnisku rakstu krājums, 15*, 118–133. Latviešu valodas aģentūra.

Lyons, D. (2018). *Why Making Mistakes Is The Best Way to Learn a Language*. https://www.babbel.com/en/magazine/why-making-mistakes-best-way-learn-language

LTSV 2011 – *Lingvodidaktikas terminu skaidrojošā vārdnīca*. (2011). Latviešu valodas aģentūra.

Odlin, T. (1989). *Language transfer: Cross-linguistic influence in language learning*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139524537

Ramoniene, M. (2002). Pieredze, mācot lietuviešu valodu kā svešvalodu. *Tagad*: *LVAVP informatīvais biļetens*, *3*, 8–10.

Szynalski, T. P. (b. g.) *The role of mistakes in language learning*. https://www.antimoon.com/how/mistakes-in-learning.htm

Šalme, A. (2011). *Latviešu valodas kā svešvalodas apguves pamatjautājumi.* Latviešu valodas aģentūra.

VPSV 2007 – *Valodniecības pamatterminu skaidrojošā vārdnīca*. (2007). LU

Latviešu valodas institūts.

Wood, J. F. (2017). Errors in Second/Foreign Language Learning and Their Interpretations. *Education and Linguistics Research*, *3*(1). https://doi.org10.5296/elr.v3i1.10251

Diāna Laiveniece
Liepaja University, Latvia
diantra@gmail.com
Linda Lauze
Liepaja University, Latvia
lindalauze@gmail.com

STUDENTS' LINGUISTIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS LANGUAGE MISTAKES/ERRORS IN LEARNING AND USING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Summary. As the intensity of communication increases, the number of language mistakes/errors increases. Nowadays, the acquisition and use of a foreign language often takes place in parallel, and language mistakes/errors are a natural part of this process but this does not mean that they must be tolerated. The study is based on the results of a sociolinguistic survey obtained in 2018 and 2019. 253 students of four Universities and specialties, as well as different study levels from Liepāja, Ventspils and Rīga participated in the survey anonymously. Most of the respondents indicated that Latvian was their mother tongue; for a small number of participants, it was a second language or a foreign language. The surveyed students also differed in the type and number of foreign languages acquired. The present paper is the second part of a wider study (see the results of the first stage of the research by Laiveniece and Lauze, 2020). The aim of this paper is to characterize students' linguistic attitude towards language errors in learning and using a foreign language: how to evaluate errors, whether errors are generally permissible, what affects them, and how to eliminate them. In the course of the research, an assumption emerged: the more foreign languages are learned, the more tolerant the linguistic attitude is towards mistakes/errors that are made when speaking a foreign language. However, the analysis of the questionnaire findings did not confirm this. Most of the respondents attributed errors to the language learning process. Whether or not errors were made when speaking a foreign language was determined by the situation and purpose of the communication, as well as the level of language acquisition.

Keywords: causes of mistakes/errors; error prevention; foreign language acquisition; use of a foreign language; language mistakes; language errors; linguistic attitude; students.

Diāna Laiveniece
Liepojos universitetas, Latvija
diantra@gmail.com
Linda Lauze
Liepojos universitetas, Latvija
lindalauze@gmail.com

LINGVISTINIS STUDENTŲ POŽIŪRIS Į KLAIDAS MOKANTIS UŽSIENIO KALBŲ IR JAS VARTOJANT

Santrauka. Intensyvėjant komunikacijai, auga kalbos klaidų skaičius. Mūsų laikais užsienio kalbų mokymasis ir vartojimas dažnai vyksta paraleliai, tad kalbos klaidos yra natūrali šio proceso dalis, tačiau tai nereiškia, kad su jomis reikia susitaikyti. Tyrimo pagrindą sudaro sociolingvistinė apklausa, vykdyta 2018 ir 2019 m., kurioje anonimiškai dalyvavo 253 įvairių tautybių ir specialybių bei skirtingų studijų pakopų studentai, besimokantys keturiose Latvijos aukštosiose mokyklose (Liepojoje, Ventspilyje ir Rygoje). Didžioji dalis respondentų nurodė, jog latvių kalba jiems yra gimtoji, kitiems – tai antroji arba užsienio kalba. Apklaustieji studentai skiriasi ir pagal užsienio kalbų mokymosi būdą ir pagal pačių kalbų kiekį. Straipsnyje pristatomas tyrimo tęsinys (pirmojo etapo rezultatus pristatė Laiveniece ir Lauze, 2020), jo tikslas – apibūdinti lingvistinį studentų požiūrį į klaidas, daromas mokantis užsienio kalbų ir jas vartojant. Svarstomi šie klausimai: kaip vertinti klaidas, ar klaidos apskritai leistinos, kas jas sukelia ir kaip jų išvengti. Tyrimo metu buvo iškelta hipotezė: kuo daugiau užsienio kalbų išmokstama, tuo lingvistinis požiūris į klaidas, daromas kalbant užsienio kalba, yra tolerantiškesnis. Vis dėlto apklausos medžiagos analizė keltos hipotezės nepatvirtino. Didelė dalis respondentų klaidų darymą sieja su kalbos mokymosi procesu. Tai, ar kalbant užsienio kalba yra ar nėra toleruotinos klaidos, lemia bendravimo situacija ir tikslas, kuriuos kalbos vartotojas dažniausiai geba skirti. Tačiau tam, ar kalbėtojui pavyksta pasiekti bendravimo situaciją ir tikslą atitinkančią kalbėjimo kokybę, didžiausią įtaką daro kalbos mokėjimo lygis.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: klaidų priežastys; klaidų šalinimas; lingvistinis požiūris; studentai; užsienio kalbos mokymasis; užsienio kalbos vartojimas; kalbos klaida.

ISSUES IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

SOCIOLINGVISTIKOS KLAUSIMAI

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022
https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2022-0020

Gintarė Gelūnaitė-Malinauskienė
Vytautas Magnus Universität, Litauen

DIE INTERAKTIONAL-SOZIOLINGUISTISCHE ANALYSE DER DYNAMIK VON MACHT UND SOLIDARITÄT IN DEUTSCH-LITAUISCHEN GESCHÄFTSVERHANDLUNGEN

Zusammenfassung. In dem Artikel werden englischsprachige / deutsch-litauische Geschäftsverhandlungen analysiert, wobei ins Zentrum des Interesses die Fragen nach der Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität (Tannen, 1993, 1995), realisiert durch verschiedene Höflichkeitsstrategien (Brown und Levinson, 1987), rücken. Bei der Auswertung des Audiomaterials und der Bestimmung des Gesprächstyps „Geschäftsverhandlung" wurde von der Auffassung ausgegangen, dass es sich dabei um eine Kommunikationssituation handelt, in der die Beteiligten von verschiedenen oder gleichen Zielvorstellungen ausgehend eine Vereinbarung treffen wollen (Wagner 1995). Im ersten Analyseschritt wurden die Auszüge der Gespräche ermittelt, um feststellen zu können, welches Ziel dabei von den Beteiligten verfolgt wird. Im nächsten Schritt werden die von den Beteiligten verwendeten Höflichkeitsstrategien erläutert, um feststellen zu können, wie gesprächslokal die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität entsteht und welche Intentionen dadurch von den Beteiligten realisiert werden bzw. welchem besonderen Zweck die lokale Dynamik vor dem Hintergrund des allgemeinen Gesprächsziels dient. Die exemplarische Analyse bezieht sich auf die theoretisch-methodologischen Ansätze von Gumperz, Brown und Levinson sowie Tannen, wobei eine besondere Bedeutung den Studien zukommt, die sich mit den Höflichkeitsstrategien im Hinblick auf die Erzeugung der Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität in der institutionellen Interaktion speziell aus der Sicht der Gesprächsanalyse beschäftigen (Kulbayeva, 2020; Zhuang und Huang, 2020). Die Ergebnisse der Analyse könnten hilfreich für die Lernenden und Lehrenden einer Fremdsprache sein, besonders wenn sie sich für die interkulturelle Wirtschaftskommunikation den Fachsprachenunterricht interessieren und authentisches Material behandeln wollen.

Schlüsselwörter: Wirtschaftskommunikation; Geschäftsverhandlung; interaktionale Soziolinguistik; Dynamik; Macht; Solidarität; Höflichkeitsstrategien; Fachsprachenlehren.

Einleitung

Im Zeitalter der fortschreitenden Globalisierung gilt als die am häufigsten verwendete Sprache der internationalen Kommunikation oder als *lingua franca* das Englische, das als globale Weltsprache gesehen wird (Richter, 2009, S. 49). Im Wirtschaftsbereich läuft die internationale bzw. interkulturelle Geschäftskommunikation fast ausschließlich auf Englisch ab, weil das Englische die Kommunikation über sprachliche und kulturelle

Diferenzen hinweg erleichtert (Höhenstein und Spörri, 2012, S. 32). Es ist deshalb nicht verwunderlich, dass auch die Geschäftskommunikation zwischen Deutschen und Litauern meistens auf Englisch stattfindet. Im Laufe der Erhebung von Forschungsdaten für ein größeres Dissertationsprojekt sowie für den vorliegenden Beitrag hat sich bestätigt, dass die litauischen Unternehmen bei der Kommunikation und insbesondere bei den Geschäftsverhandlungen mit ihren deutschen Partnern das Englische bevorzugen, nur in Ausnahmefällen wird auf die vermittelnde Hilfe der deutsch-litauischen Übersetzer zurückgegriffen (von insgesamt 14 Verhandlungsaufnahmen, die der Autorin des Beitrags zur Verfügung gestellt wurden, fanden 9 auf Englisch statt und nur bei 5 wurden die Übersetzer eingesetzt, sodass die Kommunikation in den jeweiligen Muttersprachen der Beteiligten stattfinden konnte).

Die Forscher vom Englischen als *lingua franca* weisen jedoch darauf hin, dass die Nutzer sich nicht ganz von muttersprachlichen Strukturen lösen und zu bestimmten Vereinfachungen des normgerechten Sprachgebrauchs (Standardenglisch), insbesondere im mündlichen Bereich, tendieren, daher auch die Bezeichnung 'Word Standard Spoken English' ('WSSE') (Crystal 2003, S. 136). Smith (1983, S. 3–4) bemerkt, dass auch in den Fällen, wo die Sprecher sich beim verbalen Ausdruck ihrer Gefühle des 'International Auxiliary English' bedienen, im Bereich der non-verbalen Zeichen zum Ausdruck von Zorn, Freude, Zuneigung, etc. bei ihren bisherigen Gewohnheiten bleiben. Hier liegt jedoch die Annahme nahe, dass bisherige kulturelle bzw. muttersprachliche Gewohnheiten auch das sprachliche Verhalten selbst beeinflussen, so etwa was die Bevorzugung von bestimmten Höflichkeitsstrategien betrifft. Die litauischen Studien zum Ausdruck der Höflichkeit behaupten, dass für Litauer positive Höflichkeit typisch ist und dass sie eine freundliche, respektvolle Aufmerksamkeit gegenüber ihren Hörern äußern, so z.B. bei Ausdruck von Bitten verwenden sie häufig Heckenausdrücke (Hilbig, 2009) oder in den spontanen institutionellen Gesprächen bevorzugen sie Direktive (Kamandulytė-Merfeldienė und Vainilavičiūtė, 2018). Andererseits kann man in der institutionellen Kommunikation auch die negative Höflichkeit beobachten, die beim Ausdruck von Grüßen, Abschied, Dank oder auch Bitten durch die Verwendung von

Pronomen in zweiter Person Plural oder Modalverben in Konjunktiv II vorkommt (Kamandulytė-Merfeldienė und Vainilavičiūtė, 2018; Dranseikaitė, 2020). Die deutschen Studien zeigen, dass in der deutschen Kommunikation die negative Höflichkeit dominiert (Siebold, 2010; Alonso, 2015), z.B. die Verwendung einer distanzierten Form wie Sie, um das negative Gesicht zu schützen oder die Verwendung der Adverbien oder Modalverben, um Bitten und Aufforderungen abzuschwächen (Alonso, 2015, S. 30; 55). Ogiermann (2009) bemerkt, dass von Deutschen die Bitten oft indirekt geäußert werden. Im Hinblick auf diese bereits vorliegenden Forschungserkenntnisse ist die Frage interessant, wie der Höflichkeitsausdruck zwischen Litauern und Deutschen funktioniert, wenn sie auf Englisch miteinander verhandeln.

Verhandlungen kommen im Wirtschaftsleben in mündlicher und schriftlicher Form vor. Sie können sich über Wochen, Monate oder Jahre hinziehen. Sie sind ein fester Bestandteil der betriebsexternen (z.B. Preis- oder Vergabeverhandlungen) sowie betriebsinternen Kommunikation (zwischen Mitarbeitern und Vorgesetzen, zwischen Kollegen, zwischen Abteilungen sowie zwischen Betriebsrat und Betriebsleitung) (Brünner, 2000, S. 147). Verhandeln kann man aus der Perspektive von verschiedenen Disziplinen (Wirtschaft, Psychologie, Kulturwissenschaft, etc.), nicht zuletzt auch aus der Perspektive der Linguistik analysieren. In dem vorliegenden Beitrag wird auf die sprachlichen Höflichkeitsstrategien speziell im Hinblick auf die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität mit Hilfe eines interaktional-soziolinguistischen Analyseansatzes näher eingegangen. Zhuang und Huang (2020) weisen zutreffend darauf hin, dass die auf die Erreichung ihrer wirtschaftlichen Ziele fixierten Teilnehmer der Geschäftsverhandlungen häufig die Rolle der Sprache missachten, was die Verhandlungen zum Misslingen führen kann. Und im Gegenteil: Wenn die Beteiligten der Wirkung von bestimmten linguistischen Strategien bewusst sind, können sie effizienter miteinander kommunizieren und erfolgreicher ihre Geschäftsziele erreichen.

Die Wirtschaftskommunikation, insbesondere Verhandlungen, bleibt in den linguistischen Forschungen immer noch wenig erforscht (Charles, 1995; Bastos, 1996; Zhuang und Huang, 2020). Im Wirtschaftsbereich stellen die Geschäftsverhandlungen dagegen einen wichtigen Forschungsgegenstand dar, wobei ein relevanter Aspekt, der bei den

Forschern auf besonderes Interesse stößt, eben die Frage der Verhandlungsmacht ist (*En. bargaining power*) (Chamberlain, 1951; Hofstede, 1984; 1994, Peleckis, 2014; Volkema et. al., 2015), weil sie für die Gestaltung der Verhandlungsstrategie wichtig ist (Peleckis, 2014, S. 72). Die Kategorie Macht ist auch Gegenstand der (sozio)linguistischen Forschungen, was vor allem mit dem Wunsch zu tun hat, im Gespräch nicht unterdrückt zu werden (Tannen, 1994, S. 121). Laut Tannen (1994, S. 122) ist die Kategorie Macht mit der Kategorie Solidarität eng verbunden, weil sie sich in der Kommunikation gegenseitig aus- und einschließen. Die meisten linguistischen Forschungen, die Macht und Solidarität analysieren, konzentrieren sich auf solche Aspekte, wie Geschlechterunterschiede im Kommunikationsstil (Tannen, 1994; 1996), Diskursanalyse der Gerichtssprache (Ehrlich, 2011), Frauensprache in der Bildungskommunikation (Kulbayeva, 2020) oder die familiäre Alltagskommunikation (Nguyen, 2020). Geschäftsverhandlungen werden von den Sprachwissenschaftlern unter dem Aspekt, nämlich der sozialen Variablen Macht und Solidarität, kaum analysiert; einiges dazu findet man bei Charles (1995), Tannen (1995), Zhuang und Huang (2020).

In Bezug auf Macht und Solidarität argumentiert Tannen (1993, S. 168), dass diese sprachlichen Strategien mehrdeutig sind und dass eine der Hauptquellen der Ambiguität in der sprachlichen Interaktion die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität ist. Dies liegt daran, dass dieselben sprachlichen Mittel verwendet werden, um Macht und Solidarität zu erzeugen, sodass in jedem einzelnen Fall die gesprächsinternen und -externen Kontexte genau berücksichtigt werden müssen. Der Wirtschaftswissenschaftler Peleckis (2014, S. 72) bemerkt auch, dass die Kommunikation in den Geschäftsverhandlungen dynamisch ist (*„in negotiation communication works many dynamic variables […]*") und dass die Qualität der Verhandlungen von verschiedenen Fähigkeiten der Beteiligten (sprachlich, kulturell, psychologisch, etc.) abhängt.

Höfliches Verhalten ist ein wesentlicher Bestandteil einer gut funktionierenden Kommunikation (Ryvitytė, 2011, S. 65). Die Frage danach, welche Höflichkeitsstrategien die Beteiligten in den englischsprachigen / deutsch-litauischen Geschäftsverhandlungen wählen, kann mit Hilfe der auf dem Gesichtskonzept von Goffman (1967) basierenden Höflichkeitstheorie von Brown und Levinson (1978, 1987) analysiert werden. Darauf aufbauend lassen sich auch einige Schlüsse zur Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität in den untersuchten Verhandlungen ziehen. Der eine oder andere sprachliche Ausdruck kann das positive und negative Gesicht des Hörers und Sprechers bedrohen oder wahren: Wenn die an den Geschäftsverhandlungen Beteiligten mit dem Gesichtskonzept vertraut wären, könnten sie entsprechende linguistische Strategien verwenden, um das Gesicht beider Seiten zu wahren (Zhuang und Huang, 2020, S. 344; 349).

Was die soziolinguistischen Forschungen betrifft, so wurden bisher die Höflichkeitsstrategien in der Bildungskommunikation, Wirtschaftskommunikation (Kuzhevskaya, 2019), am Arbeitsplatz (Serdyukova, 2007), vor kurzem auch in den Geschäftsverhandlungen, jedoch in einem außereuropäischen Kommunikationskontext (Zhuang und Huang, 2020), analysiert. Deshalb kann die interaktional-soziolinguistische Analyse der Höflichkeitsstrategien mit einem besonderen Fokus auf die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität im Wirtschaftsbereich, genauer noch in den deutsch-litauischen Geschäftsverhandlungen als ein völlig neuer Schritt zur Erforschung der interkulturellen mündlichen Fachkommunikation gesehen werden.

Die Studien von Gumperz (1982, 1999, 2001) zur interaktionalen Soziolinguistik, Browns und Levinsons Beiträge zu Höflichkeitsstrategien (1978 / 1987) sowie Tannens Überlegungen zur sprachlichen Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität (1984, 1993, 2000, 2005) bilden die methodisch-theoretische Grundlage dieses Beitrags. Im Zentrum der Mikroanalyse steht dabei die Frage, *wie* die Gesprächsbeteiligten durch bestimmte Höflichkeitsstrategien die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität erzeugen, um ihre gesprächslokalen Ziele zu erreichen.

Korpus und Methoden

Der Untersuchungskorpus besteht aus drei authentischen englischsprachigen Geschäftsverhandlungen zwischen den Beteiligten der deutschen und litauischen Unternehmen, die insgesamt 01:38:82 St. dauern. Die Gespräche haben online (2020) stattgefunden, d.h. in der Zeit, als die ganze Welt von dem Coronavirus (Covid 19) gefangen war. Jedes Gespräch wurde mit dem Transkriptionseditor FOLKER 1.3 bearbeitet. Die Transkription folgt den GAT-2 Konventionen (Selting u. a., 2009) und hilft, die Mikro- und Makroanalyse der Gespräche durchzuführen. Die makroanalytische Ebene erlaubt es, die Manifestationen der Macht und Solidarität in der globalen Gesprächsorganisation (Gesprächseröffnung, Gesprächsmitte/Kernphase, Gesprächsbeendigung) zu bestimmen, während auf der mikroanalytischen Ebene die Höflichkeitsstrategien und deren Auswirkungen auf die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität sowohl in einem individuellen Redebeitrag als auch in der Interaktion zwischen den Beteiligten, also innerhalb einer größeren Sequenz, als zentraler Analysegegenstand gelten. Die betriebsinternen Prozesse, Namen und andere Informationen sind maskiert. Zwischen der Forscherin und den Unternehmen wurden Schweigeerklärungen unterschrieben.

Da die zu analysierende Verhandlungssprache authentisch bzw. natürlich ist, wurde die interaktionale Soziolinguistik (Gumperz, 1982) als eine mögliche methodische Vorgehensweise gewählt. Laut Gumperz (2001, S. 223) ist die interaktionale Soziolinguistik, anders interpretative Soziolinguistik, ein Ansatz der Diskursanalyse, der auf einer qualitativen Analyse und einer Interpretation der verborgenen Bedeutungen des Gesprächs basiert. „Das Interesse der interaktionalen Soziolinguistik richtet sich auf die Erfassung des engen Zusammenspiels zwischen Sprache, Gesellschaft, Kultur und kommunikativer Verschiedenheit" (Gumperz, 1999, S. 453, in: Keim, 2007 S. 70). Die wichtigen Aspekte bei so einer interaktional-soziolinguistischen Analyse seien die wahrscheinlichsten Interpretationen, die Voraussetzungen und Inferenzprozesse, durch die diese Interpretationen erreicht werden und wie sie sich auf das beziehen, was wörtlich gesagt wird.

Die Linguistin Deborah Tannen (1993; 1995; 2000) behauptet, dass das, was in einem Gespräch zwischen den Beteiligten vorgeht, die auf eine oder andere Weise mit dem Ausdruck von Macht und Solidarität zusammenhängt, was im Fall eines Verhandlungsgesprächs besonders relevant zu sein scheint. Dabei soll die Macht die asymmetrischen Beziehungen und die Solidarität die symmetrischen Beziehungen kennzeichnen. Zwischen diesen soziolinguistischen Variablen steht das Phänomen der Dynamik. Laut Tannen (1993, S. 168) liege der Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität eine Mehrdeutigkeit zugrunde, weil die beiden Variablen mit gleichen sprachlichen Mitteln geäußert werden. So sei jede Sprachstrategie relativ und könne eingesetzt werden, um sowohl die Macht als auch Solidarität zu erzeugen, deswegen müsse sie im Hinblick auf den spezifischen Kontext unter Berücksichtigung der Beziehungen und des kulturellen Hintergrunds der Beteiligten interpretiert werden (Tannen 1993, in: Kulbayeva, 2020, S. 161). Die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität kann man z.B. durch die Verwendung von Pronomen Sie, du oder durch eine bestimmte Anrede erkennen (Brown und Gilman, 1960; Tannen, 1990). Sie kann sich auch durch Indirektheit (Kulbayeva, 2020), durch Unterbrechung, *topic raising* oder Widrigkeiten manifestieren (Tannen, 2001, S. 22), was in unterschiedlichen Situationen verschiedene Bedeutungen haben kann (Tannen, 1990, S. 520–524).

Die von Brown und Levinson (1978; 1987) vorgeschlagene Höflichkeitstheorie, die auf dem Konzept des Gesichts (*face*) und der gesichtsbedrohende Akte (*FTA*) beruht, hilft, die Analyse der ausgewählten Verhandlungsgespräche bzw. einzelner Gesprächsauszüge zu konkretisieren. Brown und Levinson gehen davon aus, dass jeder Mensch ein positives und ein negatives Gesicht, genauer ein Verständnis von sich selbst hat bzw. von dem man denkt, dass die anderen es hätten. Das Gesicht ist etwas, was bewahrt werden, aber auch verloren gehen kann. Die Verwendung von bestimmten sprachlichen Mitteln kann dazu beitragen, sowohl das eigene Gesicht als auch das Gesicht bzw. die Gesichter der Gesprächspartner zu bewahren und sich an dem öffentlichen Gesicht, das einem zugeschrieben wird, zu orientieren (Brown und Levinson 1987, S. 62). Mit dem positiven Gesicht ist das Bedürfnis gemeint, von den anderen akzeptiert und anerkannt zu werden, nämlich „the desire to be approved‟ (Brown und Levinson, 2009, S. 13), wodurch auch ein Gemeinschaftsgefühl gebildet wird. Das negative Gesicht bedeutet, dass man die Handlungsfreiheit erhalten bzw. nicht von den anderen behindert werden will: „the desire to be unimpeded in one‽s action” (Brown und Levinson, 2009, S. 13). Mit der gesichtsbedrohenden Akte (FTA) werden in der Theorie von Brown und Levinson die

Kommunikationsfälle gemeint, in denen das Gesicht des Sprechers oder des Adressaten bedroht wird, so kann z.B. das negative Gesicht und somit die Handlungsfreiheit einer anderen Person durch solche sprachlichen Handlungen wie Bitten, Vorschläge oder Befehle bedroht werden (Brown und Levinson, 1987, S. 65–66). Zu den das positive Gesicht bedrohenden Handlungen gehören diejenigen, die annehmen lassen, dass die Gefühle des anderen dem Sprecher nicht wichtig wären, dass der Sprecher nicht dieselben Bedürfnisse wie der Adressat hat, so etwa Kritik, Beschuldigungen, Unterbrechungen, etc. (Brown und Levinson, 1987, S. 66–67). Um das eigene Gesicht oder das Gesicht des anderen zu bewahren, verwenden die Sprecher die Strategie der positiven oder die der negativen Höflichkeit. Die negative Höflichkeit (im allgemeinen Verständnis die formale Höflichkeit) wird eingesetzt, um eine Distanz zu schaffen (z.B. sich entschuldigen oder eine Frage stellen), und die positive Höflichkeit dient dazu, Zugehörigkeit und Nähe zu erzeugen (z.B. Einigung suchen oder Streit vermeiden). Brown und Levinson (1987, S. 70) beschreiben fünf Höflichkeitsstrategien, die jedoch eng miteinander verbunden sind, nämlich bald on record, negative Höflichkeit, positive Höflichkeit, off-record und keine Handlung (z.B. Schweigen), und auf die im Folgenden Bezug genommen werden soll.

An dieser Stelle sei noch darauf hinzuweisen, dass auch Brown und Levinson in ihren Ausführungen zum Konzept des Gesichts und zu den oben erwähnten Höflichkeitsstrategien als wichtige Faktoren die relative Macht und soziale Distanz erwähnen, die die Bedeutung von FTA und somit auch die Präferenz von bestimmten Höflichkeitsstrategien beeinflussen (Brown und Levinson, 1987, S. 76–77). Für welche sprachliche Handlung man sich in einer konkreten Situation entscheidet, hängt also eng mit der Reaktion auf die Machtposition und den Status einer anderen Person, d.h. was man einer anderen Person und wie man es ihr sagen darf, zusammen: Soziale Distanz wird oft mit dem negativen Gesicht verbunden, wogegen die soziale Nähe eher mit dem positiven Gesicht assoziiert wird (ebd.). Damit rückt die Höflichkeitstheorie in die Nähe des Macht- und Solidaritätsansatzes von Tannen, weshalb die beiden Aspekte bei der weiteren Analyse der deutsch-litauischen Verhandlungsgespräche zusammen behandelt bzw. aufeinander bezogen werden.

Ergebnisse: Höflichkeitsstrategien und die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität

Im ersten Schritt wurden die Gespräche transkribiert, danach wurde nach den Situationen gesucht, in denen die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität in der sprachlichen Interaktion zum Vorschein kommt. Die relevanten Fälle wurden aus dem Korpus aussortiert und die darin vorkommenden Höflichkeitsstrategien eingehend erläutert. Die Beispiele 1a und 1b zeigen die Kommunikation zwischen einem Auftragnehmer (L) und einem Auftraggeber (D2) sowie seiner Mitarbeiterin (D3), die einen niedrigeren Status als L besitzen (asymmetrische Kommunikation). Das Beispiel 2 zeigt auch die asymmetrische Kommunikation zwischen einem Auftragnehmer (D) und einer Auftraggeberin (L), die einen niedrigeren Status als D besitzt, aber in den Verhandlungen für ihren Geschäftsführer (L2) spricht (dieser ist zwar anwesend, aber wegen unzureichender Englischkenntnisse kaum am Gespräch beteiligt). Das Beispiel 3 präsentiert eine symmetrische Beziehung zwischen den Leitern eines litauischen und eines deutschen Unternehmens, die im Hinblick auf ihre Positionen im Unternehmen einen gleichen Status besitzen.

Beispiel 1

Das litauische und das deutsche Unternehmen führen ein Gespräch, um die Lieferunterlagen des Produkts, das in Land x hergestellt und von dem litauischen Unternehmen nach Deutschland geliefert wird, auszuhandeln. An dem Gespräch nehmen zwei Beteiligten teil: L – Leiter des litauischen Unternehmens und D2 – stellvertretender Leiter des deutschen Unternehmens. Die Kommunikation zwischen den Beteiligten ist asymmetrisch. Das Ziel des Gesprächs ist, die Details der Produktlieferung zu verhandeln. Das deutsche Unternehmen benötigt die Unterlagen y und der Vertreter des litauischen Unternehmens will erklären, in welcher Phase sich die für die Produktlieferung erforderlichen Unterlagen befinden, die er von dem Partner aus dem Land x bekommen soll. D2 erinnert L an die Wichtigkeit der Unterlagen y, für die L und sein Kollege im Drittland verantwortlich sind, aber die Aufgabe nicht erledigt haben. Das Gespräch spiegelt das erste Setting der Verhandlungen nach Wagner (1995, S. 12) wider (A has goal X, B has goal Z. Neither A nor B has control over both goals). Beide Vertreter sollen die Koordination ihrer Handlungen besprechen. Das deutsche Unternehmen gilt als Auftraggeber, daher auch seine dominierende Position, und das litauische Unternehmen gilt als Auftragnehmer sowie Vertreter des Herstellers in Land x. Das ist nicht das erste Gespräch zwischen den Vertretern der beiden Unternehmen. Die Zusammenarbeit ist fortgeschritten, aber es gibt immer noch offene Fragen, die ausgehandelt werden sollen, deswegen haben die Unternehmen ein online-Treffen (00:23:11 St.). Das Gespräch findet im März 2020 statt, also in der Anfangsphase der Covid 19-Pandemie. Der zu analysierende Auszug befindet sich am Anfang der Kernphase des Gesprächs. L steigt in die Kernphase des Gesprächs ein, indem er sein Anliegen bzw. den Wunsch, offene Fragen zu besprechen, konkret und eindeutig formuliert:

Beispiel 1(a): Schaffen einer gemeinsamen Basis, um den Vorwurf zu mildern

{03:55}	**0050 D2**	There's a request for a certificate for the lifting rope and for the (Produktname). **It's just** something **I** have already told many times to your colleague peter, the thing is he is bothering me in for more times, **so but this is** something that is written into it and is requested **So this is** something **you should** have for the quality documentation
{04:35}	**0051 L**	**I see**, because this is what **I** missed and this is where **I did not get** the response the feedback from peter. **And to say the truth**, **I did not require those** (Unterlagen) from (Drittland 1) and from (Drittland 2)
{04:49}	**0052 D2**	**yeah** that's why **I asked you** for the (Unterlagen) of the products. **we have spoken** about that. **my question was months ago** what was tested, how much was tested, yeah...
{05:27}	**0053 L**	**yes, yes bernd**, this is what **I** requested and **I** did not receive the response from (Land x), so **I** will send the reminder to them. yes, **I** do remember this discussion with **you**.
{05:37}	**0054 D2**	and I think they have also provided to you (Produkte), right

In seinem Redebeitrag (Z: 0050) erinnert D an die Wichtigkeit der Unterlagen, über die er den Kollegen (L) bereits früher informiert hat. Seinen

Vorwurf mildert er durch die Strategie der negativen Höflichkeit mit einer Hecke *just*. Brown und Levinson (1987, S. 147-148) zufolge kann dadurch die illokutionäre Kraft der Äußerung modifiziert werden (It's just something I have already told many times […]). In dem gleichen Redebeitrag betont D mit einer Hecke *so*, die hier als Verstärkungspartikel gilt, dass L die Unterlagen unbedingt besorgen muss ([…] so but this is […], […] So this is something you should have […]). L reagiert auf D2s Erinnerung und berichtet in seinem Redebeitrag (Z: 0051), dass er die erforderlichen Unterlagen nicht hat. Er schiebt die Verantwortung dafür an einen anderen abwesenden Partner, um sich zu rechtfertigen und seine soziale Macht nicht zu beschädigen. Zuerst mildert er die Situation durch die Strategie der positiven Höflichkeit mit einem Diskursmarker *I see*. Er verwendet das Pronomen I, mit dem er zeigen will, dass auch er davon betroffen ist (I missed, I did not get). In einem darauf folgenden Schritt mildert er durch die Strategie der negativen Höflichkeit, realisiert durch den Heckenausdruck *and to say the truth* (vgl. dazu Grice's (1968) Maxime der Qualität der Wahrheit und der Ethik), sein Bekenntnis, dass er die Unterlagen gar nicht beantragt hat (I did not require), und versucht somit, sein positives Gesicht zu wahren. D2 reagiert mit einem Heckenausdruck (yeah), der hier als Füller und als Zeichen einer aktiven Zuhörerschaft (Zimmermann und West, 197, in: Rosanti und Jalani, 2016, S. 32) gelten kann. Weiter expliziert D2 (Z: 0052) einen gesteigerten Vorwurf, dass L die Unterlagen nicht angefordert hat, obwohl er dies längst hätte tun müssen (I asked you; we have spoken; my question was months ago). Er sagt direkt und höflich, dass das Problem ungelöst bleibt. D2 verwendet dabei die Pronomen I (ich), you (du/Sie) und my (meine), um die Verantwortung des Gesprächspartners zu verstärken. Es handelt sich um eine Vorwurf-Rechtfertigungs-Kommunikation (I asked you), die sowohl der Erreichung arbeitsrelevanter Ziele als auch der Demonstration der sozialen Macht dient. Um seinen deutlich ausgedruckten Vorwurf, der Ls positives Gesicht bedrohen könnte, und die Aufforderung in der asymmetrischen Kommunikation zu mildern, pluralisiert D2 das Pronomen I mit dem institutionellen exklusiven we (Brown und Levinson (1987, S. 203) (we have spoken about that). Die Strategie der positiven Höflichkeit mit der Pluralisierung des Pronomens der ersten Person hilft, das positive Gesicht Ls zu wahren. In seinem Redebeitrag bestätigt L (Z: 0053) die Berechtigung des Vorwurfes (yes, yes bernd […]) und verspricht, das Problem zu lösen (so I will send the ... reminder to them).

Da es in dem Redebeitrag D2s Solidarität manifestiert, zeigt auch L seine Solidarität und Empathie (Brown und Lewinson, 1987, S. 119), die er durch die Verwendung des Vornamens (bernd) dem deutschen Partner (D2) gegenüber äußert und dies durch die Wiederholung der Antwortpartikeln (yes, yes) verstärkt. Als Reaktion auf D2s Vorwurf äußert L für ihn eine Rechtfertigung, um seine Schuld jedoch durch die Verschiebung der Verantwortung an einen anderen abwesenden Partner zu reduzieren (I requested and I did not received the response from (Drittland)). Er möchte sich mit dem deutschen Partner solidarisieren auch seine Freundlichkeit (Tannen, 1994, S. 264) zeigen, zugleich auch deutlich machen, dass sie beide ein Team sind (Kuzhevskaya, 2019, S. 40). Am Ende seines Redebeitrags bildet er durch die Strategie der positiven Höflichkeit eine gemeinsame Basis, indem er die Pronomen I (ich) und you (du/Sie) verwendet. Durch die positive Höflichkeit wahrt er sein positives Gesicht, indem er teilweise D2s Kritik akzeptiert, um die Solidarität mit den deutschen Partnern zu erzielen und seine soziale Macht zu verstärken. L möchte durch die positive Höflichkeit die negative Seite des Herstellers hervorheben und in dem gleichen Moment dem deutschen Partner näherkommen. Es ist dem litauischen Vertreter wichtig, die Seriosität seines Unternehmens zu betonen.

Die Wahl, solidarische Beziehungen zu schaffen und nicht die Macht in der Kommunikation zu demonstrieren, zeigt den Wunsch, die produktive Zusammenarbeit zwischen zwei Vertretern mit einem unterschiedlichen Status zu erzielen und die gemeinsamen Tätigkeiten zu koordinieren. Durch die Strategie der positiven Höflichkeit mit dem exklusiven Pronomen we signalisiert der Auftraggeber seine Solidarität im Hintergrund der Macht, indem er seinen Vorwurf zu mildern sucht. Die von ihm strategisch eingesetzte Dynamik von Solidarität zur Macht hilft ihm, den Auftragnehmer, der einen höheren Status besitzt, zu überzeugen. D2s Redebeitrag (Z: 0054) signalisiert, dass sein Anliegen von L begriffen wurde, und er kann zu einer anderen offenen Frage übergehen.

Beispiel 1(b): Ausdruck von Vorwürfen und Verantwortungsverschiebung

Weiter diskutieren die Vertreter über die Produktlieferung und die Lieferunterlagen y aus dem Drittland nach Deutschland. Zum Gespräch ist noch eine weitere Mitarbeiterin des deutschen Unternehmens hinzugekommen (D3 – Abteilungsleiterin). Die Kommunikation findet in dem vorgeführten Auszug zwischen der Auftragsgeberin (deutsch) und dem Auftragsnehmer (litauisch), die in ihren Unternehmen einen unterschiedlichen Status haben, statt und ist als asymmetrisch zu bezeichnen:

{18:05}	**0134 D3**	so so, in my check list for today, there's only one thing left, which is the transporter site. some months ago **you offered us** transport site for all the (products). so **but** until today, **I didn't** receive **anything**.
{18:22}	**0135 L**	**bettina** look (.) aaa here **we have** two things on the list, **first** of the thing is **we have to have** final packing lists in order to ask for the transportation price. **another** is to have a delivery schedule, to have an idea when those can be done. **third thing** for this is **we** still don't know from **your** side how many deliveries are to be organized. **is it one spot? should we split it in two or three deliveries, on what time?** Timing and everything. **so let** this do it step by step **let us** arrange the packing list.
{19:03}	**0136 D3**	**but but**
{19:04}	**0137 L**	then split them two deliveries and then send inquiries for transportation companies

In ihrem Redebeitrag (Z: 0134) erinnert D3 den litauischen Partner daran, dass sie schon vor ein paar Monaten (some months ago) ihn darum gebeten hatte, das Produkt zu liefern. Den ersten Teil ihres Redebeitrags fängt sie mit dem Hinweis auf ein früheres Transportangebot seitens L an (you offered us). Mit der Verwendung der Pronomen you (du/Sie) und us (uns) hebt sie ihre Kooperation hervor. Unmittelbar drückt sie jedoch durch die Konjunktion but direkt (*bald on record*) den Vorwurf aus (I didn't receive anything), dass L seine Aufgabe nicht erfüllt hat. Zuerst setzt sie auf Kooperation, verweist auf die guten Absichten seitens L (you offered us) und erst danach äußert sie ihren Vorwurf (but until today, I didn't receive anything) und geht zur Vorwurfs-Rechtfertigungs-Kommunikation über. Damit bedroht sie Ls positives Gesicht. Obwohl sie höflich spricht, manifestiert sich im zweiten Teil ihres Redebeitrags Selbstschutz (Tannen, 1994, S. 78). In dem nächsten Redebeitrag (Z: 0135) signalisiert L, dass ihm der Vorwurf D3s nicht gefällt, und er fängt an, sich zu rechtfertigen. Zuerst verwendet er die Strategie der positiven Höflichkeit und spricht seine deutsche Partnerin mit dem Vornamen (bettina) an, um Freundlichkeit zu signalisieren (Tannen, 1994b, S. 264) und den Imperativ (look) abzuschwächen, damit das positive Gesicht der Auftraggeberin bewahrt wird. Er rechtfertigt sich, dass er das Produkt noch nicht geliefert hat, und erinnert die Partnerin daran, dass noch nicht alles fertig abgesprochen ist. L präsentiert sich als Lehrer (Ylönen, 1992, S. 17), wenn er die Gründe nummeriert auflistet (first, another, third). Zuerst signalisiert er seine Solidarität und bezieht sowohl sich selbst als auch D3 durch die Verwendung inklusiven Pronomens we in gemeinsames Handeln ein (we have two things; we have to have final packing lists), was sich als Ausdruck der positiven Höflichkeit bewerten lässt.

In dem gleichen Redebeitrag greift er jedoch auch zur Strategie der negativen Höflichkeit, indem er das Pronomen we von dem inklusiven ins exklusive ändert und somit die Bedeutung von seiner eigenen Person auf die von ihm vertretene Institution verlegt, um im Namen des Unternehmens sprechen zu können, was seine institutionelle Macht verstärkt (we still don't know from your side). Ebenfalls wird auch D3 durch das von L verwendete Pronomen your mit ihrer Institution gleichgesetzt, sodass sein Vorwurf als negative Bewertung (Brown und Levinson, 1987, S. 66) von D3s positivem Gesicht verstanden werden kann. Um die Position des Lehrers zu stärken, Kritik zu äußern und die Eigenverantwortung zu vermeiden, verwendet er rhetorische Fragen (Is it one spot?, should we split it in two or three deliveries, on what time?) und lässt die Antworten in der Luft hängen (Brown und Levinson, 1987, S. 223). In dem Moment versucht er, durch die Höflichkeitsstrategie *off record* seine Verantwortung und den früheren Vorwurf D3s abzulehnen, wobei die institutionelle Hierarchie und damit die Kategorie Macht in den Vordergrund rückt (Kulbayeva, 2020, S. 185).

Am Ende seines Redebeitrags gibt L zuerst sehr direkt (bald on record) eine Anweisung und macht einen Vorschlag (so let), womit er wiederum D3s Gesicht bedroht. Um die Beziehung nicht zu stark zu gefährden und die Kooperationsbereitschaft zu signalisieren, beendet er seinen Redebeitrag mit dem inklusiven wir (let us) der positiven Höflichkeit. Dass das Gesicht D3s von L bedroht wurde, spiegelt sich in der Überlappung durch Konjunktionen (but but) wider, denn D3 will ihren Widerspruch möglichst schnell äußern (Z: 0136). D3 wird aber sofort durch L unterbrochen und gestört, ihre Äußerung zu beenden, womit L die Kontrolle über die Situation bewahrt (Charles, 1955, S. 155; Fairclough, 2001, S. 38). Das Bespiel zeigt die Manifestation der Dynamik von Solidarität und Macht in einer asymmetrischen Kommunikation. Die Dynamik von Solidarität und Macht spiegelt sich in dem Redebeitrag des hierarchisch höherstehenden Auftragnehmers wider und hilft ihm, auf der lokalen Gesprächsebene die Geschäftsbeziehung aufrechtzuerhalten, gleichzeitig jeodch die Verantwortung zu vermeiden bzw. an seine Partnerin zu schieben.

Beispiel 2: Machtanspruch durch Kundenrolle und Fremdsprachenkenntnisse

An dem online-Gespräch nehmen die Vertreter eines litauischen und eines deutschen Unternehmens teil. L ist stellvertretende Leiterin, L2 ist Leiter des litauischen Unternehmens und D ist Leiter des deutschen Unternehmens. Der Auszug gilt als Beispiel der asymmetrischen Kommunikation. Das kurze Gespräch fand im November 2020 statt (00:05:46 St.). Da online- Treffen in der Zeit der Corona-Pandemie zum Alltag gehören, verhandeln Unternehmen häufiger, aber kürzer, sodass sich Verhandlungstreffen in der Regel mit nur einem Thema befassen. Das Gespräch entspricht dem 4. Setting der Verhandlungen: A has goal X. B has goal Z. X is controlled by B, Z by A (Wagner, 1995, S. 12). Das litauische Unternehmen beschäftigt sich mit der Textilproduktion und das deutsche Unternehmen stellt Geräte für die Textilproduktion her. Das Ziel des litauischen Unternehmens ist, ein neues Produkt von dem deutschen Partner zu kaufen. Das Ziel des deutschen Unternehmens ist, das neue Produkt für den Festpreis zu verkaufen. Die Kommunikationssprache ist Englisch, aber das Sprachniveau der Beteiligten ist unterschiedlich: L2 hat schlechte Englischkenntnisse, L und D können dagegen sehr gut auf Englisch kommunizieren. Aufgrund besserer Englischkenntnisse erlaubt der litauische Leiter (L2) seiner Mitarbeiterin (L), im Verhandlungsgespräch zu dominieren. Der Auszug, der der Kernphase des Gesprächs entnommen ist, schildert eine relevante Sequenz, in der die Verhandlungspartner ihre gegenseitigen Wünsche bzw. Vorschläge einander präsentieren:

{03:12}	**0010 D**	**we** can offer **you** (.) (.) for price x (.) instead of price y
{03:36}	**0011 L**	[for (.) is **this the last offer because I've not received** the **last offer** on the email, **yeah**, the **last offer** the price (x)]
{03:45}	**0012 D**	price x exactly
{03:51}	**0013**	[L und L2 sprechen leise und unverständlich miteinander auf Litauisch]

Wenn D ein spezielles Angebot macht, signalisiert er seine Kooperationsbereitschaft mit der Strategie der positiven Höflichkeit und wahrt Ls positives Gesicht (Z: 0010, we can offer you), indem er für das litauische Unternehmen die Möglichkeit gibt, das Angebot zu akzeptieren oder abzulehnen. In dem gleichen Moment verstärkt er durch das Pronomen we seine soziale Macht und zeigt, dass er hier im Namen seines Unternehmens agiert. Er signalisiert, dass der angebotene Preis nicht verhandelbar ist, da er bereits auf Unternehmensebene vereinbart wurde. In seinem Angebot verwendet D das Modalverb can, das als performativer Heckenausdruck gilt und der tatsächlichen Informierung dienen soll (Panther, 2015, S. 129). Sein Angebot, das sich durch den performativen Heckenausdruck manifestiert, ruft die negative Bewertung Ls hervor. Ls Redebeitrag (Z: 0011) beinhaltet Wiederholungen (last offer) und verdeutlicht somit ihre Unsicherheit (Kreutz, 2002, S. 235), ob der Preis für sie akzeptabel ist und ob das litauische Unternehmen die Maschine tatsächlich für den genannten Preis bekommen wird. Um sich zu versichern, überlappt sie den deutschen Partner mit dem Hinweis auf das fehlende schriftliche Angebot per E-Mail, wodurch sie nicht nur Zweifel, sondern auch ihren Enthusiasmus bezüglich des Vorschlags (Tannen, 1994, S. 227) signalisiert. Mit dem Vorwurf (I've not received), den sie direkt mit dem Pronomen I äußert und mit der Interjektion yeah verstärkt, was laut Poyatos (2002, S. 150) als Ausdruck der Empörung verstanden werden kann, bedroht sie Ds positives Gesicht. In dem nächsten

Redebeitrag bestätigt D durch exactly den von Ls in der Zeile 0011 genannten Preis. Seine selbstbewusste Ausdrucksweise ist ein Signal dafür, dass darüber nicht weiter zu diskutieren ist und dass der Preis sich nicht ändern wird, was auch als Ignorierung des Vorwurfes gelten kann. Als Reaktion darauf bedrohen L und L2 in der Zeile (0013) das positive Gesicht des Partners, weil sie sich miteinander auf Litauisch unterhalten (Code-Switching) und dem Gesprächspartner in dieser Phase keine Aufmerksamkeit schenken. In dem Fall spiegelt sich die Manifestation der Macht zwischen den Beteiligten wider.

Dieser Auszug verdeutlicht die Dynamik bzw. den Übergang von Solidarität zur Macht in einer Gesprächsphase, wo die zentrale Frage der Verhandlungen entschieden werden soll, nämlich der Preis. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass die Vertreterin des litauischen Unternehmens, die eigentlich einen niedrigeren Status im Unternehmen und in dieser Kommunikationssituation besitzt, ihre Macht durch das negative Gesicht manifestiert. Aufgrund ihrer guten Englischkenntnisse ist sie von L2 zur Vertretung des Unternehmens berechtigt und demonstriert trotz des asymmetrischen Verhältnisses ihre Macht. Ihre Dominanz kann in dem Fall auch dadurch erklärt werden, dass sie als Vertreterin des Auftraggebers agiert und ihre höhere Position als Kundin zur Geltung bringt.

Beispiel 3: Schaffen eines geschäftlichen Vertrauensverhältnisses

Das litauische und das deutsche Unternehmen führen ein Gespräch über das Bauen eines Gebäudes x und eines Gebäudes y in Litauen. Das deutsche Unternehmen gilt als Auftraggeber und das litauische Unternehmen als Auftragnehmer, darüber hinaus gilt es als Vermittler mit einem anderen Unternehmen in Litauen. Beide Unternehmen haben früher nicht zusammengearbeitet, also handelt es sich um die erste Verhandlung zwischen ihnen. Die Kommunikation ist symmetrisch. An dem Gespräch nehmen zwei Beteiligten teil: L ist Leiter des litauischen Unternehmens und D ist Leiter des deutschen Unternehmens. Das Ziel des Gesprächs besteht darin, das Projekt des neuen Gebäudes x und des Gebäudes y abzusprechen und zu entscheiden, ob das litauische Unternehmen dieses Projekt durchführt. Das Gespräch spiegelt das vierte Setting nach Wagner (1995, S. 12) wider: A has goal X, B has goal Z. X is controlled by B, Z by A. Beide Vertreter müssen eine Vereinbarung treffen, um den Vertrag unterschreiben zu können. Das Gespräch findet im Januar 2021 online statt, weil die Corona-Pandemie ein physisches Treffen hindert. Die Beteiligten haben deswegen ein längeres Online-Treffen (01:10:25 St.). Bereits am Anfang des Gesprächs gibt L zu verstehen, dass das litauische Unternehmen nur das Gebäude x bauen kann, aber nicht das Gebäude y, weil sie dadurch gegen die litauischen Regelungen verstoßen würden. Gegen Ende der Kernphase des Verhandlungsgesprächs fängt D an, erneut über das Gebäude y zu sprechen. Er versucht, von L relevante Informationen zu bekommen, die hilfreich für das Bauen sein könnten. Er will ein Unternehmen finden, das das Gebäude y nach den Wünschen des deutschen Unternehmens errichten oder durch seine Teilnahme den Baupreis reduzieren könnte:

{01:01:11}	**0096 D**	but it is only for tendering or **it could happen** what in reality **we could** make a deal with them or **it just like aaa how to say just** to use them for pressing the price?
{01:01:24}	**0097 L**	aaaa **you know** aaa **I don't want** to be advisor from which guy
{01:01:29}	**0098 D**	**yes sure yes**
{01:01:30}	**0099 L**	to buy something but yes they **could** be real real suppliers and they **could** supply this if they are competitive in the price
{01:01:43}	**0100 D**	mhm ok

D verwendet in seinem Redebeitrag (Z: 0096) die Strategie der negativen Höflichkeit und drückt seine Vorsicht mit dem Heckenausdruck (could) und der indefiniten Form (it could happen) aus, um akzeptiert zu werden und riskante Meinungsverschiedenheit zu minimieren (Brown und Lewinson, 1987). Die zweimal verwendete Hecke (could) wird mit dem exklusiven we verstärkt, wodurch er sein positives Gesicht zu wahren versucht, zugleich aber seine Unsicherheit signalisiert. Seinen Redebeitrag beendet D mit einem Heckenausdruck (just like aaa how to say just) und erst dann stellt er seine Frage über andere litauische Bauunternehmen. Ls Antwort (Z: 0097) kann zuerst als Ausdruck der Verzweiflung verstanden werden, weil er die für ihn verfügbaren Informationen für D nicht weitergeben will. Durch den

Diskursmarker (you know) zeigt er aber seine Bereitschaft zur Kooperation und verwendet dabei die Strategie der positiven Höflichkeit, um sein eigenes Gesicht nicht zu bedrohen. Wenn D fragt, ob man evtl. von dem im Gespräch genannten dritten Unternehmen profitieren könnte (Z: 0096), bekommt er von L eine direkte Antwort, dass er damit nichts zu tun haben möchte (Z: 0097). Das Gesprächspartikel (aaa) in dem Redebeitrag von L (Z: 0097) signalisiert jedoch seine Verwirrung, die er in seinem nächsten Redebeitrag (Z: 0099) löst. Ds positive Höflichkeit, die mit Hilfe einer wiederholten Zustimmung (yes sure yes) (Z: 0097) realisiert wird, signalisiert sein Einfühlungsvermögen und sein Verständnis für die Haltung des Partners. Seine Reaktion lässt sich als Solidarität betrachten, weil D den Wunsch Ls befriedigt. Auch Ls höfliche und informative Antwort (Z: 0099) zeigt seine Solidarität und den Wunsch, dem deutschen Partner zu helfen. Seine Einschränkung der vorherigen Verweigerung durch die Konjunktion but und die Bestätigung der Meinung des Gesprächspartners durch die Zustimmung yes, wenn der Lieferant bestimmte Bedingungen erfüllt, signalisiert die Bereitschaft, ein Vertrauensverhältnis und somit eine Grundlage für die zukünftige Zusammenarbeit durch einen offenen Meinungsaustausch zu schaffen. Mit der Strategie der negativen Höflichkeit (die zweimalige Verwendung der Hecke could) wird seine kategorische Haltung gemildert. D äußert seine Zustimmung durch die Gesprächspartikel (mhm) und akzeptiert Ls Solidaritätsbereitschaft mit einem ok.

Die Beteiligten schaffen im Gespräch ein Vertrauensverhältnis, denn „Vertrauen ist für Unternehmen substanziell wichtig“ (Reinmuth, 2006, S. 326). Die Entscheidung, nicht über die anderen Unternehmen zu diskutieren (Z: 0097), ist das Zeichen des Respekts, mit dem sie einander, aber auch die anderen Geschäftsteilnehmern behandeln. Das gegenseitige Vertrauen steigt, wenn Ls Machtdemonstration verringert wird. Laut Rod (2007, S. 149) ermöglicht die solidarische Kommunikation den Gesprächspartnern, einander besser kennenzulernen und Vertrauen zu schaffen, was insbesondere in der Anfangsphase der möglichen Zusammenarbeit relevant ist.

Schlussfolgerungen

Die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität, die durch unterschiedliche Höflichkeitsstrategien realisiert wird, wird in den als Beispiel angeführten englischsprachigen / deutsch-litauischen Geschäftsverhandlungen seitens der deutschen und litauischen Beteiligten eingesetzt. Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass solch eine Dynamik sich nicht nur zwischen den Beteiligten, sondern auch in einem individuellen Redebeitrag manifestieren kann. Die Beteiligten sind in der Lage, im Laufe des Gesprächs die sozialen Variablen Solidarität und Macht durch die Realisierung von verschiedenen Höflichkeitsstrategien (bald on record, positive und negative Höflichkeit und off record) zu ändern, wodurch im Gespräch eine strategische Dynamik entsteht.

In der asymmetrischen Kommunikation wird die Solidarität durch Macht mit Hilfe der positiven Höflichkeit ersetzt, wenn der deutsche Auftragsgeber, der einen niedrigeren hierarchischen Status besitzt, seinem Gesprächspartner einen direkten Vorwurf mit den Pronomen I, my macht und diesen Vorwurf sofort mit dem exklusiven we mildert, um seinem Partner eine Erinnerung und Aufforderung zu äußern.

Die Solidarität wird auch durch Macht mit Hilfe der negativen Höflichkeit ersetzt, wenn der litauische Auftragsnehmer, der einen höheren Status besitzt, seinen Gesprächspartner freundlich mit dem Vornamen anspricht und ins Gespräch holt, anschließend aber Anweisungen gibt und somit in die Rolle eines Lehrers schlüpft. Der deutsche Auftragsnehmer drückt zunächst durch ein spezielles Angebot seine Solidarität dem litauischen Kunden gegenüber, unterbricht jedoch aus einer Machtposition weitere Diskussionen über den angebotenen Preis. Die litauische Auftragsgeberin, die einen niedrigeren Status besitzt, reagiert darauf mit Code-Switching, um die Situation mit ihrem Geschäftsführer unter sich zu diskutieren, womit sie das positive Gesicht des deutschen Partners bedroht. In einer anderen Situation lenkt der litauische Auftragsnehmer, der einen höheren Status als sein Gesprächspartner besitzt, durch den Übergang von einem solidarischen inklusiven zu exklusiven we die Aufmerksamkeit von seiner eigenen Person auf das von ihm vertretene Unternehmen, um Kritik an den Partner zu stärken und die Verantwortung zu vermeiden.

Die Solidarität wird durch Macht auch mit Hilfe der Strategie bald off record ersetzt, wenn der litauische Auftragsnehmer, der einen höheren Satus besitzt, indirekt auf die Vorwürfe der deutschen Geschäftspartnerin mit rhetorischen Fragen reagiert, nachdem er in demselben Redebeitrag seine Solidarität geäußert hat.

In der symmetrischen Kommunikation wird die Macht durch Solidarität mit Hilfe der negativen Höflichkeit ersetzt, wenn der litauische Auftragsnehmer zunächst seine Machtposition ausnutzt und sich weigert, die von dem deutschen Partner gewünschte Information weiterzugeben, später aber doch auf die Frage eingeht, um gemeinsames Vertrauensverhältnis zu schaffen.

Insgesamt lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass die Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität in den englischsprachigen / deutsch-litauischen Geschäftsverhandlungen überwiegend mit der Realisierung von institutionellen und gesprächslokalen Zielen zusammenhängt und hilft, die persönliche soziale Macht bzw. die unternehmerische Position zu stärken, zugleich auch eine partnerschaftliche Geschäftsbeziehung aufzubauen und die Zusammenarbeit zu ermöglichen. Da es in den Geschäftsverhandlungen vor allem um die Durchsetzung von jeweiligen Intentionen seitens der beteiligten Parteien geht, manifestiert sich solch eine Dynamik in den Fällen, in denen die Solidarität durch Macht mit Hilfe der negativen Höflichkeit ersetzt wird, was besonders typisch für die asymmetrische Kommunikation ist.

Inwiefern eine Generalisierung der Ergebnisse dieser Fallanalyse möglich ist, muss unter Heranziehung von weiteren Geschäftsverhandlungsgesprächen überprüft werden. So ist zum Beispiel zu untersuchen, ob die genannten Fälle der Dynamik von Macht und Solidarität auch in anderen Geschäftsverhandlungen vorkommen, ob sich eventuell auch weitere Fälle feststellen lassen und, wenn ja, welche verhandlungsstrategischen Funktionen sie dabei erfüllen. Die umfassenden sprachlichen Analysen von Geschäftsverhandlungen könnten interessante Einblicke in die Fachkommunikation nicht nur für die Geschäftsleute, die in ihrem Beruf immer wieder interkulturell verhandeln müssen, sondern auch für die Fremdsprachenlehrer ermöglichen, insbesondere für die, die Fremdsprachen im unternehmerischen Kontext unterrichten. Die Arbeit mit authentischem Sprachmaterial könnte zweifellos die Lernmotivation stärken und zum Lernerfolg beitragen.

Literatur

Alonso, M. M. (2015). *Die sprachliche Höflichkeit: linguistische Analyse der direktiven Sprechakte aus spanisch-deutscher kontrastiver Sicht*. Santiago de Compostela.

Bastos, L. (1996). Power, solidarity and the construction of requests in service encounters. *The ESPecialist*, *17*(2), 151–174. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277065625_Power_Solidarity_and_the_Construction_of_Requests_in_Service_Encounters

Brown, P., & Levinson, C. S., & Gumperz, J. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage.* Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511813085

Brünner, G. (2000). *Wirtschaftskommunikation: Linguistische Analyse ihrer mündlichen Formen.* Max Niemeyer Verlag. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110943320

Charles, M. (1995). Organisational power in business negotiations. In K. Ehlich, & J. Wagner (Hrsg.), *The discourse of business negotiation* (SS. 151–174). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110881516.151

Crystal, D. (1997; 2003). *English as a global language.* Cambridge University Press.

Ehrlich, S. (2011). Courtroom discourse. In R. Wodack, B. Johnstone, & P. Kerswill (Hrsg.), The SAGE handbook of sociolinguistics (SS. 361–375). https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446200957.n26

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511611834

Gumperz, J. (1999). On interactional sociolinguistic method. In S. Sarangi, & C. Roberts (Hrsg.), *Talk, work and institutional order* (SS. 453–472). Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110208375.4.453

Gumperz, J. J. (2005). Interactional sociolinguistics: A personal perspective. Handbook of Discourse Analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen &

H. E. Hamilton (Hrsg.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (215–228). Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470753460.ch12

Hofstede, G. (1984). Cultural dimensions in management and planning. *Asia Pacific J Manage*, *1*, 81–99. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01733682

Hofstede, G. (1994). The business of international business is culture. *International Business Review*, *3*(1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/0969-5931(94)90011-6

Höhenstein, Ch., & Spörri, S. M. (2012). Englisch als Lingua Franca in Unternehmen. Herausforderungen und Chancen von Sprachdiversität in interkulturellen Arbeitsteams. *Themenschwerpunkt*, 32–36.

Kamandulytė-Merfeldienė, L., & Vainilavičiūtė, S. (2018). Positive and negative politeness in spoken Lithuanian. *Philologia Estonica Tallinnensis*, *3*, 66–94. https://doi.org/10.22601/PET.2018.03.03

Keim, I. (2007). Internationale Soziolinguistik und kommunikative, soziale Stilistik. *Sociolinguistica Jahrbuch, 20*, 70–91. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783484604841.70

Kreutz, J. H. (2002). *Sprachliche Wiedervereinigung Ost-West. Eine pragmalinguistische Untersuchung zu Erscheinungen kommunikativer Unsicherheit bei jungen Ostbürgern*. IDS Amades 1 (02), Mannheim.

Kulbayeva, A. (2020). Balancing power and solidarity through indirectness: A case study of Russian and Kazakh meeting chairs. *Journal of Politeness Research*, *16*(2), 159–191. https://doi.org/10.1515/pr-2017-0054

Kuzhevskaya, E. B. (2019). Politeness strategies in business English discourse. *Training, Language and Culture*, *3*(4), 36–46. https://doi.org/10.29366/2019tlc.3.4.4

Nguyen, N. M. N. (2020). *Power and solidarity in moral, affective, and epistemic positioning: Constructing identities in everyday Vietnamese family discourse* [Dissertation, Georgetown-Universität]. Washington.

Ogiermann, E. (2009). Politeness and indirectness across cultures: A comparison of English, German, Polish and Russian requests. *Journal of Politeness Research*, *5*, 189–216.

Peleckis, K. (2014). International business negotiations: Innovation, negotiation team, preparation. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral*

Sciences, *110*, 64–73. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.12.848

Poyatos, F. (2002). *Nonverbal communiacation across disciplines. Volume I: Culture, sensory interacrtion, speech, conversation.* John Benjamin Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.ncad1

Reinmuth, M. (2006). *Vertrauen schaffen durch glaubwürdige Unternehmenskommunikation. Von Geschäftsberichten und den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer angemessenen Sprache*. [Dissertation, Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf].

Richter, H. (2009). *Interkulturelle Kommunikation Kosten und Nutzen einer Lingua franca* [Dissertation, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg].

Rosanti, E. D., & Alan, J. (2016). The use of lexical hedges in spoken language by female and male students. *English Journal*, *16*, 29–39.

Selting, M., Auer, P., Barth-Weingarten, D., Bergmann, J., Bergmann, P., Birkner, K., Couper-Kuhlen, E., Deppermann, A., Gilles, P., Günthner, S., Hartung, M., Kern, F., Mertzlufft, Ch., Meyer, Ch., Morek, M., Oberzaucher, F., Peters, J., Quasthoff, U., Schütte, G., Stukenbrock, A., & Uhmann, S. (2009). Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2 (GAT 2). *Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion*, *10*, 353–402.

Smith, L. E. (1983). English as an international auxiliary language. In Ders (Hrsg.), *Readings in English as an International Language* (SS 1–5). Pergamon.

Tannen, D. (1984). *Language and power*. In Forum: Georgetown Graduate Review. 1.1.

Tannen, D. (1990). Rethinking power and solidarity in gender and dominance. In K. Hall, J. P. Koenig, M. Meacham, S. Reinman, & L. A. Sutton (Hrsg.), *Proceedings of the 16th annual meeting of the berkeley linguistics society* (SS. 519–29). Berkeley Linguistics Society. https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v16i1.3433

Tannen, D. (1993). The relativity of linguistic strategies: Rethinking power and solidarity in gender and dominance. In D. Tannen (Hrsg.), *Gender and conversational interaction* (SS. 165–188). Oxford University Press. Nachgedruckt in D. Tannen (1994), *Gender and discourse* (SS. 19–52). Oxford University Press. Nachgedruckt in

T. A. van Dijk (Hrsg.) (2007), *Discourse Studies*, *5*, 76–98. Sage.

Tannen, D. (1994). *Das hab' ich nicht gesagt! Kommunikationsprobleme im Alltag. Aus dem Amerikanischen von Maren Klostermann*. Goldmann Verlag.

Tannen, D. (1996). *Du kannst mich einfach nicht verstehen. Warum Männer und Frauen aneinander vorbeireden*. Ernst Kabel Verlag.

Tannen, D. (2000). Indirectness at work. In J. Peyton, P. Griffin, W. Wolfram & R. Fasold (Hrsg.), *Language in action: New studies of language in society, essays in honor of Roger W. Shuy* (SS. 189–212). Hampton Press.

Tannen, D. (2001). *Deborah Tannen: He said, she said – gender, language, & communication [and] Deborah Tannen: In depth. Part 2.* [Videotapes and Teaching Guide].

Tannen, D. (2005). Interactional sociolinguistics as a resource for intercultural pragmatics. *Journal of Intercultural Pragmatics*, *2*(2), 205–208. https://doi.org/10.1515/iprg.2005.2.2.205

Volkema, R., Kapoutsis, I., Bon, A., & Almeida, J. R. (2015). *The influence of power and individualism-collectivism on negotiation initiation*. https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-7849rac2016150072

Wagner, J. (1995). 'Negotiating activity' in technical problem solving. In A. Firth (Hrsg.), *The discourse of negotiation. Studies of language in the workplace* (SS. 223–246). Pergamon Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-042400-2.50015-7

Zhuang, Z., & Huang F. (2020). A research on English business negotiation strategies in the framework of politeness theory. *Sino-US English Teaching*, *17*(12), 343–350 https://doi.org/10.17265/1539-8072/2020.12.001

Gintarė Gelūnaitė-Malinauskienė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
gintare.gelunaite-malinauskiene@vdu.lt

INTERACTIONAL-SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF POWER AND SOLIDARITY IN GERMAN–LITHUANIAN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS

Summary. The article analyses German-Lithuanian business negotiations in the English language, focusing on questions of the dynamics of power and solidarity (Tannen, 1993, 1995), realized through various politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In the evaluation of the audio material and the determination of the type of conversation as "business negotiation", it has been assumed that this is a communication situation in which the participants want to make an agreement based on different or identical objectives (Wagner, 1995). In the first phase of the analysis, the excerpts of the discussions were selected to determine which goal is being pursued by the participants. In the next phase, the politeness strategies used by the participants are explained to determine how the dynamics of power and solidarity arise locally and which intentions are thereby realized by the participants or what special purpose the local dynamics serve against the background of the general discussion goal. The exemplary analysis refers to the theoretical-methodological approaches of Gumperz, Brown, and Levinson as well as Tannen, whereby special importance is given to the studies that deal with the politeness strategies with regard to the generation of the dynamics of power and solidarity in institutional interaction, especially from the point of view of conversational analysis (Kulbayeva, 2020; Zhuang & Huang, 2020). The results of the analysis could be helpful for learners and teachers of a foreign language, especially if they are interested in intercultural business communication and teaching language for specific purposes and want to deal with authentic material.

Keywords: business communication; business negotiation; interactional sociolinguistics; dynamics; power; solidarity; politeness strategies; language teaching for specific purposes.

Gintarė Gelūnaitė-Malinauskienė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
gintare.gelunaite-malinauskiene@vdu.lt

INTERAKCINĖ-SOCIOLINGVISTINĖ GALIOS IR SOLIDARUMO DINAMIKOS VOKIEČIŲ–LIETUVIŲ VERSLO DERYBOSE ANALIZĖ

Santrauka. Straipsnyje analizuojamos vokiečių–lietuvių verslo derybos anglų kalba, daugiausia dėmesio skiriant galios ir solidarumo dinamikos klausimams (Tannen, 1993, 1995), realizuojamiems per įvairias mandagumo strategijas (Brown ir Levinson, 1987). Vertinant garso medžiagą ir nustatant pokalbio tipą kaip „verslo derybos", buvo daroma prielaida, kad tai yra komunikacinė situacija, kurioje dalyviai nori susitarti remdamiesi skirtingais arba vienodais tikslais (Wagner, 1995). Pirmajame analizės etape buvo atrinktos pokalbių ištraukos aiškinantis, kokio tikslo siekia dalyviai. Kitame etape tirta, kokias mandagumo strategijas naudoja dalyviai, siekiant nustatyti, kaip galios ir solidarumo dinamika kyla lokaliai ir kokius ketinimus tokiu būdu įgyvendina dalyviai arba kokiam ypatingam tikslui tarnauja lokali dinamika bendrojo diskusijos tikslo fone. Pavyzdinėje analizėje remiamasi Gumperzo, Browno ir Levinsono bei Tannen teorinėmis-metodologinėmis prieigomis, pagal kurias ypatinga reikšmė teikiama tyrimams, kuriuose mandagumo strategijos nagrinėjamos galios ir solidarumo dinamikos susidarymo institucinėje sąveikoje atžvilgiu, ypač pokalbių analizės požiūriu (Kulbajeva, 2020; Zhuang ir Huang, 2020). Analizės rezultatai galėtų būti naudingi besimokantiesiems ir užsienio kalbos mokytojams, ypač jei jie domisi tarpkultūrine verslo komunikacija bei kalbos mokymu specifiniais tikslais ir nori dirbti su autentiška medžiaga.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: verslo komunikacija; verslo derybos; interakcinė sociolingvistika; dinamika; galia; solidarumas; mandagumo strategijos; kalbos mokymas specifiniais tikslais.

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022

BENDRIEJI REIKALAVIMAI RANKRAŠČIAMS

Straipsniai pateikiami ir publikuojami elektroninėje platformoje http://uki.vdu.lt/sm

Straipsniai rengiami pagal **Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association** (toliau **APA**[*]) 7-ąjį leidimą, kolegialiai recenzuojami dviejų recenzentų ir atrenkami publikuoti vadovaujantis šiais kriterijais:

- tyrimas atitinka žurnalo tematiką ir tikslus;
- yra originalus, anksčiau nepublikuotas, vertinimo metu neteikiamas kitiems žurnalams, išryškinti etikos parametrai;
- pateikia empirinę analizę, aktualių problemų sprendimą ir/ar išsamią teorinę diskusiją;
- turi pagrindines struktūrines dalis:
  - Empirinis straipsnis – įvadas, pagrindimas, tikslas, tyrimo parametrai (imtis, metodas, instrumentas), etika, rezultatai, diskusija, išvados, įžvalgos, literatūra.
  - Konceptualus teorinis straipsnis – įvadas, pagrindimas, tikslas, metodas, etika, refleksija ir diskusija, išvados, įžvalgos, literatūra.
- yra tinkamos stilistinės ir lingvistinės kokybės.

STRAIPSNIO DALIŲ SEKA IR TECHNINĖS NUORODOS

Puslapio dydis: 17,6x25,01 cm.
Paraštės: Normal (2,54x2,54x2,54x2,54 cm).
Antraštės padėtis nuo viršaus: 1,25 cm.
Poraštės padėtis nuo viršaus: 1,25 cm.
Šriftas: „Verdana“.
Tarpai tarp eilučių: santraukos rašomos 1 eilutės intervalu, straipsnio tekstas – 1,5 eilutės intervalu. Vienos eilutės tarpas paliekamas prieš antraštes ir po jų.
Autoriaus (-ių) vardas (-ai) ir pavardė (-ės): 12 pt paryškinta.
Afiliacija: 12 pt; institucija, šalis.
Pavadinimas pagrindine straipsnio kalba: 14 pt paryškinta, didžiosiomis raidėmis.
Išsami santrauka pagrindine straipsnio kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; tekstas 8 pt, 250–300 žodžių.
Pagrindinės sąvokos straipsnio kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; sąvokos 8 pt, 4–6 žodžiai (abėcėlės tvarka, toje pačioje eilutėje).
Straipsnio sekcijų antraštės: I lygmens: 10 pt paryškinta, centruota, nenumeruojami; II lygmens: 10 pt paryškinta, sulygiuota iš kairės, nenumeruojami; III lygmens: 10 pt paryškinta, sulygiuota iš kairės, toje pačioje eilutėje kaip ir tekstas, kursyvu, nenumeruojami.
Straipsnio tekstas: 9 pt, 4 000–7 000 žodžių.
Literatūra: 10 pt paryškinta, 15–30 įrašų, 9 pt. Pirmoji įrašo eilutė – prie paraštės, kitos atitrauktos 1,27 cm nuo paraštės. Literatūros įrašai rikiuojami abėcėlės tvarka, nenumeruojami. Keli to paties autoriaus šaltiniai pateikiami chronologine tvarka.
DOI: jei elektroninis šaltinis turi priskirtą DOI, būtina jį nurodyti.
Išnašos: Verdana, 8 pt, 1 eilutės intervalas, sulygiuota iš abiejų pusių.
Autoriaus (-ių) vardas (-ai) ir pavardė (-ės): 10 pt paryškinta, mokslo laipsnis.
Afiliacija lietuvių kalba: 10 pt; institucija, el. pašto adresas.
Pavadinimas lietuvių kalba: 10 pt paryškinta, didžiosiomis raidėmis, sulygiuota iš kairės**.**

[*] https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/

Išsami santrauka lietuvių kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; tekstas 8 pt, 250–300 žodžių.
Pagrindinės sąvokos lietuvių kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; sąvokos 8 pt, 4–6 žodžiai (abėcėlės tvarka, toje pačioje eilutėje, nekartojant pavadinime vartotų sąvokų).
Autoriaus (-ių) vardas (-ai) ir pavardė (-ės): 10 pt paryškinta, mokslo laipsnis.
Afiliacija anglų kalba: 10 pt; institucija, el. pašto adresas. Pavadinimas anglų kalba: 10 pt paryškinta, sulygiuota iš kairės.
Išsami santrauka anglų kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; tekstas 8 pt, 250–300 žodžių.
Pagrindinės sąvokos anglų kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; sąvokos 8 pt, 4–6 žodžiai (abėcėlės tvarka, toje pačioje eilutėje, nekartojant pavadinime vartotų sąvokų).

LENTELĖS, BRĖŽINIAI IR GRAFIKAI

Žurnalas leidžiamas elektroniniu (spalvotu) formatu, tačiau spalvoto teksto brėžinių ir grafikų spalvų gama ir kontrastas turi būti tokie, kad būtų gerai matyti ir nespalvotame tekste. Lentelės ir paveikslo numeris (paryškinta, kairėje) ir pavadinimas (kitoje eilutėje, pasvirus, kairėje) rašomi virš lentelės ir paveikslo, 9 pt; tekstas lentelėse ir grafikuose – 8 pt (tinkamoje vietoje tekste).

CITAVIMAS TEKSTE (prašome laikytis APA 7-ojo leidimo reikalavimų)

Autoriaus pavardė ir publikacijos metai pateikiami skliausteliuose, atitinkamoje vietoje tekste (Rumšas, 2014, p. 1). Nelietuviški asmenvardžiai ir vietovardžiai rašomi vadovaujantis Valstybinės lietuvių kalbos komisijos nuorodomis: http://www.vlkk.lt/lit/nutarimai/svetimvardziai/gramatinimas.html.
Citatos, ilgesnės nei 40 žodžių, rašomos atskira pastraipa, visa citata nuo kairės ir dešinės paraštės atitraukta 1,27 cm. Citata pateikiama be kabučių.

LITERATŪROS SĄRAŠAS
PAVYZDŽIAI (prašome laikytis APA 7-ojo leidimo reikalavimų)

Knygos
Ramonienė, M., & Pribušauskaitė, J. (2008). *Praktinė lietuvių kalbos gramatika*. 2 papildytas leidimas. Baltos lankos.
Knygų skyriai
Pacevičius, A. (2003). Lietuvos knygos kultūra ir paleotipų proveniencijos. *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos paleotipai: katalogas (xvii–xxxv).* Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.
Straipsniai žurnaluose
Vitkauskienė, V. (2011). Frankofonija Lietuvoje. *Respectus Philologicus*, *19*(42), 57–70.
Straipsnis su priskirtu DOI:
Otwinowska, A., & De Angelis, G. (2012). Introduction: Social and affective factors in multilingualism research. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *9*(4), 347–351. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2012.714379
Straipsnis be DOI:
Krivenkaya, M. (2012). Vertėjo sociokultūrinė kompetencija kultūrų dialogo kontekste. *Kalbų studijos / Studies about Languages*, *20*, 73–78. http://www.kalbos.lt/naujas.html
Kübler, N., & Aston, G. (2010). Using corpora in translation. In M. McCarthy, & A. O'Keefe (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 505–515). Routledge.

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print), ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)
Darnioji daugiakalbystė | Sustainable Multilingualism | *21*/2022

GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR MANUSCRIPTS

Articles are submitted electronically at the following address http://uki.vdu.lt/sm

Articles follow the 7th edition of Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA*) and are subjected to double peer-review and selected for publication on the basis of the following criteria:

- the study is thematically relevant to the aim of the journal;
- original, previously unpublished, not submitted to other journals during the evaluation process, ethical parameters highlighted;
- presents empirical analysis or in-depth theoretical consideration;
- contains basic structural elements:
  - Empirical study – introduction, background, aim, research parameters (sample, method, instrument), ethics, findings, discussion, conclusions, implications, references.
  - Conceptual study – introduction, background, aim, method, ethics, reflection and discussion, conclusions, insights, references.
- focuses on an acute research problem;
- is of adequate stylistic and linguistic quality.

SEQUENCES OF THE ARTICLE PARTS AND TECHNICAL GUIDELINES

Page size: 17,6x25,01 cm.
Margins: Normal (2,54x2,54x2,54x2,54 cm).
Header position from top: 1,25 cm.
Footer position from top: 1,25 cm.
Font type: "Verdana".
Line spacing: single for summary and tables, 1.5 for the main text with one space left after the title and before and after the section headings.
Author's (s') name(s): 12pt bold.
Affiliation in the main language of the article: 12pt; institution.
Title in the main language of the article: 14pt bold, capital letters, align left.
Summary in the main language of the article: 9pt bold; text 8pt, 250–300 words, sinle spacing.
Keywords in the main language of the article: 9pt bold; actual words 8pt, 4–6 words (in alphabetical order, in the same line).
Section headings in the article: Level 1: 10pt bold, centred, not numbered; Level 2: 10pt bold, left-justified, text below, not numbered; Level 3: 10pt bold, intended, left-justified, text should follow immediately after, italic, not numbered.
Text of the article: 9pt, 4.000–7.000 words.
Reference: 10pt bold; entries 9pt; 15–30 entries; entries are not numbered, follow an alphabetic order. For several entries of the same author, a chronological order is applied. Titles of books and journals are written in italics. If electronic sources are assigned a DOI, it is to be indicated; hanging by 1,27 cm.
Footnotes: "Verdana", 8pt, single spacing, justified.
Author's (s') name(s): 10pt bold.
Affiliation in English: 10pt; institution.
Title in English: 10pt bold, left-justified.
Summary in English: 9pt bold; text 8pt, 250–300 words.
Keywords in English: 9pt bold; actual words 8pt, 4–6 words (in the same line) in the alphabetical order.

* https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/

Author's (s') name(s): 10pt bold, title.
Affiliation in Lithuanian: 10pt; institution, e-mail.
Title in Lithuanian: 10pt bold, capital letters.
Summary in Lithuanian: 9pt bold; text 8pt, 250–300 words.
Keywords in Lithuanian: 9pt bold; actual words 8pt, 5–8 words (in the same line).
Summary in the author's first or state language is preferable.

TABLES, PICTURES AND FIGURES

Given that the journal is published as a colour online issue the pictures and graphs have to be prepared in such a way that the colourful figures are clear and visible in a white and black text too. Table or figure number (in bold, left-justified) and the heading (in italic, left-justified) are written above the table or the figure, 9pt; text within figures and tables 8pt (in the place where they have to appear in the text).

IN-TEXT CITATION (please follow the requirements of APA 7th Edition)

Author-date method of citation: the author's last name and the date of publication in the appropriate place of the text in brackets, e.g. (Brown, 2014, p. 1). Use the symbol "&" between the authors' names within the text and use the ampersand in the parentheses and Reference List. 40 word and longer quotations placed in a free-standing block, single spaced and indented in entirety by 1.27 cm from the left and right margins with quotation marks omitted, 8 pt.

REFERENCES
EXAMPLE ENTRIES (please follow the requirements of APA 7th Edition)

Books
Aronin L., & Singleton, D. M. (2012). *Multilingualism*. John Benjamins Publishing.
Chapters of a Book
Wilson, D., & Sperber, D. (2004). Relevance theory. In L. R. Horn, & G. Ward (Eds.), *The Handbook of Pragmatics* (pp. 607–632). Blackwell.
Articles in printed journals
Harlow, H. F. (1983). Fundamentals for preparing psychology journal articles. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, *55*, 893–896.
Electronic articles with DOI assigned
Otwinowska, A., & De Angelis, G. (2012). Introduction: Social and affective factors in multilingualism research. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *9*(4), 347–351. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2012.714379
Electronic articles with no DOI assigned
Prince, P. (2012). Towards an instructional programme for L2 vocabulary: Can a story help? *Language Learning & Technology*, *16*, 103–120. http://llt.msu.edu/issues/october2012/prince.pdf

*****

The establishment of the journal was initiated and supported by the science cluster "Research in Plurilingual Competence Development" H-08-09 of Institute of Foreign Languages, Vytautas Magnus University

The main scientific research fields of the cluster are as follows:

- research on plurilingualism and multilingualism as cultural phenomena and educational objects from linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, pragmatic and intercultural points of view,
- analyses of the issues of transfer and cross-linguistic interference while learning the second, third and subsequent languages,
- investigation of efficiency of application of innovative language teaching and learning methods,
- research in teaching and learning languages for specific and academic purposes, learner strategies, issues in communicative competence acquisition and development, content and language integrating learning, and
- exploration of issues in translation.

The scientific research activity of the scholars and dissemination of research findings in local and international publications, conferences, strategic partnerships with foreign higher education institutions in implementing mutually beneficial scientific research projects serve as a means for the development of language policy, theory of plurilingualism and multilingualism, theoretical and practical development of language competences and allow applying research findings in practical educational activity.

We kindly invite members of the international scientific community to join our cluster to perform joint research and its dissemination.

*****

Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Užsienio kalbų instituto mokslo klasteris „Daugiakalbystės kompetencijos tobulinimo tyrimai" H-08-09

Pagrindinės klasterio mokslinių tyrimų kryptys:

- individualios ir visuomeninės daugiakalbystės kaip kultūros fenomeno bei edukacinio objekto tyrimai lingvistiniu, sociolingvistiniu, diskurso, pragmatiniu ir tarpkultūriniu aspektais,
- perkėlimo ir tarplingvistinės interferencijos problemų mokantis antrosios, trečiosios ir kitų užsienio kalbų problemų analizė,
- kalbų mokymo ir mokymosi procesų, inovacinių mokymo(si) metodų taikymo efektyvumo tyrimai,
- kalbų mokymo(si) specifiniais ir akademiniais tikslais, mokymosi strategijų, komunikacinės kompetencijos įgijimo ir plėtojimo, integruoto dalyko ir kalbos mokymo tyrimai,
- vertimo problemų analizė.

Šios mokslinės grupės narių vykdoma mokslinė-tiriamoji veikla bei rezultatų sklaida šalies ir užsienio mokslinėse publikacijose, tarptautinėse konferencijose, strateginės partnerystės su užsienio aukštosiomis mokyklomis plėtojimas įgyvendinant abipusiškai naudingus tyrimų projektus padeda siekti kalbų politikos tobulinimo, daugiakalbystės teorijos, kalbinių kompetencijų teorinio ir praktinio ugdymo tikslų bei leidžia taikyti daugiakalbystės tyrimų rezultatus praktinėje edukacinėje veikloje.

Kviečiame mokslinę bendruomenę jungtis prie klasterio veiklos bendriems tyrimams atlikti ir skleisti.

SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM

Why subscribe and read

Issues relating to multilingualism and multiculturalism are prominent concerns in modern education, impacting the ways that language is handled not only in the classroom, but from a policy-making and administrative perspective, as well. "Sustainable Multilingualism" brings together the most up-to-the-minute scholarship on these issues, providing stakeholders with an inside look at the challenges and offering potential solutions across a broad range of contexts.

Why submit

"Sustainable Multilingualism" is multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary in scope, welcoming quality research from diverse perspectives relating to the sustainability of languages and cultures. The journal provides free, open-access content in a timely fashion, ensuring a broad international audience for the latest scholarship on these issues.

Similarity Check Plagiarism Screening System

The editorial board is participating in a growing community of Similarity Check System's users in order to ensure that the content published is original and trustworthy. Similarity Check is a medium that allows for comprehensive manuscripts screening, aimed to eliminate plagiarism and provide a high standard and quality peer-review process.

The content of the journal is available at

SM website: smjournal.eu
Sciendo platform: content.sciendo.com/view/journals/sm
SCOPUS database: scopus.com/home.uri

***

The journal of scientific papers aims at fostering sustainable multilingualism and multilculturalism by presenting research on the issues of language policy, learning, acquisition and maintenance of plurilingual competence (individual multilingualism) and development of societal multilingualism, translation, intercultural dialogue development and language didactics issues. The need to research multilingualism as an essential feature of dynamic and coherent international community is urgent under contemporary conditions of socio-political climate.

***

Žurnalu siekiama skatinti darniosios daugiakalbystės ir daugiakultūriškumo idėją, šį reiškinį analizuojant iš įvairių perspektyvų – kalbų politikos, kalbų mokymosi ir įsisavinimo (individuali daugiakalbystė), visuomeninės daugiakalbystės, tarpkultūrinio dialogo plėtojimo, kalbų didaktikos, taikomosios lingvistikos, istorijos, filosofijos, edukologijos ir kt. Poreikis tirti daugiakalbystę kaip esminį dinamiškos ir darnios tarptautinės bendruomenės bruožą yra aktualus šiandienos sociopolitinio klimato sąlygomis.

Darnioji daugiakalbystė = Sustainable Multilingualism : periodinis mokslo žurnalas / Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas. Užsienio kalbų institutas ; vyriausioji redaktorė : Nemira Mačianskienė. – [Nr.] 21 (2022) – Kaunas : Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla, 2012-
[Nr.] 21. – Kaunas : Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2022. – 304 p. : iliustr. – Bibliografija išnašose.

ISSN 2335-2019 (Print)
ISSN 2335-2027 (Online)

SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM	**DARNIOJI DAUGIAKALBYSTĖ**
The scientific journal is a biannual publication	**Periodinis mokslo žurnalas leidžiamas du kartus per metus**
Online journal smjournal.eu	**Žurnalo elektroninė prieiga** smjournal.eu
Managed and published using Open Journal System	**Sukurta naudojantis** Open Journal System
Prepared for publication by Nemira Mačianskienė	**Spaudai parengė** Nemira Mačianskienė
English language editor Nemira Mačianskienė	**Anglų kalbos redaktorė** Nemira Mačianskienė
Lithuanian language editor Renata Endzelytė	**Lietuvių kalbos redaktorė** Renata Endzelytė
Published by Vytautas Magnus University, K. Donelaičio st. 58, Kaunas, LT-44248, www.vdu.lt | leidyba@vdu.lt	**Išleido:** Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, K. Donelaičio g. 58, Kaunas, LT-44248, www.vdu.lt | leidyba@vdu.lt
11 11 2022	2022 11 11
Issuance by Order No. K22-051	Užsakymo nr. K22-051